

**MESTRADO**

MULTIMÉDIA - ESPECIALIZAÇÃO EM ARTE E CULTURA

# **Looking at British Sephardi Jews who seek Portuguese citizenship post-Brexit: A grounded theory visual arts- based research approach**

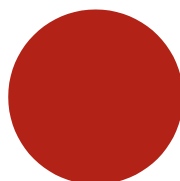
Vijay Hasmukh Patel

**M**

**2018**

FACULDADES PARTICIPANTES:

**FACULDADE DE ENGENHARIA  
FACULDADE DE BELAS ARTES  
FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS  
FACULDADE DE ECONOMIA  
FACULDADE DE LETRAS**





# **Looking at British Sephardi Jews who seek Portuguese citizenship post- Brexit: A grounded theory visual arts- based research approach**

**Vijay Patel**

Masters in Multimedia, University of Porto

Supervisor: Dinis Miguel de Almeida Cayolla Ribeiro (Prof)

Co-supervisor: Luciano Moreira (PhD Candidate)

June 2018



# **Looking at British Sephardi Jews who seek Portuguese citizenship post-Brexit: A grounded theory visual arts-based research approach**

**Vijay Patel**

Masters in Multimedia, University of Porto

Approved in public by the jury:

President: Bruno Sérgio Gonçalves Giesteira (Prof)

External Examiner: Mário Jorge Rodrigues Martins Vairinhos (Prof)

Supervisor: Dinis Miguel de Almeida Cayolla Ribeiro (Prof)

Co-supervisor: Luciano Moreira (PhD candidate)

# Resume

Desde o referendo britânico de 2016 que iniciou o Brexit, judeus sefaraditas britânicos estão se candidatando à cidadania portuguesa em números sem precedentes. Isso tem sido possível uma vez que os governos português e espanhol adotaram uma legislação que abarca o período de suas histórias em que os judeus foram expulsos da Península Ibérica. Há poucas pesquisas disponíveis sobre as comunidades judaicas sefaraditas britânicas contemporâneas e nenhuma pesquisa sobre os efeitos dessas recentes políticas nacionais. Esta análise interdisciplinar visa aprofundar nossa compreensão de como os judeus sefaraditas estão ressignificando o Brexit e ampliar o escopo das práticas multimídia engajadas socialmente. Este estudo entrelaça a Teoria Fundamentada nos Dados (Grounded Theory - GT) com Arte de Instalação e Elucidação de Foto; seis participantes e três informantes-chave participaram, levando à produção de uma instalação multimídia, um work-in-progress. O GT é usado ocasionalmente para avaliar projetos baseados em arte; Este projeto usa o GT e a Metodologia da Teoria Fundamentada Visual (VGTM) como parte integrante do processo criativo. A estrutura deste projeto é guiada pelo design de pesquisa baseada em artes. Essas políticas têm encorajado uma redescoberta subjetiva de raízes sefaraditas; o que antes era latente agora ganhou posição central. Os participantes e os legisladores possuem compreensões diferentes a respeito deste oferecimento da cidadania por parte dos governos: um "presente", em oposição à "atribuição de um direito". GTM e VGTM complementam processos baseados em arte, mesmo assim, esses métodos precisam endereçar o elevado status dado pela superioridade das informações textuais em detrimento das informações visuais. O GT tem o potencial de proporcionar aos artistas uma base metodológica mais rigorosa para gerar teorias.



# Abstract

British Sephardi Jews are applying for Portuguese citizenship in unprecedented numbers since the 2016 UK referendum initiating Brexit. This has been possible since the Portuguese and Spanish governments approved legislation addressing a period in their histories when Jews were expelled from the peninsula. There is limited research available on contemporary British Sephardi Jewish communities and no research to date on the effects of these recent national policies. This interdisciplinary analysis aims to deepen our understanding of how Sephardi Jews are making sense of Brexit and to widen the scope of socially engaged multimedia practices. This study intertwines Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) with Installation Art and Photo-elicitation; six subjects and three key informants participated, leading to a work-in-progress multimedia installation. GTM is occasionally used to evaluate art-based projects; this project uses GTM and Visual Grounded Theory Methodology (VGTM) as an integral part of the creative process. The structure of this project is guided by arts-based research design. These policies have encouraged subjects to rediscover their Sephardi roots; what was previous latent has now taken centre stage. Participants had a different understanding of this citizenship offer than legislators: a “gift” as oppose to “the attribution of a right.” GTM and VGTM compliments art based processes, yet these methods need to address the elevated status given to textual data at the expense of visual data. GTM has the potential to give artists a more rigorous methodological basis for generating theories.

Keywords: Sephardi, citizenship, Brexit, installation art, grounded theory, arts-based research.





# Acknowledgements

Special thanks and immense gratitude to Prof. Dinis Ribeiro and Luciano Moreira  
Marisa Silva, Raquel Magalhães Correia and Rui Rodrigues  
Bruno Giesteira, Pedro Cardoso, Jose Carneiro and Heitor Alvelos  
UCL colleagues; Richard Watt, Louise Gregory, Antiopi Ntouva and Alex Blokland  
MM colleagues; Nerea, Tuca, Raquel S, Sandrine, Guida, Francisco, Ana Rita and Felipe  
Gaëlle, Christine and David, Arnie, Karine, Claire, Andrew and Isabel  
Serena & others at Atelier Santo Isidro  
Thanks to all my family  
And Sebastian <3

Vijay Patel



# Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Motivation.....	5
Significance .....	7
Research Purpose .....	8
Research Questions .....	9
Evaluation .....	9
Dissertation Structure.....	9
<b>1. Literature Review</b> .....	<b>11</b>
1.1. The Topic .....	11
1.2. Arts-Based Research Approaches .....	14
1.3. Installation Art .....	16
<b>2. Methods</b> .....	<b>24</b>
2.1. Reflection on Grounded Theory Methodology .....	24
2.2. Recruitment.....	28
2.3. Interview Procedures .....	30
<b>3. Results</b> .....	<b>34</b>
<b>4. Representation and Audiences</b> .....	<b>47</b>
4.1. Exhibition Description .....	47
4.2. Audience .....	50
4.3. Installation Documentation .....	51
<b>5. Discussions</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>6. Conclusions</b> .....	<b>60</b>
<b>Ethics Statement</b> .....	<b>62</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>63</b>
<b>Appendices</b> .....	<b>69</b>
Appendix A: Informed Consent Form for Participants .....	69
Appendix B: Photography General Release Form .....	70
Appendix C: Photography Subject Consent Form .....	70
Appendix D: Private Property Photography Release Form .....	70
Appendix E: Interview Questions Template (version II) .....	71
First Interview .....	71
Second Interview .....	72

Appendix F: Interview Transcripts and Initial Coding .....	73
Participant A (20/11/2017).....	73
Participant B (17/11/2017) .....	77
Participant C (15/12/2017) .....	82
Participant D (17/12/2017) .....	86
Participant D (23/05/2018) .....	90
Participant E (18/02/2018) .....	91
Participant E (29/05/2018) .....	104
Participant F (08/05/2018).....	106
Participant F (27/06/2018).....	109
Informant A & B (12/02/2018) .....	110

# List of Figures

Figure 1: Grayson Perry, *The Brexit Vases*, detail view of the ‘Leave’ vase. 2017.

<http://www.artlyst.com/news/grayson-perry-unveils-brexit-vases-ahead-serpentine-exhibition-extravaganza/>

Figure 2: Grayson Perry, *The Brexit Vases*, detail view of the ‘Remain’ vase. 2017.

<https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/810623/grayson-perry-artist-brexit-vases-leave-remain-political-pots>

Figure 3: Partial taxonomy of qualitative methodologies and processes used within arts-based research.

Figure 4: View of the *International Surrealist Exhibition*, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1938. From left to right: Paul Eluard, Rene Magritte, Leo Male and an anonymous visitor using flashlights to illuminate the artworks. [http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck\\_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/](http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/)

[http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck\\_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/](http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/)

Figure 5: View of the *International Surrealist Exhibition*, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1938. [http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck\\_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/](http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/)

[http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck\\_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/](http://www.koregos.org/fr/margaux-van-uytvanck_l-exposition-internationale-du-surrealisme-de-1938/)

Figure 6: Inside Ilya Kabakov’s *Labyrinth (My Mother’s Album)*, 1990. <https://elmeo-art-blogeca.co.uk/blog/>

<https://elmeo-art-blogeca.co.uk/blog/>

Figure 7: Susan Hiller, *From the Freud Museum*, 1991-96. <http://www.archivesandcreativepractice.com/susan-hiller/>

<http://www.archivesandcreativepractice.com/susan-hiller/>

Figure 8: Joseph Beuys, *Hearth II*, 1978-79. <https://artagenda.com/exhibition/installationen-aktionen-vitrinen/feuerstaette-joseph-beuys2/>

<https://artagenda.com/exhibition/installationen-aktionen-vitrinen/feuerstaette-joseph-beuys2/>

Figure 9: Grada Kilomba *Secrets to Tell*, 2017, MAAT Museum of Art, Architecture & Technology. <https://www.maat.pt/pt/exposicoes/grada-kilomba-secrets-tell>

<https://www.maat.pt/pt/exposicoes/grada-kilomba-secrets-tell>

Figure 10: Methodological framework developed for this study based on Charmaz’s GT approach (2014) as well as Mey and Dietrich’s VGTM (2016).

Figure 11: Observational sketch of participant E during the first interview.

Figure 12: Superimposed planimetric lines on top of sketch.

Figure 13: Photo of participant E with his wife in the background.

Figure 14: Superimposed perspectival lines on top of Figure 13.

Figures 15: Francis Treuherz (Shamash) giving me a tour of Lauderdale Road Synagogue.

Figure 16: Superimposed planimetric lines on Figure 15.

Figures 17-19: Francis Treuherz giving me a tour of Lauderdale Road Synagogue.

Figure 20: Photo of participant E's family taken in 2014 during his daughter's wedding.

Figure 21: Superimposed planimetric lines and index of people in Figure 20.

Figure 22: Photo provided by participant F.

Figure 23: Exhibition leaflet available at the entrance to the installation.

Figure 24 and 25: Exhibition poster at the entrance of Atelier SantoIsidro.

Figure 26: Atelier Santo Isidro before my intervention.

Figure 27: Constructing the cardboard box partition wall. Figure 28: Inside the interior 'loft/attic' space.

Figure 29 and 30: Archival paraphernalia with references to Portugal and the UK.

Figure 31: Trunk with the sleeve of an Arabic dress to the right with a 1980s telephone and a handwritten letter and photograph on top.

Figure 32 - 41: Video footage taken from one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Europe, Frankfurt combined with clips from Parque das Virtudes, which used to be a Jewish cemetery before the Expulsion.

Figure 42: Video projection.

Figure 43: Desk with laptop, external hard drive, projector, speakers and laptop case.

Figure 44: Updated methodological framework with VGTM highlighted in blue and the integration of my artistic practice highlighted in orange.

# List of Tables

Table 1: Paradigmatic assumption and characteristics of grounded theory methodologies (Groen, Simmons & McNair, 2017).

Table 2: Participant demographics and other relevant information taken at the time of the first interview.

Table 3: Extract from the first interview transcript with participant E.

Table 4: Important historical figures and events alongside familial connections as referenced throughout all the in-depth interviews.

Table 5: Five categories formed by grouping together focused coding.

Table 6: Written text contained within the announcement in Figure 22.

Table 7: Introductory text accompanying the installation





# Abbreviations and Symbols

ABR	Arts-based Research
GTM	Grounded Theory Methodology
MOMA	Museum of Modern Art
S&P	Spanish & Portuguese
UCL	University College London
VGTM	Visual Grounded Theory Methodology



# Introduction

“You know, I’m not alone in thinking I’m not really quite sure what Brexit is, because we aren’t going to find out until 10 years down the line, are we? I’m not a politician or an expert on European Union trade, so I can’t tell you what it’s going to be like. Yes, there’s lots of disgruntled people, and some people with a sort of sense of victory. My fantasy is that on the ground we probably actually won’t know it’s that much different, and if we do it will be a long time before we do.” Grayson Perry (Shea 2017)

On 23rd June 2016 the UK public participated in a historic referendum on whether the country should remain within or leave the European Union. This binary vote resulted in a relatively narrow and unexpected decision to leave the EU. Much analysis has been conducted on the various factors shaping public opinion towards the EU; the strongest aspects swaying leave voters were “negative attitudes towards immigration, as well as effects of the perceived loss of economic sovereignty and national identities” (Clark, Goodwin & Whiteley, 2017). These factors are also believed to have contributed to the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States in November 2016. These political events, regarded as tectonic shifts on the political landscape have dominated media coverage around the world and contributed to the continuing politicisation of discourse within the arts. Artists have actively engaged and responded in various ways, from taking a political stance by merely observing and providing commentary. While some, such as the 14 internationally renowned artists created posters in support of keeping Britain within the EU (Guardian 2016), others such as Grayson Perry have attempted to highlight commonalities between opposing factions.

Within a year of the referendum, tens of thousands of Britons had applied for citizenship to other EU countries. Citizenship applications to Ireland increased the most, with 64,400 UK nationals applying compared to 25,207 who applied in the previous one-year period (Farrell 2017). Similar surges in numbers were reported from other EU countries, including: Denmark, France, Germany, Poland, Spain and Sweden (Farrell 2017). Numerous Britons are revisiting their genealogy and exploring possible European links. This process has become particularly thought-provoking for the British Jewish community who have historically faced persecution

and fled from these same European countries to the United Kingdom. It has been possible for Sephardi Jews to claim Iberian nationality since 2015 when the Spanish and Portuguese governments introduced legislation addressing a period in their histories when Jews were expelled from the peninsula. Paradoxically, these historical injustices now give these same ethnic minority groups the opportunity to retain rights which ordinary Britons will most certainly lose.

Many artists have investigated similar social issues and have staged multimedia exhibitions inviting audiences to reflect on such themes. One recent example is the *Tension & Conflict: Video Art after 2008* exhibition held at the Museum of Art, Architecture & Technology (MAAT), Lisbon. This group show charts the development and experimentation of video art over the last ten years, in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis. One recurring debate has been how art can and should be political. Melanie Gilligan's *Crisis in the Credit System* is a sophisticated documentary-styled fiction reflecting on the human cost of economic turmoil and the abstract financial structures that led to it. This four-part web series was commissioned and produced by Artangel. Gilligan conducted extensive interviews and observations while she was developing the film's script, in order to avoid the pitfalls of stereotyping and other generalisations associated with bankers and others who work in the financial sector.

“During my research I interviewed popular economics writers and economists, even a BBC economics TV journalist, because I wanted to get a close-up sense of how the crisis was being understood and represented in the mass media (because the media often greatly informs popular perspective). But on the other hand, I had always avoided those spheres of culture because I generally disagree with the ideologies dominating them.” (Gilligan 2012)

Conceptual artistic duo, Lonnie van Brummelen and Siebren de Haan are currently working on a feature length film *Citizens of Nature* exploring the inland communities of Suriname. People who are of African decent who escaped plantation enslavement and formed independent communities within the rainforest. Van Brummelen and de Haan are conducting extensive ethnographic fieldwork which is guiding the film's development. Portuguese artist Carla Filipe is developing an exhibition project at Galeria Municipal do Porto, due to open on 30th June 2018 focusing on social practices within bars and clubs. Filipe actively participated within these studied environments and conducted interviews, searching for the touchstones of meaning that shape this specific community.

Over the last few decades, arts-based practitioners (such as Gilligan, van Brummelen and de Haan) have increasingly contextualised and formalised their creative practices and outcomes within an academic research environment. These initiatives have simultaneously broadened and focused definitions of Arts-Based Research (ABR). This emerging field of study has roots stretching back to the beginning of the last century when the scientific research process experienced a significant transformation. At this time research started to be considered a cognitive process as opposed to merely a procedure for verifying hypotheses. This qualitative paradigm focuses on common attributes of phenomena in order to achieve a deeper and more contextualised understanding. In contrast, the positivist approach aims to gain an understanding of phenomena, which are measurable, tangible and observable. As a consequence, new methodological processes have been explored and arts-based practitioners have eagerly incorporated procedures and methodologies from other fields within the humanities and social sciences to develop interdisciplinary projects, which broaden and deepen our understanding of a given topic. The most popular example is ethnographic practice which since the 1960s has been widely adopted by artists working across the creative industry (Foster, 1996). New interdisciplinary fields have emerged; visual ethnography and experimental ethnography. This convergence is a natural fit as both disciplines study social phenomena and use similar observational methods and tools. At the beginning of this project when searching for relevant methodologies to utilise, a number of university colleagues suggested using Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). GTM is a systematic and inductive sociological methodology involving the construction of theory through meticulous collecting and analysis of data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). While GTM has been used for evaluating arts-based projects it has not been explored by artists nor incorporated into artistic practices.

One of the aims of this study is to explore the applicability of GTM and its effectiveness by giving socially engaged arts practitioners a greater rigorous basis for generating theories. This is significant as numerous visual artists generate, gather and analyse, empirical data without knowledge of techniques used in sociology. When completing my undergraduate degree, I spent numerous hours observing, talking to, drawing and painting life models. In hindsight, I wish I had the methodological tools for generating theories based on these observations. An integrated and holistic approach could lead to a deeper understanding of the research 'problem'. In recent decades, other visual artists have also gone beyond the 'ethnographic turn' and I have been inspired by their methods (Rutten, Dienderen & Soetaert.

2013). This project primarily analyses text-based data, in addition to auxiliary visual materials. Although GTM accepts data in all its forms, there is a lack of attention when it comes to processing visual materials. There are only two Visual Grounded Theory Methodological (VGTM) approaches available (this will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter).

There are three main reasons why this project is ideally suited to an arts-based research approach. Firstly, the topic can be considered comprehensively, without artificially segregating various components based on disciplinary boundaries. Without an ABR approach I would be limited to investigating the topic primarily from an arts praxis perspective and tackling the visual representation of the topic while leaving the primary data gathering and analysis to the anthropologists and/or sociologists. Secondly, ABR grants the liberty to experiment and integrate methodologies. This has strengthened the breath of the study's findings. For example, I have merged the process of drawing with collecting oral history stories when interviewing subjects. This has reinforced interactions with participants, given them time to pause and reflect during the interview, and has provided richer data as a result. Thirdly, this flexible and holistic approach encourages researchers to intuitively respond to new insights and unexpected data, in order to "propel cycles of returning to reanalyze data and/or revise aspects of the research design as needed" (Chilton & Leavy, 2014, p. 407). As I develop this project, ABR permits me to simultaneously work within and transgress dominant discursive practices and frameworks without losing sight of the topic and adapting to it. ABR "can be particularly useful for research goals that aim to describe, explore, or discover social, emotional, and other meta-cognitive experiences" (Chilton & Leavy, 2014, p. 407). The outcomes of such research can be emotionally and politically poignant due to the aesthetic power of visual work. "Narrative transmits knowledge not as information isolated from subjective experience (and therefore verifiable) but as embedded within the events in the story as part of a totality that involves affects, emotions, and associations" (Gilligan 2012).

There are numerous similarities between ABR and practice-based research; there are also, however, some key differences. Both fields have unique historical backgrounds which have contributed to the development of specific research models. Practice research is a broad field encompassing the arts, humanities and medical sciences with an array of forms. ABR, in contrast, is a product of creative arts therapy, having initially developed within the fields of psychiatry and psychology. Prominent ABR researchers such as Patricia Levy gained their academic training within the social sciences and have refined ABR research models specifically

for sociologists who wish to incorporate arts-based approaches and artists who seek to embrace social scientific methods (Leavy, 2015). This fusion has created specialised visual art genres, which are highly relevant to my approach and the work I wish to produce. Embedding this study in ABR with reference to practice-based research in the visual arts will potentially yield richer results.

## **Motivation**

After describing this research project to friends, university colleagues, workmates and acquaintances, the first most common question I have been asked is: are you Jewish? This is sometimes followed by: do you want to become Jewish? I personally don't find these questions offensive; in fact, I highly value their honest and direct approach as it exposes their curiosity and sense of bewilderment. These questions have had the added effect of making me reflect on my own motivations and the external factors, which have encouraged me to pursue this line of enquiry.

When applying for the Masters in Multimedia program back in the spring of 2016, there was a requirement to submit a five-page research project proposal. At that time, I had originally suggested tracking personal health data (via smartphone apps) and using this data to develop multimedia interventions with participants. One such idea was to create personalised knitwear. The various characteristics of the garment (texture, pattern, yarn, shape, colour, density and tone) would be influenced by participants' personal health data. I wanted these fun pieces of clothing to encourage participants to reflect on their health. I had also applied for a Masters in Social and Cultural Anthropology at KU Leuven as I had also become interested in the intersection between arts-based research and anthropological fieldwork. I subsequently took up the multimedia course at the University of Porto and axed my initial project proposal within a few months of starting. The last two years have given me the opportunity to reflect on my personal background, refine my interests within various disciplines (fine art, technology, sociology and anthropology) and to situate them within a Portuguese setting. Also the applicability of multimedia for instigating personal reflection and social change is a recurring interest of mine, one of the reasons for choosing this masters program was that this approach is embedded within a number of modules such as the Multimedia Laboratory. During this first year module I teamed up with colleagues to develop multimedia applications with the objective of

raising awareness of domestic violence. These interdisciplinary interests and my fine art training have naturally made me gravitate towards a socially-engaged multimedia ABR project.

As a British national having recently migrated to Portugal, the UK referendum result initiating Brexit has cast a shadow on this decision by threatening my associated European rights and freedoms. This triggered my interest in the concept of citizenship and after attending events at FuturePlaces: MediaLab for Citizenship festival in October 2016 I was inspired to explore local, regional and national population demographics (Patel, 2017). This was an attempt to map out population diversity and to consider in what ways an understanding of the cultural composition of the city could enhance citizenship arts programming. I was surprised to learn that the Portuguese constitution forbids the collection of data on race, ethnicity and sexuality. I subsequently proposed and delivered a workshop exploring these issues for FuturePlaces the following year (Patel & Costa, 2017). One of the outcomes was to form a media lab investigating intercultural relations. I presented the outcomes of the workshop at the Rainbow Pilgrims Conference, Buckinghamshire New University. This was especially productive as I made contact with a Portuguese masters student from Porto who is specialising in gender studies and Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). I then attended the Engage International Conference 2017: Rethinking Diversity (Patel, 2018) which was an opportunity to contemplate complex issues surrounding race, ethnicity, identity, disability, gender and sexuality, and to consider in what ways these topics could influence and enhance individual creative practices. The conference was primarily aimed at artist educators and those working within museum and gallery education. I have since been invited to be part of Engage's Inclusion Advisory Group.

Thus far, I have mentioned the following motivations: using multimedia as a tool for reflection, an interest in citizenship and an involvement with diversity discourse. These interests have aroused my curiosity in the topic in general, however they do not convincingly justify pursuing this specific case study. Why not look at Brexit related issues and feelings of belonging within my own ethnic minority community? Surprisingly demographic data from the EU referendum vote in the borough where I grew up reveals South Asians were much more likely to vote for Brexit than their neighbouring white peers. "While the borough of Ealing voted overall Remain by 60.4%, the wards (Broadway and Green) in Southall - primarily a South Asian residential district - voted only very narrowly Remain (50.5% and 50.9% respectively)" (Ehsan, 2017). Similar patterns were evident across the country. Pursuing this type of case study would



have been much easier for recruiting research participants. Over the course of this project, I have continuously asked myself: why focus on British Sephardi Jews? What is it about this community that compels me? I will explore this further in the final chapter.

## **Significance**

This project will be one of the first qualitative studies to explore the effects of these Spanish and Portuguese national citizenship policies. This initiative builds on previously mentioned projects. Although I am not Jewish, I am well positioned for gaining access to participants residing in Portugal and the UK.

This experimental study integrates Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) with an arts-based praxis. GTM is ideally suited to visual art genres within arts-based research for four main reasons. Firstly, they both approach data collection and analysis in a holistic sense, by embracing all forms of data. “All is data [...] GT[M] is a general methodology useable on any data, and it is up to the researcher to figure out exactly what the data is” (Glaser, 2007). Secondly, GTM and ABR require an open and flexible mindset. Thirdly, they both lend themselves to inductive and abductive processes. There is a controversy as to whether GTM can truly be considered an inductive (generate theories) as opposed to an abductive methodology. “Abduction is when we reformulate our previous knowledge and construct theories” (Konecki, 2011). This is especially the case “when a new and unique empirical observation cannot be explained on the basis of existing knowledge and categories or assumptions, existing knowledge must be reformulated and re-sorted for an explanation of a new fact” (Konecki, 2011). Abductive processes can be creative and intuitive, similar and relevant to arts-based practitioners who creatively apply and simultaneously reconstruct previous knowledge for generating new works of art (Gonzalez & Haselager, 2005). Fourthly, it expands the field and could lead to the creation of hybrid processes. Due to the increasing attention given to visual data within the social sciences, psychology researchers Günter Mey and Marc Dietrich have incorporated GTM within a general framework for actualising Visual Grounded Theory Methodology (Mey & Dietrich, 2016).

GTM is commonly used as an evaluation method for arts-based projects and, on occasion, it is used for analysing static imagery and video-based data (Habib & Hinojosa, 2016). To my

knowledge, this is the first study to actively use GTM as an intrinsic part of the visual artistic process. This is an opportune occasion to explore the wider effects of Brexit, examine related discourses, test out new methodological approaches and actively engage with audiences.

## **Research Purpose**

“This is something essential to art: reception is never its goal. What counts for me is that my work provides material to reflect upon. Reflection is an activity.” Thomas Hirschhorn in reference to his installation *Bataille Monument 2002* at Documenta II.

This project primarily addresses the effects of Brexit on British Sephardi Jews living in the UK. There are numerous similarities with other European originated ethnic minority groups: White Irish communities, for example, have applied for Irish citizenship in record numbers (this will be covered in greater detail in chapter 2). This project will be one of the first qualitative studies to explore the effects of Portuguese and Spanish legislation approved in 2015 allowing Sephardi Jews to claim citizenship. The project’s aim is to enhance knowledge and understanding relating to the human outcomes of these recent political events. This project attempts to fuse GTM and VGTM within a visual ABR framework and provide a space for reflection.

The main goals of this project are as follows:

1. To investigate motivations and desires for British Sephardi Jews who seek Portuguese citizenship post-Brexit. To explore how they are making sense of citizenship policies.
2. To experiment with and appropriately merge relevant techniques and methodologies.
3. To examine the applicability of GTM and VGTM for visual ABR genres.
4. To trigger reflection and disseminate findings via a multimedia installation that invites audiences to take an active role in the intersubjective construction of knowledge.

## **Research Questions**

1. How is Brexit and Iberian citizenship policies being understood?
2. How can arts-based practices be combined with classical qualitative methodologies to effectively and holistically explore a social phenomenon?
3. How can GTM and VGTM be effectively used as part of an artistic practice?
4. How can we develop a multimedia installation that encourages reflection and communicates project outcomes?

## **Evaluation**

There is no standard evaluation criteria that can be applied to all ABR projects as the field covers a vast terrain including multiple disciplines and theoretical frameworks. There are however three broad topics to consider (Leavy 2014, p. 212). Firstly, ABR offers the unique possibility of creating *holistic or synergistic* research approaches. There are multiple concepts used within qualitative research that can be applied for evaluating this characteristic; *thoroughness* focuses on how in-depth and wide-ranging the scope of the project is, and *coherence, congruence or internal consistency* considers how skilfully various elements of the project, including parts of the final installation connect together. Secondly, the notion of resonance considers how audiences relate to the installation, it's believability and authenticity. Thirdly, that the artistic presentation communicates the core of the topic and thus achieves aesthetic power. Artistic practices are deeply individual and so ABR should enable artists to find and express their own voice (Leavy 2014, p. 213).

## **Dissertation Structure**

This document consists of seven chapters, excluding this section, which serves as an introduction to the project's overall motivations, aims and objectives. Chapter 1, *Literature Review*, contextualises the project by offering a discussion of the topic, arts-based research and installation art. I will present the merits and drawbacks of installation art and why it is a pertinent art form for disseminating project findings. Chapter 2, *Methods*, offers a reflection of

Grounded Theory Methodology and covers the approach taken for recruiting participants and conducting data collection. Chapter 3, *Results*, interrogates gathered data and investigates the project's findings and how it relates to relevant discourses. This discussion will lead to GTM conceptual categories. Chapter 4, *Discussions*, seeks to identify the project's main outcomes and contextualise them within the field. Chapter 5, *Conclusions*, will summarise project findings and limitations, generate further research questions and pave the way for future projects.

This structure does not follow a chronological order. As I am incorporating a GTM approach, “[c]onducting the literature review after developing an independent analysis” (Charmaz, 2006, p.6) is an important characteristic and defining factor of GTM. It is advised “to delay the literature review, and to construct an original theory that interprets your data” (Charmaz, 2006, p.12) without any bias which may form from what is already known about the topic. This also helps to temporarily suspend your own convictions. As such, the *Literature Review* was conducted towards the end of the project, however in this written report I have presented it within the first chapter. I have adopted this ‘reverse’ order for presentation as it enables the reader to appreciate the relevance and context of project findings from the beginning.

# 1. Literature Review

It is important to consider the lexicology of related ABR terms when conducting a literature review. Associated terms include: a/r/tography, art as inquiry, art practice as research, artistic inquiry, arts based social research (ABSR), arts-based educational research (ABER), performative inquiry, practice-based research and scholartistry (Chilton & Leavy, 2014, p. 406). Within the field of ABR, each of these words and phrases has nuanced meanings, elaborate definitions and unclear boundaries. This surplus of terminology reflects the expanding state of the art. A compilation of terms has yet to be written and yet, if this was done, it would quickly become redundant. I conducted a literature search in May 2018 using the following keywords: 'Brexit' OR 'installation art' OR 'grounded theory' AND 'arts-based research' OR 'a/r/tography' OR 'art as inquiry' OR 'art practice as research' OR 'art-based enquiry' OR 'artistic inquiry' OR 'arts-informed research' OR 'critical arts-based inquiry' OR 'practice-based research' OR 'scholartistry' on UCL's Explore online library database which yielded 48 (out of 397) relevant articles and 4 (out of 138) books. This database includes some art publications such as a-n The Artists Information Company. I searched 'Brexit' and 'socially engaged installation art' within important English language art magazines and journals, including: Aesthetica, ArtForum, Art Journal Open, ArtPress, Frieze, MOMA Publications, Mousse Magazine, Tate Papers and The Art Newspaper. These resources were often starting points for further reading. The inclusion criteria consisted of articles written in English. This initial state of the art covers the topic, arts-based research and grounded theory methodology. Chapter 4, *Genres and Practices*, will discuss installation art and its suitability to the project. Due to the experiential nature of installation art, where possible, I have preferred to reference and describe installations I have visited in person.

## 1.1. The Topic

Numerous artists have addressed the Brexit debate itself. However, very few have engaged with what the effects of leaving will be. This is due to the complex and uncertain consequences as well as the disbelief that Brexit will actually happen. Yet whether or not the UK leaves the

EU on 29th March 2019 or not, we have already witnessed significant economic changes and social phenomena, which are worthy of investigation and reflection.

Grayson Perry ran a social media campaign to crowdsource images for two large vases titled *The Brexit Vases*. One represents the dreams, hopes and desires of those who wish to remain within the EU, while the other vase depicts semiotics associated with those wishing to leave (see Figures 1-2). As Perry was working on these vases, he travelled across the country visiting different regions and interviewing people on opposing sides of the debate. He produced a documentary which was broadcast on UK television station Channel 4. Perry embraces community engagement within his artistic practice; he previously employed the same methodology when analysing the ideas of taste held by different social classes within the UK. This resulted in a three part televised documentary and a series of six tapestries titled *The Vanity of Small Differences*.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Figure 1: Grayson Perry, *The Brexit Vases*, detail view of the Leave vase. 2017. Figure 2: Grayson Perry, *The Brexit Vases*, detail view of the Remain vase. 2017.

