

Picturing Home: exploring the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow.

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Abstract

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How do we make sense of home in the context of migration? Can we understand home as rooted in place? What impact do legal status and gender have upon home-making practices, and how can visual methods help to address these questions? This thesis explores the complex webs between objects, people and places that are woven in the migration-home nexus (Boccagni 2017). Using the photo elicitation interview method with 20 migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow, this study draws particularly on the concepts of performativity (Butler 1990), habitus (Bourdieu 1990) and transnationalism (Vertovec 2001; Levitt 2009). By examining the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women, this study sheds light on the wider social and structural factors that frame these practices. I argue that the disparity in access to resources and barriers faced by each of the three legal statuses discussed here - migrant, refugee and asylum seeker - have effects on the forms of participation in which the women engage in the process of home-making. The integration of the impact of gender and legal status offers a contribution to migration scholarship, and furthermore, the use of visual methods to undertake this study contributes to literature within the migration-home nexus (Boccagni 2017). This thesis concludes by emphasising that at the core of everyday migrant home-making practices is the cultivation of familiarity, through drawing upon the old, and through growing accustomed to the new (Williams 1958; Back 1996).

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List of Abbreviations

BAME – Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic

UKBA UK Border Agency

NASS – National Asylum Support Service

SIP – Social Inclusion Partnership

ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages

CA – Citizen’s Advice

ILR – Indefinite Leave to Remain

1. Introduction

1.1 Bringing it home: a journey to the migration-home nexus

This study explores the concept of home; a complex and multifaceted concept which, it is argued cannot be bound to place. Migration¹ problematises historical framings of 'home' as rooted in the land, and this thesis contributes to challenging the reduction of particular groups as belonging to particular places. Throughout my life, I have lived in cities whose histories are intricately bound up with narratives of migration. From a childhood in Bradford, where the textile industry brought thousands from the Indian subcontinent to work in the mills that scatter the skyline, to my undergraduate years in London, famously known as a 'super-diverse' city (Vertovec 2007). Manchester has also been my home, a city similarly built on a history of migration, before moving to Leicester, where this research story began, and where almost half the population falls within the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) demographic category². Finally I moved to Glasgow, the Scottish city with the highest percentage of population from a minority ethnic group - almost 12%³ - and the city where fieldwork for this PhD was conducted. These relatively small-scale migrations over the years have developed my interest in the ways in which cities shift and change as a result of flows of migration and, as is the focus of this thesis, the processes of managing understandings and experiences of home in the context of migration.

The development of transnational theory has enabled migration scholars to advance the argument that, as Hannerz writes: 'as people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of traveling even when people stay put, territories cannot really contain cultures' (1996: 8). Understanding the means by which individuals maintain connections to other places is increasingly acknowledged as important in migration scholarship, as rarely do those who move fully disassociate themselves from the places they have left. Bourdieu's theory of

¹ Throughout this thesis the term 'migration' will be used to describe the act of moving from one place to another. It is important to state that this term will be used with an understanding that motivations for moving are varied and complex and can be both voluntary and involuntary. The variety of experiences and motivations for movement is captured in the research question which enquires into the impact of legal status upon everyday home-making practices.

² See statistics drawn from Leicester's 2011 census <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-20678326>

³ See statistics drawn from Glasgow's 2011 census <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality/Equalities/DataGrid/Ethnicity/EthPopMig>

'habitus' (1990) highlights the means by which individuals and groups maintain these connections. Habitus consists of the unconscious embodied practices and behaviours which enable individuals and groups to make sense of self in place and in relation to those who share that place. In the context of migration, habitus facilitates the reorientation of the self in the new place. As one is surrounded by new habitus, internalised, unconscious practices are made conscious and strange in the face of the new dominant habitus (Casey 2001). Analysing these practices and behaviours, as I have done in this thesis, makes habitus visible (Bourdieu 1990) and supports a reading of migrant home-making as comprising of practices, rather than place. Furthermore, Butler's performativity theory (1990) enables us to expand upon habitus to enable a deeper reading, as it serves to scrutinise the ways in which through these practices, meanings are made, negotiated and perpetuated. Citing previously witnessed performativities, individuals internalise the practices and behaviours which provide the orienting tool of habitus. This process additionally serves to situate them in relation to particular identities, as through performativity, norms and codes of identification are reiterated.

Underpinning these performative embodied practices are heritage and identity. Both these concepts entail the negotiation between past and present (Back 1996; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007), as individuals and groups draw on previous narratives and previously witnessed practices and behaviours to make sense of the self in the present. The dialogue between past and present and fix and flux is woven throughout the analysis presented here. The embodied performativities of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women depend upon and make material the negotiation between multiple times and places, thus deconstructing the binaries erected through essentialist and reductive conceptualisations of home, heritage and identity. Furthermore, the use of visual methods to capture and analyse the portability (Sassen 1998) of embodied performative practices comprises a key contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes.

The intersection of migration and home is a fascinating one and vital to explore if we are to understand the ways in which 'home' does not consist of a simple dichotomy of 'stasis' versus 'mobility', or 'here' versus 'there' (Ahmed 1999). Scholarship in the realm of home and migration, and the migration-home nexus more particularly (Boccagni 2017), has worked to generate research that provides a credible and powerful counter-narrative to the pervasive perceptions of migrants as 'them' and national citizens as 'us'. Drawing on visual

methods, this study uses migration-home nexus scholarship as a platform to generate new insights, positioning home-making practices within the broader social and structural context and offering a more inclusive reading of migrant home-making. By this I mean that for those who move, the 'home' left behind may not feel like 'home' at all, and thus the desire to reattach characteristics and practices associated with previous homes may not be included in their repertoire of home-making practices (see section 1.3 for further discussion). I argue that rather than being rooted to place, home is in fact to be located in the embodied practices analysed here as they relate, connect to and draw upon the three core analytical themes of *objects*, *people* and *place*. By drawing upon transnationalism, performativity theory and habitus, this thesis explores the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women living in the city of Glasgow.

1.2 Aims and objectives: the question of home

This PhD is the outcome of a collaborative partnership between Glasgow Life and the large-scale Arts and Humanities Research Council funded research project titled *Understanding Everyday Participation: Articulating Cultural Value* (UEP). The UEP project 'proposes a radical re-evaluation of the relationship between participation and cultural value' (Understanding Everyday Participation 2017) and works to understand motivations for and factors which shape everyday participation. Through conducting field research and data analysis in multiple parts of the UK, the project works to 'generate new understandings of community formation and capacity through participation' (Understanding Everyday Participation 2017). Glasgow Life is a charitable trust and the operating name of Culture and Sport Glasgow created by Glasgow Council in 2007 to take responsibility for the city's museums, galleries and leisure services. It consists of six sub-brands, each of which focuses on a different form of participation: Glasgow Libraries, Glasgow Communities, Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Arts & Music, Glasgow Sport and Young Glasgow. Glasgow Life's interest in the theme of everyday participation and their investment in this PhD is driven by a desire to develop a deeper understanding of the multiple barriers to and the motivations for participation.

It is important here to briefly discuss the strategic objectives stated on Glasgow Life's website (see appendix 1). These objectives highlight the desire to increase participation

amongst those who live in Glasgow, thus enhancing overall wellbeing and further demonstrating their interest in understanding and encouraging participation. In order to meet these objectives, it is important that Glasgow Life first recognises the forms of participation which are of value to different individuals and groups and address forms of participation which may not be included within the scope of the six sub-brands. I discuss the suggestions for practice in section 1.3 and chapter 7, so here I will merely highlight the evident interest in the implications of and interest in participation that these objectives suggest.

Both my personal interests outlined in section 1.1 and the situation of the PhD in the collaborative partnership between Glasgow Life and the UEP project result in the concept of everyday participation informing the starting point for developing the research design (Miles and Gibson 2016). The theoretical work discussed in chapter 2 develops upon the arguments made in scholarship exploring participation (see section 2.2). Introducing the fields of migration, home and identity in the literature review enables me to bridge the work of scholars examining these four key organising theoretical frames for this research. The question of 'home' has been explicitly addressed by many (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Tolia-Kelly 2006; Dudley 2010). As such, the thread connecting migration and home is already theoretically strong, and I draw on this in the construction of the research design. It is only later that the 'migration-home nexus' emerges explicitly (Bocagni 2017). Bocagni's concept (2017) helps to provide a theoretical discussion which coherently brings migration and home together. An extensive literature review led to the development of five research questions which guide the narrative of this thesis. These are:

1. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?
2. What impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?
3. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?
4. How do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?
5. How do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?

In order to answer these questions, one year of ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in Glasgow from August 2015 to August 2016. During this time, I lived in the city, carrying out participant observation at three community groups which took place in two Integration Networks⁴ (see chapter 3, section 3.5). I also conducted 20 photo elicitation interviews with women from a variety of backgrounds using participant-generated images. These were then used as a catalyst for knowledge co-production in the interview (see chapter 3 for further discussion of methodology and field sites). The first question: ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate ‘home’ through the things they do in their everyday lives?’, anchors the enquiry on the practices which enable individuals to negotiate between homes. It is in these practices that an analysis of home is located, and thus the spheres and types of participation revealed through the photographic images generated for this research and analysed in this thesis result in three key arguments. First, that participation is *always* framed by wider social, economic and political structures (Bloch 2000; Scott [1977] 2009; Bennett et al 2009). As is demonstrated throughout chapters 4 – 6, the types of participation vary between the women I worked with according to legal status and cultural background as a result of the various restrictions placed upon each legal status (Bloch 2000) (see chapter 2, section 2.2.4 for further discussion on ‘status’).

Second, the relationship between facilitated and everyday participation (Edwards and Gibson 2016) is particularly illuminating when drawn upon to understand the home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Understanding the relationship between the facilitated and the everyday (see chapter 2, section 2.2.3) can reveal the role of organisations such as the Integration Networks in easing the early experiences of home-making in a new, predominantly unfamiliar place. Here, facilitated participation is understood as that which is made possible through the provision of groups in spaces such as the Integration Networks, and everyday participation as that which is engaged in outside the realm of this more formalised provision. The blending of these two spheres through, for

⁴ *‘Integration Networks in Glasgow are groups of local agencies, community groups and volunteers who plan and deliver services to asylum seekers and refugees in their area. Services may include information and advice, English classes, drop-in services, activities for children and adults, cultural programs, and emotional and practical support’* – Scottish Refugee Council Website

example, the preparation of food at home to bring to the groups, can enable those who are new to a place to cultivate social networks and familiarity with place.

Third, exploring the meanings and values ascribed to participation encompassed within migrant home-making enables us to understand and draw attention to the myriad types of participation which exist. These forms of participation often take place within the sphere of the everyday and are largely excluded from those which are more formally recognised. In this way, it is possible to present a challenge to the mainstream forms of cultural participation advocated by the state (Miles and Gibson 2016). By analysing the ways in which individuals and groups ascribe meaning and value to these daily practices and participations it is possible to understand the wider implications for these articulations of value. Most pertinently, the analysis presented in this thesis makes visible the ways in which these practices enable individuals to negotiate between multiple aspects of their identity and scales of belonging: ‘the body and the household to the city, nation and globe’ (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 27) and further still, between multiple places and times.

A response to the second question: ‘what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?’ is woven throughout chapters 4 – 6. As highlighted in chapter 3, section 3.4.1, there are differences between the rights to resources granted to each of these three legal statuses. This being the case, it is vital to account for the impact of these differences, particularly in research that seeks to understand the multiple social and structural factors which shape the participation and home-practices of participants. Recognising the impact of structures upon participation makes visible both practical barriers in place as a result of policy, and social influences upon decisions about participation. Theoretically, this thesis calls for an inclusion of the impact of legal status as an important dimension within migration research that already encompasses gender into the analysis. Furthermore, it suggests that research analyses, such as that of Bennett et al’s (2009) investigation into the impact of various demographics upon participation, could be strengthened through the inclusion of legal status, as this category is often not included within studies on participation⁵. This doctoral research helps to understand the forms of participation that are important to

⁵ Bennett et al’s 2009 study *Culture, Class, Distinction* analyses the impact of key demographics such as age, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic class upon participation, highlighting the ways in which wider social and structural factors influence decisions over and access to participation.

everyday migrant home-making practices and highlights the ways in which legal status impacts upon access to and decisions about participation.

The third question asks: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'. An articulation of the ways in which these performativities underpin migrant home-making practices serves to untangle the impacts and intersections of legal status and gender. Decisions about the *objects, people* and *places* drawn on by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in identity and heritage performativity differs according to the access granted to each legal status. We must understand that the circumstances under which individuals move often impacts upon the ways in which the negotiation and performativity of heritage and identity takes place. That the women have moved to Glasgow for myriad reasons, some as a result of the dispersal scheme (see chapter 3, section 3.5.3) and some on a voluntary basis, is important to consider. Thus, the analyses highlight two key points: first, that in *spite* of these differences of motivation and legal status, there are some clear crossovers in the strategies of emplacement adopted and drawn upon. Second, the relationship with previous homes which are to some extent an outcome of the circumstances under which an individual has moved, impacts upon the relationship with new places. 'Home' as a concept is thus in part relational (Blunt and Dowling 2006) and in this way, the homes which participants are coming from have a role to play in shaping their subsequent home-making practices through the process of heritage and identity performativity.

The fourth question asks: 'how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?'. This question seeks to examine the complex intertwining of places most prominently through memory (Gilroy 1993; Misztal 2007; Dudley 2010; Lewicka 2014). Rather than presupposing that home is bound in place, this line of inquiry works to uncover the ways in which performative heritage and identity-based practices *interact* with the city. This is often expressed as occurring in the connection between the material such as public spaces, certain buildings or particular landscapes, and the intangible, primarily in the form of memory (Ahmed 1999; Leach 2005; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Lewicka 2014). Memory is crucial to the process of reorientation and home-making, as many scholars articulate the ways in which memory informs participation and negotiations of home. Ahmed writes that 'the question then of being at home or leaving home is always a question of memory' (Ahmed 1999: 343). I draw on Massey's concept of space-time compression (Massey [1994]

2001) to argue that transnational practices, embodied performative practices and interactions with the physical environment can result in the embodied sensory experience of the compression of temporal and spatial distances. In this way, through interacting with the fabric of the city, memory can bring together places and times, enabling migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to ease some of the dislocation that migration causes. The fifth and final question: 'how do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?' is addressed in chapter 3, which explicates the methodological approach in detail.

In chapter 7 I argue that the implications of addressing these questions are numerous and draw conclusive findings that are significant for both Glasgow Life and for cultural institutions more broadly. In the face of restrictive immigration policies - which this thesis demonstrates have a tangible impact upon everyday migrant home-making practices - it is possible for cultural institutions such as Glasgow Life to address barriers to participation. One key way to do so would be to work directly with organisations such as the Integration Networks who seek to facilitate forms of participation which are identified by service users as important to their negotiations of home. In this way, it could be possible for Glasgow Life to expand its programme of events to encourage the participation of individuals who are marginalised or indeed excluded from certain spheres of participation as a result of their legal status. Thus, despite working in the context of restrictive governmental policies, it would be possible for Glasgow Life to fulfil the aim of inclusivity stated in their strategic objectives. Below, I outline the thesis structure.

1.3 Thesis structure

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 critically engages with the key literatures used to create the theoretical framework through which the data is analysed. The chapter is divided into four sections, guided by the four most pertinent theoretical themes in this research: participation, migration, home and identity. Section 2.2 discusses participation, examining the impact of legal status and gender upon everyday participation (Bloch 2000). It is argued that in the context of migration, participation is influenced heavily by memories of previous participation (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Misztal 2007; Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014) and that as such, the inclusion of memory in the migration-home nexus is vital. Migration is then the focus of section 2.3, where I argue that experiences of migration and home cannot

be understood as linear processes fixed in place (Clifford 1997; Bhabha 1994; Massey and Jess 1995; Ahmed 1999). This argument is advanced in section 2.4, which examines theoretical constructions of 'home'; where it is perceived to be located, and how migration problematises conceptualisations of home as rooted in place. I argue that the search for 'home' is the search for familiarity, and illustrate how theories such as habitus and performativity help to disentangle the processes of negotiating home. Identity is the concern of section 2.5, where the challenge to the model of identity as fixed is further developed (Williams 1958; Back 1996). This section examines the multiple tools with which identity is negotiated, from material culture (Tolia-Kelly 2006; Dudley 2010) to heritage practices (Ashworth and Graham 2005). It is here that the concept of habitus is introduced explicitly (Bourdieu 1990) as a tool fundamental to identity work, although pertinent to the migration-home nexus more broadly.

Chapter 3 highlights the methodological approach to the research. Beginning with a discussion of the epistemological and ontological groundwork of this thesis, I make two key arguments. First, I argue that sensory methods are the most appropriate for an analysis of the themes discussed in chapter 2. Second, in accordance with the feminist standpoint from which this research is conducted, sensory methods allow important space for reflection and self-representation (Abu-Lughod 1990; Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; Gustafson 2014). Developing upon the arguments presented here, the photo elicitation method is then examined in greater depth. I argue that using a model of photo elicitation in which the images are participant-generated places control in the hands of participants. Through the elicitation process, knowledge is then co-produced (Harper 2002). I discuss the format of the interviews and justify the analytical approach adopted before introducing the participants in section 3.4, outlining the ethical conduct practiced throughout the fieldwork.

Finally, the research context is defined in section 3.5, as the field sites of the Integration Networks and the dispersal scheme which led to their conception are discussed (Wren 2004). I highlight the role of the Integration Networks as a form of facilitated participation for many newly arrived migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Glasgow, exploring the types of groups which the various Networks run, and the demographics of attendees. This chapter explicitly addresses the final research question: 'how do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?'. It argues that the *kind* of knowledge generated and the ways in which it is generated facilitates a collaborative, dialogic

understanding of the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women (Pink 2008). The use of this method in research within the migration-home nexus therefore, provides a vital contribution to this gradually expanding field.

Chapter 4 – 6 comprise the analysis chapters, which are divided into three core themes: object, people and place. The interaction between the critical review of the literature which took place before the fieldwork and the subsequent analysis both during and after the completion of data collection revealed that everyday migrant home-making practices largely fall into these three themes. As I emphasise and evidence throughout chapters 4 – 6, these themes are inextricably linked, as objects, people and places are mobilised through practice in order that those who move can make some sense of self in place. It is important to point out, however, that these categories do not assume a positive relationship with place, or that the tools drawn upon will be the same, if indeed they are accessible at all. For instance, in chapter 4 although I discuss the use of food as a home-making tool, there are women who do not know how to cook and therefore this tool is unavailable to them. Similarly, in chapter 5 I discuss the role of people and social relationships in migrant home-making. There are those whose social networks are non-existent upon arriving in a place, and thus are unable to instantly draw upon this resource to ‘reground’ (Ahmed et al 2003), until they have built up their constellation of social relationships in that place (Massey [1994] 2001), as it may well be that their network largely exists in the countries they have left. Finally, in chapter 6 I analyse the role of place in migrant home-making. Presuming that all those who leave a place will miss that place runs the risk of further perpetuating an essentialist understanding of home, whereby one feels most at home in the place of birth. Although many of the women describe some feeling of missing ‘home home’, there are other women I interviewed who stressed that they miss nothing about the countries they have left.

It follows, then, that this romanticised lens of ‘the motherland’ hinders our understanding of migrant home-making. Although certain tools may not be available, or relationships to previous places may not be positive, this does not have to mean that home-making practices are hindered, as other tools are sought out and drawn upon in order to make sense of self in place. As new practices are learnt, thus familiarity can be cultivated. Of course, as I argue in this thesis, the rights granted or rescinded as a result of legal status can severely impact upon the ability to feel at home. For example, in chapter 6 Alexis describes

the way that walking up and down the street near her home over time has cultivated a feeling of familiarity, however this familiarity is precariously balanced on the decision of the Home Office to grant or deny her Leave to Remain. As such, this thesis highlights the complex and manifold experiences of home-making, and the tools used in this process. Excluding narratives of ambivalent feelings towards countries departed from and hiding the reality that gendered home-making practices such as the ability to cook is not be available to every migrant woman, is to gloss over the complex and varied ways in which home is understood and experienced. As such, these narratives are not excluded in the analysis presented in this thesis, as they serve to enrich, enhance and advance scholarship relating to migration and home.

Chapter 4, the first of the three analysis chapters, presents an analysis of the ways in which material cultures are used in rituals, routines and habits to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities. The chapter situates food-based practices as the most significant, a finding which emerges in both the fieldwork itself and the literature analysed in chapter 2 (Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010). It is argued that the uniqueness of food as a home-making tool lies in the fact that it can be accessed by women regardless of legal status. Section 4.2 discusses the relationship between food and place, arguing that as a form of material culture, food is used as a medium through which identities, homes and heritages are refracted (Tolia-Kelly 2006; Dudley 2010), enabling the cultivation of familiarity. The engagement of food in practices of sharing and gift-giving is the concern of section 4.3. I argue that through its engagement in social contracts such as these, food facilitates the development of social networks and offers an opportunity to cultivate familiarity with new foods and new everyday and special occasion rituals. Further, this section examines the role of food in sharing and gift-giving as a means to maintain and negotiate connections to places.

This is explored in more depth in section 4.4 which presents an analysis of the interaction between food and memory. Here, performativity theory and memory scholarship mobilise the argument that memory, through internalised and embodied practices, enables the cultivation of familiarity both through previous performativities and the learning of new performativities. Here, the discussion departs from food into material culture more broadly, examining the decoration of the home in particular. Woven throughout this chapter is an articulation of the ways in which legal status and gender impact upon these practices. To

begin with an analysis of the ways in which the body interacts with material culture in the form of everyday and special occasion ritual is to begin from a point of departure which understands the body as the vehicle for experiences of migration and home (Csordas 1990; Hetherington 1998; Bell 1999; Dudley 2010; Misztal 2007). Thus, the analysis of everyday migrant home-making practices begins at the central point from which experiences of migrant home-making spill out: the body.

Chapter 5 examines the ways that home-making is carried out through the women's relationships with others, both in Glasgow and the countries they have left. I demonstrate the multiple ways in which the women understand home to be in part located within, in contrast and in relation to people. This is illustrated in section 5.2 through a discussion of the role of children in everyday migrant home-making. It is argued that children act as a bridge between the current place of residence for migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking mothers, as their internalisation of habitus takes place largely within this new place (Bourdieu 1990; Ahmed et al 2003). The participation facilitated by the presence of children such as the school run and attending parent and baby groups, enables mothers to participate in spheres which have the potential to bleed into their everyday participation (Edwards and Gibson 2016).

Section 5.3 discusses the role of language in home-making, arguing that as it contains within it references and meaning, language is a highly valuable tool drawn upon in performativity and negotiation of identity and heritage (Hall 1991; Ashworth and Graham 2005; Meinhof and Galasiński 2005). Finally, section 5.4 analyses the intertwining of people and identity, discussing the ways in which identity work always occurs in relation to and against those one shares place with. Here, habitus (Bourdieu 1990) and performativity (Butler 1990) drive the analysis. I argue that in the context of migration, habit, routine and socially internalised ways of being and performing the self are used, both consciously and unconsciously, in three key ways. They can be performed more consciously, rejected altogether, or played with to form a new habitus, blending together the old and the new (Williams 1958; Bhabha 1994; Back 1996; Ahmed 1999). The analysis presented here strengthens the argument that underpinning the women's interactions with people is the quest for the cultivation of familiarity; that which is previously familiar and that which becomes familiar through repeated interaction.

Chapter 6 concludes the analysis, drawing on theories pertaining to the women's home-making processes as carried out in relation to place to argue that home cannot be fixed and rooted wholly in place. Section 6.2 discusses the role of familiar faces and familiar places, drawing upon the work of those such as Hammond (2004), Massey ([1994] 2001) and Ahmed (1999). I argue that the cultivation of familiarity through drawing on memories of previous participation (Lewicka 2014; Ang 2011) and becoming familiar with new forms of participation and new people is an active process, and vital to the home-making endeavour. The role of transiting and returning through and to certain sites is the concern of section 6.3, and Hammond's argument that the active strategies of emplacement lead to 'the gradual expansion of places that people considered to be familiar and safe from the raw material of a space that was unfamiliar and dangerous' (Hammond 2004: 83) is made visible. Finally, section 6.4 explores the embodied experience of sensory space-time compression. I argue that through the interaction between memories transported within the body and the physical environment or fabric of the city, the experience of multiple places and times coming together occurs. Here, the role of memory in everyday migrant home-making practices is made explicit (Miztal 2007; Dudley 2010; Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014). The argument that migration and home cannot be understood as linear trajectories rooted in place is once more reinforced. Sensory space-time compression is therefore understood here as both a tool and a symptom of the act and experiences of migration.

In this final analysis chapter, I propose an answer to the research question: 'how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?'. By analysing the ways that the women negotiate between times and places through their everyday home-making practices, it is possible to gain clarity on what is an immensely knotty and complex process of negotiation of self and place. The chapter will conclude by arguing that place itself is not at the crux of where home is to be found. Instead, the strategies of emplacement which have been under scrutiny throughout the thesis are the vital link between places and times. Employed by those who move in each place they find themselves in, it is these strategies which make possible the negotiation of home.

Finally, chapter 7 revisits the research questions and draws together the key arguments and findings presented in the preceding six chapters. It discusses the limitations of the research, acknowledging the restrictions of small-scale ethnographic study. Researcher

positionality is considered here too, as I reflect upon the impact of my presence as a white female British citizen and someone who has not had to contend with experiences of migration on any kind of parallel scale, nor had my right to call a place 'home' called into question through policy or otherwise. Attempts to address these limitations are then presented. I argue that the diverse sample, the analytical approach taken and the method of photo elicitation work to counter power imbalances present within researcher-participant relationships. Most crucially perhaps, the method provides participants with space and time to frame their own self-representation, thus seeking to counter some of the impact of researcher positionality. I discuss the original contributions which this thesis makes, arguing that its largest contribution is to the field of the migration-home nexus (Boccagni 2017), where the use of sensory methods to explore experiences of migration and home is novel.

Finally, the wider implications of this work are explored, first making suggestions for theoretical and methodological developments. I argue that the continued development of research which examines the experiential, embodied layer of home is of fundamental importance in the continued struggle against essentialist readings of identity and home. Second, I outline the ways in which this research might be useful for the key stakeholders, Glasgow Life. I suggest that they might develop their provision alongside other organisations in the city that work with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in order to open up opportunities for participation. I conclude by restating the two key arguments mobilised in this thesis. First, the analysis presented in chapters 4 – 6 demonstrates the complex and multifarious nature of home, developing a strong counter-argument to conceptualisations of home as fixed and rooted in place. Second, using a method such as photo elicitation in which data is generated by the participants themselves is of paramount importance. In the ongoing quest of much social research to challenge the power dynamics which permeate researcher-participant relationships, it is vital to ensure that participants are granted as much control over their own representation as possible. In this way, it is possible to both attend closely to an ethical code of conduct, and furthermore, to mobilise a model of research which places participants at its heart, thus resulting in a more collaborative framework for the production of knowledge.

2. Literature Review: Dialogues and Debates

2.1 Introduction

This research sits within a multidisciplinary body of work that seeks to challenge readings of migration, home and identity as linear, essentialised and bound in place. Positioning the thesis in this way enables the complex process of migrant home-making to be examined. Furthermore, the analysis accounts for the impact of the three legal statuses of migrant, refugee and asylum seeker (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1). The conflation of these terms, most notably in mainstream media (Berry et al 2015), has resulted in a lack of clarity about the access to certain resources which is granted or denied according to legal status. As such, throughout this thesis, the three legal statuses will be differentiated to locate each individual narrative within the broader context of the rights granted. I argue that the barriers placed upon migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are varied and multiple, making the negotiation of 'home' more or less difficult. The phrase 'migrant home-making' will however, be used to refer to home-making processes as they are carried out by all those who move. Thus, this thesis responds to the call from those such as Ahmed (1999) and Bloch (2000) for the need to understand the intersections which shape experiences of migrant home-making. The questions below have been pivotal in framing the selection and critical reading of the literature discussed here:

1. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?
2. What impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?
3. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?
4. How do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?
5. How do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?

Within this discussion, the emphasis is placed on the hypothesis that experiences of migration and home-making are complex and must be approached in such a way that makes space for acknowledgment and analysis of these complexities. I argue that places, homes and identities are more accurately understood as entanglements than isolatable concepts. Thus, I situate my work within the migration-home nexus (Boccagni 2017) and draw together theories pertaining to migration and home in order to undermine these bounded readings of home. Pertinent to the work of others also making this case such as Ahmed (1999), Levitt (2011) and Bloch (2000) is a sensitivity to the intersectionality of the analysis of experiences of migration and home. This is brought to bear in this thesis in the form of the question: 'what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?'. As such, woven throughout the literatures drawn upon in this thesis and indeed the subsequent analysis presented in chapters 4 – 6, is a situating of the individual narratives within the broader context of the structural. Below I map out the structure of the following chapter.

2.1.1 Chapter structure

Section 2.2 discusses literature that attends to participation, enabling us to understand the groundwork upon which the following 3 sections build. As meaning and value are made through participation, so understandings of home and identity are expressed in these participatory articulations of value. Stressing the importance of the everyday, section 2.2 makes the case that individual everyday participation serves to illuminate other key themes such as identity, memory, structure and agency (Miles and Gibson 2016). It is argued that facilitated participation (Edwards and Gibson 2016) additionally has a vital role to play in the early engagement of many new migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and furthermore, that participation is often shaped by memories of previous participations (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Ang 2011). Memory is an important aspect of migration theory, which is discussed in the following section.

Examining migration scholarship, section 2.3 argues that a nonlinear model of migration moves beyond the boundaries erected by a simple 'here' versus 'there' framework (Ahmed 1999) in which migration is understood as an act carried out between two fixed points. The benefit of adopting an intersectional approach to migration research is also addressed as I argue alongside others (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Silvey

2006) for the inclusion of gender and legal status in migration research. To fail to do so is to fail to account for the manifold factors which impact upon migration experiences. I conclude section 2.3 by discussing the use of the concept of transnationalism in this research, highlighting practices that support the negotiation between places, once more emphasising that migration is a nonlinear process.

Section 2.4 locates a discussion of home within the migration-home nexus (Boccagni 2017). The multiple intersections within which homes are negotiated are addressed, situating home within the context of legal status and gender. It is further argued that home is multi-scalar (Blunt and Dowling 2006) existing within multiple scales and places. The importance of understanding home as process rather than product is emphasised, building upon a model of nonlinearity (Clifford 1997; Bhabha 1994; Ahmed 1999) before bringing into the frame the fundamental role of memory (Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014). Here, home is located within the interaction between conglomerate memories of previous homes and the current place of residence, constructed relationally and negotiated and made sense of through memory.

Identity is the focus of section 2.5, opening with the debate between essentialised and postmodern conceptualisations of identity (Bauman 2007). I suggest that instead of subscribing to dualisms, a framework that understands identity as that which is constructed and worked out between states of fix and flux is adopted (Williams 1958; Back 1996). It is argued that the negotiative characteristic of identity echoes readings of heritage as the interaction between past and present (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007). The role of material culture and embodied performativity in heritage is discussed, with a particular focus on food-based practice, before concluding by making the case for understanding identity as an embodied phenomenon (Hetherington 1998; Bell 1999; Misztal 2007). I draw particularly on performativity theory (Butler 1990) and habitus (Bourdieu 1990) to develop a theoretical, epistemological and methodological framework to account for this argument.

Chapter 2 concludes by arguing that researchers of the migration-home nexus seek to expose the inaccuracy of home as place and rearticulate home as strategies. Thus, this thesis contributes to the growing body of work which demonstrates that home and belonging are never straightforward (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Boccagni 2017). In particular, transnational theory demonstrates the ongoing connection of many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to previous homes, enabling us to argue that we cannot conceive of migration, home and identity as linear processes and projects. Furthermore, it emphasises

the fundamental importance of an intersectional approach to the migration-home nexus if we are to locate experiences of migrant home-making within the wider context of structures and forces which shape them. Finally, I conclude by articulating that the project of cultivating familiarity is integral to migrant home-making. This familiarity enables those who move to negotiate between homes, both through drawing on the previously familiar and becoming familiar with the unknown. These core conclusions and contributions equip us with an understanding of migrant home-making as a complex process worked out in the interspaces opened up by the act of migration.

2.2 Participation

2.2.1 Introduction

My core research question: ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate ‘home’ through the things they do in their everyday lives?’ necessitates attention to participation. Infused with memories, values and places, situating everyday participation within the wider context is vital if we are to understand its full significance and articulate the contribution it can make to an analysis of migrant home-making practices. A discussion of the importance of ‘the everyday’ within participation scholarship opens this section (Ebrey 2016; Scott [1977] 2009). It is argued that as a sociological concept, the everyday is an important site in which larger structural and social factors which influence decisions about participation are made manifest. The relationship between everyday and the facilitated participation is then discussed (Edwards and Gibson 2016), and the argument that facilitated participation acts as an important gateway to new arrivals is mobilised. The ways in which facilitated participation can both bleed into everyday forms of participation, and further, enable individuals to cultivate social networks is the focus here. The relationship between public and private is important to consider here, as facilitated participation necessitates engagement in the public sphere, where everyday participation can take place either in the private or public domain. This is discussed in greater depth in the conclusion of chapter 4. Expanding upon the potential barriers to certain forms of facilitated participation, the impact of status on participation is examined (Bloch 2000). The form of status which is the most pertinent to the analysis presented in this thesis is that of the three

legal statuses encompassed in the research questions: migrant, refugee and asylum seeker, however, the more sociological use of the term is included peripherally. The desire to continue with previous forms of participation may be hindered by the legal status an individual finds they are now categorised with. As such, certain forms of participation may no longer be possible, and other forms of participation may be sought out. In this concluding section, the role of memory on decisions informing participation is the focus (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Ang 2011).

2.2.2 Understanding participation: the importance of the everyday

Scholarship discussing participation has multiple foci, from assessing the impact of different forms of participation upon themes such as social wellbeing and social capital (Stephoe and Butler 1996; Lindström et al 2001), to seeking to challenge top-down definitions of what counts as 'cultural participation' (Miles and Gibson 2016). The discussions of most value to my research have centred on the ways in which a framework of *everyday* participation can reveal the meaning and value imbued in other practices and processes (Ebrey 2016; Miles and Gibson 2016). In the case of this thesis, this framework of the everyday opens up discussions about the process of migrant home-making. The UEP project within which this thesis sits, pays particular attention to the importance of adopting a broader scale of analysis for how participation is defined. Expanding the scope from 'high culture' to the vernacular and the mundane (Ebrey 2016), the UEP project's focus on the everyday is useful to draw on here.

The importance of the everyday as a sociological concept when considering participation is vital as it opens up spheres of participation which, if taking a more formalised approach, looking only at state-funded forms, would be excluded. It is within the 'micro everyday' that macro structures are made manifest, specifically in this research examining the ways in which participation is shaped by status and gender (see section 2.4), and it is in the everyday that habitus is performed (Butler 1990; Bourdieu 1990). In her book *Making Sense of Everyday Life*, Scott ([1977] 2009) offers an examination of theories of everyday life, which she claims to be 'habitual in nature' ([1977] 2009: 7) and 'infused with power, politics and historical significance' ([1977] 2009: 3). This habituality strongly echoes Butler's theory of performativity (1990). Through repeated performances we come to embody identifications

with particular groups, and through these repeated journeys within space and learned dispositions, we come to construct a habitus within which we dwell (Bourdieu 1990).

Berger and Luckmann ([1966] 1991) adopt a social constructionist view which understands reality to be constructed in everyday life, resulting, therefore, in an infinite number of local, subjective realities. Garfinkel too takes this position, seeing the everyday as a site for the creation of social behaviour, which is not, he argues, governed from above, but rather through the process of everyday participation (Garfinkel 1967 cited by Scott [1977] 2009). I argue that this perspective overlooks the governing forces of structures of power, in which the classification and categorisation of groups and individuals tangibly impacts upon their everyday lives. It is important, therefore, to conduct research exploring the everyday which locates it within the wider social and structural context. Miles and Gibson (2016) argue for a place-centred framework of analysis of participation in the UEP project. They posit that without locating forms of participation in the wider context of place, we are unable to understand the processes, relationships or 'structures of feeling' (Williams 1958) which are woven throughout, and indeed come to define the types of participation in which individuals and groups engage. They adopt a Bourdieusian approach to understanding participation, in which Bourdieu's key concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' are examined. Habitus, Casey writes, provides 'an indispensable dimension of the body's role in implacing human beings' (Casey 2001: 716). Habitus is comprised of the dispositions and behaviours which are internalised through socialisation and repetition, and with which we come to make sense of self and place (Bourdieu 1990). These dispositions and behaviours are largely hidden within the everyday, and it is only in the face of relocating to a new place in which new habitus are prominent, that they are made visible. Bourdieu posits that in order to study habitus, we must give our attention to these social practices, rather than seek to study 'habitus' itself, unconscious as it is. As such, research which draws on this concept should consider the methods used to illuminate the manifestations of habitus in everyday practice and participation (Costa and Murphey 2015).

Marrying participation, place, the everyday and the wider social context enables us to illuminate the ways in which the dispositions, practices and behaviours shaped by habitus and broader structures can be understood in *relation* to place; thus I argue alongside Casey that 'habitus mediates between body and place' (2001: 716). We are therefore able to understand the ways in which the practices that comprise the concept of habitus seek to

express the interaction between people and place. Participation can be understood as a tool for articulating a relationship with place(s), as the meanings and values wrapped up in different forms of participation serve to connect people, places and times. The implications here are that an individual's articulation of their habitus is wrapped up in their everyday practices and participations, and thus through analysing the choices individuals make about where and how they spend time, we can make habitus visible and open for analysis. Below I examine the relationship between everyday and facilitated participation, and argue that home-making relies upon an interaction between these two spheres. Facilitated participation acts as a key gatekeeper to the development of social networks, an important factor of home-making (Massey [1994] 2001), and the expansion into the realm of everyday participation.

2.2.3 Facilitated and everyday participation

It is clear that participation in the kinds of community groups which comprised the field sites for this research (see chapter 3, section 3.5) often facilitates multiple forms of everyday participation. As such, although the analysis of everyday participation in this thesis enables us to understand the home-making practices and processes of the participants, it also explores the ways in which different kinds of participation impact upon experiences and negotiations of home, heritage and identity. Certainly, there are clear benefits elucidated by interlocutors of participating in these different ways, and thus we might understand that their participation in the community groups for instance, has a positive impact upon their general sense of wellbeing.

However, this is not the core function of my reading of participation. Rather, it is to understand the role of the multiple spheres of participation brought to light in this thesis and their impact upon everyday migrant home-making practices. It is participation that facilitates the creation of new memories, new connections, and the learning of new dispositions in one's habitus. In their work with young people in care, Edwards and Gibson (2016) understand 'facilitated participation' to be 'programmes that aim to affect individuals' social, economic, mental, physical, educational and/or emotional state or status and where the individuals enlisted are deemed to be in need of or amenable to 'betterment' through such participation' (2016: 195). It is the interaction between the facilitated and the everyday which draws Edwards and Gibson's attention in their article, as they seek to understand the

ways in which the facilitated sphere, with its specific aims and objectives, can come to be blended into the everyday lives of those who participate within it. Such an interaction is also of concern in this thesis, as it seeks to understand the role of participation in migrant home-making. As such, a reading of literature which discusses the role of both facilitated and everyday participation is called for.

Investigating the connection between these two spheres of participation with young people in care, Edwards and Gibson (2016) write of one of the girls who took part in their research: 'Sarah has developed a wide range of interests that she draws from her facilitated participation in formal environments and applies informally in her everyday participation. Thus, facilitated engagement can be an opportunity to further develop skills and interests already established in the everyday' (2016: 200). Here, we can see the ways that these two forms of participation can bleed into one another. This allows us to develop our understanding of the ways that facilitated participation may catalyse participation in the everyday sphere. The kinds of spaces in which individuals may be able to participate, however, will vary depending on a number of factors, such as legal status and gender. Thus, if we are to locate theories of participation within the wider structural context, as Miles and Gibson argue is necessary (2016), we must illuminate the impact of legal status upon the participation of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women.

2.2.4 Status and participation

Culture, Class, Distinction, a study conducted in the UK by Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal and Wright in 2009, demonstrates the impact of demographics such as age, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic class upon participation. Bennett et al evidence a clear impact upon the types of participation and consumption in which individuals and groups engage as a result of varying socio-economic status. The study focuses primarily on class, gender, age and ethnicity, but does not explore the relationships that exist in consumption and participation in relation to legal status. However, the evidencing of the impact of legal status upon participation is useful, as it enables us to articulate the ways in which participation is shaped by these numerous factors (Bennett et al 2009).

In this thesis, the use of the term 'status' refers primarily to the three legal statuses captured in the research questions: migrant, refugee and asylum seeker. This enables me to examine the impact of these statuses upon everyday migrant home-making practices. The

more sociological use of the term 'status' as is used by Bennett et al (2009) works to encompass a wider range of classifications. These other statuses, however, are secondarily accounted for in this research both through the recruitment of participants from a wide range of backgrounds, and in the analysis. The research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?' demands that the analysis takes into consideration the role of previous participation and constructions of home and identity. As such, although the attention in this thesis lies more keenly with the impact of gender and legal status, other variables such as age (see chapter 5, section 5.2.2 for a discussion on the impact of children upon migrant home-making) and cultural background (see chapter 5, section 5.3 for a discussion on the role of language, and chapter 4 for a discussion on the role of material culture in everyday and special occasion ritual) are accounted for in the analysis.

Bloch (2000) applies theories of participation to build an understanding of refugee settlement as framed by the impact of policy on participation, thus analysing the sites of the everyday in relation to the structural. Legal status, she emphasises, has a significant impact upon settlement. Immigration policies that do not allow asylum seekers to work render a large arena of participation, namely the realm of employment, inaccessible to them (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1 for a discussion on legal rights). The right to work is granted upon the gaining of refugee status and the denial of this right has a tangible effect upon elements of settlement such as language, self-esteem and financial independence (Bloch 2000). Although employment is not encompassed within the category of 'everyday participation' (Miles and Gibson 2016), it is an important layer to migration theory, particularly in research working with so-called economic migrants: migrants who move in search of employment opportunities. Employment has been particularly present in early theoretical work on transnationalism which has tended to focus on the role of monetary remittances sent to family in other homes (Fernández-Kelly 1983; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Levitt 2011). Whilst employment rights are not central to the empirical discussions in chapters 4 – 6, Bloch's examination of the impact of policy on participation highlights the tension between the argument that 'home starts by bringing some space under control' (Douglas 1991: 289) and the reality of the denial of control as a result of legal status.

As such then, engaging with the impact of legal status facilitates a deeper insight into what is at stake in migrant home-making processes. The everyday participation of migrants,

refugees and particularly asylum seekers, takes place in contrast to the kinds of participation which may have been open to them in previous homes. Memories of earlier forms of participation are often present in the types of participation to which access is now granted or denied, and thus it is vital to explore the role of memory in participation.

2.2.5 Past participations

Many theorists of migration have written about the ways in which for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, the present is shaped by memory (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Ang 2011). Many argue that the ways in which individuals and groups seek to make sense of self in place, having left homes behind, is through drawing on memories of previous practices and participation (Gilroy 1993; Hammond 2004; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Hall cited by Buciek and Juul 2008; Gasparetti 2009). Ahmed draws on the work of Said who argues that 'for an exile, habits of life, expression or activity in the new environment inevitably occurs against the memory of things in the other environment' (Said 1990: 148). The framing of the habits and practices of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers as informed by and drawing upon previous participations, demonstrates that home is relational and dependent upon the cultivation of the familiar. Comparisons are drawn between places but also between forms of participation and practices engaged in both in previous homes and in current places of residence. Thus, the cultivation of familiarity can occur through drawing on the previously familiar or the cultivation of familiarity through participating in new spheres.

Underpinning the enquiry into home and migration should be an acknowledgement of both the *performative* aspect of home and the crucial role of *memory*. This is particularly pertinent when addressing and exploring how participation shapes and is shaped by these remembered performativities (Dovey 2005; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Gasparetti 2009; Dudley 2010). The 'discontinuity between past and present' (Ahmed 1999: 343) is arguably what drives migrant home-making practices, and is a useful framework when seeking to answer the core research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?'. At this point, we might reintroduce habitus to enable us to inquire more deeply into the ways in which participation draws on memory (Bourdieu 1990). If we understand memory to be an embodied phenomenon in which the body acts as a medium through which signifying memory practices are mediated (Gilroy 1993; Dudley 2010), then habitus is a helpful

theoretical tool for highlighting the ways in which participation is woven throughout this interaction between embodied practice, memory and home (see section 2.5.6). As such, the fundamental importance of habitus and memory are essential to the data analysis presented in chapters 4 - 6.

2.2.6 Conclusion

The body of work examined above highlights 4 key arguments. First, that the everyday provides a useful groundwork for understanding the manifestations of broader power structures as well as seeking to capture forms of participation that a focus on more formal, state-funded cultural participation excludes (Miles and Gibson 2016). Second, that the interaction between facilitated and everyday participation is of vital importance in developing an understanding of the ways in which individuals seek to navigate new homes (Edwards and Gibson 2016). Facilitated participation plays an important role in the early stages of home-making following a move, and has the potential to open up avenues for everyday participation through the cultivation of social networks. Third, that ensuring an intersectional perspective on participation, seeking to account for such factors as different legal statuses as is accounted for in the research questions, and engaging with the ways in which these statuses affect participation (Bloch 2000) is of vital importance. Finally, it is evident that participation carried out in the present is fundamentally informed by memories of previous participations, thus enabling an analysis which encompasses an understanding of the influences of learned performativities and behaviours (Bourdieu 1990; Butler 1990). Section 2.3 examines migration theory, arguing that we must understand migration as a complex, nonlinear process.

2.3 Migration

2.3.1 Introduction

Familiarity permeates all the key concepts scrutinised in this chapter. Not in the sense Ahmed critiques (1999) in her challenge of the notion of home as a lack of 'strangeness', but rather in the sense that the cultivation and embodiment of the familiar through repeated practices and interactions with people and places (Butler 1990; Bourdieu 1990) is tied in closely to the

process of 'homing' (Boccagni 2017). Where migration is concerned, familiarity is crucial and often appears in the guise of memory, a core feature of migration theory (Ahmed 1999; Smith 2006; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Buciek and Juul 2008; Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014).

This section first discusses theoretical framings of migration as a nonlinear process, arguing for a reading of migration which moves beyond the binary of 'here' and 'there' (Massey and Jess 1995; Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Silvey 2006; Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010). A discussion of the 'place' 'space' debate is then presented, as I disentangle theoretical conceptualisations of place and space. I argue that the definition of 'place' as that which is enlivened through the everyday participation and practices carried out within it will inform the analysis presented in chapters 4 – 6. It will then be important to explore the impact of gender and legal status upon experiences of migration. I argue that these are key factors which shape everyday migrant home-making and as such, research in this field must encompass these factors into its analysis. Finally, a discussion of transnational theory builds a bridge to the following section. It is emphasised that transnationalism is a useful conceptual tool in understanding the ways in which everyday migrant home-making often entails the navigation between places. Through the discussion of these key strands of migration theory, I develop the framework which informs the analysis of migrant home-making practices as complex and mobile. In this way, I advance understandings of experiences of migration as affected by numerous intersections, refracted through material culture and memory.

2.3.2 Moving migration: processual not linear

'Migration raises interesting notions about the changing nature of 'place'' (Massey and Jess 1995: 7)

The experience of migration lays bare that which is taken-for-granted or previously unconsidered, as individuals and groups are confronted with unfamiliar practices, places, and languages. They thus have to reorient themselves in place, and previously unconscious behaviours and practices are made visible (Bourdieu 1990; Gunew 2003). Much of the key literature on migration makes the case that the experience of migration and this consequential reorientation process cannot be understood as linear, but rather as an ongoing negotiation of connections to other places and times (Clifford 1997; Bhabha 1994; Ahmed 1999). This corpus of work has been important in the analysis of the data presented in this

thesis and has enabled the adoption of a rigorous approach to answering the research questions, with a particular focus on the question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'

Christou writes that 'migrant subjects are not stable categories. They are thinking, feeling, being, becoming and performative individuals who enter processual, dynamic, complex...social encounters in their search for meaning in their ancestral homeland, emotional journey of belonging and ultimately physical (re)settlement' (2011: 257). Although I argue that this perspective is too linear in its assumption of movement from uprooting to resettlement, I share Christou's assertion that the lives of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are not stable or reducible to naturalisable, place-based trajectories. Accounting for the complexity of migrant experiences is vital for developing a more nuanced understanding of migrant home-making. Thus, we can be better equipped to provide evidence that ideas of 'home', 'identity' and 'belonging' are in fact dynamic, relational and not fixed.

