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The experienced complexity of 'home' in migration: A psychosocial empirical investigation

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Abstract

Throughout human history people have left their place of origin to live elsewhere. ‘Home’ is often a central tenet of analysis when considering the circumstances and experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’. However, ‘home’ is difficult to define as it encompasses different meanings and multiple elements, facets, layers and dimensions. These are differently prioritised by the many professional and academic fields that study ‘home’, contributing to its various conceptualisations. Research relating to ‘home’, in the context of the situation of ‘refugee’ and other ‘migrants’, has focussed in many aspects of ‘home’. Still, studies tend to separate people according to distinct categories of ‘migration’ - ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ - implicitly assuming that people’s experiences and meanings of ‘home’ are consequently different. Whilst not denying the potential differences of these types of ‘migration’, this study builds upon the existing research and literature, as well as, on the diversity of individual experiences, to explore how the perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ by ‘migrants’ may be interlinked with their experiences throughout the ‘migration process’, without resorting to categorical distinctions of ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’. The participants’ accounts were gathered through semi-structured interview and an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach was used for analysis of the data collected. The findings support the idea of an interconnection between the participants’ perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ and their experiences of ‘migration’. ‘Migration’ experiences highlighted the importance of ‘home’ by eliciting a sense of not ‘at home’, shifted the meanings of ‘home’ and influenced re-negotiation of identity and belonging and re-construction of ‘home’. The circumstances of their pre-

‘migration’ ‘home’ influenced their appraisal of the decision to move and the move itself. ‘Home’ was perceived as a base for development of ways of comprehending (‘migration’) experiences and surrounding world. Overall, the findings highlight the complexities of ‘home’ in ‘migration’.

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Introduction

1. Introduction

Throughout human history, and for a variety of reasons, people have left, and continue to leave, their place of origin to live somewhere else (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Keefe, 2010; Pollock, 1989). The reasons for doing so may include adverse events and/or harmful, hostile or difficult circumstances such as, wars, armed conflict, generalised violence, oppression and persecution, natural and environmental disasters, climatic changes, marginalising or stigmatising socio-cultural environments and severe socio-economic conditions, leading to the search for refuge, safety and/or better living conditions elsewhere. However, people may also do it for a variety of other reasons, such as, the quest for further education, the fulfilment of professional and personal purposes, a search for improvement of socio-economic conditions, the formalisation or celebration of relationships, etc..

'Migration' is the term that defines the overall process that people go through when they move "from one country, region or place or residence to settle in another" (Bhugra & Becker, 2005, p.18). It is generally accepted in the literature regarding 'refugees' and other 'migrants' that the 'migration process' comprises of several phases or stages, and these encompass the reasons, deliberations and decisions to leave a place of residence/country through to the relocation and life in another place/country (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Bhugra et al., 2011; EVASP 2009-2010a; EVASP 2009-2010b; van der Veer, 1998; Papadopoulos, 2001). It is also acknowledged that the 'migration process' can be

influenced by many factors - individual, social, historical, political, legal, etc. - and that these create particular conditions and challenges which can have a diverse impact upon each person's experiences (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Bhugra et al., 2011; EVASP 2009-2010a; EVASP 2009-2010b; van der Veer, 1998; Papadopoulos, 2001).

Whenever the situation, circumstances and lived experiences of 'refugees' and other 'migrants' are considered in the literature, 'home' is often deemed to be a central feature (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnick et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

'Home' is surrounded by complexities. It is widely acknowledged in the literature that 'home' is difficult to define, be it as a word or as a concept (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Chapman, 2001; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). This difficulty stems mainly from the fact that 'home' refers to different and often contradictory meanings and that it encompasses multiple elements, facets and dimensions (Ahmed, 1999; Ben-Yoseph, 2005; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2014, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Kreuzer et al., 2017; Madison, 2006; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). Moreover, 'home' is a topic of study in many professional and academic fields, these including sociology, psychology, anthropology, geography and philosophy to architecture, housing and business/marketing, etc. (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015;

Chapman, 2001; Easthope, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). Consequently, the complexities associated with 'home', together with the different prioritisations and emphasis of analysis placed by the various disciplines that study 'home' seem to have contributed to, and be reflected in the different understandings and conceptualisations of 'home' (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Chapman, 2001; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallet, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013). For this reason, research has focused upon different aspects of 'home' including, for example, the exploration of the meanings of 'home' within different contexts (from homeless people to 'refugees' and other 'migrants'), as well as, the "examination of *home* as a system of key components…exploration of the processes by which *home* comes to have meaning…negative and darker side of *home* experiences" (Moore, 2000, p.211, *italic* in the original text), etc..

In the context of the situation and experiences of 'refugees' and other 'migrants', the relevance of 'home' is often highlighted through its negative, i.e., through an emphasis upon the loss or the absence of 'home'. The loss of 'home' is referred to as the main condition shared by all 'refugees' (Papadopoulos, 2002; Taylor, 2013). Leaving 'home' to live in a new country is frequently referred to as the most basic characteristic of international 'migration' (Boccagni, 2014).

It is recognised that the literature regarding the circumstances and experiences of 'refugees' and other 'migrants' tends to focus predominantly upon more rooted ideas of 'home' which, consequently, can result in an over-emphasising of the uprooting aspects of 'migration' (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Malkki,1992;

Mallett, 2004; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). However, the part played by geographic mobility in the construction of 'home' has been increasingly highlighted in the literature, often through research focusing upon the ways in which 'home' can be construed and negotiated in the context of 'migration' (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2012; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013). Related with the latter is the literature on 'home' which is largely associated with 'transnationalism' (Boccagni, 2012; Dunn, 2005; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Tete, 2012). Transnationalism disputes "the way home is often imagined as bounded, and instead offer a conceptualisation of home as messy, mobile, blurred and confused" (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.519). Consequently, through this perspective, 'home' becomes a "variable term, one that can be transformed, newly invented, and developed in relation to the circumstances in which people find themselves or chose to place themselves" (Hamond, 2004, as cited in Tete, 2012, p.109).

Moreover, the focus of the empirical studies on 'home' in the context of the situation and experiences of 'refugees' and other 'migrants', has been varied. These studies have included, for example, the exploration of the meanings of 'home' and of the loss of it, the lived experience(s) of 'home' and of loss of it, the lived experience(s) of those who choose to leave 'home', the experiences and practices of home-making, the emotional experiences of feeling 'at home' and the role of mobility in 'refugees'' negotiations of 'home' (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Madison, 2006; Moore, 2000; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013).

Hence, there is already considerable research focusing upon 'home' in different contexts and, in particular, in the context of 'migration', considering 'refugees'' and other 'migrants'' experiences. However, even when the research focuses upon people's lived or subjective experience(s) of 'home' in the latter context, it tends to separate people into the two usually ascribed types of 'migration' - 'voluntary' or 'involuntary'/'forced' 'migration' - often associated with 'migrants' and 'refugees', respectively. Even if not always explicitly, it assumes that people's experiences and meanings of 'home' are different merely as a direct consequence of their type of their 'migration'. Still, this study does not intend to deny the existence of potential differences between those types of 'migration' - in terms of the degree of choice about leaving the country of origin, the challenges faced and the impact these may have upon people's experiences throughout the 'migration process'. Rather, it builds upon already existing literature and research, as well as, on the diversity of individual subjective experiences, to explore the perceptions and experiences of 'home' of different 'migrants' – independently of the voluntary' or 'involuntary'/'forced' nature of their 'migration' - in the context of their own experiences throughout the 'migration process'.

Therefore, this study aims to examine how the perceptions of 'home' by 'migrants' who currently live in the United Kingdom (UK) may be interlinked with their lived individual experiences throughout the 'migration process'. Specifically, this study aims to explore how their perception(s) of what constitutes 'home' may have been/be influenced or affected by their experiences throughout the different stages of the 'migration process' and how their perception(s) of 'home' may have influenced their experiences throughout the 'migration process'. Consequently, this study is guided by the following research question:

How are ‘migrants’’ perceptions of ‘home’ interlinked with their individual experiences throughout the ‘migration process’?

In this study, the term ‘migrants’ is used in a wider sense to encompass all the people who moved from their country of origin, be it ‘involuntarily’ or ‘voluntarily’, and who are now living in the United Kingdom (U.K.). Therefore, that term is employed to include people who are legally defined as ‘refugees’, as well as, any other ‘migrants’ (the definitions and aspects linked to these terms are presented in Part 1, Chapter 1). The term ‘perceptions’ is used to mean the ways in which ‘home’ is understood and interpreted by the participants, ultimately referring to the meanings, elements and dimensions of ‘home’ which they selectively prioritise. ‘Migration process’ is understood as incorporating all the stages/phases involved in the move, from pre-migration to post-migration and, therefore, comprising from the reasons and decisions to leave their country of origin through to their life in another country (the U.K. in this particular case), including all the stages in between.

Thus, the emphasis in this study is placed upon exploring people’s experiences and the subjective meaning of those experiences, through the use of their own verbal accounts. In view of the aim and research question of this study, its inductive approach and idiographic nature, its focus upon “the examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 1), and its emphasis “upon people’s understandings of their experiences” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 47), the use of qualitative methodology and, specifically, of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009), is considered to be the

most appropriate (Barker et al., 2002; Howitt, 2010; Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2001).

This thesis is divided in four parts, as follows:

Part 1 (Part 1. Theoretical considerations) sets the theoretical context for the empirical investigation. Thus, the theoretical and conceptual issues associated with 'home', with the people who leave their 'home' and with their experiences of loss of/leaving 'home' to live in another place/country are presented and discussed in this part of the thesis. Part 1 comprises of three chapters:

- Chapter 1 presents and discusses the terminology referring to the process of moving from a habitual place of residence to live in another (for example, the terms 'migration' and 'displacement') and to the people who leave 'home' ('migrants', 'refugees', etc.), as well as, some of the complexities surrounding those terms.
- In Chapter 2, a literature review of 'home' and the complexities associated with it is undertaken. This chapter presents the issues relating to 'home' in general, as well as, to 'home' in the context of 'migration' and the experiences of 'refugees' and of other 'migrants'.
- Chapter 3 presents a review of the literature regarding the different stages/phases of the 'migration process'. This is followed by a presentation of the different conceptualisations of 'refugees'' and other 'migrants'' experiences and responses to 'migration'. Included in the latter review are more 'traditional' ways of conceptualising 'refugees'' and 'migrants'' experiences and responses, as well as, the conceptualisations

of those experiences and responses which have the idea of ‘home’ at the centre.

Part 2 (Part 2. Methodology and research design) focusses upon the methodology and the research design used in this study. This section of the thesis presents the aims and the research question, as well as, the rationale for the choice of a qualitative methodology and, more specifically, for the use of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). This is followed by an outline of the research design and by a detailed presentation of aspects relating to the participants, the procedures for recruitment and for data collection, the method of data analysis, as well as, issues of validity and quality, and ethical considerations.

In Part 3 (Part 3. Results) the results of the analysis of the six participants’ accounts are presented. Through the use of an IPA approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009) four overarching themes were identified across the six participants’ accounts. In Part 3 the overarching themes are presented and illustrated with verbatim quotation extracts from participants’ accounts.

In Part 4 (Part 4. Discussion) the findings of this study are presented and discussed, this taking into consideration the theoretical aspects and the literature discussed in Part 1, and the aims and research question of this study, as defined above and in Part 2. Additionally, Part 4 discusses the significance, practical implications and limitations of this study and it also presents suggestions for future research. Some final reflections about this research are included in this section.

2. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is important in any research and is often regarded as crucial in qualitative research (Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007). In qualitative research, the role of subjectivity is explicitly acknowledged and the researcher is considered to be part of the process of co-construction of meanings rather than an external, detached and objective observer of the phenomena being studied (Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001). Because research is thought to be “a joint product of researcher and researched” (Smith, 2008, p.21), the researcher’s contribution and influence upon the research process is recognised. Consequently, particular emphasis is placed on reflexivity, which refers to the process through which researchers are able to consider the influence and the impact that they can have throughout their research study (Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). This reflexive process enables exploration and acknowledgement of the researcher’s pre-conceptions, assumptions, choices, interests, experiences, etc., thus supporting ‘bracketing’, i.e., the researcher’s attempts to mitigate the potential negative effects of those throughout the research process (Ahern, 1999; Ashworth, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Communicating these reflexive attempts provides information about the researcher position as regards their study (Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007). Accordingly, a reflexivity statement, resulting from my reflexive endeavours, is presented in this section.

My general interest and emotional connection with the topic of this study has certainly been influenced by having moved from my birth country to live in the U.K., i.e., by becoming a ‘migrant’ (legally an ‘EU citizen’). I was born and

raised in a country with a geographical mobility tradition of centuries, marked by an increase in emigration in the 60's and 70's of the last century, this mainly resulting from the difficult socio-economic conditions endured by a significant part of its population and also, for young males, representing an escape from its colonial war in view of compulsory conscription. All of this in the context of nearly half a century of a dictatorial regime which only came to end in the mid 70's and which, as a consequence of political persecution of those who had differing views, also 'created' its own 'refugees' in other countries. Whilst being born in that socio-political context, my move to live in the U.K. only happened several years later, in the context of a relationship with a British national, two decades ago. Moving to the U.K. occurred when I was already an adult, a qualified and working professional and therefore, whilst I was happy to embark in the experience of living in the U.K., which was not an unknown country to me, this also meant having to leave a stable, comfortable and fulfilling life in my birth country. Leaving 'home' and (re-)creating a sense of 'home' in the U.K. proved to be, simultaneously, a demanding and a life-enriching experience.

Additionally, as a clinical psychologist, I mainly worked alongside 'service users' who presented with severe and enduring mental health problems, some of whom were 'migrants' (within a wider definition of the term, thus including 'refugees'). Their mental health problems often appeared to be closely related to their experiences throughout the 'migration' process, seemingly manifesting their own ways of responding to those experiences and circumstances. Thus, my clinical work strengthened my perception that, as well as presenting an opportunity for personal growth, 'migration' can also contribute to psychological distress and to the development of (more or less severe) mental health problems.

Still, rather than assuming that (negative) experiences of 'migration' (in the wider understanding of the word) mostly lead to psychological difficulties or psychopathology, it was/is my understanding that 'migrants'' responses to such experiences can be seen as resulting from a complex interplay of personal and contextual factors.

Furthermore, attending the Refugee Care course, with its multidisciplinary nature and, within this, undertaking non-clinical work with 'refugees' in services directed specifically at supporting them, enabled me to pursue further understanding(s) of the phenomenon of 'migration' but outside the boundaries of clinical psychology and beyond a predominant focus on mental health issues. For example, and with particular relevance to this study, attendance of this course provided an opportunity to acquaint myself with conceptualisations that place 'home' at the centre of the experiences of 'migration' (in the wider sense of this term), as well as, to heighten my understanding of both the negative and the positive aspects of those experiences.

All of these aspects - my personal and professional experiences and further academic pursuits – are stated here because they underlay my initial motivation to undertake this research. Furthermore, this study represented an intentional attempt to move beyond (thus expanding) the knowledge, skills and experience gained, throughout the years, as a clinical psychologist working predominantly with people with severe and enduring mental health problems. Thus, choosing to emphasise the phenomena of 'home' and 'migration' and the experiences and responses of 'migrants' (within its wider definition) who were not linked to mental health or similar services. This is not to say that some of the previous professional knowledge, skills and experience were not useful for this

research, for example, the general knowledge about research and research methodology(ies), the skills and experience in checking and identifying the presence of any vulnerabilities or risk factors that would recommend exclusion from this research of any potential participants, as well as, in creating an emphatic and listening environment during interview with the participants, enabling their experiences and the meanings of those to emerge, etc. However, and importantly, this also included awareness of the differences between research and clinical activities and, consequently, between the roles of a researcher and a clinician.

Some of the beliefs and assumptions associated with my life experiences and my intentions regarding this research, which were stated above, had the potential to lead to unchecked bias if not questioned and reflected upon on a continuous basis and throughout the different steps of the research process. Keeping a reflective diary and receiving supervision throughout this study supported my reflexivity and my attempts to bracket assumptions that could interfere in the research process and influence its findings. Thus, reflexivity supported my attempts to keep open, curious, reflective, aware and responsive throughout the research process, this being reflected, for example, in the extensive literature review associated with the topic, in the thoughtful consideration regarding the choice of the most suitable research methodology and methods in view of the aims of this study, in the attentive listening and focus on the participants' accounts during data collection and data analysis, in order to capture, as closely as possible, the meanings expressed by them.

Part 1. Theoretical considerations

Chapter 1. Terminology associated with the process of human geographical mobility and with the people who leave their place of origin

1.1. Overview

Throughout human history, and until this day, people have left their place of origin thus ending up living somewhere else (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Keefe, 2010; Pollock, 1989).

The reasons for leaving are varied. People may be compelled to search for protection, safety and more favourable living conditions when they are confronted with adverse events or circumstances, these including wars, generalised violence and armed conflict, various types of oppression and persecution, natural and environmental disasters, as well as, difficult living conditions ensuing from climatic changes, from marginalising or stigmatising socio-cultural situations and/or severe socio-economic conditions. However, people may also leave their place of origin for other reasons, such as, to gain better or new life experiences in different socio-economic-cultural contexts and conditions, to pursue and fulfil educational and professional goals and commitments, to formalise and celebrate relationships, etc..

People may leave their place of origin and cross international borders to be in a different country, as it is the case of ‘migrants’ and ‘refugees’. However, they may move away from their place of origin as a result of, for example, war or

natural disasters, but still remain within national borders, as it is the case of the so-called ‘Internally Displaced Persons’ (IDP). Furthermore, whilst some people move away from their place of origin only once in their lifetime, others move several times throughout their lives and, in both cases, the duration of their stay living away from their place of origin can fluctuate.

Different denominations and classifications are attributed to the process of leaving the place of origin to live somewhere else, as well as, to the people who undergo that move. These designations often capture distinct or, on the contrary, interchangeable meanings and realities. Widely used words such as, ‘migration’ and ‘displacement’, ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’ and ‘displaced’ people can frequently be employed to mean quite different things or, conversely, as if they mean or refer to the exact same thing. This can generate confusion when the specific meaning, and the particular context in which the terms are used, are not mentioned nor clarified.

Moreover, a polarised distinction between the ‘voluntary’ or the ‘involuntary’/’forced’ nature of the move, in terms of the motivation to live away and the extent to which people are seen as ‘choosing’ or being ‘forced’ to leave, is frequently made in the literature on ‘migration’, ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’. All of these convolutions surrounding the terminology can, consequently, make it difficult to get clear, simple and universally accepted definitions of some of the terms whilst, at the same time, it can hamper a full understanding of the heterogeneous and complex nature of the overall phenomena of ‘migration’. Apart from the multiple meanings and the interchangeable or contrasting underlying assumptions as regards the terminology, it is also relevant to note that the different terms used have very different legal and practical implications for the

people who those refer to. For example, as pointed out by Edwards (2016), the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are often used interchangeably by the public and the media but a distinction between those can be of extreme importance in terms of the legal status in the new/host country for those concerned. Together with those legal and practical implications, the terminology and its use can also generate or attract different social constructions and discourses about the people it refers to, thus also having repercussions in the ways people may be perceived and how their experiences and responses may be understood, even in the literature.

The different terminology used to designate people who leave their place of origin (for example, ‘refugees’ or other ‘migrants’) has led to the development of different (and often separated) areas of study. Whilst this separation may be relevant for the study of more specific issues regarding the people under those designations, at times it can also hinder the exploration of the potential for similarity and continuity in the experiences of people who move away from their place of origin. This may perpetuate polarities and, even if inadvertently, it can foster simplification, disconnection and a lack of integration when addressing the complex phenomena associated with the different reasons for human geographic mobility.

Consequently, it seems important to start the theoretical considerations of this study by attempting to define some of the terms associated with the process of leaving the place of origin to live somewhere else and with the people who undergo that process. This is undertaken in this chapter.

1.2. Terminology associated with the process of human geographical mobility

In the literature, two terms are often found to describe the process associated with the geographical movement of people who leave their place of origin and, consequently, end up living in another place. These are: ‘migration’ and ‘displacement’.

The term ‘migration’ has been defined as the “geographic mobility of people who move from one place to another, whether as individuals, as part of a small group, or in a large mass” (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, p.16), as the “process of going from one country, region or place of residence to settle in another” (Bhugra & Becker, 2005, p.18).

Thus, ‘migration’ can be understood as an overarching term which refers to any type of geographical movements of people, independently of the reasons and/or the so-called ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary’/’forced’ nature of that move. Most frequently the term ‘migration’ is employed to refer to the movement of people who leave their own country to live in another but, from the definitions above, it can also apply to the move from one region or place to another within the same country. In the latter case, Grinberg and Grinberg (1989), for example, consider that for a move to be called ‘migration’, it requires that the two places are “sufficiently distant and different” (p.17) from each other. However, whilst the crossing of international borders can be considered a clearer and more objective criteria to decide that a geographical move can be defined as ‘migration’, it seems to be more difficult and subjective to ascertain how ‘distant’ and how ‘different’ a place needs to be for such a move to be termed ‘migration’. Furthermore, the

term ‘migration’ can include temporary geographical moves but these need to be “for a sufficiently prolonged period of time” (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, p.17). Again, when considering if a temporary geographical move can be defined as ‘migration’, what is considered a ‘sufficiently prolonged period of time’ seems to be open to interpretation.

In the literature, ‘displacement’ is another term which is associated with geographical movement(s) of people. It usually refers to both the process and the outcome of the geographical movement of people from one place to another, be it within the borders of a country or across international borders. Furthermore, this term tends to emerge solely in the literature that is linked to the ‘involuntary’ and ‘forced’ types of ‘migration’ (for example, Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Mooney, 2005; Thomas & Thomas, 2004). Thus, the term ‘displacement’ is commonly found in the literature to describe the process undergone, and the situation resulting from the ‘involuntary’ move away from the place of origin that is experienced by, for example, the ‘refugees’, the ‘Internally Displaced Persons’ (IDP) and all the people who, despite having left their country and being ‘displaced’ in another as a result of war, generalised violence or armed conflict, are not legally recognised as ‘refugees’ because they do not fulfil the legal criteria defined by international law (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). At times, the term ‘displacement’ is also found in the literature associated with the situation of people who left their place of origin as a direct consequence of climatic changes and/or of natural or environmental disasters (for example, Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Mooney, 2005)

Therefore, when taking into consideration more generic and wide-ranging definitions of ‘migration’ (as those mentioned above), it could be argued that what

is described under ‘displacement’ can be deemed as a specific form or type of ‘migration’. However, the term ‘displacement’ is generally not used in that way. Indeed, frequently the term ‘displacement’ is used in opposition to the term ‘migration’, the latter often acquiring the sole (and narrower) meaning of human geographical moves construed as being ‘voluntary’, whilst the former is then reserved for ‘involuntary’/’forced’ geographical moves. Actually, it can be noticed that the term ‘migration’ tends to be used in the literature mostly to refer to the process of geographical mobility undergone by people who are perceived as having ‘voluntarily’ left their place of origin and without contemplating those who are considered to have left ‘involuntarily’. This divide is also sometimes reflected in the polarised discourses and categorisations that oppose ‘refugee’ to ‘migrant’ and assume a totally ‘involuntary’/’forced’ geographical move for the former and an entirely ‘voluntary’ one for the latter, as it can be exemplified by the distinction established by Edwards (2016).

However, a distinction between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’ may not always be straightforward and it may not fully represent the reality or the subjective experiences of the people who move away from their place of origin (Hugo, 1996; Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). For example, whilst the legal definition of ‘refugee’, in accordance with international law (discussed later in section 1.3. Terminology associated with people who leave their place of origin), may, at least in principle, make it clearer who can and who cannot have that specific status recognised, this is not to say that all other people who leave their place of origin do so ‘voluntarily’. In fact, some people may leave their places of origin due to situations with the same root causes as those which prompted the move of (legally defined) ‘refugees’, this despite being unable to fulfil (or to

prove) the legal criteria for ‘refugee’ status’ recognition under international law (UNHCR, 2011, 2012).

Thus, whilst a clear cut distinction between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ ‘migration’ is often assumed, this somehow dismisses the fact that it is often very difficult to discern whether an apparent and so-called ‘voluntary’ move (often only considered as such by external observers) may indeed be ‘involuntary’, as people may not have moved if the circumstances that prompted it were different or absent (Ahmed, 1999; Hugo, 1996). For example, Amin (1974, as cited in Hugo, 1996, p.106), referring to migration in Western Africa, argues that,

> A comparative costs and benefits analysis, conducted at the individual level of the migrant, has no significance. In fact it only gives the appearance of objective rationality to a ‘choice’ (that of the migrant) which in reality does not exist because, in a given system, he (sic) has no alternatives. (Hugo, 1996, p.106)

Referring to an opposite extreme, Speare (1974, as cited in Hugo, 1996, p.106), considers that,

> In the strictest sense migration can be considered to be involuntary only when a person is physically transported from a country and has no opportunity to escape from those transporting him. Movement under threat, even the immediate threat to life, contains a voluntary element, as long as there is an option to escape to another part of the country, go into hiding or to remain and hope to avoid persecution. (Hugo, 1996, p.106)

In view of the complexities involved in this dichotomy, Hugo (1996) suggests that, rather than setting ‘voluntary’ in opposition to ‘involuntary’/’forced’

‘migration’, it would be more useful (and perhaps more consonant with the reality and with people’s experiences) to understand a person’s move away from their place of origin as being positioned,

> along a continuum ranging from totally voluntary migration, in which the choice and will of the migrant is the overwhelmingly decisive element encouraging people to move, to totally forced migration, where the migrants are faced with death if they remain in their present place of residence. (p.107)

However, even when understanding the reasons and the degree of choice underlying each person’s ‘migration’ as being set along a continuum (rather than in the binary ‘voluntary’ vs. ‘involuntary’/’forced’), it still may be difficult for an external observer to determine the specific position that a particular person may occupy in that continuum. Nonetheless, that position and the terminology attached to those who move can have significant implications, for example, for their legal right(s) to live and stay in a new country and in terms of the impact these can have at a practical, social-political and even psychological levels (Edwards, 2016; Goldenziel, 2017).

1.3. Terminology associated with people who leave their place of origin

In the literature, it is not only the terminology regarding the process of human geographic mobility that can be imbued with different, sometimes overlapping but other times contrasting, meanings and definitions. These also can be noted in the terminology assigned to the people who undertake a geographical move to live somewhere else.

The terminology used to designate people who move away from their place of origin is relevant, as mentioned previously. Namely, it is important for their legal status in the new country. Different designations - ‘refugee’ or ‘migrant’ – may imply that one person is allowed to stay in the new country if their ‘refugee’ status is recognised, whilst another may be deported to the country of origin if considered to be an ‘illegal migrant’ (Goldenziel, 2017). Furthermore, as highlighted by Goldenziel (2017), whilst there is a legal definition of ‘refugee’ and there are legal criteria to ascertain who can or cannot be recognised as such established by international law, this recognition being legally binding, in contrast, “the term ‘migrant’…is undefined in international law” (pp. 49-50).

Some of the denominations attributed to the people who move away from their place of origin are discussed in this section.

1.3.1. ‘Migrant’

The term ‘migrant’ is sometimes defined and employed in ways that convey different meanings to the word. Yet, one common aspect amongst several definitions of the term ‘migrant’ refer to a person who moves from a place of habitual residence to live in another place, whether that person is moving individually or as part of small or larger groups (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.; Edwards, 2016; Goldenziel, 2017; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. a; UNESCO, 2017). Beyond that common feature, the other aspects, conditions and characteristics found in different definitions and usages of the term ‘migrant’ can vary (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.; Edwards, 2016; Goldenziel, 2017; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. a; UNESCO, 2017).

Most frequently the term ‘migrant’ refers to people who move from one country to live in another but this term sometimes can appear in the literature to designate the people who move from one region to another within the same country particularly, and as aforementioned, when both regions are “sufficiently distant and different from” (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, p.17) each other. Similarly, whereas it is implied or explicitly stated in some definitions of ‘migrant’ that the move is from a person’s country of origin to another country, some definitions include in it anyone who moves from a country to another, whether the first country refers to that person’s birth country or not (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. a; UNESCO, 2017). When addressing the issue of how long someone needs to live in a new region or country to be considered a ‘migrant’, definitions tend to indicate that the move may vary from ‘temporary’ to ‘permanent’. As mentioned previously, the exact length of time that a person needs to spend in a new place in order to be considered a ‘migrant’ is unclear. In this regard, some definitions imply that a level of ‘settling in’ and/or the acquisition of “significant social ties” (UNESCO, 2017, p.1) in the new country needs to be present for someone to be defined as a ‘migrant’ (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, UNESCO, 2017). Still, it can be difficult to establish, at least in a clear way, what ‘settled in’ or having ‘significant social ties’ may mean. Also, does it mean that someone who moved to a new country and subjectively has not ‘settled in’ or has not created ‘significant’ social ties is not a ‘migrant’? Moreover, authors such as, Grinberg and Grinberg (1989), further distinguish between ‘migrants’ and ‘foreign workers’ in terms of the latter’s envisaged return to the place of origin after a determined period of time working in another country.

Some definitions of ‘migrant’ are closely based on the general definition of ‘migration’. Consequently, these definitions encompass all the people who leave one place/country and live in another, independently of the reasons for doing so, including those who “seek work, refuge, escape war, or otherwise” (Goldenziel, 2017, p.50). In contrast, other definitions of ‘migrant’ are more restrictive thus, mainly and foremost, emphasising the economic and work related motives which may underlie people’s move (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.; Edwards, 2016; Goldenziel, 2017; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. a; UNESCO, 2017). In the latter case, the term ‘migrant’ loses its general and wider meaning which refers to any person who moves away from a place of habitual residence to live in another, to gain the sole meaning of a person who has left their usual place of residence to live somewhere else but mainly for economic and work reasons. This latter meaning is frequently equated with a completely ‘voluntary’ motivation to move, which may indeed be far from the reality for some people. This may mirror what happens with the terms ‘migration’ and ‘displacement’ (discussed above in section 1.2. Terminology associated with the process of human geographical mobility) as, when defined in this narrower way, the term ‘migrant’ represents the people who are considered to be in the opposite pole to those who do not have, or are perceived as not having, other solution than leaving their countries to be elsewhere, for example, the ‘refugees’ and other ‘displaced persons’ (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.; Edwards, 2016; Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. a; UNESCO, 2017). However, as stated previously, an automatic assumption of a ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary’ motive for the move and a totally polarised understanding of human geographical mobility may not always correspond to the (objective and/or subjective) reality. Also, this

polarisation may not always be useful or valuable, in particular when one attempts to examine possible common aspects in the experiences of those who ‘migrate’, independently of the reasons for doing so. Yet, as mentioned previously, this is not to say that the multiple definitions of ‘migrant’, apart from the lack of clarity that they may generate, do not have legal and practical implications for each person who this term, with its different meanings, is used to define.

1.3.2. ‘Refugee’: Legal definition and its limitations

As aforementioned, the term ‘migrant’, in its narrower meaning of a person who moves to live in another country for economic reasons or for work purposes, which is often perceived and described as a ‘voluntary’ move, is repeatedly used in opposition to the term ‘refugee’, a term that is commonly associated with people who have been ‘forced’ or ‘involuntarily’ had to leave their habitual place of residence or country.

Actually, the term ‘refugee’ is often employed very loosely to refer to people who have been ‘involuntarily’ ‘uprooted’ for a number of different reasons, such as, wars, generalised violence and systematic human rights abuse/violations but also as a result of natural and environmental disasters and climatic changes. This common and wide usage of the word ‘refugee’ seems to be reflected, for example, in the English Oxford Dictionary’s definition of ‘refugee’ as “a person who has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster” (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d. b). However, these wider definitions and usages of the term ‘refugee’ are far more inclusive of people who may have left their place of habitual residence, often their country, than the definition of ‘refugee’ in international law (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). The legal

definition of ‘refugee’, which is enclosed in the two main sources of international law in this matter - the 1951 ‘Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees’ (UNHCR, 2011, 2012) and its 1967 ‘Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees’ (UNHCR, 2011) - does not consider the people affected by natural or environmental disasters or by climatic changes as ‘refugees’, this despite the fact that they may require support and protection in view of those types of adversities.

The term ‘refugee’ was first used in the 17th Century to refer to the Protestant Huguenots of France, who were forced to leave the country and seek asylum elsewhere (Wennersten & Robbins, 2017). Thus, the link between the term ‘refugee’ and the people who are a target of persecution (albeit in that case solely on religious grounds) seemed to be already present in that instance. This link still constitutes the crucial tenet of the current legal definition of ‘refugee’, as encompassed in the 1951 ‘Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees’ (UNHCR, 2011, 2012) - herein shortly denominated ‘1951 Convention’ - and the 1967 ‘Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees’ (UNHCR, 2011) – hereafter abbreviated to ‘1967 Protocol’.

The ‘1951 Convention’ (UNHCR, 2011, 2012) was developed by the United Nations and adopted in 1951 by the signatory States. It aimed to provide a legal framework to respond to the situation faced by the millions of people displaced in the aftermath of both World Wars in the 20th Century and who, consequently, necessitated refuge and protection (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). It defines who can be considered a ‘refugee’, outlines the legal, social and assistance rights of ‘refugees’, sets out the responsibilities of ‘refugees’ towards the new/host country and clarifies the responsibilities of the signatory States when hosting ‘refugees’ (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). However, the ‘1951 Convention’

focused primarily upon the protection of European people displaced as a consequence of the World War II and it was amended in 1967 by the '1967 Protocol' (UNHCR, 2011). The '1967 Protocol' excluded the geographical and time restrictions of the '1951 Convention', thus extending the same legal protection and assistance rights to anyone around the world who is subject to the conditions envisaged within the legal definition of 'refugee' (UNHCR, 2011). Both the '1951 Convention' and the '1967 Protocol' have since provided the legal framework for international protection of 'refugees' and have also informed the development of more specific, national and regional, legislation regarding 'refugees' (Farbey, 2002; UNHCR, 2011, 2012). Nevertheless, it is important to mention that not all States are signatory parties of the '1951 Convention' and of the '1967 Protocol', this meaning that they may not be under the same legal obligations as the signatory States do as regards the provision of refuge and protection to people deemed to meet the criteria for 'refugee' status' recognition (UNHCR, 2011).

Thus, in a stricter sense, it is the definition of 'refugee' encompassed in the '1951 Convention' and the '1967 Protocol' (UNHCR, 2011, 2012), that establishes who can, or cannot, be named as 'refugee', when setting the conditions required for a person to be legally recognised as such. The '1951 Convention' defines 'refugee' as,

> a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him – or herself of the

> protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution (see Article 1A (2)). (UNHCR, 2011, p.3)

However, whilst seemingly evident from the above definition who can be, or not, called a ‘refugee’, this is not always the case. The recognition of a person’s ‘refugee’ status habitually entails a complex legal process, which is undertaken on an individual basis and where the person has to demonstrate that the various conditions/criteria encompassed within the definition, are fulfilled. Specifically, the person, legally denominated as an ‘asylum seeker’ whilst that legal process is ongoing, will have to provide evidence for the particular definitional criteria such as, being out of the country of habitual residence, having a ‘well-founded fear’ of persecution for at least one of the reasons identified in the definition – “race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2011, p.3) - and lacking, or being unable to receive, protection from the State of origin (UNHCR, 2011). An exclusion clause applies for people who may fulfil all those conditions but who have committed war crimes (Farbey, 2002; UNHCR, 2011). Due to the requirement for individually proving that the criteria set in the above legal definition of ‘refugee’ are met, several people may be barred from ‘refugee’ status’ recognition, despite having faced circumstances similar to those encountered by ‘refugees’ and in spite of equally requiring refuge and protection of their rights (Farbey, 2002; Goldenziel, 2017; Mooney, 2005). In view of this, authors such as, Goldenziel (2017) and Thomas and Thomas (2004), argue that most of the people in the world who are displaced by wars, armed conflict and violence often receive little protection of their rights under international law just because they do not fully meet the criteria set in the ‘1951 Convention’’ definition of ‘refugee’ or because they “are unable to prove that they

meet the criteria" (Goldenziel, 2017, p.53). In those circumstances, some people may have some of their rights protected under regional or even international legal sources and mechanisms other than the '1951 Convention' but this is not always the case (Goldenziel, 2017; Mooney, 2005; UNHCR, 2011, 2012; UN/OCHA, 2004). Ultimately, they are not legally recognised as 'refugees'.

Therefore, the legal definition of 'refugee' excludes people who are not, or who cannot prove to be, a target of personal/individual persecution, and/or those who do not belong to a group which is clearly identified or recognised as a target of persecution for political, social, race, religion or nationality reasons, this despite the fact that they may have left their place of origin and be displaced as a result of war, generalised violence, armed conflict and/or human rights abuses/violations, i.e., in circumstances that are very similar to the people whose 'refugee' status is legally recognised (Farbey, 2002; Goldenziel, 2017; Mooney, 2005). The legal definition of 'refugee' also does not apply to people who are 'Stateless', i.e., those who are not recognised as a national or a citizen by any State (UNHCR, 2011, 2012), even if and when they may find themselves in situations that are similar to those faced by people who are legally considered 'refugees'. Furthermore, people who are displaced inside their own State/country, often designated as 'Internally Displaced Persons', although sometimes called 'refugees', they are not legally recognised as such under international law (Goldenziel, 2017; Mooney, 2005; Thomas & Thomas, 2004). 'Internally Displaced Persons' (IDP) are broadly and descriptively defined in the 'United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' (UN/OCHA, 2004) as,

> persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a

result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural and human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border. (p.1)

Although 'IDP' and 'refugees' may share some similar underlying reasons for leaving their place of origin, the 'IDP' have not crossed the border to another country which is one of the main criteria required for recognition of 'refugee' status under the '1951 Convention' and '1967 Protocol'. As a result, they cannot access the same legal and protection rights as 'refugees' can do (Thomas & Thomas, 2004; UNHCR, 2011, 2012). The United Nations' definition of 'IDP' does not grant them with any special legal status because people are displaced within national borders and their rights are supposed to be the same as any other citizen of their own country/State and safeguarded by their own national laws and authorities (UNHCR, n.d.). Contrary to the '1951 Convention' and the '1967 Protocol', which are legally binding for signatory States, the 'United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' are not so, despite the fact that they are based upon international law, namely international human rights and humanitarian laws (Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Mooney, 2005; UNHCR, n.d.). Another noticeable difference is the fact that the United Nations definition of 'IDP', in contrast with the legal definition of 'refugee', includes people who may have left their places of origin for reasons other than war and persecution, thus including people who may be displaced by "natural or human-made disasters" (UN/OCHA, 2004, p.1). Thus, it takes into account "many cases where floods, earthquakes and famine as well as human-made disasters, such as nuclear or chemical accidents, had uprooted populations" (Mooney, 2005, p.10) and the fact people in these situations "could

be discriminated against and subject to human rights violations in the course of their displacement" (Mooney, 2005, p.12).

It is widely recognised that natural and environmental disasters can cause the displacement of vast numbers of people, not only within their own country but also across international borders (Barrett, 2012; Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Hugo, 1996; Thomas & Thomas, 2004). This can occur in the aftermath of disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis and volcano eruptions. Also, and increasingly, this can happen as a direct or indirect effect of climatic change, as it is the case, for example, of rising seas (leading to submerging island States such as, for example, Tuvalu), drought, flooding and hurricanes. These put strain in infra-structures, affect sustainable livelihoods and can also result in an increased scarcity of resources in certain areas of the world, sometimes giving rise to conflicts over those shortages (Barrett, 2012; Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Hugo, 1996; Thomas & Thomas, 2004). Still, people affected by all those disasters, even those who cross international borders as a result of it, are not included in the definition of 'refugee' as defined in the '1951 Convention' and the '1967 Protocol' (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). There continues to be much debate about how to define people affected by natural/environmental disasters and climatic change, about the appropriateness of each denomination ('migrant' or 'refugee'), about how to protect the rights and human rights of people affected by those and the complexity surrounding all those issues (Barrett, 2012; Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Hingley, 2017; Hugo, 1996, Hunter, 2005). The term 'environmental refugee' was adopted for several years, based upon a definition suggested by Essam El-Hinnawi (as cited in Worldwatch Institute, n.d.), in a report for the United Nations Environment Programme in the mid-80's as,

> People who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life. (Worldwatch Institute, n.d., paragraph 6)

However, Cohen and Bradley (2010) indicate that organisations, such as, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – UN Refugee Agency) consider that the expression ‘environmental refugee’ “has no firm basis in international refugee law, and should not be used, owing to the risk of creating confusion and undermining the refugee protection regime” (p.107). The IOM (as cited in Cohen & Bradley, 2010, p.107) has alternatively suggested the use of the expression ‘environmental migrant’ to designate,

> persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their homes or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad. (Cohen & Bradley, 2010, p. 107)

Apart from the ambiguities surrounding the terminology and the legal and practical implications for those who leave their place of origin or habitual residence due to natural/environmental disasters and climatic change, the difficulties in neatly classifying those moves as ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary’ are again noticeable (Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Hugo, 1996). At this level, Cohen and Bradley (2010) identify that, contrary to the ‘sudden-onset’ disasters (for example,

floods and hurricanes), where people are usually understood as being ‘forced’ to quickly leave their place of residence, those moving as a consequence of ‘slow-onset’ disasters, i.e., “longer-term environment problems (e.g. drought, desertification, rising sea levels, extreme temperatures, deforestation, land degradation)” (p.97), frequently are seen solely as ‘voluntary’ ‘migrants’, a view that seems to be gradually and appropriately changing. An understanding of this type of ‘migration’ as occurring along a continuum, as suggested by Hugo (1996) and as mentioned previously, may reflect that reality in a fuller and more comprehensive way.

All the above exclusions further emphasise that, whilst the term ‘refugee’ can be frequently and widely used to designate a person or a group of people who may have felt compelled to leave their place of origin or residence for a number of different (and perceived as ‘involuntary’) reasons, the current definition of ‘refugee’ is a legal one, established in accordance with the criteria encompassed in the ‘1951 Convention’ and the ‘1967 Protocol’ (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). Consequently, and in this stricter sense, the term ‘refugee’ only applies to those who meet the definition and criteria outlined in those sources of international law. This substantially reduces the number of people who this term can, accurately and legally, be applied to. Echoing other authors, Goldenziel (2017) argues that this situation actually represents “a mismatch between law and reality” (p.49) which is likely to have serious consequences for those affected, namely, in terms of their human rights. This is an issue that generates ongoing debates. However, these are beyond the scope of this study.

1.4. The above terminology and this study

It is evident from the above that the attempts to clearly define and neatly categorise, not only the process of human geographical mobility but also the people who undertake it, can be met with various difficulties and challenges. These can derive from the fact that the terminology used to designate the process and the people who move away from the place of origin can have different meanings and be used in various ways. Also, some clear-cut polarisations are frequently assumed but they may not, or at least not accurately, reflect the complexities involved in the process and the (objective and/or subjective) reality of human geographical mobility. Additionally, people who leave their place of origin do so for a myriad of reasons and constitute a very heterogeneous group at personal, cultural, socio-economic, legal and political levels.

In this study, preference is given to the term 'migration' to signify any type of geographical movement of people across international borders, independently of the reasons and/or the 'voluntary' or 'involuntary'/'forced' nature of that move. Similarly, the term 'migrant', in its wider meaning, is favoured to refer to any person who moves away from their place/country of origin to live in another place/country, again independently of the motives and of the degree of choice associated with that move. The term 'refugee' is reserved to designate the people who are recognised as such under the main sources of international law, the '1951 Convention' and the '1967 Protocol' (UNHCR, 2011, 2012) but, when used in this thesis, it also includes those who are seeking asylum under that legislation (those legally called 'asylum seekers'). Although the definition of the term 'migrant' in its wider sense, also includes people who are legally defined as

‘refugees’, these terms are used separately throughout this thesis (for example, with the expression ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’), unless identified otherwise.

It is important to highlight that the use of the terms - ‘migrant’ and/or ‘refugee’ - does not mean that the diversity amongst those who are designated as such is not recognised. Authors such as, Farbey (2002), Loizos (2002) and Papadopoulos (2002), albeit when referring solely to ‘refugees’, emphasise that heterogeneity exists even within groups of people who move away from their place of origin for similar sorts of reasons. However, in spite of that diversity, it is of note that the common aspect to all ‘migrants’ (in its wider sense) is that they have left/leave their place of origin to live somewhere else.

Chapter 2. ‘Home’

2.1. Overview

In the literature, ‘home’ is a relevant, if not a central idea, whenever the situations, challenges and experiences lived by ‘refugees’ and by other ‘migrants’ are considered (Ahmed, 1999; Ben-Yoseph, 2005; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2014, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Kreuzer et al., 2017; Madison, 2006; Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

The centrality and relevance of ‘home’ in that context may appear self-evident as the loss, the absence, the leaving and moving away from ‘home’ are

frequently emphasised as underlying the condition and the experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2014, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Taylor, 2013). The loss of ‘home’ has been considered as the main or sole condition shared by all ‘refugees’ and leaving ‘home’ to live in a foreign country as the most basic common characteristic of international ‘migrants’ (Boccagni, 2014; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Taylor, 2013). So, there is no doubt that those associations – with loss, leaving, moving away and the absence of ‘home’ – are undeniably noticeable and relevant for the discussion of ‘home’ in the context of the experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’. However, if those associations were solely understood in a simplistic and linear way, they would not fully represent the complexities attached to the idea, concept and experiences of ‘home’ in those specific contexts. It is widely acknowledged in the literature that, apart from the seemingly obvious connections which, at least implicitly, may associate ‘home’ with a more concrete and fixed place in space and time, the links and intersections between ‘home’, ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’ are complex and can go far beyond it (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Kreuzer et al., 2017; Madison, 2006; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Tete, 2012).

The literature about ‘home’ is vast. In this chapter a review of the literature is undertaken, initially by centring on some of the general issues related to ‘home’ and then by focussing on more specific aspects of ‘home’ in the general context of ‘migration’.

2.2. ‘Home’: general issues

2.2.1. ‘Home’: definitional difficulties

It is widely recognised in the relevant academic literature that, be it as a term or as a concept, it is difficult to define what ‘home’ is, in a simple and unequivocal way and “however concrete the definition” (Black, 2002, p.127) of it (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002; Sirriyeh, 2010; Tete, 2012). Consequently, it is acknowledged that a degree of ambiguity always surrounds ‘home’, both as a word and as a concept (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014).

Extensive consideration is given in the literature to the complexities of ‘home’ which underlie those definitional difficulties. For example, Chapman (2001) argues that this difficulty “arises from the fact that home is conceptualized in the abstract, not just by social scientists, but by *everybody*” (p. 144, *italic* in the original text). Moore (2000) also suggests that ‘home’ is “not just…a concrete word but…an abstract signifier of a wide set of associations and meanings” (p.208).

Actually, the idea that difficulties in clearly defining ‘home’ emerge, at least partly, from the variety of meanings that can be communicated by the word ‘home’, is one that is generally accepted in the literature in the field (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002). Papadopoulos (2002), for example, indicates that the different meanings of ‘home’ can range “from a

physical and geographical community, to a psychological locus of relatedness and communion; from a seat of origins, to the ultimate goal, the place of rest, beyond conflict" (Papadopoulos, 1987, as cited in Papadopoulos, 2002, p.11), and they also include metaphorical usages of the word 'home' such as, ""to be at home with", "to make oneself at home", "it struck home", "bring a point/argument home"" (Papadopoulos, 2002, p.10). Authors such as, Brun and Fábos (2015), Easthope (2004), Mallett (2004) and Moore (2000) also point out that, in the literature, 'home' is often differently "conflated with or related to house, family, haven, self, gender and journeying…also consider notions of being-at-home, creating or making home and the ideal home" (Mallett, 2004, p.62).

Additionally, and as highlighted by Black (2002) and by Kabachnik et al. (2010), each meaning of 'home' can be, in itself, equally difficult to define, at least in a simple and unambiguous way. Black (2002) illustrates this problem by stating that even when 'home' is understood as "a person's place of origin or birth still permits its conceptualization at a variety of spatial scales" (p.127), as it "could refer to a building, a village, a town or a region" (p.127). Similarly, Kabachnik et al. (2010) also indicate that, in terms of its representation at different spatial scales, the meanings of 'home' can range, for example, from being "a town, a 'homeland' (the nation-state or other territorial area), or even the entire earth" (p.319).

Therefore, it is accepted in the related literature that 'home' not only elicits a wide range of meanings but that, within those, different layers and scales of meaning exist, making it even more difficult to reach a simple, succinct and universal definition of 'home'. However, Moore (2000) points out that whilst these multiple meanings and layers of meaning may contribute to difficulties in defining

‘home’, they also need to be taken into account if a fuller understanding of the complexities surrounding ‘home’ is to be achieved. Moore (2000) quotes Rybczynski to illustrate this point, stating that attempting to define and to make sense of ‘home’ “is like trying to describe an onion. It appears simple on the outside, but it is deceptive, for it has many layers…If each layer is described separately, we lose sight of the whole” (Moore, 2000, p.208).

Still, Easthope (2004) also cautions “against rigid definitions of ‘home’” (p.135), arguing that,

> since ‘home’ is a term imbued with personal meanings, different people are likely to understand ‘home’ to mean different things at different times and in different contexts…It is therefore impossible to provide a detailed, solid and static definition of ‘home’ that is relevant in all situations. (p.135)

Furthermore, it is widely acknowledged in the literature that, apart from its numerous and differing representations, meanings and associations, ‘home’ also encompasses multiple elements, facets, layers and dimensions (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010; Tete, 2012). This is noted by Mallett (2004) in a critical review of the literature on ‘home’ when stressing that “researchers routinely claim that home is a multi-dimensional concept or a multi-layered phenomenon” (p.68), an aspect which is also reiterated by Sirriyeh (2010) when reporting that “research on ideas of home has highlighted its multifaceted nature and the multiple and, sometimes contradictory, aspects of its layers, dimensions and sites of existence” (p.215). Thus, together with its various meanings, the multiple elements, layers and dimensions of ‘home’ seem

to further contribute to the difficulties (or even the impossibility) in attaining a more concise and generally accepted definition of 'home'.