The term *Sephardi* is a transliterated Hebrew word. In English *Sephardi* is used as a noun, while *Sephardic* is the adjective, both are fully incorporated in the English language, listed in the Oxford English Dictionary and are used when referring to Hebrew manuscripts. I have adopted the transliterated Hebrew version as this is most commonly used by those within the community. Sephardi Jews are an ethnic group whose emergence as a distinct community

residing on the Iberian peninsula began around the end of the first millennium. They established communities throughout Spain and Portugal, which evolved into what would become their distinctive characteristics and diaspora identity, which they took with them in their exile from Iberia beginning in the late 15th Century to North Africa, Northern and Eastern Europe as well as the Americas. Over the last few centuries, the term *Sephardi* has also been used to describe Jews from Asia who do not have genealogical roots to Iberia, but have adopted Sephardi law, customs and style of liturgy.

The offer of Iberian citizenship to Sephardi Jews has been debated by parliamentarians for many years since the fall of the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships in 1974 and 1975. In 1982 Sephardis joined other applicant groups who could apply for Spanish nationality through naturalisation after a shorter period of residency than the standard ten year timeframe, however if successful applicants were required to renounce their previous nationality. In 2012 the Spanish Minister of Justice Ruiz-Gallardon introduced a draft bill to the Council of Ministers removing the minimum residency period altogether and allowing applicants to maintain their original nationality, stating “Spanish society brings to completion the redress of what must be considered without doubt to be one of the most important historic mistakes” (d’Oliveira, 2015). The Spanish policy has a three year time restriction, while the Portuguese does not. Interest from UK nationals had dramatically increased since the Brexit referendum; the Jewish Community of Oporto who certify applicants said they had received just five applications before the referendum compared to over 400 within the subsequent two months (Guardian, 2016). Since the policies’ introduction at the end of March 2015 to January 2018 a total of 2,160 Sephardi Jews acquired Portuguese citizenship (Publico, 2018). While over 12,000 applications were submitted and not all were processed due to a backlog caused by the expected high interest. The majority of applicants were Israeli or Turkish citizens.

The question of identity, its applicability in academia continues to concern researchers in the social sciences and humanities alike. The central debate focuses on the necessary components of what it means to be the person you are, from one day to the next. Personal identity theory is a philosophical confrontation with the ultimate questions of our own existence, such as, who are we, and, is there a life after death? In order to exist after death, Locke stipulated there has to be a person after death, who is the same person as the person who died. Locke holds that personal identity can be transferred from one person to another via consciousness. In recent years, there has been a desire to move away from this term as it can

mean “too much ... too little ... or nothing at all” (Cooper, 2005). Belonging could provide a more nuanced perspective through which to break down and analyse constituent parts that make up a shared identity.

## **1.2. Arts-Based Research Approaches**

“Art-based research can be defined as the systematic use of the artistic process, the actual making of artistic expressions in all of the different forms of the arts, as a primary way of understanding and examining experience by both researchers and the people that they involve in their studies.” Shaun McNiff (Knowles, 2007, p.29)

ABR gained greater recognition when Tom Baron and Elliot Eisner introduced the concept of ‘arts-based educational research’ (Jaeger & Barone, 1997). As writing is an essential aspect of the dissemination of research, most of the earlier works of ABR centred “on the use and analysis of literary art forms in the human sciences with nods to music and the visual arts” (Cahnmann-Taylor, 2008, p.6). This early history has increased projects and theoretical thought within literary based ABR projects; I will refer to literary concepts which are relevant and can be applied within this context. In recent years ABR has been opened up to a greater variety of visual, performative and literary-based theories and practices. Advances in technology have also facilitated the expansion of forms (Knowles & Cole, 2008; Cahnmann & Taylor, 2008). In Figure 3, I have constructed a partial taxonomy with the three main genres of ABR positioned to the left, followed by associated and hybrid methodologies, then modus operandi commonly associated with related disciplines. This is not an exhaustive list since ABR is a constantly expanding and evolving field.

“[Arts-based research is] an effort to utilise the forms of thinking and forms of representation that the arts provide as a means through which the world can be better understood and through such understanding comes the enlargement of mind” (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p.x).

In turn, social researchers have used arts-based praxis to stimulate the senses, uncover the complexity of lived experiences, force us into thinking differently and so as to reach diverse audiences. As Chilton and Leave argue “arts-based ... approaches were embraced as potentially able to provide the participatory, ethical, multi-voiced processes that practice-minded



researchers concerned with social justice sought” (Chilton & Leavy, 2014, p. 405). This ethos can influence all stages of the research process: from identifying research questions and collecting and analysing empirical data, through to presenting and disseminating results. As ABR departs significantly from standard perspectives and covers multiple subject areas, there is greater consideration for defining this evolving field of enquiry as an emergent research paradigm.

Three main genres of Arts-Based Research	Arts-Based Research methods	Other methods used in the humanities and social sciences
<div data-bbox="320 734 477 808" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;">Literary Arts</div> <div data-bbox="320 891 477 965" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;">Performing Arts</div> <div data-bbox="320 1048 477 1115" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">Visual Arts</div>	<div data-bbox="655 734 935 819" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;">Fiction as Research Practice Poetic Inquiry</div> <div data-bbox="655 882 935 972" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;">Playbuilding Enthodrama &amp; Enthoatre Film</div> <div data-bbox="655 1016 935 1137" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">Photography Photovoice Art Journaling Mixed Media</div>	<div data-bbox="1066 831 1345 1025" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; text-align: center;">Ethnographic Fieldwork Oral Histories Grounded Theory</div>

Figure 3: Partial taxonomy of qualitative methodologies and processes used within ABR.

“Fictional explorations allow us to penetrate more freely and intimately into the particular subject matter, to identify with the characters and situations in new ways, and to speak from the perspectives of others.” Shaun McNiff (Knowles, 2007, p.38)

ABR affords the opportunity to rigorously study the empirical worlds and relate this to the fictional worlds we create. Wolfgang Iser was a literary theorist who proposed the concept of *overstepping*; when a “literary work oversteps the real world which it incorporates” (Iser, 1997, p. 1). This process has three fundamental elements; selection, combination and self-disclosure. First we must select an ‘identifiable item’ within the real world and then transport and transform it within the fictitious world by allowing the item to become “a sign for something other than themselves” (Iser, 1997, p. 12). Secondly, we cluster empirical data and meaning around these new fictitious items. Familiar and recognisable elements help to attract and focus the audiences’ attention and entice them into this new environment. The artistic act itself is a fictionalising

process meaning that the work inherently reveals its fictional status. This self-disclosure seals these elements within this new reality. Fiction-based research has the potential to reach broad and diverse audiences, making the outcomes of social research accessible, engaging, and enjoyable. In addition, there are three fundamental aims shared by both fields; to portray the complexity of lived experience (merging the specific to the universal), encouraging empathy and self-reflection, and disrupting ideologies or stereotypes (Leavy, 2013).

There are various visual arts-based participatory methods that can be used when working with research participants. These practices for generating and representing data are commonly part of mixed or multi-method research designs. Photo Elicitation (also commonly referred to as PhotoVoice, Photo Interviewing, Reflective Photography and Photo Novella) is a method whereby participants are asked to express their points of view by taking photographs. This puts participants in the “driver’s seat” and means they can focus discussions on what they wish to communicate. The diverse terminology across multiple disciplines may reflect its broad appeal and applicability. There is an important distinction between Photo Elicitation and PhotoVoice: while the first commonly uses images as a point of departure for interviews or ethnography, the second is based on core values of community-based participatory research and focuses on developing collaborative narratives and influencing change-makers (i.e. policymakers). There are three distinct approaches: participant-driven (open), participant-driven (semi-structured) and researcher-driven (Bates, McCann, Kaye & Taylor, 2017). Epistemological values will inform which approach is most suitable. I will discuss this in greater depth in chapter 2. The aesthetic quality of all these images are typically subordinated. I will incorporate Photo Elicitation methods when conducting interviews as this may encourage deeper reflection, stimulate memory and prompt participants to contribute richer data.

### **1.3. Installation Art**

“The main principle of our work is for the viewer to not think about what the artist is trying to say but instead to feel how the metaphor relates to them. That’s the whole point [...] so that there is no viewer and artist, but that the viewer is exactly the same as the artist. So that the artist could awake in the viewer those very experiences that he himself has.” (Kabakov, 1995, p. 275)

The word ‘installation’ originates from the 1960s when it was used to describe the way in which multiple artworks were arranged within an exhibition. The ‘installation of art’ quickly evolved into ‘installation art’, which now refers to mixed-media constructions that are commonly executed for a specific place and/or a temporary period of time. These installations occupy an entire enclosed space, such as a gallery space where audiences are invited to engage and immerse themselves within the artwork. As Ilya and Emilia Kabakov, renowned Russian/American conceptual artists have stated “the main actor in the ‘total installation’, the main centre towards which everything is addressed, for which everything is intended, is the viewer” (Kabakov, 1995). Installation art differs from traditional media (painting, printmaking, photography, sculpture and video) as it forces the embodied viewer to directly engage with the space, not just visually, but also through their sense of smell, touch and sound. This key characteristic unifies the diversity of forms from installations that heighten sensory perception (i.e. Olafur Eliasson’s *The Weather Project* 2003) to others that display a bare minimum of perceptual stimulus (i.e. Martin Creed’s *Work No. 227: The lights going on and off*, 2000).



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

Figure 4: View of the *International Surrealist Exhibition*, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1938. From left to right: Paul Eluard, Rene Magritte, Leo Male and an anonymous visitor using flashlights to illuminate the artworks. Figure 5: View of the *International Surrealist Exhibition*, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1938.

Installations can be organised into four distinct modalities (Bishop, 2005), each of which construct a different model of the subject. The first organises the subject as psychoanalytical: “work that plunges the viewer into a psychological absorptive, dream-like environment” (Bishop, 2005). The second model is based on French philosopher Maurice

Merleau-Ponty's *The Phenomenology of Perception* (translated into English in 1962) and intensifies the subject's bodily experience. The third centres on Sigmund Freud's idea of libidinal withdrawal and subjective disintegration. The final installation model incorporates poststructuralist critiques of democracy in its political conception of the subject. Not all artworks fit precisely within these four subject orientated categories and many installations cross boundaries. In this section I will focus on the first and final modalities as these are the ones, which are most relevant to my subject. They enable a fictional exploration and immersion into psychological states in addition to allowing for an investigation of various social democratic artistic models for engaging audiences.

Although the term 'installation art' was formalised in the 1960s, the art form has roots reaching back to 1938 when Marcel Duchamp produced the first *International Surrealist Exhibition* at the prestigious Galerie des Beaux-Arts in Paris. As the interior of this established gallery space conflicted with the surrealist aesthetic, the artists decided to disrupt and make dramatic interventions: the red carpet and ornate furniture were removed; 1,200 packed dirty coal sacks were hung from the ceiling obliterating natural light that would have ordinarily filtered in from the skylights above: beds were placed in every corner of the main gallery space: and a pond was installed surrounded by soil, stones and vegetation. Man Ray had designed a sophisticated system for illuminating the paintings using concealed stage lights. However, as it was not ready for the opening night they decided to hand visitors a torchlight to aid their curious examination of their new surroundings (see Figure 4). This environment induces dream-like experiences, similar to those described in Sigmund Freud's 'The Interpretation of Dreams' (1900). Freud's psychoanalytic reading of dreams is based on three main principles: dreams are fundamentally experiential and visual (with auditory fragments), formed of many separate parts that need to be broken down (similar to a rebus), and understood through free-association interpretative methods (Bishop, 2005). These features contribute to what the Kabakovs describe as the 'total installation'.

The idea of 'audience as artist' as formulated by Ilya Kabakov at the beginning of this chapter was explored earlier this year during the Kabakov's exhibition *Not Everyone Will Be Taken Into the Future* at Tate Modern. The centre piece of this show was Ilya Kabakov's autobiographical installation *Labyrinth (My Mother's Album)* created in 1990 (see Figure 6). Unlike the other installations such as *Ten Characters*, 1988, that construct fictional, multi-character universes, *Labyrinth* recounts the tragic life story of Kabakov's mother Bertha

Solodukhina from his own perspective. As you enter the installation you can faintly hear a recording of the artist singing and the long narrow corridor is dimly lit by stark overhead light bulbs making the atmosphere reminiscent of a psychiatric ward. Along the walls a series of dark identical frames are hanging, each containing one or two photographs with typewritten text in the bottom right hand corner. The sense of claustrophobia is heightened as you walk past locked doors, some of which are even left ajar; you reach the end of a corridor and are confronted with another. The melancholic sound of singing becomes louder as you slowly make your way to the centre only to discover a mundane room filled with rubble. This anticipation and anti-climatic sensation is one Kabakov intentionally wants you to experience; you are not expected to identify with him, but become the protagonist: “All the corridors of my life, from earliest childhood on, have been connected with torture of endless anticipation” (Kabakov, 2000). This striking impression is used as a stimulus for exploring life between the wars and during the Soviet-era. This heightened consciousness encourages individual engagement and participation. Kabakov uses text taken from his mother’s memoirs. Additional layers of meaning are constructed when you start to uncover further details and references within the text such as the fact that Kabakov’s mother was Jewish and that they were evacuated from Ukraine during World War II. Installation art is a powerful means for exploring personal experiences, societal environments and inviting audiences to construct multiple layers of meaning around a topic - creating their own perception.



Figure 6: Inside Ilya Kabakov’s *Labyrinth (My Mother’s Album)*, 1990.

“The use of found materials, whose worn patina bears the indexical trace of previous ownership, is prevalent in this type and acts as a further trigger for reflection and free association.” (Bishop, 2005)



Figure 7: Susan Hiller, *From the Freud Museum*, 1991-96.

In 1994 Susan Hiller was commissioned by Book Works and the Freud Museum in London to develop an installation in response to Sigmund Freud’s personal collection of art and antiquities. The work *From the Freud Museum* is a collection of fifty archive boxes with their lids open, presented on two shelves within a vitrine (see Figure 7). The boxes contain ephemeral and everyday objects from Hiller’s own personal collection. They are indexed and each one is given a short and evocative title corresponding to its contents. Hiller critiques anthropological modes of classification, the hierarchy of displayed artefacts and the narratives such collections propose: “... if Freud’s collection is a version of Western civilisation’s heritage, then my collection is an archive of misunderstandings, crises, and ambivalences” (“Tate: From the Freud Museum”). Hiller graduated in the field of anthropology and became a multimedia artist after rejecting anthropology’s objectification of lived experiences (“Susan Hiller: About”). Hiller

intends audiences to become actively involved and create subjective associations and narratives based on the objects and their own lived experiences.



Figure 8: Joseph Beuys, *Hearth II*, 1978-79.

This desire to holistically activate the viewer has political and ethical implications. Artists have created installations urging audiences to question structures of power, authority and marginalisation. Joseph Beuys coined the term ‘social sculpture’ by claiming that “the concept of sculpting can be extended to the invisible materials used by everyone”, thereby regarding thoughts, speech and dialogue as artistic forms. Beuys conceived artistic practice as political action. In the 1970s he founded the Organisation for Direct Democracy through Referendum

and staged exhibitions as a method of political campaigning and engagement. Beuys encourages dialogue between audiences and conceives the viewing subject not as an individual but as a collective. Beuys' piece *Hearth II*, 1978-79 (see Figure 7) is composed of copper and iron rods in circular form (symbolically representing the exchange of ideas) and a stack of grey felt suits. The Kunstmuseum Basel caused a scandal in 1978 when it purchased the original *Hearth I* for 300,000 Swiss francs. This controversy inspired one group to protest during the annual carnival parade in Basel by wearing animal masks and felt suits, and carrying copper rods. Beuys joined in by handing out leaflets opposing the museum acquisition and after the protest was over, collected the discarded suits and incorporated it within a second, expanded installation, *Hearth II*. In that way, he was engaging with and symbolically consolidating multiple viewpoints within one installation.



Figure 9: Grada Kilomba *Secrets to Tell*, 2017, MAAT Museum of Art, Architecture & Technology.

This democratised definition of art has encouraged those outside the field to experiment with artistic forms and practices. Grada Kilomba is an interdisciplinary artist who started off her training in Lisbon in psychoanalysis where she worked at a psychiatry department with war survivors from Angola and Mozambique. Engaging with these personal first-hand experiences



of war and colonisation prompted Kilomba to start writing and develop post-colonial narratives around the theme of collective memory and trauma. In 2008 Kilomba published *Plantation Memories: Episodes of Everyday Racism*, in which she explores day-to-day racism as a psychological reality that suddenly places the Black subject in a colonial scene. Since 2010 Kilomba has transformed her theoretical writings into staged performances and has recently experimented with film, sound and performance within an installation context. The artistic forms referenced in Kilomba's exhibition *Secrets to Tell*, 2017 (see Figure 8) are reminiscent of Beuys' installations. Symbolic narratives are generated by static objects. While Beuys uses felt, copper and wood, Kilomba deploys the products of colonialism: coffee beans, cocoa, sugar and candles. They have both integrated documentary artefacts from their own public lectures: Beuys' blackboard markings have been preserved and Kilomba screens video recordings. They both use performance as a form of political action: while Beuys seeks to enhance democratic processes, Kilomba forces audiences to confront the legacy of colonialism.

The effects of Brexit could be investigated through a variety of visual, musical and performance-based art forms. I think installation art is the most effective visual art form as it impresses on the individual to not only cognitively, but physically respond to and reflect on the exhibition topic. Whereas traditional media like painting represents space, light, texture and so on, installation art directly presents these phenomena to the viewer. This embodied experience 'activates' the viewer. Making them use their other senses often leads to greater and more intense experiences, as compared to conventional media that just requires optical observation. Also emerging in the 1960s and a key concept at the heart of installation art is the idea of the 'decentred subject'. Here, viewers are no longer required to position themselves in front of artworks for the optimum viewpoint (especially for painting that deploys linear perspective). Instead, this central position is "intrinsically dislocated [...] fragmented, multiple and decentred - by [their] unconscious desires and anxieties, by an interdependent and differential relationship to the world" (Bishop, 2005). This approach breaks free from classical conceptions of the 'centred subject', which is ostensibly "white, male and conservative" (Bishop, 2005). This poststructuralist concept was especially influential to art critics who were sensitive to feminist and postcolonial discourses. Installation art encourages these various intersubjective viewpoints, which I hope will lead to richer and more rewarding reflective experiences.

# 2. Methods

## 2.1. Reflection on Grounded Theory Methodology

GTM is a qualitative research methodology initially developed by sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) that systematically generates theory from empirical data in response to the research conventions of the 1960s. At this time, GTM enabled researchers to generate novel theories and to “bridge the gap between the theoretically ‘uninformed’ empirical research and empirically ‘uninformed’ theory” (Goulding, 1998, p. 51). GTM is a set of rigorous research procedures leading to the emergence of conceptual categories. These concepts/categories are related to each other as a theoretical explanation of the research question. The first procedure is coding your data: breaking it down into conceptual components and exploring how they can relate to each other to form a more inclusive concept. The researcher keeps notes and generates memos laying out their observations and insights. Once a coding category emerges, the next step is to link them together using comparative analysis and to create a theoretical model that pins everything together. The researcher continues to collect and analyse data (including pre-existing documents such as historical articles) until they reach a saturation point when new observations do not yield new findings.

Since its inception, GTM has increasingly been applied to projects inside and outside of sociology. This broad application has influenced its evolution and over time Glaser and Strauss found that they held differing paradigmatic perspectives on what constitutes a ‘classical’ GTM approach. This division is underpinned by fundamental differences in ontological (a researcher’s view of reality), epistemological (how knowledge is gained to justify this reality) and methodological assumptions. This resulted in the formation of two core viewpoints: the objectivist/positivist Glaserian approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and relativist/constructivist Straussian approach (Charmaz, 2014). The initial positivist form of GTM examines reality as an external, immovable “truth” that can be investigated and accepted through objective, prejudice-free considerations of the researcher. This inflexible approach requires preserving strict adherence to methodological procedures, regardless of project circumstances. This yields “generalised, explanatory theory of a process, action, or interaction that intends to transcend

time and context” (Groen, Simmons & McNair, 2017). The second form of GTM developed out of Charmaz’s social constructivist perspective. This worldview examines individuals as products of society. Charmaz was also a student of Strauss and was influenced by his symbolic interactionist perspective - namely the acknowledgement of the researcher’s and the participant’s individual agency in the context-dependent and co-creative construction of knowledge in all its multiple forms. This dynamic approach requires a flexible and iterative application of GTM. See Table 1 (Groen et al., 2017) for a summary of each viewpoint.

	Objective/Positivist (Glaser & Strauss, 1967)	Relative/Constructivist (Charmaz, 2014)
Ontology	Realist	Relativist
Epistemology	Objective	Subjective/Interpretivist
Impact on methods	Promotes strict adherence to steps embedded within the research approach	Highlights flexibility; resists mechanical application
Product of grounded theory research	Generalised, explanatory theory of a process, action, or interaction that transcends time and context	Subjective, descriptive theory of a process, action, or interaction dependent on time and context

Table 1: Paradigmatic assumption and characteristics of grounded theory methodologies (Groen et al., 2017).

Groen recommends considering three key questions when deciding which type of GTM is most appropriate for your research project: “Which grounded theory approach supports my research aims?”, “How do I see myself interacting with my participants and my data?” and “What are my values as a researcher, and how do they influence my work?” (Groen et al., 2017). In answer to these questions, it is clear for the following three reasons that the Straussian form of GTM is most suitable for this study. Firstly, the philosophical beliefs that underpin ABR approaches form an “aesthetic intersubjective paradigm” (Chilton et al., 2015) which makes it an ideal platform for hosting subjective and interpretative methods (I will discuss this in greater detail in the subsequent chapter); the integration of GTM within an artistic framework is a core aim of this project. Secondly, Straussian GTM encourages researchers to use reflexivity as a means to further analysis while the Glaserian approach rejects reflexivity altogether. Thirdly, the Straussian approach enables me to be a more active contributor and acknowledge “personal priorities, positions, and values” (Chilton et al., 2015). In contrast, the Glaserian GTM requires

the maintenance of a “neural, expert, and passive researcher perspective” (Chilton et al., 2015). As such, Straussian principles align closer with my personal motivations, beliefs and character.

Interpretive thematic analysis has been used within literary arts-based research genres such as poetic inquiry. Autobiographical poetry can be used as qualitative data, as a means of representation, and as a technique of inquiry. GTM has been applied to several ABR literary projects for analysing poems and as a basis for generating poetry (Furman, Langer, Davis, Gallardo & Kulkarni, 2007). Storytellers embark on intensive and wide-ranging research in order to achieve verisimilitude, akin to social scientists as they disseminate their findings. “Verisimilitude refers to the creation of a realistic, authentic, and life-like portrayal, and it is the goal of both fiction and established social science practices like ethnography” (Leavy, 2014, p. 415). There are numerous differences between textual and visual data. However referring to relevant processes, tools and theories from other ABR genres will nevertheless enrich discussions and facilitate the development of a specific methodological framework.

This project primarily analyses text-based data, in addition to auxiliary visual materials. Although GTM accepts data in all its forms, there is a lack of attention when it comes to processing visual materials. There are only two Visual Grounded Theory Methodological (VGTM) approaches available. The first, advanced by sociologist Krzysztof Konecki (2011) develops the concept of ‘multislice imagining’. This specific methodology emphasises the following: factors surrounding the creation of images, participation with communicating images, content and formal qualities, and its presentation to an audience. “Understanding of the visual process is possible only by the full description of the multilayered context of visualisation” (Konecki, 2011).

Multislice imagining provide “the grammar of narratives” (Tavory and Timmermans, 2009) that frame empirical data and lead to theoretical sampling and saturation. The second approach, formulated by psychologists Mey and Dietrich (2016) integrates theoretical elements from relevant academic disciplines: art history and cultural semiotics. The procedural steps of this VGTM framework start with contextualisation: this data can also be used as an indicator for image formation. This is followed by a thick description of the image elements. This is not simply an inventory list, but “an active construction” (May & Dietrick, 2016) allowing for the interpretation to emerge. The image then follows a segmentation process, when it is scrutinised using compositional analysis in the Documentary Method tradition, line of sight analysis or a

combination of both. This third, more arduous option allows the line of sight analysis to legitimise the outcomes from the more conventional compositional analysis. Visual elements within the image are then broken down, coded, documented in memos and registered in a code list. This leads to interpretation and the formation of integrated textual and visual material within conceptual categories and subcategories. This is followed by theoretical sampling and saturation.

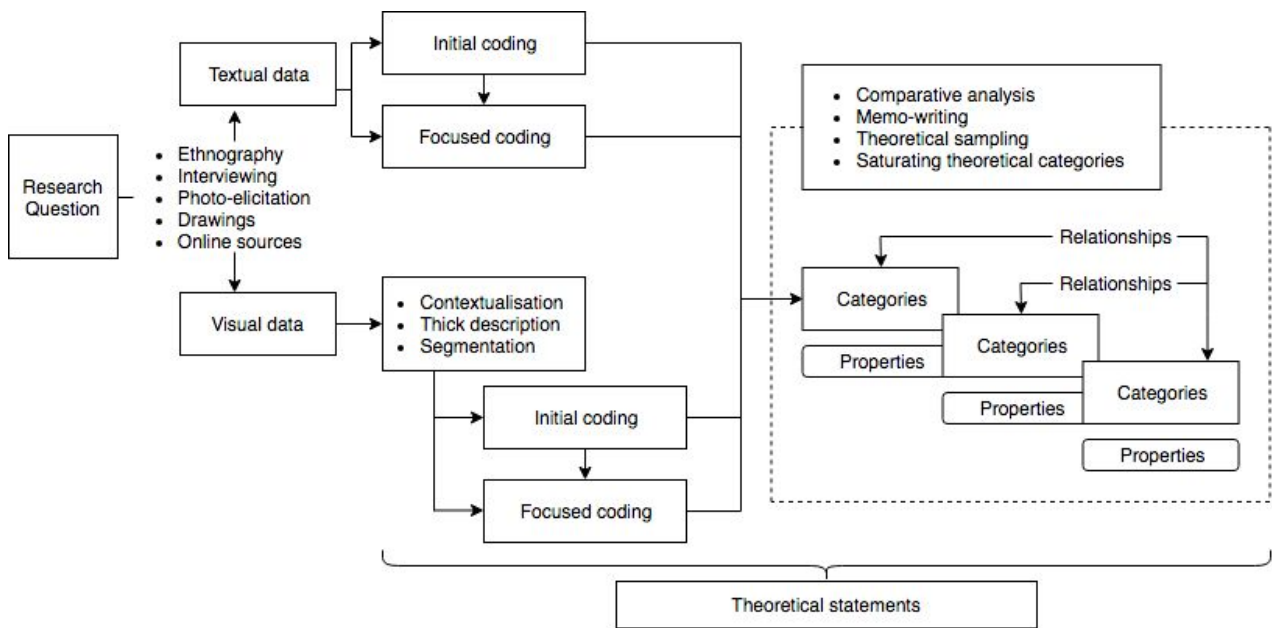


Figure 10: Methodological framework developed for this study based on Charmaz’s GT approach (2014) as well as Mey and Dietrich’s VGTM (2016).

Mey and Dietrich’s approach allows us to interpret the image directly, while Konecki’s structure requires us to first translate the image into text and then interpret this textual data. Mey and Dietrich’s VGTM is also unique as it offers a method for concurrently analysing both textual and visual data. Interpretation between these two forms is compared to ensure they follow the same discursive frame. These defining differences demonstrate that Mey and Dietrich’s method is most suitable for this study (see Figure 5 for a visualisation).

## 2.2. Recruitment

Investigating this social phenomenon requires a qualitative approach focusing on information-rich cases. As such, purposeful sampling is the most appropriate recruitment strategy as it allows me to freely identify relevant participants who will produce the richest data. However, it has been incredibly challenging locating such individuals. Firstly, target participants live in the UK whilst I am based in Portugal. Secondly, the size of the community is especially small. In the 2011 UK census 269,568 (0.4%) people identified as Jewish out of a total population of over 63 million (Statistical Bulletin, 2012). In 2010 only 2,930 (3.5%) out of 82,963 UK Jewish households were members of a Sephardi synagogue (Abramson, Graham & Boyd, 2011). They constitute a minority within a minority. Thirdly, orthodox synagogues and Jewish community centres in London are heavily protected by security who only grant access for those within the community or officially recognised guests.

The S&P Sephardi Community requires getting approval from the Executive Director before speaking to anyone within the synagogue. In early 2017 I was in contact with Alison Rosen, who was then the Executive Director. She had arranged for a community volunteer to help me with conducting interviews. After a long period of silence, I found out that Alison had left this role and was replaced by David Arden in early 2018. This personnel change was detrimental to my recruitment plan. It encouraged me to employ other methods such as posting announcements on Jewish social media community groups, speaking to people within Jewish establishments (i.e. restaurants, groceries, religious shops), posting hard copy notices in shop windows within Jewish areas (i.e. Golders Green, London and Cheetham, Manchester) and speaking to friends and university colleagues.

The snowball sampling strategy became most effective. A Jewish friend put me in touch with a Brazilian Sephardi Jew who was considering applying for Portuguese citizenship (participant A). She put me in touch with her father (participant B), who suggested I speak to his cousin (participant C) who lives in the UK. My UCL employer put me in touch with participant D, who also acted as a key informant/gatekeeper as she is a proactive Sephardi community leader with many connections and was enthusiastic with helping me recruit participants (E and F). Informants A and B volunteer as archivists at The S&P Sephardi Community. They investigate genealogy and certify documents for applicants who wish to trace their ancestry. Citizenship applicants then forward documents to either the Jewish Community of Oporto or to

the Jewish Community of Lisbon who then certify an additional document which is then forwarded to the Portuguese Ministry of Justice. This process takes about eight months to complete. Informant C certifies documents at the Kadoorie Synagogue, Porto.

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Age	29	67	54	73	82	49
Sex	Female	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female
Place of birth	Rio	Baghdad	Rio	London	London	London
Lives in	Rio	Rio	Reading	London	London	London
Citizenship	Brazilian	Brazilian	British & Brazilian	British	British	British
Highest educational stage	University	University	University	University	University	University
Recruitment contact	Friend of a friend of mine	Participant A's father	Participant B's cousin	Employer at UCL put us in touch	Part of participant D's network	Participant D's niece
Considered applying for Portuguese citizenship?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ancestral links to Portugal	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Applying for Portuguese citizenship?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
First interview	20/11/17	17/11/17	15/12/17	17/12/17	16/02/18	08/05/18
Platform	Skype	Skype	Skype	Telephone	Face-to-face	Telephone
Second interview	N/A	N/A	N/A	23/05/18	29/05/18	27/06/18
Platform	N/A	N/A	N/A	Telephone	Telephone	Telephone

Table 2: Participant demographics and other relevant information taken at the time of the first interview.

At the beginning of this project I wanted to explore various socio-economic characteristics for British Sephardi Jews and consider interviewing participants with the same traits (see table 2

for participant demographics and other relevant information). It was difficult to adopt a systematic approach and target specific participants without the help of The S&P Sephardi Community executive office. Also the limited project timeframe has restricted the scope of participant involvement. I will discuss these limitations with recruitment in greater detail in chapter 6. To summarise it was not my intention for participants to be representative of the British Sephardi Jewish community, rather to explore and draw attention to wider questions of belonging, political caesura, historical continuity, individual and collective agency, political mobilisation and power.

### **2.3. Interview Procedures**

It is vital to conduct in-depth participant interviews in order to gain an insightful appreciation of the effects of Brexit and these governmental citizenship policies. Various and differing research traditions have resulted in an array of perspectives on how to carry out in-depth interviews. One of these is the ‘traveler metaphor’ (Kvale, 1996), which falls within the constructivist research model and views knowledge as developed, created and negotiated through conversations between the interviewee and the interviewer. This approach can take the form of semi-structured interviews. This involved adopting a general framework that allows participants to talk freely, get a little sidetracked and render their own account of the topic. As I am employing a Straussian GTM approach and developing an arts installation, I think it is appropriate to use this heuristic approach and to recognise my contribution to the project’s outcomes.

In-depth interviews should have these key features: combine structure with flexibility, interactive, include follow-up questions and have a sense that new knowledge will be generated (Legard, 2003). Researchers should harness their ability to listen, remember discussion points and to maintain a clear, logical mind (Legard, 2003). Curiosity is also an essential attribute as well as an interest and respect for participants (Thompson, 2000). Legard (2003) sets out six clear stages for an in-depth interview: arrival, introducing the research, beginning the interview, during the interview, ending the interview and after the interview. I have categorised my interview script into three segments. The first focuses on general enquiries (content mapping questions), e.g. “How do you feel about Brexit?” The second and third are for in-depth probing (using some content mapping questions, but predominantly content mining questions), e.g.