Massey critiques theories which have posited the division of space and time, resulting in an understanding of time as linear. She asserts: 'if time is the dimension in which things happen one after the other...then space is the dimension of things being, existing at the same time: of simultaneity. It's the dimension of multiplicity' (Massey 2013). It is this characteristic of the simultaneity of space which lends itself to another useful concept: that of space-time compression (Harvey 1997; Massey [1994] 2001). Born of Marxist theory, this phenomenon sees the compression of temporal and spatial distances; a process spurred on by the development of communication technologies, the continued expansion of capitalism and the increasing circulation of media and the goods which enable this (Massey [1994] 2001).

Captured particularly coherently in the role technology plays in migration (Urry 2007) which those such as Vertovec (2001) and Ozkul (2012) argue influences the daily lives of those who move, the notion of space-time compression has proved a useful tool for the analysis of migrants', refugees' and asylum seekers' negotiations of home that concerns us in this thesis. I suggest that this experience might be expanded to encompass the sensory characteristics of home such as smell and taste (Sutton 2001; Gasparetti 2009). Through flows of images or objects across the globe as increasingly developed communication technology permits, embodied memories of places and times are transported too. The compression of space and time, therefore, might also be understood as an embodied sensory

experience catalysed by material culture which individuals and groups use in their sensory negotiation of homes, heritages and identities. Ozkul states that technology ‘makes possible close and intimate relations across and within borders’ (2012: 5), while Vertovec (2001) argues that its use develops ‘interspaces’ in which different ‘fields’ or domains of activity can overlap, creating – or perhaps visibly demonstrating – simultaneity rather than linearity. He discusses what he terms ‘imaginative travel’, a concept which underscores the experiences of many of those who migrate in the process of negotiating and moving between places and times, imaginatively if not physically.

Through home-making practices informed by memory, (Ahmed 1999; Tolia-Kelly 2006; Buciek and Juul 2008; Dudley 2010; Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014), individuals and groups seek to negotiate between places and times. Dudley discusses how the Karenni refugees’ understanding of ‘trails’ of life through past – present – future, results in their dealing with the experience of exile through perceiving it as ‘being on a more recent part of their branching life-trails, played out not on the background of a static world but as an integral part of an ever-changing dynamic one’ (Dudley 2012: 121). Dudley draws on specific examples of the practices used by Karenni refugees to explore the ways in which they negotiate their liminal identity as a result of forced exile. We might, then, consider the act of migration - forced or otherwise - as ongoing, dynamic and distinctly nonlinear, in which the notion of ‘routes’ enters into debates which had previously paid closer attention to ‘roots’.

Understanding migration as a question of the complementarity of ‘routes’ and ‘roots’ rather than considering them in opposition was a notion first posited by Clifford (1997) and has been drawn on and developed in migration theory seeking to highlight the unfixed and nonlinear nature of many migration experiences (Gustafson 2001; Levitt 2009; Christensen and Jensen 2012). This model enables us to understand the ongoing dialogue between places which often occurs in everyday migrant home-making practices, and acknowledges that both the return to other places and times through memory, as well as the ongoing journey of cultivating familiarity in new places are important parts of the process. It is through embodied practices that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers make connections with other places and times, and looking more closely at the ‘routes’ of these practices is useful for examining processes of negotiation between places through home-making practices. Working from an understanding that migration is not a linear process between two sites fixed in time and space but rather an ongoing negotiative act, enables us to argue that in addition,

those notions connected to migration which are under scrutiny in this project - namely home, heritage and identity - are *also* neither linear nor fixed and bound in place (Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Cieraad 2006; Silvey 2006; Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010). This is developed further in the following section examining scholarship on place and space.

2.3.3 The place and space debate

Migration theory focuses partly on examining place and space, and scholarship has been divided on the definitions and characteristics of both terms (Massey and Jess 2005; Ingold 2009). Many conceptualise 'space' as merely the quotidian, flat container of actions carried out within it (Gieryn 2000; Ingold 2009), where others such as Massey call for a reconceptualisation of space as that which is enlivened *by* these stories and actions: 'I want to see space as a cut through the myriad stories in which we are all living at any one moment. Space and time become intimately connected' (Massey 2013). Ingold critiques Massey's conceptualisation of space as animated, arguing that 'space is nothing...it cannot be truly inhabited at all' (2009: 29). Ingold instead suggests a process of 'wayfaring' in which 'lives are led not inside places but through, around, to and from them, from and to places elsewhere' (Ingold 2009: 33). Ingold posits that we think of places as 'knots' and the lines which extend from them comprise of our 'wayfaring'. This perspective enables us to further illustrate that migration is not linear travel from point A to point B, but rather a process of movement, return and departure from and between 'knots' which span the globe. This image of places as knots echoes the model of the 'rhizome' (Deleuze and Guattari 1988), in which the central point spans outwards to other points, as opposed to moving along a continual line.

Chambers writes that 'migrancy...involves a movement in which neither the points of departure nor those of arrival are immutable or certain' ([1994] 2001: 5). This model enables us to challenge a perception of place as geographically bounded and therefore advances the argument that migration exposes the reality that home, identity and heritage cannot be understood as being inextricably linked to a physical site (Gustafson 2014). Instead, we understand place as a complex, lively and mobile concept, which the phenomenon of migration further enlivens (Massey and Jess 1995). I draw on Ingold's own words to assert that these disputes over language are seeking the same ends: 'both of us [Ingold and Massey] imagine a world of incessant movement and becoming, one that is never complete but continually under construction, woven from the countless lifelines...as they thread their ways

through the tangle of relationships in which they are comprehensively enmeshed' (Ingold 2011: 141).

In the process of migration, people are 'uprooted' from places which in turn are also 'uprooted' and 'regrounded' through everyday practices and participation (Ahmed et al 2003), infused with memories of other places. Hammond, too, writes of the ways that Tigrayan refugees in Eritrea made 'place from space' (2004: 14). As such then, throughout this thesis, I will use the term 'place' rather than 'space' to refer to that which is enlivened through everyday practice, as well as the physical sites from, to and between which migrants, refugees and asylum seekers travel through these practices. The following section expands upon the question of 'betweenness', focusing on the concept of liminality and considering the impact of gender and legal status upon migration.

2.3.4 Gender and liminality: status and structure

Bilge and Denis (2010) assert the need to locate the lives of individual migrants, refugees and asylum seekers within the wider spatial, temporal and social context. Doing so enables us to understand the multiple structural layers influencing individual experiences of migration: 'what kinds of intersectionalities are shaping migrant women's lives? And how might intersectionality analysis help us to understand their lives, including the complexities of context - notably place and time?' (Bilge and Denis 2010: 5). Specifically, Bilge and Denis (2010), along with others (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Silvey 2006; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Christou 2011), argue that bringing a focus on gender into the analysis of migration helps us to understand other key aspects of migration under scrutiny in this thesis: home, heritage and identity. Attention to gender in migration studies only really began in the 1960s, which saw international migration theory becoming more gender sensitive, and women and 'women's activities' starting to become 'empirically visible' (Silvey 2006: 68). Along with other categories such as age and ethnicity, gender frames the everyday practices of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in a variety of ways, such as reasons for migration, experiences for migration and the forms of participation engagement in following migration. As such, it is pertinent that we bring it into the picture. Boyd and Grieco write that 'gender is seen as a core organising principle that underlies migration and related processes, such as the adaptation to the new country' (2003: 2).

Adopting an intersectional framework for analysis demands that we also account for the impact of other intersections, most pertinently in the case of this research, that of legal status. Doing so enables us to understand more clearly the role of liminality in migrant home-making practices. Many migration scholars use Turner's (1987) concept of liminality to explore the 'in-between' experience of migration (Bhabha 1994; Ahmed 1999; Cwerner 2001). This experience affects those who are forcefully displaced most keenly, and affecting those in the asylum system most strongly given the period of waiting which the processing of asylum claims creates (Long 1993; Malikki 1995; Williams 2006; Griffiths 2014). Sørensen discusses the uncertainty experienced in displacement ([1997] 2005). Describing how in relocation studies the focus tends to be on the present, she outlines the liminal space inhabited by displaced persons, eliciting the work of Gupta and Ferguson who perceive this 'present' to be a "topographical site between two fixed locales" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:18, cited in Sørensen [1997] 2005: 145). Again, this perception is too close to a binary conception of 'here' and 'there' that Ahmed argues against (1999) and which is shown to be simplistic in the analysis presented in this thesis. It is therefore more useful to consider the argument that through migration, identity is produced and worked out in the ongoing interaction *between* the fixed and the fluid, or the known and the unknown; a process of negotiating between 'being' and 'becoming' (Bhabha 1994; Back 1996; Williams ([1958] 2011)).

Gennep (1960) elaborates on Turner's notion of liminality, outlining the ways in which rites of passage and rituals are used to negotiate stages of life such as the transition to adulthood that individuals are in between during liminal times. These rites and rituals tend to be more formally structured in the way that Gennep talks about them. In this research, however, it is the subtler daily rites and rituals, the everyday practices of belonging and home-making, which help the women to negotiate between places and parts of their identities in Glasgow. Migration scholars such as Rabikowska (2010) and Counihan and Kaplan (1998) also integrate this notion of ritual into a more 'everyday' framework of analysis. The state of liminality often frames experiences of migration regardless of legal status, and highlights the importance of understanding home-making as an ongoing process which enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to negotiate ideas of home, heritage and identity. Transnationalism is another important theoretical perspective which rejects the

bounded understanding of place and identity and acknowledges existence *between* places, thus enabling us to examine migration in more detail.

2.3.5 Transnationalism: multiple belongings

Transnational theory has helped migration scholars to understand in greater depth the narratives of continuity of practices and belonging between places that often permeate migrant experiences. Further, it facilitates the recognition and articulation of the ways in which many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers continue their participation in previous homes (Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Vertovec 2001; Levitt 2009; Nowicka 2015). The trajectory of transnational thought has broadened the scope for studying migrant experiences, moving from a focus on the process of assimilation or adaptation to the new country of residence, towards an understanding of ongoing relationships with other places, people and practices. Exploring the ways in which individuals and groups continue to participate in the countries they left - for instance through owning property, sending money to family or keeping up to date with local politics - helps to highlight the flows of participation and connection between places which often occur in migrant home-making practices.

Attention to the performative ways in which individuals connect times and places is pertinent in helping to answer the thesis question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities in their everyday lives in Glasgow through the act of home-making?'. Embodied practices such as cooking food (Gasparetti 2009) and speaking first languages (Gunew 2003) enable migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to performatively practice place; compressing space and time through these acts. The simultaneity with which people can inhabit multiple places at once, or 'create meaningful and manageable contexts of life in the modern world' is, Olwig and Hastrup argue: 'an important topic for anthropological investigation' ([1997] 2005: 12). Levitt (2004) writes that beginning with a framework of analysis from a transnational standpoint enables us to understand the relationship between movement and attachment as one which is not binary. It is possible she continues, to express oneself in relation to several different contexts, not simply one single nation state.

Transnationalism is in essence, a question of identity. Sassen argues that national identity is 'portable' (1996), as habitus facilitates our negotiation of homes, and the everyday practices as shaped by habitus which we transport across the globe in the form of

transnational belonging. The diverse 'habitats of meaning' that Hannerz (1996) argues comprise transnational identity echo Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Thus we are able to pay attention to these learned dispositions and meanings with which we make sense of our identities and the world in which we are performing them. Vertovec writes that 'these identities play out and position individuals in the course of their everyday lives within and across each of their places of attachment or perceived belonging' (2001: 578). Transnationalism, therefore, offers the possibility for 'unfixing identities' (Robins and Aksoy 2001: 709). Additionally, it 'puts on the agenda new ways to understand notions of citizenship, belonging and identity' (Ozkul 2012: 7) which makes it a useful tool for the framing of this research project and addressing the questions at stake here.

Transnational theory also aids in the development of an epistemological framework for research on migration. Transnational scholars and scholars critiquing 'methodological nationalism' overlap (Vertovec 2001; Wimmer and Schiller 2002). These views both share an understanding that nations and their borders are an insufficient way of conceiving of place and therefore a poor framework for conducting research into the subject of migration. Massey's assertion that 'there is the need to face up to - rather than simply deny - people's need for attachment of some sort, whether through place or anything else' ([1994] 2001: 151) is useful for developing this discussion further. There is a clear understanding here of the importance of place in conceptualisations and formations of home in migration, however, the form it takes is non-binary, unfixed and unbounded. Knowledge of the negotiation of identity in the face of migration, then, is to be found in the practices which enable migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to inhabit *multiple sites at once*.

Finally, a key critical appraisal of transnational theory comes from Al-Ali, Black and Koser, who 'emphasise the need to incorporate refugees into the emergent transnational perspective. Such an exercise will usefully serve...to undermine the long-standing conceptual distinction between migrants and refugees' (cited by Vertovec 2001: 576). In this research, I have sought to account for intersectionality and transnationalism through interviewing women of multiple legal statuses and analysing their myriad home-making practices. In this way I have illuminated the impact of these statuses upon their home-making practices, whilst examining the crossovers of the strategies of emplacement engaged in across these status divides. I argue that although it is important to undermine the distinction between migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the sense that each of these categories can be encapsulated

within the same act of migration more broadly, the variation within and between these three statuses in how migration and subsequent home-making are experienced is vital to give attention to. Chapters 4 – 6 illustrate the impact of these categories empirically, however what is illustrated in this chapter is the way in which legal status interacts theoretically with participation, migration, home and identity.

2.3.6 Conclusion

The theoretical work discussed in this section has been guided by the research questions: ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate ‘home’ through the things they do in their everyday lives?’, ‘what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?’ and ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?’. The dialogue between these questions and the scholarship on migration has important implications for the ways in which researchers examine migration and experiences of home. The debates around place and space, although divided, argue for an understanding of place/space as that which is enlivened through the social practices which occur in relation to and within it. The understanding of places as ‘knots’ (Ingold 2009) and the consequential adoption of a rhizomatic approach to place (Deleuze and Guattari 1988) elucidates migration as a nonlinear experience. Furthermore, understanding home as multi-scalar and the process of migration as nonlinear enables an expanding set of theoretical tools with which to respond to the questions at stake here. Transnational theory is particularly salient as it facilitates an analysis which necessitates attention to the ongoing connections to other homes, through everyday participation and practice.

Evidently, migration entails not only the movement of bodies across the globe, but also, within those bodies, the movement of the values, beliefs, and practices. In migration, the body becomes the vehicle through which homes are negotiated and identities performed. From this point of departure then, the following section considers theoretical understandings of home, which will help us to understand the ways in which home is made and negotiated through the body within the world (Csordas 1990; Gilroy 1993; Dudley 2010).

2.4 Home

2.4.1 Introduction

Boccagni refers to the emerging field of the ‘migration-home nexus’ (2017), which he argues highlights ‘the significant intersections between one’s conceptualization of home and one’s mobility across borders’ (2017: vii). Drawing upon the migration theory introduced in section 2.3, the literature critically assessed here is driven by the thesis argument that the migration-home nexus enables us to challenge conceptualisations of home as an essentialising category in which home and identity are inextricably bound up in place. Scholars such as Massey ([1994] 2001) and Ahmed (1999) argue that home is a process rather than a product (see section 2.4.4). I build upon this by arguing that home is located in the practices, performativities and participations which facilitate this process. This thesis situates itself within the migration-home nexus field, given the close attention it pays to the interaction between migration and home and the way each is implicated in the other. Importantly, however, it builds upon the scholarship of the migration-home nexus, both through the inclusion of narratives of ambivalent relationships with previous places, but also through the situation of these narratives within an intersectional context, accounting for the impact of both gender and legal status upon the home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. In table 1, Boccagni highlights the benefits of the migration-home nexus:

Table 1: A case for the migration-home nexus: mutual analytical contributions from migration and home studies

<i>A home lens on migration studies</i>	<i>A migration- (mobility-) sensitive approach to the study of home</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Illuminates the bases of migrants’ belonging and identification with place (possibly multi-sited)- Helps to appreciate migrants’ potential to appropriate space- Foregrounds insider/outsider boundary as emplaced and negotiated in everyday life	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Provides insight into multi-scalarity of home and interface between its domestic and extra-domestic dimensions- Highlights the tension between material and immaterial bases of home- Advances the empirical study of circulation and diffusion of home views and cultures

I would add to this table firstly that encompassing both lenses within an intersectional approach ensures a materially positioned reading of migrant home-making as it is shaped by wider social and structural forces, thus perhaps hindering an individual's ability to appropriate space, as is argued in column one. Secondly, I would add that a home lens on migration studies can and should make visible narratives of *detachment* from places as well as belonging and identification with place. In this way, accounts which further problematise notions of intrinsic attachment to place can be emphasised and further mobilise an understanding of migrant home-making as complex and multifaceted, and which does not necessarily always revolve around positive attachment to previous homes. Thus, I situate the work of Blunt and Dowling (2006) in their development of a 'critical geography' perspective on home within the migration-home nexus, in order to bring out the more problematic experiences of home which are somewhat overlooked in Boccagni's work. Blunt and Dowling's work draws together three components of home which they identify: 'home as simultaneously material and imaginative; the nexus between home, power and identity; and home as multi-scalar' (2006:22). Combining the forces of Blunt and Dowling's work with that of Boccagni's serves to infuse the migration-home nexus with a more political lens, as the role of *power* is brought into the discussion. Brickell writes that 'there is a politics to home' (2012: 227) that it is important we do not overlook. In this thesis, this power takes the form most pertinently of the impact of legal status upon everyday home-making practices. Making a methodological contribution in addition to a theoretical one, this doctoral research further develops our understanding of the complex relationship between these two core themes of migration and home.

Section 2.4 firstly discusses the need for the incorporation of intersectionality in research examining the complexities of home-making. This enables the following arguments to build upon a groundwork in which the multiple factors influencing home-making practices are given due attention. I then examine literature which conceives of home as multi-scalar and multi-sited, influenced by and existing on numerous levels (Blunt and Dowling 2006). This debate is driven by the line of enquiry into the negotiative processes undertaken by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, in which multiple scales and sites are enacting upon and present in everyday practices. Building on this understanding of the importance of negotiation, the argument is then made that 'home' must be understood as processual. Scholars such as Deux (2006) state that we cannot understand home as an end product at

which individuals arrive, as this evokes the migration-as-linear narrative challenged in section 2.3. Finally, the importance of memory in informing ideas and experiences of home is discussed, which can be framed by gender in terms of the *types* of memories which are drawn upon, and which expands the debate to experiences of migration more widely. The role of memory becomes particularly important when located within the migration-home nexus if we are to take account of both the temporal and spatial elements of migration experiences (Ahmed 1999; Tolia-Kelly 2006; Buciek and Juul 2008; Dudley 2010; Ang 2011).

This section will enable me to reiterate the ways in which the scholarship examined here is the most useful in helping me to answer my research question of ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate ‘home’ through the things they do in their everyday lives?’ and ‘what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?’. The role of memory and the ways in which it enables home to be present in multiple places, objects and people, also helps us to answer the question ‘how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?’.

2.4.2 Home and intersectionality

‘Making sense of home is, in fact a profoundly gendered process’ (Gurney 1997: 375)

Clarke and McCall’s argument that it is important researchers pay attention to ‘the theoretical framing informing the analysis and interpretation of the subject under study’ (2013: 349) is vital to consider in research purporting to be intersectional. As such, the theoretical framing here in this chapter, posits that to understand the myriad experiences of the migration-home nexus, we must account for the multitude of structural and social factors which influence these experiences. Further to this, Bilge and Denis’s questions are important for guiding the analysis presented in this thesis: ‘what kinds of intersectionalities are shaping migrant women’s lives? And how might intersectionality analysis help us to understand their lives, including the complexities of context - notably place and time?’ (Bilge and Denis 2010: 5).

The two key intersections at stake here are those of gender and legal status. The role of gender in theory pertaining to home is particularly important to pay attention to (Probyn 1996; Boyd and Grieco 2003; Silvey 2006; Christou 2011). Contrary to the view of Townsend

(2000), the historical confinement of women to the domestic sphere *is* significant in shaping understandings of home and continues to impact upon how home is understood and negotiated (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Silvey 2006). I echo the call to include gender within research on home, arguing additionally that alongside this must sit a reading framed too by legal status, as we cannot simply locate all migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women's experiences within the same narrative. Bilge and Denis' (2010) questions about intersectionality highlighted above, seek to alert researchers to the role of an intersectional perspective in a more complete analysis. Accounting for gender and legal status in everyday negotiations of home, heritage and identity enables a more holistic and nuanced analysis of experiences of migration and the complexities underlining migrant experiences. There is a clear acknowledgement, therefore, of the importance of an intersectional approach if we are to account for and understand the multiple factors shaping understandings of home.

Boccagni cites the work of Allen, who argues that 'empirical research on the personal constructions of home is still relatively undeveloped. Moreover, it is not enough attentive [sic] to the influence of variables such as gender, age, class, cultural background...as well as one's family role and position in the life course (Allen, 2008, cited in Boccagni 2017: 7). As was argued in section 2.2.4, although the central variables which are the most pertinent to participants' home-making practices in this research are gender and legal status, the impact of other variables such as cultural background and age are captured in the varied sample of participants. Additionally, the influences of these variables are given attention in the analysis chapters in the sense that the women refer to their cultural background and the ways this frames their home-making practices, as they highlight their engagement with heritage when they draw upon the past to make sense of the present. Accounting for gender and legal status explicitly and encompassing the impact of other key variables - most notably age and cultural background - in the analysis presented in this thesis serves to address a gap in the literature.

Douglas writes that 'home starts by bringing some space under control' (Douglas 1991: 289), demonstrating the vital importance of the need to feel some sense of ownership over a space we might identify as home; a characteristic which shifts according to legal status. An intersectional approach to migrant home-making requires that we account for the multiple layers which impact upon the behaviours and practices of participants. What is more, both the process of conducting intersectional research and the subject matter of

migrant home-making consist of a continuous dialogue. This dialogue occurs both between social and structural contexts and the lives of participants (Carbado et al 2013), and between the multiple places and times which comprise home. As such, it is logical to next consider scholarship which argues that home is multi-scalar, as this further advances the transnational perspective of home as connected to multiple sites and multiple scales such as the national and the local.

2.4.3 Home as multi-scalar

Section 2.3 asserted that we should understand migration as a continual process of negotiation between places and times. Continuing this debate, I want to consider here the ways in which we can also understand home as located in multiple places and times, and along multiple scales: 'the body and the household to the city, nation and globe' (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 27). The ideas assessed here follow once more Miles and Gibson's call for a located understanding of participation (2016). By considering the spatial characteristics of home – its multi-scalarity, its porous nature – we are better equipped to understand the narratives of home-making generated through the fieldwork discussed in chapters 4 - 6. Datta explores the way that migration and the movement of people across the globe 'has led to the problematisation of 'home' as a particular type of built form in a physical location' (2009: 4). In light of this, it is important that migration research attends to the multiple scales and sites which comprise home, and which individuals and groups negotiate their connections to through the kinds of everyday participation and practices analysed in this thesis.

The conceptualisation of home as multi-scalar is grounded in a refusal to reduce home to the physical dwelling or one particular level such as the nation or the local (Marston 2000), instead seeking to understand the multiple scales and levels at which home comes to be defined, developed and socially produced (Marston 2000; Hammond 2004). Anderson's 'imagined community' ([1983] 2006) is useful here as it articulates the ways in which through nurturing a sense of belonging to the nation, the nation can come to serve as a form of home and belonging for individuals. This thesis, however, does not concern itself with questions of national belonging given the absence of this narrative in the fieldwork. Instead it seeks to understand how the multiple layers of belonging are articulated in everyday migrant home-making practices. As such, nationalism is not an altogether useful framework. Rather, the

question 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?' guides us towards literature which strives to examine the everyday practices of home-making, as they connect to different scales. These scales span from the possession of land in other countries, to the carrying out of certain embodied practices and performativities.

Blunt and Dowling argue (2006) that multi-scalarity enables us to question *where* home might be understood as being located. In transnational homes this is most pertinently in the context of leaving other places behind which might have been conceived of as home (Ahmed 1999). Crucially, Blunt and Dowling posit: 'research on home and transnational migration raises important questions that destabilize a sense of home as a stable origin and unsettle the fixity and singularity of a place called home' (2006: 198). To explore the ways in which everyday migrant home-making practices articulate multiple scales of belonging, as is suggested in the literature, is to problematise the notion of home as bound in place and challenge the conflation of 'house' and 'home' (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

Following Blunt and Dowling (2006), I concede that 'Massey's rich conception of place – as intersecting social relations, as open and porous' (2006: 25) provides an important guide for conceptualising home as complex and processual. Feminist theory has further demonstrated that home depends upon the *interaction* between public and private rather than placing them in opposition to one another (Pateman 1989; Blunt and Dowling 2006). Scholars such as Hammond (2004) assert that strategies of emplacement entail the 'gradual expansion of places that people considered to be familiar and safe from the raw material of a space that was unfamiliar and dangerous' (2004: 83). I argue that we can consider home-making strategies as I understand them in this research, as an important dimension of these 'strategies of emplacement'. Once more, the role of familiarity is visible, and the expansion of home beyond the parameters of the house is evident. Conceiving of home in this way enables us to answer questions relating to the migration-home nexus, in which the analysis connects everyday home-making practices to different sites and scales of belonging. Locating home within these strategies of emplacement also enables us to develop a reading of home as a *process*, which these practices facilitate.

2.4.4 Home as process not product

Section 2.3 argued that the migration process is nonlinear and negotiative. Here, I argue that home and home-making can also be understood as processual. Massey speaks of home as a process of 'becoming' ([1994] 2001), in which we are seeking to work out our sense of place. Similarly, the concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1990) entails the dialogue between people and place, as our behaviours and practices are open to changing and shifting in the context of migration. The notion of home as product generates an essentialised reading of home that is place-bound and naturalisable. I argue instead that to understand home as *process* opens up for scrutiny the practices of individuals and groups who move in the hope that we might understand how home can be 'worked out' through these practices. Vayda et al (1991) write that the concept of 'process' has been under-theorised in the social sciences, resulting in the frequent suggestion that processes possess agency outside the hands of those who perform them. This thesis is informed by the position that home-making comprises of individual and group practices and performances which are located in broader frames of context, thus the approach presented here encompasses the structure-agency debate.

This position enables the understanding of home to be analysed in a way which acknowledges its nonlinear, negotiative and processual nature. Additionally, it seeks to find an answer to the question of home, which accepts that there is no straightforward answer or clear cut conclusion we might draw, arguing that we cannot definitively erect a boundary-line around what and where we understand 'home' to be. Instead, I conclude that home entails a complex negotiation between multiple places and times, as individuals constantly seek to navigate the seas of belonging, their bodies the vehicle through which they do so, and the memories and embodied practices contained within them the tools which help to guide them. The focus on process facilitates a response to the research question 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'. This here strengthens the argument that home, heritage and identity are not fixed entities, nor are they entirely fluid, but that through negotiative, performative practices, individuals and groups seek to navigate between sites of fix and flux (Back 1997). Section 2.4.5 examines the role of memory in this negotiation between places and times.

2.4.5 Remembering home

'The question then of being at home or leaving home is always a question of memory, of the discontinuity between past and present' (Ahmed 1999: 343)

We travel to our pasts through memory and imagination (Hall 1991). Understanding the complex interplay between memory and home enables the analysis presented in chapters 4 - 6 to capture the nuances within the data. Blunt and Dowling argue that as sites of memory, transnational homes should be 'understood as performative spaces within which both personal and inherited connections to other remembered or imagined homes are embodied, enacted and reworked' (2006: 212). Reading home in this way explicitly positions home-making processes as also processes of heritage, emphasising the ways in which the homes of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are performatively understood in relation to the past, enabling a process of negotiation and reworking to be undertaken through the everyday practices and processes, or 'signifying practices' (Hall cited by Buciek and Juul 2008) analysed here. Datta powerfully describes home as 'simultaneously a material and symbolic place, located in various imaginations of the past, present, and future' (2009: 4). The conjoining of multiple temporalities in experiences of home, and the material and symbolic ways in which this is negotiated is important to attend to in future research on migrant home-making, and is illustrated in the data discussed in chapters 4 – 6. That home requires imagining, making, unmaking and negotiating (Ali-Ali and Koser 2002), emphasises not only the processual nature of home as discussed in section 2.4.4, but also that this process draws closely upon memories of previous homes, in addition to the creation of new memories.

Given the connection between memory and the familiar or previously experienced, it is also important to emphasise the link between familiarity and memory at this point. Memory is drawn from previous experiences, actions, performances and embodied interactions with places, people and things. As such, in unfamiliar settings we 'go to' the past through memory, as Hall argues (1991), drawing on our 'archive of memorised sensory experience' (Leach 2005: 306). That which is familiar acts as a buffer against that which is not. Lewicka (2014) understands memory to be the glue which sticks people to place. Memory is a key facilitator of place attachment and home-making, and as such it is evident

that incorporating memory into this analysis enables us to understand the intangible, embodied elements of migrant home-making practices. Furthermore, using photo elicitation interviews has helped to bring the role of memory to light in ways which other types of data interview may not have done (see chapter 3 for further discussion).

Home has often been constructed as 'familiar' and 'safe', a formulation which has prompted scholars such as Ahmed (1999) to challenge what they see as an uncritical approach, arguing that it presents an understanding of 'home' as intrinsically familiar and known, and 'away' as inherently, oppositionally strange. Ahmed contends that 'the problem with such a model of home as familiarity is that it projects strangeness beyond the walls of the home. Instead, we can ask: how does being-at-home already encounter strangeness?' (Ahmed 1999: 340). Ahmed's formulation assumes a particular definition of familiarity. My research finds that at the epicentre of home-making is a process of cultivating a sense of familiarity in the new place of residence. This argument simultaneously understands that home is about cultivating a feeling of familiarity whilst also acknowledging that home is not a simple binary between that which is familiar and that which is strange.

Hammond's understanding of strategies of emplacement allows us to recognise the gradual building up of nodes of familiarity within and outside of the home (2004). This focus on drawing on the familiar resonates with work on heritage which argues that heritage is the process of drawing on the past to make sense of the present, as I outline in section 2.5.3 (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007). Situating these understandings alongside arguments that heritage is about meaning making, and it is people who give meaning to things and thus as people move so too do meanings (Hannerz 1996), we can begin to make sense of the ways in which as people move, they draw on the past to make sense of the present. Thus, home-making as viewed in the migration-home nexus relies on the intersection between the strange and the familiar, the old and the new. An examination of the role of memory in the migration-home nexus responds to all of the questions that guide this research. By understanding memory as an embodied phenomenon, in which the body acts as the vehicle through which memory practices are mediated (Gilroy 1993; Dudley 2010), we can begin to see the importance of taking the embodiment of memory into consideration when examining everyday migrant home-making.

While Halbwachs (1992) and Nora (1989) address memory from a much higher-level perspective – primarily that of the nation – and the ways that memory serves to bolster

understandings of collective belonging and identity (Anderson [1983]2006), this thesis examines the role of memory in a more everyday sense. Although memory is still understood as a response to identity, as Halbwachs and Nora discuss, what is developed in this thesis is an articulation of the relationship between memory and identity as they intersect with migration and home. Thus, the 'lieux des memoires', or 'sites of memory' (Nora 1989) analysed here (see chapter 6 in particular for a discussion on the role of place in migrant home-making) correspond more with individual memories of *places*, as they are bound up in objects, social relationships or physical sites themselves. In this way I examine the ways that memory is used as a strategy for emplacement, through the process of negotiating attachments to multiple places.

Therefore, the sentiment of these two seminal works on memory and identity are certainly useful theoretical tools, and home is indeed to be found within a range of scales – the nation, the body, the globe (Blunt and Dowling 2006). The mobilisation of memory and sites of memory in this thesis, however, focuses on the individual embodied experience of memory, as they are catalysed by places, people or objects. That is not to say that these memories and the identities associated with them have no connection to other scales of belonging, certainly many relate either to practices or forms of participation in spaces that are socially-informed, guided by a sense of wider cultural belonging. Rather, the intention of this thesis is to explore the tools and practices used in everyday home-making, rather than a discussion focusing on the relationship between individual memory and collective memory.

2.4.6 Conclusion

It is important to point out that this literature review does not assume an exclusively positive relationship with previous homes. Home may still be considered multi-scalar even in the face of a desire to disconnect from other places. Understanding migrants', refugees' and asylum seekers' relationships with home as negotiated can include the ways in which their everyday practices are established in contrast to previous practices in previous homes. This acknowledgement of an active desire to move away from previous practices and develop new ones has been lacking from much research on experiences of migration and home-making. Thus, the presence of participants in this research whose narratives contain experiences of disconnect serves to address this gap.

The discussion in section 2.4 has focused on four key arguments in response to the research questions. First, I have argued that it is vital that we consider the intersecting structural factors shaping experiences of home if we are to generate a holistic analysis of everyday migrant home-making. Second, that we can understand home as a multi-scalar concept which must be approached epistemologically in such a way as not to fix and bind it in place. Third, given its multi-scalarity and the negotiation between sites and scales which this necessitates, we must understand that home is a process as opposed to a product, and fourth, that memory has a crucial role in constructions and negotiations of home. The arguments made above provide a useful bridge into the following section, which examines identity scholarship. Understanding and negotiating home is fundamentally a question of the ways in which individuals understand themselves in relation to place and the people who inhabit those places.

2.5 Identity

2.5.1 Introduction

All of the themes critically engaged with in this chapter can be understood as bringing identity into the foreground. Migration is often framed in terms of identity, as a number of narratives mobilised by political groups such as the British National Party and UK Independence Party focus on the alleged 'threat' that migration poses to national identity. As such, it is vital that counter-narratives are developed and strengthened which enable a more open understanding of the formation and negotiation of identity as that which is an ongoing process working between the familiar and the unfamiliar.

This section begins by examining key identity scholarship to argue for a theoretical middle ground which understands identity to be located in the interplay between these points of fix and flux (Williams 1958; Back 1996). It argues that migration further problematises the notion of identity as rooted in place. Heritage is then introduced more explicitly, discussing the intersection of heritage and identity (Ahmed 1999; Ashworth and Graham 2005; Buciek and Juul 2008; Dudley 2010; Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014). Through this discussion and an examination of the role of material culture in identity work, I argue that heritage entails a process of drawing upon the past to understand and make sense in and of the present. This process echoes the way that identity work carried out in the context of

migration also entails a dialogue between past and present in order to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities. Finally, I turn to the work of Bourdieu (1990) and Butler (1990) and their concepts of 'habitus' and 'performativity' respectively, discussing the ways in which these ideas have been brought to bear in the research question 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities in their everyday lives in Glasgow through the act of home-making?'

2.5.2 Fix and flux

'The basic relationship between identity...and movement: the universal way in which human beings conceive of their lives in terms of a moving-between – between identities, relations, people, things, groups, societies, cultures, environments, as a dialectic between movement and fixity' (Rapport and Dawson 1998: 33)

Academic work on identity has seen a shift from the Cartesian conceptualisation of identity as a product which can be fixed, naturalised and bound in place (Weil [1952] 1987), to a postmodern formation which comprehends identity as that which is wholly fluid and unattached to place. The theoretical work of those such as Back (1996) and Williams (1958), has seen another shift, this time away from this polarised discourse on identity towards an understanding of the concept as being constructed and negotiated in the space *between* fixity and flux. In *To Be an Immigrant* (2006) Deux states that identity is a process which is continually renegotiated through everyday practices and performativities. She goes on to argue that this position is vital in research which addresses questions of multiplicity and intersectionality. This framing makes space to understand individuals and groups as navigating the complexities of identity work without the burden of understanding them as entirely freed from or indeed bound to place. In the nexus of identity and migration then, this perspective is helpful as it acknowledges the complexities and multiple intersections impacting upon identity work, instead facilitating a more open approach.

This open approach informs much postcolonial work on identity, in which concepts such as 'hybridisation' (Hall 1992; Gilroy 1993; Bhabha 1994; Canclini et al 1995) and 'transnationalism' (Vertovec 2001; Levitt 2011) are birthed and mobilised, all driven by the aim of 'unfixing identities' (Robins and Aksoy 2001: 709) and putting 'on the agenda new ways to understand notions of citizenship, belonging and identity' (Ozkul 2012: 7). Thus, the

argument that identity entails a process of negotiating between 'being' and 'becoming' is reinforced (Bhabha 1994; Christou 2011). Rapport and Dawson articulate this with great clarity in the opening quote, in which they express that the nexus of migration and identity *necessitates* negotiation, and inherently witnesses the 'dialectic between movement and fixity' (1998: 33).

The suggestion here is that we must acknowledge that often there is a simultaneity between 'people's need for attachment of some sort, whether through place or anything else' (Massey [1994] 2001: 151) and the importance of having the space and freedom to negotiate between different aspects of identity. There is, therefore, a 'complex interplay between these two impulses' (Back 1996: 7). Conceiving of identity in this way develops an epistemological framework for conducting research in which the focus of attention is on the practices and processes in which this interplay manifests. Another useful conceptual tool for examining the interplay between fix and flux is that of heritage.

2.5.3 Heritage: past in the present

The heritage scholarship of those such as Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007), Graham and Howard (2008), Whelan (2005) and others echoes and even explicitly connects to the identity and migration scholarship examined here. The understanding of heritage as that which must be 'retold, rediscovered, reinvented' in order to be understood, as Hall argues (1991: 58), highlights what is at stake in everyday migrant home-making practices. In going to their own pasts through memory in everyday practices, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers negotiate and create meaning in the present. Smith conceptualises heritage as a process in which values and meanings are negotiated and worked out, describing it as 'the cultural processes of meaning and memory making and remaking rather than a thing' (Smith 2006: 74). Further, Hannerz argues 'as people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of travelling even when people stay put, territories cannot really contain cultures' (1996: 8). A clear connection between migration, heritage, identity and place is prevalent here, as Hannerz stresses that in the nonlinear process of migration and settlement, individuals and groups continue to draw upon the past, bringing articulations of value and meaning from other places into the everyday in their current place of residence.

It is, I argue, through everyday participation and interaction with place, the symbols that individuals and groups surround themselves with and the people alongside and against

whom they come to understand their identities that these meanings are worked out and are presented through identity performativity. Heritage then, is a process, tightly bound up in the making, remaking and drawing on of meanings and memory. This process is more pertinent in the act of migration, as meanings and memories which may have been enshrined in the material cultures and cultural practices that were engaged in, may well no longer be so present in the new place within which home is negotiated. Individuals encounter new meanings and knowledge through interactions with new places and people, and once more the search for familiarity which is at the core of the intersection between identity, heritage, migration and home, is highlighted. This argument guides the analysis presented in this thesis and helps to answer the research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'. A key vehicle for heritage negotiation which I have drawn upon in the analysis presented in chapters 4 - 6, is the role of material culture, examined below.

2.5.4 Material culture

Readings of material culture in heritage practices predominantly explore the ways in which it is used as a tool to construct and negotiate questions of identity and belonging (Tolia-Kelly 2006; Dudley 2010). Tolia-Kelly (2006) argues that material culture acts as a vehicle through which memories, places and times can be refracted into the present. Objects can be imbued with meaning and memories both in their own right and through their use in everyday practices and rituals (Sutton 2001; Gasparetti 2009). Ashworth and Graham (2005) argue that it is through the meaning given to material culture through heritage that these materials come to be imbued with symbolic value, thus how they are used in everyday practice reveals the ways in which they help to manage questions of home and identity. Expanding material culture studies beyond the parameters of heritage then, the act of ascribing meaning and value to material culture and the circulation of material culture in processes of consumption (preparing, eating and sharing food; purchasing particular items of clothing) (Miller 1998, 2001; Appadurai 1988) enables individuals and groups to be better equipped to navigate and draw upon a wide variety of symbolic representations of different aspects of their identity, pertaining to multiple scales of belonging. It is the everyday practices which enable migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to negotiate between places that makes this identity work possible and that the methodological approach to this research seeks to capture (see chapter

3). The impact of legal status upon the kinds and amounts of material culture which can be transported in migration is important to consider too, yet is somewhat lacking in the literature. Given that this research captures home-making experiences of women from a wide variety of backgrounds and legal statuses, this element is vital to bear in mind, and thus the analysis presented here seeks to address this gap.

As well as the circulation of goods in both social and global relationships and markets (Appadurai 1988), material culture is often imbued with meaning and value through its use in everyday and special occasion ritual (Ashworth and Graham 2005). Furthermore, Buciek and Juul (2006) assert that 'an embodied practice of 'making homes' among immigrants' (2008: 111) is facilitated through sensory engagement with other places and times, as they are refracted through objects. This sensory engagement is important in this research (Sutton 2001), as material culture can serve to conjure sensory experiences of other places, seen most pertinently in this thesis in the form of food, discussed below. Its material importance in conjunction with its use in the embodied performativity of ritual makes it a vital tool in the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Miller writes of the way that numerous studies highlight the mobility of food (Miller 2001; Petridou 2001). Further, Longhurst et al use the word 'visceral' to refer to 'the sensations, moods and ways of being that emerge from our sensory engagement with the material and discursive environments in which we live' (2009: 334). This explicitly points to the ways that the meaning and value imbued in material culture can function as a means to connect sensorially - or viscerally - to other places and times. Rodaway develops this argument, writing that 'the sensuous – the experience of the senses – is the ground base on which a wider geographical understanding can be constructed' (1994: 3). The examples analysed throughout chapters 4 – 6 provide clear evidence of this fact, as the tools of objects, people and places intersect and are drawn upon to negotiate the multisensory experience of home-making. Ideas relating to the consumption of material culture in processes of home-making (Miller 2001; Appadurai 1988) could be expanded and applied to an explanation of home-making, which naturally engages in consumption. Consumption is implicit in home-making (food, travel, clothes), however, as this thesis is not framed by a theoretical analysis of patterns of consumption, and as it is the socially engaged circulation of goods that concerns us here (see chapter 4 for example for an analysis of the use of food in everyday and special occasion ritual), these ideas will not be dealt with in this thesis. Before I conclude this chapter by addressing the

role of habitus and performativity in this research (Bourdieu 1990; Butler 1990), I outline the processes by which food attains particular value and meaning in everyday and special occasion rituals.

2.5.5 Food in everyday and special occasion rituals

Gunew (2000) argues that in the context of migration, culinary practices become imbued with a particular significance. This significance is arguably to be found in what Gasparetti (2009) terms the cultural meaning of food, becoming meaningful through its use in ritual, community, the everyday, belonging and cultural representation. Food, Gasparetti argues, has a polyvalent role. Strong ties are maintained both with countries of origin and with links between social, kin and cultural ties which are mobilised across space and time through the medium of food preparation and consumption. In his research with Senegalese migrants in Italy, food shops are described as important features of what Gasparetti terms 'everyday ritual'. Highlighted here is the 'importance of food in the migration context' (2009: 12), given its capacity to cross boundaries. Through the ritualisation of food preparation and consumption, sensory space-time compression is made possible, and the sense of place elsewhere is conjured. Thus, Gasparetti writes, the ritual alone is enough to enable those who move 'to feel at home' (2009: 17). Furthermore, Rabikowska (2010) describes how 'food in its very sensual dimension serves as a vehicle for the recreation of the abstract meaning of home through materially involved activities which alleviate the sense of fragmentation and discontinuity caused by displacement... Fragmentarily reconstituted through different practices, including daily rituals of consumption' (2010: 378).

The use of food in everyday and special occasion rituals allows us to illustrate this thematic connection between objects, people and places, as all three are active and present in these processes. In addition, it is important to understand the processes by which food, as a form of material culture, is imbued with meaning. This process occurs first through ritual and is then used as a vehicle for the performativity of heritage and identity, refracting memory (Tolia-Kelly 2006). I argue that through the embodied performativity involved in ritual, migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women seek to make sense of self in place. Furthermore, in the interaction between food, memory and performativity, meaning is made and thus transported through the body, transcending the concept of home as place-bound,

instead developing the argument that home is in part to be found in performative rituals such as those discussed in chapters 4 - 6 (Csordas 1990; Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Rabikowska 2010).

The analysis of the role of food in everyday home-making practices in this way is a critical contribution to knowledge. Although a theme previously given theoretical attention in migration scholarship, (Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010), the use of sensory methods to understand the ways in which food facilitates the negotiation between places and times develops this contribution. As such, this thesis makes material *how* food can help migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women to 'feel at home' (Gasparetti 2009: 17). The inscription of meaning upon material culture through its use in everyday practices and rituals leads us to the final discussion in this literature review. Below, I examine the role of habitus and performativity in everyday migrant home-making practices, critically assessing their use in this research.

2.5.6 Habitus: performativity and practices

The incorporation of habitus (Bourdieu 1990) and performativity (Butler 1990) into the analysis presented in this thesis has been vital for two reasons. First, the inclusion of habitus has made visible the dispositions that individuals and groups come to be equipped with through their social development in different contexts. Without this theoretical framework, these dispositions and behaviours would otherwise remain invisible and thus excluded from the analysis. Second, performativity helps to develop understandings of the performative practices in which habitus manifests. These concepts are useful for making visible the habitus, performativities and consequential toolkit which individuals and groups draw upon to understand both themselves and their new context upon moving from one place to another.

Bourdieu (1990) uses habitus to explain the ways in which through mimesis, individuals learn particular dispositions and embodied practices which occur unconsciously and blend into the behaviours of those around them. The study of habitus is notoriously difficult given that it comprises of a set of unconscious tools and mental frameworks for understanding the world. However, if the manifestations of habitus are given appropriate attention which I argue visual methods can enable, then habitus itself can be brought to the surface, analysed and understood. Nowicka (2015) draws on habitus in her research

exploring its transfer and transformation through cultural encounters in migration. Linking the notion to transnationalism, she argues that habitus echoes transnational theory in that it can help to understand how migrants, refugees and asylum seekers adapt to new places without needing to lose ties to the social and cultural settings they came from (Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Hannerz 1996). Like Bourdieu, Nowicka argues that habitus is only self-reflexive in situations where the individual feels strange (2015). This thesis asks how individuals make sense of home, heritage and identity when they leave what is likely to be a familiar environment and move to what is likely to be an unfamiliar environment.

I draw important theoretical links between habitus and performativity, as both concepts explore the ways that people come to make sense of self in place through internalised and embodied practices and behaviours. Performativity entails the act of *doing* something which thus brings it into being to assert it as truth, and depends upon repeated citing of previous performativities, thus driven by iteration and reiteration. Butler's (1990) concept therefore entails the repetition of norms and codes which produce an archive of citational performativities of identity. These serve to connect or reconnect to practices which may be associated with previous places where such performativities were common. There have, however, been two important critiques levied against Butler's concept. The first concerns the lack of clarity on the differences between performativity and performance (Boucher 2006). Thus, to distinguish between 'performance' and 'performativity' I will refer to the practices involved in this process of performativity as 'performativities' to associate these practices more closely with identity work and disassociate them from dramaturgical theories.

The second critique addresses the content of the concept itself. While Nelson (2010) praises the value of performativity for advancing scholarship pertaining to identity work and place, particularly in the discipline of geography, she also warns against the ways that Butler's theory creates a dichotomy between the individual as a subjective agent and the individual as a subject of power matrices, thus devoid of all agency. The mobilisation of the theory within this thesis stems from a blended model of these dichotomies. Just as identity involves an interaction between fix and flux (Back 1996), and culture requires a dialogue between old and new knowledge (Williams 1958), identity performativity necessitates an intimate relationship between structure and agency. I argue in the analysis presented in this thesis that individuals are at once partially able to determine their own identities through the

everyday performativity and practice captured in the photographs, whilst at the same time being subject to the forces exerted upon them, most pertinently in the form of legal status and gender. Furthermore, it is argued that the issue of race is not satisfactorily woven into Butler's theorising of performativity (Salih 2002). Although this thesis does not focus explicitly on race theory, it is vital to acknowledge the limitations of performativity as it relates to identity, more particularly racialised identities, as migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are often subject to. In this way, the performative practices analysed in chapters 4 – 6 are not viewed as romanticised articulations of power, rather, like habitus, they are understood as a tool to manage the process of uprooting and regrounding (Ahmed et al 2003), as they are in turn shaped by the social and structural forces of gender and legal status.