In the literature, whilst 'home' is often considered to be a relevant and key lens of analysis in many contexts (these including, for example, 'refugees' and other 'migrants', homeless and older people, etc.), it is also sometimes deemed to be a contested concept, namely in view of its definitional complexities (Boccagni, 2017; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Smith, 2014). For example, Kabachnik et al. (2010), note that "home is a very broad concept with a multiplicity of meanings and associations that are often contested in the literature" (p.319), a view which had been already stressed by Easthope (2004) when stating that 'home' "is a contested concept in academic literature…there is much contention over exactly what home *is*" (p.134, *italic* in the original text). However, Boccagni (2017) argues that 'home' can be a "source of innovative insight. Its increasing visibility across social sciences as an issue in itself…may well point to something more complex and intriguing than an academic fad" (p.3), despite acknowledging the controversies surrounding the concept of 'home' and that it "is a contested, emotionalized and context-dependent notion" (p.1).

2.2.2. 'Home': its multiple meanings

In the absence (or even impossibility) of a single, succinct and universally accepted definition of 'home', and in view of the wide acceptance that 'home' elicits multiple and different meanings, it seems pertinent to gather some of those meanings from the relevant literature. Similarly to what is proposed by Boccagni (2017), rather than attempting to define what 'home' is, as this may become "a dubious and unnecessary "essentialistic" effort, given the variety of stances on

the question" (p.2), it may be relevant to focus upon some of its prevailing meanings.

'Home', as any other word and/or as any other concept, has a history. Indeed, it is noteworthy that, in the related academic literature, several authors (for example, Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002) commence their analysis and discussion of the multiple meanings of 'home' by considering the historical antecedents and the evolution of the meanings of the word and of the notion of 'home' in the English language. The historical evolution of the word 'home' is not going to be the focus of detailed analysis in this study as it is outside of its scope. Nonetheless, it is of note that some of the historical meanings of 'home' seem to prevail and be part of the current meanings of 'home', not only in the academic literature but also in the common and everyday usage of the word. Conversely, it is also noteworthy that the emphasis given to the meanings and to the different elements, layers and dimensions of 'home' seems to have varied/to vary significantly when the historical and the political contexts are taken into account and, within those, the different socio-cultural and demographic parameters such as, class, gender, ethnicity, etc..

In English language, the word 'home' derives etymologically from the old Anglo-Saxon term 'ham', which meant town or village, this suggesting an initial mainly collective, rather than individual meaning of 'home' (Mallett, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002). This initial association of 'home' with the collective and the public has equally been found in one of the German's words for 'home' - 'Heimat' – meaning 'motherland', whilst another - 'Heim' - can also have a more private connotation (Moore, 2000).

Moore (2000) indicates that early associations of ‘home’ with country, birthplace or land, as well as, its metaphoric uses, such as, the end of a journey, death/end of life, etc., can be found both in popular and literary English. Moore (2000) also reports that, in England and since the 17th century, the “meaning of *home* switched from referring to the native village, birthplace or country to the house” (pp. 208-209, *italic* in the original text) and to the family dwelling, as a consequence of the increased dominance of the ascending bourgeoisie. As regards this shift, Mallett (2004) adds that the association between house and home became established in English case law in the 17th century, this encouraging the spread of the idea that “the Englishmen’s house is his castle” (p.65) and a view of “home as a haven which comprises both house and surrounding land” (p.65). This change in the meaning of ‘home’ from the 17th century onwards in England (and indeed in other so-called Western societies), seems to reflect a turn in emphasis to the individual rather than the more collective aspects of ‘home’. Moore (2000) describes how “the house became an essential aspect of the identity and self-definition of the middle class” (p.209) and, as suggested by Mallett (2004) and Moore (2000), the word ‘home’ gradually became connoted with comfort, domesticity and privacy. Alluding to Berger (1984)’s views about how those historical (and etymological) changes to the word ‘home’ took place, Mallett (2004) states that,

> with the seventeenth century rise of the bourgeoisie…the concept of homeland was appropriated by the ruling classes to promote a form of nationalism and patriotism aimed at protecting and preserving their land, wealth and power. At the same time the idea of home became the focal

point for a form of ‘domestic morality’ aimed at safeguarding familial property, including estates, women and children. (p.65)

The ways in which these ‘new’ meanings of ‘home’ were viewed and experienced differently when consideration was/is given to class, gender and other socio-demographic descriptors is equally emphasised by Mallett (2004) and Moore (2000). These aspects continue to be relevant in contemporary debates about the multiple meanings of ‘home’. Boccagni (2017), for example, emphasises that, in general, “individuals’ socio-demographics, the assets (or forms of capital) accessible to them and the external structure of opportunities do affect the meanings attached to home” (p.8). In the same vein, Brun and Fábos (2015) indicate that ‘home’ can be understood as “a site in which power relations of the wider society, such as relations of gender, ethnicity, class, and generation are played out” (p.7), further pointing out, by highlighting a feminist perspective on ‘home’, “how ambivalent the nature of home may be for those in subordinate positions – women, young people, or servants, for example” (p.7). Indeed, the associations and meanings of ‘home’ as a haven of domesticity, comfort, privacy, security, safety, belonging, etc., continue to be challenged to this day, namely by feminist thinking regarding ‘home’, when highlighting that “for women and others who have been victims of abuse, home may have a very different set of associations such as fear, danger, and lack of control” (Kabachnik et al., 2010, p.319).

The above clearly emphasises the importance of considering the historical, political, legal, geographical, socio-cultural and economic contexts in the construction(s) of ‘home’ and of its associated meanings, as well as, in achieving a greater understanding of people’s experiences of it. Sarup (1994), for example,

argues that “the notion of home is not the same in every culture” (p.91). Conversely, and whilst not denying the relevance of the above factors, authors such as, Boccagni (2017) and Papadopoulos (2002) argue that some notion or sense of ‘home’ exists, and is relevant, across cultures, albeit their specific and different ways of naming or referring to it. For Papadopoulos (2002), ‘home’ constitutes “one of the most fundamental notions of humanity…all human beings have a sense of home…which often evokes powerful feelings, be they positive or negative” (p.10). When reviewing the literature in this regard, Boccagni (2017) suggests that,

> a similar association with particularly meaningful and emotionalized settings, domestic or otherwise, can be found across human cultures and, indeed, across history…while the *terms* that parallel home in other languages may be culturally specific, the underlying *social experiences* seems to cut across the boundaries between them. (p.5, *italic* in the original text).

As stated previously, all the above shows that some of the historical meanings of ‘home’, even if with slight modifications resulting from contextual changes, can still be found in the current meanings and representations of ‘home’. Some of the currently recognised different meanings of the word ‘home’ - including the symbolic, metaphoric and ideal/idealised views of it – are extensively referred to in the related literature. These include, for example, a person’s birthplace or the country/city/town/village of origin, a nation/state, the place of residence (town, village, house or family dwelling), a house(s) or dwelling(s), the place of rest after death, a care institution (the building and/or organization such as, Children’s Home, Nursing Home, Care Home, etc.), a place

and/or relationship where one feels at ease or familiar with, a place of safety and security, a comfortable place, a haven, etc. (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000, Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010).

2.2.3. 'Home': studies and conceptualisations

It is widely accepted in the literature that 'home' not only elicits different meanings but also that it is a complex, multi-layered, multifaceted and multidimensional concept (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002; Smith, 2014).

'Home' has been/is the subject matter of various and differing theoretical understandings and conceptualisations. This reflects the complexity of 'home' and, because it permeates so many areas, aspects and experiences of people's lives, it also has been/is the subject of study by different professional and academic fields (from anthropology, human geography, sociology, psychology, philosophy and history to housing, architecture, business/marketing, etc.), each of these placing their distinct scope and emphasis of analysis upon different meanings and multiple elements, facets, layers and dimensions of 'home' (Boccagni, 2017; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Papadopoulos, 2002; Sirriyeh, 2010; Somerville, 1997).

Studies which focus on 'home' do indeed examine very diverse aspects of this concept, of its associations and of its related issues (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010), These include, for example, the exploration of its different meanings (namely, its personal, social and cultural meanings), its personal and

cultural experiential aspects, its relationships with place, belonging and identity, the homemaking practices and "the processes by which *home* comes to have meaning" (Moore, 2000, p.211, *italic* in the original text). As summarised by Moore (2000), this reveals the "centrality of the concept of *home* with Western contemporary society…demonstrated by the varied contexts in which the concept is explored, demonstrating its rich and complex set of associations" (p.212, *italic* in the original text).

The study of 'home' by different disciplines, whilst an inevitable result of the complex and multidimensional nature of 'home', can also lead to a degree of fragmentation which may, at times, have hampered a fuller and more holistic comprehension of 'home' as a concept. For example, Somerville (1997) argued for a "multi-disciplinary hybrid approach" (p.226) if a more integrative and comprehensive theory of 'home' were to be achieved, this at a time when there was little cross dissemination between psychological studies on 'home' (which tended to focus upon the experiential aspects of it) and sociological studies on the same subject (which tended to focus on the social and cultural aspects of 'home'). However, in a critical appraisal of Somerville (1997)'s suggestion, Mallett (2004) points out that "in striving for a singular theory of home…Somerville's overlooks the benefits of keeping potentially contradictory theoretical approaches to the study of home in creative tension" (p.82). This author (Mallett, 2004) argues that, despite suitability of a multidisciplinary approach to the study of 'home', in view of its multidimensional nature, "there has been little sustained reflection and critique of the multidisciplinary field of home research and the diverse, even contradictory meanings of this term" (p.62). On the same issue but debating it from a different angle, Moore (2000) stresses that "the concept of *home* has to

be examined in terms of its parts as well as a whole, mindful that to focus strongly on one part, it is possible to lose sight of the whole concept itself" (p.208, *italic* in the original text).

A review of the contributions by each professional and academic field to the study of 'home' is outside the scope of this thesis. However, some studies and conceptualisations of 'home' are reviewed below as they are thought to be relevant and/or related to the aim of this study.

2.2.3.1. 'Home': meaning studies

Since the 1970's, a large quantity of studies on 'home' centred on exploring its meanings (Case, 1996; Moore, 2000; Smith, 2014).

Hayward (1975, as cited in Case, 1996, p.1, and as cited in Moore, 2000, p.210)'s study of the meanings of 'home' led to one of the first categorisations of its different meanings. For this author (Hayward, 1975, as cited in Case, 1996, p.1, and as cited in Moore, 2000, p.210) 'home' can refer to: a) a 'physical structure', such as a house or dwelling; b) a 'territory', signifying the "psychological ties" (Case, 1996, p.1) that one has to the place(s) surrounding the house/dwelling where one lived (including birthplace) or still lives; c) a 'locus in space', referring to the place that a person "uses as a central point of reference in the world…the geographical lens through which people perceive and experience the world" (Case, 1996, pp.1-2); d) the 'self and self-identity', the identification of the self with the place "from which one gains identity" (Case, 1996, p.2); and finally, e) a 'social and cultural unit', representing people's definition of 'home' "as the social *milieu* of their daily interactions with other

people" (Case, 1996, p.2, *italic* in the original text), providing them with a sense of 'social identity'.

Hayward's study is recognised as an initial attempt at systematically categorising the meanings of 'home' and it is noted that most of the subsequent meanings' studies generally supported Hayward's categorisation (Case, 1996; Moore, 2000). However, Case (1996) and Moore (2000) equally point out that very often Hayward's study has been used simply or mainly as a list of meanings (Case, 1996; Moore, 2000).

Studies focusing upon the meanings of 'home' continued throughout the following decades (Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Smith, 2014). In an analysis of those studies, Putnam and Newton (1990, as cited in Moore, 2000, p.210) noted the recurrence of connotations of 'home' with privacy, security, family, comfort and control. Likewise, Després (1991), in a review of the literature centred on the meaning(s) of home, identified several general categories of meaning from empirical studies on this subject, as follows: a) 'Home as security and control', where 'home' is described "as the sole area of control for an individual and as providing a sense of physical security" (p.97); b) 'Home as reflection of one's ideas and values', referring to people's perception of 'home' as "a symbol of how they see themselves and want to be seen by others" (p.98); c) 'Home as acting upon and modifying one's dwelling', referring to the process associated with "people's physical, financial, and/or emotional involvement with their dwelling unit" (p.98); d) 'Home as permanence and continuity', referring to 'home' as a,

> temporal process…the home becomes a familiar environment, a place that provides its occupants with a sense of belonging somewhere, of having

> roots…can also be memories…indicating a connection with past experiences…This dimension of home is also function of how much the dwelling unit fits one's changing life objectives, aspirations, and future goals. (p.98)

And, e) 'Home as relationships with family and friends' where 'home' "is perceived and experienced as the locus of intense emotional experience" (p.98); f) 'Home as centre of activities'; g) 'Home as a refuge from outside world'; h) 'Home as an indicator of personal status'; i) 'Home as material structure' referring to "concrete physical dimensions" (p.98), including physical structure, surrounding space, geographical location, etc.; j) 'Home as a place to own'.

However, in a critical review of the meaning studies, Moore (2000) argues that,

> meaning studies were limited. Lists imply all meanings are equally experienced, and do not encourage a focus on the relationships between items. Other difficulties include the sole use of middle class populations; a lack of theoretical basis for some; seeming to have universal applicability; lack of a temporal focus; presenting a largely positive view of *home*; tended not to examine core processes or inter-related features of the concept of *home* and presented a static and de-contextualized view of *home.* (p.210, *italic* in the original text)

Likewise, some meanings' studies tended to completely disregard the overall influence of the social and cultural contexts as regards a person's meanings of 'home' (Case, 1996; Moore, 2000). Specifically, these studies tended to overlook the fact that the meanings and experiences of 'home' can

change over time and that they can differ in accordance to a person's or a group's socio-cultural and economic circumstances (Case, 1996; Moore, 2000).

Nevertheless, even when the experiential aspects of the meaning(s) of 'home' became the focus of a sociological rather than a psychological examination, it has often, even if inadvertently, "contributed to the generation of more lists of meanings" (Moore, 2000, p.211). Illustrating these type of sociological studies of the meanings of 'home', Moore (2000) identifies Kenyon's proposed four elements of 'home' – physical, temporal, social and personal (Kenyon, 1999, as cited in Moore, 2000, p.211) and Somerville (1997)'s "seven dimensions of meaning: shelter; hearth; heart; privacy; roots; abode and paradise (the ideal)" (Moore, 2000, p.211). In what pertains the latter, 'shelter' refers to the physical structure or dwelling place, 'hearth' to an "welcoming, warm and relaxing physical environment" (Mallett, 2004, pp.81-82), 'heart' to "a loving, supportive, secure and stable environment that provides emotional and physical well-being" (Mallett, 2004, p.82), 'privacy' concerns the ability to create and control the boundaries within the 'home' space, 'roots' refers to 'home' as a "source of identity and meaning in the world" (Mallett, 2004, p.82) and 'paradise' encompasses the positive and idealised views of 'home' which can be associated with all of the previous meanings.

In contrast with the initial meaning studies, in these sociological studies, "the meaning of *home* is described as deriving from an inter-play of a variety of levels of experience including the personal and the cultural" (Moore, 2000, p.211, *italic* in the original text), thus having "a strong focus on the social, cultural and political contexts within which our understanding of *home* is framed" (Moore, 2000, p. 212, *italic* in the original text). Moore (2000) argues that, because in

these sociological studies ‘home’ is understood as a result of social and political construction, this enables further exploration of other meanings of ‘home’, namely those which may be associated with “the negative and darker side of *home* experience” (Moore, 2000, p.212, *italic* in the original text), at least by certain individuals or groups.

Therefore, it becomes clear that, as summarised by Smith (2014), there has been “an abundance of research on the meaning of home and, with that profusion, multiple definitions for the concept” (p.107).

2.2.3.2. ‘Home’: various conceptualisations

‘Home’ has been conceptualised in many different ways. In a review of the literature on the concept of ‘home’, Easthope (2004), for example, identified that ‘home’ has been conceptualised as “a socio-spatial entity (Saunders and Williams, 1988), a psycho-social entity (Giuliani, 1991; Porteous, 1976), as an emotive space (Giuliani, 1991; Gurney, 2000), or as a combination of the three (Somerville, 1992, 1997)” (p.135). Easthope (2004) notes that there is only one common aspect to all those conceptualisation of ‘home’, this relating to the understanding that whilst ‘home’ may be “situated in space (and time)…it is not the location that is ‘home’” (p.135), ‘home’ being associated with the “social, psychological and emotive meaning for individuals and for groups” (p.135) that some places can have for them.

Conceptualisations of ‘home’ as a ‘socio-spatial entity’ generally advocate that ‘home’ results from an inseparable combination of the house (the physical unit) and the household (the social unit), the latter representing the specific kind of domestic social organisation, thought to be at the basis of the wider societal

interactions/relations (Saunders & Williams, 1988, as cited in Easthope, 2004, p.134, and as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.68). Thus, in these conceptualisations, ‘home’ is understood as being a ‘locale’ at the centre of the social system, this epitomizing the,

> vital interface between society and the individual. It is invested with diverse cultural meanings that differ within and between households and across cultural and social settings. Within households, gender and age are the ‘key dimensions’ that differentiate household member’s perception of the meaning of home. Geographical factors, especially residential location, together with issues such as class, ethnicity and housing tenure, explain some of the variations in the meaning of home that exists between households. (Mallett, 2004, pp.68-69)

However, these understandings of ‘home’ have been criticized. For example, Somerville (1989, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.69) argues that the notion of household is not always or necessarily present, even when the idea of ‘home’ can be elicited, as it is the case of certain institutional contexts where/when the word ‘home’ is used (for example, in the case of Nursing Home, Children’s Home, etc.).

Conversely, conceptualisations of ‘home’ as a ‘psycho-social entity’ generally emphasise the person’s psychological experiences of ‘home’ (Easthope, 2004; Moore, 2000). In these conceptualisations of ‘home’, it is generally proposed that the “emotional based relationship with the dwelling place is what defines the very nature and essence of *home*, as distinguished from a house…The main focus…has however been in relation to its psychological

significance to individuals” (Moore, 2000, p.210, *italic* in the original text). They are based upon the premise that ‘home’ “provides humans with all the satisfactions that territory provides to many species of animal, namely identity, security and the stimulation of its occupants” (Porteous, 1976, as cited in Easthope, 2004, p.134). As a result, ‘home’ is understood as a “place where one feels ontologically secure…focus on…identity and security, and to a lesser extent, stimulation” (Easthope, 2004, p.134). Linked to these conceptualisations of ‘home’ is the ‘Theory of Place Attachment’ (for example, Giuliani, 1991, as cited in Easthope, 2004, p.134, and as cited in Moore, 2000, p. 210), which focuses upon the affective bond or the psychological attachment to place, associating “well-being in the presence of home and distress in its absence…similar to arguments about the role of home in providing ontological security to an individual” (Easthope, 2004, p.134). Another related perspective is the ‘Theory of Place Identity’ (for example, Proshansky, 1978, and Giuliani & Feldman, 1993, both as cited in Moore, 2000, p.211). Although both of these theories of place consider the psychological attachment to place and people’s sense of belonging to it, the ‘Theory of Place Identity’ “tends to be concerned with the way in which places form part of self-identity” (Moore, 2000, p.211). Another related conceptualisation, the ‘Theory of Place’ (Canter, 1977, as cited in Moore, 2000, p.211) also contributed to the study of ‘home’, as it viewed ‘place’ as the “result of relationships between actions, conceptions and physical attributes” (Moore, 2000, p.211) and “*home* as a system of key components” (Moore, 2000, p.211, *italic* in the original text), these including personal, social and physical elements. Also associated with conceptualisations of ‘home’ as a ‘psycho-social

entity' but clearly emphasising the importance of emotions in people's constructions of 'home', are the understandings of 'home' as an 'emotive space',

> wherein grief, anger, love, regret and guilt are experienced as powerfully real and, at the same time, deposited, stored and sorted to create a powerful domestic geography, which, in turn sustains a complex and dynamic symbolism and meanings to rooms and spaces. (Gurney, 2000, as cited in Easthope, 2004, pp.134-135)

'Home' has also been conceptualised as resulting from a combination of social, psychological and emotive aspects (Somerville, 1997). Thus, whilst considering that 'home' emerges from the presence or absence of feelings, Somerville (1992, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p. 81) argues that 'home' is also "an ideological construct" (Mallett, 2004, p.81), which implies intellectual and social construction and, consequently, can only be fully understood within the context of those ideological structures. When critically appraising these conceptualisations of 'home', Easthope (2004) considers that,

> we cannot say that home is always a locale where 'basic' social relations are constituted and reproduced (Saunders and Williams, 1988:82), nor that home always provides territorial satisfactions (Porteous, 1976) and ontological security (Depuis and Thorns, 1998), even if this is the case in some instances. (p.135)

Alternatively, Easthope (2004) conveys another understanding of 'home' when stating,

> A person's home is usually understood to be situated in place (and time). However, it is not the physical structure of a house, nor is it the natural and

> built environment of a neighbourhood or region that is understood to make a home. Rather, it is when such places are inscribed with meaning that they also become homes. Hence, homes are 'places' that hold considerable social, psychological and emotive meaning for individuals and for groups. In understanding a person's connection with their home, then, we go some way towards understanding their social relations, their psychology and their emotions and we can begin to understand their 'lived experiences'. (p.135)

In another review of the literature on 'home', Sirriyeh (2010) also identifies that 'home' is usually represented as "a broad fusion between the spatial, social, psychological and temporal domains" (p.215). Specifically, Sirriyeh (2010) identifies that 'home' is often described as a "as shelter and place of security…the location of important social relationships…intimacy…choice and control" (p.215) and that it is frequently understood as "a site of attachment…intimately connected with understandings of 'identity' and 'place'" (p.216), viewed as an "environment (cognitive, affective, physical, somatic, or whatever) in which one best knows oneself, where one´s self-identity is best grounded" (p.216).

Albeit in the specific context of the circumstances and experiences of 'refugees' in general and, in particular, of the people in situations of prolonged displacement, Brun and Fábos (2015) propose another conceptualisation of 'home'. They suggest the terminology 'constellations of home' to capture and map the complexities surrounding the idea of 'home' and of its multiple and coexisting understandings (Brun & Fábos, 2015). They also advocate that concurrent and multiple understandings of 'home' subsist throughout people's movement amidst "different locations to form a complex idea of home" (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.12).

They argue that “the metaphor of constellations is useful here to demonstrate how human beings turn points of reference into meaningful patterns, but that the same points may be imagined differently from each site of observation” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.12). These ‘constellations of home’ are visually coded as ‘home’, ‘Home’, and ‘HOME’ (Brun & Fábos, 2015). For Brun and Fábos (2015), ‘home’ refers to,

> the day-to-day practices that help to create the place of displacement as a particularly significant kind of place…involve both material and imaginative notions of home…may be improvements or even investments to temporary dwellings…include the daily routines that people undertake in these dwellings…incorporate the social connections people make. (p. 12)

These authors (Brun & Fábos, 2015) further suggest that ‘Home’ refers to the “values, traditions, memories, and subjective feelings of home” (p.12), pointing out that it often relates to an ideal past or to future dreamed homes. Furthermore, in this conceptualisation,

> HOME refers to the broader political and historical context in which home is understood and experienced not only by displaced people, but also by the perpetrators of nationalist exclusion and violence and the policy-makers addressing protracted displacement through the optic of “durable solutions”. It refers to the geopolitics of nation and homeland that contribute to situations of protracted displacement and the ways in which politics of home are necessarily implicated in the causes of displacement…HOME indicates how people conform with, negotiate, challenge, and change the labels assigned to them, and…signifies the

> dynamics of identity formation at community and individual levels that often take place during displacement as a result of the experience of loss of home on the one hand, and the experience of being labelled IDP or refugee on the other hand. (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.13)

Consequently, this conceptualisation by Brun and Fábos (2015) captures varied meanings but also different facets and dimensions of 'home'.

A further conceptualisation of 'home' is proposed by Papadopoulos (2015). Papadopoulos (2015) suggests an understanding of 'home' as a "systemic hub…a container of complex inter-relationships between (a) space, (b) time, and (c) relationships" (p.37). In this conceptualisation, 'space' is understood as going beyond the geographical and physical elements of a place, being extensive to "any space that is experienced as being intimate…the sense of space understood in various contexts such as cultural, spiritual, historical, psychological, societal, financial, ethnic, political, and climatic" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.37). 'Time' is neither restricted nor circumscribed by its duration but rather by the experiences that can occur within it, those which facilitate particular patterns and enable changes to emerge and develop (Papadopoulos, 2015). Furthermore, 'relationships' are not viewed as exclusive or restricted to connections between people but also as extending to the ties established with "objects, events, landscapes, climate, narratives, etc." (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.37). Hence, for Papadopoulos (2015), "the experience of home emerges whenever specific relationships are established over a period of time and within the context of a particular space" (p.37). Conceptualised in this way, Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) not only appears to emphasise an idea of 'home' which extends far beyond the boundaries of its physical/geographical existence but also implies that a sense of

‘being at home’ or ‘feeling at home’ can occur and/or be (re-) created, even if just as a very temporary experience and/or in contexts that are unrelated to the concrete aspects of a past or a present ‘home’. A sense of ‘home’ is therefore understood as being more dependent on the relationships and the patterns established within those contexts (Papadopoulos, 2015).

2.2.4. ‘Home’: relationships with ‘place’, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’

The relationship(s) between ‘home’ and ‘place’, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ is recurrently mentioned and discussed in the literature (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnick et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010). ‘Place’, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ are often identified in the literature as aspects of ‘home’ or, at least, as being closely related and/or intertwined (Ralph & Staheli, 2011). In this thesis they are separated below for ease of discussion.

2.2.4.1. ‘Home’ and ‘place’

Associations of ‘home’ and ‘place’ are frequently found, not only in the relevant literature but also in common/everyday language and in social/political discourses and policies.

In the literature on ‘home’ and its relationships with ‘place’, there is an increased overall acceptance that ‘home’ cannot be reduced to the house or indeed to any physical structure, dwelling or shelter where a person may live and/or may have lived (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnick et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Smith, 2014). The house or the physical dwelling are sometimes identified in the literature as (just) one of the multiple dimensions of

'home' (Mallett, 2004). However, even when construed in this way, it is largely recognised that it may not be the house as a physical structure per se, but the experience of, the relationship with, and the symbolic meaning and value attributed it, that may underlie the association between 'home' and house (Boccagni, 2017; Mallett, 2004).

The associations of 'home' with 'place' frequently extend from house or dwelling to other identifiable physical locations and/or geographical/territorial places such as, a village, a town, a city, a region, a country, a nation-state, 'homeland', etc. (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). When understood in this way, 'home' can refer to either a place of origin (to include the birth place or the birth country but also any other past or more recent places/countries where one comes from), or to any past or present place(s)/country(ies) where a person or a group has lived or is living or as a future destination (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002).

Still, in the literature, there are differing views as regards the relevance of 'place' in the construction of 'home'. In particular, divergences (co-)exist as regards the relevance attributed to the physical, material or location aspects of a 'place' and their importance in the idea of 'home'. For example, some conceptualisations of 'home' do not associate it with any form of physical structure or even with a 'place' (Ahmed, 1999; Cassin, 2016; Kuang-Ming Wu, 1993, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.83; Mallett, 2004). Some conceive 'home' as a 'state of being' rather than a localised 'place' (Ahmed, 1999; Mallett, 2004). 'Home' can also be understood as an "internal home" (Ahmed, 1999, p.337), thus

replacing a physical or a more localised ‘home’. Kuang-Ming Wu (1993, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.83) also argues that ‘home’ is not a ‘place’ or even a ‘space’, referring instead to a sense of reciprocal acceptance within interpersonal relationships that “brings a self, a person or I into being or existence…when you accept me as I am, and I accept you accepting me then I am at home” (Mallett, 2004, p.83). In a similar vein, for Cassin (2016) the sense of ‘home’ results from the experience of feeling/being welcomed and, consequently, can be independent from ‘place’.

Conversely, some other authors (for example, Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015) consider that some form of material, physical or geographical location may underlie, or be associated with the notion of ‘home’. However, they also argue that this does not necessary mean that ‘home’ refers to a ‘place’, particularly if the latter is understood solely as a single, fixed and physically or geographically bounded location (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015).

Thus, the ways of conceiving ‘place’ and its connections with ‘home’ are not universally accepted in the literature. For example, Easthope (2004), whilst echoing the argument that “while homes may be located, it is not the location that is ‘home’” (p.135), further indicates that ‘home’ can be understood as a “significant kind of place” (p.136), a ‘place’ which has a “considerable social, psychological and emotive meaning for individuals and groups” (p.135). Brun and Fábos (2015) adopt and reiterate Easthope (2004)’s construction of ‘home’ as a ‘significant kind of place’ and emphasise a notion of ‘place’ that “encompasses physical, social, economic, and cultural realities” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.6) and

which can extend beyond one location. In a similar vein, Boccagni (2017) considers 'home' as a "special kind of relationship with place" (p.1), again stressing that it is not the place per se, but the emotional and affective relationship with it, that turn a 'place' into a 'home'. However, Boccagni (2017) also argues that 'home' implies "material foundations of some sort, whatever the scale of reference" (p.10), thus considering that "home-as-a-relationship…can be emplaced, understood and experienced in different ways and locations over the life course" (p.4). 'Home', in Boccagni (2017)'s perspective, refers to the "set of social practices, values and symbols that, while setting specific, can be transferred and reproduced into different settings over time – or even out of any specifically bounded place" (p.5). Black (2002) clearly indicates that 'home' "can refer as much to beliefs, customs or traditions as physical places or buildings" (p.126). For Kabachnick et al. (2010), 'home' is considered "not simply a physical location, as it is impossible to separate personal experiences and subjective meanings and associations from the actual structures where people live" (p.320).

Therefore, it is noticeable from the above that, albeit with some nuances, there is some agreement that 'place' can comprise physical, as well as, psychological, social and cultural aspects and, consequently, 'home' is regarded as a 'place' which has significant meaning(s) and associations for a person or a group (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004, Kabachnick et al., 2010).

Massey (1991) suggests a definition of 'place' which emphasises the specific set of social interactions that take place within locations, rather than the physical structures or boundaries of the locations in themselves. Consequently, 'place' is understood as open to change and able to extend beyond one location

rather than being static (Massey, 1991).This understanding of ‘place’ seems to resonate in the literature on ‘home’, in that it emphasises that, even when understood as a ‘special or significant kind of place’, ‘home’ can be associated with numerous and different places/locations and with social relationships which can vary in terms of importance and symbolic meaning (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun e Fábos, 2015; Mallett, 2004). As a result, ‘home’ can be “negotiated and reproduced over time…against a variety of material backgrounds” (Boccagni, 2017, p.12).

Another aspect regarding ‘home’ and ‘place’ is highlighted by Kabachnick et al. (2010), when arguing that “the home of the memory and imagination…can be even more important than physical homes” (p.320). The intrinsic symbolic power of the imagined or remembered ‘home’, be it ‘real’ or ‘ideal(ised)’, as well as, its relevance in terms of people’s constructions of ‘home’ has been extensively noted in the literature (Chapman, 2001; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Mallett, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002; Rapport & Dawson, 1998a). For example, for Chapman (2001) ‘home’ can be perceived as a real or idealised location or as a ‘place’ that can be constructed in people’s memory or imagination, “whether we *live* there or not, or whether such a place *exists* or not” (p. 144, *italic* in the original text). The remembered or imagined ‘home’, be it linked to specific locations or going far beyond it, is often connected to idealisation(s) which frequently centre around “nostalgic or romantic notions of home” (Mallett, 2004, p.69). Within those are, for example, the notions of ‘home’ as ‘haven’ or as ‘the quintessential place’ and expressions such as, ‘there is no place like home’, which associate ‘home’ with a place (be it as a location or as a space) of refuge, safety, security, care, belonging, warmth, comfort, in contrast with an outside world perceived as the

opposite, i.e., as the unfamiliar, intimidating and even dangerous place (Chapman, 2001; Mallett, 2004; Kabachnick et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015).

Therefore, when considering the associations between ‘home’ and ‘place’, the relevance attributed to the physical, material or (geographical) location aspects of a ‘place’ can vary substantially in the literature. This seems to be dependent on the ways of conceptualising both ‘place’ and ‘home’ and the complexities surrounding the two notions.

2.2.4.2. ‘Home’, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’

Associations between ‘home’ and ‘identity’ are recurrently found in the literature on ‘home’ (Berger, 1984; Black, 2002; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Boccagni, 2017; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Dovey, 1985; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2015; Rapport & Dawson, 1998b; Sirriyeh, 2010). Once again, these associations are complex and are often entangled with the ideas of ‘place’ and ‘belonging’. They are conceptualised in various ways, often representing ‘home’ and ‘identity’ at different levels/scales.

Somehow related to the above is the association between ‘home’ and ‘self’ encountered in the literature (Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000). For example, Cooper (1976, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.82), inspired by Jungian’s ideas of collective unconscious and fundamental archetypes, argued that “the free–standing house on the ground, is a frequent symbol of the self” (Mallett, 2004, p.82). Tucker (1994, as cited in Mallett, 2004, pp.82-83), extending beyond that understanding, advocates that ‘home’ “may be an expression of a person’s subjectivity in the world…a *space* where people feel at ease and are able to express and fulfil their

unique selves or identities" (Mallett, 2004, p. 82, *italic* in the original text). This 'space' ('home') is understood by Tucker (1994, as cited in Mallett, 2004, pp.82-83), in a wider sense, as it "may be an emotional environment, a culture, a geographical location, a political system, a historical time and place, a house etc., and a combination of all the above" (Mallett, 2004, p.83).

The idea of 'home' as being the source or at the centre of the subjective experiences and of the personal identity is frequently found in the literature (Berger, 1984; Boccagni, 2017; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Easthope, 2004; Jacobson, 2009; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010). Berger (1984), for example, indicates how "originally home meant the centre of the world – not in a geographical, but in an ontological sense" (p.55), the place from which the world and one's experiences of it are construed. Jacobson (2009) also conceives 'home' as the 'foundation' which "establishes for us the level that allows us to have a coherent experience" (p. 372), thus being conceived as the "underlying existential structure that gives us our first orientation to the world" (Boccagni, 2017, p.10). Havel (1992, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.83) construes 'home' in terms of concentric circles, each representing "an aspect of existential experience, that include, house, village or town, family, social environment, professional environment, the nation, civic society, the civilization and the world" (Mallett, 2004, p.83) and, whilst considering each of these as gaining different relevance at various times in people's lives, they are also understood as "an inalienable part of us, and an inseparable element of our human identity" (Mallett, 2004, p.83). Kabachnik et al. (2010) also consider that 'home', understood as a combination of spatial, social, psychological and emotive elements, has a central "role in identity formation, socialization into family and

cultural norms and values" (p.320), although pointing out that "identity construction can occur through ideas of place or imagined places, not just actual locations (p. 320).

In a similar vein, for Papadopoulos (1998, 2002, 2015), 'home' and 'personal identity' are intertwined. In Papadopoulos' model, a fundamental sense of 'home' is at the core of 'personal identity', the latter conceptualised as comprising of two parts, a 'tangible' and an 'intangible' part, which form a 'mosaic substrate of identity' (Papadopoulos, 1998, 2002, 2015). The 'tangible' part of identity is conceived as being constituted by those aspects that every person is usually conscious of and, therefore, more able to identify as elements or characteristics of their own individuality, such as, name, gender, age, nationality, ethnicity, cultural and socio-economic status, professional and other group affiliations (from political to religious, ideological, hobbies), physical and psychological characteristics, goals and aspirations, etc. (Papadopoulos, 1998, 2002, 2015). The 'intangible' part of a person's identity is understood as comprising of a complex set of various elements that a person is less conscious of, thus being less aware of its existence and of its significance (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). People tend to take this 'intangible' part for granted because it is "so basic and fundamental" (Papadopoulos, 2002, p.17). For Papadopoulos (1998, 2002, 2015), this 'intangible' part of the 'mosaic substrate of identity' includes a basic sense of 'home', with its different combinations of space, time and relationships, its specific rhythms, habits and rituals, its usual sounds, smells, tastes, textures, geographical landscapes and architectural designs. This offers the person with a basic sense of containment, constancy, stability and security, as well as, a sense of belonging "to a home, to a family, community, culture, to

my body, to a country (that exists and I have access to it)" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.38). According to Papadopoulos (1998, 2002, 2015), all these elements of the 'mosaic substrate of identity' "fit together in a unique way" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.38), a way that is specific to each individual and that gives each person a sense of familiarity and of relative stability, a continuity of being and predictability about life in general, about own individual experiences and about other people's behaviours. Papadopoulos (2015) further suggests that the specific, unique and "highly individualized fit" (p.39) which results from the combination of the 'tangible' and 'intangible' parts of 'personal identity' creates what he designates the 'onto-ecological settledness' to refer to the sole, distinct and individual connection "between the totality of one's being and the totality of one's environment" (p.40). The 'onto-ecological settledness' does not imply an ideal state but represents an uniquely established and stable configuration which contains the "mixture of positive and negative elements, creates a certain fluency of life, familiarity, stability, and predictability – regardless of how satisfactory or unsatisfactory this state may be" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.40). This state of 'onto-ecological settledness' is constantly changing to adapt to the personal and environmental changes but a sense of stability and continuity is maintained when those changes occur and are contained within certain limits (Papadopoulos, 2015). The limits for 'bearable changes', i.e. the less disruptive changes that enable the sense of stability to be maintained, are "directly related to the sense of home, to the experiences of being at home, of being contained by the inter-relationship of one's being and one's environment" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.40). It is only when changes go beyond those limits that the state of 'onto-ecological settledness' is disrupted and its effects can become strongly sensed (Papadopoulos, 2015).

Furthermore, the debates about the relationships between ‘home’ and ‘identity’ in the literature can also and often centre or revolve around the idea of ‘place’, albeit in many and sometimes contrasting ways (Black, 2002; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Dovey, 1985; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Moore, 2000; Rapport & Dawson, 1998b; Sirriyeh, 2010). Sometimes the relationship between ‘home’ and ‘identity’ is based upon an understanding of ‘home’ as somewhat associated with particular ‘place(s)’, which are assigned as the locus/loci of ‘identity’. For example, Markowitz (1995, as cited in Black, 2002, p.127) argues that the longing for ‘home’ found in some ‘refugees’ is the yearning to be “reunited with their home territory - their house, their kitchen, their garden, even their gritty street – for it is this place that grounds their identification” (Black, 2002, p.127), implying that this ‘home’ at the centre of people’s ‘identity’ can be viewed as linked to a particular physical and/or geographical place. In this regard, Dovey (1985) argues that “the phenomenon of home…also means to be identified with the place in which we dwell” (p.37), considering that “identity implies a certain bonding or mergence of person and place” (p.38), a process involving not only cognitive but mainly affective and emotional elements, through which people “not only give a sense of identity to the place we call home, but we draw our identity from that of the place” (p.39). Blunt and Dowling (2006), also argue that ‘home’ can be seen as an “anchoring point through which human beings are centred…as grounding of identity, an essential place” (p.11).

These views, which somehow link ‘home’, ‘identity’ and ‘place’ (and ‘belonging’) do not seem to be that far removed from conceptual understandings related to ‘place identity’ (Bogaç, 2009; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Moore, 2000).

‘Place identity’ can be “defined as an interpretation of self that uses environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity” (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p.548), thus focusing upon “the way in which places form part of self-identity” (Moore, 2000, p.211). Bogaç (2009) further indicates that ‘place identity’ refers to the mixture of memories, views, feelings, affective bonds and attachments that people have to the specific places that they identify themselves with, “both on a larger scale, such as with respect to nationality, city, etc. and on a smaller scale, with respect to neighbourhood, homes or lodgings” (p.269). Similarly, Cuba and Hummon (1993) point out that,

> place identity is *complex* in both its *dimensions* and *loci*. Identification may involve *self-conceptions* in which people appropriate the meanings of place to articulate a sense of self. Often it includes significant *affiliation of self* with place, producing a sense of belonging – of feeling at home in one place, out of place in another…frequently incorporates *multiple locales*, ranging in scale from rooms and dwelling places to neighborhoods, communities, and even regions. (pp. 548-549, *italic* in the original text)

Cuba and Hummon (1993) also refer to the experience of ‘being at home’ in a ‘place’ as a relevant aspect studied within ‘place identity’, this together with a sense of ‘at-homeness’ which is described as a “sense of insidedness – a boundedness that may be grounded in the taken-for-granted environment, a socially known world, and a sense of temporal insidedness linked to life course” (p.549).

However, Boccagni (2017), argues that experiences relating to “*feeling at home* should itself be revisited as a distinctive emotional experience, rather than

as an ancillary notion to other forms of place attachment such as belonging, identification and so forth” (p.11, *italic* in the original text). Still, as pointed out by Rapport and Dawson (1998), ideas of ‘identity’ associated with particular place(s) or environment(s) are usually linked to an understanding of the latter as ‘home’ which, consequently, becomes conceptualised as “that environment (cognitive, affective, physical, somatic, or whatever) in which one best knows oneself, where one’s self-identity is best grounded” (p.21). In this regard, Bachelar (1999, as cited in Easthope, 2004, p.135), argues that ‘home’ is “a key element in the development of people’s sense of themselves as belonging to a place” (Easthope, 2004, p.135).

Still, when considering the associations between ‘home‘, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’, Ralph and Staeheli (2011) argue that whilst belonging relates to people’s subjective feelings, it is also socially defined. The subjective feeling of belonging refers to “a sense of fitting in ‘at home’” (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p. 523), which is associated with a sense of familiarity and identification to, for example, groups of people, cultures, places, nations, whilst the social aspects of belonging are dependent on feelings and processes of inclusion which are not solely self-defined but dependent on other people’s acceptance and recognition of that claim of belonging. So, belonging to a group, to a place, a nation, a culture etc., is not only about people’s subjective feelings but about how others define who belongs or not to those (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011).

In brief, the connection(s) between ‘home’, ‘identity’, ‘belonging’ and ‘place’ is therefore construed in various ways and at different scales/levels, these extending from personal to social, cultural and/or national levels of ‘identity’ and

‘belonging’, which change over time. As stated by Black (2002), ‘home’ may refer to,

> a building, a village, a town or a region. There are social relations to bear in mind, with different spatial scales implying…variations in an individual’s sense of belonging. The scale at which home is defined may be manipulated according to the identity with which it is to be associated and the extent of power held by the person or group that is defining it…the point in an individual’s life cycle at which different places can become defined as ‘home’ varies. (p.127)

2.3. ‘Home’ in the context of the circumstances and experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’

The general issues associated with ‘home’, which were discussed above (in section 2.2. ‘Home’: general issues), are also relevant in the context of the circumstances and experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’. However, this section presents some specific aspects which are debated in the literature of ‘home’, in that particular context.

‘Home’, as aforementioned, repeatedly emerges in the literature, in common language and in social and political discourses and policies, whenever the situation and experiences of ‘refugees’ and of other ‘migrants’ are considered (Ahmed, 1999; Ben-Yoseph, 2005; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2014, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Kabachinik et al., 2010; Kreuzer et al., 2017; Madison, 2006; Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010;

Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). As stated previously, the relevance of ‘home’ in this context is often stated by the negative, once the loss, the moving away, the absence of ‘home’ are habitually emphasised as the most salient aspects in the circumstances and experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2014, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Taylor, 2013). The loss of ‘home’ has been considered the main condition shared by all ‘refugees’ and leaving ‘home’ to live in another country as the most basic common characteristic of international ‘migrants’ (Boccagni, 2014; Papadopoulos, 2002; Taylor, 2013). These can be captured in statements such as, “home, in the eyes of recently settled migrants and asylum seekers, is often conspicuous by its absence” (Boccagni, 2017, p.2) and “this feeling of home as absence may be overpowering, even after many years displacement” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.7).

However, and as recognised by several authors, whilst the loss, the absence and the moving/being away from ‘home’ can be blatantly noticeable in those contexts, it is important to acknowledge that those associations of ‘home’ with ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’ are not simple and/or linear (Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Tete, 2012). As argued by some in the literature, not taking into consideration the complexities involved in the associations between ‘home’, ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’, may lead to an uncritical acceptance of particular views or assumptions about ‘home’ - for example, ‘home’ as bounded and fixed in a sole place, as located in the place of origin, in the past, etc. - without an evaluation of some of the implications of such beliefs (Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Tete, 2012).

A main issue which is debated in the literature on ‘home’ in the context of ‘refugee’ and ‘migration’ studies, relates to a general tendency to conceive ‘home’ by opposition to the ‘absence’ of ‘home’ or to ‘movement’ (to ‘being away from ‘home’, which is sometimes conflated with being inside vs. being outside national borders) (Ahmed, 1999; Brun e Fábos, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Tete, 2012). These dichotomic views can have an impact in the way the intersections between ‘home’, ‘place’, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ are conceptualised in those specific contexts.

As previously mentioned, the importance and the impact of the absence of ‘home’ are generally emphasised in the literature on ‘home’. Eastmond (2006, as cited in Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.7), for example, considers that “home moves us most powerfully as absence and negation” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.7). Similarly, as reported by Moore (2000), the idea that it is “through the absence of *home*, *home* itself gains meaning” (p. 211, *italic* in the original text) is conveyed in studies examining how ‘home’ becomes meaningful. This idea had been argued previously by Case (1996) who, albeit in a different context, suggested that it is through a dialectical process comprised by the contrasting experiences of being at ‘home’ vs. being away from ‘home’ that ‘home’ becomes significant, thus suggesting that “by being away from home, the things, places, activities and people associated with home become more apparent through their absence” (p.1). This, or a very similar process, definitely seems to underlie the observation that “the awareness of home and its meanings is heightened in newcomers, refugees, and asylum seekers” (Smith, 2014, p. 107). Furthermore, and as suggested by Chapman (2001), the absence of ‘home’ faced by those who ‘migrate’ may force a re-appraisal of the sometimes unnoticeable and taken for

granted, “cultural identity and…collective sense of social permanence and security” (p.144), which are understood as representations of ‘home’. Although coming into this issue from a different angle, Heidegger (1962, as cited in Papadopoulos, 2002, p.24) also identifies the state of ‘taken-for-granted-at-homeness’ with a sense of familiarity, which contrasts with the sense of absence, ‘not-at-home’ and disorientation when that is lost.

In the literature, the impact of the absence of ‘home’ is reported in various ways. It is linked to the experience, by ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’, of nostalgia and strong feelings of longing for a former (past) ‘home’ (and life) (Black, 2002; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015), to the experience of well-being in the presence of ‘home’ and distress in its absence (Giuliani, 1991, as cited in Easthope, 2004, p.134), to a sense of disruption of one’s ontological sense (Berger, 1984) or, as suggested by Papadopoulos (2015), to the disruption of a person’s ‘onto-ecological settledness’ leading to ‘nostalgic disorientation’.

Therefore, according to the above, both the meaning and the relevance of ‘home’ become salient through its absence. Additionally, the (usually negative) impact that the absence of ‘home’ (through the loss or the leaving of ‘home’) can have for each person is also stressed in the literature. Still, and without denying those effects, authors such as, Ahmed (1999), argue that if ‘home’ becomes solely defined “through reference to the homelessness of migration and exile” (p.339), the tendency will be to associate ‘home’ “with familiarity which allows strangeness to be associated with migration” (p.340). However, such an understanding endorses a construction of ‘home’ in opposition to ‘migration’ and ‘away from home’, a dichotomy which has been contested in the literature

(Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Tete, 2012).

Several authors (for example, Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Tete, 2012), point out that a dichotomy between 'home' and 'away' often becomes entangled with an understanding of 'home' as familiarity and stability but also as fixed in terms of place and time. Consequently, 'home' becomes construed in clear contrast with the homelessness and the strangeness which are then conflated with 'migration' and movement. This view of 'home' and 'away' can contribute to particular assumptions as regards people's 'belonging' and 'identity', grounding those to particular places (which are then seen as 'home'). These assumptions are believed to continue informing "one recurrent and dominant strand of research" (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.518), as well as, international and national policies and discourses about 'migrants' in general, and 'refugees' in particular, who are all, consequently, perceived to be as 'out of place' (Brun & Fábos, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

Within this general debate about 'home' and 'away', it is possible to identify one specific construction of 'home' which is of an extreme relevance for 'refugees' and other 'migrants', one that conflates 'home', be it implicitly or explicitly, with a nation-state or a country and, most frequently, with a person's country of origin or birth country (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Korac, 2009; Moore, 2000; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). Such a construction of 'home' still comprises multiple meanings, these including the material or physical aspects of territory/place/space to the symbolic aspects associated with those and the issues related to (personal, cultural and/or national)

‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 201; Taylor, 2013). However, this geo-political connotation of ‘home’ can have numerous implications for the circumstances and experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’, as argued in the literature by several authors (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

The association between ‘home’ and a ‘nation-state’ or a country is often based upon the notion of a territorial space. ‘Territory’ can be understood as “a particular geographical and historical expression of political organisation and thought” (Tete, 2012, p.107), this implying that a territorial space of a ‘nation-state’ is not fixed in place or time because its boundaries and material/physical location are determined by, and can change in accordance with the specific socio-cultural, political and historical contexts. However, the view that recognises this inherent flexibility and changeability of the territorial space of a ‘nation-state’, as a result of specific political and historical contexts is frequently discounted amidst the (still current) static and state centric notions of ‘home’, which imply a territorialisation of ‘identity’, ‘belonging’ and, importantly, of citizenship (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). The latter notions are based on an assumption of “the world as divided into territorial segments, each containing a particularised people and culture” (Taylor, 2013, p.131), “a bounded enclosure providing stability and security” (Sirriyeh, 2010, p.216). However, in such a territorialised view of the world, the ‘nation-state’ can also be perceived as “a place which belongs to ‘us’ and not ‘them’” (Tete, 2012, p.108), where “home then is ‘our’ place, where we belong naturally” (Tete, 2012, p.108). Conceived in this way, and as argued by Tete (2012), “home then

becomes a discursive tool which the powerful use to include or exclude, to secure and to keep off or kick out the unwelcome as they please" (p.108). Or, as mentioned by Boccagni (2017), when 'home' is defined at the level of the 'nation-state' or country, it has "the potential to be appropriated by all sorts of political agendas" (p.91).