“How would you describe the Sephardi community?” and “What links do you have to Spain and/or Portugal?” Content mining questions can be assorted into four broad groups: amplification, exploratory, explanatory and classificatory (Legard, 2003). Keeping summary comments to a minimum is important as it will potentially broaden the analysis and encourage diverse perspectives relating to the data. During the third segment of face-to-face interviews I will ask participants if we can take a twenty-minute pause in order for me to make an observational drawing and take photographs. The intention is to create a silent intermission for me to jot down observations, but also for the participant to reflect on the questions asked and consider anything else they would like to add. Drawing may become a springboard to further in-depth conversations. These artistic methods will be an aid and further stimulus when transforming primary data into an interactive multimedia installation.

I initially concluded that the photo-elicitation participant-driven (semi-structured) approach (Bates et al., 2017) was most suitable for this project as I thought it struck a good balance between participant expression and the researcher’s guidance. I included the question “Can you show me an image of what Brexit means for you?” Participants could select an image or create one themselves. The chosen image/s would be used as a starting point for the second interview. At the end of the first interview with participant D, I realised this approach was too broad (in terms of image selection) yet thematically too restrictive, complex and abstract; that a participant-driven (open) approach to the theme would facilitate richer results. Although these interviews follow a semi-structured format, it is important to consider the shifting balance between researcher and participant driven approaches across the various parts of an interview. More power needs to be handed to the participants and a more open question would help break down diverse and even conflicting thoughts relating to Brexit. For the remaining interviews, I used the question “Can you show me an image that relates to this topic?” (see appendix E for the second version of the interview scripts). Participant E showed me a photo of his family towards the end of our first interview without being prompted. If I had asked him to show me an image of what Brexit means for him, I doubt an image would come to mind. Yet for him a family photo is relevant and important. This demonstrates that an open approach to the thematic content may empower participants to share pertinent images.

When conducting interviews I tried to refrain from offering personal information, however this has not always been possible as some participants have been curious about my personal motivations. Their interest can be further aroused as I am not part of the Sephardic community,

this can be assumed by my ethnicity (for interviews conducted face-to-face) and my non-Jewish name. Their concern can manifest at the start of the interview when participants ask questions after I introduce the topic or at the end when we engage in small talk before parting ways. There is a debate about whether or not interviewers should disclose personal views and details about themselves. Disclosure can be problematic as it may inhibit the interviewee and influence responses. On the other hand, some researchers such as Ann Oakley regard interviews as a reciprocal exchange in which researchers should express some feelings as there is 'no intimacy without reciprocity' (Oakley, 1981). As such, after the initial batch of interviews, I decided to spend an extra moment at the beginning of each new interview, when introducing the research to overcome my outsider status by mentioning my migration from the UK to Portugal as one of my motivations for initiating this project. I also changed the grammatical form of the interview script from third-person to first-person. I share a great deal with participants, including my country of upbringing, educational background, place of residence, gender and native spoken language. These aspects have helped to build rapport and overcome my ethnic and religious outsider status.

It was my intention at the start to fully transcribe all interviews. This meticulous approach would help with fully understanding the responses from interviewees, but also when coding and categorising data during the analysis phase. I used YouTube automatic transcription software, available free of charge when uploading a video onto the online video sharing platform. Unfortunately the software provides inaccurate results, especially when transcribing spoken words from non-native English language speakers or if the quality of the recording is poor. As a result, I had to repetitively listen carefully to the audio recordings and correct content where necessary. As each interview lasted approximately one hour, it became an incredibly time-consuming task and not a good use of time for all the interviews. After fully transcribing the first two (with participants A and B) I decided to take notes and only transcribe specific relevant sections for my interview with participant C, informant C and the second interview with participant F. I could always return to the recording at a later stage and transcribe other relevant sections if needed. I decided to take the time to fully transcribe interviews conducted with participants D, E and F as well as informants A and B as their testimonies will form the bedrock of my analysis.

It was my preference to conduct face-to-face interviews as opposed to interviews over the telephone for three main reasons: personal contact makes it easier to build rapport and develop

trust, enables responses to non-verbal communication and facilitates richer data (including observational drawings and photographs). I had flown to the UK on four separate occasions (July 2017, November 2017, February 2018 and May 2018) specifically to conduct face-to-face interviews, however there were numerous challenges and barriers that prevented me from interviewing all participants in person. During these trips I kept a journal to record: on-the-fly notes, summary notes and reflexivity notes. I have enhanced data collection procedures by incorporating relevant ethnographic and artistic methods in order to provide greater insight. The outcomes of these methods will be especially useful when I move onto the next stage: constructing a multimedia installation.

### 3. Results

“The actual research you conduct through analysing your data likely differs at least somewhat-from what you may have planned earlier in a research or grant proposal. We learn through studying our data.” Kathy Charmaz (2006)

There were numerous unexpected ideas and themes that emerged after the initial coding. This preliminary stage thus helped refine and focus the interview script for future participants, but also to test out hypotheses and ask follow up questions during the second interview. I broke down interview transcripts into component parts, employed line-by-line coding, extracted implicit and explicit actions and meanings, compared data and identified gaps. I regularly revisited and compared interview scripts, field notes and visual observations.

Initial coding	Transcript
Long history Expulsion Perpetrators of Jewish descent Perpetrators’ considerations Conversion to catholicism Childhood innocence Word of mouth Discovery of passover central to being revealed as Jewish. Reason for fleeing. Passover - linking ancestors to present day practice. History providing sense of belonging. Persecution Casualty	The church had persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella to expel the Jews, which they did. They were both, Ferdinand and Isabella partly of Jewish descent. I think Ferdinand actually had a Jewish mother. And Dom Alvaro (Alvaro of Braganza), who was the Chancellor. They gave him a special dispensation to stay with his family without conversion but he chose to go to Lisbon but only a very few years later (about four or five years) they, all the Jews of Portugal were forcibly converted without the option of even leaving. Our family, the story is that one of them a young female member of the family, had a best friend who was the niece of a Grand Inquisitor when she revealed to her friend that the family had just celebrated Passover. Her friend told her uncle and I know that one member of the family was actually burnt at the stake and the rest left in a great hurry.

Table 3: Extract from the first interview transcript with participant E.

Date	Historical event	Participants' family connections
1066	William the Conqueror's arrival and invasion of Britain.	Participant E may have family roots with Jews who came over from Rouen with William the Conqueror.
1492	Ferdinand and Isabella instigate the Alhambra Decree formalising the Jewish expulsion from Spain.	Ferdinand may have had a Jewish mother.
1497	Jewish expulsion from Portugal	
1440-1504	Álvaro of Braganza (Dom Álvaro)	Dom Álvaro fled Portugal, similar to participant E's ancestors and may in fact be a direct ancestor.
1506	The great massacre in Lisbon	Participant E's ancestors left Portugal just before the great massacre.
1509-1583	Fernão Mendes Pinto	Participant E's uncle's family tree shows decent from Fernão Mendes Pinto and he "was very close to the Jesuits but that doesn't stop him having actually been a secret Jew."
1638-1705	Catherine of Braganza	One of participant E's ancestors was the personal physician to Catherine of Braganza.
1703	Methuen Treaty	Following the treaty, informants A and B state "Lisbon became a free port, so some people managed to escape the Inquisition's clutches" and fled directly to the UK.
1755	The Great Lisbon earthquake	
1784-1885	Sir Moses Montefiore	Sir Moses Montefiore's wife, Lady Judy Montefiore was a direct ancestor of participant D and F. Lady Montefiore published a cookbook and is credited with introducing the family tradition of eating cold fried fish during Passover.
1804-1881	Benjamin Disraeli	Participant E's uncle explored possible ancestral connections with Disraeli (Ex-British Prime Minister).
1819-1901	Queen Victoria	Sir Moses Montefiore was friendly with Queen Victoria.
1860-1933	Horatio Bottomley	Populist Member of Parliament who attacked foreigners living in the UK, such as participant E's grandfather.
1935-1958	Faisal II of Iraq	Participant B lived in Iraq during the reign of King Faisal II.

Table 4: Important historical figures and events alongside familial connections as referenced throughout all the in-depth interviews.

One of the major themes to emerge was the participants' acute awareness of the historical context surrounding the lived experiences of their ancestors, but also how they and the wider Jewish community are intimately connected with this history. My aim is not to interrogate testimonies for truthfulness; this project seeks to unearth participants' world view, experiences and motivations. Even before officially starting the interview, participant E was already giving me the political context specifically relating to his ancestors who fled Lisbon (see Table 3 for an extract of the interview transcript). Participants may have felt obliged to recount this history due to my outsider status, however this was a recurrent theme throughout the interviews and even if they knew I was not Jewish, one can assume I would have researched the relevant historical context. Participant E goes on to mention "the Jews who came over with William the Conqueror came mainly from Rouen, where there was an old Jewish community." Participant B introduces himself by stating "I was born in Baghdad, Iraq in January 1951 which at the time was still under British rule. There was the king of Iraq, Faisal II who was killed, I believe in 1959." Participant D states "the court Jews were Sephardi in Spain perhaps Morocco they were Sephardi, Moses Montefiore was perhaps in that tradition he was friendly with Queen Victoria." Participants commonly referred to the monarchy and parliamentarians. It seems as though an understanding of and the exposition of familial connections to a historical context constitute vital aspects of their narrative that ground participants and give them a sense of belonging (see Table 4).

Upon further inspection, it is intriguing to note the parallels between this personal narration and canonical Jewish stories from the Bible and Torah. Consider for instance the striking similarities between participant E's Portuguese origin story relating to his ancestors (see Table 3) and the story of the Exodus, celebrated during Passover. This epic recounts the Israelites who were forced to flee Egypt and left in such a hurry that they could not wait for bread dough to rise (leaven); this is the origin of eating unleavened bread during Passover. This biblical story is told in the Book of Exodus. Participant E narrated his Portuguese origin story at the beginning of our first interview, demonstrating its significance and centrality.

The application process is being led by the family elders; participant D (73 years old) is leading the process for her and her daughter, while participant E (82 years old) is managing and financing the whole procedure for him, his four daughters and four grandsons. In the Book of Genesis, Abraham was 75 years old when he received a calling from God to leave Haran with his wife Sarai and nephew Lot and travel to the land of Canaan. It is after this calling that all the

significant biblical narrations involving Abraham occur, including; migration to Egypt, battle of Siddim, covenant (which circumcision was a sign), Abraham's plea and the sacrifice of Isaac. In Judaism Abraham is considered the founding father of the Covenant, the special relationship between the Jewish people and God. Jewish rituals and liturgy merge Jews past and present with those across different geographical locations; similarities and shared experiences are amplified while differences are diminished. Individuals are able to recount, remember and empathise with episodes that they themselves did not personally experience. In this way "the many communities of Judaism are unified into a single people and the experiences of many Jews into a single story" (Wieseltier, 1984). Historian Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi argues that this traditional collective Jewish memory that dissipate time and space is at odds with contemporary Jewish historiography. The foundations of historiography are based on accentuating differences between past and present, thus leading to an understanding of progress over time. This 'rupture' started after the expulsion when in the 16th century the historical attitude became "the single most sustained Jewish intellectual effort in modern times" (Yerushalmi, 1984).

Participants empathised with the perspective of important historical figures, even those who acted as persecutors. Participant E states a number of times King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I's strong Jewish connections, stating "they were both, partly of Jewish descent ... most noble families in Spain have Jewish connections, including the royal family." Participant E continues "one wonders whether they had any attachment to the Jewish community ... had they not been under the pressure of the church whether they would have had more friendly connections ... because some of their relations were Jewish ... certainly something I was aware of as a child". Here the wider political circumstances and systems that led to these acts of persecution are referenced. Participant E uses this phrase "I was aware of [it] as a child" on multiple occasions, suggesting that this knowledge relating to ancestors was passed down from generation to generation and was an integral part of childhood.

Historical narratives such as the expulsion story centre on persecution and marginalisation, leading ultimately to escaping such conditions. Brexit is causing anxiety within the community due to the rise of anti-semitism in the UK and the possibility of losing freedom of access to Europe. Participants living in the UK also spend a great deal of time in other European countries; some even own properties in France. They are concerned about losing the freedom to travel, migrate, study abroad and work abroad.

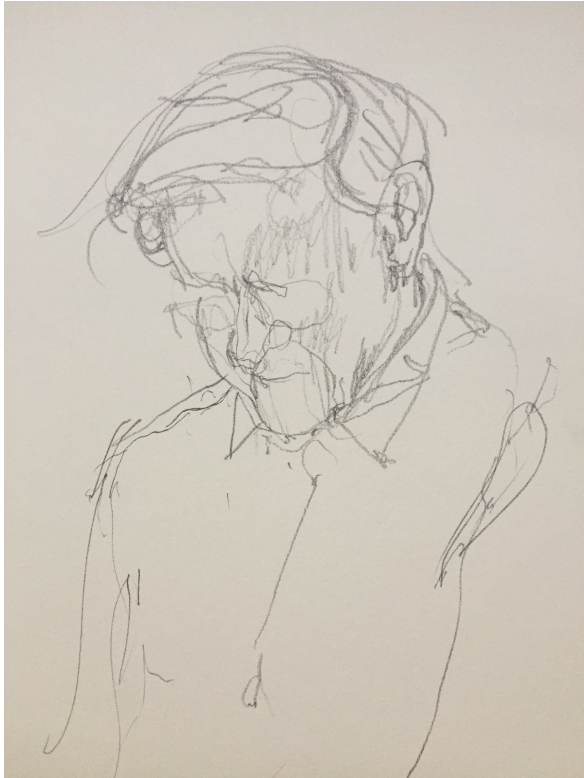


Fig. 11

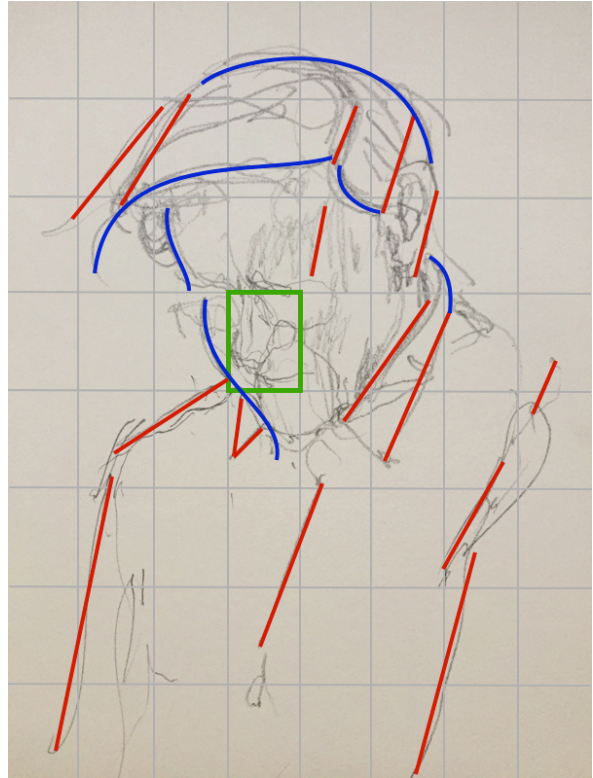


Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Figure 11: Observational sketch of participant E during the first interview.  
Figure 12: Superimposed planimetric lines on top of sketch. Figure 13: Photo of participant E with his wife in the background. Figure 14: Superimposed perspectival lines on top of Figure 13.

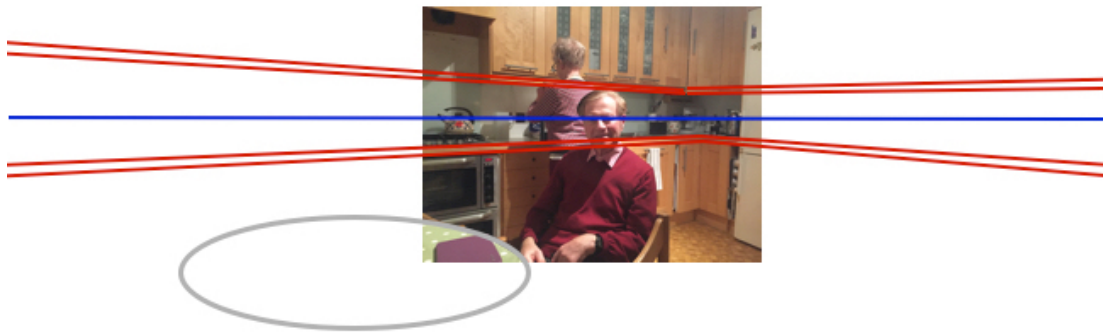


Fig. 14





Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 19



Fig. 18

Figures 15 and 17-19: Francis Treuherz (Shamash) giving me a tour of Lauderdale Road Synagogue. Figure 16: Superimposed planimetric lines on Figure 15.

I made an observational sketch and took a photograph of participant E (see Figures 11-14). We met at his home as it was most convenient; he had just returned after travelling from France. As I arrived he made some tea: see two kettles in the background of the photo (one on the left on top of the cooker, the other on the far right by the fridge freezer). We conducted the interview in the kitchen dining area. The drawing and photo was taken from my seated position in one of the corners of the room. As I wanted to capture him in a natural state I didn't choreograph him into a pose. I casually got out my drawing materials while he picked up his tablet. As I finished the sketch, his wife walked past to open a bottle of wine and offered me a glass. I asked the subjects if I could take a photo. He took off his spectacles especially for the photo and put them back on afterwards. The purple tablet case is in the foreground of the photo (see Figure 14) on top of the table (marked in grey), the subject is in the middle-ground and the subject's wife in the background. The kitchen cabinets give us an impression of the space (see red lines) and we sense that the single point perspective projection leads to a vanishing line (marked in blue) that crosses the subjects eyes. This clear demarcation of zones increases the audiences' spatial awareness of the environment and where the photographer is within this space. This composition gives us the feeling that we can reach out and touch the tablet. The photo documents the subject, the subject's wife, their environment and me.

The planimetric composition of the drawing is asymmetrical (see Figure 12) with the hardest worked area just off the centre point (the subject's nose, marked within the green rectangle). Most of the prominent lines (marked in red) follow the direction of light (coming from the light bulb behind the subject) lead our attention down to the subject's tablet: the focal point is outside the picture frame. Curved lines (marked in blue) connect diagonal lines and further lead our attention to the tablet as the subject searches for family photos to show. The drawing layout is portrait, while the photo is landscape: the drawing focusses on the subject while the photo captures the context. During my interview with informants A and B, Francis Treuherz (Warden at the S&P Lauderdale Road synagogue) popped by the office to see one of the informants and offered to give me a tour of the synagogue (see Figures 15-19). All photos are asymmetrical and taken at an angle, in contract to the synagogue's architecture and layout. They all capture Francis within his environment; there are no photos of Francis outside the synagogue nor photos of the synagogue without him. Photography is used not as a method of documenting people, objects or places, but for capturing lived environments. These photos will be referred to in the following chapter as I develop a multimedia installation.

Categories				
Collective narratives	Persecution	Family	Challenges	Political views
<p>Portuguese authorities discover ancestors celebrating passover - central to being revealed as Jewish. Key event initiating escape from Portugal.</p> <p>Passover is a central practice linking ancestors to present day activities.</p> <p>Referencing historical figures provides a sense of belonging and connections to a place. Long history.</p> <p>History providing a sense of belonging and elevates and possibly substantiates heritage</p> <p>Imagining survival process, unknown burial site. Casualty along the way.</p> <p>Privately Jewish at the service of Catherine of Braganza.</p>	<p>Monitoring/ surveillance by perpetrators.</p> <p>Expulsion</p> <p>Perpetrators of Jewish descent, perpetrators' considerations.</p> <p>Conversion to catholicism</p> <p>Living in hiding - minority community.</p> <p>Criticising perpetrators.</p> <p>Mass murderer. Hoards of potential attackers</p> <p>Society suppressing communities - lack of societal self-reflection.</p> <p>Facing imprisonment</p> <p>Small communities experiencing loss</p>	<p>Family heritage - oral history tradition. Family connections creating a sense of belonging. Investigating ancestors. Tracing and making roots</p> <p>Empathy with relations that were tortured</p> <p>Childhood innocence, migrating as a child</p> <p>Gap with pre-Portuguese C15 family-tree.</p> <p>Coming of age ceremony and gaining rights from descent. Transfer of rights to other family members. Family as one unit.</p> <p>Membership of liberal synagogue since his father joined in 1920s.</p> <p>Visiting exhibitions with family. Maybe new family connections yet to discover.</p>	<p>Language barriers</p> <p>Accessing archives</p> <p>Brexit prompting citizenship application and membership of S&amp;P synagogue</p> <p>Brexit affecting feelings of being a European citizen, feelings of belonging.</p> <p>Remaining European - protecting family. Belonging and having roots in Europe. Being European offers protections.</p> <p>Britain votes contrary to its interests.</p> <p>Nomadic cultures creating sophisticated artefacts.</p>	<p>Identifies with liberal Jewish attitudes</p> <p>Liberal attitudes towards Jewish dietary and clothing rules.</p> <p>Horrified by Brexit - breaking bonds leads to destruction and are permanent.</p> <p>Doesn't identify with extreme right-wing and nationalists.</p> <p>Nationalists being miserable until having contact with foreigners</p> <p>European culture as integrated and one entity.</p>

Table 5: Five categories formed by grouping together focused coding.

A second recurring theme relates to the family. All participants heard about the citizenship policy either from direct or distant family members and they all decided to apply as a family unit and furthermore thought about how their close non-Jewish family could also attain citizenship once they had. Participant D is applying with her daughter; participant E with his four daughters and four grandsons. Participant C states "I guess if I ever do have kids this could open up the opportunity for them. I mean that's what I tell all my cousins and my family because you never know what doors may open." I had planned to ask participant E to think about and show me an image that relates to this topic, however while making an observational drawing of him, he got out this tablet and showed me a picture of this family and a diagram of his family ancestral tree. This silent moment gave him the time to reflect and present visual data that led to further discussion.

Participant E's family photo is one he took himself during the Christmas holidays a few years ago. As he has non-Jewish family members, they use this opportunity to spend time together as a family. Not all the family are in the photo; he is also behind the lens. It is the afternoon and they have just finished lunch and now relaxing in the living room. It is an informal and intimate photo with everyone smiling or laughing. Participant E showed me this picture and identified his family members; his family are very important to him and a central motivation for applying for citizenship. He emailed me another, more formal photo of his family (see Figure 20) after our second interview. This subsequent photo was taken by a professional photographer; their standing positions were choreographed. It was taken in Scotland in September 2014 during his daughter's wedding. She is standing in the centre (person marked 'I' where horizontal midpoint in blue meets the vertical midpoint in Green within Figure 21). He asked his daughter to forward me this image. The family are positioned around his daughter; to the right are female family members and to the left are the male members. There has since been two additions to the family; his daughters have had two more children. Participant E mentioned that his grandsons have since grown enormously, four of them are over six feet tall (persons A, B, C and E in Figure 21). Wedding photography can be considered an important field that helps forge and maintain links between culture, society and individuals. Marriage is an important life course touchstone in the citizenship process. Not only do applicants need to provide marriage certificates to authorities, they also intend to pass on their new citizenship rights to non-Jewish partners.



Fig. 20

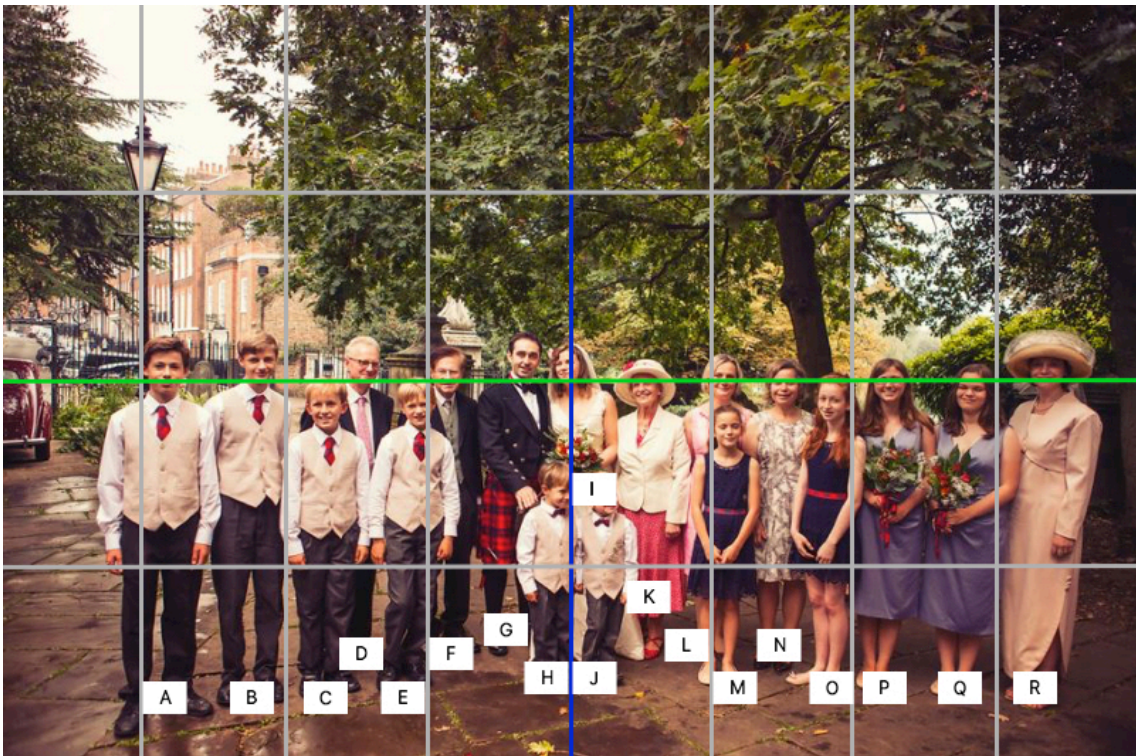


Fig. 21

Figure 20: Photo of participant E's family taken in 2014 during his daughter's wedding.

Figure 21: Superimposed planimetric lines and index of people from Figure 20.

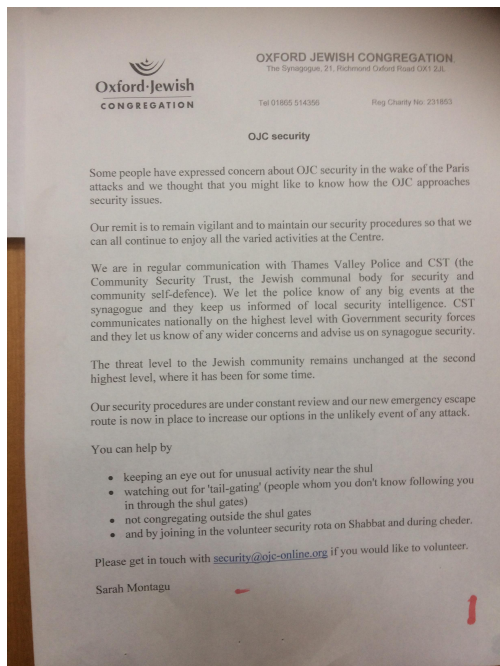


Fig 22.

Figure 22: Photo provided by participant F. Table 6: Written text contained within the announcement in Figure 22.

## OJC security

Some people have expressed concern about OJC security in the wake of the Paris attacks and we thought that you might like to know how the OJC approached security issues.

Our remit is to remain vigilant and to maintain our security procedures so that we can all continue to enjoy all the varied activities at the Centre.

We are in regular communication with Thames Valley Police and CST (the Community Security Trust, the Jewish communal body for security and community self-defence). We let the police know of any big events at the synagogue and they keep us informed of local security intelligence. CST communicates nationally on the highest level with Government security forces and they let us know of any wider concerns and advise us on synagogue security.

The threat level to the Jewish community remains unchanged at the second highest level, where it has been for some time.

Our security procedures are under constant review and our new emergency escape route is now in place to increase our options in the unlikely event of any attack.

### You can help by

- keeping an eye out for unusual activity near the shul
- watching out for 'tail-gating' (people whom you don't know following you in through the shul gates)
- not congregating outside the shul gates
- and by joining in the volunteer security rota on Shabbat and during cheder.

Table 6.

Other recurring themes centre on persecution, overcoming challenges and participants' political beliefs (see table 5 for a list of the five main categories with corresponding focused coding); bear in mind there is data that traverses categories. On several occasions participants had expressed discomfort and became distressed when recounting stories of persecution. Participant E states "apparently Catherine of Braganza did go back to Lisbon to witness the

burning at the stake of his [participant E's] relative who was, even though the torture didn't confess to being a secret Jew [they had killed him anyway] and they used to call these auto-da-fé - an act of faith to witness this terrible event [burning at the stake]." These acts of public punishment and executions were rituals for public penance. This was the final step in the Inquisition process for those found guilty of heresy or apostasy; it began with a Catholic Mass, public procession of those being sentenced, reading of their convictions, followed by physical punishment such as whipping, torture and burning at the stake. There was a long pause after "secret Jew" which conveyed deep empathy and affinity with his ancestor who went through this ordeal. He continues "Somebody once pointed out the horror with which the Spaniards regarded the human sacrifice performed by the Aztecs without sort of thinking about what they themselves were doing ... Aztecs were trying to please their gods and of course the Christian priests were trying to please theirs."

Participant F showed me a photograph of a security announcement (see Figure 22 and Table 6) at the Oxford Jewish synagogue. She personally took this image especially for our second interview; she spent a few weeks deliberating on an image and when she saw the announcement she decided "that's the one". On first inspection it looks like a personally addressed formal letter, however you realise there is no name and address in the top left-hand corner and there are no folded marks (which could suggest it was previously folded within an envelope). The narrow strip running down the left-hand side of the image indicate that the announcement is tacked onto a notice board. There are red highlighted hand-written marks suggesting it's importance; the mark '1' is visible in the bottom right-hand corner and corresponds to the announcement's index. It is common for her to take a photo of a document and archive it; she enjoys taking photos and considers her archive as a diary. She feels this announcement is important as members of the community need to be vigilant of "gradual, subliminal anti-semitism", especially "the next generation of kids increasingly remote and do not appreciate the significance of what has happened in the past". Security is an important issue and a topic she is aware of everyday. The image captures a formalised community message from a personal viewpoint.

I have used axial coding to help cluster data and explore relationships around the "axis" of categories, thereby helping to form subcategories and work towards a "substantive theory of action" (Charmaz, 2006). Some initial categories have been expanded and subcategories have emerged, such as 'rituals and customs' within the 'family' category. I decided to place this data

here as opposed to including it in the 'history' category as participants constantly referred to customs as a contemporary experience that bonds them to their family and community. Participant B states, "the Iraqi atmosphere ... the food is more elaborate, the service is ... there's a ritual, a beginning, an end." Participant D mentions, "... his wife was Judy Lady Montefiore and she did a cookbook and she's credited with fried fish which we always have it Pesach. We always had fried fish, cold fried fish at Seder Passover." Other familial bonds mentioned in the interviews include celebrations and religious rituals, birthday, bar mitzvah, bas mitzvah and Passover. I have renamed the 'history' category to 'collective narratives' as this new label more accurately describes the data. The information is a mixture of historical events with religious narratives and concepts: a map of the past drawn from a particular perspective. I've refrained from using the word 'memory', as similar to the term 'identity', it can have a multitude of meanings or nothing at all. In addition, 'collective memory' signifies a unifying single concept which is shared by all within the collective; this is not what I would like to suggest. Instead, there are a multitude of individual narratives. A central concept that binds all categories together is the sense of belonging which Brexit and citizenship policies seem to have put into question. I will discuss this further in the following section.



# 4. Representation and Audiences

## 4.1. Exhibition Description

I wrote an introductory text for the installation *Com carinho, C* (see Table 7) that was disseminated at the entrance (see Figure 23). The exhibition was part of Atelier Santo Isidro's *Open House* and Extéril's event *Sobe e Desce*, so there was a array of digital and hard-copy marketing materials (see Figure 24).