Fortier too draws on this act of 're-remembering' (1999), emphasising how performativity is not simply the act of routine and repetition, but rather a production of citationality which serves to reiterate the norms that precede, constrain and exceed the performer (Butler 1990). Here, we see the ways that performativity *itself* relies upon the drawing on the past to construct oneself in the present (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007). Understanding the routines and practices (Bell 1999) of identity which can be cited in future performativities, lends itself to exploring the home-making practices of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers more broadly. In *Performativity and Belonging* (1999), Bell writes that belonging is comprised of identity and performativity, neither of which we should consider to be endlessly fluid. Identities continue over time to be produced, embodied and performatively renegotiated. As such then, we can see how belonging in part relies on the embodied practices of those who are working through questions of being, belonging and longing (Ahmed 1999; Sørensen [1997] 2005).

Referring to the work of Bourdieu, Dovey writes that 'we learn bodily' (Dovey 2005: 284). Habitus shapes and is shaped by social practice (Bourdieu 2005). A key thread connecting habitus and performativity together, therefore, is that of embodiment, which witnesses a collapse between the dualities of body and mind (Csordas 1990). This collapse is useful in a discussion of migrant home-making practices which seeks to challenge binaries and dualistic thought. Olwig's conceptualisation of embodiment understands it as tightly bound to questions of identity, arguing that 'the search for identity...involves movement, in body and mind, within and between spaces of varying scales that are identified as home' (1998: 225). As people move between spaces and times, through memory, performativity,

participation and practice, so is meaning made, negotiated and shifted. The body becomes a vehicle for experiencing and expressing senses of self and place (Christou 2011), and thus home and identity are to be found in the routine practices, social relations and embodied experiences of the narratives of people's lives (Torresan 2001).

Gunew's (2003) focus on the role of language in migration highlights the ways in which embodied practices of being are complicated in the act of migration, and that which was previously familiar and unconscious is now cast into the light. The process of cultivating familiarity and coming to inhabit the unfamiliar, or indeed bring the familiar into the unfamiliar through embodied practices such as speaking first languages or cooking food cooked by parents, serves to marry memory, migration, home and identity. Thus, accounting for these everyday home-making practices as they are shaped by migration can reveal crucial layers to the question of home. Research focusing on migration, particularly in the realm of anthropology (Castles and Miller 2009; Dudley 2010; Brettell 2017), often seeks to understand the embodied or micro-level experience of migration.

Crucially, however, key scholars such as Silvey (2006) have insisted that these micro-level narratives are contextualised within the structural, enabling us to understand how the powers at play in migration manifest in these experiences. I have heeded this call in this research in which I have sought to examine the role of legal status and gender upon everyday migrant home-making practices (Ahmed 1999; Boyd and Grieco 2003; Silvey 2006; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Bilge and Denis 2010; Christou 2011). The research question: 'how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?' necessitates an approach which encompasses theoretical perspectives of embodiment. By understanding the embodied acts of home-making (Bell 1999; Myszal 2007; Dudley 2010), we can understand more deeply the ways in which experiences of place and articulations of identity are mediated through the body and framed by habitus. I intend, therefore, to follow the advice of Csordas, who writes that 'a theory of practice can best be grounded in the socially informed body' (1990: 8).

2.5.7 Conclusion

The critical engagement with the literature presented here has sought to mobilise 3 key points. First, that identity cannot be understood as fixed or bound to place, nor as entirely free-floating, but rather as embroiled in an ongoing process and dialogue between fix and

flux. Second, that heritage, like identity, similarly entails the negotiation between past and present, as individuals and groups draw on previous narratives to make sense of the present. Third, continuing from this negotiative narrative, I argue that Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1990) and Butler's performativity theory (1990) are useful in developing understandings of the performative practices and social behaviours which enable these sorts of dialogues to take place. These arguments help to answer the research questions: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities in their everyday lives in Glasgow through the act of home-making?' and 'how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?'.

2.6 Conclusion

Since the 1960s and 1970s, there has been an increase in research into the themes of home and identity driven by migration theory, postcolonial theory and intersectional feminism (Gough 1968; Bhabha 1994; Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Main and Sandoval 2014). This has resulted in an expansion of those in the field seeking to question previously assumed readings of identity and home which froze and fixed them in place. As such, there is now a strong body of work which evidences the complex and sometimes fraught nature of identity, home and migration. In addition, recent work in this field has seen a turn towards a deeper consideration of the methods used to conduct research into migration and home. This provides an opening that, alongside those such as Pink (2009), Rose (2012) and Harper (2002), the methodological approach discussed in chapter 3 seeks to fill.

How then, might we conceptualise home, migration and identity in ways which allow participants in qualitative research to define these themes on their own terms? There have been three strong critical strands to the conclusions drawn from this chapter. The first of these is the urgent call to acknowledge the impact of legal status and gender upon the home-making processes of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and to incorporate this into analysis. In alignment with an intersectional feminist perspective, I argue that it is of fundamental importance to account for the multiple structural layers which impact upon the everyday, and conclude that the two key layers at stake in this research are gender and legal status. To fail to do so, as Bloch argues (2000), is to conduct research that lacks depth and uses an analytical framework which does not locate data within the wider context.

The second thread is an understanding of migrant home-making and identity work as nonlinear processes. To adopt this perspective is to create a space in which numerous places and times are present, enabling individuals and groups to negotiate between them. This model is influenced by theoretical work on heritage in which it is understood as a process of negotiating between past and present. A model which understands that home and migration are not linear trajectories is vital if we are to continue to contest the fixing of identities to place, and reject assimilatory models of migration. In an assimilatory model, individuals and groups leave one home and in adopting the cultural practices and values of the new place of residence, come to be assimilated into a specific framing of the new place as 'home', driven by specific attributes.

Finally, developing on this critique of linearity, understanding the role of memory in the processes analysed here is crucial in developing the argument that 'home' comprises of numerous places and times, channelled into the present through the body (Gilroy 1993; Dudley 2010). To encompass memory into the questions addressed in this thesis is to construct a strong groundwork on which to build, as we can account for the ways in which 'home' is not just theoretically complex, but also experientially so. Embodied experiences such as sensory space-time compression (Massey [1994] 2001) problematise the binding of home and identity to place and account for the importance of memory in migrant home-making processes. The three key concepts of migration, home and identity can therefore be tied together through the notion of embodiment. This approach enables us to consider the body as the medium through which heritage, home and identity are negotiated, and the site at which identities are worked through and performed in the world.

This doctoral research sits within an important corpus of work that seeks to unravel historic conceptualisations of home and identity as fixed and bound in place. The migration-home nexus to which this thesis contributes argues that migration tangibly problematises the act of erecting tight borders around what we understand 'home' to be, and where it is located. Historically, migration research has tended to focus on either the journey or the process of 'integration' or settling into the new country of residence, side-lining the ways in which this process of homing very often depends upon an ongoing conversation between places and times (Ahmed 1999; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Levitt 2011). Openings for continued development and improvement however, lie in the space created by postcolonial thought in the form of transnationalism. Methodologically, this research takes these ideas a

step further. Using visual methods to explore the ways in which the dialogue between places and times occurs in the process of home-making, this thesis serves to address a gap in the literature, in which the use of sensory methods is still a relatively young practice.

This chapter has examined the complex entanglements which link the core themes addressed in this thesis: migration, home and identity. Woven throughout has been an understanding of the role of participation and the cultivation of familiarity within migrant home-making practices, underpinned by an analysis of the ways in which memory often influences the everyday practices and participation of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. It is therefore vital to approach the following chapter in which the research methodology is discussed, equipped with an understanding of home and identity as complex processes worked out in the interspaces opened up by the act of migration. This approach acknowledges the importance of highlighting these interspaces in the generation of knowledge about migrant home-making. Furthermore, the methods adopted seek to make visible the habitus and performativity drawn on to negotiate homes and identities which previously remained for the most part unconscious and invisible. It is from here that we move into chapter 3, in which I outline the methodological approach taken in this doctoral project.

3. Methodology: Looking Through the Lens

3.1 Introduction

The tools with which we seek to understand experiences of migrant home-making are important, as methods shape the data generated and thus the knowledge produced. The subjects of migration, home and identity have been explored across a broad range of disciplines, from geography (Massey [1994] 2001), English literature (Lahiri 2011; Tremain 2007) and drama⁶, right through to sociology and anthropology (Jackson 1995; Blunt and Dowling 2006). Furthermore, the acknowledgement of the role of intangible and experiential aspects such as the senses and embodiment in how home is constituted and negotiated (Csordas 1990; Olwig 1998; Bell 1999; Ahmed, Catañeda, Fortier and Sheller 2003; Misztal 2007; Christou 2011) has resulted in a diverse methodological toolkit being drawn on in previous research in these fields. Influenced by the discipline of visual anthropology, this research seeks to understand the embodied and affective processes of home-making through the photo elicitation interview, outlined and justified in this chapter.

Given that the experiential is the core organising theme in the migration-home nexus and particularly in this doctoral project, a qualitative approach is necessary. A qualitative research framework provides a wide range of possible methods, and reflection about which methodological tools are the most appropriate for knowledge production is paramount. Considering the emergent process of knowledge production, this chapter examines the theoretical assumptions which inform the use of photo elicitation in this thesis. Further, it argues that researchers seeking to understand experience-based social phenomena should work to develop a reflective methodology that accounts for the ways in which they generate, analyse and present the data.

Chapter 2 outlined the theoretical framework which best supports the inquiry into the research questions that this thesis addresses:

⁶ See information on Take Back Theatre's recent play about migration: *Be//Longing*
<http://www.takebacktheatre.com/news/>

1. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?
2. What impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?
3. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?
4. How do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?
5. How do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?

Having addressed the first four questions in chapter 2, it is the final question which demands our attention here. I marry a theoretical framework that understands home, migration and identity as continual processes with a methodological approach that facilitates a space for participants to reflect upon and represent this process in a dialogic manner. This approach is, I argue, the most effective way of conducting research that explores the complex and varied experiences of migrant home-making. This chapter begins then, by grounding the theoretical work of chapter 2 with the methodological motivations for this research, outlining the relationship between anthropology and the everyday, feminist theory and migration theory. It is argued that anthropological methods, in particular sensory/visual methods, provide the most appropriate tools for analysing the experiential layer of migrant home-making.

Having discussed the theoretical justifications for the use of sensory methods in this research, in section 3.3 the photo elicitation interview is then examined in more detail. First articulating its value as a method and outlining the relationship between participatory photographic methods and performativity theory (Butler 1990), I then demonstrate its use in this research from the interview stage to the data analysis. Here, the method is considered alongside the methodology. This section argues that an understanding of knowledge as co-produced in the process of the interview should direct us to designing research in such a way that allows for the challenging of the binary model of 'expert' and 'non-expert' that feminist theory espouses. In order to further ensure the centrality of feminist theory in both the methodological approach and the organisation of this thesis, the introduction of the participants and the definitions of rights granted to the three different legal statuses – migrant, refugee and asylum seeker – is the concern of section 3.4. Fore-fronting the participants in this chapter prior to illustrating the research context is important as it not only

acknowledges the centrality of the 20 women to the generation of the data, but it also ensures that the field site and the context of the dispersal scheme implicates human lives and has a human face, thus concretely locating the participants within the context and vice versa.

Section 3.5 then discusses the research context, detailing the justifications for the field site of the Integration Networks where participant observation was carried out, and examining the dispersal scheme which led to their conception. Section 3.6 concludes this chapter by arguing that the use of participant-generated images in the photo elicitation interviews conducted for this research is the most ethical way of generating knowledge. Its capacity for facilitating self-representation and the consequential challenging of binaries of 'expert' and 'non-expert' deemed it the most appropriate for the subject of the migration-home nexus. Below then, the epistemological underpinnings of the choice of method are examined, connecting the theoretical work of chapter 2 with the methodological justifications of this chapter.

3.2 Epistemology

3.2.1 Introduction

This section first considers sensory/visual anthropological work pertaining to the everyday, discussing the effectiveness of sensory methods for researching the everyday. Given that much of the work of the everyday is experiential, routinised and embodied, it is vital to adopt a method that makes these experiences and the habitus of the participants visible (see chapter 2, section 2.5.6). The connection to feminist methodology is then made, developing the use of a methodological framework which seeks to expand the parameters for research methods and to construct a research design which challenges binaries of 'expert' and 'non-expert', attending to the power dynamics at play in research encounters. This feminist groundwork leads to the concluding argument that a methodological approach which encompasses the understanding of migration as a dynamic and nonlinear process is vital if we are to marry theory and practice as researchers.

3.2.2 Sensory anthropology and the everyday

Visual anthropology has framed the methodological approach to this PhD research design. The work of visual and sensory anthropologists such as Harper (1987, 2001, 2002), Pink (2008, 2009) and Schonberg and Bourgeois (2009), highlights the virtues of drawing upon visual and sensory methods to understand and analyse the experiences of individuals and groups of different social phenomena. There are those in anthropology who have challenged the often ocular-centric approach of visual anthropologists, arguing that there are numerous other layers to experiences like migration, such as smell or sound (Sutton 2001; Lee and Ingold 2006; Pink 2009). Brickell posits that ‘the importance of touch and smell to memories of...the home...remains an area which critical geographers should advance’ (2012: 230). As such, methodological approaches have been taken that seek to encompass the non-visual. Already a discipline which enquires into the motivations for and framings of human behaviours and practices, the visual turn in anthropology sought to rethink the methods with which research may be conducted (Bateson and Mead 1942). This enabled anthropologists to consider the value of using the image in different ways: as an indexing tool, as a means for participants to document their everyday lives and as a means to represent research to a wider audience.

Anthropology at its very core seeks to understand the everyday, as a site where wider structural and social shaping factors are made manifest (Douglas [1973] 2002; Scott 2009). The movement into the sensory and the visual in anthropology was driven by a desire to further expand the methodological toolkit with which social phenomena may be understood. Furthermore, it is important to consider how as researchers, our *own* everyday life, shaped as it is largely by sociodemographic or indeed legal status (see chapter 2, section 2.2.4), inevitably frames the ways that we observe the practices of participants: ‘by thinking carefully about where we see from, ‘we might become answerable for what we learn how to see’’ (Haraway cited by Rose 2002: 17). Just as ‘people have to find...some position on which to stand’ (Hall 1991: 52), we as researchers must position ourselves in order that we might conduct our research in a reflective way. In doing this, we acknowledge and understand how our positioning within the world inevitably comes to impact upon the researcher-participant interaction. Below, I build upon the connection between sensory/visual anthropology and feminist methodology. Both entail a rethinking: the former of the discipline of anthropology

and anthropological research, the latter of methodology more broadly. As such, the expansion from sensory anthropology to feminist methodology is a logical one.

3.2.3 Feminism and method

‘The problems raised by feminist methodology are not peculiar to feminism: they are also problems for social research more generally’ (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002: 2)

Chapter 2 highlighted the importance of considering the multiple axes that shape the lives of women from different backgrounds, arguing that as researchers we must reject simple binaries such as ‘expert’ and ‘non-expert’. Here, these arguments are developed to outline in more detail the role of feminist thought in the design, conducting and analysis of this research. Tracing the history of intersectional work in the social sciences, Christensen and Jensen write that: ‘intersectional analyses must be able to encompass the interplay between structures and institutions at the macro-level, and identities and lived lives at the micro-level’ (Christensen and Jensen 2012: 110). The key contribution of intersectional feminist scholarship has been to make visible the lives of women from diverse backgrounds and to understand the multiple axes of structural forces which are exerting their power upon them (see chapter 2, section 2.3.4).

Furthermore, a feminist approach to research seeks to address critical issues of power that are present in the majority of researcher-participant relationships. Abu-Lughod argues that ‘what feminist ethnography can contribute to anthropology is an unsettling of the boundaries that have been central to its identity as a discipline of the self studying other’ (Abu-Lughod 1990: 26). Here, Abu-Lughod espouses the virtues of working in such a way with participants that they are positioned as experts of the topic in question. More broadly, the challenging of such binaries of ‘self’ and ‘other’ is aligned closely with the theoretical work reviewed in chapter 2, in which those such as Ahmed (1999) and Silvey (2006) also dismiss a binary perspective as reductive. Returning to the quote opening this section from Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002), we can understand the importance of adopting a perspective in social research which seeks to address problems of representation and ethical conduct that a feminist methodology has at its core. The non-binary perspective of feminist methodology sits parallel to a perspective of migration as a dynamic process and as such, the

marriage of a feminist methodology and migration theory witnesses the need for a methodological approach that echoes this theoretical framework.

The arguments outlined in section 2.3 of chapter 2 presented migration as an 'ongoing process which often involves continuing mobility and communication between past and present home countries' (Gustafson 2014: 102). Burrell and Panayi's assertion that 'the act of migration sees the colliding of a journey through space with the passing of time' (2006: 15) further calls for a methodology that attends to this experience of place, which others such as Massey and Jess (1995) and Raasch (2012) also attest to. It is in wedding together sensory anthropology, feminist methodology and migration theory that we are able to see extolled the virtues of a method which not only challenges binaries of 'here' and 'there', 'expert' and 'non-expert', but which also allows space for participants to reflect upon 'home' in their own time. This is discussed in greater depth in section 3.3.

3.2.4 Conclusion

Section 3.2 has examined the ways in which the discussions reviewed in chapter 2 have informed the methodology presented here. Here, I have articulated the importance of sensory anthropology as a disciplinary basis on which to build for this research, espousing its virtues as a means to explore alternative lines of questioning and approaches to conducting fieldwork. Furthermore, given the relationship between feminist anthropology and sensory anthropology, the importance of encompassing feminist theory into social sciences methodology is evident. Section 3.2.3 made the case that the attention which a feminist methodology pays to ethical conduct and power relations existent within researcher-participant relationships should be a fundamental shaping principle of social sciences research. The marriage of theory and practice is fundamental for informing the approach taken to the research presented in this thesis. As such, section 3.3 develops the connection between the epistemological justifications for a sensory anthropology presented above and the method of photo elicitation that has been informed by these theoretical perspectives.

3.3 Photo Elicitation

3.3.1 Introduction

The reconsideration of methods in social research was catalysed in the 1960s and 1970s as in the following decades anthropology began to reflect upon and critique its colonial roots (Gough 1968; Clifford and Marcus 1986). Discussions of methodological theory and practice sought to address the issues presented by early models of conducting anthropological research. From anthropometrics - the racial classification of groups and attribution of particular characteristics to those groups - to 'armchair anthropology', in which speculation about the behaviours and practices of groups was a common occurrence (Frazer [1890] 1998; Sera-Shriar 2014). As such then, to ask difficult questions of the methods used is important if we are to radically rethink and call to question presumptions about the ways in which knowledge is produced, and by whom.

It is with an understanding of migrant home-making as occurring within the dialogue between fix and flux, and Harper's conviction that researchers and participants working to 'figure out something together' is an ideal model for research (Harper 2002: 23), that the method of the photo elicitation interview is scrutinised here. This section begins by tracing the theoretical framing of photo elicitation in anthropology, arguing that the way the method generates knowledge has the capacity to challenge taken-for-granted forms of knowledge production which presume the researcher as the expert. The attention is then turned to the interaction between performativity and place in photographic methods. It is argued that the use of performative methods such as photo elicitation (Pinney 2004 in Rose 2012) can serve to problematise conceptualisations of places as rooted, instead highlighting the complex ways in which places are interwoven through memory. The photo elicitation method is then examined versus the standard interview. I argue that particularly when using participant-generated images, photo elicitation creates a space for reflection and self-representation in a way which the standard interview does not, thus deeming it the most appropriate method for this research. The section concludes with a discussion of the interview process and the analytical approach taken to the data generated through photo elicitation.

3.3.2 Introducing the photo elicitation interview

'On the connection of photographs to memory, John Berger wrote: 'The thrill found in a photograph comes from the onrush of memory' (1992: 192–193)' (Harper 2002: 13)

Collier and Collier were the first to introduce images in interviews in anthropological research, arguing that 'photography is an abstracting process and as such it is in itself a vital step in analysis' (1986: 69-70). Further to this, they recognised that 'photographs by themselves do not necessarily provide information or insight... It was when the photographs were used in interviews that their value and significance was discovered' (1986: 126). This insight highlights the intricate connection between image and text. The word-based data generated is only possible through the format of a reflective photographic exercise. Harper (1987, 2001, 2002) drew on this method extensively in his own work, expressing the simplicity of the model and extolling its virtues as a means of knowledge production. The images which may be used in a photo elicitation interview exist along a spectrum, from the indexical to the intimate. In much of Harper's work he generates the images himself based on his observations during his ethnographic fieldwork, for example in Willie's workshop (1987). He then uses these images in conversation to construct a picture of the way in which Willie worked (figure 2).

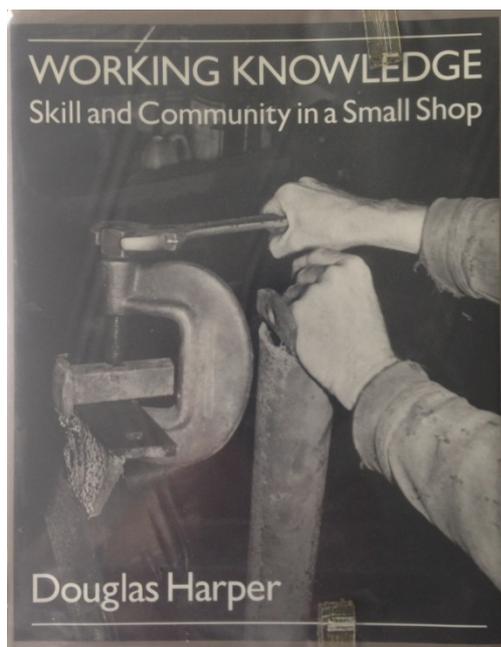


Fig.1 – Harper, D. (1987) Working Knowledge

In other work using photo elicitation, such as that of Hatfield (2010) and Epstein et al (2006), the participants are those generating the images, articulating their everyday experiences, in the former of migrant children's negotiation of return migration, in the latter the perspectives of children with cancer of a specialised summer camp. Through the generation of images, participants can be understood as performing their experiences and identities through the act of documenting particular aspects which express their experiences, as guided by the brief set.

I argue additionally that pre-existing visual practices are important to consider in the construction of a suitable research method. This research works to build an understanding of the everyday practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Thus, so as not to interrupt the flow of the everyday it was necessary to use a method that would cause as little disruption to their everyday lives as possible. It quickly became apparent during the early stages of fieldwork that the women had a pre-existing daily practice of capturing images on their mobile phones, even carrying out their own informal elicitation using these images. Naturally, the process of reflecting upon and capturing images as guided by a particular brief would cause some form of disruption, but the method with which the data was generated was already familiar to them, and as such did not call for the learning of anything new. It also enabled them to make careful choices and have time to construct the visual map of the everyday home-making practices which they felt were important and were comfortable talking about during the interview. Below, the relationship between performativity, place and photography is discussed.

3.3.3 Performativity, place and photography

As outlined in chapter 2, performativity is a vital concept in this research as it allows us to examine the meanings ascribed to the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. As such, it is important to also consider the ways in which performativity is at play in the photo elicitation method. Rose argues that images are performative, citing Pinney in his assertion that: 'images are not representations in the sense of a screen onto which meaning is projected' (2004: 8)', rather they are "compressed performances" (Pinney 2004: 8 cited by Rose 2012: 285). Using an approach to photo elicitation in which participants take the photographs themselves enables participants to become engaged in a process of reflectively performing their identity by capturing on camera

the objects, people and places which they feel are important to their processes of home-making. Thus, in taking their own photographs, participants can be understood as 'making aesthetic, ethical and political choices regarding the way in which they want to represent their cultural practices' (Ortega-Alcázar and Dyck 2011: 13-14).

Seamon argues that through using methods which require self-conscious elicitation such as in photo elicitation interviews where images are participant-generated, we might encourage people to think about the 'emotional fabric soldered to place' which is largely unconscious (Seamon 2014: 50). I argue that this approach restricts affective layers of home-making, binding them too tightly to place. Framed by migration, it is often the case that the kinds of emotional responses which Seamon is talking about are caused by the triggering of memories of *other* places, thus discrediting this notion of emotional fabric being 'soldered' to place. Instead, I argue that these layers of affective responses to home-making often serve to connect *multiple* places, and thus the use of a method such as photo elicitation can facilitate the exploration of these connections and relations *between* places. Using a self-conscious, reflective methodological approach enables a consideration of the performativity of identity (Hetherington 1998; Deux 2006; Raasch 2012), as it is given the space and time to come into fruition and is a key leading part of the research process. This is not so easily achieved in quantitative data collection methods, as there is a set of predetermined questions – although these can be altered and changed through using focus groups to refine them before wider distribution. Furthermore, the lack of face-to-face dialogue stunts the elaboration on the part of participants about the answers they give (Nandi and Platt 2009). Having introduced the photo elicitation interview, the benefits and pitfalls are examined against the standard interview below.

3.3.4 The photo elicitation interview versus the standard interview

Harper writes that: 'the difference between interviews using images and text, and interviews using words alone lies in the ways we respond to these two forms of symbolic representation' (2002: 13). Here, he highlights the argument that images generate different knowledge to that of a standard verbal interview. Should the images be participant-generated, it can allow participants to construct and communicate their own self-image. This does not come without problems, however. Rose (2012) and others (Thomas 1991; Pinney 2004; Ali 2012; Rose 2012; Tonkiss 2012) stress the importance of understanding the context

within which the images themselves are made. Although one might argue that the images are shaped by the person taking them, it is vital to consider the wider social and structural framework within which the participants themselves are enmeshed and will affect the data they produce. In the case of this research, the impact of gender and legal status are accounted for most centrally, where additionally other sociological statuses such as age and cultural background are accounted for, albeit more peripherally (see chapter 2, section 2.2.4).

Ortega-Alcázar and Dyck (2011) posit that in the performance of taking the photographs by choosing what to capture and what to exclude, participants are involved in a much more deeply reflective process of considering objects, people and places that they consider to be important. Further to this, Radley and Taylor (2003) add that the camera acts as a distancing object, which results in the participant's capacity to: 'position themselves in a detached way from the things and spaces they experience in everyday life and reflect upon them from a different perspective thus gaining new insights' (2011: 5). It is this space that the photo elicitation interview can afford, particularly when using participant-generated images. I argue that this is a vital part of the process of enabling participants to reflect on that which has existed unconsciously in the form of habitus. Although questions may be sent in advance to participants, I argue that the structure of the standard interview does not allow space for a tangible reflection on the questions at hand in the same way.

Additionally, particularly when participants are taking the photographs themselves, the photo elicitation is unique in being able to readdress the power relations that permeate the researcher-participant relationship (Stacey 1988; Abu-Lughod 1990). Without addressing this imbalance methodologically, not only do researchers fail to attend to ethical considerations necessary to all research, but research fails to capture the embodied experience of living under the dominant discourses that it often hopes to change (Harper 2002; Ortega-Alcázar and Dyck 2011; Rose 2012). It is vital to remember, however, that power cannot simply be eradicated through this technique. The decisions as to what to include and what to exclude in the writing up of the research ultimately lie in the hands of the researcher (unless participants are also engaged in analysis as is the case in Participatory Action Research), thus at the last it is the researcher who yields the most power of representation (Ali 2012). The most we can do as researchers, enmeshed already within these hierarchies, is to use methods that work to make the voices of participants the loudest,

and to be driven by participants as much as possible when dealing with the themes and questions at hand. The following section discusses the interview and analysis processes.

3.3.5 The interviews

20 interviews were conducted in total. This number was chosen because data saturation was reached upon the completion of recording, transcribing and preliminarily analysing the interviews. The 20 interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis, lasting between one to two hours and taking place in a site chosen by the participant. This varied from their own homes, to cafes, to libraries. The interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed by myself and securely stored and backed up. The images were then inserted into the transcripts once participants had sent them to me following the interview, before the analysis began. Participants were given the following brief: 'I'd like you to take around 15 photographs of the things you do in your everyday life which you feel help make Glasgow your home.' Revealingly, it became evident that the specificity of Glasgow itself was less significant than the brief suggested (see chapter 6, section 6.5 for further discussion). Rather, it became clear that the women's home-making practices could be understood as strategies which were drawn upon and carried with them as they moved. The images captured by the women were then used in the interview to answer the research questions, and the questions helped us to delve more deeply into understanding each photograph together (see appendix 4).

The list of interview questions served as a guide for the interviews and was designed around the research questions, probing more deeply into the meaning attributed to each image. The introductory question sought to generate data on the participant's individual status and circumstances, which would help to attend to the intersectional analysis. I then moved on to assess the ways in which participants felt about the exercise as a way of thinking about what 'home' meant for them, and how photography helped them to consider this. These questions directly address the method as a means to co-produce knowledge. Many of the participants responded at this point or in the concluding questions, that taking photographs reflectively and then talking about them in this way enabled them to consider aspects of their life which had previously occurred unnoticed by them, given their everyday, mundane and largely unconscious nature (Bourdieu 1990).

The core questions in the interview sought to delve into the content of the images themselves. Through asking open-ended questions as is a principal technique in

anthropology, it was possible to encourage participants to consider the multiple layers contained within the images. Thus through dialogue, the images catalysed responses that generated the knowledge and data which would then be analysed. Questions such as 'what is this photograph of' and 'how does this photograph show what 'home' means to you' were used to catalyse a deeper discussion. Furthermore, they were designed to reduce the influence of more leading questions which could have been asked such as 'does this make you miss where you lived before?'. Questions such as these reduce the agency of the participant to decide the meaning of the image and the expression of feeling triggered. Which questions were asked of each photograph depended on exercising training of hearing and understanding what participants were expressing, and choosing questions that seemed accordingly more relevant than others. The question 'are there any memories that this photograph makes you think of' for example, was not always relevant and the question 'are there any smells or sounds this photograph makes you think of' was less useful as a catalyst than had been initially presumed. I now discuss the analytical approach taken to the data generated through the photo elicitation interviews.

3.3.6 Analytical approach: coding and sense-making with NVivo

The qualitative computer programme NVivo 11 for Mac was used to analyse the data. Enabling the organisation of the data, it was then possible to systematically read through and map out the themes which tie all the interviews and field notes together, and subsequently generate and organise the arguments which are presented in this thesis. This provided a way to see all the data in one platform, which made the process of analysis more straightforward as it meant that each code and the corresponding quotes were collated. I was able to see the number of times particular themes had arisen and thus understand which aspects of home-making were the most important and how these may change according to legal status. 'The tools in NVivo are flexible, allowing for changes in conceptualization and organization as the project develops' (Bazeley and Jackson 2013: 29). It is the flexibility afforded by the programme which appealed to the inductive and epistemological approach to the research.

The ability to identify and code for themes in the text, building categories and subcategories which are honed as the analysis becomes more refined, is a vital part of its utility. The way in which photo elicitation interviews are analysed is slightly different to standard interviews as the marriage of image and text in this method is imperative to

consider in the process of analysis. Analysing the interview transcripts alongside the images used to catalyse the interviews is fundamental to the production of knowledge. As such, the transcripts with the photos embedded in the body of the text were input into NVivo and coded. As the version of NVivo used was unable to code images, the images were coded separately in a word document, and each image was labelled with the same codes generated for the corresponding text in NVivo (see appendix 6 for sample of image coding).

The codes (see appendix 5 for list of codes) were generated in a number of ways: driven by the theoretical framework, words which came up repeatedly throughout the interviews and codes developed through the inductive analysis of the interviews. The research questions guided the early construction of codes, as I sought to capture and account for the kinds of practices which were being discussed. An initial manual coding process of the images was adopted. This is an approach often condoned as an effective initial manual analysis procedure as it is possible to visually map out the main themes captured in the images (Richards 1998; Creswell 2007). It is vital to then connect this initial small scale, close-proximity approach to the data with the 'wide-angle view' that John and Johnson (2000) impress, hence the move from the initial manual engagement with the data to the more coherent and collected approach that qualitative data analysis programmes facilitate.

Through the continued coding of the interviews the overlap of these core organising themes was further consolidated, and some of these earlier codes were discarded as it became clear that they were less important to the analysis than initially thought. The list of codes remained intact however, as it was important to plot out the analytical progress and process. Additionally, it was important to have the possibility of returning to other themes at a later date should they be important in later interviews. Although these codes were not crucial to the final analysis, they were important for building the understanding of the core elements of migrant home-making. Beginning with broad categories which were noted during the interviews, and upon re-reading the transcripts, gradually a more comprehensive set of codes was developed. Three core themes reappeared in both the images and the conversations triggered by these images: material culture/objects, people and place. Consequently, the data analysis in this thesis is organised into three substantive chapters, each of which pertains to one of these three key themes.

The analytical approach outlined here is inductive. Through the conducting of fieldwork and early interviews, research questions became more focused as knowledge was

generated and further, through the analysis of the data generated, an argument became clear. The initial hypothesis was that given the broad spectrum of participants (see character profiles in section 3.4.2) the home-making practices would be varied and shaped largely by legal status. However, it was suspected that there would be crossover between these different experiences and practices of home-making, framed by the literature review which had been conducted and was ongoing during fieldwork.

3.3.7 Conclusion

The methodology discussed in this chapter has been for the large part inspired by the work of Pink (2009), who argues that the use of sensory methods is an iterative-inductive approach to the social world. In this approach, the relation between knowledge production and methods occurs through the application of methods which are the most useful in the given context, and which understands knowledge to be emergent and processual, both at the site of its production and its transmission (Pink 2009). Section 3.3 has highlighted the justification for the use of the photo elicitation method, paying particular attention to the way it generates and deals with knowledge and data. Three key justifications were presented: first, using a participant-generated model of the method allows space and time away from the researcher-participant relationship for participants to reflect upon the brief and construct their own visual narrative which they feel responds to the brief set in a way they feel in control of. Second, home-making is a varied, multifaceted and complex process that is largely experiential in nature, and thus demands a methodological approach which both honours and accounts for these characteristics. Third, that photo elicitation seeks to readdress the power imbalances which permeate the researcher-participant relationship, placing the autonomy over representation into the hands of participants as far as possible. Thus, it responds to the need to conduct research in an ethically-conscious way, ensuring the presence of the voices of participants. Continuing in this vein, the participants themselves and the definitions of each of the three legal statuses that frame their everyday home-making practices are introduced below.

3.4 The Participants

3.4.1 Definitions and rights

A central concern of this thesis is to address the impact of different legal statuses upon migrant home-making practices. As such, it is paramount that the definitions of these terms and the base rights granted or denied each are defined. In this way, it is possible to articulate the ways that the forms of home-making practices exemplified in this thesis are enabled or blocked by these different legal statuses. Highlighting the differences between these categories helps to illustrate the rights which underpin these statuses and demonstrates the ways that this limiting of control over one's circumstances impinges on daily home-making practices (Douglas 1991; see chapter 2, section 2.2.4).

Migrant

'Migrants are people who make choices about when to leave and where to go, even though these choices are sometimes extremely constrained. Indeed, some scholars make a distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration' (UNESCO 2017). Ten participants were migrants and had come to Glasgow to study, work, or care for family members. Some had lived in other parts of the UK previously, and were almost all from financially stable backgrounds. This inevitably plays a part in having more security to escape some of the limitations that are placed on migrant workers in the UK who are less financially secure. Migrants are granted the same rights as recognised British Citizens: access to employment, benefits and being re-united with any existing partners or children under the age of 18, although this is likely to be affected by Brexit.

Refugee

'A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group' (UNHCR 2017). Seven participants were refugees and had therefore been through the asylum system, their applications taking various lengths of time to be processed. If granted by the UK Border Agency, refugee status lasts only 5 years (Home Office 2017), during which time the application may be reviewed if there is deemed to be good reason such as circumstances in

the country of origin changing. Thus, refugee status is still not fully stable. After the 5-year mark, individuals are then able to apply for Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR). Once granted ILR, refugees are entitled to the same rights as recognized national citizens and may apply for British citizenship status.

Asylum Seeker

‘An asylum seeker is someone who has lodged an application for protection on the basis of the Refugee Convention or Article 3 of the ECHR [European Convention of Human Rights]’ (Refugee Council 2017). Three participants were still having their asylum claims processed, with one taking over 11 years. Asylum seekers are not entitled to work, or access benefits and accommodation is provided on a no-choice basis. Individual asylum seekers are provided with an Application Registration Card which entitles them to cash support of £36.95 per week. Refused asylum seekers, those whose application has been denied but are unable to leave the country, are provided with support in the form of a cashless payment card called an Azure card, managed and administered by the private French multinational food company Sodexo, and entitles an adult to £35.39 per week.

Having illustrated the rights granted or denied to each of the legal statuses represented by the participants in this research, below, I introduce the women whose home-making practices are hindered or enabled by their varying statuses, and who play a fundamental part in the co-production of the knowledge presented in chapters 4 – 6.

3.4.2 Character profiles

In this section each of the women interviewed are introduced, including their anonymised name, their legal status, their age where possible, and basic information about their migration to Glasgow. This creates a reference list to return to if necessary, but also enables the participants to be brought to the fore of this research. Participants were recruited for the interviews through three avenues: attending three weekly groups at the two Integration Networks (see section 3.5), building relationships and asking a number of women if they would be interested in participating, through a contact at Interfaith Glasgow and through contacts in my pre-existing social network.

Alexis



Fig. 2 – Alexis (2016)

Alexis, 21, has been in Glasgow since 2014, and has been in the asylum system since shortly after her move. Prior to Glasgow she lived in India, where she lived until the age of 16 when she left as a result of family issues. I met Alexis at the craft group at Integration Network 1, a group she attends each week.

Amelia



Fig. 3 – Amelia (2016)

Amelia, 39, moved to Glasgow from Poland in 2007 with her husband for work. She felt at odds with Polish values and beliefs, part of her motivation to leave the place where she grew up. Amelia owns and runs a business which provides an ironing service. I met Amelia through my contact at Interfaith Glasgow.

Alice



Fig. 4 – Alice (2016)

Alice is in her 30s and moved to Glasgow from Poland in 2011 for work. She lives with her husband who is also Polish and their 4-year-old son. I met Alice at the beginning of my time in Glasgow, waiting to board the ferry to go across the Clyde to the Riverside Museum.

Becky

Becky is in her 30s and came to Glasgow in 2014 from Nigeria, leaving an increasingly dangerous country to seek asylum. She and her 3 children have been in the asylum system since they arrived. I met Becky through the women's group at Integration Network 2, a group which she attends each week. Becky requested her photographs not be used in the thesis; as such her images will not feature here.

Coloma



Fig. 5 – Coloma (2016)

Coloma, 26, came to Glasgow in 2015, having graduated as a student from Edinburgh University. She moved first to Barcelona from Mallorca, before beginning her studies in Scotland. I met Coloma through the friendship group which I was introduced to when I first moved to Glasgow.

Dahabo



Dahabo is in her 20s and came to Glasgow in 2007 from Somalia to escape the increasingly unstable situation, as a result of al-Shabab. Arriving on her own, she now has 2 sons with whom she lives, and has attained British Citizenship following the granting of leave to remain. I met Dahabo through attending the women's group at Integration Network 1, which she attends each week.

Fig. 6 – Dahabo (2016)

Elizabeth



Elizabeth is in her 40s and came to Glasgow from Zimbabwe in 2004 for work with her husband and their child, and has since had two more children in Scotland. I met Elizabeth at the women's group run by Integration Network 2, where she was carrying out some research for the Scottish Refugee Council, where she works.

Fig. 7 – Elizabeth (2016)

Farai



Fig. 8 – Farai (2016)

Farai, 44, arrived in Glasgow in 2005 from Zimbabwe with her Scottish husband for work. She lives in Glasgow with her husband and their 13 year old son, Adrian. Farai is a family friend, who my parents met whilst living and teaching in Zimbabwe in the 1970s.

Grace



Fig. 9 – Grace (2016)

Grace, 43, came as an asylum seeker from the Côte D'Ivoire in 2011, arriving before her husband and twin daughters. She was in the asylum system in Glasgow for 2 years before being granted leave to remain, and now lives in Glasgow with her husband and their two daughters. I met Grace through my contact at Interfaith Glasgow. She is doing a degree in Sociology and works as a facilitator,

working with mums and talking with them about parenting.

Haya



Fig. 10 – Haya (2016)

Haya, 41, came to Glasgow from Iraq in 2013 with her husband and their daughter and son, all of whom now have refugee status. I met Haya at Integration Network 1 where she attends the women’s group most weeks. Haya is a full-time mum.

Huda



Fig. 11 – Huda (2016)

Huda is in her 60s and came initially to Glasgow from Iraq on a visa to care for her brother in 2004, but following his improvement has moved to the city to escape the worsening situation in Iraq. A teacher before her retirement, Huda is a volunteer at Integration Network 1 as well as helping out with and participating in numerous other groups in the city.

Judith



Fig. 12 – Judith (2016)

Judith, 31, came to Glasgow in around 2013 where she studies mental health nursing. She lived in Newcastle, London, Exeter and Lithuania where she was born, before coming to Glasgow. I met Judith through the craft group at Integration Network 1, where she attends when her studying schedule allows.

Justice



Fig. 13 – Justice (2016)

Justice, 23, came to Glasgow from Turkey with her family to seek asylum in 2000 when she was 9 years old. She and her family have all been granted leave to remain although they were in the asylum system for a long time, being detained twice before they attained refugee status. I met Justice through attending the craft group at

Integration Network 1, which she attends when her busy schedule allows. Justice is heavily involved with various political, refugee and asylum seeker advocacy groups in Glasgow, as well as participating in a Turkish Alevi⁷ youth group

⁷ Alevites constitute the largest religious minority in Turkey yet are not recognised as an ethnic group by the government, thus resulting in many Alevi Turks having to seek asylum elsewhere.

Lydia



Fig. 14 – Lydia (2016)

Lydia, 52, came to Glasgow in 1997 from Johannesburg with her ex-husband. They had two children in Glasgow who are now both in late teenagehood. I met Lydia through Interfaith Glasgow, where she works.

Mary

Mary, 54, came to Glasgow in 2015 from Iraq to escape the worsening situation there. She was a teacher in Iraq and is hoping to find teaching work in Glasgow. I met Mary at the craft group at Integration Network 1, which she attends each week alongside her busy weekly schedule of volunteering and participating in numerous other groups. All of Mary's images reveal the specific Network, and as such won't be featured in the thesis.

Mina



Fig. 15 – Mina (2016)

Mina, 32, came to Glasgow in 2014 from Iran. She was in the asylum system for a period before being granted leave to remain. Mina is now studying. I met Mina through my contact at Interfaith Glasgow.

Olive



Fig. 16 – Olive (2016)

Olive, 40, came to Glasgow from Zambia in 2005 to seek asylum. She has been in the asylum system for 11 years, and now has a 1 year old son. I met Olive through attending groups at Integration Network 1, where she is heavily involved as a volunteer. Unable to work as a result of her status, Olive volunteers in many groups and refugee and asylum seeker advocacy organisations.

Seema



Fig. 17 – Seema (2016)

Seema is in her 60s and came to Glasgow in 1976 from India with her husband for work. She has 3 children who live in Birmingham, and a number of grandchildren. A retired teacher, Seema is a volunteer at Integration Network 1 as well as helping out with and participating in numerous other

groups in the city. I met Seema through the craft and women's group at Integration Network 1.

Shumaya



Fig. 18 – Shumaya (2016)

Shumaya, 40, came to Glasgow in 2013 as a result of her husband's PhD at Glasgow University. She lives in Glasgow with her husband and their 3 daughters, and is unsure of what will happen once her husband finishes his PhD, as the situation in Iraq is very unstable. I met Shumaya through the women's group and craft group at Integration Network 1, which she attends most weeks.

Vivienne

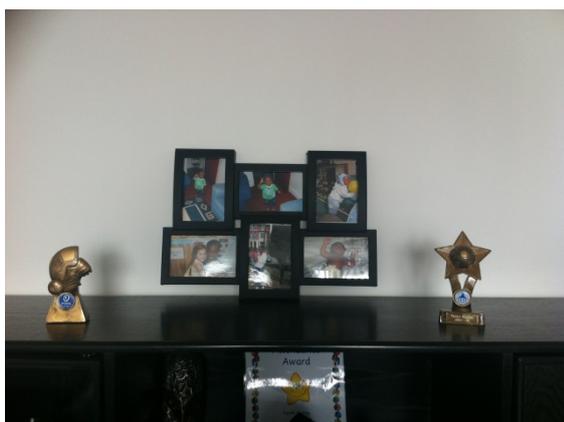


Fig. 19 – Vivienne (2016)

Vivienne is in her 40s and came to Glasgow with her son from South Africa in 2005 to escape domestic violence, when her son was 2. She and her son were in the asylum system for a number of years before being granted leave to remain. She now has a house in which she lives with her son and works for an organisation which supports refugees to get into work. I met Vivienne through my contact at Interfaith

Glasgow.

Introducing each of the women whose voices and stories you will hear and see in this thesis in this way, enables the illustration of the wide range of experiences and backgrounds which these women come from. This makes it easier for the reader to grasp the intersections that play a part in shaping the home-making practices analysed in chapters 4 - 6. Before discussing the research context of the fieldwork, I discuss the ethical approach to this research and the interactions conducted with the women introduced here.

3.4.3 Ethical conduct

'The ethics of anthropology is not just about obeying a set of guidelines; it actually goes to the heart of the discipline: the premise on which its practitioners operate, its epistemology, theory and praxis' (Caplan 2004: 3)

It was imperative that this research went through the University of Leicester ethical approval process, which was undertaken during the first year of this PhD. Accounting for a wide range of possible participants was important as it was unclear in the early stages of the research who would be recruited. This process encouraged the articulation of how the research would be conducted as ethically as possible with a broad spectrum of possible participants. In addition to this practical consideration, ethics has had a long and complex history in anthropology. A discipline stemming from a colonial history, there was a crucial shift into postcolonial critique in the 1970s in Britain (Said 1979; Asad 1973), and ethics has begun to seep into the heart of anthropological research, creating a body of work that seeks to explore the necessity of an ethical anthropology (Fluehr-Lobban 2002; Caplan 2004).

The participants in this doctoral project are varied in legal status and as such there are a number whose status and situation dictates that their personal information remain wholly anonymous. As a result, it is important that the specific Integration Networks which comprised the field sites (see section 3.5) are also anonymised. The exact detail about which Integration Networks served as the field site for this research is not essential given that the research questions are not place-specific. As such, the 2 Integration Networks will be differentiated through number: 1 and 2, and each of the names featured throughout this thesis will be anonymised. The country of origin of each individual often had an important role to play in the home-making practices of the women (see chapter 2, section 2.2.4) and as

such this will not be anonymised. The legal status and age of each individual will also not be anonymised as the inclusion of this information provides important context regarding the intersections at play in their everyday home-making practices. What is more, none of these elements pose any risk in regard to revealing the identities of the participants. The anonymity therefore is guided by necessity of safety and shaped by the knowledge which is the most pertinent to the analysis. The consent form and participant information sheets are presented in the appendix (see appendix 3 and 4) and it is important to highlight here that full consent was obtained from the parents of the children to feature their faces in this thesis, and children for whom consent was not given are visually anonymised accordingly.

The development of relationships with the women was a desired aspect of this research. Given the nature of ethnographic fieldwork, the repeated and often lengthy periods of time spent with groups and individuals results in a relationship of some form being built. These relationships can help to build mutual trust and familiarity between prospective participants and researchers. It was important that I consider the form these relationships should take. As such, clear boundaries were put in place: outlining my presence as a researcher, providing participants with a separate phone number and only spending time with them at the groups in which we met and during the interviews. For the two participants who were already in my social network, however, this was not possible. The experience of mutual trust is an ethically important one in the conducting of qualitative, in-depth social research. In the final section of this chapter, the context of the field sites is discussed, providing detail of an important space of facilitated participation for many new migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

3.5 Research Context and Design: Glasgow and the Integration Networks

3.5.1 Introduction

Making numerous trips to Glasgow to carry out initial meetings with gatekeepers prior to moving to live and conduct fieldwork there, enabled the identification of key organisations in the city which catered for migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Living in Glasgow

facilitated the fostering and deepening of these connections until the participant observation stage of fieldwork began in January 2016. As I outline in section 3.5.2, the early stages of fieldwork consisted of the gathering and analysis of secondary data in the form of grey literature pertaining to mainstream narratives of heritage within the city. However, as participant observation at the two Integration Networks began, it quickly became clear that mainstream heritage narratives in the city did not play a significant role in the everyday lives of attendees at the groups. As such, as I became immersed in participant observation, the research questions became more refined, guided by the observations and conversations in the field. Thus, the focus turned away from mainstream heritage narratives towards everyday home-making practices. Many of the Integration Networks – the background of which is illustrated below – were previously familiar with researchers carrying out projects with them of varying lengths, and so the Project Co-ordinators at these two Integration Networks were happy for me to attend the groups.

