Contents

Introduction: Migrant Experiences of Emotional and Material (In)Security: Post-Socialist Perspectives

How do migrants negotiate risk and manage both the material and emotional challenges and opportunities which moving to a new place brings? What is the everyday relationship between security and insecurity in lived experiences of migration? What can critical perspectives on post-socialism teach us about the practices, relationships and experiences which migrants from Central and East European countries mobilise in seeking to make themselves and their families more secure? Can migration itself be seen as a 'social security practice' entailing both material and emotional dimensions and, if so, with which implications for migrants as individuals, families and identity-based groups? These are some of the questions which this special issue seeks to address.[1]

Collectively, the articles included in this special issue draw on anthropological theorisations of social security, which first emerged out of studies and debates regarding developing countries in the global South (Ahmad, Drèze, Hills and Sen 1991; Lelieveld 1994; Midgley 1984; von Benda-Beckmann, von Benda-Beckmann, Casiño, Hirtz, Woodman and Zacher 1988). This analytical framework has subsequently been further developed in relation to post-socialist contexts and more explicitly linked to aspects of care and emotional dimensions of security, in large part through the work of Rosie Read and Tatjana Thelen (2007). This framework is used in each of the articles published in this special issue as a way of exploring rich empirical data reflecting a range of diverse but interconnected issues in the experiences of migrants from the post-socialist region who have moved to and settled in Western European countries. The contributions here focus primarily on Scotland as a destination country, with additional insights from Finland. In so doing, the articles also synthesise this focus of analysis with insights from other wider literatures relating, for example, to family, childhood, sexuality and 'normality', media representation and health and care.

Moreover, the special issue further develops the analytical application of 'social security' with a deliberate focus on querying binaries and fixed categories. We intentionally use the term (in)security to show how the relationship between security and insecurity is more complex than a simple either/or. In so doing, we hope also to critique fixed approaches to other related categories of analysis which emerge from and cut across the articles – for example, here/there, past/present/future, private/public and visibility/invisibility. This emphasis on composite categories draws inspiration from earlier work which pointed to the dynamic and processual nature of social security (Read and Thelen 2007: 12). The work problematised ideas about security as absolute or universally desirable, showing instead that it can only ever be partial and relative (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000: 7). Nonetheless, these earlier contributions did not develop such a strong focus on exploring the everyday relationship between security and insecurity themselves. Indeed, at this empirical level, security and insecurity have continued largely to be treated as clearly delineated categories. Through use of the composite term (in)security, then, we seek to highlight the connectedness between these apparent poles, showing how they constantly co-exist and exploring their nuanced emotional and material dimensions.

Our introduction begins with an overview of the geographical context for the individual articles, exploring the nature of migration from post-socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia to Scotland and Finland, the specifics of the migration environment existing in these places and the focus of academic research to date. We then move on to explore in greater detail the original theoretical and empirical contribution of the special issue as a whole, mainly through its use of the concept of (in)security. We explore the origins of the concept and highlight the importance of considering the emotional dimensions of (in)security, its temporal aspects and the linkages between these and critical understandings of 'post-socialism'. Throughout this discussion we show how the articles in this special issue draw on and further contribute to the development of this theoretical approach for understanding the different aspects of the experiences of migration and settlement.

Scotland and Finland as countries of destination and settlement

Migrant experiences and negotiations of (in)security, as well as drawing on previous and contemporary resources, relationships and frames of reference in their countries of origin, are certainly influenced by the social, economic and political environment of their countries of destination. Five of the six articles included in this special issue focus on Scotland as a country of destination and settlement and it is here that we begin our discussion. Traditionally a country of emigration, Scotland has seen a growing number of migrants arriving over the last 20–30 years. Many of these 'new' migrants have come from the post-socialist region, including Central and East European countries which joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007 (Scottish Government 2016). The vast majority have come to Scotland to find work and to improve their economic situation (Kyambi, Kay, Boswell, Taggart and Porteous 2018: 37) and sometimes also to join family members already living and working in the country.