This prevailing idea of the 'nation-state' as 'home', therefore perceived as being constrained by geo-political boundaries, has obvious legal, political and socio-cultural implications for all those who leave 'home' and move to another country to live, be it the case of 'refugees' or of 'migrants', as emphasised by different authors (Ahmed,1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). When crossing international borders, people become subject to historically embedded political and legal decisions regarding, for example, their right (or not) to live in another country but they may also be confronted with some negative nationalistic discourses, where they might be seen as a problem or even as a threat to the national order of the 'host' or the 'receiving' countries (Brun & Fábos, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

Concurrently, and as mentioned above, several authors (Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012) highlight that a major implication of a fixed and simplistic view of 'home' as the 'nation-state' or country is that 'refugees' and other 'migrants' are perceived as 'out of place' or as 'uprooted' from their 'home'. This can lead to an analysis of their experiences of 'home' in binary terms – for example, 'home' vs 'away', 'here' vs 'there' – and to assumptions that "feelings of belonging or of being at home is somehow specific to a national-level community or entity" (Ralph &

Staeheli, 2011, p.525). Nonetheless, it is also important to acknowledge that 'refugees' and other 'migrants' frequently construe their meanings and experiences of 'home' around national lines, be it related to their birth country and/or the country they moved to live in (or both) (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Madison, 2006; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

Whether 'home' is construed as a 'nation-state'/country or otherwise, the idea of 'home' as fixed in terms of place, space and time and understood as being in opposition to mobility and 'migration', has been challenged over time, both in 'migration' and in 'refugee' studies (Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). For example, research undertaken by Nowicka (2006, 2007, as cited in Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.519) on the experience of 'home' by United Nations' staff (who regularly move country as an intrinsic part of their work) called into question the dichotomy of 'home' as fixed and localised vs. migration/mobility, as it emerged that staff members appeared to "construct a sense of home around people and objects that are emplaced, but it is an emplacement that revolves around mobility" (Ralph & Staeheli, 201, p.519). Consequently, Nowicka (2006, 2007, as cited in Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.519) suggested that 'home',

> is built through a dynamic process of localising particular sets of relationships that do not necessarily depend on…a particular place. Home…is a process involving both the people we share home with but also the material objects therein. (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.519)

Thus, in 'migration' studies, the view of "home as a fixed, bounded and enclosed site" (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p. 518) has been increasingly contested

in the last decades, namely through the emergence of ‘transnationalism’ and the influence of diaspora studies since the 1990’s (Boccagni, 2012; Dunn, 2005; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Tete, 2012; Van Hear, 2014). As highlighted by authors such as, Boccagni (2012), Dunn (2005) and Ralph & Staeheli (2011), ‘transnationalism’ - also referred to as ‘transnational theory’, ‘transnational paradigm’ or ‘transnational perspective’ - is a theoretical framework for research and analysis of the social phenomenon of international ‘migrants’ which recognises that ‘migrants’ can “continue to ‘ground’ their lives in multiple locations” (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.519), with significant “social, economic and political ties” (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.519) which continue “to occur and persist over time between here and there” (Boccagni, 2012, p.36). Therefore, ‘transnationalism’ emphasises “the dual or multiple attachments of migrants” (Dunn, 2005, p.21), thus the possibility of continued multiple connections across national borders and throughout time and with allegiances to different places/locations. This constitutes one of the core aspects of the ‘transnationalism paradigm’. This ‘transnationalism paradigm’ disputes the Chicago School’s theory of assimilation which assumed that international ‘migrants’ “would over time gradually adopt the dominant culture of the society where they had settled, and that the culture of the origin would dissipate” (Dunn, 2005, p. 22). Therefore, ‘transnationalism’ challenges the idea of ‘migrants’’ attachments as located in just one place (a ‘nation-state’) and as positioned in a binary of either ‘here’ (new/current ‘home’) or ‘there’ (previous ‘home’, ’home’ of origin or birth country).

Likewise, in diaspora studies, it is recognised that “the transnational linkages were not only between the host and home societies, but also with other societies in which diaspora members were located” (Van Hear, 2014, p.S108).

Similarly, in ‘refugee’ studies, more essentialist understandings of ‘home’ as fixed in place and time and construed in opposition to ‘away from home’, have been questioned through, namely, the examination of ‘refugees’’ “homemaking practices during displacement” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.8), thus prompting a shift to “a more fluid and dynamic conception of home” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.8). In a similar vein, Tete (2012) indicates that studies on ‘refugee’ returns also question the idea of “a fixed geographical home where people dream of returning when obliged to leave” (p.109), leading to the idea that ‘home’ “can be transformed, newly invented, and developed in relation to the circumstances in which people find themselves or choose to place themselves’” (p.109) and, therefore, including “a more pragmatic view of home as a place where one makes it” (p.109). Attending to these shifts in the understanding of ‘home’, Eastmond (2006, as cited in Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.8) questions the policies regarding ‘refugees’’ return to ‘home’, where the latter is conceptualised simply as the place or the country of origin, arguing that a transnational perspective allows for a dynamic understanding of ‘return’, where ‘home’ is seen as a place “where normal life can be lived; it is a place that can provide economic security, a social context, and a sense of belonging” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.8). Therefore, the application within ‘refugee’ studies of, namely, a ‘transnationalism’ theoretic framework has contributed to challenge the concept of ‘home’ as linked to a fixed and sole place which singularly roots the sense of ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ (Brun & Fábos, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). As a result of this shift, home’ can also be understood as a “place that fills the practical needs” (Tete, 2012, p.109) of people and as centring “more on the relational and emotional perspectives of home rather than the territorial connections to a home” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.8).

Consequently, such a construction of ‘home’ accepts the potential co-existence of “multiple and extraterritorial ways of belonging” (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p.8). This acknowledges “the possibility that refugees might maintain a deep, emotional attachment to the lost home, while at the same time making a new home in the country of exile, or indeed in another country altogether” (Taylor, 2013, p.132).

Therefore, the so-called ‘sedentarist analytic bias’ in the literature of ‘home’ has been critiqued for tending to adopt an idea of ‘home’ that grounds people to a fixed and bounded place (Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). This can also underlie assumptions as regards ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ as being grounded or rooted in particular places (Malkki, 1992; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). As mentioned by Malkki (1992), “people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in place and as deriving their identity from that rootness” (p.27), a view that territorialises identities in cultural and/or national terms. Similarly, such views can lead to a territorialising of ‘belonging’ (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010; Tete, 2012). As mentioned previously, perceiving ‘home’ as a single and stationary environment or place, which grounds or roots ‘identity’, may lead to associations of movement and ‘migration’ as “uprooting, uncertainty and destabilization of the enclosure of home” (Sirriyeh, 2010, p.216). This can foster the view of being ‘rooted’ in place as the ‘normal’ and ‘migration’ and ‘displacement’ as necessarily ‘uprooting’ and/or ‘pathological’ (Malkki, 1992). As argued by Malkki (1992), one of the possible consequences of “sedentarist assumptions about attachment to place lead us to define displacement not as a fact about socio-political context, but rather as an inner, pathological condition of the displaced” (p.33). In general,

these views assume that ‘migration’ or ‘displacement’ certainly and inevitably lead to negative consequences as regards a person’s sense of ‘home’, as well as, in terms of their ‘identity’ and their sense of ‘belonging’ (Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Malkki, 1992; Mallett, 2004; Massey, 1991; Rapport & Dawson, 1998b; Sirriyeh, 2010). However, the tendency by some ‘migrants’ to ascribe their ‘identities’ and ‘belonging’ to a particular place is also recognised in the literature (Kabachnik et al., 2010; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). As stated by Kabachnik et al. (2010), “the identity of the displaced is often grounded in the places they were displaced from, their old homes, even after many years…not despite their displacement, but precisely because of it” (p.316). Furthermore, and be it within the boundaries of the nation-state or beyond them, it is equally discussed in the literature that ‘place(s)’ can contribute to a person’s (or a group) sense of personal, social, cultural, ethnic and national ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ (Easthope, 2004, Kabachnik et al., 2010).

So, in the literature, whilst ‘home’ can be understood as being at the basis of identity development and of socialisation into social and cultural norms, it is also acknowledged that the construction of identity and the development of a sense of belonging is not solely dependent upon actual locations (Kabachnick et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). Thus, similarly to what happens with the idea and experience of ‘home’, the literature also considers that ‘identity(ies)’ and the sense of ‘belonging’ can be transformed and re-negotiated through ‘migration’ and through life in new ‘place(s)’ (Ben-Yoseph, 2005; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sarup, 2005).

Chapter 3. The ‘migration process’ and conceptualisations of the experiences of people who migrate

3.1. Overview

In the literature ‘migration’ is understood as a process which is constituted by different phases/stages. Some of the ways of conceptualising the different stages/phases of the ‘migration process’ are presented in this chapter.

People’s experiences and responses to the challenges that they may face throughout the ‘migration process’ have been understood and described in various ways. Some of the conceptualisations of those experiences and responses are also presented in this chapter. These include:

- ‘Cultural shock’ (Furham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994) (in section 3.3.1.)
- ‘Acculturative stress’ (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry, 1992; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014) (in section 3.3.2.)
- ‘Cultural bereavement’ (Eisenbruch, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1997) (in section 3.3.3.)
- ‘Homesickness’ (Fisher et al., 1990; Fisher, 1997; Furham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997) (in section 3.4.1.)
- ‘Nostalgia’ (Cassin, 2016; Hertz, 1997; Sedikides et al., 2008; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997; Wildschut et al., 2006) (in section 3.4.2.)

- ‘Nostalgic disorientation’ (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015) (in section 3.4.3.)

Sometimes the above experiences are also understood under the ‘umbrella’ of mental disorders such as, anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress, etc. (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra et. al., 2011; Papadopoulos, 2002; Pupavac, 2002; Summerfield, 2004), including the designated ‘Ulysses syndrome’ (Achotegui, 2004; Peyrí & Hartman, 2007). These understandings are also briefly mentioned in this chapter (in section 3.3.4.).

Some of these conceptualisations seem to emphasise different phases of the ‘migration process’. This may reflect the tendency in the literature to focus on the experiences of ‘post-migration’ when referring to ‘migrants’, whilst in the case of ‘refugees’ the literature veers towards their experiences in the stage of adverse events/circumstances and the impact of these.

3.2. ‘Migration process’: several stages/phases

It is widely recognised that ‘migration’ is a process that encompasses several stages/phases (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Bhugra et al., 2011; EVASP 2009-2010a; EVASP 2009-2010b; Papadopoulos, 2001; van der Veer, 1998). Overall, the ‘migration process’ is understood as incorporating all of the several steps involved in the move from one country to another, comprising the considerations and decisions to leave, the dislocation, the relocation and the life in another country. The ‘migration process’ is influenced by several factors - individual, social, cultural, economic, political, legal, etc. These, together with the various conditions and challenges posed, can contribute to the diverse effect that

the 'migration process' can have on people's experiences and responses to it (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Bhugra et al., 2011; EVASP 2009-2010a; EVASP 2009-2010b; Papadopoulos, 2001; van der Veer, 1998). As aforementioned, the ways of conceiving the different stages/phases of the 'migration process' can vary amongst different authors.

Bughra (2004), Bughra and Becker (2005) and Bhugra et al. (2011), when referring to 'migrants' in general, suggest that the 'migration process' is constituted by three main stages which can merge into one another. These are: a) the stage of 'pre-migration', when decisions are taken and the preparations for the move are carried out; b) the stage of 'migration', involving the physical move from the place of origin to relocate elsewhere; c) the stage of 'post-migration', referring to the "absorption of the immigrant within the social and cultural framework of the new society" (Bhugra et al., 2011, p.3). However, Bhugra (2004) also refers to 'migration' as having four stages, the "premigration, initial stage, middle stage and final stage" (p.247), acknowledging that each of these may pose different stresses for 'migrants'.

Keller (1975, as cited in EVASP 2009-2010a, p.13), Kunz (1973, as cited in EVASP 2009-2010b, p.19), van der Veer (1998) and Papadopoulos (2001) refer specifically to 'refugees' when considering the different stages/phases of the process between dislocation and relocation. In their conceptualisations they also identify and describe the various challenges that 'refugees' can face in each of those stages/phases. Keller (1975, as cited in EVASP, 2009-2010a, p.13), suggests the following phases:

> perception of a threat; decision to flee; the period of extreme danger and flight; reaching safety; camp behaviour; repatriation, settlement, or resettlement; the early and late stages of resettlement; adjustment and acculturation; and finally, residual states and changes in behaviour caused by the experience. (EVASP, 2009-2010a, p.13)

The author van der Veer (1998), whilst centring specifically on 'refugees' who were victims of torture and repression appears, nonetheless, to give primacy to the external events that those 'refugees' may have had to go through, when proposing: a) a first phase characterised by 'increasing political repression'; b) a second phase referring to when 'major traumatic experiences' can occur; c) a third phase, that of 'exile'. Kunz (as cited in EVASP, 2009-2010b, p.19) also suggests the presence of only three main stages in 'refugees'' experiences - the 'pre-flight', 'flight', and 'post-flight'.

Furthermore, Papadopoulos (2001) identifies four phases in the 'refugees'' experiences throughout that process, each of those encompassing both the main events and the experiences/responses of people affected by those. These phases are described by Papadopoulos (2001) as: a) a phase of 'anticipation', characterised by considerations and deliberations about what to do when people are confronted with the threat or actual peril or in anticipation of it; b) a phase of 'devastating events', when repression, violence and/or war are experienced; c) a phase of 'survival', characterised by a situation of safety as regards the devastating events but when people are still living in temporary conditions, still attempting to make sense of what happened and still facing uncertainty in relation to the future; d) a phase of 'adjustment', after they arrive in the host country.

The different phases/stages in the ‘migration process’ are emphasised differently in the literature regarding ‘refugees’ when compared with the literature concerning other ‘migrants’. In general, the literature and research about ‘refugees’ tends to give emphasis to their experiences prior their arrival in the host country and, in particular, to the phase referring to the adverse events/circumstances which precipitated their move away from their country of origin. Conversely, the literature and research about other ‘migrants’’, usually focuses upon their experiences ‘post-migration’, i.e., after their arrival to the new country. This tendency to distinctly emphasise the experiences of ‘refugees’ or other ‘migrants’ throughout the different stages/phases of the ‘migration process’ may contribute to the different conceptualisations of their experiences.

3.3. ‘Traditional’ conceptualisations

Several conceptualisations of ‘refugees’’ and other ‘migrants’’ experiences and responses throughout the ‘migration process’ focus on issues which are not directly centred upon the concept of ‘home’. These include conceptualisations such as, ‘cultural shock’ (Furham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994), ‘acculturative stress’ (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry, 1992; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014), ‘cultural bereavement’ (Eisenbruch, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1997). Moreover, those experiences and responses may also be understood under the ‘umbrella’ of mental health disorders such as, anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra et al., 2011; Papadopoulos, 2002; Pupavac, 2002; Summerfield, 2004). These conceptualisations are presented in this section.

3.3.1. ‘Cultural Shock’

The concept of ‘cultural shock’ or ‘culture shock’ was first used by Oberg (1960) to describe people’s experience of anxiety, feelings of tension, loss and confusion when they get into contact, on a shorter or longer term basis, with a new and different culture (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994).

As a background for the understanding of ‘cultural shock’, Oberg (1960) reminds that,

> the culture of any people is the product of history and is built up over time largely through processes which are, as far as the individual is concerned, beyond his awareness…it is by means of culture that the young learn to adapt themselves to the physical environment and to the people with whom they associate…once learned, culture becomes a way of life, the sure, familiar, largely automatic way of getting what you want from the environment. (p.180)

Despite acknowledgement of the societal and cultural complexities and variations even within a person’s country, Oberg (1960) argues that when that person moves to live in another country, this implies having to adjust to the added complexities of a new culture.

‘Cultural shock’ refers to the stressful and negative aspects of the experience of entering into contact with another culture (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994). It includes the anxiety, confusion, hostility, apathy/fatigue, lack of self-confidence and suspiciousness of others, that can be triggered in response to the absence of a person’s usual and familiar social and cultural cues and norms and whilst confronted with new and different ones which

are not immediately grasped (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994). Thus, 'cultural shock' results from the loss of most or all familiar signs/cues and symbols of social interaction, which include,

> words, gestures, facial expressions, customs, or norms…acquired by all of us in the course of growing up and are as much part of our culture as the language we speak or the beliefs we accept. All of us depend for our peace of mind and our efficiency on hundreds of these cues, most of which we do not carry on the level of conscious awareness. (Oberg, 1960, p.177)

Despite recognition of the huge variations regarding the ways in which people may be affected by 'cultural shock', Oberg (1960) suggested that people's reaction tends to follow a sequence, in that, they first tend to reject "the environment which causes the discomfort" (p.177), this giving way to a phase of 'regression' where the past "home environment suddenly assumes a tremendous importance…difficulties and problems are forgotten and only the good things back home are remembered" (pp.177-178).

The literature on 'cultural shock' recognises four stages in the process leading to a "satisfactory adjustment" (Oberg, 1960, p.178) in the new country (Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994). These are as follows:

a) An initial stage, the 'honeymoon stage', which is described as a period which can last from a few days to a few months, when "most individuals are fascinated by the new" (Oberg, 1960, p.178), a time when the cultural differences are "exciting and interesting" (Winkelman, 1994, p.122). According to these authors (Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994), these experiences and responses are particularly evident when the

contact with the different culture lasts for a short period or when it remains at a superficial level when that contact last longer or is more permanent. In this stage, even when the cultural contact elicits anxiety and tension, they are usually perceived in a positive way, on one hand, because this anxiety tends to coexist with the interest, positive expectations and idealisations of the new culture and, on another hand, because in some cases (for example, tourists, business people, etc.), people's experiences of a new culture are only undertaken in a controlled way and in their own terms (Winkelman, 1994).

b) As the depth and/or length of contact with the new culture increases, various difficulties can/will emerge. This can give rise to another stage, named 'crises or cultural shock stage/phase' (Winkelman, 1994). According to Oberg (1960) this stage is "characterized by a hostile and aggressive attitude towards the host country" (p.178) and towards its people. This is formulated as a reaction to the anxiety, frustrations and distress arising from having "to cope with real conditions of life" (Oberg, 1960, p.178) and from "the fact that people in the host country are largely indifferent to all these troubles" (Oberg, 1960, p.178). Winkelman (1994) points out that for some people this stage can start from the moment or shortly after their arrival in the new country, when they are confronted with the challenges posed by the new social and cultural cues and norms, which they may find difficult to understand, to overcome and/or to adjust to. This "may start as a full-blown crisis or as a series of escalating problems, negative experiences, and reactions" (Winkelman, 1994, p.122). Despite the acknowledgment of individual

differences as regards the ways of reacting to the difficulties and challenges, features of ‘cultural shock’ have been identified as including, an increased experience of anxiety, tension, disappointment and frustration when faced with minor or major difficulties in the new social and cultural environment, difficulties in making sense of and/or confusion as regards social expectations, values and self-identity, feelings of helplessness and a sense of lack of control of own life, sense of loss (of family, friends, status, role, etc.), experience of fatigue and apathy or, conversely, of increased emotional responses to challenges, feelings of being rejected and rejection, criticism and hostility towards the new country/culture and its people (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994)

c) This is followed by an ‘adjustment and reorientation’ phase or stage (Winkelman, 1994) or, as suggested by Oberg (1960), a third stage may follow “if the visitor succeeds in getting some knowledge of the language and…is beginning to open the way into the new cultural environment” (p.179). This stage can be marked by a “superior attitude to people of the host country” (Oberg, 1960, p.179), where explicit hostility and criticism are replaced by humorous comments and jokes, not only about the host country and its people but also about one’s own difficulties. However, Winkelman (1994) indicates that, in this phase, the person “is concerned with learning how to adjust effectively to the new cultural environment” (p.122) and suggests that, although the difficulties may not be very different from those in previous phases, people start to increase their ability to deal with those in a less straining

and more effective way. Nonetheless, Winkelman (1994) recognises that a “variety of adjustments will be achieved during cyclical and individually unique adjustment phases” (p.122).

d) A fourth stage may ensue – the ‘adaptation, resolution or acculturation’ stage (Winkelman, 1994). According to Oberg (1960), at this stage a person’s “adjustment is about as complete as it can be…now accepts the customs of the country as just another way of living” (p. 179), and people may “operate in the new milieu without anxiety although there are moments of strain” (p.179). It is suggested that in order to achieve this stage people will have developed “stable adaptations in being successful at resolving problems and managing the new culture” (Winkelman, 1994, p.122) and this may imply undergoing some changes in terms of personal identity as “one will acculturate…development of a bicultural identity…integration of new cultural aspects into one’s previous self-concept” (p.122). Oberg (1960) points out that it is essential to understand the language, the values that people strive for and the social and cultural norms of the new country for adjustment to take place. However, for Oberg (1960), “this does not mean that you have to give up your own. What happens is that you have developed two patterns of behaviour” (p.182), still people “should never forget that he or she is an outsider and will be treated as such” (p.182).

Whilst ‘cultural shock’ literature emphasises the negative consequences of getting into contact with a new culture and assumes that, to a greater or lesser degree, everyone in those circumstances will experience some form of ‘cultural

shock', there are some authors (Adler, 1975 and David, 1971, both as cited in Furnham, 1997, p.19) who consider that 'culture shock' may "in mild doses, be important for self-development and personal growth…seen as a transitional experience, which can result in the adoption of new values, attitudes and behavior patterns" (Furnham, 1997, p.19).

3.3.2. 'Acculturative stress'

'Acculturative stress' is a concept used to refer to a "reduction in health status" (Berry et al., 1987, p.491) presented by some people as a result of their contact with a different culture (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry, 1992; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014). It specifically refers to the psychological, social and physical health problems which can be connected to, or understood as a consequence of the stressors of 'acculturation' (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry 1992).

In the literature on 'acculturative stress', the term 'acculturation' is used to refer to the process of cultural, social and personal/group change that can take place when there is a direct and uninterrupted contact between different cultures and/or cultural groups (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry 1992). Understood in this way, 'acculturation' can apply to different populations and to several contexts. Thus, rather than being limited to 'refugees' and other 'migrants', 'acculturation' can extend to any experiences of continuous and direct contact between groups and/or individuals of different cultural or ethnic backgrounds, even those occurring within national borders (Berry et al., 1987). At group level, a number of changes can result from 'acculturation', these including "physical changes, including new place…type of housing…increasing

population…biological changes, including new nutritional status and new diseases…political changes…economic changes…cultural changes…social relationships become altered" (Berry, 1992, p.70). At an individual level, psychological and behavioural changes can occur as a result of 'acculturation' (Berry, 1992). However, it is considered that, whilst the so-called 'behavioural shifts' can trigger changes in terms of individual, cultural and ethnic identity, as well as, changes in "values, attitudes, abilities and motives" (Berry, 1992, p.70), it is only the social, psychological and physical problems resulting from the stressors of 'acculturation' that can be referred to as 'acculturative stress' (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry 1992).

The idea that 'acculturation', as a result of its challenges, can generate psychological distress seems to prevail in the literature on 'acculturative stress'. Despite rebutting of the idea that mental health problems are always an inevitable outcome of 'acculturation' by several authors (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry 1992), it was initially suggested in the literature on 'acculturative stress' that "behavioural changes and an alteration in mental health status almost always occur as individuals attempt to adapt to their new milieu" (Berry et al., 1987, p.492).

However, later on and when referring specifically to the experience of 'migration', Berry (1992) argued that 'acculturation', rather than being understood as an unavoidable source of "psychological and social problems, current views are that…may be a risk factor, outcomes range from very positive adaptations through to very negative ones" (p.69). Individual characteristics, as well as, the 'moderating factors', both in the pre-'migration' (for example, a person's reasons for moving, expectations, status) and during 'acculturation' to the new country

(the ‘acculturation strategies’, i.e., assimilation, integration, segregation and marginalisation, as well as, the levels of social support and new society’s attitudes) are considered to mediate the emergence, the range, the degree and intensity of the so-called ‘behavioural shifts’ and of ‘acculturative stress’ (Berry, 1992). Rogers-Sirin et al. (2014) further indicate that some of the stressors in the new environment that can lead to the experience of ‘acculturative stress’ include, for example, a mismatch between expectations prior to moving and the reality that people encounter in the new place/country, the social attitudes about ‘migrants’ in the new country, experiences of discrimination, etc. Nonetheless, it is still considered that the likelihood of someone’s experiencing ‘acculturative stress’ or, on the contrary, an experience of adjustment and adaptation is dependent on the unique interplay of all the moderating factors and personal characteristics (Berry, 1992; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014).

So, as mentioned above, whilst the experience of ‘acculturative stress’ is not considered an inevitable outcome for everyone who enters into contact with a new/different social and cultural environment, there is an understanding that people (including ‘migrants’) may find it stressful to experience ‘acculturation’ into a new/different culture, society and/or country (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry et al., 1987; Berry, 1992; Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014; Schmitz, 1997). It is considered that people who migrate may encounter a number of challenges that can be potential stressors. These may include, having to deal with the legal/administrative aspects of ‘migration’, having to find a place to live and to work, needing to acquire skills or get more proficient in the new country’s mainstream language, benefiting from the establishment and development of new social connections, as well as, the “maintenance or change of…own cultural identity…dealing with conflicts between

different systems of values, beliefs and behavior, namely those of the mainstream society, those of…own ethnic group, and those belonging to…own personal sphere" (Schmitz, 1997, p.91). However, Berry (1992) reiterates that,

> for some people, acculturative changes may be perceived as stressors, while for others they may be benign or even be seen as opportunities…The emergence of acculturative stress depends not only on the presence of stressors, but also on one's coping strategies and resources…Acculturation strategies…Initial health, age and education…and one's use of social support and reaction to societal attitudes. (pp. 76-77)

It is considered that is not only the emergence (or not) of 'acculturative stress' but also the type and intensity of the experience of it that can vary from person to person (Berry, 1992; Schmitz, 1997). However, in the related literature, a number of manifestations of 'acculturative stress' are usually identified as including, for example, "lowered mental health status (specifically confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion" (Berry et al., 1987, p.492) or, as pointed out by Schmitz (1997) "feelings of distress…homesickness…depressive reactions, going along with alienation and hopelessness…psychosomatic complaints, vulnerability to diseases…psychosocial maladjustment, psychopathic behaviour" (p. 91).

So, despite acknowledging that not everyone who moves country will experience 'acculturative stress', this concept always gives emphasis to the

unpleasant, negative, distressing and problematic responses that can be displayed by some of those who move to a different country, society and culture.

3.3.3. 'Cultural bereavement'

'Cultural bereavement' is the terminology proposed by Eisenbruch (1988, 1990, 1991, 1997) to make sense of the subjective experience of distress and the grief reaction(s) presented by some of the people who have been 'uprooted'. Those experiences and responses are understood as resulting from the personal, social and cultural changes and from the losses accompanying the 'uprooting' process (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Eisenbruch, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1997).

Based upon the World Health Organization (W.H.O., 1979, as cited in Eisenbruch, 1988, p.283)'s definition of 'uprooting', Eisenbruch (1988) indicates that this process can occur in a wide range of situations such as, "migration, urbanization, resettlement, and rapid social change" (p.283). It is noted that 'uprooting' can be a source of social and cultural changes which generate disruptions at several levels (Eisenbruch, 1988). For example, 'uprooting' can disturb the "continuity of an individual's concept of selfhood" (Eisenbruch, 1988, p.283) and a person's or a group's "'structure of meaning'…the conceptual organization of understanding of one's surroundings…based upon unique emotional attachments to persons, places, and political entities" (p.283). In response to those changes and losses, people can display a grief reaction(s) and 'cultural bereavement' designates and conceptualises that particular type of grief response(s) (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Eisenbruch, 1988). Thus, 'cultural bereavement' is defined by Eisenbruch (1991) as,

> the experience of the uprooted person - or group – resulting from the loss of social structures, cultural values and self-identity: the person – or group – continues to live in the past, is visited by supernatural forces from the past while asleep or awake, suffers feelings of guilt over abandoning culture and homeland, feels pain if memories of the past begin to fade, but finds constant images of the past (including traumatic images) intruding into daily life, yearns to complete obligations to the dead, and feels stricken by anxieties, morbid thoughts, and anger that mar the ability to get on with daily life. (p.674)

Whilst this concept arose initially from Eisenbruch's work with Cambodian 'refugees' (Eisenbruch, 1988, 1990, 1991), its use extended to the understanding of the experiences and responses of other 'refugees' and other 'migrants'. However, Eisenbruch (1990) recommends caution against hasty overgeneralisations of this concept, pointing out that people's responses to their experience of loss (be it personal, social and/or cultural) can only be fully comprehended in the context of the uniqueness of their own cultural background. This is because manifestations of distress, expressions of bereavement and the meanings attributed to those are culturally shaped, and it is only by having those cultural aspects as a reference that the 'normal' or 'pathological' nature of those responses can be established (Eisenbruch, 1990, 1991).

Indeed, the concept of 'cultural bereavement' was developed as an alternative explanation to "ethnocentric interpretations of difficulties in adjustment" (Eisenbruch, 1990, p.192), namely to the Western psychiatric categorical systems which tend to pathologize people's experiences and responses by interpreting them mainly as symptoms of mental disorders.

Eisenbruch (1991) argues that those psychiatric/'ethnocentric' interpretations do not give meaning to people's expressions of distress because they do not contextualise them within the cultural constructs that shape them. In contrast, the concept of 'cultural bereavement' intends to make sense of people's distress by formulating it as an overall reaction to the losses faced by those who are 'uprooted', in particular the losses of the social and cultural systems which used to serve as a reference and as a model in providing meaning to their experiences (Eisenbruch, 1991).

Hence, in the particular case of 'refugees' and other 'migrants', the concept of 'cultural bereavement' aims to propose a non-pathological way of understanding their responses to their experiences of loss through 'migration'. Whilst acknowledging that "grief, whether in response to the loss of a loved one or a country and culture, can affect physical and mental health…uprooting need not automatically lead to physical and mental dysfunction" (Eisenbruch, 1988, pp.283-284). Therefore, rather than understanding 'refugees'' and other 'migrants'' responses as manifestations of psychiatric disorders, although recognising that at times they may mimic them, Eisenbruch (1991) argues that, by understanding and taking into account those losses, the distress and the grief reactions that they present "may be a normal, even constructive, existential response" (p.673) to their circumstances, and may "lead to growth" (Eisenbruch, 1988, p.284) rather than (necessarily and unavoidably) to pathology.

Indeed, Eisenbruch (1990, 1991) clearly establishes a distinction between the persistent and insidious distress and the suffering that 'refugees' and other 'migrants' may experience as a consequence of the loss of their social and cultural systems – captured under the concept of 'cultural bereavement' - from

the distress that can result from a psychiatric disorder and/or as a reaction(s) to specific and clearly identifiable stressors. Therefore, 'cultural bereavement' relates more specifically to the experience of continued suffering and distress, resulting from the losses and "disruptions at several levels – 'health', 'interpersonal', 'social', and 'community relations'" (Eisenbruch, 1990, p.191), which are associated with people's experiences of 'migration', which is understood as being uprooting. As stated above, those experiences and responses can be understood by taking into account the cultural frameworks that shaped them and the variations in terms of individual "reactions to the loss of their country" (Eisenbruch, 1988, p.283). For Eisenbruch (1988), the scope for this individual variation is such, that "some cling fixedly to the culture of the society they have left behind, idealizing the values of the lost culture. Others idealize the host society and hasten to discard the values of their past" (p.283).

Furthermore, Eisenbruch (1988, 1990, 1997) considers that, despite the potential disruption that unresolved grief may have in terms of personal identity and health (physical and mental), people's adjustment and well-being seems to depend, not only from their individual strengths, vulnerabilities and "ability to engage in healthy mourning" (Eisenbruch, 1997, p.111), but also from the response(s) from the new/host society. In particular, Eisenbruch (1990) refutes fixed and clear-cut ideas that a rapid acculturation is associated with health and that nostalgic reminiscing and a 'living in the past' is a sign of illness. Accordingly, Eisenbruch (1990) emphasises that the "nostalgic reminiscences may be a positive sign that refugees are responding to a permissive and safe environment that encourages the expression of painful latent feelings, or they may reflect an acute estrangement from self-identity and past culture" (p.197). Additionally,

Eisenbruch (1990) considers that, in order to support people's well-being and adjustment to a new country, their meanings and cultural beliefs about their own experiences and reactions to loss need to be acknowledged.

3.3.4. 'Mental health difficulties'

The reactions that 'refugees' and other 'migrants' may display as a result of their 'migration' experiences can sometimes be understood as manifestations of various mental (ill-)health problems or mental disorders.

High rates of anxiety, depression and even psychotic disorders are frequently reported amongst 'migrants' in general (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Bhugra et al., 2011; Porter & Haslam, 2005). 'Trauma' and Post-traumatic Stress Disorder are very frequently assumed to be (unavoidably) present in 'refugees' (Bhugra et. al., 2011; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2007; Pupavac, 2002; Summerfield, 2004).

Whilst these mental health problems can also be present in 'refugees' and other 'migrants', there may be times when mental health diagnosis are ascribed to people in an attempt to make sense of the particular and specific responses that they can display as a result of moving to another country. However, an understanding of those experiences and responses solely based on psychopathological models may result in an inappropriate pathologizing of people, particularly if their experiences and responses are de-contextualised and, as a result, the various factors (personal, social and cultural) that may contribute to their responses are not taken into account and/or not fully understood (Eisenbruck, 1990, 1991; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2007; Pupavac, 2002; Summerfield, 2004). An inappropriate pathologizing of those experiences and/or

a predominant focus on pathology may, even if inadvertently, potentially undermine people's ability to deal with the possible distress and sense of disorientation that they may experience when faced with the challenges of a new environment (Blackwell, 1997; Moane, 2003; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2007, 2015; Pupavac, 2002; Woodcock, 2000). This is sometimes understood as hampering their sense of agency and determination, thus ultimately hindering the process of adjustment to their new circumstances (Blackwell, 1997; Moane, 2003; Papadopoulos, 2002; Pupavac, 2002; Woodcock, 2000). Consequently, it can contribute to the internalisation of an identity where learned helplessness may prevail (Blackwell, 1997; Moane, 2003; Papadopoulos, 2002; Woodcock, 2000).

Whilst still within a 'mental (ill-)health' framework, Achotegui (2004) proposes the designation of 'Ulysses syndrome' to encompass 'migrants'' experience of anxiety, depression and also of the dissociative, psychosomatic and even psychotic disturbances that can result from the challenges of 'migration'. Whilst resorting to mental health and psychiatric designations, these symptoms/syndromes are understood within the context of the several losses occurred throughout 'migration' (for example, the loss of family, friends, language, the culture and even the landscapes of the country of origin and the social status) and the experiences of social isolation and of a hostile environment in the new country (Achotegui, 2004; Peyrí & Hartman, 2007).

3.4. Conceptualisations centred on 'home'

Some conceptualisations of the experiences and responses of 'refugees' and other 'migrants', throughout the 'migration process', centre around the idea

of 'home'. These include, 'homesickness' (Fisher et al. 1990; Fisher, 1997; Furnham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997), 'nostalgia' (Cassin, 2016; Hertz, 1997; Sedikides et al., 2008; van Tilburg et al., 1996; Wildschut et al., 2006) and 'nostalgic disorientation' (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015).

3.4.1. 'Homesickness'

In general, the term 'homesickness' is used to refer to the overall distress response that people who leave 'home' may present with in reaction to the separation from 'home' and the immersion into a new and unfamiliar environment (Fisher et al., 1990; Fisher, 1997; Furnham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997).

Despite the wide historical use of this word, including in lay and literary contexts, some questions persist as regards the specificity and nature of the experiences encompassed by the term 'homesickness', in view of its occasional interchangeable use and potential overlapping with concepts such as, nostalgia, separation-anxiety, adjustment disorder, etc. (Stroebe et al., 2015; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997).

However, there is some agreement in the literature that 'homesickness' can be experienced by most people, albeit in different degrees, as a consequence (or even in anticipation) of leaving 'home' (Fisher et al., 1990; Furnham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997). It is also considered that 'homesickness' can occur as a reaction to any type of relocation/geographical moves (Fisher et al., 1990; Furnham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van

Tilburg, 1997). Thus, ‘homesickness’ can arise in any circumstances involving the moving away from ‘home’, i.e., “leaving familiar surroundings and entering a new environment” (Thurber & Walton, 2007, p.844), be it within the same country or between countries or on a (shorter or longer) temporary or permanent basis, and independently of the reasons or degree of personal choice associated with that relocation/geographical move (Fisher et al., 1990; Furnham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997). Consequently, ‘homesickness’ can be experienced by a wide number of people, ranging from ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ to students and those who travel in work or for holidays (Fisher et al., 1990; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996). Also, it is implied that ‘homesickness’ can be found in people of all ages when they are away from ‘home’ (Furnham, 1997; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996).

However, it is unclear whether and how ‘homesickness’ may vary with reference to age, gender and culture (van Tilburg et al., 1996). It is acknowledged that some people may be more susceptible to experience ‘homesickness’ than others, possibly as a result of a combination of personal and situational factors (Stroebe et al., 2015). Fisher (1997) argues for a multifactor causal model of ‘homesickness’, suggesting that the separation from emotional ties and the distress produced by the unpleasant circumstances and experiences after leaving ‘home’, as well as, the cognitive domination of issues related with the past ‘home’, all contribute to the experience of ‘homesickness’.

In the literature on ‘homesickness’, different descriptions of it emphasise different aspects by, for example, giving prevalence to the separation from ‘home’ and/or to the feelings associated with missing the past ‘home’ (the familiar

place/environment and/or people) and/or to the difficulties adapting to the aspects of the new environment and situation (Stroebe et al., 2015; van Tilburg et al., 1996). For example, Stroebe et al. (2015) suggest a definition of ‘homesickness’ as “*a negative emotional state primarily due to separation from home and attachment persons, characterized by longing for and preoccupation with home, and often with difficulties adjusting to the new place*” (p.158, *italic* in the original text). In a similar vein, Thurber and Walton (2007) state that ‘homesickness’ is characterised by the “distress and functional impairment caused by an actual or anticipated separation from home and attachment objects” (p.843), where the presence of “recurrent cognitions focused on the home (eg, house, loved ones, homeland, home cooking, returning home)” (pp.843-844) are the main feature, despite a frequent co-occurrence of other cognitive, behavioural, emotional and physical difficulties. For van Tilburg et al. (1996), both “the loss of the home environment and important relationships” (p.902) and being faced “with a new and unfamiliar environment” (p.902) are key aspects of the experience of ‘homesickness’, this manifesting itself through physical, cognitive, behavioural and emotional problems.

In the literature, the main cognitive expressions of ‘homesickness’ refer to the presence of strong and repetitive (‘obsessive’) thoughts about ‘home’, of missing ‘home’ (the place, the people, etc.) and of longing for it, which are often accompanied by an idealisation of the previous ‘home’ environment and by negative evaluations of the new environment (Fisher et al., 1990; Furnham, 1997; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997). These cognitive expressions are usually accompanied by emotional features such as, strong and/or insidious feelings of distress, feelings of unhappiness, loneliness,

anxiety and nervousness, depressive mood, a sense of insecurity, loss of control and anger (Fisher et al., 1990; Stroebe et al., 2015; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997). Physical problems or complaints considered to be manifestations of 'homesickness' include vague physical complaints or more specific complaints such as, sleep and digestive disturbances, general fatigue, etc. (van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997). The behavioural problems associated with 'homesickness' range from apathy and a lack of motivation and interest in the new environment to rule-breaking and violent behaviour (Fisher et al., 1990; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997).

It has been noted in the literature that, in terms of the manifestations and the levels of distress that it can elicit, 'homesickness' may resemble a grief or a depressive reaction (Furnham, 1997; Stroebe et al., 2015; van Tilburg, 1997). However, it is argued that the cognitive focus on 'home' is what fundamentally distinguishes 'homesickness' from other grief responses and from a depressive reaction (van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997). Furthermore, van Tilburg et al. (1996) state that 'homesickness' should be "viewed as a normal reaction to being away from home" (p.901), particularly if it "is not severe enough to hamper daily activities, like work and social activities" (p.901). Still, these authors (van Tilburg et al., 1996) recognise that 'homesickness' may, in some cases, lead to serious adjustment problems which can negatively affect people's integration in their new and unfamiliar environments.

3.4.2. 'Nostalgia'

The term 'nostalgia' has historically been conflated with the word 'homesickness'. Hertz (1997), for example, indicates how "through the ages, the

typical response of humans separated from their homes, families and native cultural environment has been described as 'nostalgia' or 'homesickness'" (p.81).

Etymologically, the term 'nostalgia' stems from a combination of the classical Greek words *nostos*, meaning 'to return home' and *algos*, which means 'pain', 'suffering', thus literally signifying the pain and suffering resulting from the yearning to return 'home' (as a place of origin, including 'homeland') when a person is far away from it (Cassin, 2016; Hertz, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Sedikides et al., 2008; Wildschut et al., 2006). The ancient Greek epic poem 'The Odyssey', attributed to Homer, has become the epitome of 'nostalgia' as referring to the painful yearning and longing for a return 'home' (Cassin, 2016; Hertz, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002; Sedikides et al., 2008; Wildschut et al., 2006) and references to the emotion reflected by this literal meaning of the word was "found in Hippocrates, Caesar, and the Bible" (Sedikides et al., 2008, p.304).

According to several authors (Cassin, 2016; Sedikides et al., 2008; van Tilburg et al., 1996; Wildschut et al., 2006), in the 17th century, the term 'nostalgia', whilst still conflated with the term 'homesickness', started to be used to designate the emotional response observed in some people who were away from 'home' but whose health appeared to recover once they returned back 'home'. This was observed, for example, in the Swiss mercenaries at the service of Louis XIV in France and in some 'young people' who were away from 'home', studying or hospitalised (Cassin, 2016; Sedikides et al., 2008). At the time, this response to being away from 'home' – described by J. Hofer, a Swiss physician, as 'nostalgia' – became conceived as a medical or neurological disease, which was characterised by symptoms that included "bouts of weeping, irregular heartbeat, and anorexia" (Sedikides et al., 2008, p.304), together with the

presence of unrelenting thoughts about ‘home’ (Sedikides et al., 2008; Wildschut et al., 2006). It was thought that ‘nostalgia’ affected specific ethnic and national groups, mostly the Swiss, an understanding that continued to prevail throughout the 18th century and part of the 19th century (Cassin, 2016; Sedikides et al., 2008; van Tilburg et al., 1996). In the 19th century and for most of the 20th century, ‘nostalgia’ continued to be conflated with ‘homesickness’. However, it gradually moved from being considered a medical/neurological illness to be conceived as a psychiatric/psychological disorder which was characterised by depressive thoughts focused upon loss, depressive mood, anxiety and insomnia (Sedikides et al., 2008; Wildschut et al., 2006). Jaspers (1909, as cited in Hertz, 1997, p. 82), identified a range of features of ‘nostalgia’, in the context of ‘migration’, in the medical literature of the 18th and 19th centuries, these including “persistent thoughts of home, melancholia, insomnia, loss of appetite, weakness, anxiety, palpitations, diffuse pain, tension and even stupor” (Hertz, 1997, p.82).

However, as pointed out by Sedikides et al. (2008), by the end of the 20th century, empirical evidence was supportive of a distinction between ‘nostalgia’ and ‘homesickness’. As mentioned previously, ‘homesickness’ continued to be regarded as related to the difficulties and the negative affect that some people can display as a consequence of leaving or being away from ‘home’ (Fisher et al., 1990; Furnham, 1997; Sedikides et al., 2008; Thurber & Walton, 2007; van Tilburg et al., 1996; van Tilburg, 1997; Wildschut et al., 2006). In contrast, it since has started to be acknowledged that ‘nostalgia’, despite referring to a yearning for a lost past, includes both negative and positive emotions (Sedikides et al., 2008). So, it is recognised that, even when ‘nostalgia’ is triggered by negative emotions or situations, it may serve to “counteract distress and restore

psychological equanimity" (Sedikides et al., 2008, p.305), by generating positive emotions, enhancing positive self-regard, strengthening social bonds and supporting social connectedness, thus "alleviating existential threat…help one navigate successfully the vicissitudes of daily life" (Sedikides et al., 2008, p.307).

This shift in the ways of conceiving 'nostalgia' seems to be reflected in the literature regarding 'refugees' and other 'migrants'. The presence of 'nostalgia', in the sense of a yearning for the past (including a past, and often idealised, 'home') can be perceived as resulting in a "confused search, a sentimental and nostalgic journey for a lost time and place" (Mallett, 2004, p.69), which may hamper acceptance and adjustment to the new environment. However, the constructive and sustaining role of 'nostalgia' in face of adversity is also acknowledged. For example, Boccagni (2017) considers that,

> even nostalgic memories about the past home(land) can work out for migrants as 'a source of comfort' against present hardships…Within the emotional life of recently settled immigrants, then, remembering 'what home was like' is not just a source of nostalgia or melancholia. (p.73)

In a similar vein, Brun and Fábos (2015) report how "long term refugees create a feeling of being home by reconstructing the past home to come to terms with everyday life during displacement. Here nostalgia is productive, supporting the desire for home in the present" (p.7).

3.4.3. 'Nostalgic Disorientation'

'Nostalgic disorientation' is the terminology proposed by Papadopoulos (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015) to conceptualise

the ‘refugees’’ confusing and disorientating experiences that result from an involuntary loss of ‘home’.

In this conceptualisation, Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) highlights that the term ‘nostalgic’ is used within the classic Greek meaning of the word ‘*nostos’*, “the strong yearning to return home” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.15), and the word ‘algos’, which signifies ache or pain. Thus, the term ‘nostalgic’ is used in Papadopoulos (2002, 2015)’ conceptualisation to designate “the acute pain, the intense and painful urge in the yearning for home, the ache involved in homesickness” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.41). Papadopoulos (2002) further advocates that, within this classic Greek meaning of the word, ‘nostalgia’ is “the right word to describe this whole cluster of feelings, reactions, hopes, fears, etc.” (p.15), the “suffering that a person experiences in wanting to go home” (p.15).

Furthermore, it is suggested that the pain and suffering associated with the involuntary loss of ‘home’ can be ‘disorienting’ for ‘refugees’, because the totality of the experience of this particular loss is difficult to comprehend in view of the complexities and multidimensional aspects surrounding the idea of ‘home’ (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) considers that ‘home’ goes far beyond its physical and concrete components, stressing that it has different meanings, serves various functions and entails multiple polarities. Since ‘home’ goes beyond its physical/concrete elements, the loss of ‘home’ is going to include aspects of ‘home’ that people were not even aware of, so the resulting sense of confusion and disorientation arises from people’s difficulty in fully understanding and making sense of all that has been lost (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). Thus, the involuntarily loss of ‘home’ is considered to be experienced as disorientating “because it is difficult to pinpoint

the clear source and precise nature of this loss, especially due to its complex…nature" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.16).

Hence, the concept of 'nostalgic disorientation' intends to capture the sense of confusion and perplexity resulting from the involuntary loss of 'home' experienced by 'refugees' (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). It assumes that the impact that the involuntary loss of 'home' has upon 'refugees'' experiences (namely on the ways in which these experiences are expressed and responded to), is influenced by the variety of meanings and the multi-dimensional aspects of 'home' which are associated with that loss (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). At the same time, it also acknowledges that each person will experience, express and respond to the loss of 'home' in a very personal and idiosyncratic way (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015).

The concept of 'nostalgic disorientation' is inseparable from the concept of 'home', the latter being at the core of Papadopoulos' conceptualisation(s) of 'refugees'' predicament (Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). Indeed, Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) considers that the involuntary loss of 'home' is the only characteristic/condition shared by all 'refugees'.

As already mentioned above (in Part 1, Chapter 2), Papadopoulos (2015) conceives 'home' as a "container of complex inter-relationships between (a) space, (b) time, and (c) relationships" (p.37) and, consequently, considers that "the experience of home emerges whenever specific relationships are established over a period of time and within the context of a particular space" (p.37). Understood in this way, 'home' extends past the boundaries of its physical and geographical existence and the sense of being or feeling 'at home' can

emerge, even if just as a very temporary experience, in contexts that are unrelated with the concrete aspects of a past or present ‘home’, being determined instead by the relationships and the patterns that can be established within those contexts.

This conceptualisation of ‘home’ by Papadopoulos (1998, 2002, 2015) is strongly interconnected with his proposed model of ´personal identity’ and, also within this, with the concept of ‘nostalgic disorientation’.