### **Com carinho, C**

Installation

Vijay Patel

[EN] Citizenship may seem a dry and formal procedure, yet it is in fact very intimate, emotional, familial, historical, tied in to stories and opportunities, something people experience and claim. Audiences are invited to explore the multiple perspectives of British Sephardi Jews as they apply for Portuguese citizenship following the 2016 Brexit referendum. It has been possible for Sephardi Jews who have Iberian ancestors to claim Spanish or Portuguese citizenship since 2015 when policies were introduced to address a period in their histories when Jews were expelled from the peninsula. The primary motivation for applicants is to secure European rights post-Brexit.

This work in progress installation is part of a wider study that combines sociological methods with arts-based practices. Documentary photography, observational drawing and photo-elicitation were combined when interviewing subjects; grounded theory methodology was applied for analysing materials. Three key thematic categories were established for understanding secondary motivations; collective narratives, family and persecution. These results are used as a starting point for challenging, questioning and reflecting on our own experiences, rather than portraying an 'objective' view of 'the subject'. The installation's main features are used as touchstones for contemplation; the cardboard wall, miscellaneous paraphernalia, video projection and the twin squares.

The Brexit turmoil had encouraged some participants to rediscover their Sephardi heritage: what was previously dormant now takes centre stage. Participants were unaware of the citizenship offer until the Brexit referendum; it was subsequently referred to as a 'gift'. This choice of an emotive terminology reflects anti-Brexit sentiment and the desire to maintain close relations with the EU, the pleasure of having this opportunity at this time and the perception of Portugal as a friendly country. Participants were apprehensive to apply for German citizenship even though they had greater ties with Germany. This is due to greater application bureaucracy, anti-semitism in central Europe and the Holocaust having greater

presence in the collective memory than the Expulsion. The YouTube video clips contains footage from one of Europe's oldest Jewish cemeteries in Frankfurt dating back to 1270 and Parque das Virtudes, which in the 15th century used to be Porto's Jewish cemetery.

Brexit is at once a reassertion of community and a process of exclusion. Although it opens up opportunities for people to renegotiate belonging and create new communities, it does so in a historically unlikely perhaps even an undemocratic way. Processes of inclusion and exclusion are explored and the relationship between different actors with different degrees of agency: the state, individuals and the voting majority.

[PT] A cidadania pode parecer um procedimento formal e burocrático, mas na verdade é muito íntima, emocional, familiar, histórica, ligada a histórias e oportunidades, algo que as pessoas experimentam e reivindicam. O público é convidado a explorar as múltiplas perspectivas dos judeus sefarditas britânicos que se candidatam à cidadania portuguesa após o referendo sobre o Brexit de 2016. Desde 2015, tem sido possível para os judeus sefarditas que têm antepassados ibéricos reivindicarem a cidadania espanhola ou portuguesa, uma vez que essas políticas nacionais visam abarcar um período de suas histórias em que judeus foram expulsos da península. A principal motivação para os candidatos é garantir os direitos europeus após o Brexit.

Esta instalação work-in-progress é parte de um estudo mais amplo que combina métodos sociológicos com práticas baseadas em artes. Fotografia documental, desenho de observação e foto-elicitação foram praticados durante as entrevistas; A metodologia da Teoria Fundamentada foi aplicada para análise de materiais. Três categorias temáticas centrais foram estabelecidas para a compreensão das motivações secundárias: narrativas coletivas, família e perseguição. Esses resultados são usados como ponto de partida para desafiar, questionar e refletir sobre nossas próprias experiências, em vez de retratar uma visão "objetiva" do "sujeito". Os principais recursos da instalação são usados como pedras de toque para contemplação; a parede de papelão, a parafernália miscelânea, a projeção do vídeo e os quadrados idênticos.

A turbulência do Brexit encorajou alguns participantes a redescobrir sua herança sefardita: o que antes estava adormecido agora ganha posição central. Os participantes desconheciam a oferta de cidadania até o referendo sobre o Brexit; foi posteriormente referido como um "presente". Esta escolha de uma terminologia emotiva reflete um sentimento anti-Brexit e o desejo de manter relações estreitas com a UE, o prazer de ter esta oportunidade neste momento e a percepção de Portugal como um país amigável. Os participantes estavam apreensivos em solicitar a cidadania alemã, apesar de possuírem maiores laços com a Alemanha. Isto é devido a uma maior burocracia no processo de aplicação, ao anti-semitismo na Europa central e à maior presença do Holocausto na memória coletiva do que da Expulsão da Península Ibérica.

O Brexit é ao mesmo tempo uma reafirmação da comunidade e um processo de exclusão. Embora abra oportunidades para que as pessoas renegociem seu pertencimento e criem novas comunidades, ele faz isso de uma forma historicamente improvável, e talvez até mesmo antidemocrática. São explorados processos de inclusão e exclusão, e a relação entre diferentes atores com diferentes graus de agência: o Estado, os indivíduos e a maioria dos votos.

Table 7: Introductory text accompanying the installation

PT/

A cidadania pode parecer um procedimento formal e burocrático, mas na verdade é muito íntima, emocional, familiar, histórica, ligada a histórias e oportunidades, algo que as pessoas experimentam e reivindicam. O público é convidado a explorar as múltiplas perspectivas dos judeus sefarditas britânicos que se candidatam à cidadania portuguesa após o referendo sobre o Brexit de 2016. Desde 2015, tem sido possível para os judeus sefarditas que têm antepassados ibéricos reivindicarem a cidadania espanhola ou portuguesa, uma vez que essas políticas nacionais visam abarcar um período de suas histórias em que judeus foram expulsos da península. A principal motivação para os candidatos é garantir os direitos europeus após o Brexit.

Esta instalação work-in-progress é parte de um estudo mais amplo que combina métodos sociológicos com práticas baseadas em artes. Fotografia documental, desenho de observação e foto-elicitación foram praticados durante as entrevistas; A metodologia da Teoria Fundamentada foi aplicada para análise de materiais. Três categorias temáticas centrais foram estabelecidas para a compreensão das motivações secundárias: narrativas coletivas, família e perseguição. Esses resultados são usados como ponto de partida para desafiar, questionar e refletir sobre nossas próprias experiências, em vez de retratar uma visão "objetiva" do "sujeito". Os principais recursos da instalação são usados como pedras de toque para contemplação; a parede de papelão, a parafernália miscelânea, a projeção do vídeo e os quadrados idênticos.

A turbulência do Brexit encorajou alguns participantes a redescobrir sua herança sefardita: o que antes estava adormecido agora ganha posição central. Os participantes desconheciam a oferta de cidadania até o referendo sobre o Brexit; foi posteriormente referido como um "presente". Esta escolha de uma terminologia emotiva reflete um sentimento anti-Brexit e o desejo de manter relações estreitas com a UE, o prazer de ter esta oportunidade neste momento e a percepção de Portugal como um país amigável. Os participantes estavam apreensivos em solicitar a cidadania alemã, apesar de possuírem maiores laços com a Alemanha. Isto é devido a uma maior burocracia no processo de aplicação, ao anti-semitismo na Europa central e à maior presença do Holocausto na memória coletiva do que da Expulsão da Península Ibérica. O vídeo contém imagens de um dos mais antigos cemitérios judaicos da Europa em Frankfurt, que remonta ao ano de 1270, e do Parque das Virtudes, que, no século 15, era o cemitério judaico do Porto.

O Brexit é ao mesmo tempo uma reafirmação da comunidade e um processo de exclusão. Embora abra oportunidades para que as pessoas renegociem seu pertencimento e criem novas comunidades, ele faz isso de uma forma historicamente improvável, e talvez até mesmo antidemocrática. São explorados processos de inclusão e exclusão, e a relação entre diferentes atores com diferentes graus de agência: o Estado, os indivíduos e a maioria dos votos.

# COM CARINHO, C – A CITIZENSHIP INSTALLATION

/

## Vijay Patel



EXHIBITION "COM CARINHO, C – A CITIZENSHIP INSTALLATION",

Vijay Patel

14/07 18:00–21:00 – 15/07 15:00–18:00

Atelier Santol Sidro, Tv. Santo Isidro 104, Porto

EN/

Citizenship may seem a dry and formal procedure, yet it is in fact very intimate, emotional, familial, historical, tied in to stories and opportunities, something people experience and claim. Audiences are invited to explore the multiple perspectives of British Sephardi Jews as they apply for Portuguese citizenship following the 2016 Brexit referendum. It has been possible for Sephardi Jews who have Iberian ancestors to claim Spanish or Portuguese citizenship since 2015 when policies were introduced to address a period in their histories when Jews were expelled from the peninsula. The primary motivation for applicants is to secure European rights post-Brexit.

This work in progress installation is part of a wider study that combines sociological methods with arts-based practices. Documentary photography, observational drawing and photo-elicitation were combined when interviewing subjects; grounded theory methodology was applied for analysing materials. Three key thematic categories were established for understanding secondary motivations; collective narratives, family and persecution. These results are used as a starting point for challenging, questioning and reflecting on our own experiences, rather than portraying an 'objective' view of 'the subject'. The installation's main features are used as touchstones for contemplation; the cardboard wall, miscellaneous paraphernalia, video projection and the twin squares.

The Brexit turmoil had encouraged some participants to rediscover their Sephardi heritage: what was previously dormant now takes centre stage. Participants were unaware of the citizenship offer until the Brexit referendum; it was subsequently referred to as a 'gift'. This choice of an emotive terminology reflects anti-Brexit sentiment and the desire to maintain close relations with the EU, the pleasure of having this opportunity at this time and the perception of Portugal as a friendly country. Participants were apprehensive to apply for German citizenship even though they had greater ties with Germany. This is due to greater application bureaucracy, anti-semitism in central Europe and the Holocaust having greater presence in the collective memory than the Expulsion. The video clip contains footage from one of Europe's oldest Jewish cemeteries in Frankfurt dating back to 1270 and Parque das Virtudes, which in the 15th century used to be Porto's Jewish cemetery.

Brexit is at once a reassertion of community and a process of exclusion. Although it opens up opportunities for people to renegotiate belonging and create new communities, it does so in a historically unlikely perhaps even an undemocratic way. Processes of inclusion and exclusion are explored and the relationship between different actors with different degrees of agency: the state, individuals and the voting majority.

Figure 23: Exhibition leaflet available at the entrance to the installation.



Atelier Santo Isidro apresenta Vijay Patel  
com a instalação

Com carinho, C  
"A citizenship installation"



Sábado 14.07 | Domingo 15.07  
18h - 21h | 15h - 18h

Travessa Santo Isidro, 104, garagem B - Porto

Esta exposição faz parte dos debates organizados  
do programa Sobe e Desce, para mais informações  
contacte-nos pelas nossas redes sociais.

facebook.com/abrisa  
instagram @abrisaestudo

Figure 24 and 25: Exhibition poster at the entrance of Atelier Santo Isidro.

## 4.2. Audience

'Perhaps all our models, not only of history but of the aesthetic, are secretly models of the subject' Hal Foster (Foster, 1998)

An essential criteria of ABR research is to consider artistic representation and audience experiences when designing projects. The various forms of representation (i.e. sculptures, theatre productions, novels and concerts) present different subject specific questions and challenges as well as requirements for and expectations from audiences. I chose installation art as I believe it is one of the most suitable art form for creating a reflexive space where audiences can engage with concepts surrounding citizenship.

The main audience I have in mind are Portuguese residents. The aim is to create an environment enabling interaction with lived experiences from new Portuguese citizens. Atelier Santo Isidro is a newly opened artist-run studio space in Marquês, Porto. I chose Atelier Santo Isidro as the venue for hosting the installation as it's an informal space run by Portuguese artists who collaborate with other locally run organisations, thus potentially having wider access to my target audience. The exhibition opening forms part of Extéril's monthly *Sobe e Desce*, an evening composed of art events taking place across Marquês. Extéril is a locally-based artist community that has organised both physical and virtual exhibitions since it's formation in 1999. As this project is work-in-progress, I think it would be insightful to gain informal feedback from locally-based artists and residents before formulating a grounded theory and finalising the artistic output.

### 4.3. Installation Documentation



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28

Figure 26: Atelier Santo Isidro before my intervention. Figure 27: Constructing the cardboard box partition wall. Figure 28: Inside the interior 'loft/attic' space.



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31

Figure 29 and 30: Archival paraphernalia with references to Portugal and the UK. Figure 31: Trunk with the sleeve of an Arabic dress to the right with a 1980s telephone and a handwritten letter and photograph on top.



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

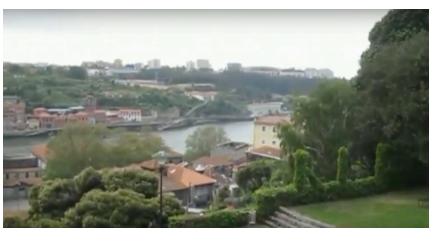


Fig. 39

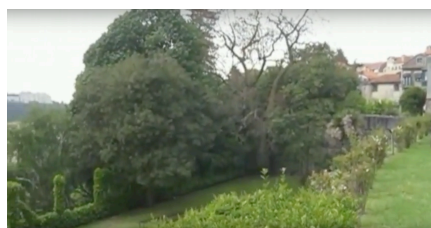


Fig. 40

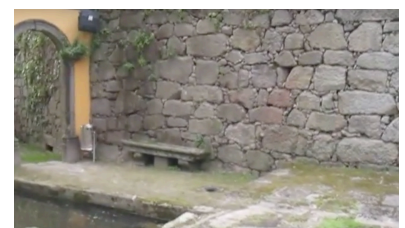


Fig. 41

Figure 32 - 41: Video footage taken from one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Europe, Frankfurt combined with clips from Parque das Virtudes, which used to be a Jewish cemetery before the Expulsion.



Fig. 42

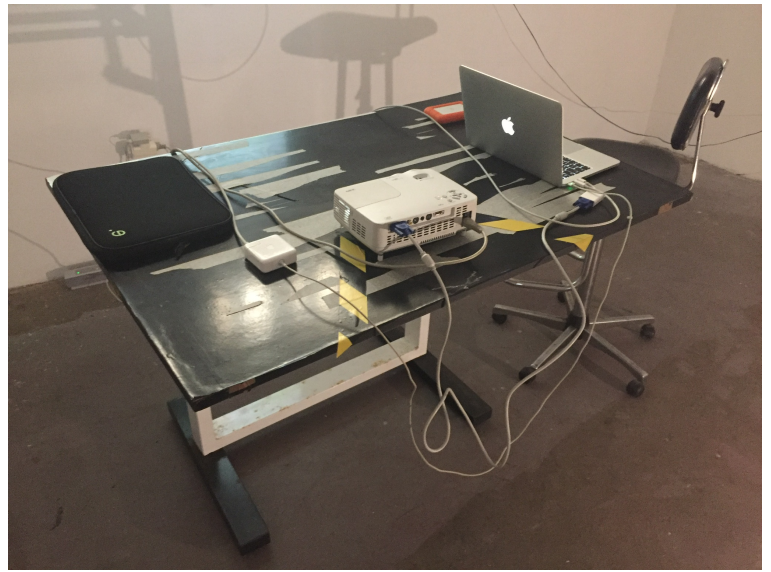


Fig. 43

Figure 42: Video projection. Figure 43: Desk with laptop, external hard drive, projector, speakers and laptop case.



## 5. Discussions

“Your study fits the empirical world when you have constructed codes and developed them into categories that crystallise participants’ experience. It has relevance when you offer an incisive analytic framework that interprets what is happening and makes relationships between implicit processes and structures visible.” Kathy Charmaz (2006)

There are numerous factors that collectively emboldened British Sephardi Jews to apply for and gain Portuguese citizenship. The Brexit referendum was the defining political event that caused great upheaval and drew attention to the recent Iberian citizenship offer. Participants are concerned about the rise of anti-semitism, travel restrictions, employment limitations and financial liabilities post-Brexit. There was no individual reason, but a collection of European rights and a sense of belonging to mainland Europe which participants wish to maintain. There was no particular attachment to Portugal or a wish to migrate to the EU, per se, they spoke about shared European culture and how their ancestry were intertwined with this collective history. Participants found out via word of mouth from family members: they collectively applied as families. As opposed to congregation leaders who could have hired lawyers and arranged for applications to be proceed en masse. This familial foundation became a central thematic category in the analysis, superseding religious and community specific attachments. Application procedures are led by family elders who are concerned about the future, not for themselves but for their children and future generations. Participant E was acutely aware of his age and fragility, yet he was committed to securing European rights for the rest of his family. This intergenerational dynamic is unique as there are societal expectations of the reverse: younger generations to support and take care of elders. Collective Jewish narratives and reference to historical figures were another significant category that gave some justification to the participants’ motivations and manner in which they applied for citizenship. These narratives legitimised and contextualised these actions within a wider religious and historical framework.

Although closely intertwined, participants gave greater importance to the traditionally and ideology of Jewish religious practices within synagogues as oppose to ethnic considerations; many Sephardi Jews and mixed heritage Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews are members of non-

Sephardi congregations. Some of these dual heritage participants had the option of also applying for German citizenship. They primarily opted for Portuguese citizenship over Spanish and German as there were fewer bureaucratic hurdles. Spain require applicants to complete language and citizenship (i.e. knowledge of the country's culture, history and society) tests while Germany have various complications and restrictions. The Holocaust and present day anti-semitism were other factors deterring applicants from wanting to become German nationals even though they have greater affinity with Germany, i.e. speaking German and visiting more often than Portugal. The Holocaust has greater presence in the collective memory than the Expulsion. Seeking Portuguese nationality allows applicants to maintain ambivalent feelings towards central European countries; if they were to accept German nationality, would this acceptance mean forgiving Germany for genocide during World War II? How would these feelings be resolved if German citizenship was the only option? Participant E's parents and grandparent were members of the Jewish Liberal Synagogue. After requesting a genealogy certificate from The S&P Sephardi Synagogue, he since became a member and switched congregations. His children and grand-children may follow suit. It was his great grandmother and her ancestors who were Sephardi. The Brexit turmoil has encouraged him to rediscover his Sephardi heritage, reorientate his sense of belonging and further explore the historical context: what was previously dormant now takes centre stage. Participant C was an anomaly as he had a very pragmatic approach and gave very little meaning to the act of applying for citizenship: "I would purely do so from a practical point of view." He was the only participant who was not actively religious and was not a member of a congregation.

The offer of citizenship was intended by legislators to right the 'historical wrong' that saw the peninsular's Jewish community exiled, forced to convert to Catholicism or burnt at the stake. While this historical event is impossible to reverse, legislators where morally driven to acknowledge citizenship rights for descendants: the offer represented the 'attribution of a right'. Participants were unaware of the gesture until the Brexit referendum; it was subsequently referred to as a 'gift'. Gifts are usually exchanged between friends. Gifts also need to fulfil some basic criteria; the recipient needs to be aware of it, it needs to be of value to the recipient and it needs to be accepted. This choice of an emotive terminology reflects; anti-Brexit sentiment and the desire to maintain close relations with the EU, the pleasure of having this opportunity at this time and the perception of Portugal as a friendly country. Brexit transformed this citizenship policy into a gift. In the Netherlands, the voluntary acquisition of another nationality involves the loss of Dutch nationality. This may partly be the reason for the low interest of Dutch

nationals responding to this offer. The political climate within resident countries greatly affects the perception of this policy. It is worth noting the effort made by legislators to address this historical injustice while attitudes towards colonialism are ambivalent and the consequences of this past are largely disregarded.

All participants voted for the UK to remain within the EU. Political convictions did not alter during the course of this study, however one participant expressed great frustration with European institutions and only narrowly voted remain during the 2016 referendum. She is not sure what her decision would be if the vote would take place again. All other participants strongly believe that Brexit is a political disaster and will lead to great disadvantages for both the UK and the EU. Brexit is seen as challenging, not destabilising; Portuguese nationality offers a concrete solution for securing ties with Europe.

Integrating arts-based practices such as observational drawing, documentary photography and photo-elicitation within interviewing structures enhanced rapport between me and the participants, allowing for greater reflection. Using visual art techniques enabled; analysis of visual data, a holistic research design and smoother transition between project phrases. On the other hand, using analytic techniques provides structure and helps draw attention to observations that would normally go amiss. Photo-elicitation can be used in association with online and telephone interviews, however observational drawing and documentary photography is most effective when utilised alongside face-to-face interviews. I incorporated these techniques towards the end of interviews; this worked well as subjects were already familiar with me and the topic at hand. If introduced at the beginning, I suspect this would cause uncertainty, confusion and even scepticism. Numerous artists employ interviewing techniques (including Gilligan and Filipe); arts-based research design (Leavy, 2013) provides an important framework for exploring and testing methods for socially engaged artistic projects within an academic context.

"The investigation of culture and society with sociological methods does not end with spoken, written, or illustrated data." (Mey and Dietrich, 2016)

GTM and VGTM are ideally suited to ABR approaches, yet important challenges need to be explored. Both methodologies give greater significance to textual than visual data. Mey and Dietrich's VGTM (2016) transforms imagery into text via thick description and a segmentation

process; images are scrutinised using compositional analysis in the Documentary Method tradition, line of sight analysis or a combination of both. Once data is converted, it can be coded and categorised. This process subjugates visual modes of articulation. This may be why GTM has been incorporated into text based artistic modes such as poetry (Knowles, 2007) whilst very limited exploration within visual artistic practices. It seems to me appropriate for visual elements to be isolated and used when coding, formulating memos and categories, i.e. participant E and his wife in Figure 13 could be cropped and placed within the family category. Images could be used for describing and communicating GTM categories, i.e. Figure 22 provided by participant F would be a good visual ‘title’ and articulation for the persecution category. These visual symbols could then be supported by text. The installation’s main features were; the cardboard wall, miscellaneous paraphernalia, video projection and the twin squares. These visual touchstones were developed alongside the analysis (see Figure 44 for an updated methodological framework).

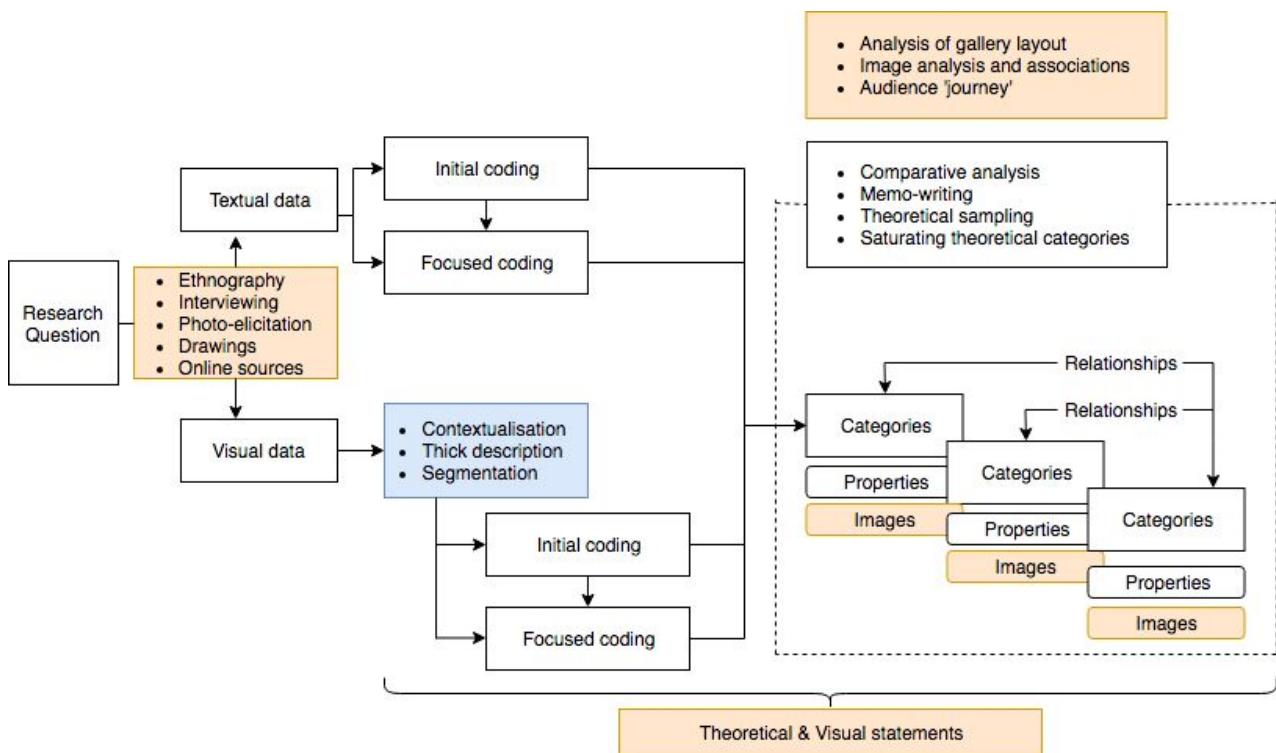


Figure 44: Updated methodological framework with VGTM highlighted in blue and the integration of my artistic practice highlighted in orange.

Throughout this project I have contemplated my own personal motivations and attraction to this topic. I came to recognise affinities and differences between myself and subjects. When

living in the UK I did not visit any specific Jewish events or community spaces; if I had completed a thesis while studying at a UK university I do not think I would have chosen this topic. My interest stems from having migrated to Portugal and perceived connections with a 'Jewish' condition. Due to my race and sexuality, I can empathise with being part of a long history centring on persecution and exile. Although facing discrimination and persecution, British Sephardi Jews hold a privileged position in society; subjects are highly educated, hold high paid occupations and live in wealthy neighbourhoods. They also have the opportunity to retain European rights which ordinary Britains will most certainly lose. Everyone can empathise with feelings of marginalisation and privilege, yet these experiences can be felt more acutely by individuals who hold characteristics in particular political contexts.

## 6. Conclusions

This study explores how British Sephardi Jews are making sense of Iberian citizenship policies in an artistic and scientific manner. A GTM approach has been employed for analysing data and constructing the basis for a grounded theory describing this social phenomenon. ABR has been instrumental for establishing this interdisciplinary project within a recognised academic framework. This enabled me to find and reference similar projects and to experiment with methods covering multiple fields.

It is essential for methodologies such as GTM, VGTM and installation art to be considered on their own terms, from their own epistemological foundations. While the biases and subjectivities inherent in these methods might be viewed as limitations, they can also be viewed as enhancing the original data by imbuing it with the researcher's and audiences's own subjectivities. Since its conception, installation art has been used to generate intersubjective knowledge; specific genres such as the 'dream scene' and 'activated spectatorship' have emerged. While various analysts will generate different codes and conceptual categories, the idiosyncratic associations, reflections and personal meanings are central to the project. Installation art invites audiences to take part in these processes. The strength of this research may be in its ability to explore multiple perspectives on multiple levels; participants' worldview is used as a starting point for challenging and questioning, rather than portraying an 'objective' view of 'the subject'. This dialogue widens the project's scope by providing a basis for interrogating associations and can be a foundation for developing universal concepts. Although VGTM is a recently designed method for incorporating visual data within GTM analysis, it subjugates visual modes of articulation.

This study combines primary research, an examination of the literature and the development of my own artistic voice. This novel methodological approach has its drawbacks. A cornerstone of GTM is to conduct a literature review during and after participant interviews, allowing for concepts to emerge from the data. The limited timescale of this thesis and the necessary time taken to recruit subjects and transcribe interviews has reduced the attention given for theoretically examining the five GTM categories, formulated following participant

interviews: collective narratives, persecution, family, challenges and political views. Although there were some considerations made, i.e. changing the 'history' category to 'collective narratives'.

Subjects perceive the citizenship offer differently to legislators, whose views were obtained from declarations in the press: a 'gift' as opposed to the 'attribution of a right'. Citizenship may seem a dry and formal procedure, yet it is in fact very intimate, emotional, historical, tied in to stories and opportunities, something people experience and claim. Brexit is at once a reassertion of community and a process of exclusion. Although it also opens up opportunities for people to renegotiate belonging and create new communities, it does so in a historically unlikely perhaps even an undemocratic way. This study thus explores processes of inclusion and exclusion and the relationship between different actors with different degrees of agency: the state, individuals and the voting majority. It serves to draw attention to these dynamics with a small but intriguing case study and with this, I hope to sensitise people to these wider questions and issues.

This study concludes the first part of this ongoing project. The next phase following this thesis will focus on sampling, reaching saturation point, refining the grounded theory and further developing the multimedia installation. This will cover the time period once the Spanish citizenship policy expires at the end of 2018 and post-Brexit (31st March 2019). I would like to expand on the topic and adopt this methodological framework as part of another masters thesis or a PhD project.

# Ethics Statement

I have used the Economic and Social Research Council's six key principles as set out in the Framework for Research Ethics for addressing possible ethical concerns; ensuring quality and integrity of the research project, giving participants informed consent, ensuring and respecting participants' confidentiality and anonymity, participants will participate voluntarily, avoiding harm to participants and showing that the research is independent and impartial.



# Bibliography

- Barone, Tom, and Eisner, Elliot W. *Arts Based Research*. Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2012.
- Bates, Elizabeth A., McCann, Joseph J., Kaye, Linda K., and Taylor, Julie C. “Beyond words: a researcher’s guide to using photo elicitation in psychology”, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 14:4, 459-481 (2017), DOI: 10.1080/14780887.2017.1359352
- Booth, Wayne C., Colomb, Gregory G., Williams, Joseph M., and Williams, Joe. *The Craft of Research. Fourth ed. Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Bishop, Claire. *Installation Art : A Critical History*. London: Tate, 2005.
- Bohnsack, Ralf. “The Interpretation of Pictures and the Documentary Method”. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9(3), Art. 26, 2008. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0803267>.
- Charmaz, Kathy. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications, 2014.
- Chilton, Gioia., Gerber, Nancy., Bechtel, Amanda., Councill, Tracy., Dreyer, Monica and Yingling, Elizabeth. “The Art of Positive Emotions: Expressing Positive Emotions Within the Intersubjective Art Making Process (L'art des émotions positives : exprimer des émotions positives à travers le processus artistique intersubjectif)”, *Canadian Art Therapy Association Journal*, 28:1-2, 12-25, DOI: 10.1080/08322473.2015.1100580
- Clarke, Harold D., Goodwin, Matthew., and Whiteley, Paul., “Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote.” *Parliamentary Affairs*, Volume 70, Issue 3, (2017): 439–464.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question : Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley, Calif. ; London: University of California Press, 2005.
- d’Oliveira, Jessurun and Hans Ulrich. “Iberian Nationality Legislation and Sephardic Jews.” *European Constitutional Law Review* 11, no.1 (2015): 13–29.

- De Oliveira, Nicolas., Oxley, Nicola., and Petry, Michael. *Installation Art in the New Millennium : The Empire of the Senses*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003.
- Davies, Hugh Marlais and Onorato, Ronald J. *Blurring the Boundaries : Installation Art, 1969-1996*. San Diego : New York, NY: Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego ; Available through D.A.P. / Distributed Art Publishers, 1996.
- Farrell, Jeff. "Brexit: Number of British people applying for citizenship of other EU countries surges," *Independent*, September 29, 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brexit-latest-uk-eu-live-abroad-countries-applications-citizenship-rise-increase-a7974006.html#gallery>
- Foster, Hal. *The Return of the Real : The Avant-garde at the End of the Century*. October Books Y. Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT Press, 1996.
- Furman, Rich., Langer, Carol L., Davis, Christine S., Gallardo, Heather P and Kulkarni, Shanti. "Expressive, Research and Reflective Poetry as Qualitative Inquiry: A Study of Adolescent Identity." *Qualitative Research* 7, no. 3 (2007): 301-15.
- Ghodsee, Kristen. *From Notes to Narrative*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press Books. 2016.
- Gilligan, Melanie. "Subjects of Finance: Melanie Gilligan." Interviewed bu Tom Holert. *Grey Room*, Inc. and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Winter 2012: 84–99. [https://www.academia.edu/26092243/Subjects\\_of\\_Finance\\_Melanie\\_Gilligan\\_Interviewed\\_by\\_Tom\\_Holert](https://www.academia.edu/26092243/Subjects_of_Finance_Melanie_Gilligan_Interviewed_by_Tom_Holert)
- Glaser, Barney G and Strauss, Anselm L. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago. Aldine Publishing Company, 1967.
- Glaser, Barney G. All is data. *Grounded Theory Review*, 2(6), <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2007/03/30/1194/> [Date of access: April 15, 2016].
- González, Jennifer A. *Subject to Display : Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art*. Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT Press, 2008.
- Gonzalez, Maria Eunice Quilici and Haselager, Willem (Pim) Ferdinand Gerardus. "Creativity: Surprise and Abductive Reasoning". *Semiotica*. 2005(153 - 1/4): 325-342. Retrieved 6 Apr. 2018, from doi:10.1515/semi.2005.2005.153-1-4.325
- Goulding C. "Grounded theory: The missing methodology on the interpretivist agenda". *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 1(1), 50–57, 1998.