As a nation with some devolved powers but without full independence from the United Kingdom, Scotland presents a distinctive context as a country of destination and settlement. As noted above, its experience as a country of settlement is relatively new. As a result, whilst the overall number of migrants and the level of ethnic and cultural diversity within Scotland are lower than in many parts of the UK, the proportion of newer European migrants arriving since 2004 has been higher (Hudson and Aiton 2016). Scotland is also distinctive within the UK in terms of political rhetoric and response. Migration is not a devolved matter and responsibility for policy-making and agenda-setting lie with the UK government. Nonetheless, the dominant attitude of the Scottish Government and across the Scottish political spectrum towards these increased levels of migration has tended to be positive. This is due to the fact that migration is seen to encourage demographic stability and to facilitate short- and medium-term economic development (Kyambi *et al.* 2018; Scottish Government 2016, 2017). Furthermore, studies have shown that there is less public opposition to immigration compared to other parts of the UK (Blinder 2014: 2) although 'pockets of hostility' are still found to exist (McCollum, Tindal and Findlay 2014: 82).

In terms of existing research on the movements of people from CEE and FSU to the UK, however, much greater attention has been paid to migration occurring to regions of England (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015; Markova and Black 2007; Ryan 2011; White 2011). This research has also tended to focus on larger migration flows from EU accession states, in particular on the movements occurring from Poland. There has, nonetheless, been a growing body of research which has explored the specific features of the Scottish experience, including a number of policy-oriented and/or locally based studies (Boyes 2006; de Lima, Chaudhry, Whelton and Arshad 2007; Jentsch 2007; Kyambi *et al.* 2018). Furthermore, there is a burgeoning literature which is more theorised, empirically grounded and longitudinal and which explores a number of key themes, including the intricacies and complexities of the processes of migration and settlement, the role played by families and children and the importance of place and how this impacts upon the experience of settlement and the decision to stay long-term (Flynn and Kay 2017; Moskal 2011; Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee 2017; Trevena, McGhee and Heath 2013). The articles in this special issue add both depth and scope to this growing body of research. They explore

experiences of migration to different regions within Scotland from across a wide range of post-socialist migrants, drawing out both similarities and diversities within and across migrant groups and without prioritising ethnicity or nationality as 'categories' of comparison. For example, individual articles focus upon Czech- and Slovak-speakers (Guma 2018), Russians and Russian-speaking migrants (McKenna 2018) and also mixed CEE migrant communities (Kay and Trevena 2018; Sime 2018; Stella, Flynn and Gawlewicz 2018), in locations as diverse as the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen and the rural locations of Angus and Aberdeenshire.

The sixth paper in this special issue (Sotkasiira 2018) discusses the experiences of Russian migrants to Finland. We therefore continue here with some insights into that context, drawing comparisons as appropriate to Scotland. Like Scotland, Finland has traditionally been a country of emigration. However, since the 1990s, the numbers of people arriving in the country has increased rapidly. One of the main constituents of this migrant population is people moving from post-socialist Central and Eastern European countries and from countries of the former Soviet Union. Finland's geographical position and historical linkages with the Russian Empire, as well as more recent processes of accession to the European Union of some Central and Eastern European countries – notably the Baltic States – shape this migration rather differently from that experienced in Scotland. As Martikainen (2013: 5) notes, in 2010, people from post-socialist countries made up 41 per cent of all foreign-born citizens in Finland. Whilst, in Scotland, Polish is now the most commonly spoken foreign language (Scotland's Census 2011), the largest group of foreign-language speakers in Finland is native Russian-speakers and the second largest, Estonian-speakers (Statistics Finland 2016). Many of the Russian-speakers are Ingrian returnees, descendants of Finnish settlers who moved to Ingria (now Leningrad oblast', Russia) in the seventeenth century and others of Finnish origin who have been able to return to Finland within the remit of a specific resettlement programme since the collapse of the USSR in 1991 (Finnish Immigration Service 2017). It is significant that the majority of the migration taking place to Finland is family related – although this is not a strong focus of public and political discourse, which tends to emphasise the arrival of asylum-seekers and refugees, even though these numbers in fact remain quite small (Finnish Immigration Service 2015).