As aforementioned (in Part 1, Chapter 2), in this model ‘personal identity’ is understood as comprising of two parts, a ‘tangible’ part and an ‘intangible’ part, forming a ‘mosaic substrate of identity’ (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). It is suggested that the ‘tangible’ part of identity is constituted by those aspects that each person is usually conscious of and, therefore, more able to identify as elements or characteristics of their own individuality (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). These include name, gender, age, nationality, ethnicity, cultural and socio-economic status, professional and other group affiliations (from political to religious, ideological, hobbies), physical and psychological characteristics, goals and aspirations, etc. (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). The ‘intangible’ part is comprised of various elements that a person is less conscious of and, consequently, less aware of its existence and significance (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). According to Papadopoulos (2002, 2015), this ‘intangible part of the ‘mosaic substrate of identity’ includes a basic sense of ‘home’, with its different combinations of space, time and relationships, with its specific rhythms, habits and rituals, its usual sounds, smells, tastes, textures, geographical landscapes and architectural designs, the sense of ‘home’ enables people to have a sense of basic containment, constancy, stability and security, as well as, a sense of

belonging “to a home, to a family, community, culture, to my body, to a country” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.38).

Furthermore, for Papadopoulos (2015), all these elements of the ‘mosaic substrate of identity’ “fit together in a unique way” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.38), which is specific to each person thus providing a sense of familiarity, of relative stability, of continuity of being and predictability about life in general and about own individual experiences and other people’s behaviours, all of which can be associated with a sense of ‘home’ (Papadopoulos, 1998, 2002, 2015). It is considered that this unique ‘fit’ creates a state of ‘onto-ecological settledness’, which refers to the interconnection “between the totality of one’s being and the totality of one’s environment” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.40). The ‘onto-ecological settledness’ encompasses a “mixture of positive and negative elements, creates a certain fluency of life, familiarity, stability, and predictability – regardless of how satisfactory or unsatisfactory this state may be” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.40). Even though ‘onto-ecological settledness’ is a pattern that is constantly changing to adjust to the variations which occur at personal and/or environmental levels, a sense of stability and continuity remains when those changes occur within certain limits, once the effects of those changes are usually unnoticeable (Papadopoulos, 2015). For Papadopoulos (2015), the limits for “bearable changes” are “directly related to the sense of home, to the experiences of being at home, of being contained by the inter-relationship of one’s being and one’s environment” (p.40).However, the state of ‘onto-ecological settledness’ can be seriously disrupted when the changes go beyond those limits and, in those cases, the effects of such disruption can be strongly sensed (Papadopoulos, 2015). Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) argues that, in the case of involuntary loss of ‘home’,

the ‘onto-ecological settledness’ is disturbed and, as a result, ‘nostalgic disorientation’ can ensue. For Papadopoulos (2015), ‘nostalgic disorientation’,

> is not just any ordinary disorientation, but the specific one that activates the longing, the thirst, the hunger for a return to the familiarity and comfort that the now disturbed onto-ecological settledness once provided…when this type of disorientation emerges, a person experiences definitely and most markedly a mixture of rather intangible and difficult to identify types of discomfort. These include a sense of an inexplicable gap, a feeling of unreality, unsafety, unpredictability; lack of familiarity; lack of confidence; pervasive anxiety; and psychic ache and frozenness. (p.41)

Thus, from the above, the experience of ‘nostalgic disorientation’, with its inherent sense of confusion, discomfort, distress and a (not always completely conscious) feeling of being lost, results from the modifications that the involuntary loss of ‘home’ produces in the aspects linked to the ‘intangible’ part of ‘personal identity’, those which are related to the sense of familiarity, stability and predictability (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). This is the reason why the causes of this state of ‘nostalgic disorientation’ may remain vague, difficult to identify and to comprehend by those experiencing it (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). Unable to fully grasp the causes of such experience, people who involuntarily lose their ‘home’ may focus solely upon the losses or the changes which are related to the ‘tangible’ aspects (for example, house, family, friendships, community, socio-economic-cultural roles and status, etc.) and/or upon the concrete and material ways of restoring those (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). This means that, whilst they are acutely aware of the concrete aspects involved in that loss of ‘home’, they may find it difficult to capture and to pinpoint exactly all that has been lost,

however, the latter is what generates the sense of confusion and bewilderment which are characteristic of the experience of ‘nostalgic disorientation’ (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015).

Papadopoulos (1998, 2002, 2015) further suggests that, as a consequence of the above, those experiencing ‘nostalgic disorientation’ will tend to yearn for the lost ‘home’, in a regressive movement. However, this yearning is indeed and mostly for their sense of identity and for the familiarity, stability, predictability and containment that ‘home’ provided, all of which has been (at least temporarily) lost (Papadopoulos, 1998, 2002, 2015). So, the yearning is for a “return to a specific and familiar feeling of being-at-home” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.42), which can be understood as way of counteracting the disorientating effect of feeling lost and not-at-‘home’, even if this is experienced without a full awareness.

Papadopoulos (2002) argues that, when caught in the experience of ‘nostalgic disorientation’, ‘refugees’ will react in different ways. Their responses to that experience can include “panic, depression, apathy, suspiciousness, splitting” (Papadopoulos, 2002, p.18), as well as, a state of ‘frozenness’ which is often pathologically construed as ‘traumatic dissociation’. Moreover, when unable to make sense of their experience, and in contact with the obstacles and difficulties of reality, they may further experience “pain, irritation, frustration, impatience, and anger” (Papadopoulos, 2002, p.42). Papadopoulos (2002) considers that all those reactions are often misperceived by those working with ‘refugees’, and by the ‘refugees’ themselves, as being of a psychological and/or psychopathological nature rather than a condition created by the involuntary loss

of ‘home’, i.e., as the “overall syndrome of homelessness as opposed to the security of homeness” (p.18).

It is also argued by Papadopoulos (2015) that ‘nostalgic disorientation’ “is more painful than the other familiar psychological conditions” (p.42) for a number of reasons. Firstly, and as aforementioned, people experiencing it may not be completely aware or able to fully comprehend the causes of it, as these are not immediately evident to them whilst, simultaneously, its effects are felt profoundly and unbearably. Secondly, because it activates a strong need to find the causes of it and the urge to get quick and more concrete/material solutions for it which, because they do not match the deeper needs, can lead to disillusionment and further disorientation. Thirdly, whilst ‘nostalgic disorientation’ elicits a deep, intense and painful yearning to restore the ‘onto-ecological settledness’ disturbed by the involuntary loss of ‘home’, it is unclear which ‘home’ this yearning may refer to, the “past, present, or future? Geographical, cultural, or social, etc? Place of origin, or desired goal? Ideal, or real? Specific, or abstract? Concrete and static, or dynamic and changing? One, or many?” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.42).

It may be debatable to affirm that the experiences and responses encompassed in the concept of ‘nostalgic disorientation’ are indeed more intense, and the levels of pain and suffering higher than in more traditionally recognised psychological or even psychopathological conditions. Particularly, since every experience, psychological and mental health condition, is lived in an idiosyncratic and subjective way by each individual. Nonetheless, by centring and making sense of those experiences and responses in terms of ‘home’/loss of ‘home’, with all the complexities and multiple dimensions it entails, ‘nostalgic disorientation’ seems to capture something that is different from more traditional psychological

or psychopathological conditions, particularly in the context of an involuntary loss of ‘home’. In view of all the aspects and intricacies involved in the concept of ‘nostalgic disorientation’ it seems evident that, as argued by Papadopoulos (2002, 2015), by restricting the understanding of those experiences and responses to more recognised psychological or psychopathological conditions, the uniqueness and totality of this specific type of loss may be ignored or dismissed.

Moreover, rather than considering the experiences and responses encompassed in the concept of ‘nostalgic disorientation’ as pathological, Papadopoulos (1998, 2002, 2015) argues that they should be understood as ‘normal’ reactions to the ‘abnormal’ circumstances that surround the involuntary loss of ‘home’. Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) suggests that, by understanding those experiences outside a psychopathological framework, it is possible to recognise their “renewal potentials” (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.42), thus enabling “the activation of self-healing processes” (Papadopoulos, 2002, p.33), be it for the individuals or for the families and communities affected by that type of loss. Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) further considers that the pathologizing of those experiences and the accompanying tendency, by both ‘refugees’ and the professionals involved, to get quick solutions to ‘get rid of’ the distressing consequences of the involuntary loss of ‘home’ can indeed, and paradoxically, obstruct or delay the potential for re-orientation and for re-connection in the novel situation/contexts. Thus, if the focus is solely on the negative impact and the adverse effects of the involuntary loss of ‘home’, the totality of the experience is disregarded, thus obscuring people’s general and co-existing potential for renewal, their ability to overcome adversity and their resilience in the face of it

(Papadopoulos, 2002, 2007, 2015). Thus, an understanding of experiences and responses to the involuntary loss of 'home' in terms of 'nostalgic disorientation', rather than in terms of pathology, may enable awareness and a re-connection with the totality and the complexity of the whole experience (Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). It is considered that such an understanding of the experiences resulting from the involuntary loss of 'home' enables and empowers individuals (as well as, families and communities) to re-orient themselves, through the emergence of "new meanings, new identities and values, and novel and more appropriate forms of onto-ecological settledness" (Papadopoulos, 2015, p.43). Hence, Papadopoulos (2015) views 'nostalgic disorientation' as a "powerful motivational force" (p.42) for personal renewal, in that,

> the yearning for home can be diverted from the urge to return to an obsolete, destroyed, or deformed settledness, to the launching of a pursuit for new homes, for the creation of a more satisfactory and fulfilling existence and life meaning…homecoming is not just about returning home. It is also about recreating a new home within the context of an existing one, and about grasping and negotiating the complexities involved. (p.43)

Part 2. Methodology and research design

2.1. Overview

This section describes the methodological aspects of this study. It begins by indicating the aims and the research question of this study. This is followed by an overview of theoretical considerations associated with the choice of a qualitative methodology and a statement of the researcher's ontological and epistemological positions, as well as, the rationale for the use of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009) and for the exclusion of other qualitative methodological approaches. Subsequently, it provides a brief outline of the research design of this study and it specifies the process of recruitment and selection of the participants, the procedures for data collection, the method of data analysis and how research validity and quality criteria have been considered. Ethical approval and ethical considerations are also presented in this section.

2.2. Aims and research question

The overall aim of this study was to explore the perceptions and experiences of 'home' of individual 'migrants' (in a wider sense), in the context of their experiences throughout the 'migration process'. In particular, it intended to explore how the perceptions of 'home' by 'migrants' (in its wider definition) living in the United Kingdom (U.K.) may be interlinked with their lived experiences throughout the 'migration process'. Hence, this study aimed to examine how their

perception(s) of what constitutes ‘home’ may have been/be influenced or affected by their experiences throughout the different stages of the ‘migration process’ and how their perception(s) of ‘home’ may have influenced or contributed to their ‘migration’ experiences. Therefore, this study was guided by the following research question:

How are ‘migrants’’ perceptions of ‘home’ interlinked with their individual experiences throughout the ‘migration process’?

For clarification, in this study: a) the term ‘migrants’ is used within its wider definition, to encompass all the people who moved from their country of origin, be it ‘voluntarily’ or ‘involuntarily’, and who are now living in the U.K.; b) the term ‘perception(s)’ is used to mean the ways in which ‘home’ is understood and interpreted by the participants, ultimately referring to the meanings, elements and dimensions of ‘home’ which they selectively prioritise; c) ‘migration process’ is understood as including all the stages/phases involved in the move from pre-‘migration’ to post-‘migration’, thus incorporating the reasons and decisions to leave their country of origin (their birth country) through to their life in another country (the U.K.), as well as, all the stages in between.

2.3. Methodology

2.3.1. A qualitative research methodology

The terms ‘methodology’ and ‘method’, although often employed as if they were synonymous, “refer to different aspects of doing research” (Willig, 2001, p.8). Research ‘methodology’ alludes to the general way or approach which is

undertaken to investigate a topic, whilst ‘method(s)’ relates to the particular research procedures or techniques which are used within that study (Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001).

It is considered that the ‘methodology’ in a research study is based upon particular philosophical assumptions and beliefs and that decisions regarding its choice are influenced, namely by a researcher’s epistemological position and by the particular research question(s) (Barker et al., 2002; Clark-Carter, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001). Clough and Nutbrown (2012) point out that “for philosophers the twin terms of methodology are *ontology* and *epistemology*…*ontology* is a theory of what exists and how it exists, and an *epistemology* is a related theory of how we can come to know those things (p.37, *italic* in the original text). This is relevant for researchers as the assumptions and beliefs regarding the nature of being and about what constitutes reality, as well as, about how knowledge can be generated, underlie and are reflected in each research study, namely by guiding the choice of methodology in that particular study (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012; Langdridge, 2007). In turn, the ‘methodology’ adopted in a research study influences, although with a degree of flexibility, the choice of the ‘method(s)’ used in it (Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001).

Research in social sciences usually and broadly divides into quantitative and qualitative methodologies, these representing different philosophical and epistemological positions and also differing, for example, in terms of researcher’s control over the situation/variables which are being studied and the ways in which the data collected is analysed (Barker et al., 2002; Clark-Carter, 2010; Willig, 2001).

In general, quantitative research methodology is based upon the assumption that objective and direct observation and knowledge of the ‘reality’ is possible, this being understood as independent and detached from the observer (Barker et al., 2002; Clark-Carter, 2010; Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001). Quantitative research methodology emphasises measurement and quantification of data, it aims to identify cause-effect relationships and to enable comparisons, its exponents arguing that it is a more systematic and experimental (hypothesis testing) research approach (Barker et al., 2002; Clark-Carter, 2010; Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001).

Qualitative research methodology, by contrast, is seen as exploratory and interpretative in its approach(es), placing its emphasis upon people’s subjective experience and on the understanding of the meanings that they attribute to events, situations/conditions and experiences (Langdridge, 2007; Smith, 2008; Willig, 2001). As pointed out by Snape and Spencer (2003) and Willig (2001), qualitative research methodology is an ‘umbrella’ term which encompasses a wide range of epistemological and ontological positions and a diversity of approaches and methods. However, it is also acknowledged that “there is fairly wide consensus that qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within their social worlds” (Snape & Spencer, 2003, p.3). Broadly, qualitative research methodology is based upon an ontological belief that there are multiple realities rather than one objective reality, the latter being an ontological stance which is more consonant with quantitative methodology (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001). Furthermore, qualitative research adopts epistemological positions that, in general, consider

reality as a result of interpretation, therefore moving away from epistemological beliefs that consider possible the discovery of an objective reality through investigation by an independent and objective researcher, which are at the base of quantitative methodology (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001).

Therefore, and albeit with a degree of variability, the overall emphasis within qualitative research methodology is placed upon people's interpretations of their lived experiences, these being understood as linked to, or a product of the (historical, political, socio-cultural, psychological) context that generated them (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001). Moreover, qualitative methodology is based upon the general assumption that qualitative researchers contribute to sense- and meaning-making throughout the research process (from formulation of the research question to data collection and analysis), rather than being external, objective and value-free observers of the phenomenon being studied, as it is argued by quantitative researchers (Langdridge, 2007; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001). Consequently, qualitative researchers need to be aware of their own interpretations of what is being studied, as well as, of the contextual aspects that may be informing their own perspective and understanding of the issues under examination (Langdridge, 2007; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001). This awareness is designated 'reflexivity' (Langdridge, 2007; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001).

Thus, as aforementioned, a range of epistemological and ontological positions, as well as, of different approaches and methods are encompassed within the designation of qualitative research methodology (Barker et al., 2002; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Willig, 2001). It is considered that these approaches and methods differ mainly in relation to "the extent to which they emphasize reflexivity

and by the importance they place on the role of language" (Willig, 2001, p.10). In qualitative research methodology, the interpretation of participants' perceptions and experiences is 'textual', i.e., it is based on their verbal accounts or reports, as language is assumed to be "a fundamental property of human communication, interpretation and understanding" (Smith, 2008, p.2). Still, the ways in which language is understood, used and analysed varies according to the specific approaches within qualitative research. For example, whilst phenomenological approaches emphasise the importance of people's detailed verbal accounts as a way of uncovering meanings and understanding their interpretations of their lived experiences, social constructionists consider language as socially determined and, simultaneously, as a mediator for the social construction of experiences and the 'reality' (Barker et al., 2002; Willig, 2001).

In this study qualitative research methodology was used. The emphasis in this study was placed upon exploring the participants' perceptions and experiences of 'home' in the context of their 'migration' experiences, through their own verbal accounts, thus rendering the use of qualitative research methodology as the most appropriate (Barker et al., 2002; Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001). Therefore, qualitative research methodology was chosen in view of the aim of this study and through consideration that it facilitates a more in-depth, detailed and open-minded exploration and understanding of people's meaning-making of situations and experiences, as well as, of complex and not easily quantifiable phenomena (Barker et al., 2002; Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001). Qualitative research methodology also potentially enables the surfacing of any unanticipated findings and knowledge (Barker et al., 2002).

2.3.2. Researcher's ontological and epistemological positions

A researcher's ontological and epistemological positions can influence the choice of a research methodology, as aforementioned (Barker et al., 2002; Clark-Carter, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001). Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality and a researcher's ontological position/stance can be placed on a continuum between realism and relativism (Gray, 2013; Willig, 2001). A realist position assumes that an objective reality exists independently of the observer and, on the opposite end, a relativist ontological stance is based on the assumption that multiple versions of the reality exist as they are subjectively and/or socially construed (Coyle, 2007; Gray, 2013; Smith, 2008; Willig, 2001). Two main epistemological positions, which refer to the theoretical beliefs about how knowledge can be acquired, are objectivism/positivism and constructivism/interpretivism (Gray, 2013; Snape & Spencer, 2003). The former – objectivism/positivism - considers that there is an objective reality, which is external to the researcher but which can be discovered through a process of independent, objective, 'scientific' and value free research (Gray, 2013; Snape & Spencer, 2003). A constructivist/interpretivist epistemological stance considers that there are multiple realities as people create/construct their own meanings through their experiences and interactions with the world, thus different meanings and perspectives exist even in relation to the same phenomenon (Gray, 2013; Snape & Spencer, 2003). In this latter position, the focus of research is to explore and understand the meanings that people attribute to their experiences and to phenomena (the multiple realities) and the role of the researcher in the construction of meaning is acknowledged in that the researcher's values and experiences are also considered (Snape & Spencer, 2003). Within a constructivist position it is acknowledged that the researcher's interpretation of a

studied phenomenon is, in itself, a construction (Charmaz, 2006). Albeit sometimes used interchangeably, a constructivist stance differs from a social constructionist position, the latter emphasising the (collective) construction of the reality through discourse and language which, at a given context and time, are conceived as determining the nature of people's experiences (Raskin, 2002).

In this study, the researcher draws from an ontological stance placed between critical realism and relativism in that, whilst accepting that a reality can exist independently of the observer, it cannot be known with certainty as different people attribute different meanings to their experiences and to phenomena, thus subjectively and /or socially construing multiple versions of the reality (Coyle, 2007; Gray, 2013; Smith, 2008; Willig, 2001). This ontological position is in keeping with the predominantly constructivist epistemological position held by the researcher in this study which, as aforementioned, considers that people create/construct their own meanings and unique perspectives based on their experiences and interactions with the world. Thus, it is assumed that each person has a unique perspective because meaning is created by each person in different ways, even when in relation to the same phenomenon (Gray, 2013). In this study, the emphasis is upon each participant's unique views and experiences of the studied phenomena – 'home' and 'migration' – reflecting the meanings and the ways they construe those. This emphasis on exploring and understanding each person's unique perspective/meanings of their experiences – each individual's experience of the(ir) 'reality' - represents more accurately a constructivist stance in this study than a social constructionist one, where the focus is upon investigation of the social constructions through (social) discourse (Charmaz, 2006).

The ontological and epistemological positions of the researcher are therefore consistent with the choice of a qualitative research methodology and with the use of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

2.3.3. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Within the domain of qualitative research methodology, an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009) was selected for this study.

IPA is informed by 'phenomenology' (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Phenomenology is a philosophical approach founded by Husserl in the early 1900's, and was developed in many and diverse ways by, for example, Heidegger, Marleau-Ponty and Sartre (Ashworth, 2008; Langdridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). In general, and despite some variations and differing emphasis by the different authors, phenomenologists focus upon the understanding of people's lived experiences, particularly on how people perceive, make sense of and attribute significance to those experiences (Ashworth, 2008; Langdridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). Phenomenology considers that any knowledge about the world is a result of interpretation and (inter-)subjectivity, and it is constrained by, and therefore changeable in accordance with, context and time (Langdridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, it is people's interpretations of their lived experiences which are usually at the centre of phenomenologists' investigations (Ashworth, 2008; Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

Overall, IPA research is phenomenological as it is "concerned with exploring experience in its own terms…rather than attempting to fix experience in predefined or overly abstract categories" (Smith et al., 2009, p.1). IPA is also phenomenological in that it focusses upon people's subjective, lived experiences of particular and significant aspects of their lives once, as highlighted by Smith et al. (2009), "in IPA we are concerned with examining subjective experience, but that is always the subjective experience of 'something'" (p.33), 'something' that is important in their lives. Furthermore, the focus of examination in IPA is the meaning(s) attributed to an experience, as it is considered that people make sense of their own experiences in a personal and unique way (Smith et al., 2009). It is assumed that the meaning ascribed to an experience represents the experience itself as "in a sense, pure experience is never accessible; we witness it after the event" (Smith et al., 2009, p.33). Another relevant aspect that IPA takes from phenomenology concerns the importance of 'bracketing' in research (Ashworth, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). 'Bracketing' refers to the mitigation of the potential negative effects of a researcher's previous knowledge and pre-conceptions in the research process and in the study of a phenomenon, to ensure that the experiences are captured, as much as possible, as they are viewed by the research participants (Ashworth, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

IPA is also informed by 'hermeneutics', "the theory of interpretation" (Smith et al., 2009, p.21), and this is evident at several levels. Firstly, the researcher's interpretation of people's accounts of a phenomenon is considered to be central to IPA analysis (Ashworth, 2008; Smith et al., 2009); Secondly, IPA considers that it is through the researcher's interpretative endeavour that the meaning attributed to the phenomenon being studied can emerge and be captured (Smith

et al., 2009). Thirdly, based upon the idea of a hermeneutic cycle/circle, IPA argues that the process of analysis should be iterative, thus moving dynamically, and at several levels, between the part and the whole, rather than a linear, step by step process (Smith et al., 2009). The latter implies that a researcher's thinking about the data moves back and forth between the part and the whole (for example, from single sentence to the text that encompasses that sentence and back), this process enabling the emergence of different perspectives about the data and clarification of meanings (Smith et al., 2009). In IPA this iterative and cyclical approach also applies to 'bracketing'. It is considered that researchers' preconceptions are not all known a priori, so it is through the researchers' contact, reflection upon and interpretation of the participants' accounts and their meanings that a researcher can become more fully aware of their own preconceptions (Smith et al., 2009). As stated by Smith et al. (2009), "we would position this view of the dynamics of preconceptions within a model of hermeneutic circle of the research process…the 'whole' is the researcher's ongoing biography, and the 'part' is the encounter with a new participant" (p.35). Fourthly, IPA also involves what is designated as a 'double hermeneutic', in that the researcher is trying to interpret, i.e., trying to make sense of the participants' interpretations and meaning-making of their lived experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Thus, the process of understanding participants' experiences implies interpretation by both the participants themselves and the researcher (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA is also informed by an 'idiographic' approach to knowledge (Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, IPA is 'idiographic' as it focusses upon the particular rather than on the study of groups of individuals as representatives of a population with the aim to establish general laws, which is the focus of a

‘nomothetic’ approach (Ashworth, 2008; Howitt, 2010; Smith et al., 2009). As indicated by Smith et al. (2009), IPA’s concern with the particular is revealed at two levels, one referring to the attention given to detail in the analysis, and another “to the understanding how particular experiential phenomena (an event, process or relationship) have been understood from the perspective of particular people, in a particular context” (p.29). However, Smith et al. (2009) also highlight that the use of an idiographic approach in IPA, whilst not totally rejecting generalisations, it implies that any general claims need to be exercised with caution and need to be based on the detailed analysis of the unique and the particular. Thus, whilst starting from a particular case, it is possible to move to the shared aspects of the same phenomenon by considering other particular cases and through the connection of the findings with the related existing literature (Smith et al., 2009). Hence, whilst focussing upon the particular, it is recognised in IPA that “the particular and the general are not so distinct” (Smith et al., 2009, p.31), once the particular is always at the basis of the general and the latter has always to take into account the particular.

Therefore, and in view of the aims of this study, IPA was considered the most suitable qualitative research methodology approach. As aforementioned, IPA is an “approach committed to the examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 1) and the exploration of people’s perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’ fall within this remit. An IPA approach also enables this exploration to take place without resorting to pre-defined categories, focussing instead on facilitating the expression of the participants’ understanding(s) of the phenomena being studied and the emergence of the meanings which they attribute to their lived experiences

whilst, simultaneously, taking into consideration the context in which these are embedded.

Despite a degree of flexibility, the selection of an IPA approach for this study meant that certain methods, such as those for recruitment of participants and for collection of data, were favoured. These are described below (in sections 2.5. Participants and 2.6. Data collection).

2.3.4. Consideration and exclusion of other qualitative methodological approaches

Other qualitative methodological approaches were considered and rejected before the decision to adopt IPA was eventually taken. In view of the aims and research question of this study and of the researcher's ontological and epistemological positions (stated above in section 2.3.2. Researcher's ontological and epistemological positions), only qualitative research methodological approaches were contemplated.

Thematic Analysis (TA) is a flexible approach for "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It differs from other qualitative data analysis approaches such as, discourse analysis, narrative analysis and IPA as it is considered to be less dependent on a particular theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Howitt, 2010). TA and IPA both seek patterns (themes) in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, in comparison with TA, IPA has an idiographic focus, thus enabling an understanding into how a given person, in a given context, makes sense of a particular phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, in view of the aim and the research question of this study, which would benefit from

an idiographic approach, the use of an IPA approach was considered to be better suited as compared to TA.

Grounded Theory (GT), originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 60's, but since evolving into several versions, aims to generate a theoretical account of a particular phenomenon which is grounded in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Frost et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2001). GT and IPA have similarities in that they have "both a broadly inductivist approach to inquiry" (Smith et al., 2009, p.202), both seeking to identify patterns in the data and to organise them into higher order categories in an attempt to understand a phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2001). However, whilst GT aims to attain a conceptual/theoretical explanation of a phenomenon, "based on a larger sample and where the individual accounts can be drawn on to illustrate the resultant theoretical claim" (Smith et al., 2009, p.202), IPA aims to offer a more in-depth analysis and a detailed understanding "of the lived experience of a small number of participants with an emphasis on the convergence and divergence between participants" (Smith et al., 2009, p.202). Thus, when compared with GT, IPA was considered to be better suited to the aims and research question of this study as it focusses predominantly on people's experiences and perceptions rather than centring upon the development of new theories (the focus in GT).

Narrative analysis (NA) refers to qualitative analysis that is based on ideas developed in narrative psychology, these centring upon questions of self and identity (Crossley, 2007; Howitt, 2010). NA is based on the assumption that stories play a central role in the process of identity construction in that "people use stories to make sense of themselves and their world and to present

themselves to others” (Frost et al., 2010, p.4). Thus, stories/narratives are considered to be particularly useful to restore meaning, coherence and organisation when there are changes and disruptions in people’s lives (Frost et al., 2010; Howitt, 2010). NA shares with IPA a phenomenological perspective and the concern with meaning-making (Crossley, 2007; Lyons, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). Both approaches assume a connection between language and the experiencing self and consider that language reflects the experiences and meanings attributed to events and social situations (Crossley, 2007; Lyons, 2007). However, NA focusses specifically upon how people structure their narrative and stories about a topic, as well as, on the content and the function(s) of those narratives (Crossley, 2007; Frost et al., 2010). Consequently, NA was discounted as the focus in this study was to understand how the participants experienced the phenomena being studied rather than upon the more specific linguistic aspects used to describe their experiences.

Discourse analysis (DA) was another methodological approach which was ruled out. DA focusses upon the role of language/discourse in the construction of social reality and on how language constructs particular phenomena (Howitt, 2010; Lyons, 2007). In contrast, IPA, whilst based “on data in the form of language…extracts from language people’s experiences of phenomena” (Howitt, 2010, p.240), thus being a methodological approach more consonant with the aim and research question of this study.

2.4. Outline of the research design

This study employed a cross sectional qualitative research design. This meant that the data was collected at one sole point in time, through an in-depth semi-structured interview. The data collected was analysed through the use of an IPA approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

In brief, the main steps of this study's research design include:

- Preparation of a research protocol. This included the development of: a) a 'Semi-structured Interview Schedule' (Appendix 1), which is detailed below (in section 2.6. Data collection); b) an 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2), to provide information about the study to people willing to participate; c) a 'Consent Form' (Appendix 3), to obtain written consent from those willing to participate prior to any data collection.
- The research protocol, together with the rationale for this study were then submitted for Ethical approval. Ethical approval was granted by the Director of Research/Ethics Officer of the PPS Department, University of Essex, on the 3rd of April 2018 (Appendix 4).
- Once Ethical approval was granted, contacts to find suitable participants were established. A purposive sample of participants was used in this study and the details about recruitment and sampling are detailed below (in section 2.5. Participants).
- The data collection was undertaken through the use of an in-depth semi-structured interview with each of the participants.
- The semi-structured interviews were audio recorded, then transcribed verbatim and analysed through the use of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Howitt, 2010; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2001).

2.5. Participants

The participants in this study were purposefully selected. This is in keeping with the wider qualitative research theory and, in particular, with an IPA approach (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). It is argued in IPA that participants should be selected through ‘purposive sampling’, rather than using probability or population representative sampling (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). ‘Purposive sampling’ implies that participants are selected “on the basis that they can grant us access to a particular perspective on the phenomena under study…they ‘represent’ a perspective rather than a population” (Smith et al., 2009, p.49).

In line with the above and with the aims of this study, the recruitment of potential participants was directed at ‘migrants’ living in the U.K.. As mentioned previously (in section 2.2. Aims and research question), in this study the use of the term ‘migrants’ refers to its wider definition, thus encompassing all the people who moved from their country of origin, be it ‘voluntarily’ or ‘involuntarily’, and are now living in another country (in the U.K. in this particular case). Defined in this wider way, the term ‘migrants’ also includes people who are legally defined as ‘refugees’.

Recruitment was directed specifically at adult ‘migrants’, i.e., those aged 18 years and older. Potential participants were also deliberately recruited from outside services (for example, outside mental health, learning disability or social services, outside voluntary services or any other services, organisations or associations specifically tailored for ‘refugees’ and/or other ‘migrants’), as the

intention was to target adult ‘migrants’ amongst the general population rather than those amid more specific sub-groups of ‘migrants’ (in its wider definition). Additionally, potential participants needed to be living in the UK or having experienced ‘migration’ somewhere else for around 5 years or more. Whilst this time frame was indeed arbitrary, it was thought that, on one hand, it would encompass experiences beyond the actual move to the U.K. and the initial post-‘migration’ stage(s) and, on the other hand, that it would have provided participants with time and space to process those experiences, thus assisting sense- and meaning-making of those and enabling the potential participants to be more settled in the new country. It was also considered that this time frame would have allowed for any legal process related to asylum seeking to be completed, in the case of people applying for ‘refugee’ status. All of these decisions were intended to direct recruitment away from ‘migrants’ who could potentially be in more ‘vulnerable’, ‘unsettled’ or ‘powerless’ positions. Moreover, at this level, it was an essential part of recruitment of participants to ensure that no person with emotional vulnerabilities or any other negative factors would be selected to this study. For this purpose, the initial contact with all of the potential participants was used as an opportunity to check and make sure that no such risk factors were present. The researcher, being an experienced clinician, was acutely mindful of identifying any such potential risk factors and, as a result, no person with such vulnerabilities was included in this study.

Furthermore, as part of the inclusion criteria, all of the potential participants needed to be able to engage in the interview with the researcher through the use of English language.

2.5.1. Recruitment process

The participants were recruited through the following means: ‘opportunities’ and ‘snowballing’. These are two of the recruitment procedures advocated in IPA, ‘opportunities’ referring to recruitment of potential participants “as a result of one’s own contacts; or *snowballing* which amounts to referral by participants” (Smith et al., 2009, p.49, *italic* in the original text).

Specifically, several people in the extended social network of the researcher were apprised of this study – namely about its aim and inclusion and exclusion criteria - to explore whether they knew of people (in their own social networks) who would be suitable as potential participants. The researcher’s contact details were provided so that they could be given to people, in their own social networks, who may be interested in taking part of this study. This allowed any potential participants to establish direct contact with the researcher if willing to participate and/or to access more detailed information about the study. Through this method of recruitment only three potential participants contacted the researcher to indicate their interest in participating. These three people were sent the ‘Information Sheet’ (Appendix 2) with further details about the research and, having had access to it, they later confirmed their ongoing willingness to be part of this study.

In turn, those three people also talked about the study to others in their own social networks and, through this means of recruitment (‘snowballing’) another five people directly contacted the researcher to communicate their interest in participating in this study. Again, the ‘Information Sheet’ was sent to them so they could have access to more information about the study prior to deciding to participate in it. Again, all of them later confirmed their continued interest in participating.

Therefore, a total of eight potential participants were recruited for this study. However, two had to be omitted, one for not fully meeting the criteria for inclusion (experience of 'migration' of less than five years) and another due to serious difficulties with interview transcription resulting from sound quality issues. In view of the slow pace of recruitment, the limited time left for this study and the fact that there was already a sufficient sample size for the study, it was decided not to pursue further recruitment.

2.5.2. Sample

The sample of this study comprises of six participants. As mentioned above, in an IPA approach the emphasis is placed upon the detailed account of people's experience and, as a result, IPA research studies usually have small size samples to ensure that a detailed analysis can be undertaken (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Thus, the sample size in this study is consistent with the requirements of an IPA approach (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

Participants in this study were all 'migrants' in a narrower sense of the word, as unfortunately there was no direct contact with the researcher from anyone who would fall within the legal definition of 'refugee'. At the time of the study, all the participants were living in the North West of England (the area of residence of the researcher at the time). The duration of their experience of 'migration' varied from at least five years to nearly thirty. The sample comprised of four women and two men, with ages between the late 20's and the late 50's at the time of interview. Five of the participants were born and raised in European countries (all belonging to the European Union) and one was born and raised in

an African country. Although not a requirement of this study, all of the participants were educated at University level, albeit with different academic backgrounds, these ranging from Business Studies through to Chemistry, Modern Languages and Psychology/Psychotherapy.

In this study, and to ensure that participant's anonymity is protected and confidentially maintained, the letter 'P' for 'Participant' together with a different number (for example, Participant 1 is referred to as P1, Participant 2 is P2, and so forth) are consistently used throughout this thesis, whenever there is a specific mention to the participants or when extracts of their accounts are quoted.

Table 1. Summary of participants' demographic information

Participant	Gender	Age range	Country of birth
Participant 1	F	20-29	South Africa
Participant 2	F	50-59	Spain
Participant 3	F	30-39	Poland
Participant 4	M	30-39	Poland
Participant 5	F	30-39	Poland
Participant 6	M	40-49	Republic of Ireland

2.6. Data collection

In this study the data was collected from participants through the use of an in-depth semi-structured interview. This is a means of data collection consistent with qualitative research methodology and with an IPA approach (Howitt, 2010; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009; Willig, 2001).

A ‘Semi-structured Interview Schedule’ (Appendix 1) was developed, in line with the guiding research question and with the recommendations for the development of interview schedules in an IPA approach (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, the interview schedule aimed to provide a degree of structure and focus to the interview but, at the same time, it was flexible enough to enable the participants to give a free, detailed, first-person and reflective account of their views and experiences and to assist exploration of any issues emerging during the interview (Smith et al., 2009). In this ‘Semi-structured Interview Schedule’ (Appendix 1), the main areas explored with the participants referred to:

- The participants’ perceptions of the circumstances associated with their decision to migrate.
- Their experiences throughout the ‘migration process’.
- Their perception(s) and experiences of ‘home’.
- Their views about whether any links exist between their perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ and their experiences throughout the ‘migration process’.
- Their views/feelings as regards sharing the issues above, this to be verified at the end of the interview.

The ‘Information Sheet’ (Appendix 2) was sent to all potential participants prior to any data collection. As mentioned above (in section 2.5. Participants), the ‘Information Sheet’ (Appendix 2) was sent to all of the people who directly contacted the researcher to indicate their interest in taking part in this study. This ensured that all of the potential participants had the necessary information about this study prior to any more definitive decision about their participation in it, thus

assisting their informed decision and consent. As aforementioned, all of the potential participants confirmed their continued willingness to participate in this study after having access to the ‘Information Sheet’.

The participants were given the choice to indicate their preferred location for the interviews to take place. Most participants chose to be interviewed in their own home, one elected to be interviewed in an office at the work location after working hours, and another in a private place at a local library. In all cases, the interviews took place in a room where only each individual participant and the researcher were present so that privacy was afforded and confidentiality was maintained.

Prior to collection of data through semi-structured interview, some questions were asked to each prospective participant to ascertain that inclusion/exclusion criteria were fully met and to ensure that they felt comfortable to discuss their views and experiences of ‘home’ and ‘migration’ at interview. Furthermore, each participant had to sign the ‘Consent Form’ (Appendix 3) prior to any data collection as their written consent was required for this study.

The duration of the one-to-one semi-structured interviews varied between 40 minutes and 98 minutes. The objective was to collect the data through a sole interview whilst giving the participants an opportunity to contact the researcher at a later stage if they were willing to discuss any further details on the issues being studied. All of the participants were informed of this opportunity at the end of their interview. Most of them immediately suggested that they were satisfied with what they had shared during the interview, implying that they felt that they had nothing

else to add. None of the participants contacted the researcher with any further details or issues after their interview.

All interviews were sound recorded. They were later transcribed verbatim through a professional and confidential transcription service. As recommended by Smith et al. (2009), “because analysis in IPA aims primarily to interpret the meaning of the *content* of the participant’s account…it does not require a record of the exact length of pauses, or of all non-verbal utterance” (p.74, *italic* in the original text). All of the identifying information (such as, names and places) was removed/replaced from the transcripts, for example, each participant was since identified solely by the letter ‘P’ followed by a number, as explained above (in section 2.5.2. Sample). Moreover, all of the electronic data was stored in a password protected computer and all of the hard copies of any research materials (for example, hard copies of the interview transcripts and research analysis’ notes) were stored in a locked filing cabinet that only the researcher had access to.

2.7. Data analysis

The transcripts of the semi-structured interviews with the participants were analysed through the use of an IPA approach (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

IPA analysis is considered an iterative and inductive process, as mentioned above (in section 2.3.3. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)). It generally starts with an in-depth analysis of each participant’s transcript, in order to capture and interpret the meanings that they attribute to their lived

experiences and then by identification of each participant's emergent and super-ordinate themes (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). This is followed by identification of the themes shared across all of the participants' accounts and by an interpretative account of those by the researcher (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). However, instead of advocating a sole and fixed method of analysis of the data collected, IPA is considered to be fluid and flexible because it is,

> characterized by a set of common processes (e.g. moving from the particular to the shared, and from the descriptive to the interpretative) and principles (e.g. a commitment to an understanding of the participant's point of view, and a psychological focus on personal meaning-making in particular contexts) which are applied flexibly, according to the analytic task. (Smith et al., 2009, p.79)

Ultimately, "it is important to remember that qualitative analysis is inevitably a personal process, and the analysis itself is the interpretative work which the investigator does at each of the stages" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p.67). As such, whilst it is recognised that analysis is a subjective process leading to interpretative statements which are exploratory and tentative rather than unquestionable truths and certainties, it is argued that in IPA this "subjectivity is dialogical, systematic and rigorous in its application" (Smith et al., 2009, p.80) but still open to a different evaluation and interpretation by others.

Taking into account the above, in this study the analysis focussed initially upon the participants' individual accounts which were gathered at interview. Each sound recording was listened to the necessary number of times to ensure the

accuracy of transcription. Each transcript was then read repeatedly. During the first reading(s) of each transcript the initial, line-by-line, exploratory thoughts, comments and questions regarding the different aspects of the account were noted. Later reading(s) enabled the identification and noting of the emergent themes for each participant, these being listed in chronological order. Then each participant's emergent themes were clustered together when they were considered to be related to each other. This implied further review of the data to ensure that the higher-order themes actually reflected the participant's account of the issues being studied. This process of analysis was undertaken with each of the participants' accounts until the interview transcripts of all six participants were analysed.

Once all of the individual interview transcripts were analysed, the analysis then focussed upon identification and clustering of recurring themes across the participants. This process led to the identification of the overarching themes which were shared by all of the participants. The overarching themes represent higher-order patterns across all of the participants' accounts but which can encompass some variation within them, i.e., they can include aspects of "convergence and divergence, communality and individuality" (Smith et al., 2009, p.107). A table of the overarching themes identified across the participants of this study is shown in the Results part of this thesis (in Part 3. Results).

It is important to recognise and to note that the overarching themes identified in this study result from an inductive approach to the identification of patterns across the participants. This means that they are data driven, which is consistent with the IPA approach. Still, simultaneously and to a certain extent,

these are delimited by, and a reflection of the main areas explored through the semi-structured interview.

Feedback on the process of analysis was sought from the supervisor of this study. Rather than intending to achieve reliability, for example, inter-rater reliability as it is customary in quantitative research, this represented an opportunity for checking that the views and experiences expressed by the participants had been captured. It also intended to get some consensus, in the context of the data collected, as regards the relevance of the themes for each participant and across participants, thus supporting reflexivity and reducing potential levels of researcher's bias. However, in IPA, the researcher is considered an intrinsic part of the research process and, consequently, it is acknowledged that the findings of the data analysis are still subjective and a result of the researcher's interpretations of the interpretations made by participants – a 'double hermeneutic' (Smith et al., 2009). However, discussing the findings with the supervisor and keeping a reflective diary were means of attempting to reduce unchecked researcher's bias, thus helping to enhance attempts at 'bracketing' of any of the researcher's assumptions that could have negatively impacted upon the interpretation of the participants' accounts.

Lastly, it is important to mention that, whilst there was an open invitation offered at the end of the interviews for the participants to have the opportunity to check their own quotations and any comments or identified themes, this offer was not taken up by any of the participants, perhaps because it was seen as another time commitment that they were unable to fulfil.

2.8. Validity and quality

The criteria for the assessment of the validity and the quality in qualitative research methodology differ from those used in the evaluation of the validity and reliability in quantitative research (Barker et al., 2002; Smith et al., 2009; Yardley, 2008). In IPA, emphasis is given to Yardley (2000)'s criteria for assessing validity and quality in qualitative research, this despite availability and consideration being given to other guidelines for doing so (Barker et al., 2002; Smith et al., 2009).

Yardley (2000, 2008) indicates that the validity and quality of a qualitative research methodology study can be evaluated and demonstrated in relation to four principles: 'sensitivity to context'; 'commitment' and 'rigour'; 'transparency' and 'coherence'; and 'impact' and 'importance'. Consideration to the validity and quality issues for this study was given through reference to those four principles.

2.8.1. Sensitivity to context

Yardley (2000, 2008) argues that the 'sensitivity to context' is a central characteristic to take into account whenever the validity of a qualitative research study is being considered. A study's 'sensitivity to context' can be demonstrated in a number of ways (Smith et al., 2009; Yardley, 2000, 2008).

One way to demonstrate 'sensitivity to context' is to consider how the study is embedded in the relevant literature, particularly the theoretical and empirical literature "related to the meanings and concepts that are studied' (Yardley, 2008, p.247). At this level, an extensive literature review of the theoretical and empirical issues which were considered significant for this study was conducted, and its main aspects were presented and discussed previously (in Part 1. Theoretical

considerations). The literature review allowed a contextualisation of this study and it further assisted the researcher in the final formulation of this study's guiding research question, in the development of the interview schedule and, in general, in decisions regarding the methodology and the methods selected.

'Sensitivity to context' can also be demonstrated by the selection of an IPA approach as the methodology in this study. This refers, for example, to IPA's commitment to a contextual understanding of the participants' experiences and of their perspectives on the phenomenon being studied. Moreover, 'sensitivity to context' can also be shown in IPA by "an appreciation of the interactional nature of data collection within the interview situation" (Smith et al., 2009, p.180). In this study, this can be demonstrated through the careful and respectful listening of the participants' perspectives, the understanding and management of any potential power imbalance in the interview situation and the realisation that sense- and meaning-making is being developed in the interaction between participant and researcher. Even prior to the interviews, allowing the participants to choose the location for these to take place can be another example of 'sensitivity to context', as it enabled the participants to choose a place where they could feel safe, comfortable and at ease for the interview to take place. An IPA approach to the analysis of the data collected, with its focus upon participants' accounts and on the interpretation of how participants are making sense of their experiences also shows 'sensitivity to context'. As argued by Smith et al. (2009), "the strongest context which a good piece of IPA research will be sensitive to is the data" (p.180). At this level, the use of verbatim quotations from participants' accounts to support the researcher's interpretations can again be understood as 'sensitivity to context', in this case, sensitivity to the data.

2.8.2. Commitment and rigour

'Commitment' can be demonstrated, albeit in many different ways, through the level of detailed and comprehensive involvement with the topic being examined. In this study, 'commitment' is evidenced through, for example: the extensive and lengthy search and review of the literature related to the issues being studied and the acquisition of further knowledge on those; the care and attention involved in the preparation for the empirical part of this study and in gaining and/or enhancing the required researcher's competence and skills at this level; the consideration and respect given to the participants during the interview, the attention and effort placed on creating the conditions for a safe and free reflection and the careful listening and focus on their accounts; the lengthy and in-depth analysis of participants' accounts. In accordance with Yardley (2000)'s understanding of 'commitment', this can also be demonstrated by the fact that the researcher, being a 'migrant' herself, would have a "prolonged engagement with the topic" (p.221).

'Rigour' "refers to the thoroughness of the study, for example, in terms of the appropriateness of the sample to the question in hand, the quality of the interview and the completeness of the analysis undertaken" (Smith et al., 2009, p.181). This study aimed for 'rigour' throughout the different steps of the research process. This can be conveyed, for example, by ensuring the relevance and suitability of the sample as regards the research question, by endeavouring to access the richness of participants' perspectives, experiences and meanings during interview, and by undertaking a thorough and systematic analysis of the data gathered at interview. The open invitation for feedback from the participants on the preliminary identified comments and themes, which was made by the

researcher at the end of each individual interview, although not taken up by any of them, was another way of aspiring for rigour. Additionally, seeking feedback from the supervisor of this study, to gain some consensus that the themes identified from each participant's and across participants' accounts capture and represent their views and experiences, can be seen as another example of aiming for 'rigour'.

2.8.3. Transparency and coherence

'Transparency' refers to the openness and the clarity placed on the description of a study's research process (Smith et al., 2009; Yardley, 2000, 2008). In this study, transparency can be recognised in the thorough description of the different aspects of the research process (in Part 2. Methodology and research design), specifically by the detailed presentation of the rationale for the use of the chosen methodology, of the means and process involved in the recruitment and sampling, of the methods of data collection and of data analysis. 'Transparency' can also be evident in the reporting of the findings of this study (in Part 3. Results), with the presentation of quotations of extracts from the participants' transcripts which were considered to be relevant and in support of the overarching themes identified in the analysis.

Yardley (2008) also considers that 'reflexivity', which refers to the "explicit consideration of specific ways in which it is likely that the study was influenced by the researcher" (p.250), is relevant when thinking of 'transparency' in a study. In qualitative research 'reflexivity' is often related to 'bracketing', which refers to the "means by which researchers endeavour not to allow their assumptions to shape the data collection process and the persistent effort not to impose their

understanding and constructions on the data" (Ahern, 1999, p.407). However, Ahern (1999) argues that the ability to 'bracket' is fundamentally a result of how reflective a researcher is.

'Reflexivity' has been integral to this study from the start, for example, by recognising that the researcher being a 'migrant' in the U.K. has certainly influenced even the 'simple' choice of the topic of this study. Furthermore, it is relevant to note that in IPA the approach to 'bracketing' is based on interpretative hermeneutic phenomenology which emphasises interpretation (Ataro, 2020; Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, IPA argues for "reflective practices, and a cyclical approach to bracketing" (Smith et al., 2009, p.35). This means that, although a researcher may not necessarily, and in advance, be aware of all the personal feelings and preconceptions that may influence a study, there is a need to become aware when those arise in the encounter with the participants' account (at the time of data collection or data analysis), thus implying reflection when those preconceptions or personal feelings may surface. Thus, whilst acknowledging that a researcher's biography is always present, an attentive listening focused upon what the participant is saying during data collection, attending to, and constantly reviewing the participants' transcripts in order to capture the meanings expressed by them during the analytic process, enhances the likelihood of 'bracketing' the researcher's preconceptions and concerns, thus decreasing the potential for unchecked bias by a researcher (Smith et al., 2009). In this study, the researcher aimed, throughout the process of data collection and data analysis, to focus on and to capture the meanings expressed by the participants. As mentioned above (in section 2.7. Data analysis), keeping a reflective diary, receiving supervision throughout this study and, in particular,

seeking feedback on the process of analysis from the supervisor of this study also represented opportunities for reducing potential levels of researcher's unchecked bias, thus supporting 'reflexivity' and 'bracketing'.

'Coherence' of a study refers to "the extent to which it makes sense as a consistent whole" (Yardley, 2008, p.248). In this study the researcher endeavoured to present a coherent study, where the methodology and research design are consistent with the aims of the study and where the methods for data collection and data analysis are also consonant with the theoretical aspects of the selected research approaches, i.e., a qualitative research methodology and, specifically, an IPA approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Attention was also given to the presentation of the analysis' results in a comprehensible way and consistent with qualitative methodology and an IPA approach (Smith et al., 2009).