- Graff, Gerald and Birkenstein, Cathy. *"They Say I Say" The Moves That Matter in Academic Writing*. New York. W.W. Norton & Company, 2010.
- Groen, Cassandra., Simmons, Denise Rutledge and McNair, Lisa D. "An Introduction to Grounded Theory: Choosing and Implementing an Emergent Method". *American Society for Engineering Education*. 2017.
- Guardian. "From Antony Gormley to Eva Rothschild, artists take a stance against Brexit – in pictures." Last modified June 2, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/gallery/2016/jun/02/drawing-a-line-artists-take-a-stance-against-brexit>
- Habib, S., and Hinojosa, R. "Video Data Analysis in Grounded Theory". *Journal of Ethnographic and Qualitative Research* 10(1), 42-52, 2016.
- Hicks, AE, and Lloyd, A. "Seeing Information: Visual Methods as Entry Points to Information Practices." *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science* (2018) (In Press)., 2018, *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science* (2018) (In Press).
- Institute for Jewish Policy Research. "Key trends in the British Jewish community: A review of data on poverty, the elderly and children" Last modified April 2011. <http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/Key%20trends%20in%20the%20British%20Jewish%20community.pdf>
- Jagodzinski, Jan and Wallin, Jason. *Arts-Based Research A Critique and a Proposal*. Editor, SpringerLink, and Springer-Verlag. SpringerLink. 2013.
- Jones, Sam, "Brexit vote sparks rush of British Jews seeking Portuguese passports," *The Guardian*, December 31, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/31/brexit-vote-rush-british-jews-portuguese-passports>
- Kabakov, Il'ia Iosifovich, Backstein, Joseph, Бакштейн, Иосиф, Bakshteĭn, Iosif, and Backstein, Jusif. Il'ia Kabakov "O Total'noĭ Installiatsii" = Ilya Kabakov "On the Total Installation". Bielefeld: Kerber, 2008.
- Knowles, J. Gary, and Ardra L. Cole, ed. *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, Methodologies, Examples, and Issues*. Los Angeles, [Calif.]; London: SAGE, 2008.
- Koopmans, Ruud. *Contested Citizenship : Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe. Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Krysa, Danielle. *Art Installations : A Visual Guide*. London: Roads Publishing. 2016.

- Leavy, Patricia. *Methods meets Art: Arts-Based Research Practice*. Guilford: The Guildford Press. 2015.
- Leavy, Patricia. *Research Design : Quantitative, Qualitative, Mixed Methods, Arts-based, and Community-based Participatory Research Approaches*. Guilford: The Guildford Press. 2017.
- Leavy, Patricia. *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Lewis, Charles Wesley. "Working the ritual: Wedding photography as social process". University of Minnesota, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1994.
- Margolis, Eric., Pauwels, L., and Pauwels, Luc. *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011.
- Manovski, Miroslav Pavle, SpringerLink, and Springer-Verlag. *Arts-Based Research, Autoethnography, and Music Education Singing through a Culture of Marginalization*. Social Fictions Series. SpringerLink. 2014.
- Mey, G and Dietrich, M. "From Text to Image—Shaping a Visual Grounded Theory Methodology". *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 17(2), 2006. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-17.2.2535>
- Mondloch, Kate. *Screens : Viewing Media Installation Art. Electronic Mediations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Morrison, Andrew., Davies, Alex., Brečević, Geska., Sem, Idunn., Boykett, Tim and Brečević, Robert. "Designing Performativity for Mixed Reality Installations." *FORMakademisk* 3, no. 1 (2010): FORMakademisk, 01 July 2010, Vol.3(1).
- Office for National Statistics. "2011 Census: Population Estimates for the United Kingdom" Last modified on 27 March 2011. [http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160108132257/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778\\_292378.pdf](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160108132257/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_292378.pdf)
- Oshima, Alice, and Hogue, Ann. *Introduction to Academic English*. 3rd ed. Longman Academic Writing Series. White Plains, N.Y.: Pearson Longman, 2007.
- Patel, Vijay. "Active citizenship and Demographics: The case of Porto" Accessed March 18, 2018. <http://futureplaces.org/essays/active-citizenship-and-demographics-the-case-of-porto/>

- Patel, Vijay. "Designing Multiculturality" Accessed March 18, 2018. <http://futureplaces.org/labs/designing-multiculturality/>
- Patel, Vijay. "Conference Bursary Reports" Accessed March 18, 2018. <https://engage.org/bursaryreports17>
- Ran, Faye. *A History of Installation Art and the Development of New Art Forms : Technology and the Hermeneutics of Time and Space in Modern and Postmodern Art from Cubism to Installation*. New York ; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Reiss, Julie H., and Reiss, Julie H. *From Margin to Center : The Spaces of Installation Art*. Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT Press, 1999.
- Ritchie, Jane. *A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. National Centre for Social Research, and NatCen. Qualitative Research Practice : 2nd ed. Los Angeles ; London: SAGE, 2014.
- Rolling, James Haywood. *Arts-Based Research*. New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers. 2013.
- Rosenthal, Mark. *Understanding Installation Art : From Duchamp to Holzer*. Munich ; London: Prestel, 2003.
- Rutten, Kris., An van. Dienderen and Soetaert, Ronald. "Revisiting the ethnographic turn in contemporary art." *Critical Arts*, 27:5 (2013), 459-473.
- Schneider, Arnd, and Wright, Christopher. *Anthropology and Art Practice*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.
- Scholte, Tatja., Wharton, Glenn and Scholte, T. I. *Inside Installations : Theory and Practice in the Care of Complex Artworks*. International Network for the Conservation of Contemporary Art, and Incca. Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands Series. Y. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011.
- Shea, Christopher D. "Grayson Perry on 'Divided Britain' and His New Art Exhibition." Last modified June 26, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/26/arts/grayson-perry-on-divided-britain-and-his-new-art-exhibition.html>
- Tavory, Iddo and Timmermans, Stefan. "Two cases of ethnography: Grounded theory and the extended case method", *Ethnography*, 10 (3): 243– 263, 2009. doi: 10.1177/1466138109339042

Suderburg, Erika. *Space, Site, Intervention : Situating Installation Art*. Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

The Conversation. "Inside the British Asian Brexit vote – and why it contains a few surprises"

Last modified February 16, 2017. <http://theconversation.com/inside-the-british-asian-brexit-vote-and-why-it-contains-a-few-surprises-72931>

Vicente, Nerea Castro. "In Praise of Shadows: Study for a Light Composition in Space".

Masters diss., University of Porto, 2017.

Vickery, Jonathan. "Installation Art". *Art History* 29, no. 5 (2006): 957-63.

Viel, Cesare. "Identity, Writing, Space, Memory, Image, Relation: Notes for a Work in Progress." *On the W@terfront* 54 (2017): 67-75.

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Informed Consent Form for Participants

You are being invited to participate in our project (British Sephardi Jews seek Portuguese Citizenship). This will involve your commitment to participate in audio recorded dialogues, workshops and taking photographs on your own time. The purpose of this project is to learn more about feelings of belonging and identity within the community. It is important to note that while this project may help with raising awareness of these issues and encouraging audiences to reflect on these themes, no actual changes can be guaranteed.

Photo Elicitation is a participatory photographic research method. It involves the participants of a study taking photographs that represent their individual perspectives and lived experiences. Narratives or stories explaining the significance of the pictures can be attached to the photographs, but all efforts will be used to maintain confidentiality among research participants and researchers, and anonymity of all photographers when results are shared with broader audiences.

Participation will require you to meet two times with facilitators. There will be a gap between the two meetings in which you will be expected to capture photographs of your perspectives and/or experiences. The second meeting will run for an hour and will involve a sharing back of the photographs followed by audio-taped discussions.

Participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the project at any time without any risk to yourself. If this occurs, you are free to choose between destroying your contributions to the study or releasing them for use without your participation.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above stated purpose of the project, the agenda and your right to withdraw from participation.

I, \_\_\_\_\_, understand the above terms of reference and give my consent to participate in the British Sephardi Jews seek Portuguese Citizenship project with the University of Porto.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\*If you have any further questions, please contact Vijay Patel.

## **Appendix B: Photography General Release Form**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, give permission for the University of Porto to use my photographs developed during the British Sephardi Jews seek Portuguese Citizenship project. They are free to use the photographs for project related reports, exhibits and presentations.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix C: Photography Subject Consent Form**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, give permission for Vijay Patel, acting on behalf of the University of Porto and British Sephardi Jews seek Portuguese Citizenship project, to take my photograph. By signing my name below, I understand and agree that unless otherwise stated in writing, the University of Porto assumes that permission is granted to use my photographs for project related reports, exhibits and presentations that are likely to result from this project. I understand that researchers, policy makers, students, and possibly people from my community will see my photo.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix D: Private Property Photography Release Form**

I, \_\_\_\_\_ give permission for the individual Vijay Patel, acting on behalf of the University of Porto, to take photograph(s) on my property. By signing my name below, I understand that this photograph may be used at some point in the future for a public display.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



## **Appendix E: Interview Questions Template (version II)**

### **First Interview**

I'm a British multimedia artist based in Porto. The aim of this project is to explore feelings of citizenship, belonging and identity with Sephardi Jews who wish to gain Portuguese citizenship post-Brexit. I am developing an arts installation exploring these themes. This initial interview will take about an hour. I'd like to set up another time to talk either next week or the week after. Confirm confidentiality and ask for permission to record. Sign consent forms.

#### **Stage 1**

- Where do you live?
- What do you do for a living?
- How would you describe your nationality?
- How do you feel about Brexit?

#### **Stage 2**

- How would you describe the Sephardi community?
- What links do you have to Spain and/or Portugal?
- How would you feel about applying for Spanish and/or Portuguese citizenship?
- How will changing citizenship affect your sense of belonging?
- How did you find out about the possibility of Portuguese citizenship?

#### **Stage 3**

- Tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited. What did you like?
- How do you think a multimedia exhibition could raise awareness of these issues?
- How can an exhibition reflect on citizenship?

Are you happy for me to make a drawing and take a photograph?

- Any follow up questions?

For our next interview, I'd like you to show me an image (maybe a photograph, drawing, painting etc) that relates to this topic.

## **Second Interview**

- Tell me about this image.
- Why did you choose a photograph/painting/drawing etc?
- When was this image taken? (ask probing questions for context)
- If the image was created by themselves:
  - Tell me about your approach to photography/painting/drawing etc.
  - How do you decide if something is worthy of capturing?
- What does this image show?
- Why did you choose this image?
- What other images came to mind?

Plus any specific follow up questions for individual participants.

## Appendix F: Interview Transcripts and Initial Coding

### Participant A (20/11/2017)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Family heritage Sephardi Jews from Egypt Family migrated to US and Israel, some family in Brazil. Family in US like to travel to non- European destinations</p>	<p>I'm related to Jewish because of my mother and father, you know all the story about my father, but there is also my mother. How can I say, Sephardi Jewish and my grandfather and grandmother from my mother were both Jewish from Egypt. [Have you visited Egypt?] No, no, but I'd like to visit. [Do you have any family in Egypt?] All of the parents went to Israel or the United States. [Are you still in touch with your family in Israel and those in the United States?] Yes, I know them. Some of my cousins came here to Brazil. In South America it's very common for them to go on trips, they take like three months traveling. They like going somewhere that's not Europe or less far away now, so they take plane to come here. I met them like three years ago.</p>
<p>Psychologist, works in university HR department International work environment Thinking of starting a masters in a few years time Will shortly get married Brazilian Jewish Culture and habits are Brazilian Non-religious state and early schooling Requesting and attended a Jewish school - very important Visited Israel with a group when 21 years old</p>	<p>[What do you do for a living?] I'm a psychologist and I work at University. We have HR, where we select people, interview and train people in management. This type of thing. It's a big company, we have 1,600 teachers and collaborators. It's international and it covers the whole country. [Have you worked there long?] Almost 7 years, because it's a great company. I graduated from Psychology and then I specialised in a kind of demonstrations and then leading with HR routine and specific with ... I'm thinking of doing a masters in two or three years time from now. Because I have another project, which is my wedding. Sometimes it's not so easy to do a wedding and studying at university. [Yes, one thing at a time. So, how would you describe your nationality?] My nationality, well I'm a Brazilian Jewish person because my culture and habits are more Brazilian. But I think I have state which is not, how can I say, an organic state, here we have various religions: christianity, catholicism, etc. When I was 10 years old I went to a school which didn't have any religion. I spoke to my mother and father and said to them I wanted to enter into a Jewish school to know what it means to be Jewish. I entered there and I ended my studied. It was very important to me. I went to Israel when I was 21 years old with a group. The name of the project was ... Do you know this project?</p>

<p>Gained knowledge &amp; experience of working on projects in Israel.</p> <p>Joined Jewish school at 10 years old when Catholics have communion</p> <p>Abuse from Catholics - “Jewish people murdered Jesus”</p> <p>Jewish community - “my people”</p> <p>Joined a local Jewish school, lessons on history, traditions etc</p> <p>Religious vs social/ political education</p>	<p>[I don't know this project but I have heard about similar projects where they organise a kind of field trip where you learn about Israeli culture and you visit different landmarks and sites ...] It was very good for me to have gained knowledge and to have been there doing things where the price was very reduced. [Do you remember how old you were when you decided you wanted to go to a Jewish school?] 10 years, because here you have at this age, in the catholic religion you have a ... what do you call it? Yes, a communion. One girl said to me “oh the Jewish people who murdered Jesus” and all this type of thing. So I went a little crazy and thought, oh my people have does this, it doesn't seem right to say it. I entered into the Jewish school which was very close to me. We had lessons about the history, habits, this kind of stuff. [Was it easy to find a Jewish school in Rio?] At that time we had five Jewish schools but my entering in one of, it's more for gaining the history it's not very religious because we have another one that we have a synagogue when you enter the school. This one is to discuss the best way of the political way of the government of Israel. It's another point of view to discuss, it's not like you're Jewish and each of us, let's go to the synagogue and you have to do what the Rabbi says. It's not like this, it's more socialised.</p>
<p>Non-religious classes at Jewish school are similar to non-religious schools.</p> <p>Not very religious, but lots of faith.</p> <p>Learning about the history of the Jewish people</p> <p>Being Jewish more of an attitude/way of life</p> <p>Adopting religious readings into daily life</p> <p>Discovering Jewish identity</p> <p>Construction of identity culminated with trip to Israel</p>	<p>[How is the school different to the rest of the Brazilian schools?] When you have these types of discussion on other topics, there'll all the same. The Portuguese, geography, there'll all the same. [How religious would you describe yourself?] I'm not very religious, but I have so much faith and thanks in life. I describe my way to live this is faith, not going to synagogue but to teach about the religion. To talk about the religion and to talk about the history of the Jewish people. I think that this is more a way to live more than the religion. It's not just to read the book, to read the Torah, it's I think my way to live the religion and to talk about it. [How do you think this has influenced your life?] Total influence because I think my identity to talk about it is because I feel in that way. It's not something that someone told me to define or something to follow. I think it's a process that it was like a construction of that identity because ended when I went to Israel. So when I went to Israel, I thought okay, my people ... You went there too? No? Are your mother and father Jewish too?</p>

<p>Living the religion</p>	<p>[For me, my parents are Hindu. I wouldn't describe myself as veering towards a certain religion. Yes I visited Israel and I loved my time there. I've only visited once for a few weeks with a friend. It's just such an interesting country and so vibrant and complex.] Yes complex is a good word. You feel the people there, the way they live the religions. It's not like oh you have to ... many roles that you have to [follow] Do you consider yourself Jewish? Or is that not important? [I was brought up in a Hindi family and I went to a Roman Catholic school as well as kind of being brought up in London so for me I'm comfortable living in this kind of multicultural deeply faceted environment. I feel more at home with diversity.] You're like a. I have an expression in Portuguese that I don't know in English it's like many pieces of one that you bring that makes you one.</p>
<p>Israeli lifestyle different to Brazilian Freedom of movement and safety within Brazil as opposed to Israel Israel is not a place to live, great for visiting as a tourist Brazilian way of life Tension in Israel that inhibits discussions</p>	<p>[What was your experience of Israel?] I loved it but I think that to be Brazilian I can't live there. It's a very different style of life. To live here in Rio you have a real access for many places and there you have, how can I say, they have the access but it's not the same way. Here we have favelas but there you have the other way to do the world. You have the other way to live with multi cultures but it's not the Brazilian way to live. Here we have the Indian, the black guy, many people that are not ... the best of what Israel can bring to me is not the kind of country that for me to spend all my life, but it's good to have parents ... [If I understand correctly the way of life in Brazil is maybe more relaxed and more diverse.] Yeah, how can I say, I don't know this word in English so I will explain to you. Here we have the Brazilian way of life, that you're not going to be doing in another country. Our habits will not be the same. Here you can discuss many things and many ways and in Israel it's a little bit different. It's good to be tourists in Israel but I don't think living there is so good.</p>
<p>Family living in Eliat All family are Sephardi Older people in Sephardi community in Rio Sephardi synagogue and restaurants Sephardi have a special way of serving food Pray differently Jewish community in Rio is smaller than Sao Paulo</p>	<p>[What parts of Israel did you visit?] Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. I also have family in Eliat. I didn't have a chance to see them as it's very far and in another part of the country. [Are all your family Sephardi?] Yes, all my related family are Sephardi. I can get in touch with my cousins for you. They all speak English, although here in Brazil it's unusual for people to speak English. [How would you describe the Sephardi community?] It's just the accent this is a little bit different. Here in Rio it's not so common, the Sephardi, because they are like the age of my dad, in their 60s. We have synagogue is just far away right now very mixed but we have restaurants and the food habits. The way to serve the people is very different. When we went to synagogue we know the Rabbi, we pray differently. [Are there less young people in the community?] Yeah because, here in Brazil when you enter the country ... you'll see many young people learning Portuguese to live here and the Jewish community in Rio is very small. In Sao Paulo is one of the biggest.</p>

<p>Religious &amp; non-religious Sephardi NYC synagogue founder bought habits &amp; rituals to Rio - not touching when greeting. Great-grandmother born in Greece, from Catalonia. Grandmother wrote French. Visit Spain for honeymoon Family don't have documents linking ancestors to Spain, has grandmother's Greek passport</p>	<p>[What about the younger generation? Are they not so religious?] You have two ways of living the religion you can discuss the politics in some places and we have a kind of group that entered to synagogue everyday, at the end of the day, they were very religious. I have a cousin, she has three children and she's related to ... is a synagogue that he founded in New York and they bought this kind of style here in Brazil. She didn't touch her parents. This I think is a little crazy as with the latin culture you need to touch, hug and kiss. [Do you have any links to Spain or Portugal?] The side of my mother is related to Spain, because my great-grandmother was born in Greece, coming from Catalonia. Wait just a minute, so my grandmother wrote in French ... We don't know which city we originate from. [Have you visited Spain?] Maybe for my honeymoon I will be there. My boyfriend spend one semester there when studying. He was near the city of Granada. [How would you feel about applying for Spanish citizenship?] I'm thinking about it but we don't have any documents to be a citizen of Spain, but we do have my grandmother's Greek passport so we can become European citizens.</p>
<p>Considering Greek citizenship Less obstacles for applying for Greek citizenship Many industries are moving out of Brazil Citizenship just a document</p>	<p>[Can you apply for Greek citizenship?] Yeah, it's easier and will be quick as we've got our grandmother's passport. There are less steps. [So, you'd be interested to move to Europe?] Maybe, here in Brazil there is a political crisis. Many industries are moving out of Brazil. [Do you think if you were given Greek citizenship, would it affect your identity?] No, it's just a document for me. Here we don't have contact with Greece or Spain. We can our religion, Brazilian and Arabian customs.</p>
<p>Brazilian Jewish producer originating from the same Greek city as ancestors Visiting exhibition with family Multi-layered - sound and image, incl. text/ documents, radio/ audio clips and images Exhibitions as educational Multimedia exhibitions are emotionally engaging Music enhancing visual experience Exploring family connections through exhibitions and meeting people with this context</p>	<p>[Can you tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited?] We have a famous Brazilian producer, he's also Greek, from the same city as my family. He's Jewish also. I went with my mum to see him in January. It was all about his life, he was doing television and radio for like 16 years. He's now very old. It was very good because he's a part of the cultural life here in Brazil. [Can you describe for me a bit about how the exhibition looked?] The museum we visited had sound and image so there was many layers of image history and sounds of the radio, documents. It was good because he is from here and we learnt more about him. [Do you think a multimedia a exhibition could raise awareness of these issues we've been talked about? How do you think this could happen?] Yes, I agree. I think you feel more when you use images, sounds and bringing more comfort when knowing about it. You have the emotions involved. I think for me the habits that I have more is to listen to music and know music a little bit more. I don't play an instrument but I love music so when you have music that makes the image and the sound, you can treat any type of subject. When you have a Jewish subject you are bringing the emotion a little bit more. When I went to a museum in Israel I talked to a person who was from the same city of my grandfather. So it was very emotion because he described many things that my grandfather lived. [Thank you for speaking with me.]</p>

## Participant B (17/11/2017)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Place and date of birth Under British rule Iraqi royalty Death of the king followed by migration to Brazil We are Sephardi Sister to apply for Portuguese citizenship No documentation from Iraq Naturalised Brazilian citizens Updating old documents Iraqi not in good shape</p>	<p>[Where do you live?] I was born in Baghdad, Iraq in January 1951 which at the time was still under British rule. There was the king of Iraq, Faisal II who was killed, I believe in 1959. I can't remember the exact date. We left Iraq around 1960 and we came over to Brazil. We are Sephardi Jews. I did hear about this decision that Sephardi Jews could apply, for what I understand well either Portuguese or Spanish citizenship, most probably Portuguese but my sister in fact does want to apply for it, but I believe that the deadline is March now, next March. One of the difficulties is that we don't have documents, we do have the birth certificates. They're not exactly the birth certificates, as we know them nowadays. They were different and in Arabic. We lost our Iraqi (documents), or maybe we gave them up, I'm not sure as I was very young when these decisions were made. Many years ago I was ... I didn't know the details. Currently, in my sister's case she's trying to apply for Portuguese citizenship and ... for documents. We are now naturalised Brazilian citizens. All original documents may exist but they need to be updated but how can anyone get documents relating to 1950. My sister was born in the 60s, how can she go back for documents to a country which is in a very bad shape?</p>
<p>Brazilian lifestyle 66 years old Migrating as a child Family and traditions stick Iraqi habits and customs Not belonging to one place. There is always a tension between places and you'll never belong to one place.</p>	<p>[Do you consider yourself Brazilian or Iraqi? How do you see your nationality?] Well that's very funny because from lifestyle I would say I'm Brazilian. I'm 66 years old and I arrived here when I was 9, almost 10, so all my life, well most part of my life was spent here. No matter what, family and traditions are what keeps and things which one can never give up, being Iraqi. Although I do believe, being brought up as 100% Iraqi, in terms of habits ... I consider myself likely as I don't consider myself as Brazilian. There is always a division, you become like ET where you don't belong. You're never belong 100% anywhere.</p>
<p>Not religious or anti-religious Customs practiced in Brazil Lots of variety No prejudice</p>	<p>[How does your Sephardi identity relate to your nationality?] Well to be honest, I'm not a religious person, although I am not anti-religious. Here in Brazil we ... but we have all sorts of variations which are accepted without questioning. Over here it's not a big deal, for example, we have Jewish New Year in a month's time, you can't forget.</p>

<p>Studied in England &amp; Canada  Home is Rio  Comparing Rio with São Paulo  More Jews in São Paulo and a bigger community  Rio is more informal/casual in comparison to São Paulo  Married a Jewish woman whose parents are from Egypt  Daughter born in Brazil  Liberal approach to keeping up traditions</p>	<p>[Where do you live in Brazil?] In Rio de Janeiro. [Have you always lived in Rio?] Yes, yes. I have studied abroad, I went to an English boarding school. I was in England for sometime. I was in Canada. My home is Rio. [How would you describe the Sephardi community?] Where in Rio? [Yes in Rio.] Well you see in Rio, Rio is a little bit different than Sao Paulo. Sao Paulo has a much larger Jewish community and they ... traditions. In Sao Paulo there are many Jewish restaurants, clubs. It's a bigger community. Over here, living in Rio is normally and generally speaking, I would say, much less, how can I say, much less formal. Rio is very informal. Religion is informal as well. Of course there are times, when I got married, my wife is Jewish, her parents are from Egypt ... My daughter was born in Brazil. Of course we have traditions, but we're not so severe with them.</p>
<p>Visited Spain and Portugal as a tourist many years ago.  Brazil feels less like home over time due to political situation. This is making him feel less secure.  He is retired, unhappy with pension.  Rio is a beautiful city  Brazilian handicraft  Respecting societal customs</p>	<p>[What links do you have to Spain and/ or Portugal?] Links, what do you mean by links? [Have you visited these countries?] Yes. Myself, I've visited many years ago when I was studying in England, but Lisbon. But I wouldn't say this was a link. This was a place where I spent a few days as I went to ... at the present moment in Brazil, with its economy, its political situation is not, as, doesn't feel homely, as I felt when I was younger. ... I used to feel as though I was going back home, you feel insecure. I'm retired. What you receive as a salary is ridiculous. Have you ever visited Rio? [No] Rio is a beautiful city. You have to visit. It has lots of natural beauty. I used to have a shop in Copacabana and my focus was, I used to sell Brazilian named handicraft, especially embroidery, handmade things and things like that hundred. I sure have customers from Europe especially Europe more than America which appreciate these things more than Americans. ... there might be a market but one doesn't like to circulate you know ... you can be but don't feel comfortable to ...</p>



<p>Rio as comfortable, especially in the past  Jews are nomads  Migrating as a child  Attended Jewish school  Learnt multiple languages  Father born in Iraq and studied in India. Mother studied in Lebanon.  Brazil different place to where he and his parents grew up.  Fusion of foods  Portuguese as foreign language  British as rigorous and methodical  British system in opposition to Iraqi and Jewish mindset.</p>	<p>[So, have you felt more comfortable living in Rio over the years?] Oh yes, oh yes. In the past, we used to feel very comfortable. [So you would say you feel less comfortable now?] Oh yes, much less comfortable now. Oh definitely, much less. [Have you ever thought about changing citizenship?] Well, Jews are nomads and myself more than my sister, brother, I was, you know I came from Baghdad to Rio. That was one change coming from Baghdad to Rio, it was another change going from Rio to a British boarding school. With the English language ... I went to a Jewish school in Iraq and there we learnt Arabic, French and Hebrew. No major contact with ... Besides both my parents ... My father was born in Iraq and he studied in India ... My mother studied in Lebanon, so English wasn't completely out, but it wasn't a domestic language. So, here I am in Brazil in the middle of nowhere. In a place full of ... it was a nice place. I wouldn't say it relates to family in Iraq ... Jewish, or ... I was eating British, Brazilianised food, which is neither British nor Brazilian. We had to speak English, we were obliged. We would speak some Portuguese because it was a foreign language. We would speak to the servants at school in Portuguese. The manner and behaviour ... The way that the British are very rigorous, an ordered way of doing things. ... This is very British. Not Iraqi, and nothing to do with being Jewish. A British system.</p>
<p>Family scattered around the world  Missing family communications which would enhance traditions  More comfortable with Brazilian culture  Outsider  Not a Carioca  Went to a protestant school  Enriched with encounters with foreigners  Rio changing  Went to Jewish school  Travelling and migrating as a child</p>	<p>[Do you feel more comfortable with one of these cultures?] Listen, at this moment, with all my sanity. The other ones have passed away and the few that are left are in the United States and scattered around. So, currently you know I miss having communication with both the Iraqi and the Jewish side. Of course if they were living next to us we would gain more Iraqi and Jewish traditions. Since this is not realistic and doesn't exist, I would say ... I feel more comfortable with the Brazilian culture. Although, having said that, as an outsider, as I don't behave like a Carioca. I definitely wouldn't consider myself as a Carioca as they have a very easy going lifestyle. They are very informal and loud. They are very friendly and this I would never be able to do. The school I went to was a protestant school. I said I feel enriched by these experiences because these schools which I went to most of them were for foreigners. The school I went to here in Brazil was a school predominant made for people that worked in the British society. I can't remember the dates. But Rio was the capital, until Brasilia was made. So even in the sixties there were still some embassies in Brazil in Rio and then they proceed to move them to Brasilia. ... This was all over as English is universal. When I went to England as part of school, my grandma's uncle ... it was a Jewish school ... from Bahrain, Gibraltar and all over. Some ...</p>

<p>Meeting foreigners enables you to understand other perspectives Exposure to other cultures causes them to become a part of you Living in just one type of culture would cause repression</p>	<p>[Sorry, can you hear me? The sound occasionally cuts.] Did you hear the part when I said the schools which I went to were mainly for foreigners? [Yes] So this gives you an exposition to see what Americans think, Danish think ... So it opens up your mind and makes you relate to other cultures. And these cultures become part of you. You're exposed to it. I will never forget what would be the value of this, that and the other when culture ... I feel certain people in Brazil when they're on holiday abroad they visit ... dance, they become more ... you're exposed to different cultures. For me, it becomes apart of me. [Sorry could you repeat that?] I would feel, if I had to live with Iraqi Jewish community, I would feel slightly repressed. If these people ... to keep stuck to the traditions ...</p>
<p>Lives in the outskirts of Rio Lived in English speaking countries Living in various countries causes the feeling of displacement/lack of belonging Attached to Rio Not belonging solely to one place gives you an outside perspective, an opportunity to question. 67 years old and retired Wife's son is Sephardi</p>	<p>[Sorry you're just breaking up. Sorry, could you just repeat your last sentence?] I said that I liked to. Sorry I just forgot what I was saying. [Just to bring you back, you mentioned earlier that you feel less comfortable living in Rio and maybe the situation in Rio is a bit more uncomfortable. Have you considered moving and possibly applying for another citizenship? Maybe Spanish or Portuguese?] Well, you did originally ask me that question and I went a long way round without answering it. But I tell you what, when I started all this conversation, I was trying to say, I've lived in Iraq, in Rio, in the outskirts of Rio, England, then I went to the US, then Canada, then Rio and then I don't know where. You feel like you don't belong. Rio, in spite of its problems it's somewhere I feel I belong. So, sometimes my friends ask me, I of course carry Iraqi and Jewish habits, but all of sudden I'm Brazilian. I'm more Brazilian than they are. Based on the fact that you've seen so many different points of views ... I'm looking at the situation, you see it from different eyes than if you were 100% one thing. You see things from the outside, this gives you the opportunity to question. I'm 67, I've retired ... My wife's son who is also Sephardi ...</p>
<p>Difficult questions</p>	<p>[Sorry, could you speak into the microphone?] The microphone is a little problematic. I've had other people also complain. [Yes, that's much better.] Please give me one minute. I'm very thirsty. Hello, I'm back. These questions you ask are very easy but they're not easy to answer. There are things which are not exactly black and white. I feel like asking you the same question. You're of Indian origins, how British do you feel? [Yeah, it's a very good question and I also empathise with you a lot as I grew up in London which is very international and I have friends with very different nationalities and different cultures and so for me I don't feel at home in one culture. For me it's best to be in a situation where there's a mixture of cultures. That's where I personally feel more at home.]</p>