Approximately 30 per cent of immigrants entering Finland are from other European Union member-states. Nevertheless, there is little research dedicated to intra-EU migration, except that from the Baltic States. There is a growing body of research on migration from Russia and the Baltic Sea region, primarily Estonia. This is at least partly explained, as noted above, by the fact that the country's migration profile is characterised by a relatively large group of immigrants from Russia and Estonia. Research on this particular migrant community has focused on a number of key themes: well-being, adaptation and integration amongst those from the former Soviet Union, Russia and Estonia (Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000; Liebkind, Manmila, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Jaakkola, Kyntäjä and Reuter 2004), ethnic and linguistic identification processes of Russian-speakers (Davydova 2009; Iskanius 2006) and transnational care which takes place in the Finnish-Russian context (Davydova and Pöllänen 2011; Pöllänen 2013). In this special issue, Sotkasiira (2018) makes an original contribution to this growing body of research by exploring the relationship between social (in)security and media use amongst Russian-speakers living in Finland.

Developing social (in)security as an analytical lens for understanding migration

Anthropological theorisations of social security

As noted above, anthropological theorisations of social security developed initially through a critique of debates around developing countries in the 1970s and 1980s and drew attention to the shortcomings of assumptions about social security as being linked only to state provision and formal institutions (Ahmad *et al.* 1991;

Midgeley 1984; von Benda-Beckmann *et al*. 1988). Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann argued for the need to explore social security in more complex and holistic ways, bringing in the role of informal institutions, relationships and practices in order to understand better how people deal with insecurity and mitigate risk. However, they acknowledged that this could lead to an unhelpfully nebulous catch-all category. They therefore defined social security as relating to needs which are not simply considered a matter for individuals to deal with themselves but as matters of responsibility for larger groups and categories of people, socio-political institutions etc. (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000: 8). This focus on the 'social' aspect of social security is complemented by concepts such as 'well-being' (de Lima 2017; Lulle and King 2016) or 'normality' (Rabikowska 2010) which have been used more widely in migration studies. Here there has been rather more focus on the experiences of individuals as well as on considering the ways in which these are influenced by wider social, cultural, political and institutional contexts. In this special issue, we also focus in many ways on individualised experiences of social (in)security amongst participants in the various studies presented, whilst also exploring how such experiences and practices emerge out of more collective endeavours, be that through relationships with kin and friends (Guma 2018; Kay and Trevena 2018; McKenna 2018; Sime 2018; Stella *et al*. 2018), through interactions with more formal institutions (Guma 2018; McKenna 2018; Sotkasiira 2018; Stella *et al*. 2018), or through the ways in which people are treated as part of a particular social category (McKenna 2018; Sotkasiira 2018; Stella *et al*. 2018).

As well as highlighting the complexities of social security, and acknowledging both its material and non-material dimensions – which we explore in more detail in the following section – von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann (2000) have argued that social security is actively produced and negotiated through 'social security arrangements' involving a wide range of actors and institutions, both formal and informal. Importantly, they stressed that such arrangements are not limited to those institutions primarily designated as having a 'social security' function and emphasised the need to focus on underlying relationships, practices and experiences, rather than prioritising an institutional approach (2000: 13). These challenges to previously dominant theories of welfare, perceived as services and entitlements delivered to vulnerable groups via the formal institutions of (mainly) the state, resulted in a range of studies exploring the role of formal and informal organisations and institutions, and their intersections with social networks and other more personal and private relationships (Caldwell 2007; Kay 2011). The articles in this special issue continue this exploration of intersecting formal and informal arrangements and practices – for example in Guma's (2018) contribution where the 'potentialities of care' experienced by Slovak-speaking migrants in Glasgow are shown to draw upon both interpersonal (and transnational) relationships and connections and the formal provisions of health and social care services (Guma 2018). Other contributions by McKenna (2018) and Sotkasiira (2018) take further the invitation to explore the role of actors and institutions not formally designated as having a 'social security' function by considering, for example, the role of the media and particularly the impacts of representations of migrants and of their home countries on emotional and existential aspects of social (in)security.