2.8.4. Impact and importance

This principle intimates that "however well a piece of research is conducted, a test of its real validity lies in whether it tells the reader something interesting, important or useful" (Smith et al., 2009, p.183). Thus, the validity of a study is evaluated by the relevance it may have at practical and/or theoretical levels.

This study contributes to the empirical investigation of 'home' in the context of 'migration'. As aforementioned (in Introduction), there is already a considerable amount of research focusing on 'home' in the context of 'migration', which takes into account the lived experiences of 'refugees' and other 'migrants'. However, research and literature on those issues tends to divide people in terms of the

type/nature of their ‘migration’ – ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary’/’forced’ – thus assuming that people’s experiences and meanings of ‘home’ are different (and determined by) as a result of the type of their ‘migration’. Potential differences between those types of ‘migration’, in terms of the degree of choice in leaving the country of origin, the challenges faced and the impact these may have upon experiences throughout the ‘migration process’ are not denied in this study. Rather, this study builds upon existing research and, by taking into account the diversity of individual experiences and individual meaning-making, it explores the perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ by ‘migrants’ - independently of the ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary’/’forced’ nature of their ‘migration’ - in the context of their own experiences throughout the ‘migration process’.

2.9. Ethical considerations

This study required approval by the Director of Research/Ethics Officer of the PPS Department, University of Essex. Ethics approval was sought solely from the Director of Research/Ethics Officer of the PPS Department, University of Essex, as the potential participants in this study were all adults and not ‘service users’, i.e., users of any specific services such as, for example, mental health or social services, as per exclusion criteria for purposive sampling of this study. A rationale for this study, together with the purposefully developed ‘Semi-structured Interview Schedule’ (Appendix 1), an ‘Information Sheet’ (Appendix 2) for the participants and a ‘Consent Form’ (Appendix 3) to seek written consent from the participants, were all sent for ethical approval. Ethical approval for this study was granted on the 3rd of April 2018 (Appendix 4).

One of the ethical issues considered was informed consent by the participants. This was ensured by providing information about the study, in the form of an 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2), to any potential participants, i.e., to all of the people who directly contacted the researcher to communicate their interest and availability to participate in this study, as described above (in section 2.5. Participants). This allowed those potential participants to have time to consider the information before making a more definite decision to participate. When meeting with the participants for the interview, and prior to starting any data collection, the researcher made sure that they were aware of the contents of the 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2) and offered the opportunity for any questions or doubts to be discussed and clarified. Following this, the participants were given the 'Consent Form' (Appendix 3) to read and to sign if they were still willing to participate in the study. Thus, written consent was sought and given by all of the participants prior to collection of any data.

Anonymity and confidentiality were also considered. All of the participants were given detailed information about those issues, as these constituted a substantial part of the content of the 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2). The interviews were conducted in places where only the participant and the researcher were present, thus ensuring privacy and confidentially. All of the identifying information (such as, names and places) was removed/replaced from the transcripts, for example, each participant was since identified solely by the letter 'P' followed by a number, as explained above. All of the electronic data was stored in a password protected computer and all of the hard copies of any research materials (for example, hard copies of the interview transcripts and

research analysis' notes) were stored in a locked filing cabinet that only the author had access to.

There were few other ethical concerns with this study as the prospective participants were not directly recruited from potentially more 'vulnerable' groups. The participants were all adults (aged 18 years or older) and this study did not include what is often designated as 'service users'. In discussion with the supervisor of this study, thought was also given to any potential distress or safety issues that would need specific management at the time of data collection or afterwards but no specific risks or disadvantages from participating in this study were anticipated. Nonetheless, and as aforementioned (in section 2.5. Participants), all of the potential participants received the 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2) prior to taking a definitive decision to participate in this study and, in it, the general topics that would be discussed in interview were made clear. This ensured that potential participants were fully aware of the all those topics, giving them the opportunity to decline participation if they were unwilling to discuss those. Equally, the 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2) unambiguously indicated that they could withdraw from interview at any time if they were wanting to do so, and this was reiterated by the researcher prior to commencement of the interview. Additionally, and as aforementioned (in 2.5. Participants and 2.6. Data collection), also prior to any data collection, it was checked that no potential risk factors were present and that the participants felt comfortable and able to discuss their views and experiences of 'home' and 'migration' at interview. The interviews were all conducted in a sensitive and attentive manner to certify that the participants continued to feel comfortable and able to discuss their experiences and views. Moreover, all the interviews ended by exploring each participant's

views and feelings as regards the issues shared and the experience of the interview itself, thus providing each participant with the opportunity to discuss any aspects or any difficulties experienced during interview, as well as, to check and to ensure that they were well and not upset/distressed by it. Furthermore, and through the 'Information Sheet' (Appendix 2), all of the participants were given the necessary contacts in case that they had any concerns and/or complaints regarding any aspects of this study following data collection.

Part 3. Results

3.1. Overview

In this section, the results generated from the analysis of the six participants' interview transcripts are presented.

As aforementioned (in Part 2. Methodology and research design), the six participants were invited to talk comprehensively about their views and their experiences of 'home' and 'migration', through the use of semi-structured interviews. Their interviews were sound recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The analysis of these transcripts was guided by an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Through this process of analysis, each participant's emergent and then super-ordinate themes were identified, and this was followed by identification of the overarching themes across participants.

Four overarching themes were identified across the six participants (presented below under 3.2. Overarching themes across participants). These are 'umbrella' themes, encompassing super-ordinate themes which, in turn, capture in more detail the prevalent and/or recurrent ideas across the participants. As suggested by Smith et al. (2009), the 'recurrence' of a theme implies that it is "present in at least a third, or a half, or, most stringently, in all of the participant interviews" (p.107). Despite 'recurrence' across participants, there is also individual variation within those themes. Therefore, convergence(s) and divergence(s) amongst participants are present and these are noted below, when appropriate.

The themes presented are illustrated with verbatim quotations extracted from the interviews with the participants, all presented in italic. However, at times, some minimal changes were made to those quotations for ease of reading and/or to ensure that anonymity is maintained. Dotted lines within those quotations indicates that less relevant words or short phrases were removed to enhance readability and/or for appropriateness and relevance of illustration. Dotted lines at the start or at the end of quotations mean that the participant was speaking prior to or after the quotation. On a few occasions, words were added in order to contextualise what the participant is saying, these being presented within brackets but not in italic. In this section, any other immediately identifiable information in the excerpts was replaced by neutral information regarding what the participant is referring to, this also being presented within brackets (for example, the name of their birth countries was replaced by the words 'Birth Country' written in italic and within brackets). Furthermore, and in order to maintain full anonymity, the participants are referred to by the letter 'P', followed by a number to differentiate them (for example, Participant 1 is referred to as P1, Participant 2 is P2, and so forth). All of the participants' quotations are referenced by indicating the page and line numbers separated by a dot and within brackets (page.line).

It needs to be acknowledged that all of the themes identified through analysis derive from the researcher's interpretation of the participants' views and experiences of 'home' and 'migration'. Furthermore, the themes were determined based on their relevance to this study's research question rather than through an intention to capture all possible experiences of the participants or all possible aspects of 'home' and 'migration'. Consequently, it is likely that different themes

could be generated through differing interpretations of the participants' accounts or by focussing upon different aspects of their perspectives and experiences of 'home' and/or 'migration'.

3.2. Overarching themes across participants

The views and experiences of 'home' and 'migration' shared across participants seemed to cluster around four overarching themes, as follows:

- ''Migration': a multifaceted decision' (in section 3.2.1.)
- ''Migration': a mix of experiences' (in section 3.2.2.)
- ''Home' is such a 'complicated thing'' (in section 3.2.3.)
- ''Home' and 'migration' are connected' (in section 3.2.4.)

As aforementioned, these overarching themes are the all-embracing, comprehensive themes across the six participants, each including super-ordinate themes which gather the participants' more specific views and experiences of 'home' and 'migration'. All of these themes are presented in Table 2. below.

Table 2. Overarching themes and related super-ordinate themes

Overarching themes	Super-ordinate themes
''Migration': a multifaceted decision'	'Motive(s) for moving'
	'Sense of control (power) over decision'
	'Feelings about decision'
''Migration': a mix of experiences'	'Challenging times'
	'And thereafter…settling in…'
	'Compatriots in a new place'
	'A 'change in direction''

	'Identity in a new place'
''Home' is such a 'complicated thing''	''Home': not easy to define'
	'Perception(s) of 'home''
	'The experience of 'home''
''Home' and 'migration' are connected'	''Migration' had an impact on 'home''
	''Home' influenced 'migration''

3.2.1. Overarching Theme 1 - ''Migration': a multifaceted decision'

This overarching theme aims to capture the idea that different aspects or factors were associated to the participants' decision to migrate. This seemed to be reflected in all of the six participant's descriptions of the circumstances underlying the move to the U.K., when referring not only to the reasons for moving but also to their sense of control/power over the decision to move and the feelings associated with that decision. Thus, in turn, this overarching theme comprised of three super-ordinate themes:

- 'Motive(s) for moving' (in section 3.2.1.1.)

- 'Sense of control (power) over decision' (in section 3.2.1.2.)

- 'Feelings about decision' (in section 3.2.1.3.)

3.2.1.1. 'Motive(s) for moving'

This theme refers to the diverse and wide-ranging circumstances and motives which were described by the participants as having influenced their decision to move away from their birth countries to live in another country. These

can be seen as including the search for safety and security as a result of social-political instability in the birth country, personal/relationship commitments, further educational pursuits, the search for better living conditions and for existential/experiential reasons.

P1, for example, talked about the reasons underlying the decision to move to the U.K. as follows:

> *"…the family…because of work…like the government and politics…wasn't very good at the time, so they wanted to kind of leave that situation as well and move back to something more stable"* (3.02).

P1's account seems to suggest that the move to the U.K. was decided in the context of socio-political changes in the birth country. These appear to have been perceived by the family as a source of uncertainty and instability, possibly discontinuing and threatening the sense of life's stability and safety that, arguably, made them feel at 'home' in the birth country. From elsewhere in P1's transcript, she seems to consider 'safety' as one of the main conditions to feel at 'home'. Thus, the expression 'move back to something more stable' may represent the family's need to re-gain some sense of life's stability and safety, enabling them to feel at 'home' once again. P1 also seems to imply that the family did not believe that it was possible to retrieve that stability in the birth country, at least in that given context, leaving them with no other alternative but to leave.

In contrast, P2 seemed to place the initial decision to move to the U.K. in the context of a quest for a temporary existential/experiential 'break':

> *"…I just wanted to have a break…for a few months, so that's how I came really"* (2.07-2.17), *"…to have space…to think about what I wanted to do*

really…at one point I thought, I just wanna break from everything and just travel a bit, go to another country and just for a few months, not for much longer…" (3.01), *"Move away and just to live in another culture…explore that…"* (5.10), *"…just to explore…To have the experience"* (6.12-6.21).

P2's description of wanting to have a 'break from everything', 'to have space' may suggest that there was a sense of entrapment and stagnation in her life in the birth country prior to the move to the U.K.. The decision of moving to 'explore' life in a different country, in a different culture, may represent P2's hope for a change in that situation, possibly being perceived as an opportunity for living new, different, potentially more fulfilling, exciting and liberating experiences.

P3 described other motive(s) for taking the initial decision of moving to the U.K. in this way:

"…me and my partner…we wanted to start our master's degree in a different city than our parents live and we wanted to be independent … so we decided to come to UK just for one year and mainly for our master's degree…" (1.15-2.01), *"…both of us completed our master's degree here, both of us find a job that was related to our master's degree and we decided to stay…stay here, it was…more like a natural decision"* (5.02).

It seems that P3's reason(s) for moving to another country was for educational purposes and, simultaneously, to be able to live independently with a partner, away from their family. P3's account appears to suggest that, if they stayed in the same place as their parents, the expectation would be that they remained living with their parents, therefore separately, whilst moving away would enable them to live independently and away from parental's (and perhaps

birth country's cultural) influence, possibly also from their expectations and/or restrictions. Thus, it could be argued that for P3, similarly to P2, moving to the U.K. may have represented an opportunity for new, more liberating and fulfilling experiences. While initially anticipated as a temporary move, staying in the U.K. became 'a natural decision', suggesting that after a period of living independently in the U.K., staying became the intrinsically desired outcome rather than a return to the birth country.

P4 talked about the reasons for moving to the U.K. as follows:

> *"…I was studying…English Studies…I thought that once I moved to England, I would have a better life, I would have better opportunities…"* (1.12).

P4's indication of a search for a 'better life' and 'better opportunities' as reasons for moving to the U.K., appear to suggest that the conditions/quality of life in the birth country were perceived as more limited/limiting and as more difficult to attain, when compared with those expected to be available in the U.K., particularly for people with higher educational qualifications.

P5 appeared to convey some discontent about moving when stating:

> *"…I came here because I was with my* (British) *boyfriend…"* (1.16), *"…I didn't really want to move to the UK, but I, I did because of my boyfriend"* (2.08).

It seems that moving to the U.K. was perceived by P5 as 'solely' determined by the commitment to maintain and strengthen a long-term relationship with a British national but an unwanted move otherwise.

A multi-layered account of the motives for moving to the U.K. was described by P6:

> *"…on the face of things it was because…my daughter was brought here by her mum when she was about one year of age…the idea came from my need to be near by her"* (1.15-2.06), (however), *"…the idea wasn't an alien one to do…"* (2.14), *"There were lots of other factors…"* (3.09).

P6 seems to convey that, although there was a more specific/concrete reason which may have prompted him to move to the U.K. ('my daughter'), there may have been already some contemplation of the idea of leaving the birth country involving reasons/factors that were beyond that precipitating event – as suggested when indicating that the idea of moving was not 'an alien one to do'. As stated by P6, there were 'other factors', possibly resulting in a level of dissatisfaction with life in the birth country at the time of the decision to leave. Arguably, this could possibly imply that there was hope that 'migration' could facilitate a (positive) life change.

3.2.1.2. 'Sense of control (power) over the decision'

A recurrent theme across all of the participants' accounts relates to their perceived sense of control or power over the decision to migrate. It gathers comments related to their willingness or unwillingness to move to another country and/or about the perceived freedom to choose or the constraints placed upon their choice to migrate.

The participants' perceived power/control over the decision to move varied, apparently on a continuum of experiences, ranging from feeling powerless

regarding the decision to migrate to feeling in complete control over it. For example, P1 described:

> *"…it was a family decision…as opposed to me going somewhere where I wanted to go"* (2.11).

P1 seems to suggest that the move to the U.K. was not so much the result of a personal choice, rather it stemmed from a decision from the family in response to the socio-political changes in the birth country which were occurring at the time. P1's description could perhaps be understood as an expression of her unwillingness to leave the birth country and of a perceived lack of control/power over the decision to move, as well as, over the specific place where the family wanted to migrate to.

At this level, P5 conveyed:

> *"…I really didn't want to move…but there was this piece missing…if I want to be with him* (British boyfriend)*, I need to go and live with him…"* (P5, 6.01), *"…if only my boyfriend was agreeable to come and live in (Birth Country)…I wouldn't move"* (P5, 46.21).

From P5's words, it seems that the decision to move to the U.K. was a difficult one, seemingly eliciting strong and contradictory feelings regarding the move. P5's description appears to suggest that a general unwillingness to move to the U.K. coexisted with the specific wish to strengthen the long-term relationship with her British boyfriend. Thus, the move possibly was perceived as constrained by those circumstances, influenced by a significant other rather than the result of a 'free' choice, which could have possibly generated some sense of powerlessness over the decision.

From the accounts given by P1 and P5, it could be inferred that, without those circumstances and/or the influence exerted by significant others they would have not chosen or decided to leave the birth country and to migrate to the U.K..

P3, similarly to P1, also seemed to place the onus of the decision to leave the birth country upon a significant other (the partner):

> *"Mainly because my partner…it was mainly his decision and he persuaded me to go with him"* (P3, 2.15).

P3's account may suggest that the move to the U.K. did not (at least fully) result from an independent personal choice and decision. In contrast with P1, P3's use of the word 'mainly' could be interpreted as hinting that there was some underlying personal wish/willingness to move which could also be accompanied by fear and uncertainty about moving, these requiring some 'persuasion' by her partner.

P6 seemed to provide another perspective in this matter when saying:

> *"…the when and the why…came down to relate to my daughter"* (3.09), *"…I was also aware that I was coming to a bigger country with more opportunities…and I could start anew…"* (6.20).

For P6, whilst the circumstances that prompted the move to the U.K. may have been unexpected and out of personal control, there appears to be a sense of empowerment as regards the decision to move in that it also seems to have represented an opportunity for personal 'renewal', thus being perceived as having a transformative existential function. As mentioned elsewhere in P6's transcript (see above 3.2.1.1.) it seems that there may have been already some thinking

about leaving the birth country for reasons/factors that were independent of the main prompting circumstances for the move. From his words, it could tentatively be said that there may have been already a sense of stagnation and/or dissatisfaction with life in the birth country and the move to a new country entailed the hope for a change, representing an opportunity to 'start anew'.

P2's and P4's experiences of the decision to move to the U.K. were conveyed in the following way:

> *"…the idea of moving to Western European Countries was quite appealing to me. I thought that Western European Countries are a bit better to live in, so that's how I made a decision basically"* (P4, 1.18).

> *"It was my choice…I wanted to do it"* (P2, 7.14).

Both of these participants (P2 and P4) clearly expressed that the decision to move was consonant with their willingness to leave their birth countries. P2 plainly indicated that it had resulted from personal 'choice', suggesting a sense of more or less complete power/control over that decision. P4's statement, 'how I made a decision', albeit in a less obvious way, also appears to imply a sense of power/control over the decision to move.

3.2.1.3. 'Feelings about the decision'

All of the participants conveyed their feelings regarding the decision to move away from their birth country and these are captured specifically by this theme. Still, as it happens with other themes, there is divergence amongst participants in what pertains to the specific feelings and the emotional responses elicited by the idea and the decision to migrate.

A primacy of negative feelings regarding the idea and the decision to move appears to be very noticeable in two of the participants' accounts (P1 and P5). For example, P5 stated:

> *"…I wasn't happy…"* (6.11), *"…I knew I would have to put a lot of effort in starting all over again. I knew I would have to get used to new place, get used to new people, again try to prove people…like show people who I am, what I'm about you know…this was a hard thing and I just wasn't sure if I was ready to go through it all over again…"* (8.10), *"…I felt…fear that again I would have to do all the things that are necessary to live…"* (19.06).

For P5, this was not the first experience of 'migration'. It could be that previous experiences of leaving the birth country were contributing to expectations that leaving and 'starting all over again' would be hard and effortful. These excerpts seem to suggest that uncertainties associated with the idea of moving may have generated high levels of anticipatory anxiety and fear, raising self-doubts regarding the ability to rebuild a life in another place and about the psychological readiness to do so. It could tentatively be said that the idea of moving to another country was experienced by P5 as potentially disturbing the sense of 'settledness' felt in the birth country (i.e., at 'home'), even though, as mentioned by P5 elsewhere in the transcript, there was also the wish to live with her boyfriend.

P1 also expressed that negative feelings accompanied the decision to move to the U.K., as follows:

> *"…I think I was nervous…"* (4.07), *"…actually feeling quite sad, because I think it dawned on me that we were leaving"* (13.18), *"The closer and*

closer you got it was quite daunting I think" (14.18), *"…then you kind of know, that's it, you're not coming back…"* (16.02), *"…really hard to say goodbye…that was really difficult…"* (16.07), *"…it was my life…just packed and gone. Everything that I knew…was changing"* (16.13).

P1's description seems to suggest that the idea of leaving and the changes it would entail were lived as an overwhelming, confusing and frightening experience, producing strong feelings of sadness and an intense sense of generalised loss (of life pre-'migration', of 'home'), as suggested by expressions such as, 'my life…just packed and gone', 'you kind of know…you're not coming back', all possibly accompanied by feelings of intense anxiety ('nervous') in response to the uncertainties about the future, the unknown. For P1, leaving the birth country appears to be experienced as a loss of all it was known ('home'?), as a fundamental change and a step into the unknown, as suggested by phrases such as, 'everything I knew…was changing'.

Mixed, ambivalent feelings regarding the decision to migrate seem to emerge from the accounts of P4 and P6. For example, P4 recounted:

> *"We were very anxious in the first place. I would say we were very, very anxious…"* (3.22), *"…so anxiety and a bit of hope as well, a bit of hope for a better life basically. We were hoping that everything would work and er, we would be better off basically, but in the first place anxiety"* (4.06), *"…we were basically going into the unknown. We didn't really know what to expect and to whether everything was going to work or not"* (4.22), *"…I had mixed feelings about…the whole idea and whether I was gonna like it or not"* (5.09).

For P4, whilst the decision to migrate seems to have been mainly and foremost accompanied by the experience of anticipatory anxiety, in view of the uncertainties related to the move and life in a new country, this also seems to have been tempered by the hope for a better future in the U.K..

And P6's provided this account of how the decision to leave was experienced:

> (It was a) *"…very bitter decision made relatively quickly but not followed through for…quite a while…"* (4.01), *"…I was really preparing…myself emotionally and psychologically…it was more about my readiness to say goodbye and…to be able to cope in this new country"* (5.07-5.13), *"…it certainly wasn't easy, an easy decision to take, no"* (6.10), *"…I kind of came to the UK very excited…"* (9.01), *"…I was looking forward…"* (9.10), *"…some kind of confidence that this was going to be okay"* (10.08), *"I was very confident…lots of expectations"* (11.07-11.10).

P6's description appears to communicate that despite an initial quick commitment to move to the U.K., possibly resulting from an impetuous and emotional decision to be close to his daughter, a (longer) period of psychological preparation prior to the move was considered necessary, perhaps to deal with all the losses that leaving would entail and with any remaining doubts and fears about moving. This period of preparation/reflection seems to be considered by P6 as crucial in strengthening determination and in developing (self-) confidence that moving could be a positive step for the future.

Conversely, P3 shared that:

"…decision by itself was quite easy because, as I said, we thought that we just came here for one year, but over the time it becomes more difficult…" (5.16), *"…we knew that we are going to leave (Birth Country)…but it was abstract for us…I really started to understand that when I was on the airport in UK"* (7.21-8.01), *"…when I reflect on that at the moment, it's like, my God, that was really a difficult decision"* (43.13).

P3 seems to convey that the decision to move was initially experienced in a positive way, as it was then anticipated to be a temporary stay in the U.K. and it was still a vague idea rather than reality. P3's account could be seen as revealing an initial idealisation of the move, with a fuller realisation of the implications of it only occurring upon arrival in the U.K. so that it was only retrospectively that the difficulties that it entailed were fully grasped.

In contrast with all of the other participants, P2 described:

"…I just didn't have any fears or anxieties about exploring the world…" (6.03), *"…quite excited…enthusiastic about going to live in another culture for a while…I was quite happy about it…"* (8.14), *"I just want*(ed*) to experience other things, other cultures, I was excited because I was happy to do it…"* (44.04).

P2's account appears to deny the experience of any negative feelings regarding the decision to leave the birth country. P2 seems to communicate that moving was lived solely with a sense of excitement and enthusiasm as it was seen as an (albeit temporary) opportunity for new and enriching experiences in a new socio-cultural context.

3.2.2. Overarching Theme 2 – ''Migration': a mix of experiences'

This overarching theme intends to gather the participants' perceptions and experiences throughout the 'migration' process, particularly since arrival in a new country. Five super-ordinate themes cluster under this overarching theme, as follows:

- 'Challenging times' (in section 3.2.2.1.)
- 'And thereafter…settling in…' (in section 3.2.2.2.)
- 'Compatriots in a new place' (in section 3.2.2.3.)
- 'A 'change in direction'' (in section 3.2.2.4.)
- 'Identity in a new place' (in section 3.2.2.5.)

3.2.2.1. 'Challenging times'

This theme aims to capture the various difficulties and challenges that marked the initial post-'migration' period for all of the participants. Whilst they were expecting initial difficulties and some differences between their birth country and the U.K., their accounts seem to suggest that they encountered difficulties and challenges beyond what they had contemplated. In turn, this super-ordinate theme comprises three main (and sometimes overlapping) sub-themes:

- *Sub-theme 1 – 'Being confronted and having to navigate differences and difficulties'*
- *Sub-theme 2 – 'Experiencing negative stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia'*
- *Sub-theme 3 – 'Mixed and negative feelings prevailed'*

Sub-theme 1 – 'Being confronted and having to navigate differences and difficulties'

The participants highlighted the challenges and difficulties posed by the differences - be it at social, cultural, geographical, architectural, language, etc. – between their birth country and the U.K.. These were felt at various levels, predominantly during the initial pre-'migration' stages and even in 'small', very basic and everyday aspects of life. P1 appeared to provide examples of this, when saying:

> *"…I have realised…the…cultural differences"* (17.09), *"…things are very, very different"* (18.19), *"…(*in *Birth Country)…they have a lot of crime. So here, when I'm locking the doors and I'm checking all the windows and everyone is going what are you doing…"* (20.05), *"…It's very different in socialising as well"* (21.19), *"The ground is different, it smells different, it looks different, the sunsets are different, the thunderstorms are different…"* (47.14) *"…my accent was different…"* (39.09), *"So…difficult for different reasons"* (39.27), *"…you have to contend with all of that, so it was almost easier to kind of shrink into the background to watch how things were done, and then kind of go, okay, this is what I need to do to look normal (laughs) or to be the same as everyone else…"* (39.02).

For P1, it seems that moving to the U.K. highlighted differences at several levels and possibly some realisation that behaviours, ways of interacting and communicating, etc., stemming from a specific socio-cultural background, may be 'out of step' or misunderstood in different contexts. P1 appears to express that these differences further emphasised a sense of being different/foreign,

prompting the need to use strategies to ‘look normal’, which could be understood as behaving in a way perceived to be more concordant with ‘everyone else’ in the U.K..

P2 conveyed similar experiences:

> *“…the way in this culture they communicate with each other, very different than mine…”* (13.14), *“…code of conducts, they are different…I can express my feelings different in my country than in here…”* (58.09-58.17), *“…the communication and the beliefs, the cultural beliefs are different…you need different skills, social skills here…”* (61.01), *“…is a massive cultural shock to move to another country…I didn’t realise that when I first moved and many people don’t”* (62.02), *“…The way you express your thoughts, your beliefs, your ideas, you are using a different language…the way you express yourself is different…so you have to really know the language and the culture to be able to express yourself properly…and people…read things the way it should be read and don’t misinterpret you…”* (66.13-67.08), *“…Language is very important in the way you express yourself…And if you don’t master the language you are going to have difficulties…”* (68.10).

Upon arrival in the U.K, being confronted with the differences at several levels and with the potential for misunderstandings and misinterpretations seems to have been experienced by P2 as an unexpected and upsetting experience. The potential for a variety of pitfalls resulting from communication in a different language, and the subsequent difficulties these may engender, appear not to have been fully anticipated but to have constituted a major challenge for P2.

P5 seemed to provide an analogous account:

> *"…I'm used to different buildings, different environment…everything is just different"* (6.12), *"…the buildings are different, the way people live is different. Everything about the country is different… even if I speak in my language I feel like I can…say more or better…express myself better…"* (7.13-8.02), *"…I had to again look for a job, then do other things…meet people, try to build some relationships…it was exactly the same with buildings, with houses, getting used to everything, how it works…the simplest things…"* (9.15), *"…the language barrier…they speak completely different accents to me, it was so hard to get used to that accent and then start communicating. I had fear, I didn't want to speak English, I thought that my English wasn't good enough…that was a big issue"* (22.12-23.02), *"…teaching English in (Birth Country)…and then you come here and people speak to you, talk to you and you just can't understand them…it makes you feel less confident…I just felt that maybe I wasn't good enough for some jobs as well…because I blamed the language barrier and everything"* (23.05-24.01).

There seems to be a sense that P5's initial contact with the differences at all levels in the U.K posed challenges which were possibly experienced as unexpected but mostly as overwhelming and threatening. P5's description appears to indicate that these had a profound personal impact, lowering self-confidence/self-esteem, resulting in withdrawal/avoidance, particularly of contact/communication through 'local' language.

Again, related experiences seemed to be conveyed by P4:

"…we had to register with the Home Office obviously, we had to do National Insurance number and…set up bank accounts and it required some knowledge. We had to ask people, we had to do some reading and everything is definitely not obvious…we had to do the research before we managed to find out how everything works…" (6.01), *"…we were learning English for many years but…we realised that the language spoken is different …when you are supposed to start talking to people and listening to them and understand and expressing yourself is completely different…so even though I was studying English I felt quite confident, it turned out that it is not as easy as I thought"* (6.12) *"…obviously we felt foreign…a bit of language barrier, cultural barrier as well"* (7.01-7.16).

For P4, it seems that some difficulties in fulfilling 'obvious' tasks, resulting from different ways of doing things, had not been anticipated and may have been a source of stress. Seemingly, P4 was also confronted with unexpected challenges and difficulties, resulting in furthering a sense of 'foreignness' during the initial stages of post-'migration'.

For P3, a poor knowledge of English language and a different 'expertise' appears to be perceived as the core challenges upon arrival in the U.K. These were described as follows.:

"…both of us had high education when we came to England but we didn't have any…expertise working here and also…my English wasn't very good…so we had two really basic jobs…" (5.24-6.01*), "…my English was very poor when I came here…"* (15.21).

Again, these difficulties do not seem to have been anticipated prior to arrival in the U.K and appear to have been experienced as barriers to a life more consonant with expectations.

P6 also described a number of unexpected differences and difficulties:

> *"It was not a town of welcome, it was not a town of friendliness…it was not a (laughs) culture that I recognised at all. I had…some awareness of British culture…this place was not something that I recognised at all…"* (15.21-16.01), *"Oh, far more difficult…I thought it was…It was a place of deprivation…that's where I was living, I was working in a place where I was being terribly exploited, not just me, all of us…like all these young people that I was living, working with every day, not friendly, you know, it was just very alien to me. I was living there for more than a year before I had any social, sociable experience with all the people around me…I had grown up in an environment which is very different from all of that…"* (17.06-18.01), *"Small things…for example, without a bank account I couldn't get paid…"* (18.12-18.17), *"…I grew up I'd never even heard of council tax…"* (19.04), *"It felt like everything I tried, every time I tried to do something, I was told no"* (19.16), *"…I found out very quickly that…all this opportunity that I expected to be here, well it wasn't to be picked up off the street anyway"* (16.16-16.21).

For P6, it appears that a wide range of challenging experiences upon arrival in the U.K. negatively highlighted the differences between the U.K. when compared with what was perceived to be better living conditions in the birth country. It could be argued that there may have been an idealisation of life in the

U.K. which did not match the reality on arrival. From P6's words, it could also possibly be said that those experiences, being antithetical to the expectations prior to the move, have generated strong feelings of disappointment and frustration in the initial stages of his stay in the U.K..

Sub-theme 2 – 'Experiencing negative stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia'

Post-'migration' experiences, ranging from negative stereotyping through to xenophobia, were mentioned by all of the participants. This theme intends to capture those experiences, these including, for example, negative characteristics being attributed to participants' birth country and/or its nationals, preconceived and unsubstantiated beliefs and opinions being expressed about their birth country and/or its nationals, hostility and prejudice expressed or enacted against foreigners in general and/or against people of specific nationalities. P4 seemed to provide examples of some of these when describing:

> *"…we felt foreign because obviously there is quite a lot of hostility, erm, against a lot of foreign people, especially (Birth Country's nationals)…sometimes we felt in the air that, you know, I am (Birth Country's national) and there is something that the English don't really like about us. We heard that obviously we were taking jobs from the English people and some people were looking at us a bit funny…we felt a bit of hostility"* (7.01), *"So there was this hostility towards foreigners in general…we were not really welcome…I don't really care about that but on the other hand just people associate you"* (8.03-8.11).

P4’s words seem to suggest that, upon arrival, he perceived the U.K. as being hostile to migrants in general and, in particular, to those of his own nationality, this seemingly causing him to feel unwelcomed. P4’s expression ‘I don’t really care about that but…’ could possibly suggest a level of denial of how much these experiences may have been upsetting.

P6 appeared to refer to those experiences but to a lesser degree:

> *“…at that time, probably relatively fashionable to be (Birth Country’s national) in a way…but underneath all that…I was aware that it’s not always cool to be (Birth Country’s national) in this country…”* (33.19).

P6’s account could suggest that a need for alertness was required in view of a perceived presence of ambivalent views in the U.K. about his birth country’s nationals, where a superficial acceptance may not be representative of the ‘real’ underlying feelings and views on those.

P2 appeared to focus on other aspects of those experiences when stating:

> *“…I have…strong accent…they are prejudiced towards your accent, or maybe to the way you communicate…”* (14.18), *“It’s almost like the people…measure you by the way you speak the language without realising…when you go to another country you have some difficulties in communicate…I felt sometimes they just belittled me because I couldn’t speak the language…”* (16.05-16.21).

P2’s description seems to refer to more specific experiences, centred around the ways of using and communicating in another language, possibly as examples of perceived prejudice and of a limited understanding and acceptance

of diversity by some people in the U.K.. P2's words appear to suggest that difficulties communicating in another language were used as opportunities for mockery and for perceived personal depreciation and devaluation.

A perception that negative stereotyping, prejudice and xenophobia can lead to discrimination seems to be suggested in the accounts of four of the participants, specifically when they talked about the devaluation of their previously attained academic, occupational or any other achievements in their birth country. P1's following excerpts seem to illustrate this:

> *"…I had done very well in tennis in (Birth Country) and I had played for the equivalent of the country, the province and I had played in national tournaments and all different things like that…when we went to this club I had a lesson with the coach…showed him all the stuff I'd achieved…he literally said 'well it doesn't matter, it doesn't count because it's a different standard in the UK, (Birth Country's) standard could be really poor…you're the top of the poor bunch which could be the bottom of our good bunch'…So every I've ever done doesn't count…that was quite a big knock for me…"* (24.17- 25.14), *"…it was like oh you're from a third world country, it doesn't matter"* (26.01).

A sense of disbelief, devaluation and feelings of intense disappointment appear to emerge strongly from the above P1's account.

P3, P5 and P6 seemed to provide similar accounts:

> *"…you have your bachelor's degree but you need to work in factory, also as a waitress"* (P3, 6.03).

"…mostly they consider foreign people…that's my perception…as maybe people who should have a bit worse jobs…it was hard for me to accept" (P5, 23.11).

"…I had had a job in (Birth Country) before I had left, working with one of the professors in the (academic subject) department…and I imagined that I could come to Britain and say…this is what I do now, and they would give me, erm, that job and I found out very quickly that that's not the reality at all…I did go to agencies to get jobs, recruitment agencies to be paid very poorly…and very insecurely…" (P6, 16.08).

All of the above excerpts from P1's, P3's, P5's and P6's accounts, seem to suggest that, on arrival to the U.K., pre-'migration' achievements were discounted, devalued and negatively compared with the supposed higher U.K.'s standards, arguably as a result of preconceived and unsubstantiated beliefs. It could tentatively be said that, for all of these participants, these experiences may have engendered a sense of disbelief, dismay and devaluation and possibly powerlessness. Participants' excerpts appear to imply that those experiences prompted (unexpected negative) changes in their lives, including acceptance of jobs well below their academic qualifications or their previous employments, for example.

Sub-theme 3 – 'Mixed and negative feelings prevailed'

This sub-theme aims to capture the prevalent (negative/mixed) feelings of the participants when confronted with the difficulties and challenges presented in (at least) the initial post-'migration' stages. For example, P1 described:

"…there was a nervous impact…" (6.17), *"…it was really hard and it's just adapting to all those kind of things…"* (26.27), *"…I didn't feel comfortable…"* (36.23), *"…moving from (Birth Country) and not knowing anyone…everything, the nervousness that comes with that…"* (37.09).

It could be said that, for P1, added to the 'nervousness' about moving into a new, unknown situation (as communicated elsewhere in the transcript), the challenges experienced at several levels upon arrival in the U.K., rather than curtailing anxieties, on the contrary, seem to have increased them, possibly contributing to feeling even more unsettled and 'nervous'. P1's words appear to convey that the initial stages of her life in the U.K. were experienced as unsettling and difficult, arguably, as not at 'home'.

P2 expressed:

"…that part (feeling belittled) *was a bit challenging because sometimes it made me feel really, no, mmm, a bit no good about myself…"* (15.02).

It could be said that, for P2, the unexpected experiences of prejudice had a personal negative impact, possibly lowering self-esteem and self-confidence.

P3 also indicated:

"…it was quite a lot of pressure…" (8.15), *"…there was a period that I feel lonely…that I didn't have a home…"* (39.08), *"…I was quite depressed…"* (41.19).

P3's description could possibly suggest that the challenges faced during the initial stages of life in the U.K., together with some realisation of all that had been lost with the move, may have been lived as an unsettling and not at 'home'

period. It could be argued that, when confronted with new challenges, the losses and the lack of predictability and continuity that 'home' used to provide were highlighted, generating strong negative feelings that have a sense of loss at the centre (such as, feeling 'lonely', 'depressed').

Likewise, P5 explained:

> *"…I wasn't happy…to me it was uncomfortable…"* (6.11-6.21), *"…I was quite upset…"* (13.20), *"…I felt the weight of everything…"* (14.07), *"…brought me down a little bit"* (15.19), *"…you have to put a lot of effort in, and…it's draining in a way"* (18.13), *"It is painful, it is painful yeah"* (51.08).

Again, the sense of being 'unsettled', not at 'home' and under pressure during the initial stages of life in the U.K appear to be suggested by P5's description. This period also appears to be experienced negatively by P5, as a 'painful' time.

In a similar vein, P6 shared:

> *"Awful, I was quite an angry young man for the first year, or two or something like that…"* (15.02), *"…I just found myself really frustrated"* (18.10), *"…what could I do?..."* (20.06), *"…I was never happy…"* (43.07).

In P6's words, feelings of frustration and anger prevailed in the initial stages of his life in the U.K.. Expressions such as, 'what could I do?, 'I was never happy', seem to suggest that being confronted with unexpected challenges and difficulties during that period provoked not only a general sense of dissatisfaction but also of powerlessness.

Apparently in contrast with other participants, P4's conveyed:

"…I don't spend a lot of time thinking about all the bad scenarios…There are some things that just can't be avoided, you just have to deal with the situations as they arise…Obviously, I had good and bad moods, it is not always beautiful, but life isn't always beautiful (laughs)" (31.03 - 31.24).

P4's account may suggest some level of minimisation of the difficult experiences and/or difficult feelings experienced in the initial stages of post-'migration'. This could also possibly be understood as an attempt to avoid discussing them, particularly at a time when those may seem to have been overcome and, therefore, not wanting to be reminded of them or to have to revisit them. It could also be that, with time, it has been possible to adopt a more 'philosophical' approach regarding those. Nonetheless, it could still be argued that mixed or negative feelings seem to be implicit in P4's description of those initial experiences.

3.2.2.2. 'And thereafter…settling in…'

This super-ordinate theme reflects the participants' experiences of living in U.K. beyond the 'challenging times' of the initial years of post-'migration'. All of the participants seemed to voice that after a difficult (shorter or longer) period after arrival in the U.K., a gradual 'settling' into the new country ensued. However, participants' accounts appear to indicate that whilst some consider themselves as 'settled' in the U.K., for others this may be (still) an ongoing process. For example, in the following excerpts, P5 appears to communicate that the process of 'settling' in the U.K. is still happening:

"Here I just feel a bit like, like there is something missing…something is still not there, yeah. It's as if I'm waiting for something (laughs)…Something better or something different, I don't know…" (16.08-16.18), *"…it takes time*…(to) *adjust to different situations…"* (18.12-18.22), *"…first I was disappointed, but then I started getting used to it…I'm getting used to it"* (20.22-20.26*), "…it was hard and it took some effort to find a job and to get it…and to meet people and everything, on the other hand it helped me, definitely, and it's helping now"* (21.17).

It could be argued that, for P5, on a par with the losses relating to the past 'home', which seem to be still noticed, the life in the new country is still not felt as fully satisfying (possible not yet felt as being at 'home'), with the 'hard' process of adjustment to the new circumstances seemingly being perceived as gradually becoming easier but still ongoing.

P1 talked about the experience of 'settling' in the U.K. in a different way:

"It's got easier because your life carries on and you have to adapt…" (19.17), *"…it takes time"* (35.02), *"…I'm happy where I am…it's just different…"* (49.10), *"…now I'm quite settled and I don't want that upheaval again…"* (50.18), *"I don't think anyone could say if they move or they immigrate and they feel settled straight away, it's never gonna happen. You make it happen"* (63.24), *"I do think there is a point…you have to make peace with what you had before and I don't think I've done that yet, but that's probably because I hold on too much to the past…"* (64.12), *"You can be happy and you can be settled, but it's whether or not you let go of the past…but it's whether or not you want to"* (65.10).

P1 appears to be happy and settled in the U.K. now, seemingly expressing relief that the 'upheaval' experienced after moving to the U.K. has been overcome and the hope that similar circumstances may never have to be endured again. P1's words seem to imply a belief in the role of personal agency for someone to 'settle in' a new country, as well as, in the need for some acceptance of past and present circumstances. P1 seems to be referring to an acceptance of all that was lost with the move and all of the subsequent experiences, apparently expressing the difficulties (and unwillingness) to do so.

On the other hand, P2 indicated:

> *"I feel comfortable, I feel a part…I have that connection with the culture…"* (31.03), *"…I have that connection, I don't feel an outsider"* (31.18), *"…it's that process of integration…that after so many years, I had many challenges when I came here…I reach a point and I just very comfortable with myself in this country. I just became really, and just feel very integrated as well"* (32.09-32.15), *"…I managed to build a life in here…I just feel integrated within the culture"* (38.09-38.14).

It appears that, for P2, being 'comfortable', having a 'connection with the culture', feeling 'a part', 'integrated' and not 'an outsider', 'comfortable' with oneself in a place are possibly the main and essential/intrinsic aspects of the experience of being/feeling 'settled' in the new country. P2's account seems to suggest that after the difficulties of the initial years of living in the U.K., being able to 'build a life' and 'integrating' may have contributed to make her feel 'settled' and at ease with herself in the U.K. thus, arguably, to feel at 'home'.

In a similar vein, P3 stated:

"…it was quite difficult at the beginning but over the time we started to build a relationship here in UK, we started to meet some people, we get into University so everything improved over the time, yeah" (6.15), *"…because I settle up here so my, my life now is in UK"* (16.22), *"My real life now is purely in UK"* (17.11).

Again, for P3, it appears that following the difficult and challenging times after arrival, gradually being able to build a life and a 'connection' with the U.K., seems to have facilitated the development of a sense of feeling 'settled', arguably at 'home', in the new country.

Likewise, P4 stated:

"…we don't feel anxious anymore. We got used to the way people live here…I feel comfortable and I got used to it. I adjusted the way I live to the English realities" (12.03-12.11), *"England is a nice country to live in, it is not the perfect country but there are no perfect countries"* (16.15), *"…it took a few years I would say before I learned the language, before I was able to understand people and express myself…"* (30.11), *"It can be very boring and nasty, no matter what country you live in…But I think the comfort of living in the United Kingdom and the opportunities that it gives you, like overshadows any bad things…Because when you don't have the basic things like a house, or a car and the food and everything else, then it is difficult to cope but if you have those things and you can work on it and, erm, you are not unhappy so to say…It is basically much easier in this country"* (32.02-32.17).

P4 seems to suggest that, on balance and overall, the current experience of living in the U.K. is a satisfying one. Possibly, being able to overcome some of the initial difficulties may have enabled an easier access to the opportunities that he seems to associate with a better and/or more fulfilling life.

P6 talked about the process of 'settling' in the U.K. as follows:

> *"… then two or three years later, once different circumstances fell into place…then opportunity kind of kicked in…but at first it was really…harsh…"* (28.15-29.02), *"I remember years ago…I realised…actually I am kind of used to this, and I am used to…the relative efficiency of things working in this country…And I got a shock, that means, oh God, that means I'm used to this place"* (39.15-40.04).

From P6's words, what appears to be the realisation of being 'settled' in the U.K. was accompanied by a sense of astonishment. Possibly, because after all the difficulties experienced in the initial years of post-'migration', the expectation may have been that adjustment to life in the U.K. may not occur.

3.2.2.3. 'Compatriots in the new place'

This super-ordinate theme aims to gather the participants' views and opinions about their compatriots in the U.K. These views were reflected in five out of the six participants' accounts (P1, P2, P4, P5 and P6). Only P3 did not mention compatriots at interview.

P2, P4, P5 and P6 seemed to communicate the need to distance themselves from their compatriots in the U.K.. The reasons for doing so could possibly result from a combination of aspects, including attempts to avoid

negative stereotyping associated with their birth country and its nationals, as a way of facilitating their own integration (namely by shifting the focus from the past to the present), as a result of their own negative views about compatriots or even as what could be seen as a way of distancing themselves from being considered a 'migrant'. For example, P4 indicated:

> *"…I feel that I am only responsible for myself. I am not responsible for any other…(Birth Country's) people in this world and if someone else does something bad, it's their fault. I don't know them…"* (8.14), *"…We are not particularly attached to everything that is (part of Birth Country), because a lot of people come here, they watch (Birth Country's) television, they eat (Birth Country's) food…they read (Birth Country's) newspapers, they have (Birth Country's) friends, everything that they do in life is connected to (Birth Country). I don't think we are like that. We basically are open…When in Rome do as the Romans do!"* (12.18-13.12).

P4's statements seem to manifest a need to distance himself in order to avoid being caught in the negative stereotyping and prejudice by some people in the U.K. towards his birth country's nationals. What appears to be a criticism of compatriots' ways of living in the U.K. could also be seen as a way of establishing the difference between himself and other compatriots, possibly serving to further emphasise the differences between other compatriots and his own/unique way of being a birth country's national in the U.K..

Similar positions emerged in P6's and P2's accounts. P6 stated:

> *"…I was determined I was not going to get involved with any kind of (Birth Country's) clubs or society's or anything like that. That I would not*

do….because in my view, rightly or wrongly, erm, that was a kind of a ghetto…I didn't want to be singing songs, and get drunk and sing songs about the old country…I was there to move on and to do it on…my own terms I suppose. I didn't want to get involved with all that…I think I would have been sickened by nostalgia…so as difficult as it was at times, I was…determined to do it…on my own…" (30.16- 31.12), *"…probably some of it's to do with wanting to disidentify with… a certain kind of (Birth Country's characteristics)…not wanting to be weighted down with all of the, errr, kind of stereotypes and, er, negative projections and all that kind of stuff"* (33.08), *"…and be careful to be seen as…some kind of new world, modern type (Birth Country's national)…rather than the despised type of (Birth Country's national) of previous generations, I think"* (34.02).

P6 also appears to purposefully distance himself from compatriots in order to avoid negative stereotyping attributed by some people in the U.K to his birth country's nationals and to state his particular way of being a birth country's national living in the U.K.. From his words it could also be said that there may have been a fear of being somehow trapped in the past ('sickened by nostalgia) if joining other compatriots rather than being able and freer to pursue his individual path in a new country.

P2 also described:

"…I didn't have, er, contact with any (Birth Country's) people…all my contacts, they were with English people because I always remember…I met with this (Birth Country's) guy…he was working…he was married…he was living almost in a ghetto in London with all (Birth Country's)

people…he said to me, oh I have been in this country for forty years and I able to understand, erm, 50%, erm, of what people are saying…and I thought, oh my God, after forty years, I hope…that is not going to happen to me….so I think that put me off…interacting with the (Birth Country's) people for a while" (19.09-20.02), *"…I have fully integrated in the culture because…my friends, my network, they have never been (Birth Country's) people"* (36.06).

A criticism of the ways of living of other compatriots in the U.K. and the need to distance herself from that in order to pursue a more personal and unique way to be birth country's national in the new country, also seems to emerge from P2's account. Furthermore, P2 seems to highlight that not mixing with compatriots was considered beneficial for a fuller 'integration' in the U.K., as opposed to living in a perceived 'ghetto'.

Similarly, the need to mark the difference from compatriots also appeared to be conveyed by P5:

> *"…I would say majority of people, (Birth Country's) people would come to UK, uneducated people who want to quickly earn money and go back"* (47.07), *"…for me it's not the case"* (47.05).

From P5's statements, together with her overall account, it could be argued that, not only there may be an attempt to establish the difference and mark the distance as regards compatriots in the U.K. but this may also represent an attempt to disidentify from a stereotyped idea of a 'migrant', seen as moving to another country solely for economic reasons.

P1, in contrast, seemed to communicate the longing for contact with compatriots in the U.K. when saying:

> *"…when I meet another (Birth Country's national) and they say they are from the same area as me, I literally turn into a different person, I become like, oh, I want to talk about everything and it overcomes me"* (76.11), *"…there used to be a (Birth Country's) shop in (U.K.'s locality) and I used to go there…just to kind of feel that feeling again, because all those people in there…they were all (Birth Country's nationals)…and you'd go home and then you're still using that bit that you've had from your life and putting it in your current life"* (87.01), *"…there is a lot of (Birth Country's nationals)…I know where they're from and it makes me feel a bit, phew, we're okay, there's more of me (laughs)…It is a community"* (91.05-92.12)

P1 appears to suggest that finding and meeting other compatriots, being able to share and reminiscing about past experiences with them, is a (necessary) source of satisfaction and comfort in the 'new' country and, arguably, felt as enabling the maintenance and strengthening of the sense of belonging to the birth country. Even an occasional sharing of past experiences or of traditional aspects of the birth country, whilst eliciting longing, also seems to be perceived as facilitating the integration between past and current life experiences.