<p>Unusual questions Lack of understanding/appreciation of homemade Iraqi food - aspects that constitute a sense of belonging Behaviour/manner in restaurants vs home Eating rituals</p>	<p>That is it. For example the questions you are asking me are not questioned which a typical Brazilian would ask. Oh they would ask me, what do you do on your new year? Or, what do you eat on such a thing? How do you celebrate this thing or the other? It's different from when you live in the place. Whenever I mentioned that I miss Iraqi food. They say, "oh come on, there's lots of Arabic restaurants." Just go and eat there, they have good stuff. What I say is that I need Iraqi homemade cooking, not in some restaurant. The behaviour at the restaurant is more occidental. ... We are in an Iraqi Jewish household, the behaviour is completely different. The manner of serving, the manner of eating, it's the rituals.</p>
<p>Different rituals Rio vs São Paulo Internal vs external eating practices Structure of rituals</p>	<p>[So, how would you describe the difference? In what ways is it different?] I would say the rituals are different. Look, here in Rio as I've told you, Sao Paulo is different, it's much more formal. Besides Sao Paulo is much colder, so they eat indoors. In Rio we have the beach all around, it's much hotter here than in Sao Paulo. So here you have a much more external life. The Iraqi atmosphere ... the food is more elaborate, the service is ... there's a ritual, a beginning, an end.</p>
<p>No dress code - informal atmosphere in Rio Iraqis have more rituals</p>	<p>[Sorry, could you repeat that?] They are more ... especially the ones in Rio. They would come dressed or dressed in bathing suits. There isn't so much codes for how one should appear. This doesn't make a difference. The Iraqi habits I remember ... there was more rituals, which makes a big difference. Or if you see you know a typical British person ...</p>
<p>Not comfortable with the word 'identity' Doesn't like the political corruption in Brazil, lack of education and health. Lack of security and stability in Brazil</p>	<p>[I just want to make sure I understood, it seems your very comfortable and at home with this Brazilian citizenship and identity. Is that correct?] Not sure, not sure, not sure. When you say identity, you know it means that, it's a strong word. I don't like the corruption that goes around. The difference of ... I don't like the lack of education. I don't like lack of health. I don't like lack of ... When I think of these things. I hate these things. To me ... lack of security, stability</p>
<p>Wishes there was a long term mindset in Brazil for planning public services Not Brazilian Naturist photographer, taking unexpected/unusual photos Classic- b&amp;w photos Emotionally moving Sebastiao Salgado</p>	<p>[Sorry, could you just repeat your last sentence?] I wish there was a long term plan for planning schools, hospital, for the future for better ... better pensions. But here they don't look at things at a long-term basis ... I'm definitely not Brazilian. [We're just going into the final section, can you tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited?] What type of exhibition? [Anything.] A photographic exhibition? [Yes. Tell me about the exhibition. What was it about?] He's a Brazilian photographer and he takes pictures, not of the beauty of a city, but of the Amazon, the culture. They're all black and white. The destruction and reconstruction of the Amazon. It's a very touching exhibition as it doesn't show beauty or perfection, but life. His name is Sebastiao Salgado. Maybe you'll have an interest to check him out online.</p>

<p>Highlighting points of views that have been forgotten  I'm Jewish however would not rule out other identities  Little opportunities to talk about differences  Arranging furniture can expose your childhood  Jewish religion has lots of traditions, symbolism and rituals - what it's all about  Carioca's dress in white for New Year's Eve</p>	<p>[Thank you. Just my final question: do you think an exhibition could raise awareness of these issues we've discussed today?] Yes, of course. It would be very interesting. I would have an opportunity to look at points of views that are forbidden, that are one things and other things as well. I'm Jewish, I wouldn't say I'm not catholic, I wouldn't say I'm not protestant. I'm Jewish, I would participate in Brazilian commemoration where they put flowers ... which is spiritualism [Sorry, could you repeat that?] Life today doesn't give people the opportunity to expose and talk about their difficulties. It's easy to say, oh Rio is beautiful, London is great, but there are very few people who have a view of London as a Londoner which is an outside. A brazilian who has lived here for over 50 years who is not 100% Brazilian. This would be a little contentious. While we are talking, my daughter who is Brazilian born, she has struggled with tourism. I wouldn't be surprised that certain cultures, certain values which you can decorate in your house, the way you expose your furniture can expose your childhood. Maybe this has to do with some background ... Or maybe if I was accidentally born in Iraq and had no contact with relatives, traditions, the Jewish religion has a lot of traditions and symbolism and a lot of rituals. This is what it's all about. For example, over here, for New Years everyone dresses in white ... give flowers to ... everybody wears ... t-shirts, nothing sophisticated, you have all these people coming over, walking, walking, everyone wearing white ... If you want to go to the restaurant you need to make a reservation. Thank you for your time. No you're welcome, if you need anything else please let me know. I wish you success with your masters.</p>
---	--

### Participant C (15/12/2017)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Living in Reading, will move to London  Working in IT  From Brazil  Living in UK since 13, for 24 years  Spent a period of 10 years in Rio (2000-2010)  Left UK thinking it was a 'shithole'  Felt like an expat/foreigner in Brazil working for a multinational</p>	<p>[Where do you live?] I live in London and temporarily in Reading. I plan to move to London. I'm just really doing a temporary project in Reading but then I'll go back to London. I work in IT.  [How long have you been in Reading for?] Just a couple of weeks so I'll be here maybe for three months or so and then I'm moving back to London. [How long have you been in the UK for?] I'm from Brazil, I came here when I was 13, I've been here for 24 years now. I went back to Rio from 2000 to 2010 and I've been back since 2010. [How do you find living in the UK?] I hated it [laughter]. As I said I was here from 13 until my 40s, then I went back. To be honest when I went back to Brazil I thought "my god I hope I never come back to this shithole" [laughter], then I went to Brazil. I went there like as an expat with a sort of multinational company etc.</p>

<p>Intention of permanently moving back to Brazil  Moving back to the UK for economical reasons  Feeling 'back at home' in the UK after 10 years in Brazil  England as a second home  England is much less racist than it used to be</p>	<p>I thought I was going back to Brazil for good but then that job finished and I tried working as a freelancer and that didn't really work out so then I thought, sure I'm gonna have to come back to England - really for economic reasons. I thought oh my god. I was sitting on the beach in Rio thinking my god within two weeks everything will be over and I'll be in London. I thought I would shoot myself within a few weeks, but I was surprised when I came back I felt quite at home. I liked it and I'm still trying to figure out to this day why I'm so much more comfortable now than I was. I now regard England as my second home. I look at it with much more affection than I did before, which is probably a mixture of me and England. I guess I think England is much less racist now than it was before.</p>
<p>First arriving, Irish were doing labouring jobs. Irish have left and Polish now doing these jobs.  Graduated in 1988  When started working he was the only foreigner in meetings. Now things have reversed.  Having a different accent  Is there a lack of skilled workers in the UK?  54 years old and always been working in IT</p>	<p>For example when I was first here, there were Irish people doing all the sort of labouring jobs and stuff like that. Suddenly you come back and all the Irish people have evaporated and all the Polish people are here now. I graduated in 1988 and every single business meeting I've ever been to was always the only foreigner. In every meeting, everybody is speaking with English accents as soon as I would speak it would be like this foreign accent. It's very weird and then now I come back and it's literally like every business meeting I have, there might only be one English person. People from East Europe and then you might see somebody from a weird place, like me. It's totally changed and I still haven't managed to work out what happened. Is there a lack of IT people here? I mean it has totally multiplied, how the hell did it change? I'm 54 years old. Since graduating, yeah I've always worked in IT.</p>
<p>Brazilian nationality  Realising and accepting as a teenager he was different to others  In tune with Rio, culture resonates more than English  English culture as closed &amp; reserved  Feeling out of place as a result of cultural differences</p>	<p>[How would you describe your national identity?] Well, Brazilian. In fact it's quite funny because during my teens I accepted I was kind of weird in some way, very different to everybody else. My reactions and attitude seem to be different. I just accepted I was different from everybody else. Then I go to Rio and I suddenly realised actually this is completely cultural. Suddenly I'm in tune with everybody else. I guess the culture in Rio resonates more with me than English culture. I didn't realise until coming here [Rio] you know all this stiff upper lip and stuff like that culture. I find it really unhealthy. Obviously, I wasn't aware of that; I just felt this kind of difference which I subsequently realised was really cultural. [Did you study in the UK?] I did you go to university in the UK, Polytechnics as they were called then. Started with chemical engineering and then went to Southbank, London where I did computing.</p>

<p>Brexit is absurd Feeling shocked at this seismic change Changes are a way of life in Brazil Brexit was the reason for exploring other citizenship options Freedom of movement within Europe is the main motivation Brexit is a big mistake, although Europe are corrupt and inflexible</p>	<p>[How do you feel about Brexit?] I think it's absurd, I mean I do think Europe could have been a bit more flexible, you know it's their fault. I was shocked when it happened and if I had told my English friends now, how we live in Brazil because when this happened it's like it's as if everything went upside down and everybody, my god the whole world changed. In Brazil it's a way of life, every time a new government comes in the whole world changes. That's how we live permanently. In England you're used to everything being much more methodical and I think this is the first time at least in my lifetime in England where suddenly everything is turned upside down. In fact it's one of the reasons why I got interested in maybe getting a Portuguese or Spanish passport because you know with the way it was before you had [access] to the whole of Europe. Well now suddenly I think it's a big mistake, although I do think Europe has been a bit sort of corrupt and inflexible etc.</p>
<p>Younger generation not having racist opinions In the 70s there was a different mindset - UK citizens not feeling part of Europe, divided Now UK is much more integrated with the EU, before there was a much more us and them (foreigners) attitude Feeling more at home as UK has a more accepting attitude</p>	<p>[Have you found a difference in attitude over the last few years?] I think especially the younger generation. I was in Question Time (BBC political/public debate program) and I was seeing the reaction of the younger people, my god they change because I used to think you know English people were very racist. I think not now. In fact when I first came back in 1976, people would used to say the UK is not part of Europe, and I would say I'm sorry dude but it's a geographical fact. I guess now people have travelled, go on holidays abroad etc. I think they'll much more integrated. I used to hear people say, English people are like this and foreigners are like that. I mean the view literally I don't think there was his view that, here is the world and here's Europe and England is in Europe and these are the different countries. It was English people and the foreigners. I think it's good that that's changed. I think now it's much more healthy attitude and I guess it's why I feel so much more at home now.</p>
<p>UK national Has visited Spain and Portugal on a few occasions Doesn't really feel part of the Sephardi community, although his brother was part of a Jewish fraternity Doesn't feel strongly Jewish, feels more Brazilian</p>	<p>[Are you a UK national?] Yes. [So, potentially you could have triple nationality?] I guess so, yes. [Do you have any links to Spain or Portugal?] Er, no. I've been there a few times, but that's it. [How would you describe the Sephardi community?] Well I'm not really, you know, my brothers is very Jewish because he goes to the US and at college he was part of a Jewish fraternity. I think he has much more of a Jewish identity. I have cousins who don't want to have one name. I'd know if you've heard about this, but some sort of youth Jewish movement. Let's say in my case I don't feel a very strong sort of Jewish identity shall we say. I feel more Brazilian I guess you know I'd have more in common with a Brazilian person then I guess for the Jewish person.</p>

<p>Conversation with cousin prompting further inquiry  Brexit causing him to look into other citizenship options  Freedom of movement, settling and opportunities in other countries for him and his family the primary motivation  Applying for citizenship is purely practical  Immigrant communities creating culture away from their home countries  Stumbling across a book of interest</p>	<p>[How did you find out about this Portuguese Citizenship option?] I think somebody mentioned it to me. I kind of forgot about it and then my cousin mentioned he had spoken to you and I wanted to get some information on that. I guess it's only started interesting me after this Brexit thing because you know I can get back, having Europe as a sort of option. What is important I think, is just having the possibility of living in Europe for a few years. I guess if I ever do have kids this could open up the opportunity for them. I mean that's what I tell all my cousins and my family because you never know what doors may open. [Do you think applying for Portuguese citizenship would change your sense of identity?] Well to be honest it's more something opportunistic you know given it's a bit like if I did have a grandfather that was fortunate and I could have applied for a Portuguese or Spanish passport then I would purely do so from a practical point of view. In fact I think there's a book I bought which you might be of interest to you. Unfortunately I can't quite remember the name but it talks about Spain and then the immigrant communities that created Spanish culture and in fact the people who emigrated away from Spain and how that created a lot of Spanish culture. I guess it would be very much in your line. I'll try to find it again. I just happened to walk into a bookshop and I saw it. I bought it, I may still have the book. If I find it, I'll send it to you. [Thanks]</p>
<p>Visiting Lionel Richie and Chic concert at Hyde Park  Enjoys listening to 70s disco music as it reminds him of childhood  Always good exploring cultural differences &amp; similarities, whether in books, exhibitions, talks etc  Recalling a documentary film interviewing Iraqis who were expelled</p>	<p>[Can you tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited?] I don't think I've visited any recently. [Have you been to a concert?] Well, actually I think it was the Lionel Richie and Chic concert at Hyde Park. In the seventies they were the gods of disco music. There was a big outdoor stage that was set up. [What did you enjoy about it?] I just kind of like the music, how can I say. I sort of grew up with him. [How do you think a multimedia exhibition could raise awareness of kind of these citizenship issues?] Yes, these kind of cultural differences maybe, kind of similarities. I think they're our history. These things are always good, whether they're books, exhibitions or talks. Yeah these things are all valid as a matter of fact something that you may be interested in and again I'll send your link to my cousin as there's a film which talks about a whole bunch of Iraqis that were expelled. I think they were captured, seven of them talked about it on the film and the shrinkage in the other half. I came across it at the migration Film Festival. I think was just two weeks ago in London.</p>

## Participant D (17/12/2017)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Living in London and trained as a clinical psychologist, working in a health trust for patient and public involvement in research</p> <p>British nationality</p> <p>Spending a lot of time in France makes me feel more European.</p> <p>Husband spending a lot of time in Spain</p> <p>Born in the UK and family residing here as Sephardi Jews, ancestors date back to the 18th century</p>	<p>[Where do you live?] London [Have you lived in London very long?] Yes. [What do you do for a living?] I'm a clinical psychologist by training and became a whistleblower in my last employment and was transferred to a different health trust. My job disappeared and since being a whistleblower, it's very stressful. I do whatever I'm asked, although my job description has not changed I still do what's called patient and public involvement in research. [Have you done this for a long time?] I've been working in the health service all my life. I was a clinical psychologist for nearly 38 years. [Did you study in the UK?] Yes. [Where did you study?] I started first at Cambridge and I qualified but I didn't do psychology there. I then qualified at the University of Surrey. [Did you consider studying abroad?] No. [How would you describe your nationality?] Clearly at the moment I'm British. [What does it mean to be British?] Well first of all that's my passport. I have spent quite a lot of time in France and I think that made me feel more European and my husband does quite a lot of work in Spain. Clearly I am British. I was born in this country and my family have been in this country as Sephardi Jews. My family have been in this country since the late 18th century, 1790.</p>
<p>Brought up Sephardi, father was Mahamad and mother part of lady's guild at synagogue</p> <p>Jewish identity is becoming more important getting older</p> <p>Involved with the Sephardi community</p> <p>Son has written a book about the inquisition</p> <p>Ancestors who were burnt at the stake</p> <p>Applying for citizenship has made her more aware of her origins</p> <p>Rising anti-semitism across Europe</p> <p>History of European anti-semitism</p>	<p>[Are there any Sephardi traditions that you were brought up with?] I was brought up Sephardi, my father was on the Mahamad and my mother was president of the lady guild in the synagogue. I was brought up Sephardi. [Is it an important part of your identity?] Certainly, has become more important yes. [How?] Well I think as one gets older, we may sort of look at one's life differently. That's one thing. I am 73 but I think being Jewish has become more important for me. I'm quite involved in my Sephardi synagogue and of course this whole business my son has written a book about the Inquisition and he's ..., it's called '...'. I think and of course I read it you know it was horrific. We have a couple of ancestors who were burnt at the stake and you know this whole business of applying for nationality with Portugal has made me feel more aware of my origins and of course there is a rise in anti-semitism in Europe and I view it - Northern Europe had the Holocaust and southern Europe had the Inquisition. We see now a rise in anti-semitism across Europe.</p>



<p>Brexit causing unpleasant aspects to come out</p> <p>Shocking death threats received government officials</p> <p>Finding out about the possibility of Portuguese citizenship after the Brexit vote</p> <p>Actively looking at citizenship options</p> <p>Friend's daughter was talking to a lawyer, prompting to search online</p> <p>Son is becoming Spanish and has written a book about the inquisition, he can demonstrate a link to Spain but she can't</p> <p>Learning Spanish and proficient enough to pass exam however not needed at her age</p> <p>Deciding as a family to apply for citizenship</p>	<p>[Have you seen a difference since the Brexit vote last year?] Well, I think Brexit has caused some unpleasant aspects within the British people to come out - yes. I mean I'm shocked by all these death threats to MPs and people in the House of Lords who oppose hard Brexit. Some of these people are suffering death threats and I don't know what - trolling emails and I don't know what. [Did you consider applying for Portuguese citizenship before the Brexit vote?] I don't think I knew about it. [How did you find out about it?] Well I started by looking into Spanish citizenship and I was talking about it with a friend of mine whose daughter went so far as to discuss this matter with a lawyer who said that Portuguese citizenship was much easier. I'm no longer sure that that's the case. At the time, I googled the matter and it appeared to be easier. In any case I can't demonstrate any personal [connection to Spain]. My son is becoming Spanish, but I can't. You know he's written a book on the Inquisition which obviously is an aspect of Spanish history. He teaches in a university department, Latin-America Studies. He can demonstrate a link with Spain but I can't. Although I started to learn Spanish and got on with it quite well and went to the Cervantes Institute they said I could have passed the exams which I now have discovered they don't require for people at my age. I could not have demonstrated a link with Spain but I can with the Portuguese. I decided you know I sent the Portuguese requirements to my daughter and we decided to go down the Portuguese road.</p>
<p>Applying as a family, she has applied first</p> <p>Family applications approved by synagogue</p> <p>Experiencing legal difficulties with application due to living in US for more than 3 months and needs FBI clearance</p> <p>Working with Portuguese lawyer</p> <p>Always Sephardi</p> <p>Most famous ancestor was wife of Sir Moses Montefiore who is credited with eating cold fried fish at Seder Passover - tradition continues to this day</p>	<p>[Are you applying with your daughter?] We're making a family application. I have applied. I was the test case. I have been accepted by the synagogue in Lisbon and a number of my relations on the basis that we are demonstrating the same genealogy have also been accepted. The others are in course. [When do you expect to have your citizenship?] What with the legal difficulties are quite considerable and not for some time is the answer. I have to surmount the legal difficulties which the requirements you know are quite confusing and difficult in my view. [Are you working with with a lawyer?] I have a Portuguese lawyer who was recommended to me. My daughter is coming to stay this weekend and we're going to look at the matter. One of the problems for me is obtaining FBI clearance because I lived in the States for more than three months. [Could you tell me a bit about what kind of Sephardi traditions, characteristics or food is important for you?] I was always Sephardi and apparently my ancestors, well she was not a direct ancestor, is my most famous ancestor was the Sir Moses Montefiore who was of course Sephardi. He had no children, his wife was Judy Lady Montefiore and she did a cookbook and she's credited with fried fish which we always have it Pesach - Passover. We always had fried fish, cold fried fish at Seder Passover</p>

<p>Ashkenazi vs Sephardi  Accepting customs and traditions  Sephardi traditions more open &amp; tolerant  Ashkenazi traditions gaining more priority  Long tradition of Sephardi Jews in important positions  Personal connection to important historical figures  Tradition of mixing  Liberal attitudes, not condemning  Personal experience very different to orthodox sephardi attitude portrayed in magazine</p>	<p>[Any are there any other traditions?] Well, when I go to an Ashkenazi synagogue which I do sometimes for bar mitzvahs, and things like that, it all seems very different. So I think it's hard to say it's just what I've always accepted you know. [How would you say it's different to Ashkenazi customs and traditions?] I think the Sephardi tradition is much more open and tolerant and all that. The haredi Ashkenazi tradition are gaining priority and you know but the Sephardis I think have always been more tolerance. The court Jews were Sephardis in Spain perhaps Morocco they were Sephardis, Moses Montefiore was perhaps in that tradition he was friendly with Queen Victoria. He was a sheriff in the city of London and the Sephardis have always you know, there's always been that tradition of mixing in the world. I think my ex-senior rabbi, I'm not sure I should quote this, but he said "it is not for me to say who is a good Jew", because of that he was much more tolerant, to gays and to others than what others would have been. I was very shocked by an article in a psychology magazine about Orthodox North London Jews. Well I belong to an Orthodox synagogue. I don't keep a kosher house but the fact is the article was about haredis and the Sephardi tradition. Well the Orthodox part of the tradition is very different from that.</p>
<p>Large amount of family applying for Portuguese or Spanish citizenship, greater amount applying for Portuguese  Grateful to Portugal  British government not sure about outcome of Brexit &amp; causing uncertainty  Portuguese citizenship safeguarding options  Other European countries offering citizenship, Jews can not bring themselves to return to Poland  Grateful to Portugal  Moral thing is to accept offer  Owns a cottage in France, knows France very well  Lived in pre-revolutionary Portugal and worked as a governess</p>	<p>[How have your friends and family reacted to Brexit?] A large number of my family are applying for Portuguese citizenship. I have three relations including my son and two others who are applying for Spanish citizenship, all under 70 not all speak Spanish and not all are prepared to learn it. Although they were and have a link with Spain. They could go down that route also but a large number of my, not all but a large number of my relations are going down the Portuguese route. [Why do you wish to gain Portuguese citizenship?] I'm very grateful to Portugal, to the citizens and the government for allowing me and my relations this opportunity. It is impossible to say as the British government does not know what it wants. The British government and the British people have no idea what the final deal will be. It is impossible to say what the potential benefits will be but I thought I would safeguard my options. I also feel very grateful to Portugal and you know unlike some other European countries which do offer citizenship to Jews have made certain or survivors of Jews who they've expelled Germany. Austria is less generous. Poland though not many Jews bring themselves to take advantage of that. There are other countries which are doing it, not France but there are other countries which are offering citizenship to Jews of origin from their countries. I'm very grateful to Portugal for offering this. [What do you mean by options?] I don't know but first of all I'm grateful to Portugal and I think you know when people say they're sorry and wish to make amends it's the right thing to do; to accept that, so that's what I'm doing. [What parts of France have you visited?] I visited quite a lot of France, we have a cottage in the Auvergne and I've been to Paris a number of times. I've been for the east. I've been to the south, to the west a bit to the north. I was also in pre-revolutionary Portugal, a governess there.</p>

<p>Cousin has relations with people in Lisbon  Decided to apply to synagogue in Lisbon due to family connections  Lisbon is changing, modernising  Government trying to attract businesses and people, seems to be working  Visited Algarve with mother and stayed by a sardine factory</p>	<p>[Where in Portugal was that?] Near Lisbon. [Do you frequently visit Portugal?] No, but a cousin of mine still has relations in the Lisbon community and that's why we went for Lisbon and not Porto. I think I'll be going there again [Lisbon]. [What are your experiences of visiting?] Also, Lisbon is now on the move. It's not like how it was when I was a governess there and you know I think it seems to be ... it seems to be on the move and it's trying to attract new businesses and people to go and live there which I think has been quite successful. [Have you visited other parts of Portugal?] I have been to the Algarve. I went with my mother and we stayed by a sardine factory, but no it was very nice. It was a long time ago so I can't quite remember. I have been with my partner who goes on business trips to Spain, mostly Catalonia.</p>
<p>Husband is an art historian specialising in 20th century art  Painting exhibitions with family connections  Husband educating/ 'opening eyes' to abstract art  Citizenship issues not a Jewish problem, a universal issue, e.g. those applying for Irish citizenship  Would not like to see an exhibition focussing solely on Jews</p>	<p>[Can you tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited?] My husband is an art historian and his period is 20th century so we tend to go to that sort of thing but we also go to other types of exhibitions, for example Rembrandt. The Soutine exhibition at the Courtauld gallery where my husband was employed. [What are your thoughts about this exhibition?] I'm afraid my husband is an art historian but I am not and I'm afraid I don't quite experience it in the same way as he does. Art historians look at an exhibition and say well is it a good exhibition but I just tend to look at the works. Well I find Soutine very approachable. Modigliani, what I do find abstract art is approachable, because my eye has been educated by my husband, but I also like portrait. [Do you think a multimedia exhibition could raise awareness of the issues we've discussed?] I think it could. [How do you think we could reflect on these issues?] Are you talking about the Jews or not particularly? [Yes] You see I'm always reluctant to see it as a Jewish phenomenon because this is what Jews are always accused of you know, they were accused of not being proper German, not being proper citizens. So I'm reluctant to see it as a Jewish phenomenon and when I was interviewed for Sky News I made that point very clearly, I said lots of people who were able to applying for Irish citizenship, which is of course true. I wouldn't like to see an exhibition focused on the Jews in this area. [So you think it would be more appropriate to have a wide ...] I would rather have a wider one.</p>

## Participant D (23/05/2018)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Parents were members of S&amp;P synagogue            Didn't fit in at other synagogues so rejoined S&amp;P            Synagogue has changed as children no longer go there            There are many Sephardis from the Middle East who attend            Had a group bat mitzvah</p>	<p>[Have you always been a member of the S&amp;P synagogue?] My parents went there. After my marriage I went to another synagogue, actually two other synagogues for a while but then I came back. I never really fitted in at the other synagogues, I felt more familiar, it seemed a better place for me. [Has the synagogue changed over the years?] It's certainly changed for me. I haven't got many family there. My own children don't live in London so they don't go. I haven't got any family there. I think it certainly has changed. There are many Sephardi Jews from other places outside Spain and Portugal who go there, from the Middle East for example. [How do you think that has changed the character of the synagogue?] Oh they've kept the same minhag, I don't think I'm really qualified to say. [Did you have your bat mitzvah at the S&amp;P?] Yes, I did. [How was that?] Well, I went to boarding school so I didn't know the other girls very well and you know it was a group bat mitzvah, I don't think people have them anymore.</p>
<p>Wearing white dresses for bat mitzvah            Rabbi visited once a week to help prepare            Joining various community and associated groups            Being apart of the women's megillah is a bonding experience            Making friends at the synagogue            Writing children's stories in verse based on Jewish versions of biblical stories            Getting familiar with stories</p>	<p>[Do you remember much from it?] Well I remember it was a very important occasion. I think there were half a dozen of us and we all wore white dresses, short white dresses. I was prepared for it by rabbi Provera who came to see me once a week at boarding school. Why are you asking me this? [I'd like to get a sense of the aspects that bind us to a community. What important elements gives us a sense of belonging, and whether a bat mitzvah maybe one of them] I'm not sure it was for me. I think you know when I came back I joined various groups. I joined the ... group and became very active with that. I had joined the Montefiore endowment later which is not part of the synagogue but has a long association with the synagogue. I play an active role in the restoration of works at Ramsgate. I've taken part in the women's megillah which I do find it a bonding experience. I've made some friends in the synagogue. [Are there any religious passages or stories that are significant for you?] I did some children's stories in verse based on Bible stories but the Jewish version of Bible stories. I went through them with rabbi Levy the previous senior rabbi. I got very familiar with those stories.</p>
<p>Not everyone thinks Brexit is a bad thing            Economy is shrinking            Not approving of referendums as elected officials are responsible for making decisions            People being manipulated            Still waiting for FBI clearance</p>	<p>[Do you still think Brexit is a bad thing?] Not everyone thinks it's a bad thing. Already the economy has shrunk; It'll shrink more. There'll be a lot of difficulties over implementation even partial you know bit by bit. I don't personally approve of referendums myself. We elect people to Parliament to make these decisions for us. I think that referendum was poorly drawn up, perhaps both in terms of questions and certainly in terms of the structure. This doesn't have to be a all-or-nothing thing. The issues about whether people were manipulated from outside whether there was Putin's influence perhaps who would like to see a weaker Europe. [How is your citizenship application going?] Well I'm waiting for my FBI clearance, it's very slow business.</p>

<p>S&amp;P community is part of identity  Long history  Family connections to other synagogues  Keeping a promise</p>	<p>I think the truth is that I went to the S&amp;P Synagogue with my family as a girl and it is part of my identity. My father was on the Mahammad and my mother was President of the Ladies Guild, and the corner stone was laid by an ancestor of mine. I promised my uncle to take care of the Sephardi Synagogue, Ramsgate, and I am now doing this. I am a ... by birth and my family has been associated with the Synagogue for generations.</p>
---	--

**Participant E (18/02/2018)**

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Long history  Expulsion  Perpetrators of Jewish descent  Perpetrators' considerations  Conversion to catholicism  Childhood innocence  Word of mouth  Discovery of passover central to being revealed as Jewish. Key reason for fleeing Portugal.  Passover - key element linking ancestors to present day practice - heritage.  History providing a sense of belonging.  Victims  Casualty along the way</p>	<p>The church had persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella to expel the Jews, which they did. They were both, Ferdinand and Isabella partly of Jewish descent. I think Ferdinand actually had a Jewish mother. And Dom Alvaro (Alvaro of Braganza), who was the Chancellor. They gave him a special dispensation to stay with his family without conversion but he chose to go to Lisbon but only a very few years later (about four or five years) they, all the Jews of Portugal were forcibly converted without the option of even leaving. Our family, the story is that one of them a young female member of the family, had a best friend who was the niece of a Grand Inquisitor when she revealed to her friend that the family had just celebrated Passover. Her friend told her uncle and I know that one member of the family was actually burnt at the stake and the rest left in a great hurry.</p>
<p>Imagining survival process  Making roots  Purchasing a house</p>	<p>As some of them became diamond merchants in London, one can assume that they converted what they could into diamonds very quickly. I don't know. I mean I'm only guessing, but they were not badly off everdently when they came here. They bought a house in Highgate that they bought, or some member of the family.</p>

<p>Victim Referencing historical figures provides a sense of belonging and connections to a place. Living in hiding Privately Jewish Respecting societal customs Empathy with relations that were tortured Criticising perpetrators Lack of societal self-reflection Comparison with 'primitive' civilisation Worship leading to destruction</p>	<p>One of them became the personal physician to Catherine of Braganza, that's Charles II queen and he didn't openly revert to the Jewish religion. I suppose he thought it was tactless to do so, and of course he was employed because he could speak Portuguese, but apparently Catherine of Braganza did go back to Lisbon to witness the burning at the stake of his relation who was even though the torture didn't confess to being a secret Jew [long pause] and they used to call these auto-da-fé - an act of faith to witness this terrible event. Somebody once pointed out the horror with which the Spaniards regarded the human sacrifice performed by the Aztecs without sort of thinking about what they themselves were doing which was very much the same because the Aztecs were trying to please their gods and of course the Christian priests were trying to please theirs.</p>
<p>Escaping Long history Referencing historical figures provides a sense of belonging and connections to a place. William the Conqueror (C11 way before Portuguese expulsion) Synagogue keeping records Minority community Tracing roots Family heritage Unknown burial site Migrating as a child</p>	<p>I'm afraid anyway the family came to this country. I think at some point they were in Rouen in France. I didn't know what the connection with Rouen was. You know that the Jews who came over with William the Conqueror came mainly from Rouen, where there was an old Jewish community. [How were you able to trace back your roots?] It's not very difficult because the archives you see, there were never very many Spanish or Portuguese Jews coming to this country. They would mostly have joined the only Synagogue there was, the archives of that Synagogue have been kept and it's not very difficult to trace, though there are various other sources and that, may believe to trace it, but I mean my great-grandmother was Miss Mendez de Costa and her father was a Jacob Mendez de Costa and it's possible to trace them back. You see, it's like that, he was born in 1839 or something like that, in the 1830s I think. It's possible to trace him back just little over a hundred years, which is three or four generations and the immediate ancestor who we can trace who came to this country as a child is buried in the cemetery somewhere outside the City of London, I don't know where the burial ground is.</p>