Moving beyond an interest in institutions – whether formal or informal – a focus on practices, relationships and experiences also allows us to look at migration itself as a social security practice and to explore the contradictions, ambiguities and interpersonal, temporal or contextual dimensions that this entails. Here, the special issue builds upon earlier studies which viewed migration as a means of coupling local networks to wider support systems but which focused more particularly on the, mainly material, implications of this for local social-security mechanisms in the places and amongst the people whom migrants left behind (Brouwer 2000; Lelieveld 2000), or for the collective security of migrant/host communities in their destinations (Moore 2000; van Walsum 2000). The articles presented here look in greater depth at the implications of migration as a social security practice for migrants themselves, as individuals, families and identity-based groups and in relation to both material and emotional dimensions of (in)security. Contributions by Sime (2018) and by Kay and Trevena

(2018), for example, explore the ways in which different aspects of material and emotional (in)security develop, fluctuating over time and through interpersonal negotiations regarding both migration and longer-term settlement within migrant families. Meanwhile contributions by McKenna (2018) and Stella *et al.* (2018) explore the ways in which (in)securities produced through migration practices intersect with other aspects of migrant identity, be that nationality (McKenna 2018) or sexuality (Stella *et al.* 2018).

The importance of emotional dimensions of (in)security

As the concept of social security has developed over time, increasing emphasis has been placed on the need to explore the emotional dimensions of (in)security and their relationship to more material aspects. Initial conceptualisations of social security provided space for recognition of its 'non-material' dimensions, linking these to questions of trust and notions of 'existential security' associated with a feeling of group belonging and having a purpose or place in the world (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000: 7). However, less attention was paid in earlier work to developing this part of the concept; both empirical and theoretical contributions tended to focus on challenging state/non-state boundaries whilst still prioritising the structural and material aspects of social security involved (Read and Thelen 2007: 6). In seeking to redress this balance, Read and Thelen (2007) argued for an alignment of understandings of social security with feminist perspectives on care, in order to ensure that 'non-material' aspects were not treated as secondary and that the significance of such aspects found in people's narratives and lived experiences was given sufficient analytical consideration and conceptual recognition.

In so doing, they also aligned the concept more closely with important debates which emerged at a similar time in the study of 'post-socialism'. Here authors emphasised the importance of studying closely and seeking better to understand everyday lived experiences at the micro level in order to understand and unpick the trajectories, consequences and contradictions, both material and emotional, of macro-level economic, political and social transformations (Hann, Humphrey and Verdery 2000). It was argued that more nuanced and thoroughly analysed understandings were needed of the ways in which people, both as individuals and as part of wider social groupings, responded to and managed such transformations through day-to-day practices, interactions and, importantly, processes of meaning-making (Bridger and Pine 1998; Hann *et al.* 2000: 4; Hoerschelmann and Stenning 2008: 340). Taking these debates in something of a new direction through their focus on experiences of social security within post-socialist contexts, Read and Thelen brought together a range of empirical studies exploring emotional dimensions of both social security and care. These continued to highlight the complex webs of actors, organisations and agencies involved, ranging from international charities (Caldwell 2007), formal and informal organisations and networks (Kay 2007; Thelen 2007) to mixed social and institutional settings (Haukanes 2007). In this way an association of emotional security and care primarily with interpersonal relationships in the private sphere and in more informal settings, was challenged and the role of more formal and public institutions in this dimension of social security was also brought to the fore (Guma 2018; Haukanes 2007; Thelen 2007). Contributions to this body of work emphasised the ways in which the care which people received from both public and private actors and in both formal and informal settings contributed to a sense of emotional security even where people's material circumstances were sometimes only marginally improved (Caldwell 2007; Kay 2012).

They also drew attention to the relationship between shifting ideologies of care and social solidarity on the one hand and everyday practices and lived experiences on the other, within a range of post-socialist contexts. Studies exploring the experiences of older people in post-socialist countries, for example, noted the ontological and symbolic insecurities which rapid social and political change, combined with a sense of loss – both in the

present and in relation to the past – can produce (Caldwell 2007; Kay 2012). The ways in which caring interactions and the provision of emotional support can mitigate this have been discussed (Kay 2012; Thelen 2007).