Initially, the core research question set out to understand how the home-making practices illustrated by participants could be situated within the context of the city of Glasgow specifically. In asking this, I hoped to understand what might be articulated as being specific attributes of the city which enabled or hindered these practices. It soon became clear however, that apart from some references to the ‘friendly people’ in the city and the weather, the specificity of Glasgow itself was less relevant to the analysis than had been hypothesised. Thus, data pertaining to the city such as demographics or migration history will not be included in detail in this thesis. As is made clear in the analysis presented in chapters 4 – 6, participants drew rather on ‘strategies of emplacement’ (Hammond 2004) which enabled them to articulate and negotiate home as it related and connected them to *numerous* places. In this way, the backdrop of Glasgow was rendered significant only inasmuch as the landscape triggered memories, or the experience of the weather was drastically different to that of other places. Below then, I illustrate the arrival at the field site of the Integration Networks and the Dispersal Scheme which led to their conception.

3.5.2 Arriving at the Integration Networks

Ethnographic fieldwork for this research was carried out from August 2015 – August 2016, during which time I was living in the field site of Glasgow. Like many carrying out anthropological ethnographic fieldwork (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Erikson 2001; Van

Maanen [1988] 2011), I felt that to live in the city was necessary to enable the regular participation in groups, through which it would be possible to build relationships and meet individuals willing to take part in the research. The nature of ethnographic research as immersive and long-term often means that until fieldwork begins, the exact subject of study may not emerge. It may be that participants find the initial subject less interesting and important than other topics. As Creswell writes: 'our questions change during the process of research to reflect an increased understanding of the problem' (2007: 43). Thus, the research questions were refined once participant observation in three community groups began in January 2017.

Prior to this, other forms of data had been gathered, such as city maps, demographics, museum representations and Heritage Lottery Fund reports which helped to form the specific angle the research would take. Initially, a project was designed which would consider the relationship between formally recognised heritage representations of Glasgow versus 'hidden' heritages, particularly considering the migration stories which permeate the city's history. This primary exercise was intended to build up a picture of the migration history of the city of Glasgow, and to map out the demographics of different parts of the city. Additionally, working alongside Glasgow Life – the collaborative partners of this research – I had considered that research examining the relationship between formal and everyday heritage representations may be of value to them. In the process of conducting the participant observation however, other aspects emerged as being of greater value to attendees at the groups, namely processes of home-making in the context of migration. As such, the early secondary data and grey literature will not be considered in this thesis, as these sources did not frame the analysis.

Access to participants was granted by the Development Co-ordinators at the two Integration Networks, and I began to attend two groups at Integration Network 1 in January: a craft group and a women's group, and one group at Integration Network 2: a women's group. Further, connections with four participants through a contact at Interfaith Glasgow were acquired, including the contact herself. Through this contact I was also able to attend a weekend group, although given the fact that this session ran monthly, and the connection was made towards the end of fieldwork, only one of the sessions was attended during fieldwork, securing one interview through this route. Thus, the context of the weekend group will not be addressed here.

The nature of the Integration Networks is highlighted below by the Scottish Refugee Council Website:

'Integration Networks in Glasgow are groups of local agencies, community groups and volunteers who plan and deliver services to asylum seekers and refugees in their area. Services may include information and advice, English classes, drop-in services, activities for children and adults, cultural programs, and emotional and practical support' – Scottish Refugee Council Website

Wren's report for the Social Centre for Research on Social Justice, titled *Building Bridges: Local responses to the resettlement of asylum seekers in Glasgow* (2004), provides important information regarding the conception and running of the Integration Networks in Glasgow, which is expanded upon below. Although Wren focuses explicitly on service users who are asylum seekers and refugees, where I found there to be a slightly broader range of legal statuses amongst attendees, she outlines the role of the Integration Networks in Glasgow, tracing the trajectory of their coming to be in the city as catalysed by the dispersal scheme of 1999. This is useful in explaining the contexts of the groups in which participant observation for this research was conducted and through which most participants were recruited.

3.5.3 The Dispersal Scheme



Fig. 20 – Asylum seeker dispersal by major host cities (2001)

Outlining the backdrop of the Dispersal Scheme enables us to understand both the context of the origins of the Integration Networks, and the ways in which the demography of Glasgow has changed as a result. Although 13 years old, Wren's 2004 report addresses the context of the Integration Networks and highlights the changes which the Dispersal Scheme has brought to the city. This change has in turn led

to the introduction and setting up of clothes shops, food shops and social spaces which may not have existed previously, or which existed in smaller numbers as a result of previous

migrations to the city. These serve as important resources for newcomers to the city. Wren writes 'there are now approximately 10,000 asylum seekers and refugees of more than 70 nationalities living in Glasgow, most of whom have arrived over the last three years. This represents a 60 per cent increase in the city's Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population...and has reshaped the demographic profiles of some parts of the city' (2004: 5).

1999 saw the introduction of the Immigration and Asylum Act (legislation.gov.uk 1999) which resulted in the setting up of the National Asylum Support Service (NASS), a section of the UK Border Agency, located within the Home Office. NASS was responsible for the Dispersal Scheme, which saw the nation-wide relocation of asylum seekers and refugees from London and the South East to other parts of the UK from April 2000, on a no-choice basis and predominantly to areas with surplus housing. Figure 1 reveals the 12 major host cities for the Dispersal Scheme. The normal code of conduct was to house people in what were referred to as 'language clusters' alongside others who spoke the same language, as a buffer to the initial difficulties of relocation in a new city. It was also stipulated that individuals were housed in areas with pre-existing BAME populations. In Glasgow – which received the largest number of those dispersed during the implementation of this scheme (see figure 20) – these stipulations were often not met, resulting in asylum seekers and refugees being predominantly located in high-rise housing, in areas of social deprivation and often in areas with a small to non-existent BAME population (Wren 2004). Asylum seekers and refugees who were part of this scheme had little agency in determining where their geographic home would be.

Initially, ten Integration Networks were established between 2000 and 2002 in Glasgow 'primarily in response to the need to facilitate coherent involvement of local voluntary and community organisations on a city-wide scale' (Wren 2004: 24). The Networks responded to and have been shaped by local needs, established by funding from the Scottish Government, Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIP) for those within SIP areas, and Glasgow City Council (in 2002/3) for those who are not within SIP areas, as well as Communities Scotland in 2003/4. Others have also received input from the Scottish Refugee Council and Glasgow Council for the Voluntary Sector. Many continue to receive this funding as well as from other sources such as the integration funding from the Scottish Executive, and support from sponsors such as Voluntary Action Fund, Glasgow Housing Association, Big Lottery Funding and the Co-operative Community Fund. Knowledge of how the Networks are funded

illustrates their precarious nature; many of the staff I spoke with during fieldwork spoke about how much of their time was taken up with applying for funding. Below I illustrate the groups which took place in the Networks.

3.5.4 The groups

The groups provided by the Integration Networks differ depending on the needs within the local area, with some being service providers from the offset where others were initially more focused on information sharing. Often the first point of contact between asylum seekers and other service providers are the drop-in sessions: the Integration Networks' earliest service. These vary from craft activities, women's groups, homework clubs and advice surgeries and play an important role in providing new arrivals with information and access to other organisations, groups and people. Table 2 illustrates some of the main activities run from the Networks:

Table 2. The groups at each of the Integration Networks

Network Name	Groups
Cranhill Development Trust / East End Integration Network	English for Speakers of Other Language Classes (ESOL) Citizen's Advice (CA) Youth Music Initiative IT Drop in Work Club New Scot Social – conversational English sessions Gardening Group Craft Classes Dance Classes
Govan and Craigton Integration network	ESOL Homework Club Women's Group Men's Group Gardening Club

	Food Distribution
Maryhill Integration Network	Women's Groups Men's Groups Gardening Group Choir Craft Groups ESOL Advice Surgery
Greater Pollok Integration Network	ESOL CA Gardening Group Men's Group IT Drop in Women's Group
Central and West Integration Network	Gardening Groups Food Bank CA ESOL Mother and child project Youth Groups Women's Group Men's Group
Pollokshaws Area Network	Choir Job Club IT classes Alcoholics Anonymous Youth Groups Exercise Classes Craft Groups Gardening Group
North Glasgow Integration Network	Women's Group ESOL

	Parent and Child groups IT classes Craft Group Exercise Classes Cooking classes Youth groups
South East Integration Network	ESOL IT classes Women's Groups Cookery Classes Textile Groups Drop ins for elderly people

This table highlights that there are many women's groups which span across the Integration Networks. A high proportion of those who attend craft classes and exercise classes – not including football which is an activity popularly used to facilitate the participation of refugee and asylum-seeking men⁸ – tend to be women. As such, this table demonstrates that many of the activities are geared towards women. During fieldwork it became clear that for women who have come to the UK with partners and children, it is much more common for the women to provide the majority of childcare while their partners work. Thus, for those with young children or during the school holidays, any participation must take place either in spaces where children are welcome, or spaces which provide a crèche, which many of the Integration Networks do.

With sessions running both during the day and sometimes into the evening on weekdays and weekends, the demographics of these groups vary. Participants tend to sit within an older cohort of women attending groups during the weekdays – aged late 30s and upwards – with younger participants attending the youth groups after school. Although primarily attended by refugees and asylum seekers there are also those who attend who are migrants, with a handful of white Scottish or English participants, however the latter tend to be volunteers or group facilitators. If out of work as those in the asylum system

⁸ For more information on the use of football with refugee and asylum-seeking men see: <http://www.clubwebsite.co.uk/unitedglasgowfc/239786/Home>

predominantly are, the mornings and afternoons are free until they need to pick children up from school, or at times when they are required to sign on at the Home Office or the Job Centre. Attendees at the groups are often varied in age, ethnicity and length of time living in the city.

Many individuals participate in the Network which is the most convenient to get to depending on where they are allocated housing. Often, upon being relocated to another part of the city individuals will travel across the city to continue attending the groups, driven by the social networks they have developed there. A variety of languages are spoken at the groups as a result of the range of countries of origin that attendees come from, and the majority begin attending particular groups as prompted by people they already know. These are sometimes individuals who have come from the same country, and sometimes people they have met through being housed in shared-housing, as asylum seekers often are. The diversity of participants demonstrates the wide range of needs which the Networks cater for, and highlights the importance of understanding and addressing these needs. One important way in which this thesis seeks to do so is through accounting for the various intersections present in experiences of home-making. It is through understanding the role of these intersections in migrant home-making practices that we are better able to understand the tools and resources necessary to make sense of self and place.

3.5.5 Conclusion

Discussing the context within which fieldwork and participant recruitment was conducted has enabled two key points to be made. First, the articulation of the conditions under which participants in the asylum system and a number of those now granted refugee status have come to be living in Glasgow. This has been important in highlighting the resources available upon which individuals and groups can draw in their everyday home-making practices. Furthermore, it has helped to illustrate that largely, the groups provided by the Networks are often attended by those whose access to other forms of participation may be hindered for a number of structural reasons as a result of their legal status. Second, it has emphasised the importance of having a point of contact upon first arriving in the city, in which facilitated participation is available. I argue that facilitated participation offers the opportunity to develop social networks and to expand into everyday participation, as was discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2.3 and as is analysed in chapters 4 - 6. I now conclude this chapter by

responding to the final research question: 'how do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?'.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has brought together the theoretical discussions presented in chapter 2 with the methodological approach taken to this research. It has articulated the ways in which the conceptual framing of migrant home-making as occurring in a space between multiple points of belonging is encompassed within the methodology presented here. It has argued that this marriage of theory and method enables the performative negotiations between places to be made visible and reflective. Opening the chapter with a discussion of the epistemological framework emphasised the connection between theory and method, which, as Bourdieu and Wacquant argue (1992), are inextricably linked, with each informing and being informed by the other.

Ensuring that autonomy over representation lies first and foremost in the hands of the participants through the method of participant-generated images is fundamental on a number of levels. Not only does this ensure an ethical approach to the research, enabling participants to acknowledge and attend closely to their own needs, but it also actively seeks to create a space in which participants are guiding their own self-image. In this way, they are making active choices about what they wish to include and what they wish to exclude. Furthermore, using participant-generated images in photo elicitation interviews challenges the binary of 'expert' and 'non-expert'. Instead, it is possible to foster a form of knowledge production in which researcher and participant are coming together to understand the data. There are of course some issues with this model, inasmuch as participants may not render certain aspects of their life 'interesting' or 'valuable', and thus will not capture elements of their everyday which may in fact reveal much of the phenomenon under study. Although this is a valid criticism, it became clear that the knowledge produced through the use of self-generated photographs and the subsequent process of photo elicitation was incredibly insightful and delved far more deeply into each image than they had anticipated at the time of making the image, as encouraged by the accompanying questions (see appendix 4).

Harper's assertion that 'when two or more people discuss the meaning of photographs they try to figure out something together' is 'an ideal model for research'

(Harper 2002: 23), once more proves itself to be accurate. No one part of the equation of the photo elicitation method is enough to engender understanding about any particular topic. Rather, it is necessary that the parts must come together, allowing each aspect to bolster the other. The theory weaves its way through the images and the questions probe at the images further, enabling both participants and researchers to gain a deeper insight into the information presented in each image. In section 3.2.2, I articulated the strength of the photo elicitation interview to draw on the anthropological attention to the everyday and attend to this everyday sphere in greater depth. Through visually mapping out everyday practices and processes and then analysing both the images themselves and the contents of the interviews catalysed by them, it is possible to generate a body of work which pays homage to the complex, multifaceted and multi-sensory experience of everyday migrant home-making. The data presented in chapters 4 – 6 is threaded through with references to the visual and the sensory. The smell or taste of particular foods, the smell of particular seasons, the feeling invoked by particular spaces can all be accounted for and included with greater ease through the use of a method which expands beyond the verbal.

The discussions explored in this chapter have helped to answer a core research question: 'how do participatory, sensory methods help us to understand these processes?'. It is evident, as we move into an analysis of the data generated through this method, that to work with participants using sensory methods not only brings to light the experiential layer of everyday home-making in ways that other, more traditional methods do not, but additionally it fosters a research process underscored by a collaborative ethic. Situated within the context of research in which key theorists drawn upon seek to challenge binaries of 'home' and 'away', this ethic challenges the binaries of 'expert' and 'non-expert'. Instead, it draws upon the knowledges of each party to generate a discussion around the themes at hand. Once more, we can see extolled the virtues of a method in which researchers and participants can come together to understand the unconscious, everyday practices which reveal deeper significance and attachment to wider questions at stake. In chapter 4 the role of material culture and its use in everyday and special occasion ritual is explored. Indeed these deeper significances, both symbolic and emotional, and wider questions of migrant home-making practices more expansively, are opened up for analysis through the photo elicitation method.

4. Material Culture: Refracting Home

4.1 Introduction

'Home then is not simply a person, a thing or a place, but rather it relates to the activity performed by, with or in persons, things and places.' (Mallett 2004: 80)

As emphasised in chapter 2, the role of material culture in the migration-home nexus is of vital importance. The essential characteristic of material culture in this particular field is its capacity to refract places and times, thus equipping those who move with an important tool in the process of negotiating homes, heritages and identities. There is a particular emphasis here on food and its unique properties as a sensory tool for channelling places and times (Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010; see chapter 2, section 2.5.5). It is important to articulate that the three analytical themes into which this thesis is arranged – object, people and place – are enmeshed together in everyday migrant home-making practices. As Mallett (2004) posits above, home relates to the interplay between these three subjects. This chapter illustrates the processes in which material cultures are embroiled, arguing that through their enlivening in embodied practices, objects enable migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women to connect to and move between homes. The key concepts which guide this analysis are embodiment, performativity and habitus, given their capacity to enable a deeper understanding of the internalised and largely unconscious practices which enable us to make sense of self in place.

Section 4.2 opens the chapter by considering the role of food in everyday and special occasion ritual, discussing its strength as a tool for negotiating between homes, heritages and identities. I argue that food-based practices involve the cultivation of familiarity and the performativity of heritage and identity, and enable individuals to navigate between places. Section 4.3 builds on these arguments to analyse how food is used in the act of sharing and gift-giving as a tool to develop social relations. Here I discuss the particular social value imbued in food when it becomes engaged in these shared experiences, analysing the role of food in the blending of the everyday and facilitated spheres before discussing how sharing

with others in food-based everyday and special occasion ritual enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to build connections between places and times. Finally, section 4.4 turns its attention to material culture more broadly. Here I explore the ways in which objects are imbued with memory, meaning and symbolism through performativity or being displayed in the home, and come to be transformed into ‘artefacts’, drawn upon to reground, reorient and make sense of self in place.

The analysis presented in chapter 4 seeks to answer the following question in particular: ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?’ Additionally, woven into this analysis is an understanding of the impact of legal status and gender upon these home-making practices. This ensures the connection of the individual narratives presented in this thesis with broader questions of migration and home-making, and the impact of broader structural forces on these processes.

4.2 Flavours of Home

4.2.1 Introduction

‘Do you cook a lot at home?’

*Yeah, everyday! *laughs** – Haya (2016)

During both participant observation and the photo elicitation interviews, food was continually referred to as an important site of the negotiation of homes, heritages and identities and as a bridge between people, places and times. The discussions presented here follow in the footsteps of the work of those such as Counihan and Kaplan (1998), Gasparetti (2009) and Rabikowska (2010) amongst others whose research addresses the role of food in relation to the performativity of identity, the navigation of heritage and the negotiation between people and places. Much of this work has explored the notion that in the negotiation of identity, food is often an integral anchor for understandings of the self, whilst drawing on broader senses of belonging to cultural, ethnic, or religious groups. The result of this, as Gasparetti writes, is that ‘migrants cannot be characterised as ‘uprooted’. They are

instead engaged in a social process that enables them to establish social fields that traverse geographic, political and cultural borders' (2009: 4).

Visible in this quote and in the extracts from the interviews which comprise the analysis in this chapter, are the ways in which these practices and different spheres of participation depend upon the social. 'The social' here refers primarily to the importance of social interaction with individuals and groups, in addition to the role of broader social and cultural frameworks. The role of these broader social frameworks is captured in the response to the research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?' that is discussed here. Understanding how objects are imbued with meaning and circulated socially enables us to situate these meanings within the wider spheres in which they circulate.

Section 4.2 begins by discussing the performative layer of the meaning-making process, arguing that the engagement of material culture in everyday performative practices facilitates the reiteration and renegotiation of meaning. This debate is then extended into the realm of food specifically, analysing the process of imbuing value and meaning in food through its use in everyday and special occasion practices and rituals (Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Rabikowska 2010). I then develop the debate into an exploration of the role of embodiment in food-based performative practices, beginning to open up the discussion around the entangling of food, memory and place. The final section examines the role of place in food-based practices, enquiring into the ability of food to bring together multiple places through the ability to access and make particular foods.

4.2.2 Performativity

'Food rituals contribute to the creation of a habitual and habitable space of a new home where 'normal' life is to unfold. Through the deployment of imagination and performative strategies these rituals change into experiences of collective identity.' (Rabikowska 2010: 395)

This quote from Rabikowska articulates the connection between performativity (habitual) and habitus (habitable). Through the performativity of identity, which I argue draws on habitus or the embodied dispositions with which we are equipped through a process of cultural socialisation (Bourdieu 1990), we seek to acquire some sense of 'normality' (Rabikowska's words) or familiarity. These everyday practices enable us to cultivate a sense

of location, belonging and identity, or at least navigate through these ideas. Drawing on previous embodied practices, the body becomes a vehicle for this transmission of meaning between previous and present experiences.

I argue that material culture, specifically food, is engaged in the negotiation of habitus through the everyday performativities and practices of individuals and groups. Through the engagement of material culture with repetitive, embodied and performative processes such as cooking and eating food, the dispositions which comprise one's habitus are made visible; particularly when situated within a new and unfamiliar environment. It is here that we glimpse the point at which Bourdieu's habitus (1990) and the habitual performativity of Butler (1990) align in embodied migrant home-making practices. The women's food-based everyday and special occasion rituals enable them to negotiate the often unsteady terrain which migration creates. Furthermore, these rituals seek to demonstrate the ways that their performativity of identity through food demonstrates and makes visible the habitus with which they have come equipped. Thus, I argue, the concept of home is neither rooted in place, nor existing in a constant state of flux, but rather existing in this dialogue between these states. Before I delve into the role of food specifically, I draw on the reflections of Justice, who articulates the role of performativity in her sense of self and place in Glasgow, framing it in relation to traditional performance.

Justice



Fig. 21: Justice (2016) - Picture 1

Is performance an important part of... how you can be yourself and...understand home in Glasgow?

...performance in terms of... the traditional performance, so... it... shows... how we still continue that tradition and that identity in Glasgow... the advantages of how we've still got that culture, cos it's very easy you know, if you move around after a time, you get... assimilated and you forget your own identity... and that for me is very important; remembering where you came from, always... continuing that tradition

whatever that tradition is. Whether it's through food, dance, music ...

Figure 21 and the accompanying quotation help to illustrate the myriad tools with which individuals can negotiate between homes. Justice is an Alevi: Alevism is the second largest faith in Turkey after Sunni Islam and is not recognised as a faith by the government, thus resulting in Justice and her family leaving Turkey when she was 8 or 9 years of age. She tells me '*we're not identified as anything, so we're like nothing basically in Turkey*'. Here, she emphasises the value she places upon being able to perform this part of her identity in Glasgow as this was not possible in Turkey. Through everyday and special occasion ritual, symbols and signifiers of identity such as language and food are used and the ability to publicly acknowledge and perform identity is permitted, an experience that sits in direct contrast to that of Alevis still living in Turkey.

Justice locates food within a broader selection of tools which can be drawn upon in identity performativity; tools which comprise the archive of citational performativities (see chapter 2, section 2.5.6) that we become equipped with through the process of learned embodied performativity (Butler 1990). Through repetition, these practices become embedded in our habitual identity performativity, again compounding the understanding of home as a negotiation *between* multiple sites of connection (Ahmed 1999; Bhabha 2012). The examples Justice gives of the ways one might work to combat the possibly assimilatory effects of moving from one place to another all depend upon the body and its capacity to recall identity and culture through performativity (Gilroy 1993; Olwig 1998; Dudley 2010). Food is but one means of negotiating the link between life in a new place and life in previous places. In this way, those who move are able to navigate multiple influences upon their identity, performatively practicing aspects of their identity which may relate to other places. I move now into a more concentrated analysis of the use of food in the embodied performativity of everyday and special occasion ritual.

4.2.3 Embodiment and food

Becky articulates the notion that her body itself is a vehicle of home-making in the form of memories of recipes she learned as a child:

they were like ‘muuum! Our Nigerian meat pie!’ I said ‘ok, I’ll do it, I’ll try’ and you know, I remember my mum used to do it when we were young, so I said ‘let me try’.

You did it from memory?

Yeah! From memory yeah...it shows, home is already here...we’re not missing anything... I will try and do what I can for them so they don’t feel ‘oh I’m missing the kind of food we used to eat’...

In this quote the coming together of Becky’s body as that which knows how to cook and her mind as that which holds within it memories of recipes and cooking practices comprises the site where we find home to be located. This emphasises Csordas’ argument for the use of embodiment theory to further anthropological understanding (1990) and challenges the Cartesian separation of mind and body. If we conceive of home to be located within the body and bodily practices, then we can begin to understand the ways that through migration, these practices can be drawn on as tools alongside and against which to negotiate questions of home, as experienced *through* the body, *in place* (Butler 1990; Gilroy 1993; Olwig 1998; Dudley 2010). Becky tells me that a photograph demonstrating her ability to cook meals from memory ‘*shows, home is already here*’.

The skill of cooking that many migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women come equipped with due to the gendered division of labour, enables them to channel places, times, homes, heritages and identities through the body in food-based practices learnt in previous places. This serves to compress space and time through the sensory act of preparing and eating food. This argument is developed in Haya’s photograph below:

Haya

Some friends were invited at my home. We like to eat on the floor. This is our traditional way of eating. We put something on the floor and we put the food there and we sit in a circle.

Do you do that every day?

We do this every day...not all families own dining tables, most of the families like to sit on the floor... We use these Arabic carpets... So sometimes when people are invited they like to sit the

same way... We find it more comfortable. And you feel like you are in your country. Brings nice memories.



Fig. 22: Haya (2016) - Picture 2

What situation might you eat at a dining table?

Actually it depends on the family... Some people who have been here for a long time...you see that life has been turned to...*laughs* more Scottish, than being Iraqi or Arabic...

The visceral quality of the preparation and consumption of food is evident here (Longurst et al 2009). Haya describes the way that this food and the way of eating it *'brings nice memories'* and conjures a feeling of being *'in your country'*, thus emphasising the multisensory and embodied quality of 'home'. Furthermore, Fortier argues that cultural identity is embodied and memories are incorporated into iterated actions that are 'lived as expression of deeply felt sense of identity and belonging' (1999: 48). In figure 22 and this quote from Fortier, the intersection between identity, home and heritage is clear, and if migration is added into the equation, then we can start to see how these iterated actions gain all the more significance as a means to make sense of self in relation to place. Performativity is additionally visible, as individuals employ the citationality of previous actions, which are produced and reproduced through performativity (Butler 1990). Cultural repertoires are thus created through repetition and reproduction and can be drawn upon when a person *leaves* the context within which these citations have been produced and

reproduced routinely within the everyday. Through this recalling, individuals are thus equipped with this archive of performativity, and can use it to orient themselves in the new environment.

Through food rituals, Rabikowska argues that 'habitual' and 'habitable' spaces may be created in new homes. She also claims that 'identity is always in process, while its repetitiveness and collective performance ensures its ontological fixity' (Rabikowska 2010: 396). Hall and Ahmed echo this idea, acknowledging the need to ontologically find a place on which to stand (Hall 1991; Ahmed 1999). Although I argue that part of the process of identity negotiation depends on drawing on the archivally *familiar*, both in relation to identity performativity and in terms of embodied practices and processes, I argue *against* the notion of 'fixity'. As such, we might adjust the idea presented here slightly, understanding that identity work occurs in this process between fix and flux and that in particular, migrant identity plays with the performativities which might be understood as fixed', thus challenging this notion of fixity. There are, however, important parallels here to Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' (1990). Bourdieu writes that it is only through the repositioning of the self in a new and unfamiliar setting that habitus emerges into our consciousness. Thus, when it is the subject of study, it is the manifestations of habitus that are brought to light. The embodied actions carried out in the world as a result of the habitus of an individual are what we can seek to make visible through research, and what emerge in this thesis.

4.2.4 Food and place

Below, Shumaya articulates an important aspect of her life in Glasgow which was repeated throughout many of the interviews. The capacity to source food, either for preparation at home or to eat in restaurants enables women such as Shumaya to make connections between places. Through the consumption of goods available locally as a result of previous migrations to Glasgow and the setting up of shops which sell goods from other parts of the world, the needs of the changing population can be catered for and the dislocation of migration eased. This is illustrated below, as Shumaya speaks about the presence of Arabic restaurants and Asian supermarkets in Manchester and Glasgow which stock the same products she could access in Iraq, resulting in her *'feeling like you're inside your country'* given that the kebab has *'the same taste...in our country'*.

Shumaya



Fig. 23: Shumaya (2016) – Picture 3

...This is our traditional food, it's kebab... It's from mince beef...and...roast on the fire. We eat this food in Manchester... We found a restaurant, there is a street in Manchester with many Arabic restaurants, and Pakistani...

...it's how you feel Glasgow home, or UK home ...you have freedom to do anything, to eat anything because you found everything here. You don't miss anything.

So how does this make you feel home?

*Ah *laughs* I was very happy to eat because I missed...not missed it, but it's...the same taste in our country...In any Arabic restaurant it's the same taste – very delicious! Also here in Glasgow ...even the supermarkets, you can find halal foods. You can find Asian foods...the same type in your country...you are feeling like you're inside your country.*

The notion of sensory space-time compression comes into play in experiences such as those which Shumaya outlines above. The benefits of having spaces in the UK as a whole where one is able to access food that enables the cultivation of this sensation are heralded in much research exploring home and migration (Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010). Here, we can witness the ways in which the material culture of food serves to refract memory (Tolia-Kelly 2006) and acts as a vehicle for the sensory transportation of self to places other than 'here' through these refracted memories and sensory experiences. This notion also consolidates Ahmed's assertion that home cannot be understood as a simple binary between 'home' and 'away' (1999), but that it is in fact a rather more delicate and nuanced relationship between multiple places, people and times. In this relationship individuals draw on personal and collective symbols of identity that, when engaged in performative acts such as food-based

practices, can aid in the navigation of this sometimes uneasy terrain. Becky articulates home through a similar lens:

Becky

How does this picture show how you've made Glasgow feel like home?

...make me feel...we have really adapted, because I can know where to source things, raw ingredients to make what can be gotten in a restaurant...I know where to go and get them...

Is cooking quite important to your sense of home?

Yes, cooking, yeah.

Can you explain that a bit more?

Because... I love cooking tasty food, and my kids...they like eating from me too...so it's a very important...I spend all my money buying food so they will be ok.

So how does this picture show what home means for you, Becky?

It shows that, I'm not really missing anything because I can get the kind of food I used to eat.

Once again the interlinking of the three core themes of home-making into which this thesis is divided - object, people and place – is evident. Migrant home-making, therefore, cannot be understood as a straightforward trajectory, nor can these themes be understood as separate categories. Rather, the interplay between them is occurring at all times; embroiled in performative acts such as food preparation. In the above example we can understand that for Becky, the restrictions placed on her as a result of her legal status as an asylum seeker only serve to enhance the importance of her children for her sense of home, thus connecting people and place. The financial barriers she faces mean that she must make her purchasing decisions much more carefully than those who are more financially stable, partly due to their right to work.

Therefore, we can argue that in order for Becky to feel at home, she must ensure that she is able to control her connection to the country she left on her own terms, and that her children are secure in the city they now live. Expanding this beyond the parameters of the women I worked with, these examples are illustrative of wider migrant home-making

practices. Combined with the literature I bring to bear in this thesis, the data analysed here highlights some of the tools drawn upon in everyday migrant home-making to aid in the negotiation between places and homes. The example of Becky in this instance is particularly useful for exploring the impacts of legal status upon the kinds of practices which may be restricted or indeed catapulted into a position of critical importance in processes of home-making.

4.2.5 Conclusion

I conclude by bringing this discussion back to the focus of section 4.2 as a whole: the importance of food as a form of material culture. Through the arguments and data presented above, we can understand food-based practices as a means to navigate the liminal space within which many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers dwell, particularly those in the asylum system such as Becky and her family as a result of their undecided status (Gennep 1960; Turner 1987; Griffiths 2014). The use of the performative act of sourcing and preparing food enables many of the women to negotiate *between* places in such a way that they can ease the dislocation that migration often causes. These examples demonstrate the highly complex and multi-sited nature of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006), making the case that migration problematises the idea of home as fixed and rooted in place. Instead, the discussions presented in section 4.2 present the possibility that we might reframe home as not only plural, but as that which must be negotiated. As such, migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women often find home in the embodied and performative everyday rituals that grant them access to the capacity to connect times and places. This is most evident in food-based practices, as is the focus of this section. Below, I focus upon the engagement of food in reciprocal acts of sharing and gift-giving, developing the analysis of the role of food in everyday migrant home-making practices.

4.3 Sharing and Gift-giving

'In many cultures, the exchange of food is a most profound way of making social connection'
(Counihan and Kaplan 1998: 3)

'The Network is like a family, whatever you cook, or those extra things, you bring it here, everybody share it. Sharing is the most important' – Seema (2016)

4.3.1 Introduction

In this section I explore the process of incorporating food in the act of gift-giving and discuss how this process facilitates the act of home-making. Food as a vehicle for sharing and reciprocity is highlighted by many of the women as significant to their home-making practices. The value of food as gift is similarly familiar, as Sahlins wrote: 'if friends make gifts, gifts make friends' (1965: 139). Building on the work of the previous section, here I explore the argument that sharing in special occasion rituals with others enables individuals to expand their social networks and learn about the cultural practices of others. The interplay between facilitated and everyday participation (Edwards and Gibson 2016) is then discussed. The argument is made that activities taking place in a facilitated participation context often go on to influence everyday participation, but that without this first facilitated sphere where relationships and connections are made and built, it is difficult to incorporate this into the more everyday realm. Finally, I present an analysis of the ways in which the act of sharing food enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to negotiate between places, fusing together places and social practices. I argue here that through sharing food in ways that mirror previous practices, individuals can not only forge *new* links to people in place, but can also replicate *old* links. The attention paid to participation here helps guide us in answering the questions 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?'.

4.3.2 Sharing in special occasion rituals

Many of the women speak about traditional dishes from the countries they have left and which they cook regularly for themselves, their families and others in their wider networks such as the women in the groups. For a dish to become 'traditional', it must be habitually consumed, not simply by an individual, but a whole cultural group. These dishes then not only serve to satisfy people's tastes, which, Gasparetti argues 'are constructed and modelled around daily habits' (2009: 8), but they also become identity markers through their incorporation into a symbolic level of meaning-making, signifying differences between individuals and groups.



Fig. 24: Farai (2016) – Picture 4

These are my friends...when I went to London...I think Zimbabweans love barbecue! ...

What made you take this photograph?

... because... it shows how we... socialise? ...it's such a typical Zimbabwean social, attribute...if you have a guest or someone's visiting, you have a barbecue...

How does this show what home means to you?

The barbecue...! Just the fact that we're having a barbecue... I spent the whole day at their house. They've got three children, teenagers, and...they were trying to do their homework and someone's trying to make scrambled egg, and it was so...chaotic but it was so much like how we would have been ...when I was growing up so, this whole scenario, we could have just plonked this house

and put it in Zimbabwe and that could have been Zim!

Farai describes the site of the barbecue as a coming together of friends, and muses that the almost all-encompassing experience of it could have been carried out in a different place entirely: 'at 'home''. This quote illustrates the ways in which rituals entail the negotiation of time and place. Their very conception and use during liminal states (Gennep 1960; Turner 1987) demonstrates their capacity to connect times and places in ways which facilitate processes of migrant home-making (see chapter 2 section 2.3.4). Coming together with other Zimbabwean friends in London to participate in a barbecue is demonstrative of how familiar practices and rituals are drawn upon to perform identity in place. Situating herself within the broader group of 'Zimbabweans' and referring to the barbecue as a 'typical Zimbabwean social attribute', Farai is talking here about the *dispositions* she developed during her childhood in Zimbabwe which have travelled with her as she has moved. She

draws here then on the ritual of the barbecue as a 'typical' form of social gathering, and thus makes visible the habitus that she uses to help her to frame her existence in Glasgow. Through this interaction with material culture in the form of ritual, we once more witness this intersection between habitus and performativity.

In addition, Farai speaks in the interview about how her photographs were taken mostly outside of Glasgow, illustrating for her that '*my life in Glasgow is mostly not in Glasgow*'. Her connections to friends in other parts of the world is facilitated through technology, development of transport and her own position of financial stability that enables her to make trips to other parts of the world to continue to foster these relationships, resulting in a lack of need to cultivate a particularly strong network for herself in the city. In figure 24, Farai is in London, and the way she expresses the experience depicted in the image makes it clear that sensory space-time compression entails transporting individuals in body and mind to other places. As such, where these practices are carried out is perhaps inconsequential, given that the focus is on elsewhere. Simply, we might understand that as long as there are means by which one can cultivate this sense of 'being somewhere else', current geographical locations can be surpassed and transcended through the act of everyday and special occasion rituals, which in this instance are food-based.

I also argue here for interconnection of 'routes' and 'roots' in thinking about identity (Clifford 1997). The idea that culture is developed in sites of dwelling and travel is clearly visible here, as we witness the ways that through the embodied everyday and special occasion food-based rituals and practices, the women are able to negotiate between homes, heritage and identities. Further, if we connect this notion to Hall's understanding of culture as a system of shared meanings, and accept that these maps of meaning are a key vehicle for identity (2003), then we can start to make visible the intersections between identity, culture and migration. People move with meanings, and thus meanings are dispersed, and through the continuity, shifting and adding to of everyday and special occasion rituals, practices and performativities, these systems of meaning are circulated. Therefore, as Chambers suggests ([1994] 2001), it is through embodied practices that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers connect with other places and times.

The use of food in not only special occasion rituals but also in the social contract of sharing, in which food is prepared and offered by one person to another, is evident in the example from Olive below. Olive also addresses questions of the importance of participation

beyond the boundaries of the physical home, in order that one might expand one's social networks and sites of familiarity (Hammond 2004), resulting in the possibility of support in important life events such as pregnancy. Here, she explains how food, when imbued with such social and cultural value and given as a gift, enables her to develop and grow the kinds of relationships she had in Zambia which were important to her notions of home: *'I chose this photograph because it talks a lot of friendship. And that friendship's the one that makes you feel integrated...settled'*.

Olive



Fig. 25: Olive (2016) – Picture 5

So this is when I was pregnant with Ryan. My friend from Pakistan called me to the house saying she'd cook me only... Pakistani food, and she told me 'this is what they cook for pregnant women in my country...and this is good for baby' and she was like 'eat, eat, eat, eat!' So I had to taste all this food and... this was all Pakistani... it was a great taste and...she was actually fasting when she cooked me this food...

...if I didn't come out of the house I would have not met this person.

We can see here the articulation of the intricate connection between material culture, people and place, once again expressing the difficulty of separating out the data into comprehensible analytical sections. In this sense, we can understand that home-making draws on a number of different processes and practices. All of which hinge on seeking to cultivate a sense of familiarity in some way, be that through drawing on old familiarities, fostering new familiarities, or indeed an iterative relationship between these two (Back 1996, Williams 1958).

Food as material culture is drawn on heavily in processes and practices of home-making. It serves a number of purposes and fulfils a variety of needs which Olive, like many of the women I interviewed, articulates as important to her sense of home. It is a tangible means of sharing that then enables connections to be made at multiple levels, as is expanded upon in more depth in chapter 5, where I examine the role of people in everyday home-making practices. Here I merely state that it is clear from the data that these multiple levels are important for cultivating a sense of home, and that the making and sharing of food is one tactic for enabling these relationships to be built. Olive tells me of her belief that '*the food itself tells a lot of stories*', thus making clear her understanding that food is laden with symbolic value and meanings which through its entanglement in social processes such as exchange and sharing, might be transmitted. The contextualisation of the preparation and consumption of certain foods, as I witnessed in both the participant observation and interview elements of the research, entailed the women bringing food to groups and explaining each item. Thus, the preparation and consumption of food in everyday and special occasion ritual became entangled in a process of sharing and gift-giving. Further, this process involved blending the spheres of everyday and facilitated participation, as is discussed below.

4.3.3 Food in the facilitated and everyday

It quickly became clear that for many of the women, producing food in their everyday participation and bringing it to share with the groups they attended weekly built an important bridge between the facilitated and the everyday. Providing for the other participants at the group through cooking or baking is an example of the merging of the everyday and the facilitated. This merging also manifests itself in the craft group where individuals often dedicate their spare time to generating craft items for the group at home. Food-based products are multifaceted in their use in these separate but blended spheres. The process of the embodied act of preparing and bringing in food for other attendees serves not only to expand their social networks in the city and to grow their familiar sites (Hammond 2004), but also enables the women to draw on a particular tool of home-making. Below, Seema describes her motivations for baking and cooking for the women's group at Network 1, articulating the relationship as a familiar familial one.

Seema



Fig. 26: Seema (2016) - Picture 6

Does it feel quite important to have things like this that you do in your spare time to take to these groups? Like the baking?...like the baking and I did the cooking last week as well here...because...I don't have a family

here, and I like to make what I make, and like to offer somebody to taste it...The Network is like a family, whatever you cook, or those extra things, you bring it here, everybody share it. Sharing is the most important.



Fig. 27: Seema (2016) - Picture 7

So what does this picture say about how you've made Glasgow home?

As I say, feeding, and sharing and...looking after others as well, not looking after financially or anything but... half an hour or an hour's time just to be hugging, or talking, and that's my home kind of, helping others.

In figures 26 and 27, Seema locates her home in the act of providing for others, not only through food but also time, conversation and support. The practical capacity to prepare food to share with other women who attend these groups is delicately bound up in Seema's home-making practices. Her recognition of the interrelation between material culture and people for her sense of home in this instance is clear. In cultivating relationships through the act of sharing, she is able to aid others in feeling supported, welcomed and as if they belong. We can see here the intricate links between the need for social networks in a place, and the need to foster and cultivate these relationships through the sharing of experiences, food, and time. In acknowledging the surrogate family she has found at Network 1 - *'the Network is like a family'* - and continuing to speak about how many of the women bring things in to share with others, she is addressing the ways in which home-making is an active process. An important aspect of this process is not only the engagement of material culture such as food, in the social contract of gift-giving and sharing (Mauss [1954] 2002), but also the blending of the everyday and facilitated spheres of participation. Through producing food at home to bring to the groups, Seema is able to deepen her sense of home during her time spent in the sphere of facilitated participation.

Also exemplified here is the role of gender in migrant home-making practices. The historical allocation of domestic, food-based labour to the domain of women, and the continuation of this in many of the countries that the women have come from, has resulted in the use of food as a means to 'make home' being a tool with which many participants come equipped. The act of drawing on this tool in both their everyday practices and their facilitated participation as we see occurring here, then, sheds light on two things. First, the ways that the habitus and performativity of gender identity as socialised, learned and embodied 'back home', provide many of the women with an important home-making practice. Second, that this practice not only enables them to cultivate their *own* sense of home, but can also be shared with others and used as a vehicle for social, emotional and physical fulfilment.

We can see here not only that food acts as a vehicle for the creation and cultivation of social relations in a new place, but also that its use is central in the cultivation of familiarity both through experiencing and exchanging different kinds of food, and the bringing and sharing of food prepared from familiar recipes. The relationship between place, people and objects is paramount to this particular home-making practice, but also to food-based

practices more broadly as illustrated in section 4.2. As Mallett writes: 'home then is not simply a person, a thing or a place, but rather it relates to the activity performed by, with or in person's, things and places' (2004: 80). This reading of home is startlingly clear in these illustrated examples from the data, but is only made visible through the interaction between the images taken by the women and the deeper explorations of their content through the photo elicitation method. Below I explore the ways in which food can enable the women to develop connections between places and homes. This discussion has already been touched upon in the examples from those such as Haya, Shumaya and Farai above, but is examined more closely below.

4.3.4 Culinary connections between places

In her work on home Hammond's understanding of 'strategies of emplacement' (2004) reiterates the complex interplay of object, people and place in building an idea which can be conceived of as 'home' in some way. Hammond's research with Tigrayan refugees seeks to draw our attention to the ways in which these strategies involve 'the interworking of place, identity, and practice in such a way as to generate a relationship of belonging between person and place. Emplacement involved the gradual expansion of places that people considered to be familiar and safe from the raw material of a space that was unfamiliar and dangerous' (Hammond 2004: 83). This desire to cultivate the familiar and the certain in an unfamiliar and uncertain space, as is particularly the case for those in the asylum system but as is exemplified in spite of legal status, is demonstrated in the example from Elizabeth below.

Elizabeth

How does this picture talk about what home means for you then?

...The sharing of food, the coming together, the social...because, that would happen in my old church...and...just reflecting on it now...I think that desire when you are coming to look for a group of people who are kind of like minded in this example religion, was quite important. I think it's a link to how you grew up, and we didn't want to lose that, and certainly we didn't want our children to lose that, so I think again it's very common to every mum, you want...to give back with what you believe in, pass it on to your children...



Is there anything else you want to say about the cake photo?

I think...the sharing of food...just bringing people together...I think having that sense...of family. Because we often say that a church family is another family, isn't it.

Fig. 28: Elizabeth (2016) – Picture 8

Elizabeth explains the importance of *'coming together'* and the role food can often play in facilitating this, but also expands this outwards towards a broader desire to recreate social connections and experiences that are recognisable and reminiscent of previous homes. Thus, the importance of participating in things which would happen *'back home'* or be familiar from previous experiences is described by all of the women in some form. Thus, seeking out that which has been previously familiar in a new and unfamiliar space is frequently used as a tool to locate self in place. In addition, the centring of *'bringing people together'* around food is highlighted by many of the women. To recall the words of Counihan and Kaplan (1998) and Sahlin (1965), food is one of the most common forms of material culture used in reciprocal exchange. More readily available and more necessarily shared, its value as a tool of developing social networks is clear, thus it becomes possible to create a sense of *'another family'* as both Seema and Elizabeth express. In this way, maintaining or

negotiating the link between previous homes and everyday practices which make a place feel like home becomes attainable.

I argue that we can see the role of gender and more specifically motherhood at play here. Elizabeth articulates how for her, maintaining the connection with previous practices in Zimbabwe for her kids in Glasgow feels very important to continue the 'link to how you grew up'. In this way, she hopes to invest these memories, practices and this habitus in the habitus of her children. This active decision to continue connections with home-making practices that were part of a repertoire in one place following a move to another is a not uncommon feeling voiced by many of the women. Equally, however, the desire for children to shape their *own* habitus in place, particularly if those children were born in Glasgow or moved there when they were very young, is also expressed. This dance between heritages, homes and identities is not only carried out through the practices of the women themselves, but also in the kinds of practices encouraged in their children. Elizabeth voices her understanding of how her churchgoing practices, the building of another 'family' there and the bringing and sharing of food enables her to maintain a connection with senses and performativities of home and identity in Glasgow. The sharing of food not only develops links to *new* people in a new place, but can at the same time serve to strengthen threads connecting them to *old* people in an old and familiar place.

4.3.5 Conclusion

In the discussions presented above, I argued that the entanglement of the material culture of food in acts of sharing and gift-giving enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to meet a number of different needs which may be present during the process of home-making. Firstly, the importance of engaging in special occasion and everyday ritual with others such as Olive and Farai expressed, is a vital tool for the cultivation of familiarity. This is achieved not only through participating in these rituals with others whose habitus is similar, but also through sharing in new rituals with others. Secondly, food acts as a vital bridge between the spheres of everyday and facilitated participation. This can then enable those who prepared food or craft items in their spare time to bring and share with the groups, to blend together these aspects of home and expand and strengthen their familiar social networks, generating a feeling of 'extended family'. Finally, I discussed the ways in which sharing in food-based practices could facilitate the connection and negotiation between multiple places and sites of

belonging. Below, I expand upon these themes, analysing the role of memory in everyday home-making practices that revolve around material culture.

4.4 Memory and Meaning-making

4.4.1 Introduction

'I think the more you become familiar with something and, as long as...it's nice memories rather than bad memories...it sort of attaches itself to your idea of home' – Alexis (2016)

Dudley argues that the act of remembering 'always occurs in and / or through the body and in the present' (2010: 8). If we understand this to be the case, which I demonstrate in this thesis to be so by outlining home-making practices relating to memory, the material and embodiment, then we must understand that the body acts as a mediator between the physical environment and the memories and experiences that an individual carries around with them. As such, to look at the ways that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers 'remember' other places through embodied performativities is to acknowledge the ways that when imbued with such value that memory affords, and when engaged in performative acts, material culture can facilitate the navigation *between* homes, heritages and identities. Through this process, one is able to make sense of self in place, and thus work to make home within and between places.

This section begins by examining the role of performativity in heritage and the home, exploring both the personal use of heritage and the attachment of certain practices to wider cultural groups. It argues that material culture is integral to heritage work, both in relation to personal performativity and heritage negotiation and broader cultural practices. It then discusses the intertwining of memory and the material, arguing that material culture is a vital tool that may be used in the negotiation and performativity of heritage and identity. It concludes by examining how memories are displayed within the home in the form of material culture, arguing that legal status determines the nature and quantity of the material culture which may be transported. This concluding argument builds a framework for the first argument presented in chapter 5 which examines the role of children in shaping migrant

home-making practices. Through this discussion, I am able to address the research questions: ‘what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?’ and ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?’.

4.4.2 Performativity and heritage in the home

The discussions illustrated by the data in this section examine two key types of memory in migrant home-making. Coloma’s photograph explores the more personal, individual way in which memory can infuse material culture and facilitate the negotiation between homes, whilst Mary articulates her sense-making process in terms of learning more about the ‘*method of the life in here.*’ The role of heritage in migrant home-making is scrutinised here, and we understand these two experiences as representing the processes of drawing upon the previously familiar and of cultivating familiarity through learning and embodiment of new practices.

Coloma



This is a picture of my kitchen...So I brought this...oil dispenser... from my house in Spain, because we had an extra one... in my house in Spain it's always out and on the table, because you use it in almost every meal... and I've seen it all my life...

Fig. 29: Coloma (2016) - Picture 9

Are there any memories that this photograph makes you think about?

...it kind of reminds me of the kitchen in the house that I grew up in...I think I just like kitchens as a room to be in, there's lots of important activities going on in the kitchen... the kitchen in the house where I grew up was the most communal room... and the same with the kitchen in this flat... So I guess it's that sense of like... it just reminds me of that other room where I have so many memories, as I've spent so much time there.