3.2.2.4. 'A 'change in direction''

This super-ordinate theme intends to capture the participants' perception of 'migration' as having changed the direction of their lives. Nonetheless, the individual appraisal of that change seems to differ amongst participants. For example, P1 specified:

"…I was happy…I was doing well…my life was centred around certain things and I had very much a structure to it, and I knew what I wanted to do, and then I came to England and everything kind of fell a bit away, and I just took on this path that I never would have thought of before…my initial childhood aims, it was almost like they were taken away from me…I couldn't continue with that, I had to change direction…things changed and I couldn't do it" (44.17-45.20).

Whist referring to her current sense of satisfaction/contentment with her life in the U.K. elsewhere in her transcript, here P1 also seems to express her disillusionment and sadness that her desired goals and life plans of pre-'migration' were cast adrift and, subsequently, abandoned as a result of the move. P1's words appear to imply that the 'move' was perceived as an undesired and negative 'change in direction'. It could be that it produced unwanted losses and a disruption in the sense of familiarity, continuity and predictability of her life pre-'migration'.

P5 also communicated:

"…people move because they want to get better…for me it's not the case" (47.03), *"…I really didn't want to move because I had my own flat, I felt comfortable, I had okay job…I was doing okay…but there was this piece missing… (British boyfriend's name)…I need to go and live with him…"* (6.01), *"…it's like going from very good, to not so good…on one hand, like I said, I'm happy because I'm with, er, my boyfriend, but it's frustrating that life has gone"* (57.03-57.10).

P5's statements could be seen as alluding to possible ambivalent feelings regarding the move. Moving to the U.K. appears to be represented as an undesired or negative change in life direction and to a degree disturbing the comfort and stability of the life of pre-'migration'. Simultaneously, life of pre-'migration' seems to emerge as not fully complete/fulfilling, a change/move seemingly considered as a necessary step. The dilemma it may have presented and the sense of loss and change that moving may have implied seem to be highlighted by P5.

For the other four participants, 'migration' also seems to be perceived as life changing, albeit in a desired or a more positive direction. For example, for P2:

> *"…moving to another country, it gave me another approach to see life differently…"* (13.25), *"…it's like your framework is wider…you can approach things differently…"* (59.12) *"…it was a great opportunity…I have achieved whatever I wanted to achieve…"* (51.05).

In P2's words, there seems to be a sense of appreciation of the move to the U.K. as granting the opportunity for personal development, for a broadening of perspectives and for enabling the attainment of desired goals. Moving seems to be perceived as a positive, possibly as a necessary, change in life's direction. Thus, moving possibly had a transformative function.

P4 seemed to provide similar views about the move:

> *"…I came from…a small town so I didn't see those opportunities…I hoped that something would change but obviously only when I started…moving around and seeing the world that I realised how everything looked like…"*

(27.22-28.01), *“In (Birth Country) it would be difficult to have the same opportunities basically”* (32.24-33.01).

P4 also seems to convey a sense of contentment with the widening of opportunities and perspectives that moving to a different place/country appears to have represented when compared with those he seemed to perceive as being available in a ‘small town’ in his birth country.

Likewise, P6 described:

“…that was the break in circumstances that made me do something else…it was a lucky break…you have to take advantage don’t you of your opportunities…” (25.01-25.22), *“…this new re-birth experience…”* (32.09)

Thus, P6 seems to feel thankful that (previously unforeseen) circumstances led to a move from the birth country, appearing to further imply that it was an unmissable life changing experience, providing a unique opportunity for personal growth and development.

The perception of the move as a positive change in ‘life direction’, also seems to be subjacent to P3’s description:

“…we decided to come to the UK just for one year…our plans changed…” (1.19- 2.07), *“It was like a natural decision…we decided to stay…”* (5.01)

When portraying the change in plans of what was supposed to be a temporary move as a ‘natural decision’, P5 could possibly be indicating that staying in the U.K. was/is experienced as becoming more congruent with personal and life goals, needs and wishes.

3.2.2.5. 'Identity in a new place'

This super-ordinate theme intends to capture the participants' views regarding their sense of identity following 'migration'.

The participants' accounts seem to suggest that, to a greater or lesser degree, their (personal and national) identity is still perceived as connected to their birth country and to all that is associated with it, from culture to language, etc.. However, their accounts also appear to imply that some 'natural' and/or 'necessary' identity changes occurred as a consequence of their overall experiences of 'migration'.

A sense of a 'dual' and 'unique' identity, resulting from being born and raised in the birth country and from years of adjustment to life in the U.K., seems to be implied by P1 when saying:

> *"…I'm (Birth Country's national). That's where I'm from…that's where I learned to be who I am, that's me…"* (7.13), *"…I'm not from England…I'm not English…have lived, er, for more than half of your life, it doesn't matter…you can't say I'm English…I'm (Birth Country's national)"* (43.06-43.20), *"…I think you shouldn't let go because it makes you who you are… and that's why you're like that"* (68.07), *"…obviously have adapted…I have because you have to kind of continue with life…But I've held on to them and that makes me then who I am, I'm a mixture of both but I'm very proud to have what I have from (Birth Country) because it makes me different…"* (71.10-72.01), *"…I'm still different…"* (73.23), *"…there's part of me that's from somewhere else"* (79.15), *"…that's who I am, I'm different"* (80.08), *"…every now and then people…say, "you don't really have an accent"*

and…maybe accent is something about it as well because it's taken away my identity of being (Birth Country's national)…I've lost it…they don't know where I'm from but I want people to know that I'm from (Birth Country)" (80.19-81.17), *"…like the accent's part of an identity…"* (82.09), *"Yeah, I would never want to lose that connection…Because it does mean I'm different…and I'm…proud to be from there"* (88.08-88.17).

In general, P1 seems to feel happy and enriched by having a 'different', a 'mixture of both' (British and birth country's) identity. However, the importance given to the retention of aspects/characteristics considered to be part of the birth country's identity appears to be highlighted by P1's words. For example, sadness seems to emerge in relation to the perceived loss of some of those distinguishing and identifiable characteristics, associated with birth country's 'identity' (for example, the accent). The emphasis appears to be placed upon her birth country's 'identity' rather than upon the identity changes resulting from life in U.K., the latter appearing to be seen as an 'obvious' and 'necessary' condition for adjustment.

P2 appeared to communicate a sense of identity enrichment resulting from the experiences of moving and living in the U.K.:

"…I changed…I evolved…probably I became a better person, more tolerant. The challenges I encounter in my life made me reflect and think…" (17.11-17.18), *"…my own experiences or the way I evolved, they got me here, where I am today…"* (49.14), *"when I came over here, erm, people from this country they were expecting me…to become integrated in this culture…I felt that I needed to put away certain things of my culture…that*

is something I wasn't going to do…I was very much prepared to pick up what I thought it would be good from this culture, and to maintain what is good from mine…" (56.05), *"…a person requires a great level of resilience…To cope with the stress, to adapt to that, and to adjust…"* (62.14).

The importance of retaining main aspects of a previous identity, whilst simultaneously valuing the perceived personal enrichment and transformative aspects ('better person', more tolerant', possibly more resilient) that may result from the experiences of 'migration', appears to be subjacent to P2's words.

The experience of coexisting identities seems to be present in P3's and P4's accounts, as illustrated by the following statements:

"…we keep some of our cultural aspects, er, so even if we adapt to English culture we still trying to keep, er, (Birth Country's) culture in our home" (P3, 31.01).

"…I'm not a very patriotic person…I feel that I'm kind of a citizen of the world…" (P4, 4.26-5.02*), "…we were trying to meet their expectations in some way…but on the other hand we were trying to keep our identity so to say"* (P4, 7.20).

Both accounts seem to suggest that a coexistence of identities may be appreciated as providing the means to respond according to the circumstances. However, both P3 and P4 also seem to emphasise the importance of maintaining the core aspects of identity, which they seem to associate with their birth country.

P6, like P1, appeared to refer to the development of a mixed and unique 'identity' as a result of 'migration':

> *"…these are the things…that you survive…"* (30.05), *"I was able to be, stand just me as I was…probably…wanting to disidentify with…(Birth Country's characteristics)…or a certain type of (Birth Country's characteristics)…"* (32.11-33.08), *"…trying to manage those…dimensions if you like of…who I was going to be…"* (38.07), *"…I think I…probably see myself as less, on a personal level, as a bit less (Birth Country's national) than I used to be…I'm a bit more, I don't know, stitched together a bit differently…"* (68.22-69.04), *"…this thing about the accent…it's (Birth Country's), it's a kind of (Birth Country's characteristic) that I'm going to take charge of and define and not leave…other people…to make the definition…it's important to be able to be in charge of it, I suppose"* (83.04-83.15), *"…music of (Birth Country's band)…was… really important…it was, erm, unashamedly (Birth Country's)…I'm (Birth Country's national)…little cultural handles…were hugely important to me…something you can identify with…positively"* (84.22-85.01).

P6 seems to imply that significant identity changes were influenced by the experiences of moving and living in the U.K., appearing to suggest that these gave rise to a different and unique identity, containing the valued aspects of both 'old' and 'new' identities. Arguably, the importance of being 'in charge' in re-negotiations of identity rather than allowing others to define those through negative stereotypes regarding national identities/characteristics seems to emerge from P6's words. Furthermore, the sense of opportunity for positive

changes and the potential for identity transformation through ‘migration’, appears to be subjacent to P6’s account.

Still, P5 seemed to provide a different perspective when saying:

“…if I speak my language I feel like…I can say more or better…I’m more interesting in that language…” (7.18), *“I am very confident…when I am in (Birth Country), I feel there’s nothing that can touch me because…with my experience and everything, I just feel like, yeah, I can do it…here, I’m not quite sure…”* (31.23-32.02).

Although P5 seems to express that identity changes may have been influenced by the experiences of moving and living in the U.K., these appear to be perceived as resulting in a decrease in the sense of self-confidence, efficacy and agency, as well as, a possible increase in the sense of insecurity in face of the perceived uncertainty generated by those experiences.

3.2.3. Overarching Theme 3 – ‘’Home’ is such a ‘complicated thing’’

This overarching theme aims to capture the complexities of ‘home’, reflected in all of the participants’ accounts of their perception(s) and experiences of it. In turn, it encompasses three main super-ordinate themes, as follows:

- ‘’Home’: not easy to define’ (in section 3.2.3.1.)
- ‘Perception(s) of ‘home’’ (in section 3.2.3.2.)
- ‘The experience of ‘home’’ (in section 3.2.3.3.)

3.2.3.1. ‘’Home’: not easy to define’

This theme intends to capture the difficulties to define, at least in a simple and linear way, what 'home' means, reflected in four out of the six participants' transcripts. Their accounts also seem to reveal the paradoxes, contradictions and complexities found when attempting to define it.

P1's seemed to provide examples which illustrate those difficulties when stating:

> *"That's the million dollar question"* (44.04), *"So, home as a country (Birth Country), but home as a word is being safe and comfortable and just secure, and happy I suppose as well. So, when I list those words, home is probably England, but in my heart home is (Birth Country)…Does that make sense? That's very contradictory actually"* (51.06-51.18).

Overall, P1's words seem to suggest that despite its relevance, 'home' maybe very difficult to define. It could be argued that P1's difficulties (and noticed contradictions) may refer to the different dimensions/layers encompassed by 'home' (its meanings, the where it is, the what it is, etc.). For example, these contradictions appear to emerge in the transcript by realisation that despite identification of the birth country as 'home', this does not match the meanings and characteristics that she associates with 'home' such as, feeling 'safe', 'secure', 'comfortable' and 'happy'. The latter seem to be attributed to the U.K..

P2 seemed to provide another example of difficulties encountered when attempting to define 'home':

> *"…it's right in your gut…Gut yeah, that's what it is. Verbalise…I can try to put words into that, it's very difficult because it's a feeling, it's a gut*

feeling…" (40.06), *"…I understand that's what it is…I would love to be able to describe that differently…but it's a gut feeling…"* (42.01-42.06).

It could be argued that P2 may be referring to an elusive quality of 'home' when providing a definition of it as a 'gut feeling', seemingly suggesting that (feeling at) 'home' refers to a basic but vague feeling, which is difficult to describe rationally/logically or to define by words.

Likewise, P5 stated:

"…that atmosphere…I don't know…I can't really explain…" (29.24).

Similarly to P2, P5 seems to suggest that 'home' can encompass more intangible characteristics which are difficult to translate into words and to clearly define.

P6 also communicated:

"What issss home? Errrrm…it's really hard, isn't it? ...I mean, I suppose, I would think, I would think about home as, erm, I don't know…" (42.17-42.21), *"So it's complicated isn't it, it's not complicated and it's kind of, well, it seems to me, it's really interesting…There's a lot to kind of think about, isn't there really, in terms of what it is, the layers that create a sense of home…or being at home"* (51.02-51.10)

P6 seems to express some perplexity by the realisation of the definitional difficulties of 'home' and of its potential complexities. This appears to be further conveyed by alluding to the possible different 'layers' involved in the creation of a sense of 'home' and feeling at 'home' that may need to be thought about, and taken into consideration, when referring to 'home'. Arguably, for P6, 'home'

seems to emerge as a complex and difficult to define idea and experience rather than simple/linear ones.

3.2.3.2. 'Perceptions of 'home''

This super-ordinate theme intends to cluster the participants' perception(s) of 'home', these including its various meanings, facets and dimensions. Participants' perceptions of 'home' often emerged as interlinked with their experience of 'home' and of feeling 'at home'. Despite this overlap, the latter aspects of 'home' are gathered separately under another super-ordinate theme, which is presented below in section 3.2.3.3. 'The experience of 'home''.

One meaning which was seemingly attributed to 'home' by all of the participants was 'country', this referring to the birth country and/or to the new country. In turn, 'home' as 'country' seemed to encompass several other meanings, relating to various aspects or facets of 'country' as 'home', as well as, to the feelings towards a particular country(ies). P1, for example, appeared to communicate this in the following excerpts:

> *"…I think for me… it's two things, so home in my heart is (Birth Country), but home in my head is England…"* (42.05), *"…(Birth Country)…that's my home and it's, it's the cultural side of things…being able to go out to the bush…and have these wild animals walking around you…the outdoorsy life…The ground…smells…sunsets…thunderstorms…"* (46.09-47.14).

When talking about 'home', P1 appears to link it to two countries – the birth country and the U.K.. A core and deep connection and identification with the birth country as the 'true' 'home' seems to emerge from P1's words. The description of the birth country as 'home' seems to go beyond a geographic place per se to

include several other associated aspects – its culture, the lifestyle, its fauna, its smells, etc.. It could be tentatively said that the meaning of 'home' as 'country' encompasses several aspects and characteristics of that country and may represent a more holistic experience of the country as 'home'.

'Home' and 'country' also seem to be perceived as linked by P2 when stating:

> *"…I feel in this country very comfortable now…I think about UK as, erm, one of my homes…my second home really…is about my feelings about the country, it's about how I feel in that country…"* (30.01-30.12), *"…the (Birth Country's region) is my first home…that's my culture and that's my roots…that feels really home…but this is home as well"* (31.10), *"…I reach a point and I just very comfortable with myself in this country…that's why I suppose it feels home…"* (32.15-32.21).

Thus, an association of 'home' and 'country' seems to emerge once again. As for P1, for P2, both the birth country and the U.K. are perceived as 'home' and the birth country appears to be identified as the original, principal and 'true' 'home', arguably where the core aspects of identity stem from ('my roots'). From P2's words, it could be argued that that it is not the country itself but the way the country is experienced (for example, as a place where one feels comfortable and at ease) that determines the perception of it as 'home'.

Whist seemingly still associating 'home' and 'country', P3 described:

> *"…my home now is UK, is not (Birth Country) anymore"* (17.04), (home) *"…for me is really a place when you have your friends and when you feel happy, and at the moment for me is UK…"* (20.01).

Currently, P3 appears to be happy and to feel at 'home' in the U.K.. P3's words seem to suggest that 'home' is the place where one has a fulfilling life, the emphasis being given to the presence of strong and close interpersonal relationships as essential aspects that create a sense of 'home'. P3 expressed that the birth country is not 'home' anymore and this could mean that there may have been a weakening of the overall connection and of the emotional links with the place and with previous relationships so that the birth country does not feel as a 'home' any longer.

Similarly, P4 conveyed:

"…is not (Birth Country), that is the place where I was born. My home now is here…home is just a feeling that you have about where you live" (17.22-18.04).

Like P3, P4's statements seem to suggest that the U.K. is now, and more exclusively, experienced as 'home'. For P4, 'home' appears to relate to the overall feeling, supposedly positive, about the place/country where one lives. Arguably, the birth country does not seem to elicit that (positive) feeling and, in P4's words about the birth country ('solely' the place of birth), it could be implied a level of devaluation and distancing from it.

In contrast, P5 referred to the birth country as the 'home':

"…I think that (Birth Country) …in general is my home. Because…even if I land there, no matter in what city…I feel this air, I know that air, I see the trees, the things that I know…it's just that feeling of okay…I feel like I am home, because that's how I feel…" (27.18), *"…I can't say my home was in, I don't know, in Wales, erm, I went there, I worked there, I was okay*

with my boyfriend…it was like a place where I stayed or a time that I knew I had to go through and no, I didn't consider it (home)*"* (28.14-29.01), *"…it's very hard for me to build it* (home) *here…"* (29.27).

From P5's description, it could be tentatively claimed that a general sense of familiarity, of being in tune and at ease in an environment/country may be perceived as necessary conditions to feel at 'home'. Despite the presence of other valued aspects of life whilst living in the U.K., P5 seems to express unease and difficulties in re-creating a sense of 'home' in the U.K., 'home' continuing to be perceived as solely associated with the feelings elicited by the birth country.

P6, whilst still associating 'home' with 'country', questioned:

"Do I consider England home now, is (Birth Country) now the other place?...It (U.K.) *is now my home…"* (40.05), *"…it's a curious thing isn't it about home…so I am here twenty years…but in the end is it my home, probably not really…In the kind of final analysis, it's not…but then…is home, home anymore? I don't know, I'm not sure"* (42.05), *"…if I was to move back to (city in the Birth Country) where I grew up, would I quite be at home in the way that I used to be? Probably not…home isn't the place of, in your memory, I think it's not the place that you left…I suspect it's a bit of a trick of the mind…"* (44.02), *"…I don't think that I am, I suffer from the illusion that…home or that place that was home still exists…home is a much more complicated thing…That's…not there anymore…It isn't in the past any more, it just doesn't exist"* (54.21-55.02).

P6 seems to be happy about living in the U.K. and to carry on doing so for the foreseeable future. Still, whilst initially identifying the U.K. as 'home', he also

appears to question ‘where’ ‘home’ may be and to imply that possibly neither the U.K. or the birth country fully correspond to his past ideas and experiences of ‘home’. It could be argued that there was a change in perception and experience of ‘home’, possibly resulting from an awareness of the complexities and of the fluidity/change of ‘home’. P6’s words appear to suggest a realisation that the ‘home’ of the past and of memory may just be an illusion that he no longer holds, as it possibly does not ‘exist’ in the same way.

As pointed out previously, other meanings of ‘home’, which go beyond ‘country’, could already be gathered from previous excerpts from the participants’ accounts, these including, for example, the idea of ‘home’ as related to feelings/emotions, to the existence of close/strong relationships, etc.. In the participants’ transcripts other understandings of ‘home’ emerged, these often being interweaved with their perceptions of how ‘home’ can be experienced or sensed. For example, P1 described:

> *“…home as a word is being safe and comfortable and just secure, and happy I suppose as well”* (51.07), *“…the feeling of home as in the word home, not where it is…”* (57.10).

P1 again seems to indicate that a sense of safety, security, happiness and comfort are essential aspects of ‘home’ and of the experience of feeling at ‘home’. It appears that ‘home’ may be understood as ‘country’ solely when consideration is given to the ‘where’ it may be and, supposedly, this could indicate further perceptions/meanings of ‘home’ which, seemingly, are not limited by place.

P4 also communicated some meanings of ‘home’, which appear to go beyond ideas of ‘country’ and ‘place’:

"I think home is an abstract term, it's an emotional term so it's not about the place, it's about how you feel about a particular place. So, it's about your feelings strictly, not about a place. My home is mostly likely where my partner is and where my cat is!" (17.08), (home is) *"…about the feelings that…you have towards that particular place…and the environment in general"* (28.18).

An understanding of 'home' as an emotional space (for example, 'where my partner is and where my cat is', etc.) and as a sense that can emerge from/in a place, rather than the place itself, appear to be subjacent to P4's words. It could be said that, rather than the place, it may be the emotional experience created by relationship(s) in, and in relation to a particular place/environment, that creates a sense of 'home' for P4.

P3 conveyed a perception (and experience) of 'home' in these terms:

"…home is mainly where all your strong connections are and where you feel happy" (22.16), *"Is the connection with people, is not, not the place"* (21.16), *"Now my home is my boyfriend, is my friends, it doesn't matter where they live…"* (27.11), *"…I build a lot of connection, strong connection with people here…at the moment, the whole home for me is about those people that I treat as my family, not necessarily people that are my family"* (45.01-45.19), *"You have your own home, you belong, it belongs to that place, it belongs to that people…"* (34.09).

From P3's statements, it could be argued that an emotional/relational connection and a sense of belonging (interpersonal and to a place) are essential aspects of 'home' for her. Rather than being linked necessarily to a place, it could

be that a sense of 'home' may emerge when those aspects (feelings of 'happiness', strong emotional links and a sense of belonging) are perceived, and experienced, as being present.

Conversely, for P5 'home' seems to continue strongly linked to (the birth) 'country', despite consideration of other meanings or associations:

> *"…maybe home to me is like, some kind of emotions or even memories, which are connected with people. When I think home, I obviously see my parents, I see my grandparents, I see my family, that's, that's home for me…but I think that (Birth Country)…in general is my home"* (27.11), *"…because…most of my memories, most of my feelings, most of everything is connected with (Birth Country), so how can it be different?"* (28.11), *"It's like I feel like I belong…And that's why I call it home"* (30.05).

Whilst it seems to be suggested by P5 that a sense of belonging, the existence of strong/close emotional links with other people and positive emotional experiences may be necessary conditions for a sense of being/feeling at 'home' to emerge, those aspects appear to be still and predominantly associated with the birth country.

Similar aspects seem to be highlighted by P2:

> *"I feel comfortable, I feel a part…"* (31.03), *"…I have that connection, I don't feel an outsider"* (31.19), *"Home. Something warm, something bright, something shiny, something, erm, excited, full of roots and full of memories"* (39.24), *"…the (Birth Country's region)…is home, it's in my gut, I belong to that one"* (40.16), (home*) "…it's a gut feeling…you know you*

belong there. You could go and live somewhere else but you belong there…I don't belong here" (42.06-42.18)

P2 also appears to imply that a sense of belonging, as well as, of being/feeling comfortable and at ease are necessary qualities of 'home'. Whilst identifying elsewhere in the transcript that the U.K. was a 'home', P2 seems to suggest here that she has a deeper sense of belonging and a more relevant connection with the birth country, considered the 'true' 'home'. It could also be argued that a possible degree of idealisation of the birth country as 'home' may be implied by the sole emphasis upon positive features and emotions in her description of 'home'.

For P6:

"…home…it's probably really so much a location…as it is a place, like a niche…amongst family or amongst friend or…amongst people who recognise you" (42.22), *"…it's a location where there is a place for me"* (43.22), *"…I guess it's a place where you can kind of grow…you might find yourself…by circumstance, in a completely new…type of environment…where that place, that niche doesn't kind of easily exist…you have to…create it…I think you just need space where you can kind of maybe grow…Maybe that's what…home is. Where you can grow up and where you can adapt and find…there's enough of a response from the outside world, hopefully…to…accommodate that"* (45.11-46.04), *"(Birth Country) mostly lives around the world…so the diasporas, so such as all-pervading kind of concept or experience that…home is very much on the special, sacred soil of (Birth Country) but also you take it with*

you…So I think…that's what I kind of thought about the idea of home, where I feel important…" (57.06-57.20).

Whilst not excluding the meanings of 'home' as a 'location', as a 'place', it could be argued that P6 refers to 'home' as a 'space', be it emotional and/or relational, where someone feels 'recognised', 'accepted' and able to self-develop and thrive. For P6, these appear to be essential attributes of 'home'. Rather than limiting 'home' to a specific place or location, P6's words seem to imply that a sense of 'home' can be re-created if one feels able to 'adapt', by being/feeling in tune with the (new) surrounding environment.

Other meanings of 'home' - as 'roots'/'origins' and as a (desired or final) destination – seem to emerge from P2's and P5's accounts. For both, these meanings seem to be attributed to the birth country as representing their 'true' 'home'. P2 seemed to provide an example of these when referring to 'home' as:

"…where I have my roots, where I have my family" (33.18), *"…my roots they are in the (Birth Country's region)…my family is there…I always maintained my friends and the connections…is my first home"* (33.03), *"My roots, they are not here. My early memories they are not here…I have so many good memories in my country, I love the scenery, I love the culture…I love the lifestyle, I love many things about my country…my roots they are there…That is where I want to die"* (34.05-34.21).

Similarly, those meanings also seem to emerge in P5's following excerpts:

"…I feel great in that particular place or an environment, I just want to be in that environment and I think that's…where I aim to be" (29.16).

3.2.3.3. 'The experience of 'home''

This super-ordinate theme aims to gather the experience of 'home' and of feeling at 'home' from participants' accounts. As aforementioned, in their transcripts these experiences often appeared to be associated with their perceptions of 'home', however, this theme specifically emphasises the more experiential aspects of 'home'.

As described elsewhere in her transcript, feeling at 'home' was conveyed by P1 as:

"Just being comfortable and happy, safe and secure, I think" (57.14).

Feeling 'secure', 'safe', 'happy' and 'comfortable' seem to be essential features of the experience of 'home' for P1. This could possibly suggest that, for P1, a comprehensive sense of basic protection, contentment and of being at ease in an environment may be necessary conditions for the sense of 'home', of feeling at 'home' to emerge.

P2 described the experience of 'home' in a different way:

(when) *"…it's right in your gut"* (40.06).

P2 seems to imply that a sense of 'home' emerges from a deep, strong and all-encompassing feeling that all is/feels right, possibly relating to a feeling of being at ease that cannot be completely explained in a logical/rational way. This could suppose that the whole experience of 'home' may be influenced by elusive or by less tangible aspects.

P3 spoke of feeling at 'home' when:

"…you can completely relax…and is also like…you're in the environment that you can be yourself…Is mainly those, relaxing, feeling relaxed and feeling that you can be yourself" (25.04-25.14).

P3 also seems to imply that being at ease in an environment may be a core aspect of the experience of 'home'. P3's words could suggest that an integral feature of feeling at 'home' in an environment relates to the ability to live and behave without pretence and in accordance with one's own values and goals whilst, at the same time, still feeling accepted within and by the surrounding environment.

The importance of feeling at ease and safe in an environment also seem to be essential aspects of the experience of 'home' for P4:

"You basically feel comfortable and you feel that you are surrounded by the people you love and you feel comfortable and safe, obviously you have to feel safe. So, it's about comfort, safety, relationships…with other people" (20.12).

Like P1 and P3, P4 also appears to suggest that a sense of safety and of being at ease in an environment (including an interpersonal one) may be central features of the experience of 'home'. These also seem to be relevant in P5's understanding of the experience of 'home' when stating:

"…I would have to say that home is basically when you feel comfortable…everything is familiar, good, safe…kind of pleasant…that atmosphere…you just feel good…even for no reason…that's home…you don't have to have reason to feel great…It's just that feeling, an emotion" (30.14-31.01), *"…the good vibes as the good emotions…like a feeling of*

belonging, safety…everything like comes naturally to you and you just feel like you can do anything you want because, I don't know, you just know everything, you are confident" (31.17), *"Comfortable…at ease"* (32.15-32.22).

Apart from feeling safe and at ease in an environment, a sense of familiarity and of belonging also appear to be considered by P5 as core aspects providing a sense of 'home'. 'Home' seems to be deemed by P5 as a particular and unique 'atmosphere' that engenders an overall sense of 'natural' fitting, of confidence, contentment and belonging.

P6 provided a description of similar feelings:

"…I just felt at home…there was an atmosphere that was familiar to me…" (43.12), *"In tune…I could sing my song… (laughs) and it would fit in with the chorus…"* (50.01-50.10).

Like P5, P6's description seems to indicate that a sense of familiarity, of being 'in tune' and of a particular match/'fit' with the environment may be intrinsic aspects of the experience of 'home', of being/feeling at 'home'.

3.2.4. Overarching Theme 4 – ''Home' and 'migration' are connected'

This overarching theme aims to represent the view of all of the participants that 'home' and 'migration' are interconnected. Within this overarching theme, two super-ordinate themes were identified, these representing the two main ways in which that interconnection seems to be perceived by the participants. These are:

- ‘’Migration’ had an impact on ‘home’’ (in section 3.2.4.1.)
- ‘’Home’ influenced ‘migration’’ (in section 3.2.4.2.)

3.2.4.1. ‘‘Migration’ had an impact on ‘home’’

This super-ordinate theme aims to capture participants’ views that their ‘migration’ experiences had a significant impact on ‘home’, firstly by drawing their attention to the importance of ‘home’ and, secondly, by effecting a change on the meaning(s) they attributed to ‘home’. These are gathered under two main sub-themes:

- *Sub-theme 1 - ‘’Migration’ highlighted the importance of ‘home’’*
- *Sub-theme 2 – “Migration’ changed the meaning(s) of ‘home’’*

Sub-theme 1 - ‘’Migration’ highlighted the importance of ‘home’’

The view that the relevance of ‘home’ was recognised or emphasised through the experiences of ‘migration’ seems to be expressed by five out of the six participants. P3 seemed to provide examples of this in the following excerpts:

> (‘home’ matters) *“…a lot…I…realise that I needed to build my own home again…and because of that is really important for me…”* (23.05), *“…when I thought about home in the past, I didn’t reflect a lot about that because it was a natural thing for me…”* (26.16), *“…home and migration…they definitely linked because I think that if you migrate you need to create your own home…You start to lose the connection with people…that you met…that you knew…you need to build the new connection”* (P3, 29.15) *“…when I moved to UK there was some period of time that I wasn’t sure that UK is my home…I also feel that (Birth Country) is not my home any*

more…so you feel that I don't have a home to be honest…" (34.09-35.11), *"…there was a period… that I didn't have a home…"* (39.09).

P3 seems to suggest that 'home' was mostly taken for granted prior to 'migration' ('…a natural thing for me…'). The sense of a gradual disconnection from the past 'home' and the experience of not (yet) at 'home' in the new country appears to be viewed by P3 as post-'migration' experiences that heightened awareness of 'home' and of its importance. Thus, it could be said that the sense of loss/absence of 'home', together with the need to re-create 'home' post-'migration' may have contributed to P3's recognition of the relevance of (a) 'home'.

P5 seemed to share some similar views and experiences, when saying:

> *"…in the past…I associated home with…nothing special…I do have a different opinion now…I do feel completely different about my home. I feel something when I talk about it…I don't know I…get emotional"* (36.09-37.04), *"…you will only realise what something means to you if you see it…from different perspective…I moved and I started talking about (Birth Country) as my home because I lived in different places and I have realised that there is no place like that place"* (40.09), *"…when you migrate, you realise what you left and you realise the importance of family, friends, relationships that you had for years with people…it teaches you a lot of things…to appreciate the value of home…Just to appreciate that, because we take it for granted…migration, I think, makes you more aware of that, definitely, I think this is the biggest…thing for people that they realise…the importance of…home"* (44.11-45.01), *"…unless you move, unless you go*

somewhere, unless you experience different things, you don't realise what you already have and what is your home…" (52.04).

Like P3, P5 seems to indicate that the acknowledgement of 'home' and of its relevance only emerged as a result of 'migration', as it was mostly taken for granted during the pre-'migration' period. From P5's words, 'home' seems to be associated with the birth country (the 'home'), which has become imbued with a strong emotional content since 'migration', seemingly one of longing for what has been lost and that cannot be found anywhere else, what could possibly suggest not only yearning for 'home' but also a certain degree of idealisation of the (past) 'home'.

A recognition of the importance of 'home' through 'migration' appears to be implied in P2's and P6's statements below. This seems to contrast with their stated views and experiences of 'home' prior to 'migration', which seems to emerge as somewhat omnipresent and taken for granted and, consequently, as not fully appreciated. This could be illustrated by the following excerpts:

"…when I was there…I never thought about all these things…I never thought, erm, about my country on these terms…Something I appreciated? No, no, no" (P2, 43.18-44.19).

(home) *"…it was beyond important because it was all I knew"* (P6, 56.02).

The view that an increased awareness of the importance of 'home' may be a consequence of 'migration' also seems to be suggested by P1, when stating:

"It's only as time has moved on, we've gone to somewhere I do feel safe, that it's mattered more, if that makes sense" (62.11).

As elsewhere in her transcript, for P1, feeling safe seems to be an essential aspect of the experience of feeling at 'home'. It could be argued that, when exposed to situations where safety (and the sense of 'home') may have been seen to be compromised, the awareness of the importance of 'home' and of the emotional containment that it seems to provide may have been highlighted.

Sub-theme 2 – ''Migration' changed the meaning(s) of 'home''

Within the super-ordinate theme referring to the idea of 'migration' as having an impact on 'home', another sub-theme emerges from four of the participants' accounts, aiming to capture their view that the meaning(s) they attributed to 'home' changed through 'migration'. P3 seemed to express this change as follows:

> *"…it was a place where I was born…associated with my whole family…but now…is more about…relationships with people. Is not a place…"* (27.05), *"…the whole perception about what the home is for me completely changed"* (28.08), *"…before I leave (Birth Country) and move to UK, home was a place for me and it was natural it was a place…and it is not a place any more, is people…"* (33.16).

From P3's words, a change of meaning(s) of 'home' through 'migration' seems to be evident. During pre-'migration', 'home' was associated with 'place' (of birth and where family lived) but the meaning and emphasis appears to have changed to 'relationships with people' in the post-'migration'. It could be argued that with the change of place which is inherent to 'migration', the perception and experience of 'home' as located in a sole place may have been challenged, possibly highlighting that a sense of 'home' can emerge in other places,

associated with others aspects/facets of ‘home’ (relationships, for example) which previously were not acknowledged or were just taken for granted.

Similar views seemed to be communicated by P4:

> *“…when we moved out of (Birth Country) we were changing the places we lived in quite a few times…I think it shaped my definition of home…it changed it”* (22.24-23.10), *“…when I was in (Birth Country)…when I thought about home I probably was thinking about the place where I was gonna sleep…where my parents are, where my brother is…now I changed, I think about it a bit different…Home can be anywhere, absolutely anywhere”* (23.18-24.05), *“I think that migration shaped my definition of home and obviously these, those two terms are linked to each other”* (26.01).

The change of the meanings of ‘home’ as a result of ‘migration’ emerges from P4’s statements, as well as, the view that ‘home’ and ‘migration’ are linked. Like for P3, it could be argued that, changing ‘places’ (‘migration’) may have contributed to a realisation of the importance of other aspects that may contribute to the sense of ‘home’, beyond more tangible ones such as, the place of birth or of residence, the family household, etc.. It could be tentatively said that a more located view of ‘home’ seems to have given way to an understanding of ‘home’ that is less dependent on place, possibly underlying the view that a sense of ‘home’ can be experienced ‘anywhere’.

P6 seemed to convey a similar view when saying:

“…it’s changed…it’s matured…home is a much more complicated thing…” (54.05-54.24), *“…I guess I’m free to make home wherever it’s possible to…it’s been a major change…”* (55.12-55.15)

Like P3 and P4, there seems to be an acknowledgement by P6 that ‘migration’ provoked a ‘major change’ regarding the meaning(s) and experience of ‘home’. A realisation of the complexity(ies) of ‘home’ appears to be manifest in P6’s statements, seemingly suggesting that, with hindsight, previous understandings and experiences of ‘home’ may be seen as somewhat limited/limiting. Being aware that a sense of ‘home’ can be re-created ‘wherever’ seems to be experienced by P6 as liberating.

A change in the meanings of ‘home’, resulting from the experiences of ‘migration’, also seemed to be communicated by P5:

(‘home’ of pre-‘migration’) *“It meant nothing…”* (36.15), (in the post-‘migration’) *“…I did realise that it is, it’s mostly emotions. It’s mostly this sense of belonging and this feeling of being comfortable…”* (52.11).

The idea that ‘home’ ‘meant nothing’ could possibly relate to ‘home’ being taken for granted in the pre-‘migration’ or that it was not considered relevant. Still, a change through ‘migration’ seems to be reported by P5, ‘home’ now appearing to be associated with the feelings and sense of belonging that it may evoke.

Seemingly in contrast with the above four participants, P1 expressed:

“…I’d still say that’s the same…the feeling of home as in the word home, not where it is, I think that stays the same…Just being comfortable and happy, safe and secure…” (57.08)

P1 seems to indicate that ‘migration’ did not change what may be for her the core aspects of feeling at ‘home’ – being ‘comfortable’, ‘happy’, ‘safe’ and ‘secure’. Thus, P1 appears to suggest that, for her, a sense of ‘home’ may be independent of the place (per se) where one may live.

3.2.4.2. ‘‘Home’ influenced ‘migration’’

In general, the idea that ‘home’ influenced ‘migration’ emerged from all of the participants’ accounts. This super-ordinate theme aims to capture that perspective. On one hand, aspects and circumstances at ‘home’ seem to have contributed to ‘migration’ (and may have influenced the experience of it) and, on another hand, ‘home’ appears to be seen as a ‘matrix’ which provided the framework or the ‘lens’ from where the surrounding world and one’s experiences (including ‘migration’ experiences) are comprehended. Thus, two sub-themes were identified within this theme:

- Sub-theme 1 - ‘Aspects and circumstances of ‘home’ contribute to ‘migration’’
- Sub-theme 2 – ‘’Home’ as a ‘matrix’ for (‘migration’) experiences’

Sub-theme 1 – ‘Aspects and circumstances of ‘home’ contribute to ‘migration’’

The idea that aspects and circumstances of/at ‘home’ may have contributed to ‘migration’ (and the experience of it) emerged from all of the participants’ accounts. However, the aspects and/or facets of ‘home’ that each participant seemed to refer to as possibly influencing ‘migration’ differed.

As aforementioned, P1 talked about the circumstances in the birth country that contributed to 'migration', as follows:

> *"…the government and politics and everything in (Birth Country) wasn't very good at the time…wanted to kind of leave that situation…"* (3.06), *"…overall, I think it can be linked…we moved out of a situation where we were quite happy in ourselves, but perhaps knew in the future that that might change…now we've had opportunities here that we might not have had before…it makes a big impact as a whole not just me personally. I think a lot of people can have better situations if they migrate somewhere else"* (59.22-60.01), *"…people who take a chance to better themselves or better their family opportunities or better their family security and future…"* (61.08).

Thus, P1 seems to suggest that an unstable socio-political situation in the birth country (elsewhere in the transcript described as 'home'), which her family feared that would negatively affect their future livelihood, has prompted the move to the U.K., in search of the 'safety' and 'opportunities' which were possibly perceived as not being available in the birth country in those circumstances. This could be seen as an example of 'home' influencing 'migration'.

P2 also indicated:

> *"…at one point, I just wanted to have a break…to go somewhere…to have space…I just wanna break from everything…"* (2.06-3.05), *"…we have our own culture, very traditional and very particularly way of…seeing the world…moving to another country… gave me another approach to see life*

differently…” (13.23), *“…I just want to experience other things, other cultures…”* (44.01).

For P2, albeit differently from P1, the situation at ‘home’ could also be interpreted as having contributed to ‘migration’. P2 seems to communicate a sense of stagnation in the birth country (again defined elsewhere in the transcript as ‘home’) for which visiting/moving to another country/culture seemed to represent an opportunity for a positive life change, thus appearing to create expectations of more fulfilling and liberating life experiences.

The idea of ‘home’ influencing ‘migration’ also seems to permeate P3’s statements:

> *“…me and my partner…we wanted to start our master’s degree in a different city than our parents live and we wanted to be independent…so we decided to come to UK…”* (1.15-2.01), *“…when I decided to leave (Birth Country)…I was quite close with my siblings and friends but I also wanted to really move away from my parents and have my own life…I really wanted to lose that relationship (laughs)… so it* (moving to the U.K.) *was…much easier”* (32.15-33.06).

Again, P3 seems to suggest that moving with her partner to the U.K., apart from the educational purposes, mainly represented an opportunity for them to live together and to be independent from their parents. It could be argued that for P3, as for P2, moving to another country may have represented a sort of liberation and, in P3’s case, as an opportunity to evade possible birth country’s (‘home’) social/cultural constraints and/or family expectations. Thus, this could possibly be

understood as another example of the circumstances of ‘home’ contributing to ‘migration’.

P4 also conveyed:

“…I thought that once I moved to England I would have a better life, I would have better opportunities…” (1.15), *“…I can’t say that I love the country that I was born in , that I feel emotionally attached to it…”* (4.26), *“…I came from…a small town so I didn’t see those opportunities”* (27.22), *“It is basically much easier in this country…In (Birth Country) it would be difficult to have the same opportunities basically”* (32.17-33.01).

Another way in which ‘home’ may have influenced ‘migration’ seems to emerge from P4’s statements. These appear to imply that certain opportunities and a desired life were not perceived to be achievable in the birth country, offering P4 no other option but to move to another country.

Similarly, P5 expressed:

“…I actually was thinking that home was a horrible place and I just thought, oh what’s the point of living there…” (36.15), *“…when I left (Birth Country) and I thought (Birth Country) and home was the worst thing…”* (40.05), *“…I thought about home as like…it should be different…let’s just do something, try something different…Be among different people…I was thinking that different means perfect…I had that idea about home and then I thought, oh, let’s move…”* (46.07-46.18), *“…when I was moving now…I was quite aware of the fact that I wanted to sort of stay and if only my boyfriend was agreeable to come and live in (Birth Country)…I wouldn’t move…I’ve done it twice…I’ve seen life changing in (Birth Country) for the*

past few years and I love it there…" (46.20-47.15), *"…this time it felt different…it's not as if I wanted to come here…I was actually better off being in (Birth Country) than being here…I only came here for that one person…"* (48.09).

P5 had a previous experience of 'migration' and the above excerpts refer to the two periods of 'migration'. Albeit in a contrasting way, it could be argued that in both occasions the circumstances and perception of 'home' appear to influence 'migration'. 'Home' was perceived and/or experienced as a 'horrible place' prior to P5's first move away from the birth country, this seemingly prompting the decision to migrate. At that time, 'migration' seems to have been perceived as an exciting opportunity to live different experiences. However, the second move away from 'home' (the birth country), at a time when 'home' appears to have been experienced positively and as able to fulfil the expected life goals and needs, 'migration' appears to elicit contradictory views and feelings – wanting to be with the British boyfriend and contentment for doing so but, at the same time, not wanting to leave 'home' and feeling sad for 'having' to move.

In P6's following excerpts the contribution of 'home' to 'migration' also seems to emerge:

"…I had a belief that I could start anew…in the UK…kind of let go some of the things that I felt maybe at that time were weighing me down or holding me back or whatever…" (7.02-7.09), *"…what opportunity this bigger country represented to me when I left…I kind of recognised…that in (Birth Country) there is a degree of, well, you have to know people. It's not a free and open meritocracy or whatever…that's very stifling…in terms of*

opportunity…" (63.16-64.07), (in the U.K.) *"…there is some level of cultural diversity…but in (Birth Country) there probably isn't…the opportunity and…diversity of ideas…just isn't there or wasn't anyway…"* (71.17-72.01).

From his words, it appears that the 'home' of pre-'migration' was possibly being experienced by P6 as limiting, as restrictive of opportunities, as 'stifling' and, therefore, the move to the U.K. may have been seen as a desired opportunity for different, more fulfilling and wider ranging life experiences, possibly representing a form of 'liberation' from a 'stifling' environment. Thus, P6 also seems to suggest that 'home' influenced 'migration'.

Sub-theme 2 – ''Home' as a 'matrix' for ('migration') experiences'

The idea of 'home' as providing a sort of (socio-cultural, etc.) framework for making sense of (post-'migration') experiences emerged from some of the participants' accounts (P1, P2 and P6). Thus, this sub-theme intends to gather that perception of 'home' as a 'matrix' (a base, a foundation, a centre of reference) from where people's 'lens' for observing and making sense of experiences and the surrounding world gradually evolves. P1 seemed to convey an example of this when saying:

"…Even now, I have a different cultural thought process than some of my friends who have been in the UK their entire life…And I think that's because of where I've grown up, I appreciate things differently…" (17.12-17.18), *"…I had lived there* (in the Birth Country) *for so long and I had started to develop as a person, where if you're a young child…you can't understand elements of life as we know it…because you haven't started*

to build your life at that point or understand life and what makes it tick or understand the world…I have a different view of things…" (66.23-67.15), *"Yeah, the place, yeah. Where I learnt to be or I learnt to appreciate things…I learnt how to treat people and how to speak to people…stuff that makes you, the thought processes or the way you have them…"* (69.01), *"You learn something very young…You learn the rules…it's the social and the cultural rules of life…a different country has a different set of cultural and social rules and I've learnt the life lessons that I had there* (in the Birth Country)*…"* (70.18-71.07).

Thus, P1 seems to suggest that the birth country as 'home' has provided the general environment for the development of her (core) personal ways of understanding the world and, in general, of her identity. From P1's words, it could be said that even current experiences seem to be appreciated by resorting to 'home' as a (socio-cultural) centre of reference.

Similarly, P2 expressed:

"…I came over here with my own experiences. With my education, my beliefs, my culture…" (55.16), *"…I still approach, I mean still now, approaching this culture from my own culture…"* (57.07) *"…But I did…absorb and integrate things of this culture within me…"* (57.03), *"Yeah, it's like your framework is wider…so you can approach things differently…"* (59.12).

Like P1, P2 also appears to suggest that present experiences continue to be understood with reference to the birth country's (cultural) 'framework', i.e., with reference to 'home'. However, the widening of this 'framework' by contact with

the new culture also seems to be acknowledged by P2. It could be said that whilst 'home' appears to be perceived as the base for understanding of experiences and of the surrounding world, this was able to expand and change through experiences such as those of 'migration'.

Again, the idea and experience of 'home' as a centre of reference appears to be provided by P6, when discussing:

> *"…you grow up in a way…you prefer to understand the world in the way that you do from wherever it is that you come from and you learn that…if you make…something in the world, the world responds in a particular kind of way and you get used to that and that's how you understand…"* (48.10)

Further to that, P6 could be seen as implying that a sense of predictability and continuity can be experienced when that basic framework of understanding, provided by 'home', is shared or at least comprehended by others ('…the world responds….").

Part 4. Discussion

4.1. Overview

In this section, a reflective discussion about this study is presented. Initially, the findings of this study are discussed, with reference to the relevant existing literature. This is followed by discussion of the significance and practical implications of this study, as well as, of its limitations. Suggestions for future research are also considered in this section. At the end, some final reflections about this research are presented.

4.2. Discussion of the findings of this study

The discussion of the findings of this study centres firstly on the overarching themes which resulted from analysis and which were presented in Part 3. Results. This is followed by a further discussion of the findings focussing more directly upon their relevance in relation to this study's research question.

4.2.1. Discussion of findings: the overarching themes

In this section, the four overarching themes presented in Part 3. Results - ''Migration': a multifaceted decision', ''Migration': a mix of experiences', ''Home' is such a 'complicated thing'' and ''Home' and 'migration' are connected' - are discussed with reference to the relevant existing literature.

4.2.1.1. ''Migration': a multifaceted decision'

An important part of the overall understanding of the participants' experiences of 'migration' concerned the comprehension and contextualisation of their decision to migrate, through their account of the circumstances/reasons for moving away from their birth country. The participants seemed to convey that different aspects were associated with the decision to move. These appeared to include not only their reasons for moving but also their sense of control/power over the decision and the feelings associated with that decision. Thus, the decision to migrate emerged as multifaceted.

'Motive(s) for moving'

Various motives for moving away from their birth countries were reported by the participants. These included: moving to the U.K. in search of safety and security as a result of socio-political instability in the birth country; personal/relationship commitments; further education pursuits; the search for better living conditions; and existential/experiential reasons.

It is of note that there was no participation in this study from anyone with a legally defined 'refugee' status (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). This despite the inclusion criteria contemplating the participation of any 'migrant' which, within the wider definition of the term 'migrant' adopted in this study, would include any person who moved from their birth country to another country, thus it would include 'refugees'. Consequently, all the participants fall within a narrower designation of 'migrant' which, as discussed previously (in Part 1, Chapter 1), is often described as contrasting with the legal definition of 'refugee' (UNHCR, 2011, 2012). However, even within the bounds of a narrower definition of the term 'migrant', a wide range of motives leading to 'migration' was observed amongst the

participants in this study. This contrasts with some commonly held assumptions by members of the public and promoted by some media, that ‘migrants’ move away from their birth countries primarily and/or mostly for ‘economic’ reasons. This assumption is also often reflected in some countries’ immigration policies.

Still, the variety of motives reported by the participants as leading to ‘migration’ is consistent with the literature in the field, representing the (often extreme) diversity and complexities surrounding the circumstances and reasons underlying people’s ‘migration’ (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Hugo, 1996; Pollock, 1989). Accordingly, the participants’ accounts seemed to communicate, not only the variety of motives for moving, but also some of the complexities involving ‘migration’.