Resonating with some of this earlier work on symbolic and existential aspects of (in)security, the contributions to this special issue by McKenna (2018) and Sotkasiira (2018), through their exploration of migrant experiences of and responses to media representations, draw attention to the importance of having a recognised place in the social and cultural contexts in which one lives. In so doing, they also remind us of an important theme from the initial development of the social security concept, where the crucial role of social in/exclusion in determining whether and how the social security needs of particular individuals or groups are met was highlighted (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000: 11). In its original formulation, this concern focused on the impacts of in/exclusion on material inequalities through the allocation and (re)distribution of resources. Building further on this, the contributions to this special issue consider the implications for both emotional and material (in)securities. This is achieved through an exploration of the ways in which different aspects of in/exclusion can impact on a sense of belonging and a feeling that one's experiences and needs are recognised (McKenna 2018; Sotkasiira 2018; Stella *et al.* 2018), as well as on confidence in formal legal frameworks and an expectation that rights will be protected (Stella *et al.* 2018). Here, differentiated expectations and experiences of formal institutions as well as specific day-to-day interactions with other people across post-socialist countries of origin and Scotland or Finland as countries of destination come into play.

Whilst the majority of the articles in this special issue do not replicate the conceptual focus on care emphasised by Read and Thelen, they do continue to develop the emphasis on the emotional dimensions of (in)security and particularly on furthering understanding of the relationship between emotional and material (in)securities as these relate to experiences of migration and settlement. In keeping with the challenging of binaries in our use of (in)security, the contributions presented here explore emotional and material dimensions as connected and seek better to understand the ways in which these are constituted through everyday practices, relationships and interactions. Articles by Sime (2018), Stella *et al.* (2018) and Kay and Trevena (2018), in particular, consider the relationship between emotional and material (in)securities. They show that, whilst a search for material security may in some cases result in emotional insecurities and that the balance between these may differ between individuals even within the same family (Sime 2018), emotional and material securities can also be mutually reinforcing, particularly where a longer temporal perspective is brought into view. A sense of calm, feelings of confidence and trust in both the present and future can result from but also, in some cases, provide preconditions for, improved material circumstances (Kay and Trevena 2018; Stella *et al.* 2018).

Temporal aspects of (in)securities

The need for a longer-term view and for an awareness of the interactive relationship between past, present and future have been key concerns in the development of the concept of social security. As such, it has been recognised that social security practices are always, in some way, about preparing for a (potentially uncertain) future and drawing on resources and experiences from the past in doing so:

> *The sense of security is based on a combination of past experiences, on promises encapsulated in existing mechanisms, in entitlements and the continuing availability of resources, and on some estimation about future developments. Both repetitive unfulfilled promises in the past and expectations of profound change in the future may undermine the sense of security, even though at present the situation may be quite satisfactory* (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000: 17).

As illustrated through Guma's use of the concept of 'potentialities of care' (Guma 2018), a sense of (in)security in the present depends very much on people's expectation that they will or will not be able to transform resources (material, human, emotional, social) accumulated in the present to fulfil needs or to deal with anticipated risks or crises in the future. Of course it is only ever possible to know retrospectively whether social security needs have actually been met in these ways for certain. Nonetheless, such expectations, often based on observed and/or lived experiences from the past, do constitute a sense of security in the present.

In conclusion: a return to post-socialist perspectives?

This kind of longer and more fluid temporal perspective also resonates strongly with critical approaches to post-socialist area studies where the relationship between the past, present and future has been closely interrogated (Hoerschelmann and Stenning 2008; Thelen 2011). From early critiques of 'transitology' through to more-recent discussions about the critical power of studying post-socialism, scholars have called for a more historically aware analysis – one that, rather than focusing on a moment of rupture, recognises more protracted and complex processes of continuity and change and values the role of the past and, to some extent, the future, in the present (Flynn and Oldfield 2008; Hann *et al.* 2000). Migrants from post-socialist contexts make decisions to move and negotiate the processes of migration and settlement from within this longer historical experience of continuities and changes. Therefore, a consideration of the temporal aspects of social (in)security has been important in developing this special issue, where we focus on the lived experiences of migrants within the local, social and institutional contexts that they currently encounter, aiming also to reveal the ways in which these are informed by and contingent upon both past experiences from the post-socialist region and future hopes and aspirations.