The presence of select objects in Coloma's home in Glasgow such as the oil dispenser, facilitate the familiar connection to performative culinary practices. This helps to ease some of the disorientation which moving from one place to another, and indeed *between* those places throughout the year, can bring. Coloma adds features to her home which create links between homes, due to the memories of her kitchen in her home in Spain. These memories are poured into objects such as the oil dispenser, and consequently poured back out of and dispensed into her current home in Glasgow. This active process of home-making enables her to take some space of the kitchen under control (Douglas 1991), thus contributing to her sense of ownership over place given her embodied, active work carried out within it to shape it into the kind of home she wants to live in.

The refraction of memory through the oil dispenser captured in the photograph is evident (Tolia-Kelly 2006). Highlighted here are the ways that material culture can be a powerful tool for the negotiation between homes, heritages and identities, both in and of themselves as objects, but also when enlivened by memory through performative acts such as cooking. Coloma is citing the use of oil in cooking as a common trait in the kinds of foods she used to eat regularly in Spain, to recreate and repeat embodied performativities in Glasgow. These performativities are made visible both through the move from one 'field' to another, to borrow Bourdieu's phrase (1984), and through the capturing of this process in using the photo elicitation method. Thus, the exploration of home-making practices of those who move allows us to bring to light the complex archive of dispositions and embodied performativities and practices. It is these practices which Bourdieu and Butler argue contribute to sense and meaning-making of self in relation to the world around us (Bourdieu 1990; Butler 1990). We can see heritage clearly at play here in the form of habitus and performativity in the example from Mary below. Returning to the past and that which is familiar and remembered can only occur through the body in the present. As such Ashworth,

Graham and Tunbridge's (2007) understanding of heritage is made tangible, and Dudley's (2010) conception of memory as always experienced through the body is brought to light.

Mary

How do you make sense of where you belong in Glasgow?

...just now, in the first I have to learn more English, more culture and more method of the life in here.

How are you doing that?

*... just by an example I can tell you. In Iran when you are my guest, just you knock the door and I open the door. Come here and sit down. I bring you something for you. And I interested to have it, tea, coffee, fruits, cakes, biscuits anything. But here, last Saturday, one of my husband's friends he came to my house. And he was standing and I thought 'he's not sitting!' and he asked me to my husband 'may I sit here?' it was very surprise for me and after that I told to my husband, 'here, you should say 'sit here', or 'sit there or sit there''. You should ask them. And you should ask for the coffee or the tea only once. Not in Iran 'please, please! One more! One more!' *laughter* Because we do it in Iran!*

The analysis of the extracts from the interviews with Coloma and Mary above demonstrates the ways in which the women are carrying out both memory work through drawing on old knowledge and familiarities (Williams 1958) and 'regrounding' work (Ahmed et al 2003) through the cultivating of new knowledge and familiarities. Mary's discussion of the difference between Glaswegian and Iranian ways of offering coffee to guests in the home and her conscious effort to embody new practices herself speaks to this interplay between old and new which Back (1996) and Williams (1958) explore in their discussions on identity and culture respectively. Back understands identity to be formed in the complex space between that which is fixed and that which is in flux, and Williams argues that culture occurs in the interaction between old and new knowledge. The tools drawn on by the women to return to the past through memory in the present, whilst also creating new memories are highly intricate, subtle and complex.

Noble (2013) draws on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field to analyse experiences of migrant resettlement. Bourdieu, he writes: 'insists upon the 'ontological

complicity' of the habitus with the 'field' in which it is positioned. Yet the transformations experienced through migration when the 'practical mastery' of the games of social life is no longer automatically effective suggest that complicity cannot be taken for granted, but needs to be subject to examination' (2013: 351-352). We can see exhibited above precisely this process. Mary explains that her learned embodied Iranian customs no longer fit into life in Glasgow, particularly given that she is keen to spend more time with non-Iranians given that she has always felt: '*I don't think I belong to Iran*'. More broadly, ultimately what migration triggers in home-making practices is an almost inevitable consciousness of one's practices and habitus in the face of these 'games of social life' no longer fitting in with the field in which one now finds oneself.

It is in the meaning given to material culture through heritage (Ashworth and Graham 2005) that these materials are imbued with symbolic value, and thus how they are used in everyday practices reveals their use as a tool to negotiate notions of home and identity in place. Of the recollection of memories as triggered by various material objects, Tolia-Kelly writes that 'through these means of reconnecting, individuals make a collage of safety, security, familiarity and, above all, an affirmation of identity' (2006: 170). It is this 'collage of...familiarity' that I find particularly useful as it articulates the multiplicitous nature of identity and home. Here I argue that this 'collaging' involves both the recollection of old and the creation of new memories in place through material culture.

The interaction with material culture in everyday life as a means to construct and negotiate identity and the degrees to which this is performed, can not only be seen as an articulation of the cultural value of individuals and groups, but can also tell us more about the multiple narratives that exist alongside one another in the home-making process. Buciek and Juul follow this line of argument, stating that the refraction of memory through material culture results in artefacts contributing to 'create a formal and informal connectedness with national cultures and citizenship as part of an embodied practice of 'making homes' among immigrants' (2008: 111). Hannerz echoes this line of thought in his argument that 'as people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of traveling even when people stay put, territories cannot really contain cultures' (1996: 8). For Coloma and Mary, as they have moved to a new place, they have carried with them different meanings and identifications; Mary taking this further by endeavouring to learn new meanings. Both examples entail the negotiation between the past and the present in a process of meaning and sense-making.

Smith understands heritage as a process in which values and meanings are negotiated and worked out, describing it as 'the cultural processes of meaning and memory making and remaking rather than a thing' (Smith 2006: 74). This meaning is constructed through employing heritage in the present, moulding it according to the contemporary context, and using it as a guide to understand the narratives that exist within place (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2007). It is through everyday participation and interaction with material culture and the symbols we surround ourselves with that these meanings are worked out and presented through the performativity of our identities. In the above examples Coloma and Mary articulate the importance of learning new ways of interacting with old ways of being, be that through continuing practices and returning to the past through material culture, or through performing acts in new ways. These examples exhibit the repetition and internalisation of old and new home-making practices. Both are consigned to the domestic sphere, and both centre on food-based practices and the sharing of these with others in a social space. Crucially, both Coloma and Mary demonstrate two different processes of making sense of habitus. Where Coloma discusses drawing on previous embodied dispositions to make sense of self in place, Mary describes how she is actively working to embody new ones. Below, I analyse the process by which material culture is transformed from the mundane to the meaningful through the act of migration.

4.4.3 Memory and material culture

This chapter focuses on the role of material culture in the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. In this section, however, I directly address the complex and vital relationship between memory and material culture. I argue that material culture acts as a highly effective vehicle through which memories can be channelled and other places refracted (Tolia-Kelly 2006). The example from Justice below illustrates the process through which material culture and objects can attain an almost mythical quality. Thus, objects that were used by oneself in the past during a different life in a different home, become imbued with new meaning as a result of this act of leaving homes behind.

Justice

When you and your family moved to Glasgow was it important to you to bring stuff that...represented where you'd come from?

...because I was a child I was 8/9 years old at the time...it didn't feel like anything cos I wasn't having those deep thoughts about... 'I should bring this toy with me', but it was interesting cos... the house that we lived in, now our distant cousins, they live in the house... when we went back to the house...You feel like you know, memories like 'aaww, this was my room and this was where I slept' but then, it doesn't belong to you anymore that owning thing...someone else lives there...and then for example...there was a cupboard... an extra room where we kept our stuff, they've never touched it so that was nice of them. And when unlocked it we found... stuff that belonged to us... in very old condition...

How did it feel opening that cupboard?

We had to break through cos we lost the key and they never went in... For me it was interesting to find out stuff from my childhood... And I found my box of like pens, and pencils... I took them back here!

Oh really? Where've you put them?

It's in my pencil case!...The pencil, I never use it because if I use it it's gonna run out and...The pen is not working anymore cos of the ink!...

So, are those important objects for you then?

Yeah cos... it shows like, what I used when I was a child so... you know it was like touching to have that.

Justice makes it very clear here that the nature of her move to Glasgow as a refugee from Turkey, as well as her age at the time of moving directly impacted upon her family's capacity to travel with any of the objects that filled the house in which she grew up. Returning to this house, finding objects that she used as a child and bringing them back to Glasgow allows Justice to imbue an almost reverential memory into them in the face of the lack of other familiar objects. Although the pen no longer works and she doesn't use the pencil in order to preserve it, she is now able to connect place and time through this act of transforming these objects into artefacts; relics of the past and time spent in another home. Thus, Justice uses material culture as a vehicle through which to access the past and refract memory (Tolia-Kelly 2006). The contrast between the fact that the house itself no longer

belongs to her family and the reclaiming of these small items, draws attention to this process of reclaiming some ownership over her previous home, however small (Douglas 1991).

We can see here Tolia-Kelly's assertion that material cultures 'are critical in relation to the new sites of identity-territory relations; memory-history is activated in relation to the new context of living' (2006: 151). In channelling previous homes into her pencil case in Glasgow, Justice constructs a private and highly personal means of relating between places and times through having this tangible link to her childhood in Turkey. The memory-history here is a means to connect to a more innocent time, when her sense of home was perhaps almost taken-for-granted. She describes how upon leaving Turkey, given her age, she was not having '*deep thoughts*' about what to take or even what leaving really meant. Justice expresses that she is now much more conscious and reflective about questions of home, heritage and identity. The process of reflecting upon 'home' as an idea has been given the space and time for her through her work with the Alevi youth group and her involvement in theatre. As such, her return to her old family home occurs through a new lens, in which nostalgia enters the frame.

Temporal separation is a result of the experience of nostalgia (Blunt and Dowling 2006), an experience that leaves many treading the fine line between 'here and now' and 'there and then'. Here, Deleuze and Guattari's notion of rhizomes (1988) is useful to understand how multiple nodes are connected, not only to different *places* but also different *times* between which individuals travel to conjure feelings of familiarity and home. Some of the women described how they missed the countries they had come from but only as they knew them at a particular time before war or political unrest brought about transformations, making it unrecognisable in their minds and memories. The temporal separation that nostalgia conjures (Mauss [1954] 2002) is at once perpetuated and eased through the carrying of these small items of stationery in Justice's pencil case. For Justice, home relates to both the physical home and the people one shares that with: '*when I think of home, I literally think of home...having a shelter and being in the house, so for me home now is where I stay, with my parents, my brother and sister*', but it also relates to the ways in which once left behind, these places can be located within the material.

We can see the interplay here between material culture, place and people, as framed by temporality. Justice goes to her past home through her childhood stationery. We can understand from this that feelings of home are often captured within and refracted through

the material, enabling individuals and groups to travel between homes through memory. The material is then able to serve as a trigger for that which is familiar during a time of transition or in a place which is unfamiliar. This idea is echoed in section 4.3.4, where it was argued that through culinary practices, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers can go to previous homes and feel as though they were there, thus once more demonstrating the power of the material to conjure and hold within it ideas of home. Below I consider the ways in which memories are displayed within the home, both channelling the old and creating the new. Both of these processes were valuable to many of the women I worked with, although this varied according to legal status and personal preference in decorating the home.

4.4.4 Memories on display: old and new

The memory work illustrated by Justice in the previous section also sheds light upon the process of locating memories in objects which are displayed within the home (Miller 2001). Although I am covering a wide range of practices revolving around aspects of home-making such as memory and identity work, at the core of these practices and binding them together is the way in which they are used to cultivate familiarity, facilitating the negotiation between homes, heritages and identities. In this chapter I analyse the multiple ways that the intangible, ephemeral and highly complex process of home-making and navigation of habitus is made manifest in the everyday performative practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Below, I demonstrate that the attribution of value to and displaying of material culture in the home is another facet of migrant home-making that enables individuals to manage the symbols and memories which they surround themselves with in their private, domestic space, and the ways that this connects them to wider questions of belonging outside of the domestic domain. Where Lydia exemplifies drawing upon old memories in her home decoration, using primarily items from her childhood home in South Africa, Vivienne displays photographs of her son, whose achievements in Glasgow have enabled her to feel at home in the city. These two distinct approaches to decorating and displaying memories in the home are both tools which can be used in the home-making practices of those who move.

Lydia

...That picture just above the telly, that was in my parent's... actually it's from their living room... In Johannesburg...I didn't really like the paintings they had but I kept this one because... it shows a tiny tiny little fishing village in Carneston which is in the Cape, and it's just very beautifully done and when I look at that... it's so evocative of the Cape from the Cape sky and landscape...I've put it above the telly not deliberately but I suppose in a way it's my window home...not home but my window back...



Do you have many other objects in your house that make that connection between those two places?

I have, in all the rooms I've got some...

Fig. 30: Lydia (2016) – Picture 10

Does that feel quite important?

Yeah.

Why?

...Because...first of all I liked my parents' objects...and actually there's a coffee table which was my mum's as well, it was made for them...they feel really African. And even my bedroom, I've got my mum's old chest of drawers as well, which again was made for her when she got married, and they're beautiful pieces...so I suppose I have all over the house dotted...so I do have a connection to them in the house.



Do you think that's a connection to place or people or both?

Er, both I think.

Fig. 31: Lydia (2016) – Picture 11

The 'feeling' conjured up for Lydia by these objects which she has on display in her home, is central to her home-making practices in Glasgow in that they enable her to reconnect to place and people simultaneously, once more articulating the interconnection between the three analytical frames of object, people and place. The display of her parent's handmade furniture in Lydia's house in Glasgow, similarly to Justice's childhood stationary, connects not only to place – given her assertion that they 'feel very African' and provide a 'window back' – but also speak a narrative of time as well. Reminiscent of a time before she was born, these artefacts are at once relics of her parents' past and full of echoes of a past within her memory, of her life in South Africa.

Not only do these objects contain within them a connection to her parents and feelings of previous homes, but Lydia also speaks about their aesthetic quality as objects, thus fulfilling several avenues of her home-making practices. Firstly, they fulfil her desire to make her physical home into a space she enjoys being in and filled with objects which she finds pleasing. Her home is where she spends a lot of time, and she tells me: *'it surprised me to see how...even though I'm not there much...I really invest emotionally a lot of energy and a*

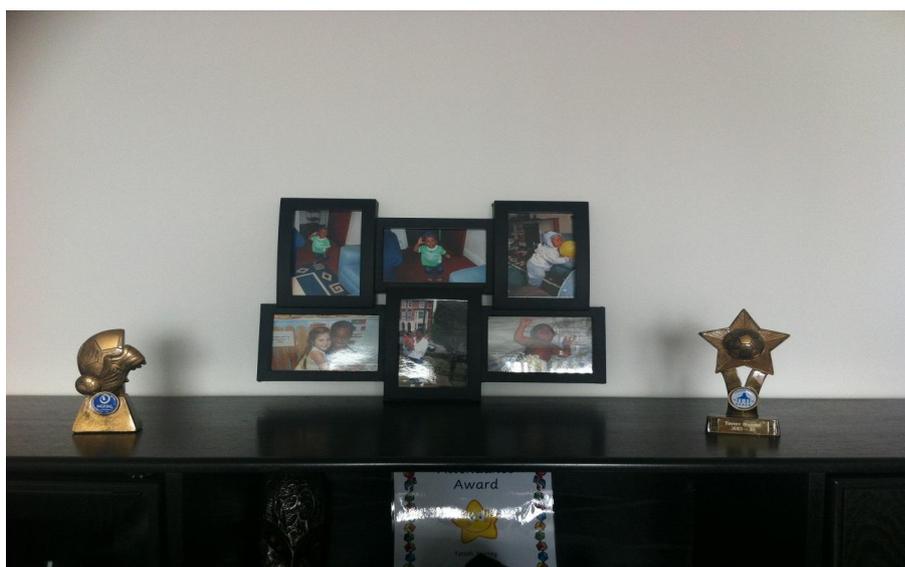
lot of my...core sense of who I am in the world in this place, in that little space'. Thus, as objects in themselves, they enable her to make this space into a space she feels at home in. Secondly, they connect her to important people in her life, who, through this link of old belongings transferred to her, she is able to maintain a connection with. Finally, as a result of their being made in South Africa, her familiarity with them as items in her parents' house growing up as a child and the movement of these objects into her *own* home in Glasgow, they serve to connect her to place. Thus, familiarity, of place and people, is experienced as a *feeling* and imbued within the material. The significance of the physical home as a space where she carries out a lot of her identity work demonstrates that given the voluntary circumstance of her move to Glasgow in which she was able to bring many items across with her, the act of *decorating* and furnishing the house is part of the process of making sense of self in place, creating a microcosm as places and times come together in this one space.

This notion is further emphasised in figure 30 where Lydia speaks about the painting displayed above the television. Although unintentionally located there, she tells me: *'it's my window home...not home but my window back...'*. This 'window' and its situation within her home – above the television which also can be understood to act as a 'window' to other places and times – enables her to transport herself 'back'. Lydia's initial use of the word 'home' and decision to switch to the word 'back' demonstrates the ways in which the act of migration and the consequential re-homing that then occurs, toys with senses of time and place. There is a recognition that situations in those places are changing and may indeed no longer *feel* like home should a return occur, although many of the other women identified 'home' as the places they had left. This seemed to vary depending on ability and intention to return, and often saw individuals creating two 'types' of home. The continued identification of a place as 'home' enables individuals to maintain a connection with a place in which they feel and can perpetuate a sense of belonging. However, the desire to create new memories, learn new customs, and call Glasgow 'home' can often be witnessed more strongly in those with children, as I turn my attention to now, and as is explored in greater detail in chapter 5, section 5.2.2.

The example below is reminiscent of the themes explored in section 4.2 where an analysis of the meaning-making which occurs in everyday and special occasion ritual was presented. I argued that embodied engagement with material culture in both everyday and special occasion ritual serves different purposes but seeks the same ends: the negotiation

between homes, heritages and identities. Here, relating to material culture more broadly, we see a similar process occurring. Through the decoration of her home with objects celebrating particular occasions such as the birth of her son, achievements he has won or his birthday, Vivienne is expressing how crucial his happiness, future and achievements in Glasgow are for her own sense of home. It acts a vehicle for Vivienne to embed herself within the community, as exemplified in the gifting of Cristiano Ronaldo football boots from a neighbour.

Vivienne



This is his football here...he achieved this in summer time, this one got his name... This one, he achieved one while we were still in Springburn, in the former football team, this one is for here.

Fig. 32: Vivienne (2016) – Picture 12

You're a very proud mum.

Yes, yes.

So moving to a different part of Glasgow has been hugely important?

*Oh yes... I couldn't believe, really. I said to my friend this morning 'my dear, for us to move in this area, we see people from Scotland the way they are.' Awesome people like that...other one down there, he gave my son these shoes for his birthday! *laughter* football shoes because they know.*

Wow! That's amazing!

It's not only just football shoes, it's ... Cristiano Ronaldo. His boots.



Fig. 33 : Vivienne (2016) – Picture 13

These items take up space within Vivienne's home, leaning against the door in the kitchen, in the hallway, on top of the shelving unit in the living room. This demonstrates the ways in which T's life in Glasgow, his friendships and accomplishments are taking up space in Vivienne's own life in Glasgow. In this way new memories come to inhabit new spaces and new connections are built through repeated interactions and play shared amongst the children in the area. Gifts are offered by neighbours and friends in the form of presents for T and childcare for Vivienne. Through the displaying of symbols in her home which represent community, or *'family'* to use Vivienne's word, she is actively demonstrating the important role of these networks in enabling and facilitating the home-making practices of herself and her son.

They're symbols I suppose of community, aren't they?

Exactly, not just community, we are family.

This complex web of people, places and objects is once again made visible here. Vivienne is demonstrating the ways that she is channelling her home-making efforts into the happiness and wellbeing of her son, who she says *'can see there's no dad in this house'*. The effect of this is that she seeks to emphasise to him what they have in their *'beautiful home'*, and to work within it to create and display new memories and connections with others within the domestic space. Section 4.4.4 has demonstrated that the type and quantity of material culture brought from one place to another and displayed in the home is shaped by legal status. For those who move under less stable circumstances, the bringing of objects is often not possible, as Justice explained in section 4.4.3. In these instances, new material culture is often gathered and retroactively imbued with old memories, such as the Somalian friends of Dahabo who purchased Somali goods from London to create a home whereby she tells me *'when you go her house, makes you feel like I am living in Somalia!'*. Alternatively, this material culture can have new memories woven into it, as we see with the trophies Vivienne's son has won and which she has placed on display. The delicate dance between old and new is visible here. Drawing on old memories or creating new ones and the relationship which these old and new familiarities have with material culture, is woven in a multitude of ways, each enabling those who move to make sense of self in place.

4.4.5 Conclusion

The arguments presented here have directed us towards a deeper understanding of the ways in which memory interacts with material culture in the production of meaning and value, and the negotiation of homes, heritages and identities in everyday migrant home-making practices. I have engaged in particular with the research questions *'what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?'* and *'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'*. It was firstly argued that the engagement of material culture in performative practices such as cooking entail both a channelling of previously familiar practices into the present and the internalising and embodying of new practices. Both processes can be understood as home-making and both necessitate drawing on the past, but where the former seeks to connect the past with the present, the latter seeks to move away from the past.

The ways in which the process of transforming particular objects into ‘relics’ or ‘artefacts’ of the past engenders a mythical quality in material culture, in which previous places and times could be located and reconnected to was then examined. Finally, the process of enmeshing memories and objects for the purposes of display within the home was analysed. I argued that this process occurred both through drawing upon the previously familiar, and the creation of new memories and familiarities, as was demonstrated by Vivienne’s displaying images of her son’s achievements and social connections in Glasgow. All of the practices brought to light in this section have demonstrated the highly complex nature of home-making and the multiple tools upon which migrants, refugees and asylum seekers can draw as they negotiate and perform their heritages, identities and homes. Below, I conclude this chapter in greater depth.

4.5 Conclusion

Concluding this chapter, it is necessary to reflect back on the data analysed above. There is an important question to address here: that of the interplay between public and private and how this relates to questions of home. In sections 4.2 and 4.3, I analysed the ways in which food-based practices are often used to cultivate a dialogue between everyday and facilitated participation (Edwards and Gibson 2016). Here, I argued that this is clearly valuable for many of the women as a way of reciprocating the experience of sharing and gift-giving at these groups, either in the form of time, food or social exchange. In section 4.4 the lens was expanded to examine material culture more broadly, discussing how it is used in a multitude of ways in the home-making process. This section almost entirely paid attention to practices which take place within the private or domestic sphere. It is important to reflect on what the relationship is here between public and private in the act of home-making, as far as material culture is concerned. To do so is to critically engage with questions of habitus in terms of connecting individual, private acts within the domestic space with wider questions of home, heritage and identity that circulate in the *public* domain and which play an important part in shaping the home-making practices of individuals. It is also important to avoid the decontextualisation of the actions of individuals from wider structures or broader forms of identification.

Mary's example of the 'Glaswegian' way of offering coffee to guests, how this differs to the Iranian approach and how she works to replicate this in her own home, directly addresses this connection between different scales. Although these practices occur within the home, they are fed into from larger frameworks of social identification. Her choice to move away from Iranian customs towards what she understands as local customs is demonstrative of the form of cultivating familiarity through the body which draws on *new* and previously *unfamiliar* practices and bodily repertoires to make sense of self in place. Similarly, the practice of sourcing, preparing and eating Iraqi food in her own home in a way which makes Haya feel as though she is in Iraq as we saw in section 4.2.3, serves to connect her to a much wider sense of Iraqi identity which she feels other families have moved away from, becoming '*more Scottish than...Iraqi*' in their embodied and performative engagement with food.

Many of the women express the importance of 'coming out' of the house to participate in the public sphere, thus highlighting the connections between public and private domains. Through exposure to new performativities and habitus, the women are able to reflect upon their own sense of self and negotiate these concepts in relation to others with whom they have built varying levels of relationship through repeated participation and interaction with. As such then, we can understand that habitus and performativity depend upon people in the sense that they both draw on and cite socially learned bodily dispositions, behaviours and actions in the world. In chapter 4, I have examined the relationship between public and private, individual and social. I have done so through considering three key relationships: 1) material culture and the processes in which it is engaged as a tool for connecting to people and place, 2) everyday and special occasion ritual and 3) imbuing old and new memories and meanings into objects that are displayed in the house.

In addition to bringing to bear the relationship between public and private spheres, the analysis presented in chapter 4 has also helped to illustrate the argument that home-making processes are often tied up in the material in ways which facilitate the negotiation *between* places and times in everyday migrant home-making. Material culture proves to be an indispensable tool for migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women, but the value manifests itself in different ways depending on the restrictions faced as a result of these different legal statuses. The sourcing and making of particular, often familiar foods, is an example given by women regardless of these restrictions. This culinary tool also enables the

melding together of everyday and facilitated participation, as articulated in section 4.3.3. For others, the capacity to bring objects from one home to another enables them to surround themselves with relics of the past; signifiers and symbols of their identity which come to inhabit the present and their everyday lives. For women with children, these processes are largely oriented towards the children, as is discussed in chapter 5, section 5.2. The children's participation in Glasgow and consequential tokens of this participation are often primarily what is displayed within the home. The interaction between old and new memories is stark here, and the creation of new memories through the participation of children is often represented through material culture, thus demonstrating the complex enmeshing of places and times in the process of identity, home and heritage negotiation.

To conclude then, in the face of migration, home is navigated through an intricate and highly complex interaction with material culture, which is shaped both by gender and legal status. The resulting practices allow the women to draw on memories, tools and the habitus they already have at their disposal to 'reground' (Ahmed et al 2003). This chapter has argued that these practices demonstrate the weaving of known practices with the learning of new ones. This takes place through both the intentional and subconscious internalisation of these practices in the body, and the reworking of self in place through everyday and special occasion ritual, sharing, and decoration. The memory and identity work illustrated in this chapter is an ongoing process and undergoes constant dialogue between places and times as the women seek to make sense of home. Having illustrated the intricate relationship between object, people and place and analysed the ways in which material culture is engaged socially, I turn now to an exploration of role of people and the social in the home-making practices of those who move.

5. People: the Social Home

5.1 Introduction

'That's my home kind of, helping others' – Seema (2016)

The importance of social interactions to the process of migrant home-making is difficult to ignore. Habitus, heritage, identity and the interplay between these concepts are rooted in broader social networks of identification in two key ways. First, through social interactions with others and the development of social networks as is the primary focus of section 5.2 and second, through the social in the more abstract sense of the role society plays in everyday home-making and identity work, addressed in section 5.3 and 5.4. As such, research on home *must* consider the social in these two senses (Massey 1992; Olwig 1998). Where the previous chapter sought to understand the role of material culture in home-making as embroiled in practice and ritual, the focus here lies with the ways in which the negotiation and performativity of heritage, home and identity is worked out through relationships with people.

Section 5.2 begins by analysing the role of children in the participation the women engaged in and thus the cultivation of home and familiarity in an unfamiliar territory. I argue that children often act as an important bridge between places. This occurs both through their adoption of new practices as a result of exposure to different habitus (Bourdieu 1990) in the new place of residence, and through the ways that they often shape the participation of the women, for example during school-runs or attending mother and child groups. Additionally, the argument is made that for women without children, their participation is framed differently, and the needs addressed by this participation are their own. Section 5.3 then explores the role of language, examining the ways in which language facilitates identity performativity, analysing the relationship between language and participation. I draw on performativity theory (Butler 1990) to argue that the embodied performative characteristic of language enables migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women to negotiate between homes, transporting place linguistically.

Finally, section 5.4 examines the role of people in identity work. Having already developed the argument that people are integral to the process of identity work and performativity in chapter 4 section 4.4, in this section I consider the role of the *social* in identity work. Here I demonstrate the interplay between broader social structures of identity and belonging and individual identity work, arguing that both spheres seek to cultivate familiarity by either drawing on old knowledge and familiar practices or exposure to new knowledge and new practices (Williams 1958). The particular focus of this analysis is faith-based practices, given the propensity of such practices to articulate this interaction. I conclude this chapter by drawing together the evidence to argue that home, heritage and identity are engaged in an ongoing process of negotiation, construction and development (Back 1996; Ahmed 1999). This process entails a dialogue between places and times, through embodied practices and performativities that are tightly enmeshed in the social. In the discussions presented here, I answer the following question in particular: ‘how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?’.

5.2 Family Ties

5.2.1 Introduction

*‘...It’s a lot easier to meet people or integrate in the community I think either if you have a small child or a dog *laughter*’ – Farai (2016)*

Section 4.4.4 of chapter 4 discussed the displaying of objects in the homes of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women, illustrating that for women with children, these objects often represent the achievements and lives of their children in their new place of residence. Here, I expand this discussion to analyse the ways in which children impact upon everyday migrant home-making practices, before discussing the role of family more widely in negotiations of home. The data is used to explore the argument that in the context of migration, children can act as both a vehicle for home-making and as a tool for facilitating certain kinds of participation that do not exist for women who do not have children. I then

explore the role of technology in the presence or absence of family members in Glasgow, illustrating the ways in which technology enables the women to transport people who are in other geographical locations *into* their current place of residence, thus easing some of the dislocation that occurs as a result of migration. The data analysed here speaks to the core research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?'

5.2.2 Children and participation

For women with children, their everyday participation is predominantly shaped by the needs of their children. This is clearly visible in the fact that a number of the photographs taken by many of the mothers, particularly those whose children were younger, were of their children. This is an interesting and enlightening influence to explore as it demonstrates that home and home-making practices often revolve heavily around people. However, what is also evident in many of the interviews conducted with mothers is that interactions with other women through their facilitated participation at the Integration Networks are also integral to the development of friendships independently of their children.

Here, the question at stake examines the impact of the presence of children in the current country of residence upon the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. It is clear that many of the women with children focus their gaze beyond and outside their *own* wellbeing, perceiving their own wellbeing to be *attached* to that of their children, thus often facilitating different kinds of home-making practices from women without children. This is exemplified in Farai's quote above, where she vocalises her feeling that without children to act as a bridge between people it is harder to meet people and integrate into the community. Below, she further details the role of being a mother in her everyday participation, describing how this would be different were she living in Zimbabwe, primarily as a result of a lack of social networks in Glasgow.

Farai

What part of your idea of home is this connected to?

...This is... school run type of routine... maybe if I didn't live here, if I was at home, I would probably have someone else pick Adrian up... but here... I don't have the networks...



Fig. 34: Farai (2016) – Picture 14

...you were in Nottingham before...have Nottingham and Glasgow been different experiences in terms of home?

I think Nottingham was...slightly different because it was so much closer to my sister...in Birmingham...50 miles away... one of my... cousins lives there so her kids were...babysitters...and... because I'd just had Adrian when we were in Nottingham so I had

all these... post-natal classes...so...I used to go somewhere to feel like part of the community...and...through those networks met...a couple of mums... we then became friends and we would have lunch... I do think it makes a difference when you have a young child. You're more likely to engage...outside your regular routine...whereas now I'm just comfortable, I don't even drop Adrian at the school gate now, I sit in the car and drop him off and he knows where I'm parked when it's pick up time...

The change in experiences of home for Farai as a result of her child growing older and a move away from her family in Nottingham, highlights the ways in which young children can shape participation, and the ease with which this is enabled by the volume of 'mother and baby' groups. Figure 34 and the accompanying quotes demonstrate the importance of spaces such as the Integration Networks for women with children, particularly when they are very young. The isolation that can occur as a result of early parenthood can be combatted by making connections with others through attending groups such as those described by Farai. This image catalyses conversation about Adrian's early years, and enables Farai to speak about how her participation in groups with him facilitated her feeling 'like part of the community'. She contrasts this sense of 'amongstness' with her current sense of comfort with her routine, resulting in her engaging outside of this everyday routine significantly less

than she used to. This is partly as a result of Adrian's age, and partly as a result of the diminishing sense of need given her network of friends in other places.

Farai mentions that if she were 'at home' she would have someone else pick up her son, implying that her ability to rely upon the social networks she would have in Zimbabwe for everyday routines, such as picking up her son from school, would free up time for her to spend doing things other than parental duties. Instead, in Glasgow, the networks she has built in the past are the ones which are continued across space through the regular travel she makes to visit friends. As such, she has less of a desire to build networks in the city she lives in. Adrian is 12 and goes to school and so the only way for her to meet other mums, given that they can no longer attend mother and baby groups, would be to actively engage in relationships with other parents doing the school run. The 'need' for developing friendships that Grace articulates below, is not there for Farai given her already existing network of friends across the globe whom she is able to visit more regularly due her financial stability and legal status. As such, although her daily routine is shaped by her son in this way, it does not bleed into wider spheres of participation in the form of friendships made with other parents, as it does for Grace.

Grace



What does this photograph show about your life in Glasgow?

*...I'm so happy because my kids are going to school *laughs*...this is part of my life... As a mum. You go to school with them, you pick up them. This is my daily life...*

Fig. 35: Grace (2016) – Picture 15

...Are there any photographs that you didn't take for any reason?

*Yes yes! So, I didn't take any photo...of my friends, because I was shy to ask, but this is part of my life as well: going to school, in the past this is something I wasn't doing. You know I go, I just pick up my kids and...now...say hello to mums, chatting about our kids sometimes, honestly when I go to school it's like I'm famous *laughter* I know everybody here! And this wasn't the case in 2014! ...So...going to school with the girls...I feel integrated because I know people, people know me...When I was back home, people...know you and can chat to you and you came here and you are anonymous? And now it's like it's coming back, at school, 'hello! Hello!' and I like it! *laughs**

The interconnection between people and place as overarched by temporality is made apparent here. Grace's way of interacting with people in previous homes contrasts with the way in which she interacted with people upon first moving to Glasgow. Her anonymity in the city served to alert her to the fact that things were different for her here. It was only through this particular type of participation, facilitated by the attendance of her children at school and their arrival in Glasgow two years after Grace, that she could begin to cultivate these kinds of relationships once again. The familiarity of the nature of this interaction in the Côte D'Ivoire is remembered against the experience of not knowing anybody in her early life in Glasgow. Later in the interview she addresses this question of need directly:

'this need to have friends...to connect with people... I'm just thinking this now...I made friends back home because to me it was natural I wasn't...thinking... 'this is my friend, why this not my friend? I... wasn't asking... this kind of question but here, I am asking this question... When someone think that, 'I don't need friends because I have everyone around me', no matter what you will do...because this need is not there.'

This question of 'need' raised here illustrates the core of my argument. Through carrying out their everyday home-making practices, the women are identifying and seeking to address and fulfil certain *needs* as shaped by their legal status and gender. Thus, it is only through this shift from the familiar to the unfamiliar – from 'famosity' to 'anonymity' as is the case for Grace until she attains this 'famosity' in Glasgow – that our previously unconscious practices and participations are brought into the light of our own self-reflection (Bourdieu

1990). In this above quote, we can see this process of self-reflection taking place as Grace thinks through that which was previously unquestioned and simply occurred 'naturally'. Grace articulates her understanding of the role of 'needs' in the building of connections '*since I'm here*'. Moving from a place where she describes '*you are brought up... you need people from your tender age, so you trust them...*' to a place where she describes '*you are somewhere else with people you don't know...*' reveals how taken-for-granted practices and relationships can be easily thrown into disarray.

The ways that Grace develops friendships is primarily facilitated through participation shaped by being a mother. Similarly, for Farai, when Adrian was young and she was living in Nottingham, the presence of mother and baby groups enabled her to meet other women with whom she could develop friendships. She also clarifies, however, that she has an expansive friendship network that spans beyond her time as a mother. It is important to remember that many migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women do not have children and thus find other avenues into participation and developing social networks. Although their 'needs' are different - there are no children to take to school or feed - there exist other spheres of facilitated participation which enable women without children to achieve the same ends of expanded social networks as Grace and Farai speak about here. Coloma, Alexis and Justice all engage in facilitated participation that has enabled them to successfully develop not only social networks, but also to develop and negotiate identity. This is particularly evident in Justice's engagement with Alevi youth groups as was illustrated in chapter 4, section 4.2.3.

In the absence of children, the primary needs are those of the women alone, with additional consideration of the needs of others in instances where family members are present or close by. As Shumaya expresses: '*if you are alone, maybe you don't care about your future or you care. It depend on your personality. But if you have family you should worry, you should take care for them. Doing the best for them. For everything...*'. Here, Shumaya acknowledges that the ways in which individuals without children choose to engage in the new place of residence will of course be different for each individual. Similarly, the process of cultivating familiarity varies, with some choosing to draw more on the previously familiar and others choosing to become more familiar with the unknown. It is clear from the data that the presence of children often results in women making certain choices over their participation, considering the ways that certain forms of participation may impact upon the

identity work of their children. This process of negotiating and cultivating the familiar occurs irrespective of whether or not an individual is also a parent. However, as Grace illustrates below, the presence of children can necessitate the seeking out of certain spheres of participation which address the needs of both herself and her children.

5.2.3 Participation and familiarity

Grace



This is... one of my friend, making my kids' hair. I took this photo because...I don't know how to make kids hair, and...in the past it was something I was worrying about because I didn't know where to find someone to make my girls' hair, so I was doing it by myself, but it wasn't great enough and...so...this girl, I

Fig. 36: Grace (2016) – Picture 16

*met her through another girl with whom I was involved in a group...and now it's like...one problem solved *laughs*...to me it's important to have someone to do something...for example in my country, you don't have to look long to find someone to do your hair...but here you have...and going to salon or hairdresser is expensive...so yeah, it was a big problem, and now I have someone to do it.*

So what does this picture say about what home means to you?

Home means to me...being able to go anywhere without ...looking for it longer...for example I was familiar with where to go in my country to make my hairs...but when I came here, I didn't know where to go... when you know where to go, it's like you have roots... I know where to go if I want this particular service. It's freedom.

Grace speaks here about how her everyday participation and home-making practices in Glasgow have served both herself and her daughters. The need to get her own and her daughters' hair done given that she is unable to do it herself, results in a new friendship and a sense of 'freedom'. Grace speaks explicitly here about the ways in which familiarity with where to go to fulfil certain needs enables her to 'reground' (Ahmed et al 2003). The transition from 'the past' where Grace was doing her daughter's hair herself but not to a satisfactory level, to the present where she knows where to go, demonstrates that an important aspect of home-making is temporal. Over time and through participation individuals are able to cultivate networks, knowledge and familiarity and in turn, the expansion of familiar places can contribute to the process of developing a sense of home (Hammond 2004). The addressing of certain issues and the consequential meeting of particular needs fosters a relationship with place which can enable problems to be solved and freedom to be felt and expressed. Once again, the exercise of control over space and practices is articulated (Douglas 1991), as Grace connects ideas of knowing where to go to meet certain needs with ideas of freedom.

Practices and dispositions cultivated through the development of habitus (Bourdieu 1990) become visible and are captured in the photographs the women have taken to explore and explain their everyday home-making practices. To contrast Farai and Grace's experiences then, although as mothers both participate in the school run, the need for this to be a potential sphere for the cultivation of relationships is not there for Farai in the same way as it is for Grace. Thus, as a daily routine this participation bears wider significance for ideas of home for Grace, given that the constellation of social networks of which place consists (Massey [1994] 2001) are already established and a part of life for Farai. Thus, Farai does not consider the development of relationships within Glasgow specifically as a need to be met given her ability to travel to see friends elsewhere with relative ease.

We can see then, that both legal status and the consequential ability to negotiate already existing networks, in addition to the age of the children in question, can impact upon the ways in which migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women with children manage their participation in the new place of residence, and seek to make sense of self in place through these various forms of participation. It may be that the mundane everyday participation often facilitated by the presence of children is simply that, merely serving to punctuate the daily routine. Alternatively, this repeated interaction with other parents can lead to the

development of friendships and thus other forms of participation stem from this branch of the everyday. Having explored the impact of children upon home-making practices, below I examine the impact of the presence or absence of family more broadly. For those whose family are absent from the city, technology enables them to negotiate this distance, where for others the presence of family facilitates the cultivation of familiarity and the development of feelings of home.

5.2.4 Presence and absence: technological travel

Technology offers the capacity to connect to family members in the face of geographical distance, maintaining connections to place through people via the means of technological communication. Urry (2007) and Vertovec's (2001) understandings of the role of technology in migration entails comprehending how it influences the daily lives of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and 'makes possible close and intimate relations across and within borders' (Ozkul 2012: 5). Many participants articulate the ways in which technology enables them to maintain a feeling of home in multiple places, as well as relationships with family who are in different places.

The type of travel enabled by mobile communication facilitates the development of 'interspaces' in which different domains of activity can overlap, creating, or perhaps visibly demonstrating, simultaneity rather than linearity (Vertovec 2001). In this way, the capacity to see family living in other places facilitates this simultaneity, thus enabling a slight easing of the dislocation caused by migration. Vertovec (2001) refers to this process as 'imaginative travel', drawing on the notion of space-time compression (see chapter 2, section 2.3.2). Thus, the dispersal of images *by* those who move via mobile phone apps such as Whatsapp or Viber all contribute to 'new ways of conceiving self and identity' (Urry 2007: 169). In this way, identities become less place-based and more engendered through and reliant upon social networks and relationships.

The data indicates that for almost all of the women, the presence or indeed absence of family in Glasgow has a direct impact upon the cultivation of a sense of home in a place. Even those who expressed feeling little affinity with their countries of origin, do not feel '*100% my home in Glasgow*' (Amelia 2016) because of the dwelling of members of their family in the countries they have left. Here, it is evident that where there is little attachment to place and where home is not to be found in any notion of 'origins' (Ahmed 1999), it can

instead be understood through the lens of the social in the form of social networks. The following quotes from Dahabo and Mary illustrate that in the absence of family, technology serves to bridge gaps between people and place, easing the sometimes gaping hole which can exist between places and people: *“I used to feel far from my family but now I feel we are so close!”* (Author Field notes, 4.2.16). The capacity to maintain networks across space and time through visual technologies enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to regain some control over their situation. This can be seen particularly when it becomes embedded in the everyday routines of the women in Glasgow, as is the case for Dahabo and Mary below:

Dahabo

Do you speak to him?

Every Friday.

How do you speak to him?

Skype, or sometimes we can talk Viber so...he always Friday go to the city, because he living very close to the city, so my uncles have a lot of children so they help to use technology...Maybe half an hour, 20 minutes. He see the kids and me, and he's really happy.

How do you feel when you're speaking to him on Skype or Viber?

*I feel really...I can't touch him, but I can see him *laughs*...and he's like, 'we can see each other every Friday'...because Friday's really important in my culture, Muslim because every Friday you are free, no schools, nothing, like weekend. So, really it makes me happy does technology because I can see my dad, any time I want.*

Mary

Your husband...Does he feel like Glasgow is home or does he miss Iran?

No, no never. I think he's better than me.

Why so?

Because actually, he doesn't talk about my son also...!

Do you visit him [your son] at all?

Just by Skype. Or maybe he send me some photo.

In these examples, technology comes close to bringing people into the same place whilst in some ways compounds the distance through the realisation that the people whose faces are being projected across geographical distance and time are still impossible to reach out and touch. In essence, technology enables those who move to maintain easy connections and contact with people who play or have played a pivotal role in the formation of aspects of their identity, as is the concern of section 5.4. In Mary's example we can see how the absence of children from the current place of dwelling can create a rupture within one's sense of home. For Mary, she does not identify with many aspects of Iran and Iranian culture: *'when you don't like anywhere, anyone, you don't want to remember it. And you don't...think you belong to him... I don't think I belong to Iran'*, but her son's absence from Glasgow and presence in Iran maintains a link between these two places for her. Her participation in daily groups distracts her from thinking about her son, which she tells me she does more than her husband.

Mary states that she visits her son *'just by Skype'*. Although perhaps expressed in this way as a result of her language ability, this expression of visiting her son through technology speaks volumes about how visual technologies facilitate the compression of space and time, a case which is also made by Dahabo. These flows of images, updates and news between family members across space and time enable migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to close this gap in some small way that can make negotiating home, heritage and identity manageable (Olwig and Hastrup [1997] 2005).

5.2.5 Conclusion

By analysing the role of children in the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow, we are able to understand in greater depth the ways in which home can be conceived of as a sense or feeling that is in part bound up in people and the relationships we have with them. It is interpersonal relationships and the socialisation that emerges as a result which are largely responsible for the habitus we come to inhabit and the performativities we come to embody (Bourdieu 1990; Butler 1990). As such then, through migration, this habitus is set against a new backdrop and in relation to

new habitus. Section 5.2 has demonstrated that migration demands the negotiation of senses of self and place in the new site of residence, and has analysed the people-centred processes through which this negotiation can take place. The focus here has been particularly upon familial relationships and has focused on the ways in which these relationships shape the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Thus, the analysis presented in this section has responded to the core research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?'. Building on the arguments made here, section 5.3 discusses the tool of language, moving towards the final section of this chapter where an analysis of the interrelationship between people, home and identity work is at the centre.

Migration and home must be viewed through a gendered lens, as many such as Boyd and Grieco (2003) and others argue (Mahler and Pessar 2006; Silvey 2006 Christou 2011). To side-line questions of gender in these themes is to ignore the base upon which many practices pertaining to home-making, and the reasons for and experiences of migration are built. The images and text from the data illustrated in this chapter highlight the role of gender and legal status within migrant home-making practices. The discussion has illustrated the role of children in facilitating certain kinds of participation, both demonstrating the ways in which children can act as a powerful vehicle for the negotiation of homes and heritages, and arguing that it is the need for the development of social networks in these spaces which determines the depth of participation. Additionally, the analysis has enabled us to understand the role of technology in maintaining connections between pre-existing social networks as individuals migrate. A key element of maintaining these connections is the ability to continue speaking first languages with others. In the following section, I examine the role of language in migrant home-making practices.

5.3 Language and Communication

5.3.1 Introduction

"I don't understand everything but it's just nice to be with people" - (Author Field notes, 18.1.16)

The importance of language recurred repeatedly during fieldwork, and although the sensory dynamics of home are central to this thesis (see chapter 6), the importance of language as a means of communicating with others and developing and maintaining social networks is what concerns us here (Gunew 2003). The importance of being able to speak a first language with others was highlighted by some women. However, it was the capacity to speak English as a tool to participate outside of their own language group which was emphasised in many interviews. A discussion of the role of language in participation opens this section, where it is argued that language has a key part to play in participation. This then leads to a discussion of the ways that language assists self-representation and is entangled in a complex process of meaning-making. The argument here is that language is a vital carrier of symbols, signifiers and references that relate to identity, serving as a tool to understand the cultural values imbued within it. The linguistic signifiers correlate to certain places, and as such I conclude by examining the ways in which language connects to place. Here I explore how the capacity to speak first languages in places other than countries of origin enables the performative playing with place and un-bordering of home, heritage and identity (Robins and Aksoy in Vertovec 2001). The focus of this argument helps to answer the question 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?', as it locates language within the realm of identity performativity.

5.3.2 Language and participation

Section 5.2 explored the role of children in the participation of the women I worked with and here, Shumaya, whose pictures are predominantly of her daughters, presents a photograph of a type of participation entirely her own and relates to her articulation of the value of language. The English group Shumaya illustrates is provided for the partners of students at

the University in which her husband is doing his PhD, where they also provide day trips out for families of the students. Shumaya's participation in this group has facilitated relationships she was unable to make previously, which she largely attributes to her confidence in her language: *'it's very important because I was sitting at home the first year I came here. I don't have anything interesting until I get this class. I went out and meeting friends, having new friends, communicate with the other people, from Glasgow, from other nationality'*. This facilitated participation has enabled her to develop relationships, and given her a tool that she is able to use in her everyday participation: English language skills.

Shumaya

I have one picture ... this is for me.

What's this a photo of?



Fig. 37: Shumaya (2016) - Picture 17

I had English class... It's...year before last year...for the student partners, it's free, every Thursday, good teacher and...it's for a higher level class and...I very enjoy it and I learn more by this class about English and I can understand more, I can speak more... For me it's very important

because I was sitting at home the first year I came here. I don't have anything interesting until I get this class. I went out and meeting friends, having new friends, communicate with the other people, from Glasgow, from other nationality, yeah.

How does this picture show what home means for you then?

It mean, understand others... You can speak, you can say what you...want. Also meeting...lots of friends...