<p>Family oral history tradition  Family connections creating a sense of belonging  Making connections with important historical figures elevate and possibly substantiate heritage.  Monitoring/ surveillance by perpetrators  Accessing archives</p>	<p>[Is this something you've always known?] Oh yes, yes my great-uncle for some reason and I had a family tree made, there's some errors on it, and I have been able to correct those errors. I mean I haven't altered his family tree. He mainly seemed interested in showing what his connection was with Dom Alvaro or with Disraeli [Ex-British Prime Minister]. Okay the connection wasn't very close with Disraeli. Anyway, Bom Alvaro probably is a direct ancestor, but there are several generations missing that would connect, I mean, you know three or four generations where we don't know the names, but somebody has said to me that the best source of information on that would actually be at the Inquisition itself, so although there was this terrible earthquake in Lisbon in 1750s, some time wasn't it. The Inquisition for some reason must have kept duplicates in Rome and they obviously kept an interest in anyone of Jewish descent.</p>
<p>Historical Jewish connections  Perpetrators of Jewish descent  Belonging  Heritage  Growing up</p>	<p>I mean curiously - as you know Ferdinand and Isabella referred to as the Catholic kings, and one wonders whether they had any attachment to the Jewish community, that they, which you know, had they not been under the pressure of the church whether they would have had more friendly connections with the Jewish community and they quite clearly did have some because some of their relations were Jewish. Anyway, I mean that's certainly something I was aware of as a child.</p>
	<p>I haven't personally tried to fill in the gaps between people who left Lisbon and the people who came from Spain. I would think it was possible I mean of course it involves reading late medieval, early Renaissance handwriting in Latin or Spanish. I mean my Latin is perfectly good and Spanish isn't too difficult but you know you can make the odd mistake because it's not native language.</p>
<p>Gap with pre-Portuguese C15 family-tree  Investigating ancestors  Language barriers  Accessing archives  Perpetrators now more tolerant  Mass murderer</p>	<p>No, I've not, I've never been to see it but possibly if I went to Rome which I plan that I'm getting to really quite soon it might be possible to inquire whether I could look at the records of the Inquisition but I wouldn't know how to set about it or who to write to. I wonder how one would go about it. I think in the first instance we probably would write to the archbishop of Westminster here. He would tell me who to get in touch with in Rome because of course the catholics are now very much more tolerant of the Jews than they used to be. I mean there was Pope John Paul II, I think who issued some saying for example that the death of Jesus was in no way encompassed by all the Jews at the time or by any of the Jews since. In other words he's going against st. Augustine who said that anyone, any Jew who does not convert to Christianity it is as though he had killed Christ himself and you see, yeah, in that sense Augustine is a mass murderer.</p>

<p>Family Heritage Nationality Comparing languages and dialects Roots of languages Proximity and interaction between cultures</p>	<p>I have four daughters. They too wish to gain Portuguese nationality. [While they were growing up, did you feel it was important to tell them about their heritage?] Yes, oh, this is my wife [...]. I was in Barcelona with a Portuguese friend and of course she could understand everything they said to her but they just said these stupid people they don't understand a word of Portuguese, but what I think they've got, I mean as written 90% is comprehensible to both, but there's you know, there's the odd word which is obscure. It's more obscure than the difference between Americans and British English. Just a few odd words expressed differently. They know what a fortnight is but they just don't use the work. I think the answer is, is that there's been a lot of communication across the Atlantic. The variation has been very slight, with modern communication, it's diminished, for example, with a billion and a trillion.</p>
<p>Family oral history tradition Coming of age ceremony Heritage Belonging Migration as a child Unknown burial site Investigating ancestors Making connections with important historical figures Secret Jews</p>	<p>[Did you have a method for telling your daughters?] No, it was just incidental conversation. Okay when my eldest grandson had his Bar Mitzvah he did refer to the fact that some part of the family came from Lisbon, it's usual to give a little homage to the family, Bar Mitzvah boy, at the time that you read the bit from the Bible. [Have you visited Portugal with with your daughters?] I've never been with my daughters but my daughters have been and I've been. I've not really been to where we are from, there's no way about this, as everything was destroyed in the earthquake in the 1750s. I think, although, the one who most directly came here, that's the one who's buried, who came here as a child, he's buried somewhere near the City, he came from somewhere called [...] Have you heard of such a place? Maybe a village and my uncle's family tree showed descent from Fernão Mendes Pinto. Whether there was some obvious errors there because there was at least one generation missing. We know that Fernão Mendes Pinto was very close to the jesuits but that doesn't stop him having actually been a secret Jew. He was known I think to be of Jewish descent.</p>
<p>Modern Portugal Family as one unit Coming of age and gaining rights from descent Collecting documents Contact with lawyer Resolving potential language barriers Searching online</p>	<p>I've only been to Lisbon and to the Algarve. I've never been to Porto. I've only been for a week or two to Lisbon and a week or two to the Algarve. I'm [applying for Portuguese nationality], so are my four daughters and two of my grandchildren. The others being underaged not having to apply at the moment. We hope they would get Portuguese nationality because of their parents. There's some difficult as one [of them] is going to be 18 [years old] in June. We haven't actually applied, we're getting hold of their documents and you have to get what they call [...] let's say certified by a notary public and sworn in front of somewhere like the Lisbon consulate, or the Foreign Office of, sorry, something like that. I got to get it straight, have a look and see. I'm using a lawyer in Lisbon, her English is perfectly good. I mean I get the impression that she's, although she has a name [looking at tablet] I'm just going to try and see what I can find.</p>



<p>Expensive gaining citizenship  Payment to authorities  Payment to Portuguese Jewish community  Collecting documents</p>	<p>It's more expensive than I expected and there are constantly more expenses involved. I'm paying the lawyers quite a lot actually and the lawyers are coming to about 800 pounds per person and then 800 euros sorry, and then it becomes about 250 euros per person for the Jewish community. Then the Portuguese authorities, it's another 250, then to get the thing certified and to have recent birth certificates and marriage certificates certified by a notary public. Well there are many of those in this country so it costs something, so you know the money is adding up.</p>
<p>Gap with pre-Portuguese C15 family-tree  No language barrier  No need to pay taxes  Language barrier  Comparing languages and dialects</p>	<p>[Did you think about gaining Spanish citizenship?] I did think about it but the great merits of Portuguese is that, well first of all, I can't easily show descent from Spanish ancestors because as I mentioned there are three or two or four generations when I can't identify the people without possibly going to Rome and finding out because Spanish is easier as a language that might be better but on the other hand you see for the Portuguese one you don't have to speak Portuguese, you don't have to live in Portugal and you don't have to pay Portuguese taxes or do Portuguese national service or anything like that. So with Spanish i think you have to show quite good competence in the Spanish language. Well my Spanish is a bit basic. I mean, I could certainly cope with getting around Spain but I couldn't have much of an intellectual conversation. I'm sure I could improve my Spanish and as I speak Italian it's not, the word so very similar very often there are few Arabic words but though the Arabic words of course are quite similar to Hebrew so they're not too alien though this sometimes changed the meaning. For example, the word for oil is what I think of as the word for an olive.</p>
<p>Brexit prompting citizenship application  Brexit prompting membership of the S&amp;P synagogue  Heritage  Belonging  Membership of liberal synagogue  Doesn't identify with radical liberal politics  Identifies with traditions  Resolving potential language barriers  Gender equality  Doesn't especially feel comfortable in orthodox synagogues  Religious rituals  Discouraging women from attending synagogue</p>	<p>[Have you thought about Portuguese citizenship since the EU referendum?] Yes it was, very much so and also I didn't realized just how easy it was to join the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. I do happen to prefer their services. I go to a liberal synagogue here in London. The liberal synagogue has merit of the, various merits perhaps it's just, for example it's less radical than it used to be. So it's much more traditional than it was it uses a lot of English in its services which i think is beneficial. There are some central parts of the morning service but it's still having Hebrew and they don't separate men and women at all, whereas the Orthodox have done so for nearly two thousand years, they used not to two thousand years ago, it was not customary to separate men and women in the temple for example or in synagogues. Now orthodox synagogues make a point of separating men and women. You will sometimes find that there are men on one side of the aisle and women on the other. I went to a synagogue in Cannes where the women were on one side and men on the other. I went back later and they had the rabbi who was from some Arab country and he had arranged some sort of a women's galleries so placed that nobody could see the women and the women couldn't see what was going on anyway, could barely hear and of course very few women then came.</p>

<p>Belonging Heritage Membership of synagogue Identifies with liberal Jewish attitudes Liberal attitudes towards Jewish dietary and clothing rules Respecting societal customs</p>	<p>[When did you start to go to this liberal synagogue?] My parents, my father joined in the 1920s and some of the family joined when it was first set up. The people, the Jews have been in this country for several centuries were fairly liberal in their attitudes. Let's say they didn't observe a very strict kashrut and they wouldn't have bothered too much about what sort of clothes they wore, you know there's supposed to be a separation of wool and linen. You mustn't have two together. You might think well when do you do that, apparently stiffening in the lapels of a jacket very often contains linen or used and of course the jacket itself is mainly made of wool so if you were strictly Orthodox you would make sure you went to a tailor who didn't do that and of course the strictly Orthodox then end up with a quite strange garb. Anyway, I mean that the style is just not normal. You would think well, it'd be perfectly possible and for things to look perfectly normal and observe this requirement, they choose not to, well a lot of them anyway.</p>
<p>Synagogues in same area Bevis Marks, in the City, same location as the unknown burial site Growing up Childhood migration Buying a house Making roots Selling a house Moving to a smaller property Rural to urban migration Theatre with international connections 82 years old Awareness of fragility</p>	<p>[Where are they?] Well both of them are in WH, the liberal synagogue is opposite Lord's Cricket Ground and the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, well the original one is in the City in Bevis Marks, and the one that's much more used is in Maida Vale. [Have you always been living here in Hampstead?] Well I was brought up but for various reasons, was born in Kensington I was brought up in the country because of the war and when we got married we lived in Islington and then we bought this house here but so my family have lived in this general area for a very long time. In St John's Wood, Highgate and here, so I mean Northwest London. [How would you describe the differences of these areas?] Oh, well we like Hampstead. We are trying to sell this house and we're thinking perhaps of moving somewhere smaller. There is just two of us now in quite a big house and it's, we've got all our money in houses and it's becoming more and more difficult actually keeping the place up. I mean things go wrong you've got to mend the roof or you've got to repair a window or something like that. It all cost something and we're heating a very much larger volume of the house than we actually need. We'd be very comfortable on just two floors, anyway we're not using the bottom floor at all and we don't need the top floor. [Do you want to stay in Hampstead?] Yes, but we also want, we have a cottage near Chichester and we're thinking of selling that are moving into Chichester itself because we have a lot of friends in that area then also some that moved from the villages into the city because it's so much easier. Chichester is a very pleasant city to live in. It's got a wonderful theater really interesting theater lots of interesting associations, connections with Ravenna, Sarthe and Valletta. It's big enough to have a lot of good shops so you're not short of anything. There are things that perhaps you can't get done there, but you know people can get things done for you but it's a big enough city for most services to be available and it's just very pleasant and flat so if you're very old, obviously I don't know who old I'll become, I'm 82, it's not a great difficulty to just walk from house if you live near the center to anything in the middle.</p>

<p>Long history Awareness of other Jewish communities close by. Jewish descent Establishing and maintaining roots Belonging</p>	<p>[Is there a synagogue in Chichester?] No, there were Jews in the Middle Ages but there aren't any, there's no Jewish community there. The nearest communities are in Brighton and Portsmouth. I'm unsure that there are people with Jewish connections in that area and I'm sure there are. Of course a lot of people have got weekend cottages or houses in that general area. [Is this something you will miss?] Yes, but then as we intend to retain something in Hampstead, it wouldn't be missing altogether. For when we come to Hampstead well, we've got three daughters living within walking distance of here and are interested in keeping in touch with my children and grandchildren. We've got quite a lot of those.</p>
<p>Horrified by Brexit Benefits of belonging Breaking bonds leads to destruction and are permanent Doesn't identify with extreme right-wing Society suppressing communities Voting in contrary to your interests Brexit affecting feelings of being a European citizen, feelings of belonging.</p>	<p>[How do you feel about Brexit?] I feel horrified, I think the benefits to this country are so considerable of belonging to a large domestic economy that to break away from it is stupid and will destroy the economy of this country. It's not much that the people in the government are extreme right-wing. What they're aiming at quite clearly is on cheap labor, they want to push down the real wages of the working class - put the working class where they think they ought to be. Low taxation, get rid of the welfare state, that's what they're aiming at. They keep saying it's the will of the people. Of course the people were not voting that way, they were voting for something that was contrary to their interests, but there were a lot of them that having got this vote. This change is forever so thirty five percent of the electorate voted to leave the European Union therefore we leave the European Union completely. To me it is stupid and horrific and how I was rather proud of being a European citizen.</p>
<p>Remaining European Protecting family Belonging and having roots in Europe Being European offers protections Dislike of barriers to migration Technology assisting at borders with evaluating whether or not to grant passage Crossing borders by land vs air Uncertain if Brexit will happen</p>	<p>[What do you think you would gain by being a Portuguese citizen?] Well, European citizenship would remain after Brexit. It might protect me and my daughters from any capital gains, any excessive capital gains tax on the sales, we have a property in France. They might, they did try to introduce, I would say excessive taxes on the sale of property in France and would prevent it by the European Commission but of course they wouldn't have been prevented in relation to people who are not European citizens. I mean that's the most immediate. The other thing is that they may start requiring visas or something stupid. We haven't had visas since the war. You went there and you showed your passport and they've got a stamp on it but that was all, it's an automatic thing. Particularly with modern technology, they can immediately tell if you're an undesirable character, they wouldn't wish you to have come in. The Americans go in for this Esther thing which is fairly easy to obtain and they don't like you to get on a plane to fly to the United States without this Esther. It's not so difficult if you're going across a land border because of course they could say sorry you can't come in just go back but if you've arrived on a plane you've got to go back on the plane. That is more difficult to deal with. It's more complicated, and of course we don't for the most practical points of view, we don't have, apart from Ireland there's no land border with the European Union. If we desist to be apart of it.</p>

<p>Family unit  Proud of being European  Benefits of belonging  Breaking bonds leads to destruction  Collaborative initiative central to EU  Obvious but not spoken about  Brexit breaking bonds and causing uncertainty  Brexit causing lose  Integration of the EU  Voting in contrary to your interests</p>	<p>[Is this a collective decision you made with your daughters?] Yes, well I was going to do it anyway and they want to do it too. Two of them are particularly keen, more so. [Why are they keen?] I think they're rather proud of being European citizens and they think it is awfully stupid to leave the European Union. More than stupid, very damaging. [Is it damaging for them personally or ...?] Yes, for example our oldest daughter is an oncologist. There's an important medical center that was being set up which was to be I think something pretty central to the European Union. Well that's no longer going to be for the European Union, the whole thing is a white elephant. Well, our son is also a patent agent and of course there are all sorts of complications there because people will think you're not in the European Union so the European Patent Office is not something where you have any particular relationship. Of course they can have an office in Munich, and so on and so on. The City of London which is the principal financial center of the European Union. It's all become complicated you know, Euro clearing as between countries happens in this country. Well they wanted to all to come back to what will then be the European Union without Britain. So we're going to lose quite a lot of things. It is likely that quite a lot of things will have to leave Britain. You've got the complications of these people who make, Japanese who make cars in this country; they're getting little bits from all over the European Union made from different places and they're crossing into Britain, into the United Kingdom without any interference. They don't have to pay customers or duty. They don't have to get any permissions, all this can be held up it becomes very expensive so the Japanese will probably think in terms of setting up in what is the European Union, which were somewhere else than Britain. So some of the places that have voted most strongly to leave are some of the places that are going to suffer the most. They will lose their employers, their principle employers.</p>
<p>Voting in contrary to your interests  Brexit causing uncertainty  Damage caused from breaking bonds  Brexit is a complete catastrophe</p>	<p>Something similar happened in the United States. I mean people who voted for Trump, a lot of the Trump people will lose the most from Trump being there. We have one doctor, one daughter who teaches German and French and one, two daughters who are lawyers. One works for Walt Disney in Europe, she's actually in Hammersmith, that's their headquarters for Europe. Whether that would have to change I don't know but she said that there were a lot of jobs that she had to set up. She said they have to now be outside Britain not inside, when they previously would have been inside. Then another daughter is a lawyer as I said and her speciality is intellectual property again there are problems there because of the copyright. I think you need to be European citizen in order to actually be entitled to present things to wherever it is that you register copyright. I don't know anything about that. Anyway, you may have gathered that I think Brexit is a complete catastrophe.</p>

<p>Financial benefits Belonging Maintaining European connection German heritage Travel by sea Europe as one nation</p>	<p>[Would you say there's a material benefit that your family would have through gaining Portuguese citizenship?] There are some professional advantages yes but the most important thing is feeling that we continue to be European and we quite like this sort of ancestral connection with Portugal. [Is this something you've always felt?] Yes, my mother's family came from, her father came from Hanover, my father's mother's father came from Hanover, actually there's a lot of connection however I think my mother's mother's family ultimately came from somewhere like Alsace, a long time ago. My direct male ancestor, I know came from Germany somewhere doesn't know where, I know where he would have started off but how he would have got here he would have taken the Royal Mail package from the Hook of Holland because it was free. Just provide your own blankets and everything else and food for the journey. I don't know, probably took a day or two to cross. [Would you say this feeling has heightened in the last few years?] I thought I was a European citizen, yes, I'm living in France I thought I'm just living in another part of our country.</p>
<p>Multilingual Connections with France &amp; Germany Childhood innocence Mis-identity due to place of birth Not born on British soil but at British Consulate Childhood migration Mourning at an early age</p>	<p>[Would you say it's similar with your daughter's?] Yes, they all speak good French and one of them speaks good German, well all of them speak German of some sort. I don't think they speak much Spanish or Portuguese, actually one of them certainly speaks quite good Italian. My parents, well of course they're dead. My father spoke quite good French, my mother she didn't speak a word of German actually, although her father was German. She said that her parents spoke German to each other. I suspect they only did that when they wanted to stop the children from understanding. I have no reason to suppose that her mother spoke good German, obviously her father did. He thought he was born British because his mother in the 1860s, he was 68 in 1932, so he was born in 1864. His mother went the British Consulate or whatever it was in Hanover to see if the baby she was expecting could be born British. My grandfather and her must have left it rather late because he was actually born in the British Consulate. He therefore came to this country after his parents died. They died when he was quite young. I think he was about 18 when he came to this country.</p>
<p>Maintaining accent Long history Making connections with important historical figures</p>	<p>He never lost his German accent. He thought he was British, he certainly was on the Electoral Register in the 1890s and when the war came I think he was investigated. They realized that he was in fact an enemy alien but he was given dispensation from being interned until Horatio Bottomley, a well-known fraud who became an MP and 1917 I think or 1918 is reputed to have said in Parliament "what is this German spy Albert Benjamin doing wandering freely around London with his warehouse underneath the London Dover railway in Bermondsey, near London Bridge ready to blow it up as the Kaiser comes out".</p>

<p>Maintaining accent  Long history  Making connections with important historical figures  Facing imprisonment  Grieve motivating migration  Scared of attack  Inciting violence  Hoards of potential attackers</p>	<p>He was in fact interned for a few months at the end of the war which was very distressing for my grandmother who had a nervous breakdown and moved out of London briefly to Great Missenden, in Buckinghamshire. She was afraid that the house would be attacked. Oh Horatio actually had an enormous rally at the Albert Hall. I don't know we got the money from. There were hoards of people who couldn't get in and some people estimated something like a million people turned up. I don't know how much the Albert Hall can take, maybe a few thousand actually but anyway not all could get in. "We should squeeze the Germans to the pips squeak, they shall pay every penny we have spent on this war" etc etc.</p>
<p>Inciting violence  Rise of the extreme right  Britain being a stabilising presence within Europe  Presence of death  Heritage  Death of youth  Small communities experiencing loss  Enduring human loss for land  Regaining lost land</p>	<p>That attitude of course was extremely damaging and ultimately caused the rise of Hitler. When you go back to the Congress of Vienna in the early nineteenth century I think it was the British prime minister who said "gentlemen we have come here not to punish France but to bring her to her senses" There was a different attitude just after the first world war. And after all it was a terrible war, all those millions of young men killed and we notice it for example where we are in France you see these quite small villages with a memorial to all the young men killed you think how could a village this size have suffered the loss of 40 young men. There probably are only a few hundred people in the village anyway. It's a terrible thing, of course a lot of others would actually have been badly injured as well. One of the things apparently is that the French were so determined to get back Alsace Lorraine that they were not prepared to have an armistice. It was, after all quite obviously a stalemate quite early on in the war. It was a wonderful victory if you advanced 200 yards or something, but they wanted to get back Alsace and Lorraine which they lost in 1870. Therefore they were determined to go on. I've visited Alsace, Colmar and Strasbourg briefly. I mean not much more than that.</p>
<p>Minority within a minority  Personal non-religious contacts enabling connections with other Sephardi Jews  Liberal synagogue having deep roots  Belonging  Heritage  Integrating/ mixing</p>	<p>[How would you describe the Sephardi community?] A lot of them now of course are from Arab countries the people who are of Spanish and Portuguese descent are fewer in number but there's quite a number of them. [Would you say these two parts of the community are integrated well?] I say to a certain extent, yes. I mean I have a particular friend who belongs to an associate of the synagogue whose family came from Turkey but he was at Cambridge with me, that's why he's a friend. I would say probably, socially they are a little bit divided than not. There's obviously a lot of communication and joint activities. [Is the liberal synagogue Sephardi?] You wouldn't say that, a lot of the people there are of Sephardi descent and are relations of mine but of course they are much more the people descended from the people who have been in this country for a very long time. In both synagogues there's a mixture of people. I'm a mixture. I mean, most people whose families have been in this country for a long time are of mixed Ashkenazi and Sephardi descent. There probably are a few or not, you're considerably restricting your social life if you commit yourself to only considering the possibility of marrying somebody with Sephardi descent.</p>

<p>Differences in pronunciation between Ashkenazi and Sephardi  Roots of language  Long history  Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew sounding corrupt  Time creating consistency</p>	<p>There probably are a few or not, you're considerably restricting your social life if you commit yourself to only considering the possibility of marrying somebody with Sephardi descent. Besides, I think one of the things, that there are one or two, very few differences in practice or not personal pronunciations, because of the influence of the Israeli pronunciation of Hebrew, the Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew used to sound very corrupt. It was comparable to cockney, as opposed to the Queen's English. The vowels come out quite differently and the chances are that the vowels used by the Sephardi are much nearer to the original. Certainly, now the Ashkenazi tend to use the Israeli pronunciation. There are various differences that are still there, the 'th' is often pronounced as a 's' and by the Ashkenazi when it's not hard. You indicate with a, if a consonant is hard or soft, so a 'b' can be a 'v', whether it's got a dot. Some of the other letters are supposed to come into that category we no longer pronounce the difference between 'b', 'g' and 'd'. I think the vowels are now much more consistently the same as in Israel. There's a lot of words which have the letter 'i' in and if they don't have the letter 'i' it means something quite different. Semitic languages all will have a strong glottal stop, the ones I know like Maltese Arabic and Hebrew and there are other Assyrian, I suppose, semitic languages are outstanding, of course Egyptian ancient had a strong glottal stop. And phoenician is very similar.</p>
<p>Wife mentioning citizenship rights  Transfer of rights to other family members  Awareness of death</p>	<p>[How did you find out that you could gain Portuguese citizenship?] I can't remember as I suspect my wife mentioned it. She said you know it's easy to apply for it. [Is your wife applying as well?] No, she can't because she's not of Portuguese descent. It may be possible for her to become a Portuguese national after I have obtained it and being Portuguese for three years or so. That's if we both survive.</p>
<p>Visiting exhibitions with family  Development of opera  Royal painting collection  Long history  Making connections with important European historical figures/ families</p>	<p>[Can you tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited?] I've been recently to two exhibitions at the Victoria and Albert Museum. One was the Winnie the Pooh, who I went with my grandson's. The other one was about opera and the origins and its development. I do go to things in London, I'm wanting to go to the exhibition of the collection of Charles I's paintings. Some of the ones he collected came from the Gonzaga family in Mantua, well we have a family connection with the Gonzaga family. [Do you look for these connections when visiting exhibitions?] Yes, I mean obviously that we have these connections with Italy and with Spain or Portugal and France, but they're not close connections. [Did you like the opera exhibition?] Yes it was quite interesting. [What did you like about it?] The little bits of music from operas, composers. [Where there headphones?] Yes, there were, so you could hear the music and then you would read about the composer's through the information. [What exhibits did they have?] I don't remember, mostly it was written that there were clothes used in operas and various period photographs or illustrations relating to various productions. The odd musical instrument from the early periods I suppose.</p>

<p>Multimedia exhibition - music and visual artefacts (clothes and musical instruments)</p> <p>Visiting big international cultural institutions</p> <p>Maybe family connections yet to discover</p> <p>Nomadic cultures</p> <p>Travelling with grandchildren</p> <p>Meeting friends associated with university</p> <p>Paris and London being international European hubs</p> <p>Other Europeans studying in the UK</p>	<p>[What exhibits did they have?] I don't remember, mostly it was written that there were clothes used in operas and various period photographs or illustrations relating to various productions. The odd musical instrument from the early periods I suppose. [When you visit an exhibition, do you usually get headphones and listen to the audio guide?] I don't personally because then my wife does. I don't personally because they usually have quite adequate explanations written up. So, you know I may go to the Royal Academy where they often issue you with headphones or the National Gallery. I'm trying to think where else I would have gone for exhibitions in the recent past, but it would mostly be the National Gallery, Royal Academy, Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum. Certainly, I've been to the Sicilian at the British Museum. It has no connection with my family and to us as far as I'm aware. I was surprised at how, considering that they were nomadic how advanced they were in terms of the skills of the artifacts they produced which were as sophisticated as anybody of the period. There's been a lot of good exhibitions at the British Museum. We've been to Glyndebourne and we can go a lot to the theater in Chichester not so much in London as we used. I'm trying to think very hard. I don't usually pick up the headphones, but mainly because the information is available as written. We were not long ago in Paris and we went to see the Dior exhibition. I'm trying to think what else we saw in Paris, we went to see something at the Grand Palais, I can't remember. My memory is not as good as it was. I can't remember what it was we saw at the Grand Palais. Have you been to Paris? [I've not been for many years] We haven't been for many years ourselves and then we went in the summer to take one of our granddaughters and then again in the autumn too. I think it was a sort of a Cambridge, not 'meeting of minds' they called it something else, but the idea was that Paris actually a lot more convenient for a lot of people who studied at Cambridge. A lot of European you know continentals now go to Oxford and Cambridge, so Paris is quite more convenient for a lot of people I think. Actually, if you go by plane it doesn't make any difference, if you're coming by car or train it's sort of easier connected. London is well connected, especially with Eurostar.</p>
<p>European culture as integrated and one entity</p> <p>Doesn't identify with nationalists</p> <p>Nationalists being miserable until having contact with foreigners</p>	<p>I feel of European culture as one entity. If you talk about literature, I think of European literature not merely English literature and of course when you see the nationalists who think that anything outside this country is you know just foreign and awful. 'Love in a cold climate' I can't remember who the girl in that, you know, she's feeling something's gone wrong with arrangements in Paris and she was sitting down feeling miserable. Abroad was bloody and all foreigners with fiends she's then picked up by some Frenchman. There are lots of people for whom abroad is just awful.</p>



<p>Multimedia potentially could be a good method for reflection</p> <p>Curiosity with Portuguese musical tradition and how it relates to Europe as a whole</p> <p>Portuguese explorers</p> <p>Long history</p>	<p>[Do you think a multimedia exhibition could be a good way to explore some of these themes we've discussed?] Yes, I suppose it could, but I can't think of much in the way of Portuguese music. No doubt there is some Portuguese music but I can't think of any Portuguese composers. I wouldn't know of any Portuguese composers to be quite honest my sort of knowledge when I think of Portugal and what it's contributed to Europe I think you know the period of the great explorers. I'm not sure I think of anything else much. Brazil then Angola, Mozambique and of course the Spice Islands which the Dutch allegedly took from them so and of course the connection with Japan.</p>
<p>Worried about caricature</p> <p>Not looking Jewish</p> <p>Pure Jewish descent</p> <p>Uncertainty of ancestors pre-Portugal period</p>	<p>[Drawing] I hope you don't make a horrible caricature of me. People say I don't look Jewish, but I am in fact of pure Jewish descent. Certainly for quite a few centuries back, just anything could have happened in the Middle Ages.</p>
<p>Gift that was not appreciated</p> <p>Photograph of the family, although some missing</p> <p>Christmas photo</p> <p>Looking at family tree</p> <p>Long history</p> <p>Heritage</p> <p>Visualisation of belonging</p> <p>Correcting family tree</p>	<p>Someone called Scarf used to use that type of literature, and I remember a well-known lawyer Goodman, that's his first name was I know that he was the president of our synagogue and one of my colleagues decided that I think he was coming to speak at the Stock Exchange and as a little present of his coming, because he wasn't going to be paid for it there's this portrait by Scarf. He was bitterly offended by the portrait he was I'd say he wasn't in fact a very ugly man and was bitterly offended by the portrait which actually I thought was quite a good likeness. Is my hair sticking up? From where I'm sitting it looks as though it's sticking up. I could send you a photograph of the whole family, well the children and the grandchildren. Actually there are two missing as the photograph is three years old. The photograph I wanted to get is not there. This is half the grandkids. Must have been at Christmas. I might be able to show a photograph of all the family taken about four years ago. There have been two additions since then. We have four daughters, four sons-in-law, five granddaughters and seven grandsons. Our youngest daughter has the two additions, a boy of nearly three and a girl who is eight months. I just happen to have chanced on my the family tree, that goes back to the ancestor who came to this country. I think you can see that there's a lack of connection between there and there because there aren't enough generations. He died, he was born in 1510. This one was born in about 1616 so there's at least one generation missing. I was discussing my ancestors with the people at the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. It's an extract from the family tree my great-uncle had down. The path there as I said there's some arrows on the tree which have been corrected.</p>

## Participant E (29/05/2018)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Ten Commandments The conversion of Abraham Not thought about religious stories in context of citizenship Great-grandmother having Portuguese name Paternal grandfather member of Sephardi synagogue Great-grandmother married Manchester, came to London. She wasn't so observant. Always aware of Sephardi roots Father telling history Visiting Sephardi synagogues with aunt and uncle as a child. Attending a liberal synagogue</p>	<p>[What stories from the Torah or the Bible are most significant for you?] I'm not sure what you mean, the beginning of the Ten Commandments or the conversion of Abraham. I suppose. I've not thought about it on those terms. [Was it your great-grandmother on your dad's side who was Sephardi?] Well she had a Portuguese name, that's my father's mother's mother and to be honest I didn't know of others who had Sephardi names. The fact is that my father, his family were members of a Sephardi synagogue when he was born and his father also together with his parents joined that synagogue. My great-grandmother was married in Manchester and she came down to London and she joined the Sephardi synagogue. She wasn't very observant. [Was it your father who told you about your Sephardi ancestors?] I was always aware of it really because I mean yes he would, he told me that he had belonged to a Sephardi synagogue when I was very little. I suppose it's something I've always known. Then my aunt and uncle were members with their children. Of course we went there occasionally. [Do you practice the passing down of the grandfather's talit?] At that time I belonged to a liberal synagogue and you didn't celebrate them. It was a sort of confirmation at the age of 16. It's a celebration of bar mitzvah but it's nothing in it. A Jewish boy at his bar mitzvah at the age of 13 that's it. It is celebrated, like a birthday, but a special birthday.</p>
<p>2 grandchild had bar mitzvah and 1 will be They are members of liberal synagogue Would have difficulty joining orthodox S&amp;P, but they could if they wanted to Grandfather was born in Manchester Grandmother lived some time in British Virgin Islands Ancestors coming to Britain in the C17th and are buried here</p>	<p>[Did you mention your grandchildren will be having their bar mitzvah?] Two of them have and a third will. We have four daughters, four sons-in-law, five granddaughters and seven grandsons. [Which synagogue are they members?] They are part of the liberal synagogue, which many members of which are of Sephardi descent. [Will they also join the S&amp;P synagogue?] No they haven't and they would have difficulty because they will need to convert on an orthodox basis which they haven't done. I mean if they wish to they could but then perhaps they would need to go through another conversion process. [Did your great-grandmother grow up in Manchester?] I'm not sure, she married fairly young, in London and my grandfather was also born in Manchester. I know she was born in St Thomas' the then British Virgin Islands. I think they now belong to United States. I assume she was born there and went to Manchester. She married quite young and married in Manchester but her family I don't know where her father was born. I would say her grandfather was probably born in Britain because the family came to Britain in late 17th century about 1616 but mid to late and continued living here and many of them are buried here. Some of them just went out to the British Virgin Islands. My great-grandmother's father was a doctor, quite a successful doctor. I think he seems to operate in the United States as well as British Virgin Islands.</p>