For migrants, interactions between past, present and future also bring with them relative notions of (in)security drawing on comparisons between their countries of origin and their current places of residence (Kay and Trevena 2018; Sime 2018; Stella *et al.* 2018). Here, as well as comparisons with experiences from the past, people also refer to and make assumptions based on observed or related experiences of friends and relatives still living in their countries of origin. As earlier studies exploring the concept of social security specifically in relation to the post-socialist region have shown, the transformations following the collapse of state socialist regimes in the area led not only to the reorganisation of state provision but also to a much more complex and ambiguous set of processes which required overlapping reconfigurations of public and private, old and new, deservingness and need (Khlinovskaya-Rockhill 2010; Read and Thelen 2007). They brought with them both 'repetitive unfulfilled promises' and 'expectations [and indeed experiences] of profound change' (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000: 17). It is clear, therefore, that post-socialist transformations have entailed significant changes to the underlying conditions for social security and care (Read and Thelen 2007: 8). This affects both the present-day experiences and the future expectations of people living in the region. As such, it is also often the precursor to a decision to migrate, as shown by the narratives of many migrants involved in each of the studies underpinning the contributions to this special issue. It is for this reason, that we suggest that migration itself can be viewed, in part, as a social security practice.

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Note

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(In)Security, Family and Settlement: Migration Decisions Amongst Central and East European Families in Scotland

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Drawing on extensive qualitative research into experiences of migration and settlement among Central and East European (CEE) migrants living in Scotland, this article examines the role of intersecting emotional and material (in)securities in migrant families' decision-making regarding and experiences of longer-term settlement. The article queries fixed or given understandings of either 'family' or 'security' and explores the complex and sometimes contradictory relationship between them. In so doing, it makes a number of significant and interconnected theoretical and empirical contributions to existing research in the field of family migration. Through a critical analysis of the relationship between family and (in)security the article offers nuanced insight into the ways in which family processes of reunion, separation and (re)formation link to decisions regarding migration and settlement. The intersecting and sometimes contradictory forms of emotional and material support, obligation and vulnerability which both family relations and processes of migration and settlement entail are critically analysed by bringing together theoretical frameworks of social (in)security and understandings of family as 'made' rather than 'given'. Finally, attention given to the temporal aspects of (in)security, as well as the transnational aspects of migrants' lives, provides new ways of understanding the open-endedness of decision-making processes relating to migration and settlement, especially where these involve multiple decision-makers.

Keywords: family migration; settlement; (in)security; Central and Eastern Europe; Scotland

Introduction

Migration from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), predominantly from the 'new' EU countries, has 'dramatically changed the scale, composition and characteristics of immigration to the UK' (Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah 2008: 7). This rapid influx of people was prompted by the ongoing upheavals of postsocialist political, economic and social transformations leading to new insecurities within those countries on the one hand and new opportunities for international migration on the other. The freedom of movement

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acquired by citizens of a significant subset of CEE countries as a result of the European Union (EU) enlargements in 2004 and 2007 facilitated not only labour migration but also family migration.[1] Indeed, for the UK, the period between 2004 and the decision to leave the EU following the 'Brexit' referendum of 2016[2] might be described as something of a unique moment in terms of the opportunities and flexibilities it offered for family migration and the patterns of family separation, reunion and (re)formation these engendered.

By the time of the 2011 census, there were approximately 135 000 migrants from the A8/A2 countries living in Scotland – the largest single group (over 55 000) from Poland (Krausova and Vargas-Silva 2013). There has also been some migration from the non-EU countries of the CEE region, yet citizens of these countries are subject to immigration control (as opposed to having rights to free movement) which impacts significantly on their opportunities for economic and family migration as well as settlement.[3] The demographic composition and patterns of migration within the EU have changed quite markedly over the last decade. Initially migration from the new EU countries was dominated by young, single men (Home Office 2009) who often engaged in temporary or circular patterns of labour migration. However, subsequently larger numbers of women as well as a broader age range of migrants started arriving. This trend was linked first, to a sharp increase in the number of CEE children in British schools and then to growing numbers of children born to CEE parents in the UK (ONS 2014), reflecting trends towards family reunion/formation and processes of settlement (cf. McGhee, Heath and Trevena 2012, 2013; Ryan 2011; Ryan and Sales 2011; Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara 2009; Tromans, Natamba and Jeffries 2009; White 2011; White and Ryan 2008).