Figure 37, filled with people, speaks of Shumaya's capacity to communicate and build relationships with people through her increasing linguistic ability. This has seen her moving from *'sitting at home'* to participating in parts of the city she may otherwise not have travelled to. The facilitation of participation and the cultivation of familiarity are once again demonstrated as an important layer in the home-making process. Through facilitated participation, it is possible for those who are unfamiliar with their new place of residence to become more familiar. In figure 37, people are core to Shumaya's home-making practices. The capacity to meet, befriend and speak with people is the point Shumaya emphasises here. That she is able to articulate and express herself is clearly felt to be fundamental to not only her everyday participation, but to the cultivation of a social network. Language provides a linguistic link between people and places by facilitating participation beyond the parameters of the home and individuals from the same language group. The tool of language therefore enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities. Below I discuss the value imbued in language more deeply; looking in particular at the way language enables self-representation and meaning-making.

5.3.3 Language, representation and meaning-making

As explored in chapter 2, section 2.5.6, the concept of performativity enables Butler (1990) to argue that gender and identity are made by doing, as opposed to being naturally occurring categories. Thinking specifically about the ways in which performativity enables the boundaries of gender to be played with and expanded, Butler's notion is also applicable to an understanding of identity work through language. Just as gender performativity presents a challenge to tightly drawn boundaries around polarities of male and female, identity performativity through language presents a challenge to tightly drawn boundaries around 'us' and 'them', 'self' and 'other', and 'here' and 'there'. Performativity is useful here as it helps us to see with sharper focus how the women's use and play with language in different contexts enables them to negotiate different aspects of their identity. Through a playful and somewhat fluid approach to language, the women address questions of who 'belongs' and who does not; who can call 'here' 'home' and who is told their ties will always lie elsewhere.

Therefore, performativity is a tool that enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to navigate homes, heritages and identities both for themselves and in the communities they are a part of. Furthermore, performativity enables individuals to respond to any challenges to

where they are able to call 'home'. Participants implied the value of language through illustrating their participation in the city. These images of participation then catalysed reflection upon the ways in which spending time with other women from different backgrounds has enabled them to learn English and learn about the cultures of the other women they share those spaces with. Coloma sought to directly illustrate the role of language in her life in figure 38 below:

Coloma

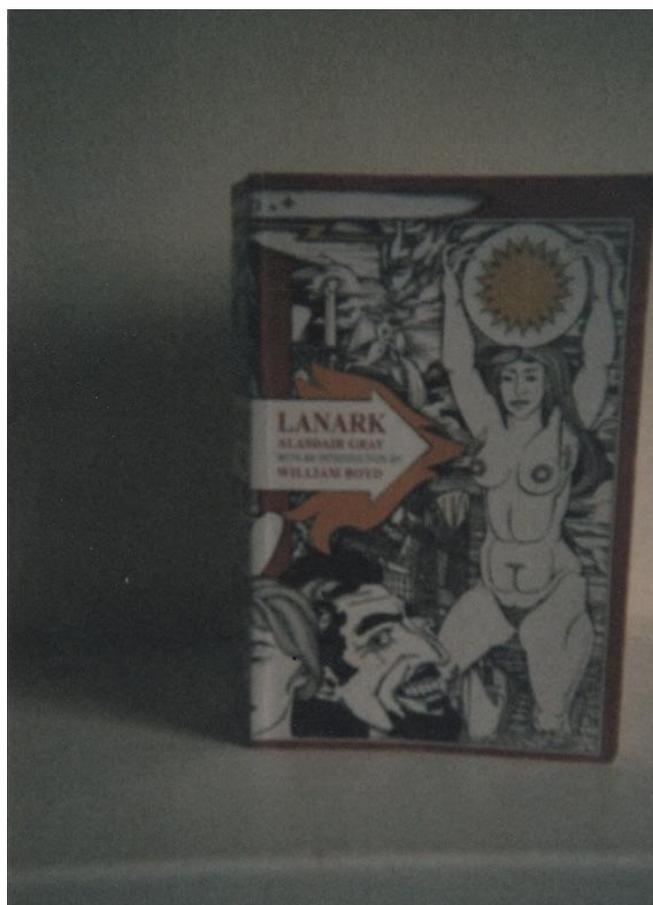


Fig. 38: Coloma (2016) – Picture 18

I took a picture of this to reflect...two things:...I think being quite confident in English is quite important for me to feel at home here, and sometimes I take it for granted...but...I see other Spanish people don't speak English and obviously that's a huge barrier...so...I was privileged enough to have that, but I think it definitely helps me feel at home. And also...understanding the culture of the place, and that includes literature and history... myths...So I guess this is another photo of...strategies...activities that I do that do make me feel at home... getting... imbued in the culture of a place... So when there was... the referendum, the whole social and political movement

around that, and being part of that, made me feel at home.

Using a photograph of a book by a renowned Scottish writer and artist enables Coloma to speak about broader aspects of her 'strategies of emplacement' (Hammond 2004) and her home-making practices which are important to her. Language is a tool for her to gain a deeper insight into what Glasgow is 'about', and enables her to participate culturally and politically. Coloma becomes 'imbued' in the culture of the city through her participation,

aided as she is through her capacity to speak the language well upon her arrival in the city. Linguistic and political participation such as voting in the Scottish Independence referendum, act as a bridge to both people and place. Coloma refers here to the containment of history and myths of a place within language, and expresses her gratitude for her language ability. She emphasises that it is language which enables her to connect to these elements of Glasgow and Scotland's identity and heritage, as constructed through literature, myth and historical narratives. Below, Alice similarly emphasises the ways in which language can hold within it other layers of cultural understanding and meaning.

Alice

Alice says that she isn't particularly interested in spending time with other Polish people in Glasgow, and I ask what she thinks other people who move to Glasgow think about this... She replies that some people do spend a lot of time with people from the same nationality, because it's a little easier; the language is the same which carries a lot of the same references... She talks about how in school in Poland, all children must learn Greek and Roman myths, and that these references are still drawn on in Polish language today, connecting everyday language to its mythological roots. Given that learning Greek and Roman Myths does not feature in English education, if she uses these references in English, people are confused by what she means. Similarly, she says, a lot of popular Polish phrases come from popular culture: soap operas and the suchlike, which evidently do not translate across languages effectively...

...we talk about minglings of language, how sometimes when she is talking with her husband... she will use an English word to express what she means as there isn't an equivalent Polish word which says what she is wanting to say...'at the end of a long day at work, where I speak English, when I speak to Polish friends, it takes me a while to speak...I have to speak slowly'. Field Notes 5.11.17 (Author Field notes, 5.11.17)

Drawing upon performativity theory to help analyse the content of this quote, it becomes clear that through language Alice is citing the myths which are bound up in Polish references. This at once enables her to linguistically perform this heritage of her Polish education, as well as resulting in confusion should she translate these references to English.

Connecting this to habitus (Bourdieu 1990), these references are only made unfamiliar in relation to conversations in another language with those who did not have this same school experience and thus do not share these same references. Not only can we understand the importance of and challenges which translation and language bring to the home-making process, but we can also see how language is *embodied* and thus bound up in a performative practice. Alice speaks of the difficulty returning to Polish after a long day speaking English at work, expressing her understanding of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers who choose to spend more time with others who share the same first language filled with the same references.

The data generated here can also be viewed through the lens of postcolonial theory, especially in relation to the concept of hybridisation of identity (Bhabha 1994; Main and Sandoval 2014). For language to be unbounded, fluid and mobile in this way is to directly challenge the notion of identity as fixed and rooted in place. Language travels and within language meanings, symbols, signifiers and references are contained as pointed out by Coloma and Alice above. I echo the arguments of Ashworth and Graham (2005) and Hannerz (1996) who assert that meanings are made by humans and as humans and their languages move, so too do meanings.

Language, therefore, is evidently a key tool used in everyday migrant home-making practices. Not only does language enable individuals to draw upon the familiar and cultivate familiarity with the strange, it also connects individuals to different aspects of their identity and enables them to articulate and express themselves in multiple ways to multiple audiences. Furthermore, the ability to move between languages enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to embody and perform different aspects of their identity at different times. Through engaging with language in this fluid way, it is possible to further challenge notions of identity and home as place-bound, suggesting instead that they are understood as practiced performatively in relation to people. This analysis further advances the possibility of 'unfixing identities' (Robins and Aksoy 2001: 709). The final section develops this discussion, addressing the role of language as a tool to negotiate between places.

5.3.4 Language and place

Below, Elizabeth and Farai articulate the ways in which their spheres of participation in part shape their language use. Performatively participating through language enables Farai and

Elizabeth to ‘undilute’ these layers of themselves. This is a theme which other participants also emphasised, speaking predominantly English in their work and in certain spaces such as at church, and speaking first languages with communities that share the language, be they in Glasgow or further afield as is the case for Farai (see chapter 4 section 4.3.2). Elizabeth emphasises the importance of hearing old songs as a tool for connecting to ideas of home. Deux writes that ‘through stories and songs, through rituals and photographs, ethnic identity is defined, redefined and transmitted from old to young’ (2006: 118). That these songs were heard by Elizabeth for the first time when she was young also allows us to understand the ways in which these songs transport her to a previous *time* as well as place. Thus the experience of nostalgia is once more present, in which it is both a geographical and temporal rupture which is experienced and triggered by performativities and embodied experiences such as singing and speaking.

Farai

How does this picture show was home means for you?

...I was going [to London] to see my friends and we were going to speak Shona...my language, for a whole weekend which is quite a treat, because I don’t get to do that when I’m here so...



How does that make you feel about your life in Glasgow?

*...I think I’m just used to it, but also because I do speak to my friends on the phone quite a bit... I only realised I don’t speak my own language so much when I see my friends and I have to speak it... or when I go to Zimbabwe, the first few hours, I’m startled like ‘oh they speak... who are these people?’ And then I think ‘oh I’m in the wrong country!’ *laughs**

Elizabeth



Fig. 40: Elizabeth (2016) – Picture 20

You talked about how you remember your Dad whenever you step into the garden, is memory of...past times...important to your sense of belonging to Glasgow?

Of course, yeah.

In what way?

I think just relating and continuing with some of the things you did. Of course it can never be the same, it's a different environment, but I think in your head it's about normalising and making yourself...believe that...your life is just continuing as it were...in other parts of the UK we still have friends we had back home, so we...visit each other and...it's good to go back and have those memories, so definitely important, because it's not only about new friendships, but also about keeping old friendships...

Is speaking Shona for instance something that feels important to you?

...I know that there is a good Zimbabwean community around Glasgow... so you get invited to parties here and there, and... it's good to be around people who speak the same language as me, it's good to listen to the same old songs you used to listen to back home, but then the other side is, in the house, I might speak to my kids in Shona, but they always answer back in English, and I go to work every day speaking English, I go to church, I speak in English, so I think to me that has been diluted... I've got a couple of close friends in Glasgow I could phone and speak to in Shona, so I think that kind of helps sometimes...

There are echoes here of the sensorial compression of space and time through the performative food-based practices illustrated in chapter 4 (Massey [1994] 2001). Through the body and the performative act of speaking a language, it is possible to channel other places and times into the present, engaging in what we might understand as performative heritage practices (Gilroy 1993; Smith 2006). These practices draw on the past in the form of memories of songs or languages learnt from childhood, and enable an orientation of self in relation to different communities in Glasgow and more broadly. As Christou (2011) and others argue (Csordas 1990; Casey 2001; Dudley 2010), the body is a vehicle through which we negotiate between homes, heritages and identities, mediating the world around us and making sense of self in place *through* embodied dispositions. I argue that a key aspect of this sense-making is language. As Alice described in section 5.3.3 and as many scholars agree (Hall 1991; Ashworth and Graham 2005; Meinhof and Galasiński 2005), language is full of references, signs and symbols of belonging, thus deeming it an important tool to draw on in everyday migrant home-making practices, as emphasised by Farai and Elizabeth here.

These examples illustrate the experience expressed by many of the women which points to the importance of language as a means to navigate between places, people and identities. Through communicating in different languages at different times, the women are able to cultivate familiarity in the unfamiliar. The length of time spent becoming familiar with a *new* environment and language – particularly should second languages come to be spoken more regularly than first languages – means that this process can sometimes happen in reverse. Thus, the embodied practice of speaking a first language can become difficult or clumsy as outlined by Alice earlier in this section, or cause confusion as described by Farai when she goes back to Zimbabwe after a period of time away.

5.3.5 Conclusion

I have argued in section 5.3 that a number of linguistic approaches occur in home-making processes framed by migration. Firstly, there is a *sharing* of language, as I witnessed during fieldwork. Women would teach one another words, exchanging knowledge and enabling the second approach to occur; that of linguist mingling discussed by Alice above, cultivated and facilitated through participation. In this ‘mingling’, one flows between different spaces of familiarity and the known in order to create a patchwork conversation wherein certain words or phrases are expressed in languages that better fit the meaning. This performative,

expressive act runs parallel to postcolonial conceptualisations of identity in which identity is understood as a 'patchwork' created by those who move, leave and make homes across the globe (Raasch 2012). This process entails drawing upon varying sources of knowledge which, through the kinds of sharing and gift-giving explored in chapter 4, is opened up and made available to them. In this chapter, what has concerned us has been the argument that home-making practices and negotiations between homes often occur in the space *between* elements of the self. Language is a tool with which migrants, refugees and asylum seekers can play and are enabled to flow between places, thus embodying, repeating, learning and re-inscribing performative practices that facilitate a process of making sense of self in relation to place and people.

I argue that this cultivation of familiarity through the interaction between that which was previously familiar and that which is now familiar, should not rely on a one-way linguistic learning process alone. To learn a new language and no longer practice other languages is to lose a vital tool which can serve to connect people and places in a non-fixed manner, as many of the women I worked with spoke about, and as has been illustrated here. Once again, the nonlinear process of home-making is evoked. We stray too close to the fire of assimilation if we understand language learning as a mono-directional act. Rather, the multifaceted nature of language surely demonstrates the benefits of being able to play with these different elements of one's identity through the performative act of speaking. From here we move into the final section of this chapter, where I explore the role of people in identity work more broadly.

5.4 People and Identity

5.4.1 Introduction

'I want to suggest that the concept of home seems to be tied in some way with the notion of identity – the story we tell of ourselves and which is also the story others tell of us.' (Sarup 1994: 91)

The role of people is pivotal to the question of habitus and performativity, related here to the question of identity. Habitus entails the embodying of socially learned dispositions through routine and repetition (Bourdieu 1990), as does performativity in which individuals draw on previously and widely witnessed behaviour (Butler 1990). The social networks within which we are enmeshed and through which habitus and performativity are channelled, are integral to understanding the questions of home, migration and identity that are the concern of this thesis. This section begins by analysing the ways in which the participants articulate their identity work in relation to people, particularly in relation to social and cultural norms and the way these relate to place. The act of migration makes visible the habitus formed in other places. This illustrates that migration can both consolidate certain behaviours and practices, or indeed highlight certain practices which were felt to be somewhat alien during their time living there. It is the relationality of these practices that concerns us here. The importance of relationality is then expanded to the exploration of questions of broader belonging, inquiring into the impact of the categorisation of individuals as from a place or not. Finally, in section 5.4, I consider the role of family in identity negotiation and home-making, with a particular focus on faith-based practices. This line of inquiry develops upon questions of relationality and broader belongings, arguing that migrant home-making practices entail a delicate dance between multiple ties, self-understandings and social frameworks.

5.4.2 In relation

Although the women predominantly do not describe negative encounters with others in the city in which they were made to feel unwelcome, there are a few instances of this in the data. Perhaps given the framing of the brief, their focus in the images is not on elements of their everyday lives which *hinder* home-making practices, or indeed which act as tangible barriers to it. Coloma explicitly addresses this: *'I somehow interpreted the assignment of how I make Glasgow feel my home, so things that I can't have in Glasgow I didn't want to focus on'*. What is apparent however, are the ways that the women negotiate many aspects of their identities relationally.

Many of the images position individual home-making practices within articulations of wider communities of social, cultural, ethnic or national belonging. As such, the ways that migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women come to feel at home or indeed in *between* homes are in part as a result of these wider communities of belonging. Many of the women's

experiences echo the work of Bhabha (1994), Turner (1987) and Gennep (1960) in their theoretical exploration of 'in-betweenness'. Lydia, Vivienne, Amelia, Justice and others, particularly those with children in Glasgow or who have been away from other homes for a long time, describe feeling this sense of being *'not 100% from here'* in either Glasgow or the countries they have left. As a result of the passing of time, the places they have left have shifted and changed and these once familiar places are transformed and increasingly unfamiliar, although they undoubtedly contain within them shadows of the past they spent there.

Vivienne

'South Africa is my homeland, but my home is here. I'm happy, I'm free...you know? Free... When I was home last Christmas to bury my dad it was like 'I'm lost'.

Lydia

'The thing is... I will never be from here, even though I call it home... but they [my kids] will be from here... and when I go back to Jo'burg I'm not from there either, I'm sure lots of people you speak to have that same sense of... 'I'm not from here but I'm not from their either'...'

Grace

'When I will be back, I will go back, you know, with these relationships, years would have perhaps, do something against it, because we perhaps learn again so... you know, I have to build something here'.

Vivienne, Lydia and Grace all express a feeling commonly shared by many of those interviewed of both the distinction between 'homeland' and 'here', and the simultaneous difficulty of feeling fully attached to either place. The passage of time once more is shown to have a seminal role in people's relationships to place. As these relationships change, return journeys conjure feelings of not truly belonging. Familiarity can fade or blend into nostalgia, resulting in returns being not only a return to place, but also a very particular time. Below, Amelia addresses the relationality between people in this disconnect more explicitly, describing how she felt as though she never truly belonged to Poland as a result of shared cultural values in the country that she herself did not identify with:

Amelia

So you talked about how... women in Poland, what is expected of them is in the home.

Yes.

Do you feel like that is something that you've tried to challenge or move away from in your life in Glasgow?

Yes... with very traditional polish family... maybe because that's what I was raised, with the Polish, Catholic family, like, women they must cook, have children, looking after the husband, and that's their life... in Poland, if you're not married, you don't have children, people... they think 'what is wrong with you?' and when you tell them 'I want to do different things a little bit in my life', they not always understand these things because, I guess in Britain it's not the standard 'oh we must have family, we must' step after step after step, you dating for one year because it's right, you get engaged for half year, and after, you get married, and after one year you get pregnant, one kids or two kids... these... boxes. I don't like boxes!

The interplay between people, place and social structures is brought to the fore here. For Amelia, the 'Polish Catholic way of being' determines her trajectory and identity as a woman: predicting marriage, children and housework. In Amelia's understanding of the people and practices she has encountered in Glasgow, these principles that her family and friends in Poland extol in their everyday interactions and decisions are not as integral to Britain's social and cultural norms. Therefore, her feeling of 'not liking' the kinds of boxes which she felt she would have been expected to tick had she stayed in Poland is exacerbated by the relational sense of freedom in Glasgow. Many of the women articulate this with reference to social and cultural norms, be that in relation to perspectives on domestic violence or simply everyday cultural practices such as offering coffee to guests invited into the home.

This demonstrates that an important aspect of home-making is the freedoms afforded which perhaps were not afforded in the countries left. This argument is present in multiple forms throughout this thesis and throughout the interviews and fieldwork more broadly. To grasp the impact of this, we must return to the construction of home as relying on this *dialogue* between places, people and ideas (Williams 1958; Back 1996; Ahmed 1999). To understand home as a dialogue and habitus as sets of dispositions about which individuals

become self-aware only in moving to unfamiliar surroundings, we are allowing space for the kinds of home-making practices brought to bear by the women in these interviews to be made visible. These practices are mapped out and understood as occurring in a space which is *precisely* between, in relation to and against multiple places and people. Although the liminal state is most commonly associated with those in the asylum system given the indecision about their long-term location (Griffiths 2014), even in the certainty of legal status there is this same sense of 'in-betweenness' which those such as Alexis long for:

Alexis

I wanted to escape from my home then [in India], that was my idea of home.

And... now?

Now it's stability...I would very much like stability, first and foremost.

We can see then, that a key layer in understandings of home, in their very need to be negotiated, is that of relationality. This occurs between people and places, both on an individual level and also more widely in relation to questions of broader belonging, examined in more detail below.

5.4.3 'Fae or nae' (Scots for 'from or not')

For Alice, in spite of her feelings towards Glasgow as somewhere she feels at home and her participation in places like the church where she feels good due to its 'international approach', more broadly she is still aware of her 'outsiderness', stressing her feeling that '*I am not one of them*'. What Alice expresses here is a recognition of the ways in which one's sense of self in place can never entirely be constructed independently from those around you, and that the power of those 'who are born here' to determine your outsider status can be more powerful than your feelings of at home-ness in a place.

Alice

...One time, I was coming back from Poland here on the train, I was approaching central station and I thought 'I'm back home' and it struck me, that I called this place home, when I was always calling Poland home. I don't know how the change happened, I think the time, just

time. You get used to things and the feeling you have about the place, that you are becoming a part of it. Because you are there, and...my main fear about being not from is...the fear people who are born here, they may at some point react with hostility because I am not one of them. Because it's obvious, I'm not one of them, despite that I may try to be...

Invoked here is Anderson's concept of 'imagined community', in which nations are created through this imagined sense of belonging as a result of sharing and performing certain vital signifiers, thus facilitating a sense of connectedness with 'the nation' (Anderson [1983] 2006). It is clear that Alice, like others, feels that this imagined sense of what it means to be 'from' a place creates a barrier to her fully being accepted as 'one of them' in Glasgow. Thus, the relationship between those who are 'fae' Glasgow and those who are 'nae' is situated in tension. Thus, those who are 'nae' are forced to inhabit this sense of in-betweenness in ways which those who are 'fae' are not to such a strong degree, if at all. A counter-argument to this is that over time and through routine participation in spaces such as shops and churches, relationships can be fostered with places and people that enable individuals to develop their attachment to place (see further discussion in chapter 6). Many participants articulate the way that their relationship with the city has taken time to develop, highlighting the argument that home-making is an active process. This is, however, inevitably framed by the racist, exclusionary rhetoric that British nationalism mobilises and that Alice fears. Additionally, the home-making process can be made easier or more challenging depending on factors such as socioeconomic status, legal status and the resources available in which to participate in the first place. Below, Justice expands the question of identity into overarching questions of belonging more broadly, addressing the level of the nation.

Justice

So this was in Calais when we went there, and I found it quite interesting, cause...somebody put the Scottish flag there...so this was kinda like...being in Scotland but...somebody took the flag to Calais. So that...touched me. Cause it showed...how helpful the Scottish people were...



How did that feel?

...It's gonna sound like nationalist but it made you kind of proud. You know...it just showed it as a nation. And just how helpful we are, 'cause I think... Scotland played... a really big role in this refugee crisis...

Fig. 41: Justice (2016) – Picture 21

So, did that photograph remind you that you think of Scotland as home?

Yeah of course yeah...obviously I live here, and I am kinda...more than half from here, so it does remind you that, oh, 'your Scotland', and again you have that proud moment.

The photograph Justice took upon her visit to Calais and her accompanying explanation of the way it made her feel in her own identity are indicative of the complexities of identity. The length of time she has been living in Glasgow have resulted in her identifying as being *'more than half from here'*, and as such her associations with the iconography in the image are strong, conjuring a feeling of pride for the role Scotland and the people who live there have played in the 'refugee crisis'. Explicitly using the word 'nationalist', Justice expresses her pride with the Scottish people with whom she identifies. Identifying with this wider sense of 'Scottishness', Justice articulates the ways in which this identification shaped her experience of visiting the refugee camps in Calais. Connecting this sense of pride in her perception of Scotland's mobilisation in the 'refugee crisis' with her experience of being in the camp – a place of intense liminality – the emphasis is placed upon this web of connections to places that migration creates in individuals as a result of this exposure to new ideas, habitus and practices. Below, Lydia explores the identification of her children with Scotland.

Lydia



...So he's Scottish and he's connected to the Scottish earth, you know there he is on that path and he's so village-bound...that's his turf he walks there every day...but he does have these other connections...via me and his dad; his dad grew up in Zimbabwe and was born in Kenya, so he's got a lot of African connections...

Fig. 42: Lydia (2016) – Picture 22

Once again, the cultivation of the previously familiar is made apparent. Many of the examples from the data drawn on so far illustrate the importance of finding the familiar in the face of the unknown, seeking out places where specific needs, such as food and 'beauty'-based needs, can be met. Lydia aligns her son's familiarity with Scotland with her acknowledgement of his growing familiarity with Africa as a result of her and her ex-husband's connections, and the two family trips they have been on since the children were young: *'going back this April was good... I think a lot of about my family and where they came from now that I'm older, obviously when I was their age...I didn't, but...it's quite good to have those stories so that when you're older you can access them and say 'oh I remember going back'...*

It is precisely this accessing of and drawing on our 'archive of experience' (Leach 2005) that enables us to orient ourselves and negotiate between aspects of identity which may take greater precedent at different times or in different places. Connections through people to place, as Lydia illustrates here, and as many of the women with children describe, can result in two types of bridging: to the countries left behind on the part of the mother,

and to the new country of residence on the part of the child. The collection of stories from visiting the 'homes' of parents can provide currency which can be exchanged and shared in the form of knowledge: about previous and current places of dwelling and about different aspects of one's identity. The interrelation between places is thus manifest in story and knowledge exchange, and channelled *through* various people. The familiar and unfamiliar meet at the intersection between these stories, and the role of people as vehicles for building connections between places and in everyday migrant home-making practices is once again made clear. Below, I turn to the role of faith to analyse the interaction between individual and group identity, as the tensions between 'habits' and the opportunity to build new practices are explored.

5.4.4 Finding faith: habit and habitus

This section presents an analysis of the role of religious faith in the cultivation and negotiation of habitus, discussing the complex ways in which this comes to be navigated, drawn on or transformed in new places. Faith is often very present in the shaping of migrant home-making practices (Levitt 2009; Rabikowska 2010; Eade 2012), and certainly shaped the participation of the women in this research who were religious. Beginning with Justice, I examine the role of family in the construction and negotiation of faith and the impact this then has on habitus as framed by migration.

Justice

When we moved here I was a child, and I wasn't aware of my identity when I was in Turkey because I was still a child...I wasn't aware of what my faith was...the culture we had, and then you move to somewhere totally different, and then...you have the expectations from your parents, from your community of keeping that identity and culture, but then there's the expectations you have within the Scottish community, when you're hanging out with your friends...you see different things, then when you're home, or you're around your community, you do things differently... how do you balance both of them, how do you keep that identity you have without losing it when you're out with your friends from Scotland, and how do you try to make your friends understand that identity...

Justice gives voice here to the evasive and difficult concept that is habitus (Bourdieu 1990). She articulates how upon moving into entirely new and different surroundings, one's sense of self, culture and identity become conscious in ways that they were not before. The mostly unconscious dispositions with which one is equipped are made visible through their positioning alongside new cultural practices when one moves from place to place. Below Justice elaborates on this idea more specifically in relation to the ways in which she is able to perform aspects of her identity in Glasgow that were not permitted in Turkey, contrasting this freedom with restriction in her individual and group-expression.

Justice



Fig. 43: Justice (2016) – Picture 23

How does this picture make you feel about home?

It makes you very connected to your identity... In Turkey...Alevi are not identified as a faith...we're not even recognised by the government, so we can't have our own community centres or we can't have our own place of worship... and it just makes you...feel...freedom...the fact that...you can have your faith, you can have your worship in a country...where you're not born...and it connects to your identity and your roots, cos I've been very involved with the Alevi for the past 5-6 years, before that...I was about 15-16, and I didn't know much about it...my parents weren't like 'you have to learn', so they

were like, quite relaxed. In a way, it was an advantage for them to leave it to me, but it had a disadvantage cos you never found out what it was so, I've been recently finding out what it involves...

Developing upon the quote which appears before figure 43, Justice connects her sense of self to the influences of the wider Alevi community and the influence of her parents, describing the expectations placed upon her from multiple different communities to which she belongs. The role of her parents in her personal identity formation is brought into the picture here. Their lack of strict guidance towards a particular sense of self and thus identity performativity resulted in Justice carrying out much of this identity work on her own as she has grown up since their move to the UK. It is clear that this identity performativity is particularly important to her given her understanding of the severe repression of these kinds of practices in the country she no longer lives in. Thus, through these traditional performances she is able to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities, bringing to life the idea of 'routes' (Clifford 1997). Through her own personal journey or 'route', she has come to learn more and grow a deeper connection with the Alevi part of her identity. Deleuze and Guattari's concept of 'rhizomes' is helpful here (1988), mobilising the argument that through performativity, multiple places can be connected simultaneously in a nonlinear fashion.

The role of family in identity work discussed by Justice shares similarities with the role of family addressed by other women. Below, we see two contrasting examples of this. For Alice, the distance from her family affords a greater sense of freedom to practice her faith in a way that she feels fully in control of, where for Grace it is the 'habit' and family which influences her decision over what denomination of church to choose to participate in.

Alice

How important is your faith to your life in Glasgow?

...It was important and...the difference in Glasgow is...I don't have family pressure to follow Catholic tradition...I think it could be more difficult although not impossible, to search for my own way, being in my parent's town, of the social pressure. Here I feel more free to do it my own way...



Fig. 44: Alice (2016) – Picture 24

The geographical move away from a place where particular practices are perhaps prohibited or conversely strongly ingrained within the larger habitus developed and implemented through social norms, often enables individuals to seek out their own way of practicing particular aspects of their identities. Free from the social and family pressures which shaped her Catholic practices constructed in Poland, Alice may redefine the parameters of her belief and corresponding practices, searching for *'my own way'*. Migration can enable individuals to reframe their habitus and identity performativity in the form of religious practices and participation, as is the focus here. Thus, it becomes possible to negotiate relative freedoms afforded by moving to a new place, in contrast to the influence of family and society more broadly.

Equally, this influence over identity performativity can come from the State. This can result in particular aspects of identity such as ethnic identity - as is the case of Justice - being actively suppressed. Thus, the social pressure to perform identity in a particular way – be that gender, religious or ethnic – may therefore be alleviated in a move to another place. However, the contrary too can occur if particular ethnic or national groups come together in that new place, and there may be *new* pressures to perform identity in particular ways. Haya described her struggle to find many Iraqis that performed their Iraqi identity in the same way she did; neither too strictly nor too loosely. Her culinary identity performativity analysed in chapter 4, section 4.2.3 aligns her with her *'Iraqiness'*, which she gently criticises other Arab and Iraqi migrants, refugees and asylum seekers of foregoing in favour of *'Scottish'* ways, while her wearing of a hat rather than a headscarf aligns her with a more relaxed attitude to her faith. These shifts can occur in the re-contextualisation of one's everyday practices, in

which one's identity as 'other' to the host identity becomes visible and one's everyday practices can become more reflexive and conscious. Faith-based identity work and participation is also deeply connected more broadly to social participation. Below, Grace addresses the conflict between social and identity-based participation through her choosing between churches.

Grace



*My Baptist church
...Church, you go
there, have people...
honestly...*laughs* I
don't feel that I have
friends there. So...I go
there because of my
faith...but for now,
this is it.*

***Why did you choose
to take this
photograph?***

Fig. 45: Grace (2016) – Picture 25

Because it's the

church I'm attending, and back home I was Baptist, and this is a Baptist church...When I first came...my first thing, was to look for a Baptist church...

So...the church...does it feel like an important place for you in Glasgow?

For now, no...and it's hard because back home I will go church every Sunday, but here...I can stay one month, two months...not going.

So it's not part of your routine?

...It was when I came, and then...I didn't find what I was looking for...in terms of this...warmth...so ...it's still part of me, my faith but...the interest to go to church has diminished.

The second photo...is about an African church I was attending... but...I had to choose, and I went back to my Baptist because...all my family's Baptist *laughs*...I couldn't do both...

Because of time?

Yes. I will say that the family and...the habit to be Baptist took over... *laughs*

So how do these pictures show what home means for you?

Special Event March: Now I can enjoy my blessing

Events	Dates & Time	Place	Theme
All night prayer	Fri 01/03 12 pm – 5.30am	Church	Arise and shine
Youth Ministry	Sat 09/03 1.30 pm – 3 pm	Church	
Junior ministry (Kid between 7 & 12)	Sat 09/03 1.30pm – 3 pm	Church	
Ministry Empowerment & Reward souls winner price <small>If you brought 5 souls in Church between January and March you are entitled to receive an amount of £ 50 as Reward plus a certificate of Souls Winner.</small>	Sun 17/03 12.30 pm – 2.45 pm	Church	
Leader Meeting	Sat 23/03 1.30 pm – 2.30 pm	Church	
Easter Bible Seminar <small>3 days of faith, healing & Miracles. Great food will be served after the service. Don't miss it!</small>	Fri 29/03: 7pm -9pm Sat 30/03: 2pm -4pm Sun 31/03:12.30pm - 2.45pm <small>3 days of fasting for the all church</small>	Church	The faith walk

In here, we had different activities I was doing back home... so, I just wanted to reproduce it here... I was really engaged and involved in church, and in the Baptist church I'm doing nothing.

Fig. 46: Grace (2016) – Picture 26

So the need to participate...

...Is very important to me. But I'm not doing it now, and I miss it, so I'm looking for the right places to do it...

So how does this picture show what home means for you in Glasgow then?

...being involved...in God's service because, this was really part of me, when I was back home. And I miss it.

The absence of relationships with people in the Baptist church results in a feeling of 'emptiness' for Grace. This is particularly stark when contrasted with her feeling towards the African church she attended for a while, where she was much more actively involved 'in God's service'. Grace identifies this involvement as a key part of her sense of self when she

was *'back home'* in the Côte D'Ivoire. Additionally, the influence of her family's religious heritage of Baptism and her *'habit'* of practicing her faith as a result of this heritage took over and framed the decision about which church she would attend. Although Grace argues that *'faith is more important than church'*, it is evident that both the way in which her faith is performed in the Baptist church as a result of her lack of active involvement, and the absence of a social network there have a role in her feelings towards the church. The denominational aspect of her identity however, is evidently the more powerful in this respect, given her choice between churches guided as it is by her faith. Family influence is evident for Grace and contrasts with Alice's expression of her freedom in the absence of her family from her current country of residence. Habitually inscribed faith practice is what informs Grace's decision, given the value she places on this individual relationship with her faith and the ways she connects this more broadly to her familial, culturally Baptist identity.

The tension between the continuity of habitus and that which is familiar with regards to her Baptist denomination and the desire for the continuity of the kinds of participation she engaged in in the Baptist church in the Côte D'Ivoire is evident. The *'warmth'* and *'fulfilment'* she found at the African church was due to the continuity of the level of engagement in the church community which she desires. This experience contrasts with the *'emptiness'* felt in the Baptist church in Glasgow, where this warmth is lacking. This presents a fascinating and illuminating interplay between the familiar and the unfamiliar and the role of habitus in migration that Grace and many others feel are important to their home-making practices. Thus, the negotiation between homes, heritages and identities is brought to the fore.

For Grace and many other participants, the desire to recreate certain elements of their everyday participation from *'back home'* is strong, and in some instances, as we see above, overrides other aspects of their home-making practices which are articulated as also being important. What is occurring here is this dialogue between old and new, (Williams 1958) and fix and flux (Back 1996), as the women utilise and draw on previous familiarities to make sense of themselves in this current unfamiliar space. To tread the line of continuity and newness is to bring these two together, echoing the hybrid between spaces and identities which postcolonial thinkers such as Bhabha ([1995] 2005) and Ahmed (1999) have brought to light. We might playfully call this process *'continewity'*, given that what is occurring time and again throughout this thesis is the dialogue between old and new, continuing the familiar and cultivating familiarity with the strange.

5.4.5 Conclusion

'...People are places, in a way. In themselves...' Coloma (2016)

To conclude section 5.4, I would like to return to the notion of family. As we have seen throughout this chapter, many of the women highlight the connection between family and home, both women with and without children. Connections to people, therefore, have a significant part to play in the negotiation between homes, heritages and identities. Even Huda who asserts that *'home, it's...not...people. People not stay forever, passed away or travel or... but it's your homeland is something special'*, later on expresses that she does not feel wholly settled in Glasgow because she is *'worried about my country. My family, my neighbour. My people...really all Iraqis I feel they are my family'*. The contradiction of where home is located as not in people but in place, is revealed through her deep feeling of connection to all Iraqis as 'family', thus demonstrating that her connections to people in this way and on this national scale, maintains a bridge between homes.

Almost all of the mothers interviewed articulate the ways in which children act as a bridge between people and can make moving to a new place a lot easier. This is due to the need for the kinds of participation discussed in this chapter, such as school runs and getting children's hair done. In addition, there is a clear attachment of home to important people who are absent in Glasgow. This expands beyond children into family more broadly and all those who have family still in the country they have left describe how this maintains a connection to place. From the examples outlined above, we can understand that the role of people in home-making is in part to maintain a tangible, human-form connection to ideas of place, home and identity. We can conclude then, that those who move must rely on these relationships, both old and new, to facilitate the cultivation of familiarity. In turn, this process reinforces an understanding of home as that which cannot be found bound to place through borders. Connecting to places through people allows individuals to move between places and times, shifting between attachments to different elements of their identities and the people alongside and against whom they have sought to construct their sense of self. Below, I conclude the chapter in more depth, drawing together the analysis presented here.

5.5 Conclusion

The data analysed above illustrates the people-centred home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women. Chapter 4 presented the finding that the interaction with material culture through everyday and special occasion ritual, gift-giving and display within the home facilitates the dialogue between places and times. Chapter 5 has built upon these arguments, moving into the realm of interpersonal relations. Here, I have discussed the ways in which these relationships enable those who move to negotiate their connections to place through the vehicle of people, though not always on their terms, given the frequent absence of those who they feel are deeply attached to their sense of home. Analysing people-centred everyday migrant home-making practices makes it possible to understand the complexities of attachment that span the globe, constructing a web of networks and relations (Massey [1994] 2001). These networks sometimes serve to liberate individuals through the space and relative freedoms afforded, but often maintain a strong and sticky web, continuing these connections to other places, even in the face of ambivalent feelings towards a place.

I have once more illustrated the interconnectedness of the three themes into which this thesis is separated. 'Place' – the focus of chapter 6 – has been woven throughout the analysis here, present in socially motivated practices that aid individuals and groups in their negotiation between homes. The act of taking children to their parents' country of origin is a manifestation of this desire to link together people and place. The role of children in these negotiations has also proved to be highly illuminating as far as place is concerned. Lydia for instance illustrates how the contrast between hers and her children's relationship with place further complicates her own relationship with ideas of home. Therefore, we can understand that even when located within people, place is still important to home through the very disparity between the experiences of mother and child in place. The relationship with wider groups addresses the question of 'imagined belonging', in which an individual's sense of self entails a process of both disentangling and making sense of one's selfhood from nationhood – a concept which depends upon essentialising 'a people' as deeply rooted in a place.

The research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?' has been directly addressed here. The analysis has situated the performative practices of participants within the social relationships they are engaged in. This has enabled me to

illustrate the complex ways in which identity performativity is developed through the interplay between habitus and social relations, and thus must be negotiated and made sense of once behaviours, practices and references are no longer commonly shared in that place. Through addressing the role of language and faith – two important aspects of everyday migrant home-making – I have argued that home, heritage and identity, in the context of migration, are engaged in an ongoing dialogue between places, times, people and various scales of belonging: ‘the body and the household to the city, nation and globe’ (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 27).

Chapter 6 takes inspiration initially from the themes analysed here, presenting a development of this discussion, as I examine the ways in which interpersonal relationships might cultivate familiarity with place. We have already come to understand the value of continuity in the face of newness, and so to move forwards we look with more intent at the participation of the women in place. Through this focus, it will be argued that place has a pivotal role to play in everyday migrant home-making, as the tools such as those examined in chapters 4 and 5 are drawn upon in these practices in order to negotiate between places and times, homes, heritages and identities.

6. Place: Home is Where...?

6. 1 Introduction

There appeared to be a tension in the data between the women using terms that related to ideas of 'roots' and 'soil' to describe the ways in which they felt at home in place, suggesting some kind of natural belonging which could include or exclude, and the expression of feeling lost in both the place considered to be 'back home' and the current place of residence. In chapter 2 I explored the existence of this tension from a theoretical perspective, critically examining arguments against notions of home which perceive home to be 'rooted'. However, present within this body of work are examples of theorists reflecting on the idea that it is important for individuals and groups to find ground upon which to situate themselves. Massey asserts that 'there is the need to face up to - rather than simply deny - people's need for attachment of some sort, whether through place or anything else' ([1994] 2001: 151). Adopting an understanding of a partially place-based concept of home does not automatically assume an essentialist reading of home; rather it acknowledges the importance of the interaction between people and place in the creation *of* place and home. This stance therefore opens up a space in which it can be considered that place *is* important and indeed has a key role in the negotiations between homes. At the same time, it accepts the limitations of seeing home as *entirely* place-based, and admits the dangers of binding conceptualisations of home to place too tightly.

What role then, does place have in understandings of home and mobility in this age of 'dwelling-in-travelling' (Clifford 1991)? How might we position and orient ourselves in this world of increasing migratory flows? Does or indeed should place have a hold over our understandings of home, and where we stand in relation to it? Or can place perhaps be attached to or found elsewhere, in both tangibly and intangibly made meaning? Can objects contain places within them as I queried and analysed in chapter 4, or is it the flows of memories and the drawing on our sensory archive of experience which facilitates our navigation between places and times? The analysis presented in this chapter addresses this process of navigation, at once highlighting the 'in-betweenness' of the migrant experience of home and acknowledging the undeniably important role of place within this experience.

Memory-based processes of sense-making depend and draw upon sensory archives carved out against a backdrop of other places (Said 1990; Dovey 2005; Ang 2011). It became apparent during fieldwork that memories of other places and times heavily informed current experiences of place and time, thus illustrating the importance of place in negotiations of home. This binding of memories and places can, however, adopt a more fluid form. Through the embodied experience of space-time compression, participants uproot other places from their geographical restrictions to bring them into the current place, thus layering them on top of and weaving them into new places in order that some sense might be made there. Places, therefore, are at once vital to our understandings of home and less rooted and rigid than has been previously argued. The tension between 'fix' and 'flux' (Back 1996) continues to present opportunities for constructions and negotiations of home, heritage and identity, and is confronted in the examples presented in this chapter. I argue, therefore, that we must handle questions of place and home with more malleability.

Developing on the work of chapter 5, chapter 6 begins by examining the role of people in the cultivation of familiar places. I argue that everyday participation entailing routine interactions with people, particularly in the form of shopping for food, can serve to foster a network of both social and geographical nodes in the city. This enables individuals to develop a sense of control and ownership of and in place. Expanding this argument, I then examine the way in which transiting through and returning to places can also cultivate feelings of familiarity in and ownership of place. Here, I argue that through embodied interactions with physical sites in the city itself such as parks and streets, individuals can negotiate homes, heritages and identities through the practice of transiting and return. The role of legal status is given particular consideration here, as the difficulty of home-making in the face of obstacles created by being in the asylum system is addressed. Finally, I present an analysis of the experience of sensory space-time compression, arguing that this experience can be understood as both a tool and a symptom of home-making in the context of migration.

6.2 Familiar Faces in Familiar Places

6.2.1 Introduction

'Having familiar faces that I see regularly is important...' – Coloma (2016)

Many of the women describe how their everyday participation of shopping for food enables them to build a particular kind of relationship and familiarity in the city with shop owners and the produce sold, thus facilitating the development of feelings of 'at home-ness'. This level of relationship is important in terms of both piecing together a network of familiar faces and by participating regularly in everyday spheres in this way, the women are cultivating points on the map of the city with which they are familiar and comfortable (Hammond 2004). The concept of the 'constellation of social networks' that Massey argues place is comprised of ([1994] 2001) is illustrated here. Familiar faces are important for the process of regrounding (Ahmed et al 2003), enabling the women to feel *'I'm somebody for them, not nobody'* as Alice tells me.

Section 6.2 firstly presents the argument that returning to the same shops can facilitate a cultivation of familiarity of faces which is often preceded by a process of locating shops that stock familiar foods. I argue that especially when taking place alongside these repeated social interactions, the sourcing of particular foods provides a strategy of emplacement that facilitates the navigation of place. I then discuss the value of familiarity more broadly, demonstrating the importance of these kinds of social relationships. The feeling of being *'somebody, not nobody'* (Alice 2016) to individuals from whom one buys food is of great importance in the process of not only becoming familiar with place, but also developing a feeling of place attachment. Finally, the ways in which interactions of this nature serve to connect two core analytical themes – people and place – is discussed. I argue that we can expand the constellation of social relations (Massey [1994] 2001) to encompass a constellation of familiar places. In this way, the social and the physical become inextricably linked. This section addresses the following research question in particular: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'. The research question 'what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee

and asylum-seeking women?’ is also threaded into the inquiry here, once again ensuring the connection of individual narratives with wider discussions of migration and home.

6.2.2 Familiar foods

Below, Coloma and Judith illuminate the complex and intricate connections between people and place. Figures 48 and 49 demonstrate the ways in which their regular attendance at particular shops enables them to connect to aspects of home that they and have been able to access in previous places. Familiarity with the produce on offer in these shops is of great importance, as both Coloma and Judith state, but as is also clearly evident in other interviews and informal conversations in the field more widely (Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010). As well as enabling migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to exercise some control over the form of the food they choose to cook (Douglas 1991), the ability to purchase familiar goods offers comfort, being ‘*a nice thing to do*’. This facilitates the continued connection to previous places which is relatively easy to maintain through the everyday act of shopping for food. This is particularly attainable in an urban environment whose history of migration has resulted in the increase of numbers of shops catering for different culinary needs.

Coloma highlights the importance of sustaining a connection to ‘*the familiar outside world*’. Routine and repeated interaction with a particular place and the people who work there enable her to grow increasingly comfortable within that environment, having developed a familiarity with what was before unknown. The role of memory is clear here, as those who come to inhabit a new place often seek out that which they remember as being part of their routine in previous homes, thus enabling them to locate themselves more clearly in relation to place (Ang 2011; Lewicka 2014). By drawing on memory, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are able to cultivate a sense of control over place, and further, to cultivate a sense of familiarity within what may very well be unfamiliar terrain.

Coloma

Why did you choose to take this photograph?

...I come here very often...and...the people who work in the shop know me and they always greet me and ask me how I’m doing and we have a little chat...and...when I went back to Spain for a couple of weeks they definitely noticed that I wasn’t going in and when I came

back they were like 'oh where have you been?'...and that's great. So...I just love that interaction.



How does this picture then show what home means for you?

I guess it's about establishing personal relationships around me...

Fig. 48: Coloma (2016) – Picture 28

And what part of your life in Glasgow does this represent?

...the neighbourhood life...which isn't very extensive actually and it reduces to this shop and another shop...I guess that...interaction with the outside world but kind of the familiar outside world, and people.

...

Is there anything else you want to say about this particular picture?

...the area where I live in...it's got a lot of...Pakistani families, and some of the shops...the spices and the fruit they sell...are related to that so it's not...food that I'm familiar with, but there is a commonality and that is the fact that they sell just lots of unprepared fruit and vegetables...and that makes me feel at home...

The familiarity with the shop owners is paramount to Coloma's sense of home, specifically in a very local sense as this photograph represents 'the neighbourhood'. Coloma states that she 'loves' this type of interaction as it helps her to feel known in the surrounding neighbourhood. The expectation for a relationship that runs deeper is not necessarily implied, thus this particular interaction is specific to encounters in places one attends regularly for purposes which are primarily functional, rather than social. The regularity of her

return as well as her evident openness to and perhaps even need for the cultivation of this kind of relationship: *'that ...interaction with the outside world but kind of the familiar outside world, and people'*, demonstrates the binding together of people and place through this form of participation.

At once interacting with the familiar outside world and the people contained within it, for Coloma, it is the cultivation of familiarity with people and place, indeed more specifically people *in* place, which enables her to feel at home. That her absence is noticed by the shopkeeper when she goes *'back to Spain'* is illustrative of how through interaction, people become meshed together in social exchange and transaction as carried out in place (Massey [1994] 2001). Additionally, this example helps to illuminate how this meshwork of familiar nodes and places (Hammond 2004; Ingold 2009) enables those who move to build various types of relationships. These relationships then aid in the process of negotiating between homes, heritages and identities. Below, Judith adds the layer of language into this meshwork of familiarity.

Judith



Fig. 49: Judith (2016) – Picture 29

This is Eastern European Shop... cos I thought... going to that shop and getting... Lithuanian rye bread and... crisps that I like and which you can get only in these kinds of shops, and even some sweets it's just, nice thing to do... for Lithuanian bread and those crisps I can get only on High Street.

...Are you familiar with the people who run the place?

*...they changed, I was familiar with a couple of people, there was this Ukrainian woman, was lovely, criticised Lithuanian vodka *tut tut*! *laughter*... But I liked her. And...though she doesn't work in this shop anymore... she's Polish, but she grew up in Lithuania so she can speak a bit of Lithuanian...*

Did you speak Lithuanian with her?