P1, for example, reported that moving to live in the U.K. happened in the context of changes in the socio-political conditions in the birth country, perceived as a source of insecurity and instability. Arguably, and to an extent, the circumstances described by P1 share some similarities with the conditions faced by people who feel compelled to leave their country in search of refuge, security and safety, regardless of the fulfilment (or not) of the legal requirements for recognition of ‘refugee’ status’ under international law. Still, P1 is considered a ‘migrant’ in the narrower sense of the word.

On what can be perceived as the other end of a continuum of reasons/circumstances to migrate is P2’s description of the reasons for moving as part of a search for different personal experiences in a different country and within a different socio-cultural context. These reasons may not even be

immediately or commonly associated with the idea of a 'migrant', despite implying a geographical move to live in another country.

In a similar vein, the reasons for moving given by two other participants (P3 and P5), may also not instantly be linked to the still common and pre-conceived idea of a 'migrant', maybe not even for those who move (migrate) - the pursuit of further educational goals and the strengthening of relationship commitments. Interestingly, in this study, only P4's reported reason to migrate (*"…have a better life…better opportunities…",* 1.16) could be associated, in a more linear way, with the preconceived idea of a 'migrant' as someone who moves to another country mostly in search of better (mostly economic) living conditions.

It was also noticeable that most participants tended to link the decision to migrate to a single, particular motive, albeit a clearly different one from one participant to another. This despite other underlying aspects being possibly associated to their reasons to move. At this level, only P6's description openly indicated that the decision to move may have encompassed multiple motives, some more obvious than others, these resulting from a complex mix of events and set of circumstances which occurred concurrently at a particular time.

'Sense of control (power) over decision'

The participants' sense of control over the decision to migrate was a recurrent theme that emerged from all of their accounts. However, within this theme, there were wide variations amongst participants, ranging from a perceived powerlessness as regards that decision to a sense of full control over it. As described previously (in Part 3. Results), three of the participants (P1, P3 and P5)

felt that they had little or no control over the decision to migrate. For them, the move to live in the U.K. was the result of unwanted circumstances and/or determined (or at least influenced or prompted) by close or significant others. In contrast, two of the participants (P2 and P4) expressed how the decision was consonant with their willingness to move, indicating that they had complete control over it. Lastly, another participant (P6) suggested that, whilst the idea of moving had been triggered by undesirable personal circumstances, a potential move was also considered as an opportunity for personal development, this ultimately providing a sense of empowerment in relation to the decision to migrate.

The emergence of this theme across all of the participants' accounts seems to have enabled them to define, through their own words, the nature or type of their 'migration', rather than this being defined externally and through the use of fixed categories such as, 'voluntary' or 'involuntary/forced' 'migration', as it is often the case in the literature in the field. This was considered important because, as pointed out previously (in Part 1, Chapter 1), the distinction between 'migrant' and 'refugee' is often conflated with the (assumed) 'voluntary' or 'involuntary/forced' nature of their 'migration', respectively. However, if such a simple and linear link was always found, and if the parameters to define the type/nature of 'migration' were clearly defined, this would suggest that all of the participants in this study – all 'migrants' in a narrower sense - would consider themselves as having moved to the U.K. 'voluntarily' and, consequently, they would possibly have felt free(r) to choose and be more in control over the decision to move.

Thus, the findings of this study seem to show that attempting to establish clear-cut and polarised categorical distinctions amongst ‘migrants’ (in the wider definition of this term), based upon classifications such as, ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary/forced’ ‘migration’, may be fraught with difficulties as these distinctions may not be as straightforward as often assumed. This is consistent with arguments by authors such as, Ahmed (1999), Hugo (1996) and Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000), as aforementioned (in Part 1, Chapter 1). Furthermore, the findings of this study seem to support the idea, as suggested by Hugo (1996), that rather than establishing a clear dichotomy between ‘voluntary’ or ‘involuntary/forced’ ‘migration’, it may be more useful to understand the circumstances and the degree of choice and control that lead to a decision to migrate as being positioned along a continuum between two extremes, ranging “from totally voluntary migration…to totally forced migration” (p.107). This appears to capture people’s experiences of ‘migration’ in a more comprehensive way, as can be observed in this study.

‘Feelings about the decision’

In their accounts, all of the participants conveyed their feelings about the decision to move away from their birth country, be it positive, negative or ambivalent feelings.

Three of the participants (P1, P2 and P5) reported emotions with one sole or prevalent valence (be it positive or negative). P2 suggested that the decision to leave was accompanied solely by positive emotions, with the prevalence of a general sense of excitement and happiness. Conversely, P5 seemed to emphasise that the decision to leave, and the move itself, were accompanied with

a sense of general unhappiness and anticipatory anxiety. Similarly, P1 described how the decision to leave and leaving the birth country had generated intense sadness and a sense of loss, being lived as an overall unsettling and frightening experience. For these three participants, and although with different valences (positive or negative), their feelings regarding the decision seem to be congruent with their accounts of the circumstances leading to migration. For example, P2 had communicated her willingness to move in search of new experiences in a different country and a new socio-cultural context. In contrast, P1 and P5 had expressed their general unwillingness to move, P5 considering that it happened primarily to maintain and consolidate a previously established relationship with a British national, and P1 to accompany the family in search of socio-political stability and security in a different country.

Another two participants (P4 and P6) explicitly or implicitly seemed to communicate that the decision to leave and the move itself had generated ambivalent feelings. Despite wanting to move to live in the U.K., P4 expressed how the decision to leave had generated a mixture of feelings, where the hope for a better life concurred with the anticipatory anxiety provoked by the idea of a moving into the 'unknown'. P6 also reflected upon the fact that the (longer) time taken between deciding to leave and actually leaving could be seen as revealing of the difficulties posed by the decision, namely of the need for a period of emotional and psychological 'preparation' to leave people and things behind. Simultaneously, for P6, the idea of leaving also prompted feelings of excitement and an anticipation of positive migratory outcomes.

Furthermore, P3's account could be seen as alluding to a possible impact and relevance of the envisioned length of stay in another country in the ways that

the decision to migrate and leaving may be viewed and experienced by those who migrate. In this particular case, whilst the move was not seen as resulting from personal choice (the partner 'persuading' the move), the fact that the original decision was for a temporary stay in the U.K. meant that it was initially experienced as an 'easy' decision. For P3, it was only the actual move, and the fact that the 'temporary' move became more permanent over time, that appeared to prompt a retrospective evaluation of the decision as a 'difficult' one.

Interestingly, for some of the participants in this study, the anticipated duration of the stay in another country (perceived as either temporary or as more permanent) or the uncertainty as regards the length of stay, seem to be relevant to the valence of the feelings about the decision to move. Apart from P3, two of the other participants (P1 and P5) seemed to suggest that the decision to move to the U.K. was unwanted and negatively experienced, this partly because it was perceived as a more permanent move, i.e., with reduced possibilities of a return to live in the birth country.

Thus, together with the unwillingness to move and the deemed limited control over the decision, the perceived impossibility of a return or, at least, the uncertainty about the possibility or the timing of a possible return may have contributed to the negative feelings about the decision and the move itself as expressed by some of the participants. This could be seen as compounding and/or heighten the sense of loss, which seems to be accompanied by a subjacent yearning for the (perceived as) irretrievable and inaccessible past 'home', which can be present even years after the move. It could be argued that these experiences have similarities with those described by Black (2002) as being found in some 'refugees' and 'migrants' (in a narrower sense), "where there is a

sense that the more distant ‘home’ is in time or space, or the more unlikely or impractical a return ‘home’ might be, the stronger that group’s identification with, and yearning for, such a return becomes” (p.126).

Nonetheless, for P1 and P5, rather than a yearning for a geographical/physical return to the past ‘home’ (although not completely excluding it), the emphasis seems to be placed upon the loss(es) that the permanence of the move may represent for them. Thus, for these participants, the yearning seems to be linked to (the loss of) what was left and that became (perceived as more) inaccessible in view of the permanence of the move.

4.2.1.2. ‘’Migration’: a mix of experiences’

The participants’ views of ‘migration’ and of their experiences during the post-‘migration’ emerged from analysis as being very mixed. These mixed experiences, captured under this overarching theme, in turn, clustered around the following themes: ‘Challenging times’; ‘And thereafter…settling in…’; ‘Compatriots in a new place’; ‘A ‘change in direction’’; and ‘Identity in a new place’.

‘Challenging times’

All of the participants in this study communicated that the initial stages of post-‘migration’ were characterised by difficulties and challenges beyond what they had anticipated prior to leaving their birth country. These challenges and difficulties appeared to be experienced independently of the personal circumstances leading to the decision to migrate, the degree of choice/power over that decision and/or how content/happy (or not) they were about moving. Despite variation on the emphasis given by the different participants to those difficulties

and challenges, these seem to have created in them a general sense of not fitting in, a sense of being and of being made to feel ‘foreign’, thus heightening their sense of being the ‘outsider’, at least during the earlier stages of post-‘migration’.

The participants shared how they found it challenging to be confronted with, and having to navigate, the numerous socio-cultural differences between their birth country and the U.K.. Whilst some of these differences were clearer and immediately apparent to the participants, other differences were more subtle, discrete and/or related to ‘smaller’ aspects, thus more difficult to be understood straight away and, at the same time, with a higher potential for misinterpretations. Those experiences have drawn some of the participants’ attention for the general social and cultural norms that regulate general behaviours, ways of interacting, ways of communicating, etc., and how they stem from specific socio-cultural contexts. As a consequence, some previously ‘common’ behaviours, ways of interacting, etc., can be ‘out-of-step’ in a new socio-cultural context, which may heighten their sense of ‘foreignness’. Added to this, P1 and P5 further extended the difficulties experienced during the initial stages of the post-‘migration’ to an accompanying sense of perplexing strangeness elicited by the multiple differences between their birth country and the U.K., even those at geographical, environmental and architectonic levels.

The experience of varying degrees of strangeness and unfamiliarity when people are faced with a new (socio-cultural) environment, with its different and unfamiliar cultural signs, symbols and values, its different ways of interacting, etc., has been recognised in the literature and forms the basis, for example, of Oberg (1960)’s conceptualisation of ‘cultural shock’. Oberg (1960) considers that people’s culture is acquired over time through processes that occur beyond

awareness, enabling people to adapt to their own social and cultural environments so that these become familiar for them. According to ‘culture shock’ literature, a sense of strangeness and unfamiliarity can ensue when people come into contact with new (socio-cultural) environments that have new social and cultural cues and norms, some of which they cannot immediately comprehend (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994). However, the experiences reported by the participants seem to be better and more comprehensively understood as resulting from a disruption of a basic sense of ‘home’, as conceptualised by Papadopoulos (2015). For Papadopoulos (2015), a sense of ‘home’ is associated with specific rhythms, habits and rituals, with familiar sounds, smells, tastes, textures, with well-known geographical landscapes and architectural designs, all of these offering a basic sense of containment, constancy, stability and security. Consequently, migrating to a new country (leaving ‘home’) implies being faced with a new environment where previously familiar patterns, which often exist beyond people’s awareness, can be disrupted, thus provoking and highlighting the strangeness of the unfamiliar and the different in the new context.

Another challenging and difficult experience during the early stages of post-‘migration’, which was reported by most participants, related to the ‘language barrier’. The challenges surrounding the ability to (fully and comprehensively) communicate through the use of English language was brought up as a major difficulty by all of those participants for whom English was not one of the ‘adopted’ languages in their birth countries (i.e., for P2, P3, P4, P5). Two of the participants (P2 and P3) indicated that their command of English language was ‘poor’ on arrival to the U.K. and they highlighted their struggle to

gain enough English language skills to communicate with others without it leading to misunderstandings and misinterpretations. However, the 'language barrier' was also mentioned by the other two of those participants (P4 and P5) who, despite having studied English at university level prior to their arrival in the U.K., found it (unexpectedly) difficult to navigate the challenges posed by a discrepancy between the more formal English that they had learned and the common usage of colloquial English and its varying accents throughout the U.K.. So, these participants (P4 and P5) also expressed that it was difficult to fully understand and to effectively communicate in English during the initial years of their life in the U.K.. Again, this 'language barrier' increased all of these participants' (P2, P3, P4 and P5) sense of 'foreignness' in the early stages of post-'migration', having direct consequences both at personal (e.g., lowering self-confidence in social interactions) and professional (e.g., accepting jobs below their qualifications, lacking confidence in terms of professional performance) levels. These experiences demonstrate the adverse effects that the 'language barrier' can have in terms of adjustment to a new/'migration' country. Indeed, it has been described in the literature that proficiency in the language of the new country can facilitate 'migrants'' (within its wider definition) adjustment by, for example, enabling social interactions and the development of new social networks and by allowing access to employment opportunities that are more compatible with those 'migrants'' (again in a wider sense) qualifications (Adserà & Pytliková, 2016; UNHCR, 2013).

Two participants (P2 and P5) also conveyed that speaking in a different language is, in itself, a challenge in terms of being able to express, at least more accurately, one's own thoughts and emotions. Somehow, these participants seem to communicate what Hannah Arendt (as cited in Cassin, 2016, p.45)

expressed when living in exile in a country with a different language: “we lost our mother tongue, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings” (Cassin, 2016, p.45).

Another recurrent issue which emerged under the theme ‘Challenging times’, referred to the participants’ reported post-‘migration’ experiences of devaluation, negative stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia. These were manifested in many different ways and levels.

One way related to the devaluation of previous achievements. Some participants felt that they were a target of preconceived and unsubstantiated beliefs by those in the U.K. regarding the academic, professional and/or any other accomplishments that they had attained in their birth countries. As a result, their pre-‘migration’ achievements were devalued and negatively compared with the supposed higher U.K.’s standards. These experiences became a source of personal suffering and it also had practical implications, the latter ranging from abandonment of previous interests and life goals, to resorting to employment in jobs well below academic qualifications.

Another, related to the experience, conveyed by some participants, of a hostile atmosphere in the U.K. towards foreigners in general, which made them feel belittled and depreciated merely for being foreigners. They also reported experiencing negative stereotyping and prejudice associated with their birth country and with its nationals and this meant that they were attributed or assumed to have some negative characteristics or traits for the sole reason of being a national of their birth country. The hostility and prejudice towards the participants also manifested itself through, for example, a negative emphasis upon aspects

such as, having a strong foreign accent or a limited proficiency in the English language.

Studies involving ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ (in a narrow sense) often report, refer or focus upon their experiences of devaluation, prejudice, discrimination, xenophobia and racism in their (various) new/‘migration’ countries (Grant & Nadin, 2007; Ngo & Este, 2006; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Rzepnikowska, 2019; Schulz et al., 2006; Torres Fernández et al., 2017; UNHCR, 2013). Similarly, the levels of hostility, xenophobia and racism suffered by ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ in general and, in particular by those of specific nationalities, has been acknowledged, in the related literature and research, as occurring in various countries, including the U.K., those often being exacerbated by media and political discourses (Rzepnikowska, 2019; UNHCR, 2013). The experience of various levels of devaluation, discrimination and loss of occupational status, which can be faced by ‘migrants’ (in its wider definition) is also recognised in the relevant research and literature (Grant & Nadin, 2007; Ngo & Este, 2006; UNHCR, 2013). Thus, the experiences reported by the participants in this study further seem to illustrate and support previous research and literature in both of those areas.

The overall emotional impact that discrimination, xenophobia and racism can have on ‘refugees’ and any other ‘migrants’ who are the recipient of those attitudes and behaviours has also been the focus of previous research (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Schulz et al., 2006; Torres Fernández et al., 2017). Research and literature have also emphasised the adverse effects that the experiences of being made to feel unwelcomed, not accepted and unsupported can have in the process of social integration in a new country (UNHCR, 2013). In this study, these

type of post-'migration' experiences are understood by some of the participants as a denigration and derision of (personal and national) identity and of their birth country. As well as having significant practical consequences, these negative post-'migration' experiences were also considered by those participants as having an emotional impact on them. These seem to have further contributed to a sense of not being/feeling at 'home', at least in the initial stages of post-'migration', thus fostering a heightened sense of being, and of being seen as an 'outsider'.

Therefore, and from the above, the participants in this study can be seen as having faced a whole range of difficulties and challenges, (at least) in the initial stages of post-'migration' in the U.K. which, overall, generated feelings of being 'foreign' and the 'outsider'. In general, this particular period of post-'migration' was experienced by all of the participants as a 'hard', 'uncomfortable' and 'painful' time. A range of negative feelings were prevalent in all of the participants' accounts when referring to this particular time of their lives, these including, for example, feelings of powerlessness, frustration and anger, 'nervousness', feeling 'under pressure' and 'drained', 'feeling lonely', 'depressed', 'down', 'upset', a general sense of 'unhappiness', a lowering of self-confidence and self-esteem, as illustrated in Part 3. Results.

These experiences of post-'migration' and the accompanying feelings that they generated could, at a more superficial level, be understood within the concept of 'cultural shock' (Oberg, 1960). This conceptualisation considers that everyone who enters in contact with a new culture, and in the absence of their familiar social and cultural cues and norms, can experience, albeit to different degrees, anxiety, confusion, frustration and anger, lack of self-confidence, etc.

(Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994). ‘Cultural shock’ tends to emphasise the stressful and negative aspects of the experience of all those who are confronted with the challenges, and the unfamiliarity of a new cultural environment (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994). However, wide variations between individuals are recognised and, as stated by Furnham (1997), the experiences and responses considered under the umbrella of ‘cultural shock’ can also be understood as transitional, important for personal growth and as part of the adjustment to the new social and cultural values and norms.

However, in this study, the (negative) emotional responses which are reported by the participants as being predominant in (at least) the initial post-‘migration’ stage, seem to be more appropriately and comprehensively interpreted as normal reactions to the various difficulties and challenges they had to endure after the move away from ‘home’. Thus, they can be understood in the context of the loss of familiarity and containment provided by ‘home’, arguably at a time when the new country did not (yet) feel like ‘home’. In other words, a time when there was a level of disruption in the familiar patterns offered by ‘home’ which, as suggested by Papadopoulos (2015), provide a basic sense of containment, constancy, stability and security, and in a new environment which was not (yet) felt as ‘home’, i.e., was not (yet) serving those functions. The latter experience maybe worsened by experiences of devaluation, prejudice and discrimination and xenophobia, as they increase a sense of being an (unwelcomed) ‘outsider’. Consequently, the participants’ responses to the challenges of the early stages of post-‘migration’ could be seen as consistent with the idea of a disruption of the ‘onto-ecological settledness’ which is provided by

‘home’, leading to a degree of ‘nostalgic disorientation’, as conceptualised by Papadopoulos (2002, 2015) and discussed previously (in Part 1. Chapter 3).

‘And thereafter…settling in…’

All of the participants expressed that a gradual ‘settling in’ the new country followed the (shorter or longer) period after the move to the U.K. which was marked by challenges and difficulties. All considered that this difficult initial period was part of a process that ‘takes time’.

Most of the participants considered themselves as ‘completely’ settled in the U.K. (P2, P3, P4 and P6). Being able ‘to build a life’, to establish a social network, to feel that one is ‘a part of’ the new country (as opposed to an ‘outsider’), were pointed out by the participants as having contributed to feel ‘settled in’ the U.K.. The views and experiences expressed by these participants support existing literature, as it is recognised that being able to forge significant and satisfying social networks, being able to ‘make a living’ and feeling a ‘part of’ (‘belonging’ to) the community are fundamental aspects for social inclusion and social adjustment/integration, as well as, for the overall well-being of ‘refugees’ and/or any other ‘migrants’ in a new country (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012; Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019; UNHCR, 2013).

However, two of the participants in this study (P1 and P5), and albeit to a different degree, conveyed that the process of ‘settling in’ the U.K. may still be experienced as ongoing. For these participants, a sense of not feeling completely ‘settled in’ in the new country (possibly understood as still not fully at ‘home’) remains. This is compounded by a longing for a past ‘home’ (mainly understood as the birth country with all its related aspects, but also as a past life). The

experience, by ‘refugees’ and any other ‘migrants’, of strong feelings of longing and nostalgia for a former ‘home’/life is also widely recognised in the literature (Black, 2002; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 1998, 2002, 2015). This may be similar to the experience reported by these two participants, particularly in the context of not feeling/being completely at ‘home’ in the new country, independently of what may be the reasons contributing to it. However, as aforementioned (in Part 1, Chapter 3), Sedikides et al. (2008) argue that nostalgia (in this case for a past ‘home’ and life) can serve as a way of counteracting negative emotions, strengthening positive self-regard and a sense of social bond which supports a person in dealing with the difficulties of daily life. Thus, it may have a constructive and sustaining function when people have to face difficulties and may be supportive of people’s search for a sense of ‘home’ in the present (Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Sedikides et al., 2008). This may also be the case for P1 and P5.

‘Compatriots in the new place’

In this study, five out of six of the participants volunteered their views about their compatriots in the U.K. at interview. Only P3 did not mention or voiced an opinion on this issue. This was an unexpected recurrent theme, emerging from the participants’ accounts of their experiences of ‘migration’.

One of the above five participants (P1) indicated that any relationship with compatriots in the U.K. was and is welcomed. P1 conveyed the sense of comfort and contentment felt whenever there was/is any opportunity for contact with any compatriot in the U.K.. These occasions seem to be perceived as opportunities for sharing general experiences or, more specifically, for reminiscing about past

experiences in the birth country, apparently boosting the sense of belonging to a (national) community. Despite eliciting longing for the birth country, the contact with compatriots or, actually with anything from the birth country (such as food, drink, etc.), seems to be seen as enabling the integration of past and current life experiences.

In contrast, four out of those five participants (P2, P4, P5 and P6) explicitly or implicitly communicated the need to 'distance' themselves from their compatriots who live in the U.K., throughout post-'migration'. This 'distancing' from the 'national circle' seems to be viewed by them as a sign of being 'open' to new experiences and environments and considered to be a helpful, or even a necessary condition, for 'settling in' the new country. Furthermore, this 'distancing' also seems to be perceived by some participants as an indirect way of 'integrating', maybe representing an attempt to disidentify with any negative stereotypes attributed by some people in the U.K. to their birth country or its nationals. So, this 'distancing' and dis-association from compatriots may, at least partially, be interpreted in the light of the experiences of negative stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia, which were endured by the participants (discussed above in 'Challenging times'). Indeed, the 'distancing' from compatriots could also be understood as an attempt to prevent or avoid those experiences. Furthermore, and emerging from P2 and P6's accounts, the 'distancing' from compatriots could also be seen as a way of evading living in the past, thus as another way of aiding adjustment to the life in the new country. Simultaneously, the distancing from compatriots in the U.K. also seems to offer the participants with an opportunity for re-defining (an unique) identity in the post-'migration'.

The strong need for dis-association (and disidentification) from compatriots also seems to be reflected in the negative views expressed by P5 about those compatriots who move to the U.K. mainly for economic reasons. This narrative actually echoes the prejudice and negative stereotyping as regards 'migrants', which is promoted by some media and some sectors of the public in the U.K. (*"…uneducated people who want to quickly earn money and go back",* P5, 47.08). It may also represent an attempt to 'distance' altogether from (stereotyped) descriptions of a 'migrant' (*"…for me it's not the case"*, P5, 47.05).

The literature focussing on 'migrants'' (within its wider definition) views and relationships with compatriots is limited and inconclusive. The existing literature usually emphasises the crucial role that the development of relevant and supportive relationships can have in facilitating the adjustment and 'settling in' the new country, be it in the case of 'refugees' or any other 'migrants' (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012; Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019; UNHCR, 2013). As aforementioned, the findings of this study seem to support this. However, studies tend not to distinguish between the preferential sources of social support, i.e., if it is from other 'migrants' (even if not compatriots) or from those in the new country (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). Even when such a distinction is established, the findings are considered to be contradictory (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). For example, whilst a study may suggest a higher number of positive relationships when these are established with other 'migrants', another study may show higher levels of stress and depression when compatriots are the main source of social support (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). There are also studies that highlight the beneficial effects of social support by nationals from the new country (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019). A study

by Dominguez-Fuentes and Hombrados-Mendieta (2012) also suggests that there may be an association between the establishment of close relationships with nationals from the new country and a decrease in perceived discrimination. The findings of this study could be seen as reflecting the different views coexisting in the literature. As discussed previously, P1 seems to value the contact with compatriots, seeing it as a source of comfort and well-being whilst, in contrast, four other participants seem to consider that distancing themselves from compatriots is an important (and fundamental) step in the adjustment and 'setting in' a new country.

'A 'change in direction''

All of the participants conveyed a view of 'migration' as a marker for significant changes in their life and their life plans, when reflecting upon their experiences of 'migration' in the context of their wider life experiences. However, those changes were appraised differently by the participants. For most of the participants, 'migration' was perceived as providing enriching experiences and as enabling positive changes in their lives, as well as, an opportunity for personal growth (as described in Part 3. Results). In those cases, 'migration' could be seen as having a positive transformative function. In contrast, for two of the participants (P1 and P5), 'migration' was perceived as a disruptive 'change of direction', particularly as regards their previous life plans, however, as well as their consequent sense of disillusionment, their resilience and ability to overcome those changes also seem to emerge from their accounts.

The idea of 'migration' as having the potential for a change in (life's) direction, be it perceived in a positive or a negative light, is recognised in the

literature about both ‘migrants’ (in a narrower sense) and ‘refugees’ (Eisenbruch, 1988; Furnham, 1997; IOM, 2013; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2007, 2015). In the literature, a view that ‘migration’ provides ‘migrants’ (within a wider definition) with a range of opportunities for a more fulfilling life seems to coexist with another which highlights the losses through ‘migration’. In fact, one view may not necessarily contradict the other. Papadopoulos (2007), for example, argues that the loss and suffering experienced by ‘refugees’ can also be transformative and lead to personal development, the so-called ‘adversity-activated development’. Likewise, Eisenbruch (1988) suggests that the reactions to the losses provoked by a situation of ‘uprooting’, which are conceptualised as ‘cultural bereavement’ (detailed in Part 1, Chapter 3), can be understood as constructive existential responses to those circumstances, thus having the potential for personal growth. Also, as mentioned previously, the experiences and responses identified as part of ‘cultural shock’ are considered to be important for personal growth and as part of the process of adjustment to the new social and cultural values and norms (Furnham, 1997). Overall, the findings of this study seem to be consistent with existing literature in that, whilst being a ‘change in direction’, ‘migration’ can be seen as encompassing both the potential for disruption and for transformation/growth.

‘Identity in a new place’

All of the participants tended to ‘root’ their personal/national identity back to their birth country (‘home’, in one of its many meanings, as discussed below). The participants’ need/wish to uphold, after ‘migration’, some aspects that they associate with their (original) national identity, for example, accents, cultural traditions, etc., could be seen as a way of keeping valued aspects of their identity

and some ties with their origins, as well as, a continued sense of belonging to their (national) community. However, some participants also recognised that their experiences of 'migration' had elicited identity changes. Therefore, whilst considering the 'roots', the participants in this study also seemed to convey an idea of identity which is fluid and able to change with time to accommodate aspects of their new life circumstances.

The literature on identity is vast and includes several conceptualisations (Papadopoulos, 2015; Verkuyten et al., 2019). Whilst these were not the direct focus of this study, the participants' accounts refer to some important issues related to identity in the context of 'migration'. One issue relates to the idea of a core sense of self which develops from internalisation of socio-cultural aspects, such as, values, beliefs, attitudes, etc., which is closer to Erikson's understanding of (personal) identity (Donovan et al., 2012; Erikson, 1968; Verkuyten et al., 2019). This is conceived as being different from the 'social identity', which is mainly associated with a person's identification as belonging to a certain group (Kramer, 2016; Stets & Burke, 2000; Verkuyten et al., 2019). Whilst the former is usually viewed as less changeable from adulthood, the latter is regarded as being "in constant flux" (Kramer, 2016, p.6).

In this study, the participants refer to the core aspects of (personal) identity as being intertwined with the social, cultural and national identity, which they tended to associate with their birth country. Simultaneously, most of the participants also acknowledge the changes in their 'social identity', as a consequence of an incorporation of the socio-cultural aspects of the new country, this resulting in a sense of being 'different' from both 'countries', as exemplified previously in Part 3. Results. It has been argued by Timotijevic and Breakwell

(2000), that one ‘social identity’ relates to the other identities “within the overall identity-structure” (p.359) so that changes in one can effect changes in another. However, as stated by Verkuyten et al. (2019),

> having a (situational) sense of belonging…to a particular ethnic and national community is not the same as developing an inner sense of self that results from a gradual process of acculturation and enculturation. (p.392)

Thus, the findings of this study can be seen as supporting and integrating both of these ideas. The participants’ core identity tends to be linked to the birth country, as they underwent socialisation in there but, because ‘social identities’ are fluid, they are also aware of the changes at that level which resulted from ‘migration’.

An interesting finding in this study relates to some of the participants’ expressed need to be ‘in charge’ when (re-)defining their own (personal/social/national) identity post-‘migration’. It seems to be particularly important for them not to allow others in the U.K. to do so, particularly through the use of negative stereotypes associated with their birth countries, this view being particularly emphasised by P6 (*“…I’m going to take charge of and define and not leave…*(other people)*…to make the definition…”*, 83.06- 83.09). The need to retain control over the re-negotiation of one’s sense of identity as a result of ‘migration’ was also emphasised by the participants in a study by Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000). It was suggested that retaining a sense of control at that level is important for personal growth, enabling ‘migrants’ to maintain their sense

of self-efficacy and self-esteem (Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). This also appears to be the case for some of the participants in this study.

4.2.1.3. ‘’Home’ is such a ‘complicated thing’’

Attempting to understand the participants’ perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ was of great relevance as regards the aim of this study. An overarching theme across the participants was identified – ‘’Home’ is such a ‘complicated thing’’. This intended to gather the complexities surrounding ‘home’, which were conveyed, albeit in various ways, by all of the participants. At this level, and overall, the findings echo a widely identified issue in the literature - the complexity of ‘home’ (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002).

In this study, some of the complexities of ‘home’ can be noted at two main levels. Firstly, when the participants attempt to give their own definition(s) of ‘home’. Indeed, some of the participants realised that it is difficult to define ‘home’, at least in a clear-cut and linear way. Secondly, the complexities of ‘home’ are also noticeable from the array of meanings, layers and dimensions that the participants prioritise when their perception(s) of ‘home’ and of feeling at ‘home’ were explored and discussed.

‘’Home’: not easy to define’

In this study, a recurrent theme identified in four out of the six participants’ accounts refers to their realisation of the difficulties in attempting to define ‘home’, in view of its various meanings and multiple facets and dimensions, as well as, the paradoxes surrounding it.

Some participants' comments cogently seemed to express their difficulties in defining 'home' in a simple and unequivocal way (for example: *"What issss home?…it's really hard, isn't it?"* (P6, 42.17); and *"That's the million dollar question"* (P1, 44.04)). However, struggling to define 'home', be it as a word and/or as a concept, in a straightforward and unambiguous way, is not uncommon. This difficulty is extensively acknowledged in the literature, and it also seems to be reflected in the various ways of conceptualising 'home', as discussed above in Part 1, Chapter 2 (Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Moore, 2000; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Sirriyeh, 2010; Tete, 2012).

Furthermore, two of the participants (P5 and P2), when attempting to define 'home', seemed to refer to the elusive aspects that definitions of 'home' and of feeling/being at 'home' can encompass (for example: *"…that atmosphere…I can't really explain…"* (P5, 29.24); and *"…to put words into that, it's very difficult because it's a feeling, it's a gut feeling…"* (P2, 40.09). This elusive nature of 'home' which, consequently, makes it so difficult to be defined, has been stressed by Papadopoulos (2015). Papadopoulos (2015) considers that these difficulties are the result of the complexities of 'home', pointing out that, when someone's idea of 'home' is activated, this often leads to shifts between the multiple dimensions of 'home' (for example, concrete and abstract, ideal and real) and between its various meanings, even though these shifts may be occurring outside the bounds of awareness.

'Perception(s) of 'home''

In this study, the participants endorsed various meanings and seemed to refer to multiple facets and dimensions of 'home' when discussing their perception(s) of it. Often, they interlinked those perceptions with the experience of being/feeling (or not) at 'home'. This can be a result of the intrinsic complexities of 'home' which, as aforementioned, can lead to shifts between meanings and dimensions when people talk about 'home', thus contributing to a tendency to obscure people's perceptions of it and the way these perceptions are communicated to others, as is argued by Papadopoulos (2015).

It was interesting that, for all of the participants, there was an almost immediate connotation with 'country' when they began talking about 'home'. It seemed as if one of the first issues they needed/wanted to consider was to ascertain *where* their 'home' may be. They directly related 'home' to their birth country and/or to the country of 'migration' (U.K.). However, it was noticeable that within this general meaning of 'home' as 'country', other connotations and different aspects of 'home' and 'country' could be found. Indeed, for some participants and some of the times, 'home' meant the birth country, whilst for other participants or at other times, it meant the U.K.. Sometimes, 'home' referred to a region or a city of the birth country while, at other times, it was a region or city in the U.K. that 'home' referred to. At times, 'home' was located in space as a place, whatever the scale of it, whilst sometimes it referred to the feelings towards and/or elicited by that place (country, region, city, etc).

In some participants' accounts, for example, the country's landscapes and geographical characteristics, its weather events, its fauna and flora, its smells, as well as, its ways of living, of communicating and relating with others, its socio-cultural characteristics and traditions, etc., were part of, or were associated with,

the overall perception of ‘country’ as ‘home’. These can be understood as representing an idea of ‘home’ as emerging from the repetitive patterns and relationships associated with particular physical places, geography, culture, etc., as suggested by Papadopoulos (2015).

Additionally, the symbolic meaning of the birth country as ‘home’, perceived as a place/space where someone’s ‘roots’ are, was directly emphasised by one of the participants (P2). For this participant, the idea of ‘roots’ was connected with the birth country, the latter including family and friends, early memories and experiences, cultural background and geography. As argued by Malkki (1992), the idea of ‘home’ as rooted in a place (a territory, a country with a culture) can underlie people’s territorialised sense of belonging and identity, both in cultural and in national terms. However, this can also lead to an association of ‘migration’ with a sense of uprooting or dislocation (Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). Both of these ideas seem to be suggested by P2 when saying, for example, *“…my roots, they are in the (Birth Country’s region)”* (33.05), *“My roots, they are not here* (in the U.K.)*”* (34.05).

The ideas of ‘roots’ and ‘origins’ appeared as intrinsically linked in some participants’ accounts. For example, for P2 and P5, ‘home’ as (birth) ‘country’ elicited not only the meaning of a place of origin or a starting point (symbolically, the ‘roots’) but also the meaning of a final and/or desired destination. These two meanings of ‘home’ - as the origin and the end/destination – albeit not necessarily as closely and directly linked to ‘country’ as it happens in this study, have already been identified in the literature by, for example, Moore (2000) and Papadopoulos (2002).

Furthermore, underlying some other participants' accounts seems to be the perception of the birth country as *the* 'home', even though they do not actually use the word 'roots'. Specifically, 'home' seems to be perceived as the 'place' that provides the environmental, cultural, political, social and relational background which is at the basis of the development of a person's internal 'framework' or the 'lens' from where a person observes and comprehends the surrounding 'world' thus, arguably, at the basis of a person's (core, personal) identity.

Still within the meaning of 'home' as (linked, be it directly or indirectly to) 'country', the participants clearly differed when, as part of their reflection, they attempted to determine the *where* their 'true' or 'real' 'home' was/is. For example, P5 emphasised the difficulties of 'building' a 'home', of re-creating a sense of 'home' in countries of 'migration' (including the U.K.). For this participant, the idea of 'home' seemed to be firmly located in the birth country, this appearing to contribute to an ongoing sense of not at 'home' in the U.K., seemingly accompanied by nostalgic feelings for the birth country. In contrast, P3 and P4 communicated that their birth country was not, or no longer was, a 'home', the U.K. being the place they think of or feel as 'home'. They expressed that, rather than the place/country itself, 'home' refers to the feelings towards the place and/or those feelings which are generated whilst living in that place. They linked 'home' to a general sense of contentment and personal fulfilment that someone can experience when living in a particular place/country, somehow making it dependent upon the existence of close and significant connection(s)/relationships with other people in that place/country. Yet, for two other participants (P1 and P2), despite prioritising their birth countries as their 'true' 'home', they also

conceded that the U.K. had gained enough relevance for them so that they consider it as another ‘home’. They felt that they had been able to ‘build’ a ‘home’ in the U.K. and conveyed that being able to ‘make a living’ and to establish significant relationships in the U.K. had contributed to make them feel as a ‘part of’ it, thus not so much, or no longer (complete) ‘outsiders’. Being able to develop significant social networks, being able to ‘make a living’, feeling ‘part of’ the new country are considered aspects that foster a sense of social inclusion, social integration and well-being, as mentioned previously (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012; Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2019, UNHCR, 2013). Thus, the findings of this study could be seen as consistent with the existing literature by also highlighting the importance and contribution of those aspects in the creation of a sense of being at ‘home’ in the new country.

Furthermore, the relevance of (a sense of) belonging for feeling at ‘home’ in a place/country is expressed by some of the participants (for example, P2, P3 and P5). Additionally, another participant (P6)’s understanding of ‘home’ further seems to emphasise the importance of being recognised and accepted within a relational environment for the (re-)creation of a sense of ‘home’. In this study, these perceptions of ‘home’, which emerge from most of the participants’ accounts, seem to support understandings by Ralph and Staeheli (2011) as regards the links between belonging and ‘home’. These authors (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011) suggest that feeling at ‘home’ and the sense of belonging to a place are not solely about ‘migrants’’ (in its wider sense) subjective feelings but it is also defined by others, thus being “partly self-defined, partly other defined” (p.523). So, it is argued that, “it is not sufficient to claim membership of a particular home; membership must be validated by the wider community or group to which

one aspires to belong" (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p.523). Hence, a sense of inclusion, of being accepted and feeling a 'part of' the new country can facilitate the development of a sense of being at 'home' in a place, an understanding that seems to be represented in some of the views expressed by the participants in this study.

Another pattern across participants that became noticeable through analysis was that, whilst all of the participants tended to start their reflection about 'home' by focussing upon the *where* 'home' may be, they then seemed to move towards talking about the *what* it may be and the *how* it may be experienced. As mentioned previously, at times their views/perceptions/meanings of 'home' were clearly intertwined with the experience(s) of it (the latter being captured by a separate theme, which is discussed below). Nonetheless, as their reflection moved away from the *where* 'home' may be, the connotation of 'home' with 'country' (including all its associated aspects) and/or even with place, started to give way to other perceptions of 'home'. As illustrated in Part 3. Results, some of these other understandings/meanings of 'home' included, for example, ideas of 'being safe', 'secure', 'comfortable' and 'content/happy', of 'home' as a 'niche' amongst close and significant people, etc..

Interestingly, other perceptions of 'home' conveyed by some of the participants communicated mostly positive characteristics which may, to an extent, also reflect a degree of idealisation. An example of this could be found in P2's description of 'home' as *"…Something warm, something bright, something shiny, something, erm, excited, full of roots and full of memories"* (39.24). However, similar connotations of 'home' frequently permeate people's descriptions of it, an aspect which is emphasised in the literature by, for example,

Papadopoulos (2002, 2015). Papadopoulos (2015) argues that ‘home’ can be seen as “a “magic” word” (p.36), as it mostly elicits positive and even idealised attributions whilst, in reality, it encompasses complex combinations of positive and negative aspects.

‘The experience of ‘home’’

In this study, the participants’ accounts suggest that a sense of ‘home’ can be experienced within a variety of contexts, be it physical/geographical, socio-cultural and/or relational, where and/or when there is a sense of familiarity and a (positive) connection with, for example, a place (or space) and/or with other people.

A sense of familiarity in an environment seems to be considered by some of the participants as an essential and necessary aspect for the experience of (feeling at) ‘home’. Additionally, the participants’ descriptions of feeling or being at ‘home’ tended to be associated with the idea of an environment (be it physical/geographical, social, cultural and/or relational), and/or a time where and/or when they felt/feel ‘comfortable’, ‘relaxed’, ‘secure’, ‘safe’ and ‘happy’ (‘happy’ referring to a general sense of contentment). One of the participants (P6) further communicated that the experience of (feeling at) ‘home’ can be crucially tied with the sense that one is ‘in tune’ with and/or that there is a (basic) ‘fit’ between the person and the surrounding environment, be it physical, relational or otherwise. Other similar descriptions included the experience of ‘home’ as emerging where and when someone feels “*that you can be yourself*” (P3, 25.15) and *“at ease”* (P5, 32.22).

These descriptions of the experience of 'home' are consistent with an understanding of 'home' as a space where someone feels able to express and fulfil their unique self and identity, a space where someone feels at ease, as suggested by Tucker (1994, as cited in Mallet, 2004, pp.82-83) or, as an environment "in which one best knows oneself, where one's self-identity is best grounded" (Sirriyeh, 2010, p.216). This can also be captured from a description by P2, who conflated the experience of feeling 'at home' with a sense that everything feels *"right in your gut"* (40.06). Somehow, these descriptions of the experience of (a sense of) 'home', can also be understood within Papadopoulos (2015)' conceptualisation of 'home'. For Papadopoulos (2015), 'home' is closely interlinked with (personal) identity and it grants the sense of familiarity, as well as, of relative stability and continuity in an environment. Consequently, the experience of 'home' is lived as a state of 'onto-ecological settledness', resulting from the unique and complementary 'fit' between the person and the environment (Papadopoulos, 2015).

Furthermore, and as aforementioned, the participants alluded to a sense of 'home' arising from a perception of 'being part' of, of 'belonging' and being accepted, valued and 'recognised' in and by one's surroundings. In this study, the experience of 'home' seems to be inseparable from the experience of a sense of belonging and acceptance, as opposed to feeling, or being made to feel, 'foreign' and an 'outsider', which are experienced as not being/not feeling at 'home'. Again, this supports the idea that a sense of belonging and inclusion enables the development of a sense of being at 'home' in a place, as suggested by Ralph and Staeheli (2011) and discussed before. However, in this study, this sense of being/feeling at 'home' may not be, at least not necessarily or solely,

dependent on place but (also) on the psychological and relational aspects that are experienced as being able to provide that sense of 'home'.

4.2.1.4. ''Home' and 'migration' are connected'

One area of special pertinence for the research question was to explore the participants' views as regards any possible link between 'home' and 'migration'. In this study, 'home' and 'migration' emerge as interconnected in all of the participants' accounts and this overarching theme aims to capture this general view. Additionally, this perception of an interconnection between 'home' and 'migration' further clustered around the ideas that, not only the experiences of 'migration' had an impact on 'home' but, equally, that aspects and circumstances at 'home' influenced 'migration'.

''Migration' had an impact on 'home''

All of the participants expressed the view that their experiences of 'migration' had an impact on 'home'. All of them communicated that 'migration' had highlighted the importance of 'home' and four out of the six participants also conveyed the view that 'migration' had produced changes in the meanings they attributed to 'home'.

The participants' accounts suggested that their 'migration' experiences, albeit in different ways, triggered or heightened their appreciation of 'home'. For example, for P5, the absence of 'home' and the loss(es) related to (the past) 'home' seem to become evident with 'migration', this highlighting the importance and the value of all that was lost. For another participant (P2), actually being away from (the past) 'home' also appears to have prompted a re-evaluation of 'home' and of its relevance. Additionally, a general awareness of the importance of a

‘home’, not only or not necessarily confined to the past ‘home’, seems to be associated with the experience of a sense of ‘homelessness’/not being at ‘home’ that permeated (at least) the early stages of post-‘migration’ for all participants.

The experiences described by the participants in this study seem to support the widely held view in the existing literature that the awareness of the relevance of ‘home’ for ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ (in a narrow sense) is highlighted by the negative, i.e., through absence, loss and being away from ‘home’ (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2014, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). As aforementioned (in Part 1, Chapter 2), the idea that ‘home’ becomes salient through the contrasting experience of being away from ‘home’ (i.e., when ‘home’ is absent) was suggested by Case (1996), albeit not in the context of ‘migration’. Furthermore, it is also considered in the literature that the absence or loss of ‘home’ can create a disruption in the sense of familiarity and predictability provided by ‘home’, which may result in a re-appraisal of its relevance (Berger, 1984; Chapman, 2001; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015).

Moreover, in this study and subjacent to the view that ‘migration’ revealed or emphasised the relevance of ‘home’, frequently seems to be a realisation that ‘home’ was obliviously omnipresent and, therefore, it was somehow taken for granted prior to ‘migration’. This is communicated by some of the participants (for example, by P3, P5 and P6) and these experiences seem to be consistent with existing literature which claims that the ‘home’ of pre-‘migration’ often goes unnoticed and/or is taken for granted (Chapman, 2001; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). Thus, it may be that the absence of ‘home’ (of the familiarity, predictability and containment provided by it), the sense of not (yet)

being at ‘home’ in the post-‘migration’ and the realisation of all that was left/lost through ‘migration’ highlighted and/or heightened the significance of ‘home’, as it seems to be the case for the participants in this study.

Furthermore, the acknowledgement of the importance of ‘home’, resulting from ‘migration’, may generate a degree of idealisation of the past/former ‘home’, as well as, longing for the past ‘home’ and life. This seems to be conveyed by, for example, P5. In the literature, strong feelings of longing and nostalgia for a former ‘home’ and life have been described as being part of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’’ (within a narrow definition of the term) experiences, as a consequence of losing or leaving their ‘home’ (Black, 2002; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnick et al., 2010; Papadopoulos, 1998, 2002, 2015). In this study, and despite reports of experiences of ‘strangeness’, ‘foreignness’ and not-at-‘home’ in the initial stages of post-‘migration’ by all of the participants, the longing for a former ‘home’ and life only emerged in the accounts of two of the participants (P1 and P5). Interestingly, these are the same participants who explicitly communicated their unwillingness to move to the U.K. In clear contrast, P6 expressed reluctance to join in eulogies and ‘nostalgia’ for a past ‘home’ and for the former life in the birth country, viewing those as having the potential to hamper the ‘moving on’ and the (re-)creation of ‘home’ in the new country.

In this study, ‘migration’ was also viewed by some of the participants as having another impact on ‘home’. Four out of the six participants seemed to convey that the meanings attributed to ‘home’ had changed as a result of ‘migration’. The ‘home’ of pre-‘migration’ emerged as being largely associated with a place (be it the family dwelling and/or the birth country in general), whilst in the post-‘migration’ prominence was placed upon the relational and emotional

aspects of ‘home’ and was, in most cases, independent of a place. Thus, in the post-‘migration’, the emphasis was seemingly consigned to the aspects which contributed to the sense of being/feeling at ‘home’, such as, feeling ‘comfortable’, ‘happy’, ‘safe’, ‘secure’ and to its relational aspects, namely a sense of connection to others, of belonging and of familiarity. In contrast with the other participants, P1 conveyed that the meanings of ‘home’ were unchanged by ‘migration’ because the focus was always on the perceived core aspects of the experience of feeling at ‘home’, for example, a sense of feeling ‘comfortable’, ‘safe’, ‘secure’ and ‘happy’, these being perceived as less (or as not necessarily) dependent on place.

So, it may be that some of the participants’ experiences of ‘migration’ offered them a realisation, not only of the relevance of ‘home’ but also of its complexities. The new meanings of ‘home’ suggest a comprehension that ‘home’ can go beyond a location/place and, as argued by Papadopoulos (2015), is a dynamic “container of complex relationships” (p.37) between space (not only place), time and relationships, therefore, a realisation that ‘home’ “emerges whenever specific relationships are established over a period of time and within the context of a particular space “ (p.37). Consequently, a sense of ‘home’, rather than being ‘fixed’ in/to a place, can arise and develop independently of that particular place. This seems to be subjacent to P4’s statement that *“Home can be anywhere, absolutely anywhere”* (24.05).

Moreover, it is of note that whilst the notions of ‘home’ and ‘place’ frequently appear as being interlinked, be it in everyday language, in social and political discourses and policies, as well as, in the existing literature, the idea of a necessary and indispensable interconnection between both is not universally

accepted in the literature, as detailed in Part 1, Chapter 2 (Ahmed, 1999; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015). Whilst some authors (for example, Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Easthope, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015) consider that some form of material, physical or geographical location may, at times, underlie the notion of 'home', for others (for example, Kuang-Ming Wu, 1993, as cited in Mallett, 2004, p.83) 'home' is not linked to place or even space but to a sense of reciprocal acceptance within personal relationships. In this study, as discussed above, both the idea of a link between 'place' and 'home' and its opposite, i.e., the idea of 'home' as emerging independently of 'place', seem to be reflected in the participants' accounts.

''Home' influenced 'migration''

The idea that 'home' influences 'migration' can be found in the accounts of all of the participants in this study. This influence appears to be conveyed by the participants, for example, when referring to the conditions of/at 'home' that may have contributed to their 'migration'. Thus, it can be seen as associated with the circumstances and the motives for leaving their birth countries. Most of the participants (five out of the six) alluded to the conditions at 'home' ('home', associated with the birth country and all that it encompasses) as influencing their 'migration'. As detailed previously, these conditions of 'home' included from the socio-political instability to the (perceived) limited life opportunities/conditions and/or a 'stifling' socio-cultural environment in the birth country or they referred more specifically to the circumstances of 'home' as a locus of relationships and ties with family and friends.

Still, in this study, there is another way in which 'home' may be seen by some of the participants as influencing 'migration'. This relates to the idea of 'home' as being somehow a 'matrix', as *the* basis for the development of a personal 'lens'/'framework' from where someone observes and makes sense of the surrounding world (related to personal identity). Consequently, the experiences in general, 'migration' experiences included, were and somehow continue to be captured and understood through that 'lens'. Therefore, 'home' seems to be seen as serving as a 'framework' or a point of reference for meaning-making and for the understanding of experiences. This somehow resembles the idea of 'home' as a 'locus in space', as systematized by Hayward (1975, as cited in Case, 1996, p.1, and as cited in Moore, 2000, p.210), which refers to 'home' as the place used by a person "as a central point of reference in the world…the geographical lens through which people perceive and experience the world" (Case, 1996, pp.1-2). However, here, 'geographical' could be understood beyond the place itself, to be associated with other aspects linked to that place, such as, culture, language, etc.