These newer trends are particularly significant in Scotland where both national government and local authorities – especially those in the more peripheral and rural regions – have stated a wish to encourage the longer-term settlement of migrants as a positive response to Scotland's economic and demographic needs (Scottish Parliament 2015, 2016). This political will, in combination with a generally lower density of population, has created some attractive conditions for migrant families. Previous studies have shown, for example, that the greater availability of social housing in Scotland can be important in facilitating family reunion and settlement (Trevena, McGhee and Heath 2013). Rural contexts have also been found to be attractive to some, particularly families with younger children, due to their perceived friendliness and peacefulness (Flynn and Kay 2017: 64). However, limited employment opportunities, difficulties in accessing services and language-learning opportunities, especially from more remote locations, as well as barriers to integration in what can be more 'closed' communities, can also cause problems for families settling in rural areas (SSAMIS 2016).

Drawing on extensive qualitative research amongst CEE migrants living in both urban and rural areas of Scotland, this article examines the role of intersecting emotional and material (in)securities in migrant families' decision-making regarding and experiences of longer-term settlement. In so doing, it makes a number of significant and interconnected theoretical and empirical contributions to existing research in the field of family migration. Firstly, a critical analysis of the relationship between family and (in)security helps to provide a more nuanced understanding of the complex and sometimes contradictory ways in which family processes of reunion, separation and (re)formation link to decisions regarding migration and settlement. Secondly, the theoretical lens of social (in)security, in combination with an understanding of families as 'made' rather than 'given', enables us better to unpick the intersecting emotional and material forms of support, obligation and vulnerability which both family relations and processes of migration and settlement entail. Finally, attention to the temporal aspects of (in)security, as well as the transnational aspects of migrants' lives, provides new insight into the open-endedness of decision-making processes relating to migration and settlement, especially where these involve multiple decision-makers. By drawing on a study which has involved migrants from CEE countries both within the EU and beyond, we are also able to explore some of the ways in which immigration status and (restrictions on) free movement impact on families and their opportunities for longer-term settle-

ment. This may be helpful in considering some of the possible ramifications of currently ongoing Brexit negotiations and their outcomes for migrant families which have, until now, benefitted from relatively generous social entitlements and freedom of movement as EU citizens. Whilst not the main focus of the paper, this is a point to which we return in our conclusions.

In the following section we explore the theoretical frameworks introduced above in more detail. We begin by explaining the anthropological theorisations of social security, which are central to our wider study. We link this to contemporary debates interrogating the meanings of 'family' and discuss approaches which focus on relationships that are 'made' rather than 'given'. This combined approach allows us to explore family (in)securities as these relate to decisions surrounding and experiences of migration and settlement, and helps to avoid assumptions that family relationships are necessarily positive, supportive or stable. The methodology section provides information about the wider study from which the findings are drawn and explains the methods of data collection and analysis employed. The three empirical sections are structured to reflect the article's three major contributions, as outlined above. In the first of these sections we explore some of the complex configurations of family which influenced and/or were produced by migration and settlement and the (in)securities that these configurations entailed. In the second section we focus on the multiple and intersecting material and emotional aspects of (in)security relating to different family members' needs, aspirations and experiences. In the final section we emphasise the importance of a longer temporal perspective, showing how past (in)securities as well as future aspirations impact on decision-making in the present, and how periods of family 'settlement' may nonetheless coincide with and/or lead to new separations and mobilities.

Family, (in)security and migration: theories and practice

This article and the wider study on which it is based seek explicitly to bring together emotional and material aspects of migrants' lived experiences and the ways in which these influence decisions concerning migration and longer-term settlement. It does so by taking theorisations of 'social security' as a central conceptual framework through which to explore intersecting emotional and material (in)securities. This framework, originally developed through the empirical and theoretical work of Franz and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann (1994), moves beyond limited conceptualisations of social security as equivalent to formal welfare provision, focusing on the diverse and complex ways in which people produce securities (social, economic, personal and cultural) and mitigate risk through a combination of public and private resources, formal and informal networks, and state and non-state structures. Importantly, it encompasses both material and emotional aspects of security and allows us to consider these not as separate and independent spheres but as closely interconnected. These connections may be mutually productive where material securities bring with them a reduction in anxieties, or where positive social relations provide a basis for access to material needs. They may also be in tension or conflict, for example, where a search for greater material security comes at the cost of separations from loved ones (cf. Sime 2018). Hence, this conceptual framework dovetails usefully with a consideration of the complex and intersecting emotional and material connections and obligations of family relations, as discussed in more detail below.