I did... but with other people I speak in English and they get confused because most of the people speak there in Russian, and I can understand Russian but... not very well... I can't really speak in Russian that well, and I don't want to.

Why don't you want to?

Well, I'm not in Russia, it's...Scotland!

Coloma and Judith's active, repeated return participation has assisted in the cultivation of familiarity with these shops. Their familiarity with these places has in turn strengthened their sense of familiarity with Glasgow more broadly, connecting them both to neighbourhood and previous homes through the produce on offer in these shops. For Judith too, the additional linguistic layer facilitates a link to parts of her identity that relate to her sense of 'Lithuanian-ness'. Interestingly, although she can speak Russian, she states that she is '*not in Russia*' and that therefore she has no cause or desire to speak it. It would seem then, that for Judith, speaking the Lithuanian language and eating Lithuanian food enables her on her own terms to maintain a relationship with that part of her heritage and identity, however in parallel she is keen to speak English when she is living in Glasgow. There is a recognition here of the ways that language can evoke and connect the speaker to place, through the performative and embodied act of speaking (Gunew 2003). Below I address in more detail the value of being familiar with shop owners and the role this can play in everyday migrant home-making practices.

6.2.3 The value of familiarity

For Alice below, the participation that led to the development of social nodes within the city was initiated through facilitated participation because of her role as a carer for a client who

lived near the shop. The value of this social interaction became significant even beyond the life of her client, as it became absorbed into her own everyday participation. This resulted in her making the trip to the 'other side of the city' to shop in a place where she feels both her shopping and social needs can be satisfied.

Alice



...This is the place I go when I'm working... majority of times I'm doing shopping for my clients but also sometimes for myself so I go to this place often and I got friendly with some staff members. It's ... far away it's the other side of the city. And we are always talking 'how are you, how is your grandchildren, how is your wife' ... We had client there before, the client was just on the other side of the street and they were calling this lady by name, they were friendly, and that is how I got friendly with them. This lady she is not alive any more, but I still know more personally the staff. It does make you feel better.

Fig. 50: Alice (2016) – Picture 30

Why?

...cos I'm somebody for them, not nobody...

All the examples in section 6.2 illustrate the value of this feeling of familiarity, both of the produce and the members of staff who run the shop, and the ways in which this supports them in their strategies of emplacement (Hammond 2004). The produce is less significant in figure 50 and the accompanying quote, although Alice does express this as being significant

(see figures 51 and 52) telling me: *'it's Polish products, I always go to see Polish products in the shop, cos I'm used to them. The only thing I miss here is Polish bread.'*



Fig. 51: Alice (2016) – Picture 31



Fig. 52: Alice (2016) – Picture 32

The question addressed here is that of the value of these relationships that are built through this everyday act of purchasing food. Through the repeated and routine interactions with people on a level of familiar exchange that Coloma, Judith and Alice have with the shop owners they reference, familiarity is facilitated both with people and place, thus enabling a cultivation of a sense of home. Additionally, for many participants, the ability to source familiar food is a vital tool in the cultivation of familiarity and the maintenance of a connection between places, as was explored in greater depth in chapter 4. Coloma makes the comparison between the unprepared vegetables that many of the shops provide to cater for the large Pakistani population that lives in the area and the kinds of vegetables she would be able to buy in Spain. More pertinently, with figure 48, she addresses the value of the

relationship she has cultivated over time with the staff there. The recognition of one another and the regularity with which she uses the shop develops the level of relationship to the extent that her absence is acknowledged when she goes to Spain for two weeks. Judith also echoes the pleasure taken in this recognition. The decision to capture this through the images they have chosen to take and talk about in the interview, allows them articulate which aspects they deem to be the most important to their everyday home-making practices in place. For Judith, this goes further through her ability to connect linguistically with the woman who used to run the Eastern European shop depicted in figure 49. In the following section, I address the value placed upon being familiar with both place and people more broadly.

6.2.4 People and place: the tie that binds

In these three examples, participants all locate these social interactions in place. Coloma uses figure 48 to illustrate broader questions of home, informing me that the image '*represents the neighbourhood...which isn't very extensive actually*'. Here, she outlines the limits of her shopping-based participation and articulates the ways that this demarcates her sense of where neighbourhood is. Similarly, Alice describes the location of the Co-op in the city, telling me that: '*...it's kind of far away it's the other side of the city...We had client there before, the client was just on the other side of the street...'*. The fact that Alice talks about the location of the client's home in relation to the shop is significant, especially when analysed in conjunction with other participants' emphasis of the importance of *accessibility* of resources such as shops. This becomes particularly pertinent when framed by questions of legal status, as when financial resources are restricted, accessibility becomes vital to avoid unnecessary costs of public transport. In addition, the ability to build local social networks through participation in activities such as shopping close to where one lives is evidently another important element of the home-making process. For Alice, through her facilitated participation of shopping with a client for her care job, she develops '*friendly*' relationships with the staff in this particular Co-op although it is far from her house. The fact that she feels '*somebody for them, not nobody*' drives her to continue her connections with and returns to this place, and thus her motivation for continued participation in this place is social.

Harking back to chapter 5 where I discussed the value of the social as a motivation for participation and as an important factor in home-making practices, we can indeed see made

material that home is partly comprised of a constellation of social relations (Massey [1994] 2001). Furthermore, it is evident that these constellations can serve to enable people to become more familiar with the places in which these interactions occur. For Judith, her knowledge that she can only get the kind of Lithuanian rye bread that she likes in the shop on High Street highlights that she has tried other places and that they have not met her need by stocking the bread that she is familiar with. All the above examples demonstrate that often, there is initially an identification of a need, practical or otherwise. This is evident here in the form of the purchasing of food, but in chapter 5 takes the form of more socially oriented needs. The initial stage of identifying needs is often then followed by the gradual identification of places that meet those needs, resulting in the return to them and the development of social interactions and relationships of a specific kind within these places. In this way, I argue that people and place come to be inextricably linked.

There is evidently a symbiotic interaction between place and sociality, developing the construction of a mental cartography of sites in the city that meet needs. Familiarity with these nodes is then strengthened through return or developed through movement around the city. This can occur voluntarily in the form of flâneuring⁹ as is illustrated in the following section, and involuntarily as is the case for those in the asylum system who are moved from place to place on a no-choice basis. It was evident during fieldwork that often, those in more precarious situations attend groups locally at places such as the Integration Networks, then striving to continue their participation in these groups once they have been moved to another part of the city. Familiarity is cultivated through this participation, and there is a clear desire to continue attendance at and interaction with people and places that are familiar. This becomes particularly important in the face of the often very stressful act of moving from one part of the city to another, particularly on a no-choice basis, and the consequential unfamiliarity and uncertainty which this brings.

6.2.5 Conclusion

What I have highlighted here is that the role of social relations in the interaction between people and place is significant. Section 6.2 has analysed how the women's participation in the city is in part shaped by the meeting of these social needs. Shopping experiences in all these

⁹ Flâneuring entails the act of aimless wandering for the purposes of exploration, often within an urban context. Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* (1999) brought the term into the realm of scholarly interest.

three examples are enhanced by their social interactions with the staff who work there. The feeling of being 'somebody' and having one's absence noticed is evidently an important layer to the experience of visiting and revisiting these places. Hence, the cultivation of familiarity on an interpersonal level in addition to the pre-existing familiarity with the produce come together, creating an experience of and interaction with place which contribute to the home-making process. The performativity of heritage and identity has also been addressed here, through analysing the kinds of participation carried out in the form of shopping. Here, I examined the value of the familiarity of language and produce, and the ways that this plays into negotiations of home, heritage and identity through participation of this nature. Finally, this chapter has addressed the role of legal status, detailing the impact of legal status on the kinds of participation sought out by different women, demonstrating that being relocated to another part of the city will often see a return to particularly socially important places.

6.3 Transiting and Returning

6.3.1 Introduction

'When I worked in Easterhouse...you take the bus and then you go through places you recognise it's really nice feeling, it does make you feel like home.' – Judith (2016)

As was argued in section 6.2, the strategies of emplacement drawn on in processes of home-making often entail the expansion of familiar places (Hammond 2004). Through repeated, routine and habitual everyday participation, the nodes that comprise of familiar social and geographical connections often grow and become stronger. I argue that Massey's understanding of place as made up of constellations of social relations ([1994] 2001) can be expanded to include a constellation of familiar places. The memories that inform and shape our interactions with place enable us to make sense of place and to thus exercise a sense of ownership over it as Coloma states: *'this idea of knowing the city, and coming to know the city is quite important for it to feel like my city, the place where I live.'* Here, she emphasises that the 'knowing' of a place is an ongoing process; that perhaps we never stop 'coming to

know' a place. Through discovering and participating in new places we continue to expand our knowledge of place and the people who inhabit place.

Section 6.3 discusses the ways in which familiarity in place develops through returning to specific places as carried out against a backdrop of transiting. I argue that everyday participation carried out in place facilitates an embodied interaction within place for example through walking, sitting, reading and gardening. Homes, heritages and identities are refracted and negotiated through both familiar embodied practices which carry ideas of home across geographic space and time, and cultivating new practices in place through new forms of participation. Beginning with an exploration of the relationship between transiting through and returning to place, I then explore the argument that when stemming from a more precarious status as is the case for women in the asylum system, the cultivation of familiarity is experienced with a much greater sense of fragility. Finally, the notion of returning to place via memory is considered. Although this process can be fostered by returning to physical sites, it can also be triggered by other catalysts such as photographs. I explore this more closely in section 6.4 where the experience of sensory space-time compression is discussed. The core research question addressed through these discussions is 'how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?' which I then examine further through asking 'what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?'.

6.3.2 Flâneuring and return

Framed by ideas of transiting and returning, Coloma addresses routine, memory and place in figures 53 - 55. Her routine when she was a student in Edinburgh and thus had more free time, allowed her and her partner to explore different parts of the city each weekend, opening up new places and scope for the cultivation of familiarity should they choose to return to those places in the future. Her desire to recreate this activity in Glasgow is evident; indeed she explicitly refers to it as a '*strategy*' to get to know the place she is living in better. She describes the experience as '*observant...being*' in which she is at once within and without place, amongst yet apart from people. Explaining that the pictures (figures 52 and 53) represent a sense of independent 'amongstness' as public space is shared by many people involved in their own activities, Coloma articulates how '*that...interaction with the place and*

the other people in the place, in this way, makes me feel at home...'. Once more, the intersection between people and place is where we find home to be situated. Coloma also describes the importance of being part of a community of friends who are familiar to her. Knowing some individuals better than others, she transits throughout the group and returns to certain people multiple times to spend time with them, thus cultivating the same kind of nodal familiarity within the group which she describes as *'fluid'*.

Coloma



Fig. 53: Coloma (2016) – Picture 33



Fig. 54: Coloma (2016) – Picture 34

So this was...Friday evening...Elliot [her partner] had just finished work, and we went out for a cycle ride around Glasgow.

What do these pictures show about what home means for you?

...I guess it means this idea of...being out in public space ...interacting with other people...everyone's doing their own thing, you can see here...but everyone's out in the same place. ...And that kind of interaction with the place and the other people in the place, in this way, makes me feel at home...

What part of your life in Glasgow does this show?

...I would have taken these pictures anyway but ...the idea of wandering, or like flâneuring...is not a great huge part of my life right now, but it's something that I really like to do and I wish it was a greater part of my life...

Why is flâneuring something that is important to you in a place?

...I guess...it's that...observant...being ...in which I am taking in what's around me...so this idea of knowing the city, and coming to know the city is quite important for it to feel like my city, the place where I live.

Did you feel like you got to that stage in Edinburgh?

...to a greater extent, but...the best times in Edinburgh were ones where Elliot and I would go out on a city exploration every Sunday... And that was...one of the highlights in my memory of the time I was in Edinburgh. And I haven't been doing it that much here, because of the weather, because I've been working and tired, but yeah.

It's something you'd like to do more of in Glasgow to know it better?

Yeah. And to feel at home. So it's like, a strategy.

This need for the cultivation of familiarity with particular places was spoken about by many other participants. Olive described how she used advertisements as a sign that she was near the bus stop she needed to alight at, expressing how confusing it was for her when they changed: *'When I first arrived...it was kind of like, a strange world *laughs*... I think I've done*

very well myself...every time I jumped on the bus...the posters they put on the billboards...I was sticking to that to say '...when I get off the bus, this picture it's here...I need to look for this picture' *laughter* then a couple of days or weeks, that picture was gone! *laughter* and made me feel so lost!... I didn't know that the pictures on the billboard are changed for advertisement all the time. ' Another strategy of emplacement, Olive's technique was thwarted by the speed with which the signs changed, thus throwing her into a state of confusion, as her anchors of familiarity of her sites of return within the transiting through on her bus route, were no longer there. Continuing with Coloma, we hear in more detail the role of sites of return.

Coloma



Fig. 55: Coloma (2016) – Picture 35

So this one's similar but a bit different...Do you recognise this place?

This is...Pollok Country house isn't it?

Yeah. So it's similar in that it's in the green, in a park, in the city...but this is a bit different because I wasn't transiting that day, I came to this place and then I went back home, and it's I guess a different way of interacting with public space...this is returning to a specific spot that I know, and I feel quite safe in...this idea of...having specific spots outside of your house that you can also go to and be in, but they still have an element of 'your places'.

Because of that familiarity?

Yeah, because of that kind of, repetition. Yeah.

So how does this picture show what home means for you then?

It means...having not one, but a range of places, so not just my house but other places outside my house that I can resort to depending on my mood and what I want in that particular moment, and where it's easy and comfortable, as in...I don't need to think about where to go, I don't need to plan a trip, I can just go there, be there for a bit and come back, and it feels less threatening than new territory.

Returning to a place she has been previously and feels familiar with and comfortable in, enables Coloma to have yet another node in the city plotted out on her map of familiar places outside of the home over which she feels some sense of ownership (Douglas 1991). Able to return to this site having assessed her mood and needs '*in that particular moment*', this act of returning strengthens Coloma's expansion of 'home' beyond the parameters of her house (Hammond 2004). Coloma took a lot of photographs within her house, a fact which at once surprised and disturbed her: '*I realised 'oh gosh I'm taking lots of photos just of the house'...and...I wasn't comfortable with the idea of my home just being in the house because...I want to interact with the place that I live in also through public space and being outside so I thought...I need to get out and I need to do that.*' This intentional act of ensuring her photographs captured her 'home' both within and without the house itself, speaks to Coloma's desire to not represent home as confined to and defined by the domestic sphere.

The tension between public and private occurs throughout the interviews (see chapter 4, section 4.5) as the women seek to identify what home means to them. It is evident that for many of the women, the need to get out of the house and be *amongst* others in spaces is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the benefit upon mental health and emotional and social wellbeing to connect to others outside the house in settings such as the groups is a recurrent theme. Secondly, that many of these interactions occur within a space which has become familiar through this act of returning each week is also important. Participants highlight how in order to fulfil the need to know people and place, they must venture outside the boundaries of their house, in order that they might come to know and become familiar with people and places. In this instance then, we might call upon gender

theory in relation to the home (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Silvey 2006; Christou 2011). When framed by migration and the movement from a familiar place to an unfamiliar place, the domestic sphere can be a site of isolation just as it can be a site of familiarity and safety.

Using terms such as '*comfortable*', '*safe*' and '*easy*', Coloma creates an image of home as somewhere or indeed multiple places that she knows well, feels safe in and can return to with ease. Her comparatively secure status as a student gave her the time, security and freedom to begin to use this strategy to get to know Edinburgh, however, her transition into work has limited her time which in turn restricts her capacity to make use of this strategy as readily as she would like. The role of legal status is evident here. The relatively secure knowledge that she will be where she is living unless or until she decides to move elsewhere enables Coloma to participate in this kind of activity, developing a sense of ownership over and knowledge about that place. That the decision of where to live is entirely in her hands is significant, as for those who are still or have been through the asylum system, the lack of control over this decision is almost wholly responsible for their precarious relationship with place, expressed by Alexis below.

6.3.3 Fickle familiarity

Alexis



Fig. 56 : Alexis (2016) – Picture 36

What's this picture?

Shawlands!

So why did you take this picture?

...I see this road quite often so it's kind of become part of my...life or routine!... It's not really the place...I like Shawlands, but it's mostly because it's part of my life rather than anything else.

In what way is it part of your life?

...it's where I walk, it's where I go back and forth, I cross this road so many times I've seen all these stores so many times, so...in that way it's become part of my life, it's things you see...

It's really familiar?

Yes.

And how does that familiarity make you feel about your life in Glasgow?

...mixed feelings, good and bad...good in the sense that I have something that I am familiar with, bad in the sense...today it's steady and on there and tomorrow I don't know if it's going to disappear, vanish...so...I like it but also it's like 'don't tempt me so much'...

For Alexis, it is her everyday, repeated, routine embodied interaction with Shawlands: 'where I walk... where I go back and forth' that enables her to cultivate a sense of familiarity with the area. The tension of whether this familiarity cultivates or creates a barrier to her sense of home is triggered by her legal status. Thus, the decision of her asylum claim transforms her sense of place from something 'good' whereby familiarity is possible, into something 'bad' whereby the security of this familiarity is not in her hands. Thus familiarity becomes a 'temptation', luring her into a false sense of security in that place that might disappear or vanish at any time. The resulting effect of this legal status is that whilst claims are being decided, asylum seekers are forced to inhabit this liminal space, during which time 'here' and 'there' become very real categories to contend with.

Ahmed's understanding and critique of this polarisation of 'home' and 'away' which can occur in the theorisation of home is valid, and indeed lies at the heart of the core

argument mobilised in this thesis. I argue that home must be understood as a complex negotiation between places, people, and times through the various home-making practices illustrated throughout chapters 4 – 6. It is vital to point out however, that the status of asylum seeker makes possible the division between ‘home’ and ‘away’, placing the decision over where an individual can call ‘home’ in the hands of the Home Office. These two categories can then only be inhabited with great precariousness, as is vividly depicted by Alexis above. Alexis develops her reflections on familiarity below, expressing the ways in which as a result of both her relationship to place and home in India where she lived before she came to the UK and as a result of her embodied interaction within places she has lived since leaving India, she feels more familiar with and at home in Glasgow than in India.

Alexis

I'm intrigued by the importance of familiarity for feeling at home, and I was wondering... thinking about your life before...and...since being in the asylum system in Glasgow, how your feelings about familiarity might have changed?

...when I was living back in India ...I was very much virtually in house arrest so... I stayed there until I was 16 so all through my 16 years it was just home, school – in a car, like, not seeing people – and then back home and then I stayed home all day... but I never actually was allowed to go out and explore the town, to such an extent that I know Glasgow better than I know India... I think the more you become familiar with something and, as long as...it's nice memories rather than bad memories...once you start becoming familiar with something it sort of attaches itself to your idea of home. I think everybody's different and some people quite feel homesick...but...even when you feel really homesick...this is just my guess but...it still sort of attaches itself to you to an extent because it's...your everyday life, so that does sort of impact on you whether you like it or not.

Here, Alexis draws comparisons between Glasgow and India, where she was born and grew up until she was 16. Her routine centred around school and home, to and from which she travelled in the containment of a car, and thus her India was considerably smaller than her Glasgow. She describes how not being '*allowed to go out and explore the town*' in India has resulted in Glasgow being more familiar to her. This is as a result of her participation in Glasgow expanding more widely than the parameters set for her in India. Although still

dictated by the state in that she has to carry out her everyday life within the asylum system and with limited control, she is able to make more decisions about her participation in the city which results in her feeling a greater sense of familiarity with it. She talks here too of the developing of new memories in a place through becoming familiar with it. Alexis is keenly aware of the role of new memories upon one's sense of home, emphasising that as long as they are '*nice memories*', a place can start to become more familiar and '*attaches itself to your idea of home*'. The implication here is that home should be a place predominantly framed by and filled with positive memories. A conviction articulated by many other participants, this notion does not presume that all homes *are* in fact framed by or filled with positive memories, indeed Alexis' experiences of home in India were distinctly negative.

For Alexis then, her everyday transiting and returning practices in Glasgow in contrast to in India enable her to carve out a familiar space in the city, which in turn is attaching itself to her idea of home. This space is a precarious one however, given her legal status and that the decision of her future is taken out of her hands. Alexis rarely returns to her previous home in India through the medium of memory as a result of the distinctly 'unhomely' experience fostered there through a clear lack of autonomy over her participation. As such, Alexis' negotiation between homes comprises largely of an 'escapist' approach to her previous home, and a present-focused approach to her current one. This present-focused approach is not occurring against a backdrop whereby she is granted a great deal more control over her life and future in the city, hence why her feelings towards the place depicted in figure 56, familiar as it is, are conflicted. Acknowledging that experiences of home may vary from person to person, she nods to the role of legal status, gender and other forms of social classification that impact upon the experience of home-making. Analysing the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in this way, enables us to understand the larger structural and social factors which shape these practices. This example from Alexis requires that memory is taken into account in the analysis, advancing into the following section which considers the role of memory in place explicitly.

6.3.4 Memory in open spaces

Figure 57 and the accompanying quote from Judith explicitly address questions of transiting and returning in the home-making process. Passing this place on the way to the gym or the swimming pool each week, Judith returns to memories of open spaces in her hometown. Into

this space past which she transits are poured other open spaces, creating a node within the city that contains the memories triggered by this embodied act. A now familiar site in Glasgow, I argue that it is nodes such as this which come to be plotted within place that facilitate the rhizomatic connection of places, times and homes. The implication of using this concept by Deleuze and Guattari (1988) is that it enables us to understand the process of migration and home-making as one which spills outwards from a central point, namely the body. It is the body that mediates the experiences and encounters with place, and ideas and experiences of home (Gilroy 1993; Dudley 2010). We must therefore seek to understand and account for the multiple and various embodied ways and tools with which one might make a home in or indeed between places, and with which one may come already equipped from one place to another.

Judith



Fig. 57: Judith (2016) – Picture 37

...What did I mean by this? Oh yeah, open spaces because where I lived in the past, in like London for example, it's all crowded you know, houses are everywhere, but Glasgow has more open spaces... so open spaces make me think of home and maybe in some ways makes me feel like home? ...makes me like, think of open spaces, which we had in...my hometown, and I guess seeing them makes me feel more familiar with a place.

Included within the home-making toolkit is memory, both individual and collective (Halbwachs 1980) which can serve to shape our whole framework for understanding self in relation to place. This can entail locating the self in relation to ideas of 'homeland' and nation, or unmooring senses of self from place to move more readily between times and places, or indeed a mixture of both of these approaches. The role of memory in these multiple approaches is to enable us to make sense of that which is unfamiliar by tracing back to draw on that which was previously familiar. Once memories are retained it is not necessarily a simple process of replacing all new memories with old ones thus overwriting new knowledge with old knowledge, although this can sometimes be attained. Rather, it is a process of the interaction *between* places and memories by being able to locate traces and shadows of the past within the present in order that we might more easily inhabit it. In the example from Judith above, we see her individual memory of a landscape she grew up with being triggered by and brought into her interactions with a similar landscape in her current place of dwelling. The implication of this is that she is able to feel as though certain aspects of previous places can be found in new places, thus cultivating familiarity in place through transiting and returning in an embodied sense, both physically and through memory, leading her to '*feel more familiar with a place*'.

6.3.5 Conclusion

Section 6.3 has explored how the act of transiting and returning, both in physically moving through places and returning to previous places through memory, enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to carve out sites in the city where they feel safe and have a sense of control over. Considering the role of legal status in the analysis has enabled the articulation of how this act of cultivating familiarity with certain places can be precariously balanced. This is particularly the case for women in the asylum system, suspended between two clearly defined categories of 'here' and 'there', 'home' and 'away', in which the choice over where they are able to call home is taken out of their hands. The consequence of this is that familiarity in place can be a double-edged sword, at once both '*good and bad*'. The uncertainty with which those in the asylum system must inhabit this space results in a fractured sense of where home is, thus removing a large degree of agency.

We must understand the limitations of transiting and returning placed upon those whose legal statuses result in greater instability. In the face of this, individuals attempt to

build some kind of stable sense of familiarity through attending and continuing to attend certain groups even beyond being relocated to another part of the city. This can become difficult, however, and individuals must depend upon the access to funding that organisations such as the Integration Networks may have to provide reimbursement for transport, a resource which in the face of increasing Government cuts is steadily dwindling. The value of the cultivation of familiar nodes built and strengthened through participation in an unfamiliar environment, is abundantly clear here. The form this participation can take is manifold and varied: attendance at social groups, political groups, classes, attending appointments and signing on. Although many of these have not been featured here, all these forms depend upon the act of moving through and returning to places.

The role of memory too has been considered and is scrutinised further below. Its function serves the purpose of enabling migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women to make sense of self in relation to place *through* their relation to place, as illustrated by Coloma in her reflecting on the sites that she returns to when she has identified particular needs: '*her places*'. Harnessing some degree of control and ownership over place in the face of status-based restrictions is important and can be made possible through memory work. The case made for memory-based transiting and returning that occurs in the negotiation between homes, heritages and identities is illustrated above. Here, I have developed the argument that home cannot be understood as that which is necessarily rooted, but rather that it is altogether more mobile and fluid. This fluidity is not always experienced in a positive light, and is dependent upon the level of agency granted as a result of legal status. Nor does it preclude any sense of place-based ideas of home, rather it opens up the concept of 'home' to entail the negotiation between this fluidity and fixity, making sense of the new through the old, precisely as Back (1996) and Williams (1958) argue is the makeup of identity and culture. Section 6.4 expands upon the experience of sensory space-time compression, exploring what form 'home' takes during these instances. It presents the argument that when framed by the experience of migration, home often results in the triggering of these experiences as a result of particular sensory catalysts such as those analysed below.

6.4 Sensory Space-time Compression and Place

6.4.1 Introduction

"Every man [sic] carries within him a world which is composed of all that he has seen and loved, and to which he constantly returns, even when he is travelling through, and seems to be living in, some different world" (Chateaubriand, cited in Kahn 1994: xvii, cited in Sutton 2001: 73)

'How do you feel when you look at this picture?

I feeling home, the same home, in my home.'

In chapter 2, the concept of sensory space-time compression was introduced and has been woven into the previous two chapters. Here, it is made most stark. The recollection of memories catalysed by certain sensory experiences results in a meshing together of places in embodied senses of place. This is expressed by the women in quotes such as *'honestly you feel as though you are in your country'* or *'it is exactly as if I'm sit there'*. To weave places together in this way demonstrates the argument that 'home' comprises of multiple places and times and highlights the 'importance of the sensory in reconnecting and remembering experiences and places one has left behind' (Sutton 2001: 74). In their edited collection, Blunt and Dowling (2006) argue that the material and imaginative 'geographies of home' are bound together through various home-making practices. To understand home in these terms – as the binding of material and imaginative geographies – results in a deepening understanding of home as not fixed and static but rather as that which can move across borders through the practices closely examined throughout this thesis.

With a particular focus on refugee repatriation in which she critiques the idea that a return to the countries left behind is necessarily a return 'home', Hammond argues that these home-making practices come to be 'strategies of emplacement'. These strategies lead to 'the gradual expansion of places that people considered to be familiar and safe from the raw material of a space that was unfamiliar and dangerous' (Hammond 2004: 83), a process that occurs within and beyond the walls of the house. Below, the forms of this expansion are explored as I discuss the multiple strategies of emplacement which relate to sensory space-

time compression. I argue that this process of adding to places considered to be familiar is a fundamental part of home-making, and indeed expands beyond the parameters of the house, often bringing in other places through memory-based home-making practices.

Memory informs migrant home-making practices and participation as it enables those who move to introduce elements of the familiar into what would be an otherwise largely unfamiliar environment. Many of the women I worked with articulate the importance of *continuity* of certain activities in the face of moving from one place to another. The need to seek out and continue with ‘habits of life, expressions or activities’ (Said 1990: 366, cited in Ahmed 1999: 343) is profoundly important, particularly for women who have had to leave their homes for reasons beyond their control. In this way, the past informs the present and thus the negotiation of heritage is made material. Once more the manifestations of habitus are brought into the light and behaviours and practices partly informed by heritage which facilitate the process of sense-making and identity work can be witnessed in these continued, although at times slightly altered everyday practices.

Clearly visible in chapter 4, where the use of material culture in everyday and special occasion ritual was addressed, these manifestations of habitus are somewhat more ethereal here as we pay attention to the question of sensory space-time compression. The images discussed below illuminate the place-based manifestations of habitus and the heritage negotiation and performativity entangled within it. As such, I concentrate predominantly on the embodied experiences of habitus and heritage. The notion of the embodiment of home is prevalent here (Csordas 1990; Hetherington 1998; Bell 1999; Miszta 2007; Dudley 2010), highlighting how memories are channelled through the body, thus connecting particular places and times through sensory space-time compression.

6.4.2 The ‘bubble’

The three thematic categories of object, people and place flow and blend into one another repeatedly and as such, it follows that many examples from the data could be located within any one of these framing themes. Below, Farai and Haya’s examples, previously illuminating the role of material culture and the meaning and value inscribed in them through practice and ritual, now tell a different story, enabling the articulation of the complex ways in which places become entangled in the process of home-making. Both Farai and Haya describe an experience that conjures a ‘bubble-like’ sensation, so that the exact location of the image

becomes hazy as a result of the immersive nature of the embodied practice of preparing and eating particular food in a particular way.

Farai



It was so...chaotic but it was so much like how we would have been...when I was growing up so, this whole scenario, we could have just plonked this house and put it in Zimbabwe and that could have been Zim!

So did you feel aware of where you were in that or was it kind of...

*It was like a bubble, you would think I wasn't in the UK actually...you would think I was...I was at home, yeah! At 'home' *laughs**

Fig. 58: Farai (2016) – Picture 38

The temporal layer to this embodied experience of space-time compression is evident here as Farai explains that although taken in the present, the scenario captured in the photograph was '*so much like how we would have been when we were growing up...*'. These flows of memory and sensory experiences, the chaotic sounds from the busy house full of people, the smell of the barbecue which she remembers from barbecues in Zimbabwe from her childhood, facilitate an experience where she feels as though she were in a '*bubble*'. The place in which the photograph was taken fades into the background as the embodied experience and the memories attached to it transport Farai to another place and time,

enabling her to inhabit an understanding of home which draws sensorially on the past. Where previously it was the material culture which concerned us (see chapter 4, section 4.3.2), it is the experience of place capturing our attention here.

Farai's stable legal and financial status enables her to afford to travel to parts of the world where her friends live with whom she can speak Shona, have barbecues and participate in the kinds of activities that enable her to be transported sensorially to other homes. She explains how the exercise of taking the photographs for the interview made her realise that *'my life in Glasgow is mostly not in Glasgow...because most of my friends are not from here...don't live here so I tend to go where they are... or when I have friends over they are coming to visit from elsewhere and they are not from here they are also immigrants so...it made me realise that most of my friends are immigrants rather than locals.'* This realisation is significant and is articulated by many other participants, as they illustrate the value of a shared understanding of the experience of having to leave a home in order to move elsewhere. This insight further demonstrates the value of understanding the complexity of home and the danger of reducing it to that which is rooted and bound in place, as this can easily disable others from feeling at home in new places. The everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women as are brought to bear in this thesis, expose place-bound notions of home as reductive and essentialist, calling upon us to broaden our construction of home to include multiple places, times and people, and allowing us to draw upon a wide variety of tools with which to do so. Below, Haya articulates this same experience as facilitated by the performative practice of preparing and eating food.

Haya



We do this every day...not all families own dining tables, most of the families like to sit on the floor. On the carpet. We use these Arabic carpets... So sometimes when people are invited they like to sit the same way, on the floor. We find it more comfortable. And you feel like you are in your country. Brings nice memories.

Directly confronting the role of memory in performative home-making practices, Haya conveys with this image the cultivation of an experience of comfort directly linked with the feeling of being *'in your country'*, through carrying out this act of eating on the floor. The memories of her previous home and the practices she performed there which emphasised her 'at-homeness', are feeding into the kinds of practices she is participating in in her everyday life in Glasgow. Thus, through practices centred on material culture, memories and places are refracted and reflected in new places (Tolia-Kelly 2006). That memory is experienced through the vehicle of the body (Gilroy 1993) as is illustrated above, and that it is memory which enables individuals and groups to orient themselves in relation to place (Lewicka 2014), strongly reinforces the argument that home is to be found in the intersection between people, place and object, and mediated through the body. Our relationships to previous places in part shape our relationships to new places, as Ang writes: 'the diasporic imagination is fundamentally informed by the memory of a place left behind' (Ang 2011: 87). This argument is made manifest time and again in the data, be that through a rejection of the values and practices commonly carried out in the place left behind, or a desire to connect to previous habitus through familiar everyday practices and participation. Through these multiple approaches, home, heritage and identity can thus be navigated and meanings managed and negotiated (Hannerz 1996; Ashworth and Graham 2005; Tolia-Kelly 2006).

Harking back to the words of Alexis in section 6.3.3, we see once again emphasised the importance that it is *'nice memories'* which inform the 'diasporic imagination' (Ang 2011) and which are cultivated and drawn upon in the facilitation of sensory space-time compression. Here, the women are explicitly taking control over the *kinds* of memories that inform their home-making practices and negotiations of home, heritage and identity. For Becky, there is little she misses about Nigeria and as a result, she ensures that certain aspects which feel important for her to connect to are incorporated into her life in Glasgow. Below, she articulates how the photographs that she took for the interview, many of which are food-based, are demonstrating that it is important for her to recreate the kinds of meals she used to cook and eat growing up and as an adult.

Becky

I'm not really missing anything because I can get the kind of food I used to eat.

Is that important for you feeling good in Glasgow?

Yes, yeah, very important.

...

So ...you're connecting with Glasgow in a very present way?

Yeah, yeah. There's nothing I miss about Nigeria.

Apart from cheaper food.

Yeaaaaah! Cheaper local food...

It is important to stress that this analysis is not an oversimplification of home as purely safe, comfortable and familiar as Ahmed rightfully warns against (1999). Rather, it is an acknowledgement by almost all of the women that what they are striving for in their home-making practices is the cultivation of a predominantly stable, secure and comfortable environment; punctuating the 'raw material of the unfamiliar' (Hammond 2004: 83) with sites of familiarity to which they can return. As I have discussed, these sites can be geographically located, but they can also be accessed through other practices, such as food-based practices as explored in depth in chapter 4, or memory-based practices as is the concern of the analysis presented here. In the following section, Dahabo describes an experience during a facilitated visit to the Scottish countryside, where the sensory experience of being by a campfire triggered memories of her childhood in Somalia.

6.4.3 Old and new memories

Dahabo's memories of her childhood visits to family in the Somalian countryside are catalysed by attending a day trip that is organised by the mobile crèche at Integration Network 1, where she attends the women's group. The presence of a wood fire triggers memories of her childhood in Somalia and reminds her of a previous home. There is at once a present-centred explanation of the image in that her children enjoyed the day and the happiness of her children is paramount to her own happiness, yet at the same time previous places and times are catalysed by the sight, sound and smell of the fire. Here, Dahabo finds herself suspended between places and times, inhabiting a liminal, in-between space (Turner 1987; Bhabha 1994). She simultaneously finds herself in Glasgow watching her children enjoy the present, and is transported back to her own childhood in Somalia.

Dahabo



Fig. 60 : Dahabo (2016) – Picture 40

*So, it reminds me like, smoke or something like that when you're cooking *laughs* so I love really, to see in Glasgow, the fire. Wooden fire. It remind me really...*

So they took us...outside of Glasgow... It was beautiful. Me and my children really enjoyed it, they get face painted, everything...And it reminded me in my country because, when schools finish we always go...the countryside...because every Somalian family they have somebody live in...the countryside... So when my mum died, my dad move little bit far... so...I always go when the schools finished...

So this trip reminded you?

Yeah...The campfire remind me of my country because...we don't use the gas or electric at that time... always we used wood

The flow of memory between places is exhibited here. New memories being made in place and old memories being conjured by place facilitate this experience that entail Dahabo's interaction with the physical environment, thus responding directly to the research question 'how do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?'. The special occasion nature of this interaction in Somalia, namely when school had finished, resulted in the building of 'nice memories' for her in place, which she explains contrasts to many other memories of her childhood where her participation was shaped by her gender. That most of the pictures she took for the interview she says '*remind me in Glasgow*' makes visible the contrast between her memories and experiences of home as a young girl in Somalia, with those of her children in Glasgow.

Dahabo emphasises the importance of 'being outside' and participating in the place where they live beyond the parameters of the home, a clear contrast to her own childhood experience. '*I grew up with my aunt when my mum died...she always serious...when I used to*

say to my auntie 'I would like to play outside' she say 'no no no! Girl can't play outside. It's very dangerous. Don't go outside'...Otherwise clean house, cooking, standing, that's all...So...it makes me happy when my childrens are happy...' Here, Dahabo emphasises the role of children in her participation and negotiations of home, heritage and identity. Dahabo's childhood, shaped by her gender, results in her strong desire to foster a very different experience of place for her own children who have been born and will grow up in Glasgow. Asking her about the photographs she has taken and enquiring into the role of memory in her home-making practices, she tells me of the pictures:

...Most of them they remind me in Glasgow. Because I couldn't get...the very active childhood, ...when I see children playing...and playing outside it feels me like, Glasgow's the best. I never get this chance to do my childhood. I always been adult since I was child. So...when I see my children are happy, remind me Glasgow all the time. But when I'm countryside it remind me my country. Because I feel really really happy and free, nobody gonna say don't do that, do that. I'm just doing what I wanna do. So...most of them they remind me in Glasgow.

Once more we see the importance of both the creation of and drawing upon positive memories of and in place. In addition to experiences such as those depicted by the image of the fire, Dahabo is actively creating new memories in a place where she is seeking to cultivate feelings of home, having had to leave Somalia as a result of the ongoing war. Her children's pleasure in Glasgow makes this creation of new memories easier to facilitate, given that her children were both born in Glasgow and have no memories of Somalia having never been themselves. There is a clear need then, as was articulated by Alexis in section 6.3.3 and is articulated here, to draw upon largely positive memories when one leaves a home behind. This process serves to make the distance feel manageable and to enable the negotiation between homes in a way which also facilitates the process of making sense of homes, heritages and identities (Olwig and Hastrup [1997] 2005). Of course, there are a number of women who assert that they miss nothing about the countries they have left, and unsurprisingly, none of those women express experiences of sensory space-time compression. The women who did not miss previous homes, however, also articulated this same need to cultivate new, positive memories in place and spoke about the role of creating new memories in their home-making practices.

The embodied act of play is also an important factor for Dahabo's interaction with and understanding of place. The pleasure she takes in watching her children play and the way in which she facilitates this play: *'I'm thinking whatever they say, let's go, let's do it!'* demonstrate that her home-making practices are tightly bound up in her children's sense of place. Channelling her experiences and interactions with place in Glasgow largely through the bodies and participation of her children, we can see the role of embodiment in Dahabo's shifting experiences of and feelings towards place and home, as she has grown up, moved away from Somalia and had her own children in Glasgow. Below, Huda expands upon the role of embodiment in place-based experiences of home, articulating the experience of sensory space-time compression through the vehicle of smell.

6.4.4 The sensory home

Sperber (1975) examines the relationship between smell and memory, considering the impact of underplaying the affective power of smell given how often smell and memory come together in experiences of place. Drawing on and developing these ideas, Sutton uses Fernandez' concept of 'wholeness' (Fernandez 1986 cited in Sutton 2001) to explore how individuals seek to return to this whole in the face of place and time fragmentation, one of the ways through which to do so is through smell. The below quote from Huda exemplifies with great clarity how place and home are experienced in the body, and the role of the senses upon experiences of home. The exercise of taking the photographs made her remember Iraq, a sensation which she enjoyed, gathering the most positive memories of her home in Iraq into an internalised understanding of home.

Figure 61 was sent to Huda by her gardener in Iraq using her sister's phone. In the accompanying conversation she expresses the awe she felt upon receiving the photograph, describing how it triggered a dreamlike feeling and caused her to come out in goosebumps on her body. This strong physical and mental response to the image is a tangible manifestation of the entanglement of places and memories within the body. This discussion articulates the ways in which certain objects, images or practices serve to melt homes together causing the experience of home to flow across borders and time through the medium of memory and technology in this case (Vertovec 2001). Images made in one place and sent to another can momentarily cause an individual to feel *'it is...exactly...as if I'm sit there'* (Huda 2016). The strength of these experiences varies and may fade rapidly or over

time and as a result of new experiences (Sperber 1975; Sutton 2001), but is nonetheless evident in the examples presented here. For Huda, the strong memory of home as encapsulated in the smell of the flowers featured in the photograph is triggered by the image itself. The use of a visual method expands beyond the parameters of the particular sense in question – namely sight in the case of photography. This expansion can then encompass an entire sensory archive of experiences (Leach 2005) which come to be contained within the images themselves, and communicated through the marriage of image and the accompanying catalysed conversation.

Huda



Fig. 61: Huda (2016) – Picture 41

Was there anything you particularly enjoyed about taking the photographs?

Yeah, it make me remember my country. When I remember my garden... I have pictures for flowers and parks, and I'm happy Glasgow full of parks and gardens.

...

This is your garden in Iraq. Who sent these to you?

The gardener he said, he knows me...with my sister he say 'aah! Give me your....mobile to send to your sister'. Beautiful.

How did it make you feel when you got these pictures?

Oh the beginning make...you know these here...

Goosebumps?

Yeah, yeah! Really... and as if I'm sit there. Exactly...as if I'm sit there. And it's a dream and then....ah...it's beautiful.

...

Can you smell it when you are looking at these pictures?

*Yeah, yeah, it is...when you go out in the dawn, the garden, *breaths* aaah! No-one imagine it...unless you smell it. It's beautiful.*

Catalysed too by the parks and gardens in Glasgow, Huda's home is to be found in many places. Referring to the experience of seeing the image of the flowers in her garden in Iraq as '*a dream*' hints at the dreamlike quality which home can often take on, echoed too in the metaphor of '*the bubble*' used by Farai in section 6.4.2. We see time at play here, as Huda experiences in her body the strange dislocation of her self in place through the memories and senses conjured by the image she received. There is a rupture in time and space that opens up in the centre of experiences such as this, into which multiple times and places are poured, bringing geographically separated places into the same moment, resulting in the feeling of sensory space-time compression. We can see made visible here then, and in the examples woven throughout section 6.4, the temporal tensions which frame the lives of those who move, particularly for those who miss previous homes. There is a sense of unreality and confusion in the midst of sensory space-time compression. Farai describes the particular smell of the rain in Zimbabwe, and when I ask her if she has ever smelt the same smell in Glasgow she replies:

Not a lot, but once in a while I have.

And how does it make you feel when you do smell that?

I think...I get confused because I'm thinking 'where am I?'

Below she expands upon this to include the ways in which sounds and the connection of certain sounds to certain places and times can also have this effect.

I get confused because in Zimbabwe...if we've been and there's been a lot of power cuts, because everyone uses a generator, so the noise of the generator sounds like the...I have woken up thinking 'I'm in Zim' but then I'm not in Zimbabwe, they're just cleaning the streets but...it's because I think, 'oh it's the generator is on!' So yeah, it's sounds again, it's different sounds that do that.

This confusion is triggered by the disruption between the embodied archive of sensory experiences in previous homes and the sensory experiences being added to this archive in new homes. This sensation can be eased or at least negotiated through the refraction of memories of previous times and places through material culture, or routine and ritual, as was the subject of chapter 4. Once again, we see the ways in which memory provides a reference point in the negotiations of homes, heritages and identities. Also reiterated is the importance that the memories informing our sense of home in place are often largely positive. The experience of nostalgia which has surfaced numerous times throughout this thesis arguably depends upon the memories of previous times and places being remembered and re-remembered through this same dreamlike, romanticised lens (Blunt and Dowling 2004).

What occurs during sensory space-time compression as has been explored and analysed here, is a rupture between previous and current places and times. Through the marriage of the body in place and the embodied archive of sensory experiences (Leach 2005), this rupture is at once both eased and causes confusion. Thus, the bittersweet experience of being at once in multiple places can be fostered through performative acts or returns to particular places, or triggered by a particular sound or smell. We can understand sensory space-time compression therefore, as at once both a potential tool and a symptom of migrant home-making. Individuals may draw upon this tool to find 'firm ground under their feet' (Thomassen 1996: 44, cited in Sutton 2001: 75), yet at the same time they are also vulnerable to the sensation being triggered as a result of this vast embodied archive. We can also understand sensory space-time compression as being another form of liminal space in which in that moment, individuals simultaneously sensorally inhabit multiple places at once. Like liminality, this experience dislocates from space and time, forcing individuals to inhabit this strange sensation of being 'betwixt and between' (Turner 1967) as many of the women articulate.

6.4.5 Conclusion

The examples analysed above have illuminated the simultaneity with which migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are able to inhabit multiple places, explored here particularly through the experience of sensory space-time compression. This co-existence of multiple

places and times makes possible the creation of 'meaningful and manageable contexts of life in the modern world' (Olwig and Hastrup ([1997] 2005: 12). Creating these manageable contexts can be conjured through food-based rituals as was demonstrated by Haya in section 6.4.2, or catalysed by receiving and looking at a photograph of another place as illustrated by Huda in section 6.4.4 (Sperber 1975; Sutton 2001). It is possible to access this experience again through recreating these rituals and looking again at such photographs. It is the managing of one's *context* through using tools such as return, routine and participation that enables individuals to negotiate between and make sense of home in the face of change and uncertainty. In this sense, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers draw on multiple sources of memory of places, times and aspects of identity and home, to enable them to negotiate this tricky, sometimes ruptured terrain. The shifting between these 'habitats of meaning' (Hannerz 1996) in which migrants, refugees and asylum seekers dwell and upon which they draw to make sense of self and the world around them, is part of the complex, rhizomatic process of home-making that occurs through everyday participation and practice.

Theories of transnationalism are useful here as they enable us to situate the memory work explored above within a framework of understanding that home-making practices are inextricably linked to identity negotiation. As Vertovec states: 'identities play out and position individuals in the course of their everyday lives within and across each of their places of attachment and perceived belonging' (2001: 578). It is through moving between multiple sites of attachment that those who move are able to work through tricky questions of identity and belonging. Vitality, this work cannot take each aspect of home-making in isolation, but rather must be negotiated in relation to people and places with which individuals and groups interact as a result of movement from one place to the next. When considered in relation to the practices outlined in this chapter, the theoretical tools offered by transnationalism allow us to consider the possibility of 'unfixing identities' (Robins and Aksoy 2001: 709). Instead, it is possible to find 'new ways to understand notions of citizenship, belonging and identity' (Ozkul 2012: 7) that makes it a useful concept for the framing of this research project.

The importance of memory to interactions with place is also abundantly clear. In contrast to the earlier examples in this section, Alexis and Dahabo speak about the vital role of creating *new* memories in a place, articulating the ways in which this allows them to cultivate a familiar relationship with the place they are currently living in, thus developing a

forward-looking approach to home. Although Dahabo has children and Alexis does not, their memory-making practices are both motivated by a difficult relationship to previous places. We can see that Dahabo's memory-making occurs largely through the participation of her children in place, whereas for Alexis, her desire to look forwards is motivated by an ambivalent relationship to her previous 'home' which was largely a negative one. For many of these women, the places they have left would no longer be the familiar places they were prior to their leaving them. Due to the passing of time, redevelopment, or war, these places have changed and continue to do so in their absence. The significant memories drawn on as a result of this typically turn further back, to childhood or times when countries and homes were more stable and peaceful (Ang 2011).

Once again, the role of people in home-making is made evident. Children's development of relationships to new places facilitates in turn the development of parent's relationship to place, and the building of new social networks in place encourages a deepening sense of attachment. Simultaneously, for some, the maintaining of social networks across the globe serves to continue the attachment of ideas of home to previous times and places through the vehicle of people. The examples of sensory space-time compression exhibited here have demonstrated the multifaceted and highly complex ways in which in the face of movement, the drawing on and cultivation of memories can serve to bind places together in the minds of those who move, binds which can be made material through embodied interactions with place.

6.5 Conclusion

'All those who in the midst of change 'are looking for firm ground under their feet'
(Thomassen 1996: 44 cited in Sutton 2001: 75)

The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates the vital role of place in negotiations of homes, heritages and identities. The quote from Thomassen above (1996: 44, cited in Sutton 2001), illustrates the ways in which in the face of migration, each individual is looking for 'firm ground'; a sense of stability upon which to stand. Vitally however, the discussions that have concerned us here have demonstrated that this firm ground more often than not does

not consist of one place. Rather, it is comprised of the kinds of everyday practices analysed in this thesis which serve to connect multiple places and times. Just as home cannot be bound to one particular place or time, the specificity of Glasgow itself is less significant than I originally supposed. Many of the women point out that it is the objects and practices, places and people that enable them to feel at home which are of greater importance to the home-making endeavour. Farai, for example, realised through the act of taking the photographs that her home '*was not in Glasgow at all*'. Rather, it was to be found in other places where the people alongside whom she could negotiate her sense of home, heritage and identity lived. I argue that it is the strategies of emplacement analysed here that enable individuals and groups to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities, and through which places and times are channelled and refracted.