<p>Grandmother's ancestors living on Highgate Hill House is Grade I listed Now home to the Ghanaian High Commission Looking into purchasing the house &amp; dividing into flats Initials M.C on fireplace, brother of a direct ancestor Long history</p>	<p>[You mentioned during our previous interview that you had family that lived in Highgate. Was it your great-grandmother?] It was, yes her ancestors. They were ..., they had a house on Highgate Hill which they bought in the late 17th century and kept for about a hundred years. The house is still there, but all the land around has been sold off. It's Grade I listed. It's now the Ghanaian High Commission. I have been inside it, yes before the Ghanaians took it over. [Did you have an opportunity to look around?] Um, yes I did. It was for sale. It would have been impractical for me to buy it because it was Grade I listed and could not be divided into separate dwellings. It was just far too big for anything I wanted or my family needed. I know there was a fireplace with M.C inscribed above the mantelpiece. It was I think the brother of a direct ancestor who was a doctor to Catherine of Braganza.</p>
<p>Connections to Hannover, Germany Making preliminary inquiries for German citizenship Too difficult if remaining in the UK and anti-semitism in Germany &amp; Austria Brexit is a disaster, causing harm to everyone</p>	<p>My great grandmother married some Jew who was born in Hannover, that was the connection there. My mother's father came from Hannover too. [Have you thought about applying for German citizenship?] I had thought about it. We made some preliminary inquiries. It sounded much more difficult to acquire [passport] if I remained in this country. It would be less difficult if I went to live in Germany. On the other hand, I think there is still a significant amount of anti-semitic feeling left in Germany unfortunately, certainly in Austria. [Has your opinion of Brexit changed over the last few months?] No. I think it's a disaster, an unmitigated disaster. Whatever is wrong with the European Union, us leaving the European Union does nothing for us or for them, other than harm.</p>
<p>Exploring family connections within exhibitions, no direct references Jewish in hiding Jewish connections with nobility Painting's Jewish provenance Moving house</p>	<p>[Did you visit the Charles I exhibition at the Royal Academy?] Yeah. [What did you think of it?] It was very interesting. There doesn't seem to be anything to my family. Oh, yes it does have something, because some of the paintings were acquired from the Gonzaga family of Mantua and this remote relation who was quite instrumental in collecting things there. Isabella ... was a remote relation. I mean she was not openly at all Jewish, but as you know most noble families in Spain have Jewish connections, including the royal family. There was nothing more than some of the paintings came from Mantua. [Have you visited any other exhibitions over the last few months?] Actually I haven't much as I'm more concerned with moving house.</p>

## Participant F (08/05/2018)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Living in many places outside London &amp; an 'expert' in regional Jewish communities            Growing up in St. John's Wood            Husband is catholic &amp; working at Anglican school            Caring for 4 kids            Working in educational consultancy</p>	<p>[Where do you live?] We live in Bedford, which is just outside, it's about 40 minutes north of London on the train. I grew up in St John's Wood. We moved to Bedford 4 years ago as my husband is a headmaster so we just moved to the school where he was teaching at. We've travelled around a bit, so we lived in Kent, which is kind of South East from London, we lived in Oxford and now in Bedford. So I'm an expert on all the regional Jewish communities. And we also had 6 years in Sydney, Australia. This is his first headmaster, it's not Jewish, it's an Anglican school although he's actually Catholic. [What do you do for a living?] I'm not currently. We've got four kids. I mean for the last two years I haven't worked but I dunno apart from some property management and some consultancy. I do educational consultancy, probably that's what I do now.</p>
<p>Voting for 'remain' but was a difficult decision            Disliking EU political institutions: undemocratic &amp; expensive            EU bringing peace            Not sure how to vote in the future            Rest of family voting 'remain'            Disappointing when losing referendum</p>	<p>[How do you feel about Brexit?] Do you know, I'm .. I thought, I voted to 'remain' but i thought quite hard about it because i dislike the political institution of the EU. I think it is run in an undemocratic and expensive on an economic manner. I really resent the fact that they move the Parliament from place to place, not only the cost of moving but all the politicians are given home allowances. I hate all that stuff, it makes me quite cross. I actually even get cross about how the process, bearing in mind he's not elected. Having said that, I voted 'in' because I think the EU have helped bring peace to Europe and it can only be positive. But I'm not sure if there was a vote now how I would vote. I find it very frustrating. It was quite a difficult decision. I mean all the rest of my family were straight 'remain' but I think in the end it wasn't a difficult decision and I was disappointed when they lost, but there's a lot I don't like.</p>
<p>Sephardi community around London as traditional &amp; informed            Living one street away from a synagogue            Direct link between local synagogue &amp; main Sephardi London synagogue            Sephardi community 'small world'            Jewish affiliation with traditionally than ethnicity            Most experience with Sephardi orthodox</p>	<p>[How would you describe the Sephardi community?] It is traditional, informed. I think it's welcoming. Do you mean the Sephardi community in England? Which is probably my most experienced and I'm slightly different because I've moved outside London you know there is I mean, we're fortunate in that there is a small Jewish community in Bedford. There's only one so I have a choice of going to the one that's just a street away or traveling for a long way to be a member of a community. In fact the president of our Bedford shul is a member of the Lauderdale Road, which is the Sephardi synagogue, so it is a small world. I think in England people affiliate to the way they want to practice their religion; reform, liberal or orthodox, more than their ethnic factor. I don't know an non-orthodox Sephardi Jews in the UK. I'm sure there are, in fact I know there are because I do a bit of work with someone but I think my experience has only been with Sephardi Orthodox and I don't have an issue with that, it's the way I've been brought up.</p>

<p>Jewish affiliation with traditionally than ethnicity Long maternal Sephardi line Ethnicity runs along material line</p>	<p>In St. John's Wood, there are various synagogues with different traditions but their traditions are not along ethnic lines. They're on the traditionality of practice, so it's slightly different. My mum was Sephardi from a long line of Sephardis. My dad was an Ashkenazi so we were always brought up being told we were Sephardi as it came down the maternal line. There were clearly things that, my favorite story is that my dad didn't like cod. My mum told me Ashkenazis didn't like cod, so she never cooked him cod. Then it was only when they went out to a restaurant with my grandmother, on his paternal side and she had cod, but she realized that he was taking advantage about her ignorant of Ashkenazis. Because my mother only grew up knowing Sephardi and not Ashkenazi.</p>
<p>No conflict growing up in a mixed Ashkenazi &amp; Sephardi household Aware of roots at a young age Celebrating significant Sephardi figures Maternal grandparents living in Colchester Living in rural areas means you can choose along traditionally lines but not necessarily ethnic</p>	<p>[How did you find having an Ashkenazic father and Sephardi mother?] It was great because all my cousins couldn't eat rice at Pesach. I don't think it was a big issue for us growing up. It really wasn't an issue and we knew where our Sephardi tradition came from and roots but it wasn't a big deal. There were celebrations of Moses Montefiore with the Sephardi community and my parents have been married in Bevis Marks synagogue in the city. That was always my mother's favourite synagogue but again my grandparents on my maternal side had lived outside and I don't remember, it was Colchester synagogue and I don't know if they had a choice. I have no idea whether that was Ashkenazi or Sephardi. That would have been orthodox. If you move outside of the urban areas you don't have the density of a Jewish population so you may be able to pick between the traditionality by not so much the ethnic aspect.</p>
<p>Applying for citizenship In-laws had house in Portugal, visiting Lisbon Applying because of family heritage, but also likes the country Founding out from cousins Sitting down and spending a week to go through papers</p>	<p>[Are you applying for Portuguese citizenship?] Yes, I am. I've got as far as being adopted by the community and I know my husband's, my in-laws until very recently had a house in Portugal. So I came to Lisbon 4 or 5 times and I love it. So I'm feeling ... I'm applying for it because of my family heritage but I really like it as a country. I think Lisbon is one of the great cities. [How did you find out about this option?] Um, my cousins. [What stage of the process are you at?] I am literally, we've been accepted. We've got a certificate from the Jewish community. [From the S&amp;P?] Yes. My next step is to do all the paperwork. One of the big things about that is getting your blue certificates and I obviously have to get one from Australia as well because if you've been resident anywhere for longer than 3 months. So I haven't quite found the time. I need a clear week to get the ball rolling.</p>
<p>Holocaust &amp; WWII becoming distant Growing anti-semitism Lack of understanding from younger generation</p>	<p>[Has Brexit changed your sense of belonging?] No, but I am worrying about the ... I think the Holocaust and World War II is becoming more distant to people and they're the growth of anti-semitism without an understanding of the concerns and I think there's a lack of comprehension even in the young generation growing up now. Who are many steps removed from it. [Just to go back, are you a member of the Bedford synagogue?] Yes</p>

<p>Feeling of belonging to S&amp;P synagogue, mother's community Visiting with family Parents helped to found New London synagogue</p>	<p>[And, have you gone back to becoming a member of the S&amp;P synagogue?] No, but I feel like I am as I feel I belong there without being a member. That was my mother's community. [Were you part of that synagogue when growing up?] No. Mum used to like going there, sometimes with my aunt. [Which synagogue were you part of growing up?] The New London synagogue which is a masorti synagogue which my parents helped to found.</p>
<p>Recent visited exhibition abroad Taking family to Berlin, seeing Jewish museum and sites Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum Using architecture to tell a story Germany accepting &amp; recognising cardinal sin</p>	<p>[Can you tell me about an exhibition you've recently visited?] My most recent exhibitions were probably in Barcelona and Berlin. We took the family to Berlin in January so we saw a lot at the Jewish Museum and all the sites there. I did see something in London. Well I really like there, were two things I liked, we went to the Daniel Libeskind's I think Jewish Museum and I really liked how they used architecture to tell the story there. The Holocaust Memorial Museum, there were school trips in there and actually with school trips and sometimes you get a gang of them come out of the exhibition. And they're just teenage kids being giggly and that is frustrating. I think that's quite interesting taking school trips to a museum. I thought Berlin, Germany was amazing in it's acceptance of the awfulness of what it has done. It wasn't so much that this generation had to apologize but it is recognizing that there has been a cardinal sin committed in the past which they should revert.</p>
<p>Less coverage of Iberian expulsion Not so aware of specific history in comparison to the holocaust More affinity with Portugal Visiting the Jewish museum in Athens Telling stories with costumes, maps &amp; other media</p>	<p>[How do you feel with like Portugal and Spain?] You get less coverage of that over here. I think they have been, well Spain's has been pretty bad actually. To be honest I don't know enough to be able to answer that properly. [Did you think about applying for Spanish citizenship?] I think I have more affinity with Portugal and also I don't speak Spanish. [How can an exhibition reflect some of the things we've discussed?] Well, there's an amazing Museum in Athens, have you been to the Jewish museum in Athens? [No] It's fantastic. One of the things it does really well, there was a museum of German history in Berlin which paints the history of Germany from the start all the way up. The Athens Museum really clearly talks about the history of Greek Jews with costumes and you know where they were, where they came from and the maps. It just took you, room from room through the history and all the stories from the Holocaust and beyond. It was really a good small interesting exhibition.</p>

## Participant F (27/06/2018)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>Considering an image Potential discrimination Political worried Worrying about bringing up Jewish children within a rural community Childhood ignorance Being vigilant Working about security Feeling unsettled Being a small community Taking photo especially for the project “That’s the one” Security at entrance of synagogue Checking names Filtering strangers Would be nice to just walking in with security Unsettling political climate Brexit process is frustrating</p>	<p>[Could you tell me about the image you sent me?] I have been deliberating about the image. I'm concerned about gentle, gradual subliminal anti-semitism, without people really realising it. By the right on media and the Labor Party, pro Palestine. Someone who's bringing up children in rural England in a non-jewish. You know we bring them up in a Jewish community. I think even if I wasn't I think the next generation bound of kids increasingly remote and do not appreciate the significance of what has happened in the past and and so have less concern than my generation or all people older than me but that make them yeah yes I'm actually seeing a no uh person yes it is a big issue is I think particularly relevant you know we have to be aware of it every single day hmm and [How does this notice make you feel?] It's worrying I'm not sure okay switched on to pan switch back on to my phone it makes me feel unsettled and have you come across suspicious activity Jewish environment you know you know I you know we have a small community of about thirty twos in the time I live in okay but do you think this could be more worrying not being Jewish you have not been in an environment with too many Jewish people I guessing it's from we remote from it okay and how would you describe the security at the synagogue Charlotte granddaughter okay okay and when was that do you usually take photographs of things around you no I did that especially for you okay I saw it and I thought oh that's the one to take a photo off okay we always had someone in the door and um you know and Oxford know but there was someone checking our means checking visitors names off on the door so they they were letting in just strangers you know which you very you know it's a shame you can't just walk into a synagogue yeah yeah and what do you think the political climate will be post Brexit?] Depends where the Corbin gets in or not you made lots of Jews relieving room that's called Lawton and are you worried about that region okay and what would you hope what would be ideal sorry what would be an ideal climate post break set a positive focused one you know I am cooter I belted in but I am you know I am frustrated now about how to develop the best situation for the UK it's still people trade these people now trying to sabotage sabotage breakfasts and I think actually we have it it's been democratically voted for we should just try and get you know make the most of it okay well thank you again for your time and just do you want it by the way yeah yeah that's great it's definitely something I'm gonna use it's really useful maybe kind of helps with telling me more about your perspective so thank you yeah and just before justify first can I just ask you how old are you I'm</p>

## Informant A & B (12/02/2018)

Initial coding	Transcript
<p>2 groups of applicants: living inside and out of Spain</p> <p>Brexit fuelling rise in applications, pre-Brexit 1 application every few months</p> <p>Applying as a family</p> <p>Visiting the UK on holiday &amp; want to get paperwork done</p> <p>Wishing to maintain freedom of travelling within EU</p>	<p>[You mentioned there are two groups of people; those who are living in Spain ...] So we've had some people who were living and working [in Spain] who contacted us by email who are for the Spanish passport. Rise in applications have been fuelled by Brexit. That lady I mentioned who said that she really and always wanted another passport. She was one of our first applicants wasn't she. She came in very early. Her and her sister but we have what was it, sort of once every couple of months or so, before the Brexit vote and then they started piling in because it was realised that people who wanted to still have access to Europe. There was another email inquiry from a woman who works in Spain, she works with languages partly as a translator. Now both in her case and in the young gentleman I mentioned who was living and working, were both here on holiday for a couple of days and very much wanted to get the paperwork done. They were here with the view to applying. I think my great nephew, he's interested because he wants to be able to travel freely to Europe and for his children, that seems to be mostly part of what people want. They just want the freedom of having the passport so they can go where they want in Europe.</p>
<p>Accepting a gift as acknowledging and addressing a historical wrong</p>	<p>I mean some of the people who contacted us via email, I mean it would take trolling back to find that. I can't off hand think of their names. I do remember a couple of people saying and again I think this was the relatively early when the news was just out, a feeling this was writing a historic wrong. I didn't know how far back you've gone into this history. The Spanish 1492 expulsion from Spain many then went to Portugal. The Inquisition and what they put people through which was beyond appalling and so the idea that by doing this they were writing a wrong, that's what's being done. I think that is their attitude, to remedy a wrong.</p>
<p>Pre-Brexit only received a few applications a month, mostly for personal reasons, post-Brexit for citizenship</p> <p>Been receiving request ever since publishing records.</p> <p>Recording birth, marriage &amp; death dates since 1650s.</p>	<p>[So before Brexit you got maybe one application every few months?] Yes. It was something we got was very small. [And then after? Are you still getting applications through?] Well no before the Brexit vote we got people asking about their ancestry but that was usually for personal reasons. They just wanted to know where they came from but it wasn't before Brexit I don't think it was for other reasons. It wasn't because they could travel freely and you know so it wasn't that it was for their own personal interest in the background. We've always had that for years and years, since we published our records as well we've got records going back just from, the earliest records are from 1650s, so we've got birth, marriage and death records going back. People find them useful.</p>



<p>Expertise &amp; experience with archive</p> <p>Tracing lines back, making connections</p> <p>Policy to publish as much of the records</p> <p>Records published until 1900s</p> <p>Off-line archive</p> <p>Separate books for marriage, birth &amp; death</p> <p>Marriage records includes names of parents</p> <p>Applicant tracing ancestry for citizenship</p> <p>Unusual surnames make it easier to trace back lineage</p>	<p>[One application must be a great deal of work] Yeah but because ... has a great deal of experience and produced some of our published records of birth, marriage and death, and great experience so when people have inquiries she can trace the lines back. It has been the policy of the congregation to publish as much as possible of our records, which we've done, up until 1900s and so everything before that date is published. [Are the records published online?] No, there in books. This is one of our books of records so this lists marriages for instance. So say we get a message from an email or a letter or whatever from somebody saying that their grandfather was a member of your congregation and they got married in say 1930. Right, so we've got a list of marriages that took place in this congregation during the 20th century. So we can find the grandfather in that case and then if we are lucky we can trace back a couple of generations to the grandfather's parents. Then the grandfather's grandparents, and at which point were probably in the book that you're holding. So we then can trace back again. Each record of a marriage gives a parent's name so can you see the father of the father's name. We have the birth records. It's not entirely complete but it's as complete as we can do it [laughter]. So ... who you met at the front desk for instance, she wanted to trace her family back with a view to a passport. She was a dream from our point of view because she has a surname that's represented within the congregation but it's very rare within the congregation so it was quite easy to find a line back.</p>
<p>Multiple lines of ancestors</p> <p>Preference of maternal line as oppose to paternal</p> <p>Note in archive that says 'arrived from Portugal'</p> <p>Need to demonstrate something that says arrived from Portugal</p> <p>Confusion with similar names</p> <p>Members of congregation for generations &amp; then marry out of community</p> <p>Couples married by Catholic law in Portugal and remarry by Jewish law on arrival to UK</p> <p>Amsterdam archives are very detailed</p>	<p>And the other thing is that it multiplies because assuming you have a marriage between two people you can then trace back both their father's, but then it starts getting a little complicated with multiple possibilities. So there was somebody within the congregation who's descended from two families that go right back in the congregation. We asked "was it okay to issue a certificate from the maternal line from his grandmother" because we had a line that went straight back. Whereas his father's line and his father equally has a history within the congregation we didn't want to give the certificate because what we normally do is they descended from so and so. Some of the earlier marriage records have a note beside them that says vir de Portugal - arrived from Portugal and so our idea is something that traces back to that. Maybe we don't have something quite as clear as that but something that traces they've arrived from Portugal. The person whom we gave the certificate and his grandmother's name not his father's line back. Two families called Garcia arrived with similar names at the same time so you can't quite trace which family it was. Whereas the other was nice and clear. We could give her an exact descended from a marriage a couple so that we thought that was the better way. The clearer lines to it although obviously his descent on both sides was equally valid. The other thing is that we do it a lot for people within the congregation but many people over the years have been members of this community and then married out of the community.</p>

<p>Have Amsterdam synagogue's archive records</p> <p>Historical links &amp; passage between London &amp; Amsterdam synagogue</p> <p>Founded by Jews from Amsterdam</p> <p>Escaping inquisition in 1703 via 'free port' Lisbon &amp; arriving in London</p> <p>Free passage for Jews as Portuguese wanted trade to continue</p> <p>Benefits of international trade is freedom of movement</p>	<p>In other words the couple who came were already married by Catholic law but they have to be remarried by Jewish law when they arrived. The husbands have to be circumcised and so you get the proof. This can go back to Amsterdam and the municipal Amsterdam records are very detailed and can show that they came from Portugal.[Do you work with the archives in Amsterdam?] Oh, they're very full archive. We don't particularly communicate with the people there because we can have their published records. We don't need to communicate with them. Although one of the things that you might notice in the book I showed you just now, there were a lot of families who they'd be here for a while, they'd go back to cousins in Amsterdam so there's a lot of traffic with this congregation. It was founded by Jews who had people gone to Amsterdam then some of them moved here. There was a lot of toing and throwing and moving to and fro. There was a treaty in 1703 between England and Portugal, and Lisbon became a free port, so some of the people managed to escape the inquisition's clutches, store whatever and managed to get onto ships and come here. We know that they came directly here from Lisbon, Portugal in that period of 1703. For about fifty years we have people coming directly, because of the treaty the Portuguese inquisition could not interfere with what went on. They complained, the ambassadors complained but it didn't make any difference because they wanted the trade to continue. So that's how it fits in, all rights together. The benefit of that was the movement of people.</p>
<p>Many applications come from non-congregation members</p> <p>Marrying out of the community &amp; no longer being members</p> <p>Some applicants have no direct connections with Judaism or Sephardi Judaism</p> <p>Showing evidence of intervening/ non-Sephardi generations</p> <p>Interesting &amp; exotic to have some Sephardi Jewish heritage</p> <p>Tracing genealogy is a popular hobby so people have collected lots of documents</p> <p>Some people have little documentation while others have lots</p>	<p>[It's possible to find traces for people in the congregation, do you sometimes get inquiries from people who have not been members?] Oh, yes. Very many of the people who apply through us, the majority of people are not within the congregation. Within all minority communities some people stay within the community while others you know marry the girl next door who may or not be in. So interestingly there are a lot of people who have no direct connections with Judaism themselves, there was that one we did where someone married out in 1870 something, a lot of them left the community a long time ago. Some have gone into other communities, not Sephardim. So we can only trace them at the point where they are with us and sometimes it's the great great grandfather you're able to trace here in our records. Then we can trace back from them so we do have to show us evidence for that. If someone shows us the birth certificate of their great grandfather then we can trace back from there. We do ask them to show us some evidence for the intervening generations. They have to find that. Yes, it's quite actually lot of people obviously think it's sort of interesting and exotic to have a bit of Sephardi Jewish heritage. Even if going back to 1820, that's many years ago. This one I've got here it goes back to 1807, that's where it's in this congregation, but after that is not. He could prove the link all the way back to that point, so that is sufficient apparently. Because genealogies were quite a popular hobby at this point other people have put a lot of time and effort into tracing their families.</p>

<p>Knowing a number of the applicants personally Non-congregation member applications do come from members of other congregations</p>	<p>So some people when we said we need to be able to trace back you know, we've received replies with the email equivalent of a goodness gracious - how could anybody possibly do that! [little to no information] Whereas other people in fact have a lot of information about their family and they have worked out the links to the synagogue. Would you like to contact these people? [Yes] The ... Yes. I mean how many do you want from inside and outside? [maybe let's say about five people in each] I don't know how much we can produce of each. Possibly the best way to proceed would be to email some of the people who we've produced certificates for giving them your email address and suggest that they contact you. It's easier for us not to be the middle person. Some of the people that come to mind are all the people who because I know them personally, unless connected with this congregation, but a university friend of mine who has family links here as she did it. There's also somebody who's a friend of my father's and nothing to do with this congregation didn't come to us, because I think all her heritage is through Amsterdam, she's linked to a synagogue but not particularly a Sephardi synagogue. So there are also people who identify as Jewish but they're not identified to this synagogue. I think obviously it would be better to contact them directly. I don't think I should give you their email addresses, but if I give them your email address and then they can get in touch with you directly.</p>
<p>Ambiguity of the term Sephardim, originally meaning Jews of Iberia but has since expanded Similar synagogues in Amsterdam &amp; NYC Families who have been member for generations &amp; new members from North Africa &amp; Middle East Jews arriving from North Africa &amp; Middle East during C20th</p>	<p>The other thing that's been a complication for some people who want to apply is the very term Sephardim which was used because that's a term that means Jews from Spain and Portugal. That was its original usage from the congregations like this the Spanish and Portuguese Jews congregation of London we were originally where now we are the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardi community. There was a recent rebranding. There's a similar synagogue in Amsterdam, there's also a similar synagogue in New York but what's kept this congregation alive we mentioned people leaving the congregation going away, from the congregation what currently sustains this congregation, you met ... who came in here briefly, her families were the old families in the congregation but there are also many Jews who joined this congregation during the 20th century their families came from places like Iraq, Iran, Morocco, these Egyptian - these are places that has very large Jewish communities and during the 20th century life became very difficult for Jews living in those places and so people left and came here and joined this congregation.</p>

<p>Jews from North Africa &amp; Middle East have more in common with Sephardi than Ashkenazi traditions</p> <p>Jews arriving from Balkans during Turkish rule</p> <p>Can Iraqi Jews trace heritage back to Iberia?</p> <p>Sephardi Jews fled to many places (inc. Balkans) following expulsion, archive unable to help these applicants as they don't have records for their ancestors</p> <p>Possibility of a rabbi to certify a lineage as probable</p> <p>Helping people through what we know as fact</p>	<p>The style of the services and so on wasn't quite like the style of service from their community of origin but it was more like the service of their community origins than the majority of the synagogue this country are what's called Ashkenazi, the European. Sephardi who came from Bulgaria and all those places of the Balkans that were under Turkish rule at one time but of course they're not connected directly with this congregation. [Is there a direct lineage with the Jews that came from Iraq?] That's precisely the question. Well, not exactly. Some of the people we've had asked us for certificates indeed they have heard that these passports have been offered to Sephardi Jews so they think I'll have some of that, but so how could anybody possibly trace their family that far back and so some people have thought because they've heard this is available for Sephardi Jews that it must be available for them and if I mean for instance ... says places like Bulgaria was very known that just as people came to Amsterdam and to England from Spain and Portugal people went there but there are other places where it's not such a known thing. We haven't got the link for these people to this congregation so we can't help them, unless their parents or grandparents came here. For example gone to Turkey and then came here, but unless you actually have a record that they can confirm belongs to their family then we can't help. I think what Spain and Portugal are asking for is that a rabbi thinks your story is probable, whereas we need to see a line then we can certify. If your instance, somebody comes saying they've got this wonderful line of inheritance from Sarajevo, right then they'll have to find a rabbi and tell their story. If they think it hangs together fine, because what we do here is related to the synagogue archives. Our attempt to help people is directly from things that we know as a fact.</p>
<p>Passing language test for Spanish citizenship, Ladino taken into consideration</p> <p>Family tradition of speaking Ladino</p> <p>Citizens finding citizenship test difficult</p> <p>Level of knowledge of Spanish culture &amp; active participation</p> <p>Most applicants want Portuguese citizenship as there is no language test</p> <p>Some applicants live or have businesses in Spain, however most applications motivated by travelling freely</p>	<p>Spain brought in some limitations; you have to pass a language test now. Because how many people have a family tradition speaking Ladino, how many people other than Sephardi Jews, Jews descended from Spain have spoken Ladino, well the answer is if they lived in a place like Sarajevo, but was this a language that was used. It is absolutely necessary, well a pretty good indication. So people who have a family tradition of speaking Ladino I think they get credit on the language test. Just as people who one point a couple of years ago, I was in a stationary shop and one of the people working behind the counter was about to apply for her British citizenship test and was reading out these questions about British none of us in the shop all of whom were British knew the answers. Spain also has a citizenship test and I think they want to make sure that people have a certain knowledge of Spanish culture but yes a certain level of participation. Yes, they want people who are more interested in being Spanish. Most of the people who have come to us what Portuguese. Well that's because if you happen to already know Spanish then the language test isn't such of a barrier.</p>

<p>Careful with collateral ancestors, i.e. stepson Work is satisfactory so far</p>	<p>People either live in Spain or have businesses there so you can understand why they want it. But mostly I get the impression they want it because they want to be free to go about Europe as they always have done. Of course several young people have grown up with it and they don't know anything else. There were some people who came to us mentioning somebody who'd been one of the councils of this congregation. Then we realised it was only a collateral ancestor, so we are very careful and very precise when it comes to researching because so you know, he was sort of a stepchild linked to somebody who goes back. It seems to be satisfactory so far in most cases.</p>
<p>List of issued certificates Choosing between Spanish &amp; Portuguese passport Apprehension with providing data, bearing in mind its sensitivity Single applicants wanting certificates for all their family</p>	<p>I have a list of people who've applied who we've given certificates to which is currently in my computer. I'm not sure what the status of that document is in terms of handing it over for your research. That gives names of people, it's notes if they are members of the congregation and it says which family line we've traced back and so the parameters you wanted for people who were currently within the congregation and not within the congregation. I said that was somebody I thought might be interesting for you to talk to who isn't on that list at all because she asked me as she knew I did this here and has no links to this congregation as she went through Amsterdam because I know she is happy to talk about it. She is a possibility to ask. Likewise was at least now wait a minute, right the person I'm thinking of I think went for a Spanish passport rather in Portuguese. She I think contacted me on my home. I suppose as the data has when the certificate was issued then we'll have the before and after Brexit dates. [Do you log information on genders and age?] Yes. I think we have to leave that to the people who want to give that information about themselves. I don't think we can give that information. [I don't want information that can trace to a person, just overall numbers] I mean in terms of gender split though, there was somebody who got in touch with us and I'm not even sure what he asked for a certificate for himself, but he did want a certificate. I mean he wanted certificates for his children. He was a man who contacted us but his children I can't remember if it was three sons and a daughter or two sons and a daughter. What we've also done for some people is issue certificates that if they have children under the age of ... I think we have to leave it up to them. [I don't want personal details]. I can't quite remember who contacted us originally. I mean if I email people saying if you would like to be involved and you give me some information will explain. Then it's no problem.</p>

<p>Visiting painting exhibition</p> <p>Have their own artefact archive, not exhibited for a long time</p> <p>Model of Bevis Marks synagogue in foyer</p> <p>Before Bevis Marks congregation used a converted house for services</p> <p>Bevis Marks stylistically similar to Amsterdam</p> <p>Rabbi with links to Portugal, conducting research on early history</p> <p>Long history</p> <p>Links to important historical figures</p> <p>Documentary TV program</p> <p>Similar stylistic culture at the time for religions buildings</p> <p>Visual stylistic similarities with Bevis Marks</p> <p>Connection with Portuguese folk tunes</p> <p>Musical heritage</p>	<p>[Can you tell me of an exhibition you've recently visited?] I went to the Impressionists in London exhibition at the Tate yesterday a very nice exhibition. We haven't exhibited our stuff here in a long time. I think you would be interesting if you look at the synagogue here there's a model in the foyer of the synagogue. Somebody for his Duke of Edinburgh project made a model of the Bevis Marks synagogue, it's incredibly impressive as a Duke of Edinburgh. If you can I don't know how long you're here before you go back to Portugal, if you have time do go and see the Bevis Marks synagogue in the City of London which is now developing a tie with the National Trust, look at it's websites as I'm not quite sure what its opening hours are for visitors. For a while the congregation used a converted house as a place to hold its services and then they built the Bevis Marks synagogue. Bevis marks is similar in design to the Spanish or Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam so if you want to see a sort of stylistic line going back now the rabbi at Bevis Marks is doing some research on early Sephardi history, I don't know just how many links he has synagogues in Portugal, but I suspect that the Bevis Marks and the Amsterdam synagogue would you say they're both very much the culture of eighteenth century. Some of the people who worked for Sir Christopher Wren also worked for the synagogue. It was build in 1701. There was a TV program once about the architecture of city churches I saw an it did suggest but maybe a Wren design, which is complete optimism. There's a missing link between those two statements but absolutely a stylistic similarity between Wren churches and the Bevis Marks of that time. This was a culture in which it was built even if you're not going to find an architects plan with CW written in the corner. The culture in which they were building a place of workshop. I think that's why if you look at both the model in the synagogue again when they built this synagogue there are some sort of visual stylistic references both to the Bevis Marks synagogue which would be in the earlier synagogue of the congregation people started to move in this part of London. They needed something here, if you take a look at the light in front of the Ark for instance that's very similar between here and the Bevis Marks one. Look at the central area where the service is to be taken from, that again is the style of Spanish and Portuguese congregations. The other thing that does go back, if you're talking in terms of an installation, is the music. When I brought some students of mine here, one of them was from Portugal and she was very excited when we played a song at the start as she said that is a Portuguese folk tune. In Portugal now, it's thought of as a woman's tune, I don't know if that's true. It's hard to see which way the influence went. I'll try to find that tune. If you're trying to make cultural links, music is also a part of what has remained a heritage. Music is one of the oldest cultural links we have.</p>
--	---