The perception of 'home' as providing the 'lens' through which ('migration') experiences were/are understood, seems to be conveyed by three out of the six participants when saying, for example: *"…you prefer to understand the world in the way that you do from wherever it is that you come from…"* (P6, 48.11); *"…I have a different cultural thought process…because of where I've grown up…"* (P1, 17.18); and *"…I still approach…this culture from my own culture…"* (P2, 57.07). Two of these participants (P1 and P2) seem to refer specifically to their (original) culture as providing the 'lens' from which they make sense of experiences, which is consistent with existing literature that recognises that

"cultures are, effectively, frameworks for meaning-making" (Smith et al., 2009, p.194). However, it could be argued that underlying the accounts of all those three participants (P1, P2 and P6), there seems to be an understanding of 'home' as the centre/core of a person's subjective experiences. This is congruent with a particular perspective of 'home' in the literature. For example, Berger (1984) mentions that "originally home meant the centre of the world – not in a geographical, but in an ontological sense" (p.55), thus being at the base of the construction of the world and of the experiences of it. Similarly, Jacobson (2009) conceptualises 'home' as the foundation, as the core existential structure that orients a person in the world, thus providing coherence to the person's experiences.

4.2.2. Discussion of the findings in relation to the research question

This section specifically considers the findings in relation to this study's guiding research question:

How are 'migrants'' perceptions of 'home' interlinked with their individual experiences throughout the 'migration process'?

Overall, the findings indicate that 'home' and 'migration' are perceived and experienced by all of the participants as being interconnected/interlinked.

The participants' perception of an interconnection between 'home' and 'migration' is of utmost importance for this study. First and foremost, because their perception of an interconnection between the two underlies (in the sense that it is a necessary condition for) any examination of the ways in which they

perceive it to be the case (the *how* are they perceived and experienced as interconnected?), as the latter is what is at the centre of this study. Secondly, and at a more general level, because it seems to confirm that the study of 'home', despite its definitional difficulties and the complexities involved, continues to be pertinent in the context of 'migration' thus, not only justifying the relevance of this particular study, but also further corroborating the longstanding interest and focus upon those issues in the literature (for example, Ahmed, 1999; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Kreuzer et al., 2017; Papadopoulos & Hildebrand, 1997; Papadopoulos, 2002, 2015; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

Furthermore, 'home' and 'migration' are perceived and experienced by the participants in this study as being interlinked at various levels and in different ways. These are discussed below in this section by referring to: a) the ways in which the perception(s) of what constitutes 'home' may have been/be affected by the experiences throughout the 'migration process'; b) the ways in which the perception(s) of 'home' may have influenced 'migration' and its experiences.

When referring to the ways in which the perception(s) of what constitutes 'home' may have been affected by participants' 'migration' experiences, the findings suggest that the latter produced significant changes in the understanding and experience of 'home'. More specifically, the experiences of 'migration' seem to have generated or raised awareness of 'home' and of its relevance and, at times, they appear to have prompted shifts in the meanings of 'home', thus changing the emphasis placed upon the different aspects of 'home' and the experience of it.

As discussed in detail in section 4.2.1.4. ''Home' and 'migration' are connected', most of the participants in this study tended to perceive the 'home' of pre-'migration' as if it were omnipresent but somehow out of (full) awareness. Thus, 'home' was mostly taken for granted and not (fully) appreciated or valued by them. In contrast, for other participants, 'home' was actively not well regarded or cherished. Nevertheless, for all of the participants, 'migration' brought 'home' and its importance to the fore, be it through its absence, the realisation of all that was lost after leaving the birth country and/or through the experience of not being/feeling at 'home' in the new country, which seems to have characterised (at least) the initial stages of post-'migration' for all of them.

The absence of 'home' definitely becomes apparent for the participants following the move to the U.K.. Arguably, in that context and for all of the participants, their birth country (encompassing all that is associated with it) seems to have gained or sustained the symbolic value of 'home', in that it encapsulated the sense of familiarity, predictability, belonging, etc., which was/is associated with their experience of feeling at 'home'. However, the facets and layers of 'home', emphasised by each participant varied, to include the nation-state as a whole and/or its particular socio-cultural aspects, its geographical and environment characteristics, as well as, its ways of life, its living conditions and opportunities, the family dwelling, the relationships with family, friends and others in the birth country.

This absence of 'home' (a sense of not being at 'home'), experienced during (at least) the initial post-'migration' stages, seems to be associated both with the loss/leaving of the former 'home' and with the overall feeling of not being (yet) at 'home' in the new country. In this study, the interpretation of those

experiences as a general sense of not being at ‘home’ attempts to capture, in a more comprehensive way, the overall experience of uneasiness, unfamiliarity, strangeness and foreignness that permeates a wide range of aspects of the participants’ life experiences in the new environment, (at least) in the initial stages of post-‘migration’. As discussed above in section 4.2.1.2. ‘’Migration’: a mix of experiences’, these relate to differences concerning the socio-cultural cues and norms, the ways of living, relating and communicating, as well as, the differences in terms of language, in geographical and architectural aspects, etc.. All the changes regarding those aspects require(d) constant adjustment and re-negotiations in terms of identity, belonging, etc.. Thus, the understanding of those experiences as not being at ‘home’ attempts to establish a contrast (although these can be seen as parts of the same reality) with the experience of feeling/being at ‘home’, referred to by the participants as implying a sense of familiarity, of being ‘at ease’ and ‘in tune’ with the surrounding environment. Therefore, it is within the context of this overall sense of not being/feeling at home’ in a new environment that the importance and relevance of ‘home’ becomes recognised, as it raises the participants’ awareness of how important ‘home’ and feeling at ‘home’ can be.

To a limited extent, some of the experiences communicated by the participants, designated here as an overall sense of not being/feeling at ‘home’ after ‘migration’, may have some similarities with those conceptualised in the literature under the umbrella of ‘cultural shock’ (Furnham, 1997; Oberg, 1960; Winkelman, 1994), which mainly emphasises the (mostly negative) experience(s) resulting from the challenges placed by a new cultural environment and from the loss of a previously familiar one. However, the overall experience of the

participants in this study during the initial stages of post-‘migration’, seems to be linked to an overall sense of not being at ‘home’, because the difficulties and ‘challenges’ appear to go well beyond those considered by ‘cultural shock’ literature. In this study, it seems that the relevance of ‘home’ is highlighted in the initial stages of ‘migration’, not only because of the unfamiliarity of the social and cultural aspects in the new environment, but because all of what was provided by ‘home’, i.e., a sense of familiarity, predictability, belonging, etc., has been disturbed. Therefore, at this level, the experiences of the participants have common features and could be more comprehensively understood as a (non-pathological) disruption of the ‘onto-ecological settledness’, with the potential for development of ‘nostalgic disorientation’, two concepts suggested by Papadopoulos (2015), and detailed previously in Part 1, Chapter 3. The sense of not being at ‘home’, which seems to be experienced by the participants during the initial stages of their life in the new environment/country, appears to generate negative feelings, as well as, a certain level of confusion and disorientation, possibly highlighting ‘home’ as a source of ‘onto-ecological settledness’, a state associated with a sense of being/feeling at ‘home’, and which has been disrupted, as argued by Papadopoulos (2015). Thus, in this study, and to a certain degree, the participants’ experiences, could be seen as resembling those described and conceptualised by Papadopoulos (2015) as ‘nostalgic disorientation’. Additionally, it is interesting and relevant to note that, in this study, the experience of not being/feeling at ‘home’ during (at least) the early stages of post-‘migration’, seems to be independent of the participants’ degree of choice and/or willingness to migrate and/or the circumstances that reportedly prompted ‘migration’. As such, it can be considered a ‘common’ experience of post-‘migration’ amongst all

of the participants, thus illustrative of one way in which ‘migration’ can impact on ‘home’.

Another way in which ‘migration’ can be understood as influencing ‘home’ is linked to (the prioritisation of) its meanings. As previously discussed, the immediate meaning given to ‘home’ by the participants referred to ‘country’ (the birth country and/or the country of ‘migration’, the U.K.), be it associated with the place itself, with all that is included and belongs to that place, and/or the feelings about it. The instant association between ‘home’ and ‘country’ by the participants may be already a consequence of their experience of ‘migration’, as it could be argued that people who never migrated would probably prioritise different meanings of ‘home’. Still, this aspect is only conjecture and, as it is outside the scope of this study, it cannot be substantiated by its findings and will not be discussed here any further. Nevertheless, the conflation between ‘home’ and ‘country’, which is established by the participants in this study, seems to replicate the one that is often pointed out in the literature as having implications for people’s understandings of belonging and (personal and national) identities, etc., which was debated previously in Part 1, Chapter 2 (Ahmed, 1999; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

Still, the findings seem to indicate that, despite a general association between ‘home’ and ‘country’, the experiences of ‘migration’ fostered further changes in the meanings of ‘home’ or, at least, in the ways these were/are prioritised by most of the participants. As discussed in 4.2.1.4. ‘’Home’ and ‘migration’ are connected’, the findings suggest that the meanings of ‘home’ pre-‘migration’ mainly revolved around the idea of place (as located or linked to the

family dwelling and/or the birth country, etc). In the post-‘migration’, the relational and emotional aspects or meanings of ‘home’ appear to have gained prominence, leading to a perception of ‘home’ as being less linked or even completely independent of a specific place. This shift could suggest that, in the post-‘migration’, the meaning(s) of ‘home’ became strongly connected with what the participants identified as contributing to the sense of ‘home’ (of feeling at ‘home’), for example, with feeling ‘comfortable’, ‘happy’, ‘safe’, ‘secure’, ‘at ease’, having a sense of connection with others, being ‘in tune’, being accepted and recognised by others, feeling that one is ‘part of’ or ‘fits’ in the surrounding environment and feeling that one belongs.

Thus, the change in the meanings of ‘home’ could indicate that the experiences of ‘migration’ highlighted that ‘home’ can go beyond, and not be fixed in/to a place. This seems to support Papadopoulos’ (2015) idea of ‘home’ as a hub of complex relationships between space, time and relationships, suggesting that a sense of ‘home’ can arise and develop independently of a particular place. These changes in meanings may also, and to an extent, support the idea of ‘home’ as fluid, dynamic and not bounded by place, so as something that can be construed, developed and experienced in accordance with the new lived circumstances, rather than being seen as a fixed entity, constrained by, and solely grounded to a particular and unique place, usually the birth country. As mentioned in Part 1, Chapter 2, the (still prevalent) idea of ‘home’ as fixed and linked to a unique place (usually the birth country) has been contested in the literature on ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’ (Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). Consequently, the idea of identity and belonging being rooted solely in a fixed and unique place

(the ‘home’ as birth country) has also been challenged in the literature (Brun & Fábos, 2015; Malkki, 1992; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012). However, in what pertains to ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’, the findings of this study seem to reflect the complexity and the contradictions surrounding ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’. Somehow in contrast with the above literature, which contests ideas of identity and belonging as linked to a place, usually the country of origin, the findings indicate that all of the participants in this study tended, be it explicitly or implicitly, to ‘root’ their identity back to their birth country (seen as their original ‘home’). Still, some of them also recognised that their experiences of ‘migration’ had produced changes at that level, as detailed above in section 4.2.1.2. ‘’Migration’: a mix of experiences’.

The findings of this study also appear to imply that not only are the idea and experiences of ‘home’ affected by the experiences of ‘migration’ but, conversely, that ‘home’ influences ‘migration’ and its experiences.

At this level, the findings seem to indicate that, in general, the circumstances at ‘home’ (the ‘home’ of pre-‘migration’, with all its various meanings) motivated, or at least contributed to, participants’ ‘migration’ (as detailed above in sections 4.2.1.1. ‘’Migration’: a multifaceted decision’ and in 4.2.1.4. ‘’Home’ and ‘migration’ are connected’). However, the specific nature of those individual circumstances led to differing appraisals of the decision to migrate by each of the participants. For example, ‘migration’ was considered an undesirable move by P1, who reported moving to the U.K. as a result of uncertainty and insecurity ensuing from socio-political changes in the birth country (perceived as ‘home’). In contrast, ‘migration’ was seen as desirable for

some participants (for example, P4) who saw ‘home’ as less able to provide the life conditions and opportunities they aspired to have.

Furthermore, how the ‘home’ of pre-‘migration’ (‘home’ seen mostly as the birth country) is evaluated (positively or negatively) seems to have influenced the decisions to migrate, particularly when people feel that they have some degree of choice and/or control over that decision. It also appears to have influenced how that decision is experienced. However, the ‘home’ that influences ‘migration’ can also include aspects other than those more directly linked to the birth country, for example, more personal or interpersonal aspects of ‘home’ (for example, *“…when I decided to leave (Birth Country) …I also wanted to really move away from my parents and have my own life…”*, P3, 32.15).

In this study, another way in which ‘home’ can be seen as influencing ‘migration’ emerged in some participants’ accounts. This referred to the perception of the ‘home’ of pre-‘migration’ as a ‘matrix’, as a basis or a point of reference for personal development and for the development of a ‘lens’ from where someone observes and gives meaning to experiences, thus helping the person to make sense of the surrounding world. Consequently, experiences in general and, in particular, the experiences of ‘migration’ were/are comprehended through that ‘lens’. Therefore, ‘home’ seems to be perceived as being at (or being) the centre of meaning-making. This can be seen as somehow supporting a view of ‘home’ as a core existential structure, associated in the literature with authors such as, Berger (1984), Jacobson (2009) and Papadopoulos (2002, 2015), as aforementioned.

4.3. Significance of this study

This study contributes to the empirical investigation of ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’, through examination of how ‘migrants’ (within its wider definition) link their perception(s) and experiences of ‘home’ to their experiences during the ‘migration process’.

As aforementioned (in Introduction), research relating to ‘home’, in the context of the situation and the experiences of ‘refugees’ and any other ‘migrants’, is already widely available within the literature (Boccagni, 2017; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Madison, 2006; Moore, 2000; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013). However, even when research studies focus upon the perception(s) and the lived experience(s) of ‘home’ in those contexts, there is a tendency to do so by separating people into two ‘types’ of ‘migration’ - ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’. This assumes (although at times only at an implicit level) that people’s experiences and meanings of ‘home’ are different solely or mainly as a result of the type/nature of their ‘migration’ (Kabachnik et al., 2010; Madison, 2006; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013).

This study did not intend to deny potential differences between those ‘types’ of ‘migration’, be it in terms of the degree of choice regarding decisions to leave the country of origin, the challenges faced throughout the ‘migration process’ and/or the impact these can have upon people’s experiences. Rather, and whilst building upon the literature and available research in the field, this study specifically aimed to gather the particular perception(s) and subjective experiences of ‘home’ and ‘migration’ of individuals who moved from their birth

country to live in the U.K., without resorting to the prevalent conceptual and legal distinctions between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’. The reasons for doing this mirror doubts highlighted in the literature, albeit in different ways, by authors such as, Hugo (1996) and Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000). These doubts concern the extent to which a distinction between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’ (i.e., through fixed categories) is actually indicative of the degree of choice and/or a reflection of the psychosocial reality of all the people who leave their birth countries to live somewhere else (i.e., the ‘migrants’, in a wider definition of this term) (Hugo, 1996; Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000). Hence, this study builds upon the diversity and richness of the individual lived experiences of ‘migrants’ (in its wider sense), to explore the ways in which their perception(s) and experience(s) of ‘home’ may be connected with their own experiences from pre- to post-‘migration’.

Thus, this study offers the unique perspective from a particular group of ‘migrants’ - the participants - highlighting the complexities of ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’ and providing useful insights regarding their particular way(s) of experiencing and making sense of the interconnections between ‘home’ and ‘migration’. These participants are unique and had it not been for this study, their accounts may not have otherwise been gathered and discussed because, for example: a) they do not represent a sole national group of ‘migrants’ (in the wider definition of the term); b) they do not have a diagnosis (for example, in terms of health or mental health); c) they are not service users (in terms of mental health, social services, etc.); and d) they are not divided by gender, ethnicity, etc.. Therefore, these participants are not part of the specific populations of ‘migrants’ (within its wider definition) who, more frequently, tend to be targeted by research.

For this reason, their perspective(s) seems to offer a valuable and useful opportunity for expanding the understanding of ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’ as they are considered ‘normal’ adults, from different nationalities, who moved to live in the U.K. for a variety of reasons, exerting different levels of choice/power over the decision to move.

The findings of this study are the result of a detailed analysis of the participants’ accounts. Their shared perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ and ‘migration’ were captured and gathered in the overarching themes, which were presented in Part 3. Results and discussed above in section 4.2. Discussion of the findings of this study.

Overall, the findings of this study seem to support the idea that the participants’ perception(s) and experience(s) of ‘home’ and their ‘migration’ experiences are interconnected. The ways in which this interconnection is perceived by participants has been discussed in detail previously. Essentially, for the participants in this study, the recognition of the importance of ‘home’ and a shift in the meanings of ‘home’ resulted from their experience(s) of ‘migration’. Furthermore, the circumstances of the participants’ ‘home’ in the pre-‘migration’ stage appears to have influenced their views and appraisal of the decision to move and of the move itself. Some participants also seem to consider that ‘home’ (of pre-‘migration’) was central in the development of their basic ways of comprehending the world around them, thus influencing the way in which they make sense of their experiences, including those experienced during the different stages of the ‘migration process’.

Furthermore, the findings of this study demonstrate that, in the context of 'migration', 'home' and feeling at 'home' are complex issues. They reveal that (at least) the early stages of post-'migration' were experienced by the participants as being fraught with difficulties and challenges beyond what they had anticipated, these contributing to their heightened sense of being 'foreign'/'outsider' and of not being at 'home'. This sense of not being/feeling at 'home' for (a shorter or longer) period of time after 'migration' seems to be a common feature in the experiences of all of the participants and it emerged independently of their reasons for moving and/or of their perceived control/power over the decision to move away from their birth countries. Moreover, the findings of this study also yield some insights into other aspects of the participants' experiences after 'migration', namely those they found to be supportive of the 'settling in' and the (re-)creation of 'home' in the new country, as well, as those referring to re-negotiations of 'identity' and 'belonging'.

Whilst these understandings are limited to (and delimited by) this particular group of participants, it is also evident that some of the views and experiences shared by them have aspects in common with those described in the literature regarding 'home', in the context of 'refugees'' and of other 'migrants'' experiences. An example of this refers to the multiple challenges and struggles faced by all of the participants, as well as, the general sense of not being/feeling at 'home' which characterised the experiences of all of them, (at least) in the initial stages of post-'migration'. This sense of not being/feeling at 'home' after 'migration' has been described in the literature as one of the main experiences felt by 'refugees' and other 'migrants' (in its narrower definition), when they lose or leave their 'home' (for example, Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Papadopoulos, 2002).

Furthermore, and despite their importance, a direct generalisation of the findings of this study to the wider 'migrant' population should be cautioned against. Research using an IPA approach (Smith et al., 2009) places its focus "on the particular which can help illuminate the universal" (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011, p. 758). Thus, rather than focussing upon a direct generalisation of the findings, IPA studies consider their transferability. In this study, this process of transferability started with the analysis of each of the participant's accounts, this being followed by analysis and identification of the aspects shared by all of the participants. The findings were then appraised in relation to the existing literature.

4.4. Practical implications of the findings

Overall, the findings of this study seem to demonstrate that 'migration' experiences have an impact on 'migrants'' (in its wider definition) sense of 'home'.

The pivotal effect that the new country's conditions and the general atmosphere (more hostile or more welcoming) can have in hindering or supporting the (re-)creation of a sense of 'home' and of being/feeling at 'home' after 'migration' emerged in this study. Hence, despite the small sample size and the idiographic nature of this study, its findings seem to suggest that laws and policies, governmental and community projects and initiatives, as well as, social and media discourses can have an important bearing in 'migrants'' (in a wider sense) feelings of being (or not) welcomed, supported, safe and included in the new country, thus fostering (or not) their (re-)creation of 'home' and sense of being/feeling at 'home' after 'migration'. This would appear to be particularly important in a country such as the U.K., which has high levels of immigration and

diversity and, particularly, in the light of the experiences of negative stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia which were voiced by the participants in this study.

Furthermore, the early stages of post-‘migration’ emerge from this study as presenting ‘migrants’ (in a wider sense) with difficulties and challenges beyond what may be anticipated prior to ‘migration’ (for example, cultural differences implying different ways of relating or practical ways of doing things, a new language, etc.). Having lost the sense of familiarity and predictability that (a previous) ‘home’ provided, this in the context of not yet feeling at ‘home’ in the new country, can have an emotional impact on ‘migrants’ (in the wider definition of the term). Thus, from this study, the initial stages of post-‘migration’ can be considered a time when ‘migrants’ may feel more vulnerable and, consequently, more prone to become emotionally overwhelmed, confused and disorientated when confronted with the various (and unexpected) challenges and stressors which result from their move to a new country. In order to mitigate the impact of those aspects, and at a practical level, ‘migrants’ should have access to detailed information about practical (even very basic) aspects of life in the new country, preferably even before they move or, alternatively, being directed to that information at, or soon after arrival (through, for example, booklets, websites, information and support services, libraries or even access to workshops, seminars, etc.). This should take into account their understanding (or not) of English language and, for example, they may benefit from information about availability of language teaching services. Clear and detailed information (about requirements, support available, etc.) should be available from a range of services, these including, housing, banking, utilities providers, health and local

authorities, educational/academic organisations, professional bodies, employers and any other services/institutions that a 'migrant' may encounter. Conversely, professionals in any of these organisations, and according to the level of involvement that they may have with 'migrants', should also be made aware and supported in learning about the general challenges faced by 'migrants' and the best and appropriate ways they can be supportive of their adjustment and 'settling in' the new country. For some professionals, for example, health professionals, teachers/lecturers, etc., it may be that this awareness is extended to the identification of any signs suggesting that 'migrants' may be having specific difficulties for which they may require more specific types of support.

In this study, 'migrants'' (in a wider sense) emotional responses to their experiences of 'migration' can be understood by reference to 'home'. This may have implications for professionals working with them and for the 'migrants' themselves. Their (negative) emotional responses, which reportedly can accompany the initial stages of post-'migration', can be understood as resulting from a complex combination of the losses associated to a previous 'home' and the sense of not (yet) being/feeling at 'home' in the new country. Thus, they can be understood as transitional and as part of the 'settling in' the new country. According to this study, these may include, for example, feelings of powerlessness, frustration and anger, 'nervousness', feeling 'under pressure' and 'drained', 'feeling lonely', a lowering of self-confidence and self-esteem, a general sense of 'unhappiness' and also feeling 'upset', 'down' and 'depressed'. Such an understanding, together with an increased awareness that these responses may be frequently found in people who move to another country, independently of the reasons for doing so, may contribute to normalise those

experiences and responses, both to ‘migrants’ themselves and those who come into contact with them. However, in both cases, this should not prevent, rather it should contribute to, identification of any further difficulties that may require extra and specific types support. Equally, the findings suggest that people’s strengths, resilience and ability to grow and develop from difficult experiences of ‘migration’ should also be recognised and supported.

4.5. Limitations of this study

This study yields a unique opportunity to present and discuss the comprehensive views and experiences of ‘home’, as experienced by six adult ‘migrants’ living in the U.K. throughout their ‘migration process’.

Nonetheless, the smaller sample size and the idiographic nature of this study could be seen as hampering the generalisation of the findings to the wider adult ‘migrant’ population living in the U.K.. However, generalising to the wider population was not the goal of this study. The use of an IPA approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009) aided the examination and understanding of each of the participants’ unique perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ and ‘migration’, of how they made sense of their experiences, as well as, of the meanings that they attributed to those experiences, as these were central to this study. As aforementioned (in section 4.3. Significance of this study), research using an IPA approach focusses upon the particular and it is more concerned with how the findings may be transferable rather than with the direct generalisation of those findings to a population. Furthermore, and in order to facilitate an in-depth analysis of the participants’ lived experiences, research

using an IPA approach tends to use small sample sizes (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, in this study, a sample size of six participants is consistent with the requirements of an IPA approach to this type of study, as mentioned above (in Part 2. Methodology and research design).

Additionally, this study aimed to explore the perspective and lived experiences of a wide range of 'migrants' (in a wider sense, independently of the 'voluntary' or 'involuntary/forced' nature of their 'migration'). At this level, the inability to recruit people legally defined as 'refugee' can be seen as a possible limiting factor. Despite being aware of contacts from other participants (i.e., through 'snowballing') with 'refugees', informing them of this study and seeking their participation, the researcher was never contacted by any of them for possible participation. It may be that they did not feel emotionally 'ready' to talk about 'home' and 'migration', possibly in view of difficult experiences they may have faced from pre- to post-'migration'. Consequently, the particular views and experiences of someone from this 'refugee' 'group' were not included in this study. Only one participant in this study, and despite not being legally a 'refugee', has moved to live in the U.K. as a result of the uncertainty and instability resulting from socio-political changes and upheaval in the birth country, thus sharing some overlapping circumstances with some of the people who may have their 'refugee' status recognised.

Moreover, as aforementioned (in Part 2. Methodology and research design), all of the participants were educated at University level, albeit in different fields, although this was not a requirement for recruitment for this study. This could be seen as a possible limitation of this study as, by having a higher educational status and, possibly, a certain socio-economic-cultural level, it could

be thought that the participants' views and experiences may solely, or mainly, represent a particular position, one that is informed by those aspects. However, whilst this possibility needs to be recognised and those background/contextual aspects need to be taken into consideration, it is also important to highlight that the focus of this study is upon each participant's particular meanings, views and experiences on specific phenomena. This study has an idiographic focus and does not aim for a sample that is representative of a population.

Another possible limiting factor relates to language. The meanings attributed by participants to their lived experiences are central to this study and they were accessed through language (for example, the interviews and transcripts of it, the researcher's interpretations of those). As mentioned previously (in Part 2. Methodology and research design), all of the interviews with the participants were conducted in English language, and indeed, the ability to do so was part of the inclusion criteria. However, apart from two participants, for whom English is one of the 'adopted' languages in their birth countries, English is a 'second' language for all of the other four participants, as well as, for the researcher. In view of that, it is even more important to recognise that meanings and language are intrinsically linked. As highlighted by van Nes et al. (2010), "language differences may have consequences, because concepts in one language may be understood differently in another language" (p.313), and (some) meanings being culture- and language-specific can, consequently, be difficult to communicate in a different language. Thus, despite participants' and researcher's proficiency in English language, there is a possibility that expressing meanings in a different language, putting words into difficult to express concepts and experiences and interpreting those may be further constrained by the fact that

English is a ‘second’ language for the participants and the researcher. As pointed out by Smith et al. (2009), when citing Heidegger, “our interpretations of experience are always shaped, limited *and* enabled by, language” (p.194, *italics* in the original text).

Lastly, the research question directly referred to ‘home’ (which in itself is a complex concept) in the context of ‘migration’ experiences and to the possible links between those. Consequently, the focus of the analysis has been delimited by searching, in the participants’ accounts, for aspects deemed to be related to ‘home’ and ‘migration’, rather than extending it to all of the possible emerging themes, even if not (so) related to it. An aspect that emerged from participants’ accounts, but which does not directly link to the research question, relates to their views of the interview as a space for reflection about aspects of their life experiences, which they had not previously had an opportunity to fully contemplate and consider. Whilst this is, in itself, an interesting aspect that emerged from the interviews, it was not analysed further as it was considered to be outside the direct scope of this study. On reflection, this delimitation (rather than limitation) seems to be appropriate, in order to keep to the aims and research question of this study.

4.6. Suggestions for future research

This study supports the view of an interconnection between the perception(s) and experience(s) of ‘home’ by ‘migrants’ (in a wider sense) and their experiences throughout the ‘migration’ process. In addition, it identifies the specific reciprocal influences between ‘home’ and ‘migration’, which are shared

across the participants in this study. In view of the small sample size and the idiographic nature of this study, it may be of interest to research the same issues with different participants to explore if similar perspectives could be identified, i.e., if views similar to those expressed by the participants in this study are more widely shared across other ‘migrants’ (within its broader meaning), for example, those of a legally recognised ‘refugee’ background, or with other educational or socio-economic status, etc..

This study still covers a wide range of aspects related to ‘home’ and ‘migration’ and, therefore, further research could benefit from having an even narrower and deeper focus upon more specific aspects. These could include, for example, the perceptions and experiences of ‘home’ in one of the stages/phases of ‘migration’ (in pre-‘migration’ or initial post-‘migration’, etc.), the processes which assist the (re-)creation of ‘home’ and of the sense of being/feeling ‘at home’ in the new place and/or the views and relationships with compatriots, etc.

4.7. Final reflections

Reflexivity, as discussed previously, is an important process in research, particularly in qualitative research (Howitt, 2010; Langdridge, 2007; Willig, 2001; Yardley, 2008). In view of my ‘proximity’ with the topic, reflexivity was crucial to enable me to remain open minded and curious throughout the research process and to keep a sufficient distance to ensure that the impact that my views and experiences could have throughout the different steps of this study were minimised and/or contained. This process of reflection permeated each and every

stage of the research process, as stated and demonstrated throughout this thesis. In this section I present some final reflections as regards this research.

Given my involvement with the topic, I started this research journey with enthusiasm and a deep commitment to explore the experiences of 'home' and 'migration' of 'migrants' (in the wider definition of the term) living in the U.K.. I was expecting that such a research journey, as any research enterprise at this academic level, would comprise various challenges and be a possible source of stress and anxiety(ies). However, attending the taught part of the Refugee Care course and undertaking most of this research on a part-time basis, concurrently with my (often very demanding) clinical work, with a very different 'population' and in very dissimilar settings, added an enormous pressure to the already expected substantial demands placed by the different steps of the research process. This tested me in many ways, namely as regards my determination and resilience. However, despite its many difficulties, this study felt worthwhile and enriching as it provided the opportunity to explore, to give a voice to and make sense of the participants' individual perspectives and experiences of 'home' and 'migration'. This study also may have had an unexpected positive function for the participants, as all of them, in their feedback at the end of their research interviews, expressed that this had given them a valuable opportunity and space to reflect upon those aspects of their life experiences which they felt they had not had the chance to fully consider previously. On reflection, it touched me hearing that and this may have further reinforced my commitment to persist and complete this study. It also made me reflect if being a 'migrant' myself may have allowed the participants to be more open at interview, particularly as regards the difficulties and challenges they have encountered in the U.K.. Additionally, the

fact that I was not a compatriot of any of them may have been perceived as a positive aspect by them, particularly when considering the negative views and distancing from compatriots expressed by most of the participants in this study.

It seems important to mention that, during the research process, significant political changes occurred in the U.K.., namely the process for withdrawal of the U.K. from the European Union (E.U.), which resulted from the vote in the Brexit Referendum of June 2016. As a result of being a part time student, the research proposal at the basis of this study was submitted prior to the Brexit Referendum, whilst most of the research process already took place in a post-Brexit Referendum context, a time when often highly heated and polarised debates regarding Brexit were taking place. Being a E.U. citizen living in the U.K., I accompanied closely, and often with a level of apprehension, those debates, as well as, all the developments post-Brexit Referendum. In particular, this heightened my perception of a substantial change, throughout the years since I lived in the U.K., in the political, public and media debates and discourses regarding E.U. 'migrants' (in fact E.U. citizens) and, indeed, regarding 'migrants' in general. This also raised my uneasiness as regards the (political, social and also psychological) effects of this type of discourse(s). Added to this were my concerns about the uncertainties (and its effects) related to Brexit and of the practical implications for E.U. citizens living in the U.K. and for U.K. nationals living in the E.U.. It was my belief that the uncertainties and challenges posed by Brexit could have implications in terms of people's psychological health and well-being and, to a degree, this has been corroborated by surveys and research studies about the emotional/subjective impact of Brexit in the U.K. general population and for E.U. citizens living in the U.K. (for example, Kavetsos et al.,

2018; Mental Health Foundation, 2019; Rzepnikowska, 2019). So, as a result, I also somehow initially assumed that for some of the participants - those who are also E.U. citizens - the changes had the potential to impact upon their experiences and life in the U.K. and, therefore, that they would have a view on it. However, despite those important contextual changes, and as the research was open to any 'migrant' (in its wider definition, to include 'refugees') living in the U.K., following reflection about the issue, it was thought to be more appropriate, rather than specifically asking about Brexit, to keep the question open and related to the participants' views regarding their 'home' in the future. Thus, and once again, reflexivity was used to limit or minimise the impact that my assumptions (this time those related to Brexit) may have had in the participants' accounts whilst, simultaneously, I was still expecting that the issue of Brexit would emerge in the accounts of all of the participants who are E.U. citizens. In fact, when asked about 'home' in the future, only two of the participants related it to Brexit. For example, P4 expressed:

> *"…If you are referring to Brexit, I'm not particularly concerned about this one…I'm sure that no one will ever kick me out of this country and tell me to leave…there will probably be some kind of petition, questionnaire to fill in and send paperwork and that's standard…but I am not even thinking about it to be honest."* (P4, 14.17-15.20).

Thus, whilst referring to Brexit when discussing 'home' in the future, P4 seemed to convey that Brexit was not of great concern for him as he did not feel it would substantially affect his life in the U.K. (now his 'home'). However, another participant, P2, appeared to suggest that Brexit may be one of the contributory

reasons supporting her wish to move back 'home' (the birth country) in the future, when stating:

> *"…I know it's time to go back…not only the fact I finished my journey but the fact also that…the U.K. situation is going to change as well…with Brexit and I don't have a problem with that…but for whatever reason I…don't want to be a part so much of that."* (26.11).

So, whist referring to Brexit, these two participants seem to dismiss the possibility of any substantial negative impact on them arising from possible changes associated with Brexit, thus appearing to consider it as largely inconsequential for their personal lives. Whilst not totally discarding the possibility that Brexit may represent such a threat that it was difficult to even mention or discuss any concerns or worries about it during the interviews, it still appeared more likely that the E.U. citizens who participated in this study may feel secure enough in the U.K. and that Brexit may not represent a threat to their livelihoods and lives in this country, thus not eliciting strong emotional responses, at least at the time of the interviews. Nonetheless, this somehow seems to diverge from some of the findings of the surveys and research studies mentioned above.

Conclusion

This study contributes to the empirical investigation of ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’. The main aim of this study was to examine the perception(s) and experience(s) of ‘home’ by ‘migrants’ (in a wider sense) who currently live in the U.K., as well as, how those perceptions and experiences may be interlinked with their experiences during the ‘migration process’. Specifically, this study aimed: a) to explore how their perception(s) of what constitutes ‘home’ may have been/be influenced by their experiences throughout the ‘migration process’; b) to investigate how their perception(s) of ‘home’ may have influenced their experiences during the ‘migration process’.

Research relating to ‘home’, in the context of the situation and experiences of ‘refugees’ and other ‘migrants’, is already widely available (Boccagni, 2017; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Madison, 2006; Moore, 2000; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013). However, research in the field tends to separate ‘migrants’ (in a wider sense) into distinct categories or types of ‘migration’ – ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’.

Building upon the existing literature and research, this study aimed to explore the subjective experiences of ‘home’ and ‘migration’ of people who moved from their birth countries and are currently living in the U.K. – the ‘migrants’ in a wider sense - without resorting to prevalent categorical distinctions between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’/’forced’ ‘migration’. In this study, there was no intention to deny any potential differences between those types of ‘migration’, in terms of the degree of choice that people may have about leaving their birth

country, the challenges faced and the impact these may have in their experiences. Rather, in this study, the reason for not separating 'migrants' (in a wider sense) according to those types of 'migration' is linked, on one hand, to the intent to capture the diversity and richness of individual experiences and, on the other hand, to doubts, which have been highlighted in the literature by authors such as, Hugo (1996) and Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000), regarding the extent to which such distinctions actually reflect the degree of choice and/or the psychosocial reality of 'migrants' (in a wider sense).

Therefore, in this study, the emphasis is placed upon the examination of people's subjective experiences and the meanings they attribute to those experiences. In view of the aim of this study, the use of qualitative methodology, and, specifically, of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009) was considered the most appropriate. The data was collected through a semi-structured interview with each of the six participants. The findings are the result of a detailed analysis of the transcripts of the participants' accounts, through the use of an IPA approach (Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009).

In general, the findings of this study support the idea of an interconnection between the participants' perceptions and experiences of 'home' and their experiences of 'migration'. These are seen as interlinked in a number of ways. The participants' experiences during the 'migration process' have led to a recognition of the relevance of 'home' and to some shifts regarding the meanings of 'home'. The circumstances of the participants pre-'migration' 'home' influenced their views and the appraisal of the decision to move and of the move itself. 'Home' was also perceived by the participants as a base for the development of

their ways of comprehending and making sense of their experiences (including the experiences of ‘migration’) and the world around them.

The findings also indicate that difficulties, challenges and a sense of not being/feeling at ‘home’ were a common feature in the experiences of all of the participants, (at least) in the early stages of post-‘migration’. This sense of not being/feeling at ‘home’ after their move to the U.K. is independent of the participants’ reasons for moving and/or their perceived control/power over the decision to move away from their birth countries. The findings of this study also suggest that the participants’ experiences of ‘migration’ influenced the re-negotiation and re-definition of their identity and sense of belonging, as well as, the processes associated to the re-construction of ‘home’ and a sense of being/feeling at ‘home’ in the new country.

Overall, the findings reveal the complexities of ‘home’ in the context of ‘migration’. This supports existing literature, which recognises ‘home’ and feeling at ‘home’ during ‘migration’ as complex issues (Ahmed, 1999; Ben-Yoseph, 2005; Black, 2002; Boccagni, 2017; Brun & Fábos, 2015; Kabachnik et al., 2010; Madison, 2006; Mallett, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2002; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Rosbrook & Schweitzer, 2010; Sirriyeh, 2010; Smith, 2014; Taylor, 2013; Tete, 2012).

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Appendix 1 – 'Semi-structured Interview Schedule'

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- Thank you for agreeing to participate.

1. **Can you tell me how the idea of moving to the U.K. came about?**
   (Possible prompts: What were the reasons that led to the decision to leave? How long did it take for you to decide? How much preparation was involved?)

2. **What was it like to leave your country?**
   (Possible prompts: What were your expectations prior to leaving? Were there anything difficulties or challenges in leaving? How did you feel about leaving?)

3. **How has it been like since moving to the U.K. to live?**
   (Possible prompts: How was it (how did you feel) when you first arrived in the U.K.? And how has it been since? Was there anything that you found particularly difficult or challenging? Was there anything that you found helpful? How do you feel about it now? Any challenges and hopes for the future?)

4. **What is 'home' for you?**
   (Possible prompts: What does it mean for you? What best describes 'home' for you? What does 'home' include/incorporate? How much does 'home' matter for you? What are the things that contribute to make you feel at home'? How is it to feel at home?)

5. **On reflection, has the way you thought of and experienced 'home' always been the same?**
   (Possible prompts: (If not same) What contributed to that change and how? How did you view and experience 'home' before you left your country? Do you think and feel the same about it now? How do you view and experience 'home' since you moved to the U.K.? How do you think about it now? Is it different from what you would want it to be in the future?)

6. **Reflecting back upon your experiences, can you describe how, in your view, 'home' and 'migration' may be linked?**
   (Possible prompts: How important and relevant was the idea of 'home' prior and after migration? Have your experiences of 'home' influenced your experiences of migration?/How did they affect it? What contribution/role did your experiences of migration had in your views and experiences of 'home'?)

7. Is there anything else related to 'home' and your experience of moving from your country to the U.K. that you think as important to talk about?

8. How does/did it feel to talk about all these experiences?

Appendix 2 – 'Information Sheet'

University of Essex

INFORMATION SHEET

Title: 'Home' and migration experiences

Researcher: Helena Delgado da Silveira Ramos, PhD Refugee Care, Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex

Date: March 2018

Why are you being invited to this study?

You are being invited to take part in this study because you have moved to live in the United Kingdom (U.K.) from your country of origin, wherever in the world this may be, and independently of the reasons for having done so.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You should only participate if you decide to do so and if you choose not to take part in it, there will be no consequences for you.

Before you decide whether or not you want to take part in this study, it is important that you read the information below carefully. You can discuss the information with the researcher or ask any questions if there is anything that is not clear for you.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study is being undertaken as part of a PhD in Refugee Care at the Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies at the University of Essex.

The purpose of this study is to learn about participants' perceptions and experiences of what constitutes 'home' in the context of their experiences throughout the migration process.

In this study 'migration process' is understood as including all the steps and experiences involved in the move, from pre-migration to post-migration, thus incorporating from reasons and decisions to leave the country of origin through to life in another country (in this case the U.K.), as well as, all the steps in between.

What will you have to do if you decide to take part in this study?

Participation in this study will require that each participant is interviewed by the researcher about their experiences of moving from their country of origin to the U.K. and about their understandings of 'home' in that context. It is anticipated that the interview will take approximately 1 ½ hours.

Should you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form before your participation commences.

What are the benefits to taking part in this study?

Your participation will contribute to an enhanced understanding about the perceptions and experiences of 'home' of people who leave their country of origin and move to live in another.

Whilst there may be no specifically identified benefits for the participant, reflecting upon the complexities of what constitutes 'home' may, in itself, be considered a valuable experience for some participants.

What are the risks or disadvantages to taking part in this study?

There are no anticipated risks or disadvantages to taking part in this study.

Do I have to take part in this study?

No, as stated before, your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time, without having to give any reason or explanation for it and without any consequences.

If you wish to withdraw from this study, you simply need to notify the researcher (see contact details below). If any data has already been collected, upon withdrawal, your data will be destroyed, unless you inform the researcher that you are happy for such data to be used for the purposes of this research. For obvious reasons, withdrawal of consent for the use of the information given will not be possible once the PhD thesis associated to this study has been written up.

What information (data) will be collected?

In this study the following information will be gathered from each participant:

- The signed consent forms.
- The participant's age, gender, place of origin (which can be described only as the Country or, if preferred by the participant, the Continent where the Country of origin is part of) and the number of years since moving to live in the United Kingdom (U.K.).
- The information obtained during the interview will be collected by the researcher and it will be recorded (sound only) for an accurate transcription of the interview for data analysis.

What happens to the information collected?

All the information gathered will be treated as confidential.

The only people who will have access to the information as provided by the participants will be the researcher and the research team (the supervisors) associated with this study and who are linked to the University of Essex. All of the identifiable information gathered from the interviews will be fully anonymised when transcribed into written text by the researcher and it will be electronically stored, password protected and only accessible to the researcher and research team involved in this project.

The signed consent forms will be kept separately from other individual data and will be kept in a locked place until the end of this study.

Any contact details of each participant will only be collected and stored if the participant gives permission for further contact in case any follow up is necessary. This information will only be available to the researcher and the research team involved in this study and will also be kept separate from other data, being destroyed after the end of this study.

The findings of this study will be written up as an integral part of the PhD thesis linked to this study and fully anonymised (non-identifiable) quotes of interviews with participants will be presented within.

The information gathered and findings from this study may be used in scientific publications and presentations but the data will always remain completely anonymised throughout.

Who is organising/funding this study?

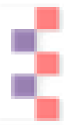
This study is being undertaken exclusively as part of a PhD Refugee Care, Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex. There is no funding involved in this study.

Who has reviewed and approved this study?

This research project has been reviewed and given approval by the Ethics Committee at the University of Essex.

What can I do if I have any concerns or complaints?

If you have any concerns about any aspect of this study or if you have a complaint, please contact the researcher or the main supervisor (see contact details below) to discuss them.



University of Essex

If after discussion you are still concerned or you think your complaint has not been addressed to your satisfaction, please contact the Senior Research at the Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex or the University of Essex Research Governance and Planning Manager (see contact details below).

Contact details:

- Researcher/PhD Student: Helena Delgado da Silveira Ramos

  hdelga@essex.ac.uk

- Researcher's Supervisor: Professor Renos Papadopoulos

  renos@essex.ac.uk

- Senior Research Officer, Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex: Dr Christian McMillan

  ckhmcm@essex.ac.uk

- University of Essex Research Governance and Planning Manager: Sarah Manning-Press

  sarahm@essex.ac.uk

Appendix 3 – 'Consent Form'

University of Essex

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: 'Home' and migration experiences

Researcher: Helena Delgado da Silveira Ramos, PhD Refugee Care, Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for the above study, dated March 2018. I had the opportunity to consider the information and to ask questions and any questions I had were answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from it at any time without giving any reason and without any consequences. ☐

3. I understand that all identifiable information (data) provided by me will be treated as confidential. It will be securely stored and accessible only to the members of the research team directly involved in this study and complete anonymity will be maintained outside the research team. ☐

4. I understand that the findings of this study will be written up as an integral part of the PhD thesis linked to this study and that anonymised (non-identifiable) quotes of the interviews with the participants will be presented within. ☐

5. I understand that the data collected in this study might be used in scientific publications or presentations but that the data will always remain completely anonymised throughout. ☐

6. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Participant Name	Date	Participant Signature
________________	____________	________________

Researcher Name	Date	Researcher Signature
____________________	______________	____________________

Appendix 4 – Ethical approval

Approval application for ethical review

Willemsen, Jochem A
Tue 03/04/2018 19:33
Delgado Da Silveira Ramos, Helena; Papadopoulos, Renos K

Dear Helena

Your application for ethical review has been approved. In attachment to this email, you will find a copy with all signatures. The signed original will be send to the Research Governance and Planning Manager Sarah Manning-Press. A copy of your application will be kept at PPS for 6 years.

Good luck with your research!

Kind regards
Jochem
--
Jochem Willemsen
Lecturer at the Department of Psychosocial and Psychoanalytic Studies
University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ
https://www.essex.ac.uk/people/wille04902/jochem-willemsen

Application for Ethical Approval of Research Involving Human Participants

This application form must be completed for any research involving human participants conducted in or by the University. 'Human participants' are defined as including living human beings, human beings who have recently died (cadavers, human remains and body parts), embryos and foetuses, human tissue and bodily fluids, and human data and records (such as, but not restricted to medical, genetic, financial, personnel, criminal or administrative records and test results including scholastic achievements). Research must not commence until written approval has been received (from departmental Director of Research/Ethics Officer, Faculty Ethics Sub-Committee (ESC) or the University's Ethics Committee). This should be borne in mind when setting a start date for the project. Ethical approval cannot be granted retrospectively and failure to obtain ethical approval prior to data collection will mean that these data cannot be used.

Applications must be made on this form, and submitted electronically, to your departmental Director of Research/Ethics Officer. A signed copy of the form should also be submitted. Applications will be assessed by the Director of Research/Ethics Officer in the first instance, and may then passed to the ESC, and then to the University's Ethics Committee. A copy of your research proposal and any necessary supporting documentation (e.g. consent form, recruiting materials, etc) should also be attached to this form.

A full copy of the signed application will be retained by the department/school for 6 years following completion of the project. The signed application form cover sheet (two pages) will be sent to the Research Governance and Planning Manager in the REO as Secretary of the University's Ethics Committee.

1. Title of project: **'Home' and migration experiences**

2. The title of your project will be published in the minutes of the University Ethics Committee. If you object, then a reference number will be used in place of the title.
   Do you object to the title of your project being published? Yes ☐ / **No**

3. This Project is: ☐ Staff Research Project **Student Project**

4. Principal Investigator(s) (students should also include the name of their supervisor):

Name:	Department:
Helena Delgado da Silveira Ramos	**PPS**
Professor Renos Papadopoulos	**PPS**

5. **Proposed start date: As soon as Ethics approval is given**

6. **Probable duration: Maximum end date 2nd of October 2019**

7. Will this project be externally funded? Yes ☐ / **No**

   If Yes,

8. What is the source of the funding?

9. If external approval for this research has been given, then only this cover sheet needs to be submitted
   External ethics approval obtained (attach evidence of approval) Yes ☐/ **Not applicable**

Declaration of Principal Investigator:

The information contained in this application, including any accompanying information, is, to the best of my knowledge, complete and correct. I/we have read the University's *Guidelines for Ethical Approval of Research Involving Human Participants* and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in this application in accordance with the guidelines, the University's *Statement on Safeguarding Good Scientific Practice* and any other conditions laid down by the University's Ethics Committee. I/we have attempted to identify all risks related to the research that may arise in conducting this research and acknowledge my/our obligations and the rights of the participants.

Signature(s): Helena da Silveira Ramos

Name(s) in block capitals: Helena Delgado da Silveira Ramos

Date: 16th of March 2018

Supervisor's recommendation (Student Projects only):

I have read and approved the quality of both the research proposal and this application.

Supervisor's signature: ..Renos Papadopoulos ....

Outcome:

The departmental Director of Research (DoR) / Ethics Officer (EO) has reviewed this project and considers the methodological/technical aspects of the proposal to be appropriate to the tasks proposed. The DoR / EO considers that the investigator(s) has/have the necessary qualifications, experience and facilities to conduct the research set out in this application, and to deal with emergencies and contingencies that may arise.

This application falls under Annex B and is approved on behalf of the ESC ☒

This application is referred to the ESC because it does not fall under Annex B ☐

This application is referred to the ESC because it requires independent scrutiny ☐

Signature(s):

Name(s) in block capitals: ..Jochem Willemsen...

Department: ...PPS...

Date: ...3 March 2018...

The application has been approved by the ESC ☐

The application has not been approved by the ESC ☐

The application is referred to the University Ethics Committee ☐

Signature(s): ....

Name(s) in block capitals: ....

Faculty: ....

Date: ....