The act of home-making then, is carried out against a backdrop of place, and inarguably relies upon interactions *with* place, as is clear in the examples analysed above. What is also evident is that these interactions with place do not occur in isolation, but rather *in relation to* previous places and participations which took place there. This is abundantly clear in all of the interviews, be the associations with and experiences of previous places largely positive or negative. Thus, it is the freedoms for certain kinds of participation to be carried out in place as they are *relative* to freedoms afforded or indeed withheld in previous places, which is addressed in the analysis.

...Part of it was simply things that I enjoy doing...and I tried to not...simply go down the route of what I like doing, because...a lot of that is non place specific, but I did take a few pictures of things I like doing, just because...I thought even if they're not non place specific, when I go to a place that I live in, doing those make me feel more whole, and that wholeness is what makes me feel at home. That idea of being to satisfy my many needs in a place. – Coloma (2016)

Here, Coloma once more addresses the ways in which a large part of home-making is the capacity to identify and meet needs in place. The meeting of these needs results in participation that is '*non place specific*'. Rather, she is interested in representing the tools she uses when she is living anywhere that make her feel more whole, a feeling which in turn makes her feel at home. This 'wholeness' which Coloma explicitly expresses echoes the work

of Sutton (2001), who identifies the strategies employed by those who move as strategies which ultimately seek to return to this sense of wholeness. The replication of routines, habits and sensory experiences in place enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to combine multiple places. Once more the perspective of 'the migrant experience' as existing in the simple binary between 'home' and 'away' is challenged, instead making room for a multitude of experiences in which individuals become entangled in an ongoing process of negotiation between places, times and homes.

Sutton claims that food can be understood as a 'cultural site' through which a sense of cultural wholeness might be obtained. This notion opens up the idea that cultural sites such as food or geographical places which trigger memories can be located with new vigour by those who have left homes. This process, Sutton argues, occurs in a bid to access this feeling of wholeness and to 'reintegrate the past and the present' (Sutton 2001: 75). In the data presented here, it is evident that although the strategies of emplacement drawn on by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers take myriad forms, they all centre on the need to return to and re-capture this sense of wholeness. This can be achieved through drawing on these cultural sites in routine and ritual as explored in chapter 4, through speaking first languages in a new country of residence as discussed in chapter 5, or through embodied experiences of sensory space-time compression as has been addressed in chapter 6. For those with more ambivalent feelings towards previous homes, these strategies may entail allowing certain bridges to crumble and building new bridges. Thus, individuals negotiate homes, heritages and identities alongside and against people in place.

The strategies of emplacement analysed in chapters 4 to 6, then, are not directly overlaying a previous life onto a new one, rather they work to hollow out some space in a new and unfamiliar terrain so that some sense of familiarity might be found. Further, many of these strategies witness the coming together of past and present, old and new, familiar and unfamiliar, as individuals and groups seek to cultivate familiarity within place. Place, therefore, rather than tied to roots and soil, can be transported through everyday acts such as eating, sending photographs or shopping for food. It is this approach to place as it interacts with concepts of home, which can ultimately enable us to continue to challenge notions of home, heritage and identity as essentialised and firmly fixed in place.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Restatement of purpose

This thesis has sought to disentangle the complex relationship between migration and home by building an understanding of the experiential, everyday layer of migrant home-making. The thesis has demonstrated the multifaceted nature of home and analysed the various tools used by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to navigate and negotiate between multiple places and times. Throughout the previous six chapters, I have addressed the following research questions:

1. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women in Glasgow understand and negotiate 'home' through the things they do in their everyday lives?
2. What impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?
3. How do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?
4. How do these embodied processes interact with the fabric of Glasgow itself?
5. How do participatory sensory methods help us to understand these processes?

Drawing upon transnationalism (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Vertovec 2001; Levitt 2009; Robins and Aksoy 2001), this research presents a challenge to the political and ideological rhetoric which seeks to build walls between groups. These walls serve to carve lines between people and place, ascribing and attaching particular practices and characteristics to place and understanding these as rooted and fixed. The analysis presented in this thesis articulates the kinds of resources that are vital for individuals and groups to be able to access as they endeavour to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities. As I have illustrated, some of these resources are to be found in the form of habitus, located within the internalised practices of individuals as they move from one place to another. Habitus enables those who move to carry with them socialised frameworks with which to

understand themselves and their position within the world (Bourdieu 1990). Other resources however, are more contingent on the ability to access particular spheres of participation, spheres denied to those inhabiting the precarious and liminal space enforced upon them in their existence in the asylum system.

This concluding chapter first addresses the thesis as a whole, drawing out the most crucial arguments and responding directly to the research questions outlined above. It then points to theoretical and methodological suggestions for further research before discussing suggestions for approaches to resource provision for new arrivals in Glasgow. This final section will be of most value to Glasgow Life, the collaborative partners and key stakeholders in this research.

7.2 What has gone before

7.2.1 The literature review

Chapter 2 discussed the bodies of work which have informed this doctoral research, positioning the thesis within the migration-home nexus (Boccagni 2017). The vital importance of accounting for the ways in which migration further problematises readings of home as fixed and rooted in place was mobilised as a central argument. There is no 'essential' characteristic which determines where home is located, rather there are a number of important strategies employed by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers that enable them to make sense of self and place (Hammond 2004). Through the cultivation of familiarity, home is understood as mobile and transportable through the forms of everyday participation and practices that have been analysed in chapters 4 - 6. There are four key assets of this perspective.

First, it challenges the assumption that home can be determined by birth and is only to be found in one particular place (Clifford 1997; Bhabha 1994; Ahmed 1999). Certainly, as the factors which cause migration – worsening economic situations, increasing political unrest or steadily declining climate stability – increase in number and ferocity more and more individuals and groups are making journeys of varying precariousness and length to others parts of the world. These journeys are almost entirely catalysed by a need to locate certain characteristics of home which many feel are more likely to be found elsewhere;

safety and security being particularly pertinent factors here. For other individuals of a more stable status, it is perhaps new adventures which are sought, or better pay, or a new job. In the face of each of the legal statuses explored in this thesis – migrant, refugee and asylum seeker – each individual draws upon particular tools which enable them to negotiate the sometimes stormy seas of home-making. These tools have been analysed here, and evidence the fact that home is infinitely more complex than the binary model effused by much of the nationalist rhetoric that is worryingly rearing its head in Europe and the United States once more, in the wake of the EU referendum in Britain and the rise of the far-right in the United States¹⁰.

Second, adopting an approach to home which focuses on the *tools* and *practices* of home-making enables us to further articulate the ways in which home is not to be found in *place*, but rather in the strategies of emplacement that Hammond illustrates in her work on refugee repatriation in Ethiopia (2004). By unfixing homes from place, we are instead able to see and understand the ways in which home is more often located in everyday participation and practices. The alignment of the concept of ‘strategies of emplacement’ with transnationalism enables us to understand the ways in which the tools drawn upon by migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women to negotiate between homes offer a means of also ‘unfixing identities’ (Robins and Aksoy 2001: 709). The capacity of a transnational framework to support the analysis of everyday migrant home-making practices has been made abundantly clear in this thesis. It has been illustrated time and again that the kinds of tools drawn upon as discussed throughout chapters 4 - 6 enable the women to *negotiate* between multiple aspects of their identities and associations of home with place. In turn, this has enabled them to maintain links between multiple places, identities and homes simultaneously, once more highlighting this challenge to the fixing of home and identity to place.

Third, in paying attention to these strategies and locating them within the wider framework of gender and legal status in the analysis, we are able to highlight the broader social and structural factors shaping these practices. As this relates to gender, we can understand in more depth the socially internalised behaviours which are drawn upon in

¹⁰ As evidenced by the actions such as the Unite the Right march in Charlottesville in 2017
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/12/charlottesville-far-right-crowd-with-torches-encircles-counter-protest-group>

everyday home-making such as the food-based special occasion and ritual addressed in chapter 4, sections 4.2 and 4.3. These practices are in part, although not exclusively, shaped by gender. Many migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women move to a new place equipped with the skill of cooking, a resource which enables them to then participate in other forms of home-making. Through bringing in food prepared at home to share with other attendees at the groups they attend, they are able to access an important form of home-making: the blending of everyday and facilitated spheres of participation (see chapter 4, section 4.3.3). Furthermore, they are able to provide for themselves and any family they may also live with or nearby. This provision not only practically ensures the general wellbeing of themselves and their family as Becky articulated in chapter 4, but also provides a valuable tool to facilitate space-time compression through the performative act of sourcing, preparing and eating certain foods that contains memories of other places and times. Although restricted by barriers put in place for those in the asylum system as I set out in chapter 3, the importance of food was articulated as important by women from all three legal statuses. Even those in the asylum system ensured that they found ways to source the kinds of foods they wanted to eat which would facilitate the negotiation of homes. Thus through food, individuals were able to regain some control in the face of a distinct lack of control and choice over their future status in the current place of residence.

Finally, the perception of home as that which cannot be attached to place guides us towards a reading of home as instead consisting of a continual process of 'working out', often manifesting in a dialogic relationship between multiple places and times. This reading allows us to conclude that home and migration cannot be understood as linear processes. Pertinent to drawing this conclusion has been the argument that the role of memory in everyday migrant home-making practices makes this nonlinearity starkly evident (Lewicka 2014). Through memory, individuals move back and forth between places and times through their embodied everyday home-making practices. Through embodied performativity and internalised memories and practices, individuals are able to bring previous places and times into the present. Thus, the past is drawn on to make sense of the present, and the intertwining of heritage, home and identity negotiation is evident. The migration-home nexus necessitates a process of interaction between past and present and multiple sites of attachment or nonattachment, in order that individuals may define for themselves where home is and how it is made. The interrelation between places and the associations with

places, be they positive or negative or a mixture of both, is what enables migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to negotiate home. Thus, the process of making sense and working out this interrelation determines the nonlinear quality of the migration-home nexus.

7.2.2 Analytical chapters

The analytical chapters put the theoretical work of chapter 2 into practice, using a collage of concepts such as performativity (Butler 1990), habitus (Bourdieu 1990), embodiment (Csordas 1990; Gilroy 1993; Hetherington 1998; Bell 1999; Misztal 2007; Dudley 2010) and transnationalism (Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Vertovec 2001; Levitt 2009) to analyse the data generated through the photo elicitation method as outlined in chapter 3. The analysis chapters were divided into three themes: object, people and place. This decision was guided by the evident groupings as I began the early stages of analysis (see chapter 3 section 3.3.6).

Chapter 4 dealt with the use of material culture in the everyday home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women, addressing particularly its use in everyday and special occasion ritual, sharing and gift-giving, and the role of memory in interactions with material culture. The key argument made in this chapter was that material culture has a vital role to play in the process of negotiating between places and times (Tolia-Kelly 2006). The focus in this chapter was on food, given that it is prolific in both its use by participants and in its ability as a tangible item to be imbued with meaning and value, perpetuated and shared in its use in everyday and special occasion ritual carried out both individually and shared with others (Sahlins 1965; Gasparetti 2009; Rabikowska 2010). Present throughout this discussion was the role of legal status in shaping these practices, as I discussed its impact upon the ability to transport objects in migration, as well as the ways in which it was overcome through food-based practices. The relationship between public and private was highlighted in the conclusion, as I argued that the interaction between facilitated and everyday participation is fundamental to these home-making practices. The performative food-based practices analysed here enable the women to integrate public and private spheres, expand social networks and negotiate habitus through engaging with individuals whose habitus is different, as well as sharing their own. It is evident that objects serve to refract places, and thus facilitate the cultivation of familiarity through this transporting of previous times and places into the new place. The importance of 'things' (Miller 2001) then,

must be given careful attention in migration research as we understand the multiple forms which home-making and negotiation between places can take.

Chapter 5 addressed the people-centred home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women, inquiring firstly into the role of children in the everyday participation of mothers. Providing evidence for the ways in which place comprises of a constellation of social networks (Massey [1994] 2001), I argued that in addition to the building of new social connections, through the continued connections to people in other places and other homes, migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women are able to cultivate familiarity in place. This occurs primarily through the sharing of the same language and references as was explored in section 5.3, and recreating particular forms of participation which are familiar, as well as through learning about new cultural practices and cultivating familiarity with new forms of participation. The impact of the absence of family members upon feelings of 'home' is also not to be underestimated, and thus it is important that family reunion policy is altered to enable family members to be reunited with greater ease and rapidity. The data clearly demonstrated that the absence of family members proves to hinder the home-making process, as even for those who feel disconnected in identity to the countries they have left express not feeling fully at home in Glasgow due to this absence. Additionally, drawing upon the theoretical work of chapter 2 section 2.5, chapter 5 also served to highlight the ways in which identity performativity is a relational process. In everyday migrant home-making practices, identity performativity is carried out against a backdrop of the kinds of policies and rhetoric that classify migrants, refugees and asylum seekers as 'other'. As such, there is a sense in which migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women's identity work and home-making practices are not only already being carried out in relation to the new habitus of those around them, but must also contend with assimilatory immigration policy, bound up with the need to protect so-called 'British values'.

Chapter 6 further shed light on the processes by which places are entangled in everyday migrant home-making practices. Arguing that place is an important characteristic of home and that 'all those who in the midst of change 'are looking for firm ground under their feet' (Thomassen 1996: 44, cited in Sutton 2001: 75), this chapter challenged the idea that a quest for 'firm ground' is inherently bound up in one place. Instead, I demonstrated that this ground often comprises of a meshwork of places, the important factor being that the women themselves feel able to be in control of their negotiation of this meshwork. In this sense, for

the women in the asylum system, the stability of this meshwork is much more precarious and fragile, and as a result of the decision of their status being in the hands of the Home Office, their relationship with place becomes more complex and difficult to negotiate. The crucial conclusion drawn here was that ultimately, everyday migrant home-making practices seek to return to a feeling of 'wholeness', a process by which it is possible to 'reintegrate the past and the present' (Sutton 2001: 75). In this way, places, times and homes are understood as inextricably bound together and negotiated through the kinds of practices that have been analysed throughout this thesis. Below, I first outline the limitations of the research before highlighting not only the original contribution made, but also the implications of the knowledge produced.

7.4 Limitations of the research

The limitations of this research are applicable as a critique to all small-scale anthropological studies. Due to the small sample of participants, it is often argued that the extrapolation of the knowledge produced is difficult and arguably less substantial than in larger scale qualitative studies, or indeed in the use of quantitative methods. Although this research is not 'true' ethnography in the sense that I did not at any point *live* with any of the women interviewed, it draws on ethnographic methods. The use of methods such as participant observation and photo elicitation interviews positions the methodological approach in the discipline of anthropology, although this thesis borrows conceptually from sociology. The limitations, therefore, are that it may be seen to simultaneously not explore the lives of the women interviewed in as much depth as necessary, nor to have sufficient separation from the lives of the women whose stories are presented in this thesis. Hammersley writes that 'many sociological ethnographers focus on what happens in a particular work locale or social institution when it is in operation, so that in this sense their participant observation is part-time' (2006: 4). In this research, the participant observation was conducted predominantly during the running of the groups which lasted for a few hours each week. The interaction between the participant observation and the photo elicitation interviews served to generate the data and the knowledge production occurred both collaboratively through the interviews and through both the inductive analysis during fieldwork itself and following the data collection.

It is also important to consider researcher positionality in this thesis. As a white woman of relatively secure and stable circumstances, I have little to contend with in the way of migration, although it is perhaps useful to acknowledge that as an English person living in Scotland, I was in some small way - and incomparably - a minority during my fieldwork. My position in relation to many of the women as a native English speaker and a resident of the UK, meant that my relationship to home was not only geographically much closer, but also not placed in relation to those considered to be 'local' or 'native' in quite the same way. As such, I can speculate that perhaps the data generated in the interviews may have been different had the women been interviewed by someone of a similar migration background. This is, however, not always the case. Gunaratnam discusses practices of racial matching of researcher and participant, remarking: 'matching practices... are based upon ideas of racial identities as being primary, 'pure', mono-cultural and unaffected by differences of gender, class, disability or sexuality' (Gunaratnam 2003: 81). Here, Gunaratnam highlights the manifold and complex intersections that are encompassed within the analysis presented here, which shape the lives of participants and researchers and which cannot be overcome through straightforward methodological approaches such as racial matching. Rather, practices such as this understate the impact of various social and structural factors.

I argue that I sought to counter these key limitations in two crucial ways. First, I ensured that the range of women interviewed documented a multitude of different migrant experiences as the individuals varied in age, cultural background and legal status. In order to answer the research question 'what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?', it was necessary to account for the role of gender and legal status in the analysis. It was also important to account for the numerous other axes of influence, although at a secondary level (see chapter 2, section 2.2.4 for further discussion). In this way, this research was grounded in the intersectional approach to social research espoused in chapter 2. Furthermore, in discussing the role of multiple axes upon everyday migrant home-making practices, it was possible to understand the wider social factors shaping the performativity of heritage and identity, thus not only overcoming the aforementioned limitation, but also directly addressing the research question: 'how do migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women negotiate and perform their heritages and identities through the act of home-making?'

Second, the time period of roughly a week in which the women could take photographs and reflect upon their response to the brief set created an important space in which I was present only in the sense that the photographs were being taken as a result of their participation in this doctoral project. The choice over what images to take and choose to speak about in the interview however, was entirely the participants' own. By creating this space I sought to account for my impact as a researcher, which would undoubtedly be enhanced significantly were I to conduct 'deeper', 'true' ethnography and participate in their daily lives and routines. In this way, these routines and practices could take place and generate data and knowledge with as little impact from my presence as possible. Only in the interview during my interaction with and interpretation of the content of the images and the conversation catalysed, was my presence made fully material. In the following section, I detail the original contribution made by this research.

7.5 Contributions to research

This thesis has made two key original contributions to the field of the migration-home nexus. The first is methodological, as the use of visual methods to explore the phenomena of everyday migrant home-making practices and experiences is still a very young practice. As such, this work is unique in capturing these experiences and locating them within not only the wider context of Glasgow, but also situating the data intersectionally as the narratives are framed by legal status and gender. Boccagni's book *Migration and the Search for Home: Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives* (2017) traces the history of research in this field and identifies a number of gaps which future research could address:

Past research on the migration-home nexus falls into a continuum between a limited number of surveys...and a majority of qualitative case studies, based on some combination between in-depth interviews, life history collection and ethnography of everyday life environments and material cultures. (Boccagni 2017: 37)

Here, Boccagni clearly outlines the preferable use of qualitative data as it serves to attend to the experiential and everyday in greater depth. The identification of potential foci comes in

the form of his outlining the methodological possibilities for research on the migration-home nexus:

'A variety of visual and participatory techniques can be applied, with a view to providing a documental background or, more ambitiously, to elicit home-related information, meanings, memories, even 'ways of seeing' (Ortega-Alcazár 2012). The key point, here, is that 'representations and constructions of home' entail a multi-sensorial experience which is not fully reducible to oral or written descriptions; and that, for the same reasons, collecting respondents' own constructions of what is home-like or not calls for a significant degree of personal involvement from their side. (Boccagni 2017: 45)

It is this perspective which has driven the use of the visual and sensorial method of photo elicitation in this thesis. To both generate participants' self-representation of experiences of home, and also acknowledge and account for the ways in which home is a 'multi-sensorial experience' lies at the heart of the methodology in this research. The diversity within the sample in combination with the use of photo elicitation contributes an original perspective on migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women's experiences of home and the ways in which it is negotiated. This makes possible a particular focus on the *embodied* element of these practices, which, as I have argued alongside Dudley (2010), Csordas (1990) and others in chapters 4 - 6, is a crucial characteristic of home to consider.

The second contribution is more practical. The generation of data that provides clear evidence for the argument that home and identity cannot be fixed and bound to place further equips us with counter-narratives to xenophobia and racism. The clear demonstration of the complex interweaving of place and time has been illustrated throughout this thesis. This serves to deconstruct the borders and boundaries erected around concepts of national identity, both by nation states and 'citizens' in the reiteration of these beliefs in their everyday practices and on a more structural and systemic level. Furthermore, the analysis presented here seeks to highlight the argument put so eloquently by Hannerz, that 'as people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of travelling even when people stay put, territories cannot really contain cultures' (1996: 8).

We must continue to contribute to the reinforcement of this fact. All of the interviews demonstrate without fail that the meanings ascribed to material cultures, the meanings

reiterated and renegotiated through performative practices independently or alongside other people, and the meanings imbued in or catalysed by place are both mobile and changing. The dialogue between fix and flux has been shown time and again throughout this thesis to lie at the core of how we understand and make home (Williams 1958; Back 1996). In this way, we are better equipped to adopt a more open approach to our understandings of what and where home is for others, just as it might challenge our presumptions about what and where home is for us. Below, I expand upon the contributions offered by this thesis, as I suggest both theoretical and methodological developments in further research on the migration-home nexus, as well as potential developments in policy and the provisions of Glasgow Life, a key stakeholder in this research.

7.6 Implications for theory, method, and stakeholders

7.6.1 Theoretical and methodological suggestions

The findings set out in this thesis and the means by which I have arrived at the conclusions outlined above have added to a growing body of work. The core contribution of this work is to build upon the argument that home is a complex and fluid entity, difficult to pin down and as a result of the ethereal nature of home-making practices, difficult to study (Bourdieu 1990). By setting out to study both migrants', refugees' and asylum seekers' experiences of home and the tools which facilitate the home-making process, I have been able to articulate a number of important aspects for moving forward in researching the migration-home nexus, both on a theoretical and methodological level.

First, the methods used to conduct research into this field are responsible for shaping the data generated and consequently the analysis produced and conclusions drawn. I argue therefore, that it is wholly necessary that in research seeking to understand the lived experiences of migrant home-making, the voices of the participants are situated at the fore of the research and that these voices guide the interview process. Issues of self-representation are pertinent to address when working with individuals and groups whose representation is predominantly carried out on their behalf and situated within wider issues of media rhetoric and misrepresentation. As such, this thesis contributes to the body of visual anthropological work seeking to attend closely to issues of participant agency and self-

representation within research, particularly that which is examining phenomena at an experiential level.

Second, this research has evidenced the need to develop work in the field of the migration-home nexus, a relatively nascent relationship which merges together a number of disciplines and uses a number of methods and theoretical approaches in research. Not only is the inextricable linkage of migration and home self-evident in this thesis, but the marrying of these theoretical frameworks further strengthens the argument that disputes nationalist rhetoric, eschewing perspectives of home and identity as binary and determined along place-bound lines. I suggest therefore, that in order to build upon the evidence which advances this more open understanding of home and migration, more research is undertaken which contributes to this growing corpus of work. Furthermore, the production of a greater wealth of knowledge about the complex lived experiences of migrant home-making and the generation of a visual/sensory representation of this – produced by participants where possible – serves to continue challenging the ‘expert’, ‘non-expert’ binary. In this way, it is possible to place power back into the hands of participants over their own representation. Reflective practice regarding the method of knowledge production chosen is, I believe, a particularly powerful tool which can be used to address power imbalances, both in the conducting of research and beyond.

For the third suggestion in moving forward, I recall once more the research question: ‘what impact do legal status and gender have on the everyday participation and home-making practices of migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women?’. It is vital that research in this field locates individual narratives within broader frameworks of analysis, positioning the data within an understanding of the social and structural factors that shape it. As has been illustrated in this thesis, the barriers to home-making faced by those in the asylum system are wholly tangible, and therefore it is vital that this is accounted for. An important outcome of this research has been to identify the barriers to home-making faced by migrant women of all statuses, but most pertinently to those who are waiting for a decision on their asylum claim to be made by the Home Office. The resources necessary for home-making that are made available or inaccessible to migrants of these three different legal statuses, all have huge implications for the tools that are available to draw upon to negotiate between homes, heritages and identities. Some of these obstacles are possible to overcome. Many of the women spoke about their ability to source and prepare the kinds of foods they are familiar

with, however this is made significantly harder as economic resources are squeezed by restrictions to work and the amount granted to a single adult in the asylum system, as I outlined in chapter 3, section 3.4.1.

There has already been an increase in migration scholars placing gender into the frame of analysis (Boyd and Grieco 2003; Boyd and Grieco 2003, Silvey 2006; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Brettell 2017; Andall 2000). Driven by an intersectional approach, it is also of fundamental importance to account for the impact of other structural factors, most pertinently that of legal status, as I justify above. I have sought to capture the impact of both these frames of analysis in the research question by inquiring into the role of gender and legal status upon the everyday migrant home-making practices. In addition, the participants ranged in age and cultural background, which have also been included in the analysis. Examples of this have included exploring the impact of children upon negotiations of home, as well as considering the ways in which habitus as learned through internalised social, cultural frameworks impacts upon the kinds of practices and tools drawn upon in everyday home-making practices. I suggest that further research must not isolate any one of these shaping factors as taking precedence over others, but rather seek to equip the analysis with an understanding and appreciation for the ways in which these multiple forces and factors *intersect* with one another to construct a web of influences and impacts upon experiences of home and migration. Below I expand the suggestions to the key stakeholders, situating the conclusions within the context of policy more broadly.

7.6.2 Suggestions for Glasgow Life and Cultural Institutions more widely

It is evident in the analysis presented and the conclusions drawn in this thesis that it is of vital importance to address the needs of new arrivals and ensure that their access to the necessary resources is made available. To fail to do so prevents migrants, refugees and asylum seekers from being able to conduct their everyday home-making practices in a way which eases dislocation as much as possible. It is also important to understand, of course, that the reasons for these policies not already being in place are manifold and complex. Just as the subject matter of 'home' and 'migration' are labyrinthine in experience and in practice, so too in broader political constructions of and consequential 'managing' are they often submerged in the murky waters of British nationalism and meritocratic lenses upon immigration policy (May, T. 2016). As such, the granting of resources such as high quality

English language classes, or the rights of access to work for newcomers and particularly those in the asylum system, are framed by these broader issues and current atmosphere of growing hostility to immigrants (The Economist 2016).

It is clear that the work of the Integration Networks is invaluable to many newcomers, especially those who access to other realms of participation may be limited, be this as a result of language capacity, limited pre-existing social networks, the presence of children or a range of other factors. For those whose participation can be facilitated by employment, studying or a pre-existing social network, the need for spaces such as the groups provided by the Integration Networks is reduced. In addition, the ability of the Networks to provide a range of resources which enable certain individuals to return to the groups such as a free lunch and travel reimbursement, is entirely dependent on their continued funding, the obtaining of which is increasingly becoming a competitive activity (UNISON 2016). I argue therefore, that it is necessary to take the home-making practices analysed in chapters 4 - 6 as evidence that the facilitated participation offered at groups such as those provided by the Integration Networks is materially important for the development of a sense of home. These include social networks (Massey [1994] 2001), learning new languages (Gunew 2003), and the ability to cultivate familiarity (Hammond 2004), both through developing friendships with attendees from the same language background and through becoming familiar with the practices of individuals from other parts of the world. The expression of Dahabo's image of life without the Network: *'maybe it's gonna be at home. Go to the park, don't talk anybody, except Somali community'* demonstrates the clear need for spaces such as the women's group, in which migrant, refugee and asylum-seeking women can come together with others and share in these experiences of moving. Exhibited once more is the vital importance of facilitated participation for those arriving in a new, unfamiliar place. The fact that cities are better positioned than more rural locations to offer a multitude of forms of participation is only possible as a result of historic migration, shaping the kinds of facilities and resources available.

For Glasgow Life, I will produce a full report of findings following the completion of this doctorate which will expand upon the suggestions made here. In order to discuss the contribution of this research toward the possibilities for practice, I feel it would be helpful at this point to return to the strategic objectives introduced in chapter 1 (see appendix 1), the most important of which is to: 'encourage participation, involvement and engagement in

culture and sport for all'. In the face of the cold reality of the tightening restrictions implemented through immigration policy, as well as ongoing cuts to funding for local Councils and local community organisations, there are a number of openings which it is possible for Glasgow Life to fill. As a mainstream cultural institution that 'delivers cultural, sporting and learning activities on behalf of Glasgow City Council' (Glasgow Life 2017), Glasgow Life are in a strong position to be able to offer a programme of activities which could facilitate the kinds of participation identified as of value in this thesis. The inclusivity of the stated desire to 'encourage participation, involvement and engagement in culture and sport *for all*' (author's emphasis) must be carefully attended to as they review their provision and plan for the future.

Decisions over the kinds of provision that are of the most value for the everyday home-making practices of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, cannot be made in absentia of the participants themselves. Too often, cultural institutions arrange tokenistic 'consultations' (Lynch 2011) with community partners, in which projects have already been designed. In the report for the Paul Hamlyn Foundation: *Whose cake is it anyway?* (2011), Lynch stresses the importance of adopting a model of collaboration rather than consultation when designing a project which is intended to be for the community. As such, this research suggests that continuing to develop already existing relationships with community partners in the city could serve to benefit both Glasgow Life and the communities for whom they work.

I suggest then, that Glasgow Life consider working directly alongside organisations such as the Integration Networks, who cater specifically for the needs of the migrant population, diverse and varied as it is. Many of these organisations are fighting to overcome the barriers to participation that their service users face, particularly those in the asylum system as I have illustrated in this thesis. This would enable Glasgow Life to not only expand their networks in the city and cultivate good working community partnerships, but also to build upon and diversify their existing resources and facilities. In this way, it would be possible to develop their expansive programme of events alongside community partners to cater more widely within the city and open up spheres of participation to those whose opportunities for participation are reduced as a result of their legal status. Acknowledging the expertise of organisations working directly within communities about the needs and forms of participation which would be the most beneficial to those communities would help Glasgow

Life to ensure that they are meeting the key objectives introduced in chapter 1. Below, I conclude this thesis with the crucial final remarks.

7.7 Final remarks

This doctoral thesis has demonstrated two key points. First, it has demonstrated the complexity and multiplicity of experiences of migration and home. This is crucial in advancing the movement of postcolonial, feminist researchers endeavouring to critique binary rhetoric upholding racism, xenophobia and nationalism (Ahmed 1999; Wimmer and Schiller 2002; Levitt 2009). If we are to continue to strengthen the struggle against these ideologies, then the research and teaching taking place within academia must be at the forefront of leading this movement. By connecting theory and practice through research that is grounded in the experiences of those suffering most at the hands of these narratives and bearing the brunt of these restrictive policies and cuts to resources, we can hope to reverse some of the damage that impacts upon everyday migrant home-making practices.

Advancing on this point, the research presented here has also demonstrated that the methodology used to understand and address the problem at hand must be carefully considered, given the impact this may have upon the data generated. Through attending to the ways we seek to produce knowledge, we can further develop an academic practice that is rigorous, ethical and attends to the power dynamics at play in research. In this way, we can hope to blow wide open a number of presumptions that seek to perpetuate binary, be they of 'expert' and 'non-expert', 'us' and 'them' or 'home' and 'away'. Thus, in time we can hope to move towards a world in which it is truly in the hands of the individuals themselves to determine where they can call home.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Glasgow Life: Strategic Objectives

We will encourage participation, involvement and engagement in culture and sport for all:

- *to enhance the health and wellbeing of people who live, work and visit the City*
- *to create an environment where enterprise, work and skills development are encouraged*
- *to provide opportunities for making positive life choices in a safe, attractive and sustainable environment*
- *to create a culture of learning and creativity that lets people flourish in their personal, family, community and working lives*
- *to enhance and promote the City's local, national and international image, identity and infrastructure*
- *to demonstrate the ongoing improvement in the quality, performance and impact of the services and opportunities we provide.*



PhD Research Project of migration, home and identity in Glasgow

Participant Information Sheet

I am inviting you to take part in a research project looking at how migrant, refugee and asylum seeking women make Glasgow their home through the things they do in their everyday lives. Please read this carefully and decide whether or not you wish to take part. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Who am I?

My name is Ruth Webber and I'm doing some research about migration, home and identity in Glasgow as part of my PhD studies at Leicester University.

Why am I doing this research?

I want to understand how migrant, refugee and asylum seeking women in Glasgow feel about the city, how they think about what home means for them, and what they do in their daily lives to make Glasgow feel like home, or why they might struggle to do so.

Why am I being invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part because I am interested to hear more about your life in Glasgow.

How will I be doing this research?

I will be spending time with you in this group, talking to you, watching what happens, listening to what is said and asking questions. I would also like to do more work with you outside the group doing individual interviews with you.

What are the interviews I would be doing outside of the group?

I am really interested in doing research in a way which is interesting for those taking part, but which also looks at parts of your life that are not always easy to express in words alone. I would like to do interviews that are a bit different, using photographs to talk about things that are less visible, like memories or emotions. I would like you to take photographs of the things you do in your everyday life that you feel help to make Glasgow your home over a week or two, which we could then talk about together.

What will happen if I agree to take part?

You will be allowing me to join the group, and make notes about my observations of interactions and conversations. I would also like to spend time with you outside of these groups, doing the individual interviews with you that I spoke about above.

What are the benefits in taking part?

Appendix 2 – Participant Information Sheet: Page 2

You will be sharing your stories of migration, ideas of home and adding your voice to the stories of Glasgow. I would also like to talk to you about the possibility of working with you to do more with these photographs, for example making small photo books or zines of your stories, or working on making an exhibition.

What are the risks in taking part?

There are no big risks in taking part in this study. However I will be talking to you about your move to Glasgow as well as other things, providing you are comfortable with doing so. For some people, this might bring up some unpleasant memories. If this happens, I will help you to access the support you might need. Please also feel free to discuss the study with any support that you might already have before you decide to take part.

What happens to the information collected?

It will be analysed by me for patterns and themes. The research will be put in a number of places such as my thesis, articles in academic journals, presentations, and my personal blog, depending on what you consent to. It may also be reproduced in local and national reports and in book form. You will be able to decide where you are happy with data being used in the consent forms, if you would like to take part in this research.

What about anonymity and privacy?

All personal information will be stored securely on my personal computer and will be read only by me. I will be anonymising all the women I speak to for this research. If you have given your consent to be filmed or photographed by myself during this research, I will let you view any material before it is published.

What if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are still happy to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. You are free to withdraw consent for the use of the data gathered at any time until March 2017 without giving a reason.

Contact for further information

If you have any questions, complaints or concerns, you can contact

Ruth Webber

Email: rw216@le.ac.uk

Appendix 3 – Participant Consent Form

Ethnography Consent Form for PhD Research Project

Please circle **YES** or **NO** as appropriate and then, if you are happy to proceed, please sign below.

1. Ruth has talked through with me and given me my own copy of the project information sheet, which I have read and understood YES NO
2. Ruth has given me the opportunity to ask questions about the project YES NO
3. I agree to take part as a participant in this ethnographic research. I understand that taking part will involve spending time with Ruth and allowing her to participate in the project in which I am involved for an extended period of time YES NO
4. It has been explained to me and I understand that ethnographic research can involve a number of methods. I agree:
- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|
| To allow Ruth to spend time with me in the group I attend regularly | YES | NO |
| To be observed by Ruth and for such observations to be noted in her journal | YES | NO |
| To engage in informal conversation with Ruth and for such conversations to be noted in her journal | YES | NO |
| To be formally interviewed using the methods outlined in the participant information sheet | YES | NO |
| For these interviews to be digitally recorded | YES | NO |
5. I am happy for my face to be shown in any images used by Ruth as above YES NO
 - My children's faces YES NO
6. I am happy to be referred to by my real name in any publication as above YES NO
7. I understand that research materials will be archived on Ruth's personal computer and kept safe, and will only be accessed by her YES NO
8. I agree that Ruth can use any material created including the photographs and transcripts of the interviews as data for analysis YES NO
9. I will give permission for any material I create to be used by Ruth in the following places:
- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-----------------------------|-----|----|
| Her PhD thesis | YES | NO | At conference presentations | YES | NO |
| Articles written for academic journals | YES | NO | My children's faces | YES | NO |
| Her personal blog | YES | NO | My own face | YES | NO |
| Any public exhibition that may be an outcome of this research | | | | YES | NO |
10. I understand that my words and actions may be noted or quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs but my real name will not be used YES NO
11. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time before March 2017 without giving any reason YES NO

Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Researcher Date Signature

Appendix 4 – Questions for Photo Elicitation Interview: Page 1

QUESTIONS FOR PEI

About you

- If you could just for starters tell me your name, your age (roughly if you like-!), your nationality and a little about what brought you to Glasgow and when, where was the first place you lived in the city and whereabouts in Glasgow you live now.

Starting Questions

- How did you feel about taking these photographs?
- Was there anything you found difficult about taking the photographs?
- Was there anything you particularly enjoyed?
- Was there anything that surprised you about the photographs you took?
- How did taking the photographs make you think or feel about your life in Glasgow?
- How did you make decisions about what to take pictures of?

Looking at the pictures

- What is this photograph of?
- Where was this picture taken?
- Is this an important place to you?
- Why did you choose this photograph to show me?
- What part of your life in Glasgow does this photograph show?
- Why is this what is in this photograph important to your life in Glasgow?
- How does this picture make you feel?
- How does this picture show what 'home' means to you?
- Are there any memories that this photograph makes you think of?
- Are there any smells or sounds this photograph makes you think of?
- How does this photograph show the ways your life before moving to Glasgow might affect the things you do in your life in Glasgow?

Appendix 4 – Questions for Photo Elicitation Interview: Page 2

- Is there anything else you'd like to say about this picture that I haven't asked you about?

Concluding

- Are there any photographs you didn't take for any reason?
 - What were they of?
 - Why did you decide not to take them?
- Has taking these photographs shown you anything about your life that you perhaps hadn't noticed or thought about before?
- Has taking these photographs made you think about the way that being a woman might affect the way you make Glasgow your home?
- Where is 'home' for you just now?
- Is there anything else you'd like to talk about before we finish?

Appendix 5 – List of Codes from NVivo: Page 1

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By	Color
AN INTRODUCTION	0	0	3 Aug 2016, 12:44	RW	4 Oct 2016, 17:58	RW	
Info about self	18	19	3 Aug 2016, 12:48	RW	20 Nov 2016, 13:16	RW	
Questions about the ex...	17	22	3 Aug 2016, 12:48	RW	20 Nov 2016, 13:16	RW	
Status - reason for bei...	4	5	4 Oct 2016, 16:39	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:18	RW	
British Citizen status	2	2	4 Oct 2016, 16:45	RW	4 Oct 2016, 17:04	RW	
Granted refugee sta...	8	9	4 Oct 2016, 16:42	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:33	RW	
Joining Husband	3	4	4 Oct 2016, 16:41	RW	14 Nov 2016, 15:26	RW	
Migrant	11	15	4 Oct 2016, 16:41	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:42	RW	
Seeking asylum	9	18	4 Oct 2016, 16:42	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:14	RW	
Student	2	2	4 Oct 2016, 17:18	RW	4 Oct 2016, 17:19	RW	
BEAUTIFUL	10	25	11 Oct 2016, 15:05	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:00	RW	
CULTURE	5	13	4 Nov 2016, 16:10	RW	15 Feb 2017, 14:09	RW	
Emotion	6	8	3 Aug 2016, 12:26	RW	17 Nov 2016, 14:58	RW	
Confusion	8	12	3 Aug 2016, 12:27	RW	15 Nov 2016, 16:07	RW	
Forgetting problems - ...	11	23	6 Sep 2016, 16:12	RW	18 Nov 2016, 13:49	RW	
Happiness	21	104	3 Aug 2016, 12:26	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:15	RW	
Missing	14	31	3 Aug 2016, 13:05	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:01	RW	
Sadness	13	23	3 Aug 2016, 12:27	RW	11 Nov 2016, 15:35	RW	
Everyday - Ordinary	13	34	6 Sep 2016, 13:21	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:11	RW	
Feeling	25	62	3 Aug 2016, 12:25	RW	18 Nov 2016, 12:40	RW	
Belonging	20	37	3 Aug 2016, 12:32	RW	18 Nov 2016, 11:59	RW	
Comfortable - unconf...	18	40	14 Sep 2016, 15:02	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:08	RW	
Connectedness	20	55	13 Sep 2016, 18:16	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:10	RW	
Control - Ownership	13	28	6 Sep 2016, 16:43	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:59	RW	
Familiarity - unfamiliarity	23	76	6 Sep 2016, 13:03	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:12	RW	
Freedom	12	28	6 Sep 2016, 17:33	RW	16 Nov 2016, 15:24	RW	
Lonely - isolated	12	18	13 Sep 2016, 16:16	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:42	RW	
Safety - Security	15	38	6 Sep 2016, 16:04	RW	18 Nov 2016, 15:18	RW	
Senses	7	21	6 Sep 2016, 15:42	RW	17 Nov 2016, 12:11	RW	
Stability and instability	13	22	6 Sep 2016, 16:39	RW	17 Nov 2016, 14:56	RW	
GENDER	27	72	6 Sep 2016, 18:39	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:16	RW	
GLASGOW	38	208	6 Sep 2016, 13:08	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:14	RW	
Weather	17	34	14 Sep 2016, 15:08	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:00	RW	
HERITAGE	17	29	3 Aug 2016, 12:34	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:49	RW	
Influence of family	6	9	3 Aug 2016, 12:34	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:49	RW	
HOME	36	241	3 Aug 2016, 12:24	RW	11 Apr 2017, 16:16	RW	
IDENTITY	33	143	3 Aug 2016, 12:28	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:15	RW	
Familiarity	11	15	6 Sep 2016, 13:05	RW	18 Nov 2016, 12:30	RW	
Language - understand...	28	74	16 Sep 2016, 11:15	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:11	RW	
Other people	17	39	3 Aug 2016, 12:29	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:07	RW	
Tradition	19	43	13 Sep 2016, 16:49	RW	15 Feb 2017, 14:09	RW	
Value, usefulness	9	10	6 Sep 2016, 16:17	RW	17 Nov 2016, 15:00	RW	
Values	20	66	6 Sep 2016, 18:20	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:16	RW	
IMAGINATION	12	23	6 Sep 2016, 13:20	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:32	RW	
Infrastructure	13	25	6 Sep 2016, 13:10	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:29	RW	
Bureaucracy	9	20	6 Sep 2016, 17:49	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:43	RW	
Education	15	41	6 Sep 2016, 13:13	RW	18 Nov 2016, 14:02	RW	
FREE	8	9	6 Sep 2016, 18:18	RW	10 Nov 2016, 15:07	RW	
Information	12	17	6 Sep 2016, 13:07	RW	18 Nov 2016, 12:36	RW	
Other -home office - p...	5	12	6 Sep 2016, 13:10	RW	18 Nov 2016, 14:01	RW	
Public Sector	4	5	6 Sep 2016, 13:10	RW	17 Nov 2016, 11:45	RW	
Community Centres	20	44	6 Sep 2016, 16:14	RW	18 Nov 2016, 15:16	RW	
Galleries and Museu...	1	1	6 Sep 2016, 17:56	RW	6 Sep 2016, 17:56	RW	
Health	8	12	6 Sep 2016, 16:13	RW	18 Nov 2016, 12:47	RW	
Mental Health	14	24	6 Sep 2016, 13:23	RW	18 Nov 2016, 12:39	RW	
Libraries	7	9	6 Sep 2016, 16:14	RW	11 Nov 2016, 16:49	RW	
Religious	12	17	6 Sep 2016, 13:13	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:46	RW	
Shops and-or restaura...	8	19	6 Sep 2016, 16:38	RW	18 Nov 2016, 13:50	RW	
Transportation	11	26	20 Sep 2016, 11:14	RW	17 Nov 2016, 12:26	RW	
INTERACTION	10	29	18 Oct 2016, 11:40	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:24	RW	
KNOWLEDGE	14	62	8 Oct 2016, 14:50	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:29	RW	
MEMORY	20	60	3 Aug 2016, 12:33	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:10	RW	
PARTICIPATION	30	207	6 Sep 2016, 13:15	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:12	RW	
Everyday	27	62	6 Sep 2016, 17:53	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:51	RW	
Routine - habit	22	73	6 Sep 2016, 16:32	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:18	RW	

Appendix 5 – List of Codes from NVivo: Page 2

● Facilitated	30	79	6 Sep 2016, 17:53	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:44	RW
● Special Occasions	12	50	13 Sep 2016, 16:42	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:15	RW
● Volunteering	9	30	11 Oct 2016, 18:36	RW	17 Nov 2016, 14:54	RW
● Work	23	77	6 Sep 2016, 18:24	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:11	RW
● People	35	241	3 Aug 2016, 12:25	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:11	RW
● colleagues	5	13	10 Oct 2016, 13:53	RW	15 Nov 2016, 15:05	RW
● Community	7	24	3 Aug 2016, 12:35	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:11	RW
● Familiar Faces	21	31	6 Sep 2016, 13:05	RW	17 Nov 2016, 13:32	RW
● Family	27	189	6 Sep 2016, 13:05	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:15	RW
● Friends	14	55	10 Oct 2016, 14:45	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:17	RW
● Friends - Close	17	47	6 Sep 2016, 13:05	RW	17 Nov 2016, 12:23	RW
● housemates	3	6	13 Sep 2016, 16:26	RW	12 Oct 2016, 11:12	RW
● Neighbours	8	18	6 Sep 2016, 18:27	RW	17 Nov 2016, 12:28	RW
● other people	2	2	13 Sep 2016, 17:10	RW	4 Nov 2016, 16:18	RW
● PERFORMANCE OF IDEN...	4	6	20 Oct 2016, 11:58	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:12	RW
● Places	31	171	3 Aug 2016, 12:24	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:13	RW
● Accessibility	9	13	6 Sep 2016, 17:50	RW	14 Nov 2016, 14:52	RW
● Comparison	30	160	6 Sep 2016, 15:41	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:15	RW
● Familiarity	12	20	20 Sep 2016, 12:47	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:47	RW
● Natural - green	18	53	6 Sep 2016, 16:09	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:57	RW
● Place as symbol	7	13	6 Sep 2016, 15:39	RW	14 Nov 2016, 10:56	RW
● Private - Home - Dome...	31	88	6 Sep 2016, 13:07	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:57	RW
● Public	15	37	6 Sep 2016, 17:38	RW	18 Nov 2016, 12:44	RW
● PROCESS	8	18	11 Oct 2016, 13:56	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:18	RW
● REPRESENTATION	16	33	6 Sep 2016, 13:17	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:18	RW
● SHARING	12	54	20 Oct 2016, 13:53	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:48	RW
● Things - Objects	17	57	6 Sep 2016, 13:02	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:46	RW
● Clothes	6	12	20 Sep 2016, 11:25	RW	17 Nov 2016, 11:44	RW
● Food	23	55	6 Sep 2016, 17:41	RW	15 Feb 2017, 14:08	RW
● Gift	5	9	6 Sep 2016, 18:29	RW	17 Nov 2016, 13:31	RW
● PHOTOGRAPHS	17	45	3 Aug 2016, 13:04	RW	17 Nov 2016, 14:58	RW
● Technology	13	24	14 Sep 2016, 16:19	RW	15 Feb 2017, 12:16	RW
● Thing as symbol	6	14	6 Sep 2016, 18:31	RW	17 Nov 2016, 12:52	RW
● TIME	25	114	3 Aug 2016, 12:32	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:15	RW
● Childhood	9	24	13 Sep 2016, 15:34	RW	20 Nov 2016, 16:13	RW
● Homesickness	4	5	6 Sep 2016, 12:59	RW	25 Oct 2016, 15:35	RW
● Not Enough - Too much	15	24	6 Sep 2016, 13:12	RW	15 Nov 2016, 15:14	RW
● PlaceTime compression	5	7	3 Aug 2016, 12:33	RW	15 Nov 2016, 16:05	RW
● Time Passing	11	18	3 Aug 2016, 13:07	RW	20 Nov 2016, 15:11	RW

Appendix 6 – Photos Coded: sample page



- infrastructure > health
- other people
- everyday / ordinary
- feeling
- value, usefulness
- other people



- physical spaces
- routine/ habit
- place as symbol
- familiarity
- feelings
- stability/instability
- physical spaces > private / home / domestic
- comparison
- time
- Glasgow
- everyday/ordinary
- homesickness
- memory
- missing
- senses
- strategies



- forgetting problems / escapism
- natural / green
- physical spaces
- memory
- routine / habit
- physical places > accessibility
- infrastructure > bureaucracy

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