'Social security' as a concept has been further developed by researchers interested in negotiations of social, economic and political transformation in post-socialist countries. Here attention has been paid to the complex strategies which people have developed, drawing on both historically informed expectations and practices, as well as contemporary realities, in their interactions with state structures and their use of informal networks and personal resources to manage uncertainty and create securities for themselves and their families (Schwarz 2012; Thelen and Read 2007). When considering migration from the post-socialist region to Western Europe, this further development of the concept is helpful in thinking about the ways in which migrants bring together

experiences and expectations from 'there' and 'here', 'then' and 'now'. Moreover, the attention drawn here, and in the original conceptualisation of social security, to temporal dimensions and the interconnectedness of past, present and future in people's understandings and negotiations of what it means to be 'secure' (Kay 2012; Thelen and Read 2007; von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 1994), is useful in considering migration, longer-term settlement and, indeed, configurations of 'family' as open-ended, dynamic processes evolving over time. Taking this focus on the complexity of the concept further, we consciously use the term (in)security to illustrate that neither security nor insecurity are absolute and that their relationship is not one of binary opposites but rather of intersecting and dynamic elements.

The idea of 'family' has been increasingly challenged from scholarly as well as social, political and legal perspectives over a number of decades. On the one hand, families are becoming less uniform and a wider variety of relationships, as well as the propensity for these to change and reconfigure over time, are commonly recognised as part of the 'modern family'. On the other hand, theorisations of 'family', from within sociology and anthropology in particular, have strongly contested the notion of family as grounded in fixed, biologically or legally defined relationships, emphasising instead the importance of a range of practices, obligations and emotional connections involved in 'doing' or 'making' family (Morgan 1996). Existing studies have explored the ways in which everyday practices of sharing food, providing and receiving care, co-habiting, socialising and managing personal interactions constitute and 'display' particular relationships as family (Carsten 2004; Finch 2007). Such practices require both practical and emotional effort and are often expected to yield practical as well as emotional benefits. However, idealised notions of families as places of comfort, safety and support have also been critiqued, as family obligations and responsibilities, as well as uneven power relations within families, can bring burdens, conflicts and anxieties (Finch and Mason 1993).

In migration research, concerns about what family is and how it is practiced and recognised are reflected in studies of both family-related migration and transnational families. The former have explored the ways in which family membership and family formations – for example, cross-border marriages (Constable 2004) – intersect with migration choices and opportunities, both through formal definitions governing receiving states' migration policies and in relation to more-complex social and interpersonal networks and relationships (Kofman 2004). Studies of transnational families have interrogated the impacts and implications of 'doing family at a distance' (Heath, McGhee and Trevena 2011: 7), for example, through examining the ways in which families which include both movers and stayers negotiate the emotional and practical aspects of caring responsibilities (McGhee *et al.* 2013; Parreñas 2005). In both cases, this research has been linked to a wider emotional turn in migration studies, critiquing 'the emphasis on labour migration and the separation of the economic (…) from the social' (Kofman 2004: 262) and calling for greater emphasis on personal relationships, intimacy, loneliness and separation as integral aspects of, and important factors in, decision-making and choices relating to migration (Heath *et al.* 2011; Mai and King 2009).

Such scholarly debate which questions and critiques the notion of 'family' as a conceptual category notwithstanding, family continues to play a highly significant role as an empirical category, both because people continue to attribute great importance to 'family relationships' and because it is enshrined in legal codes, including in migration law. For the purposes of this article, in the empirical sections which follow we have been led by our participants' own definitions of family: the relationships and connections which they discussed as family or to which they referred in response to our questions about the forms of support and relational ties most commonly associated with family and the ways in which they explained these as linked to their decisions regarding and experiences of migration and longer-term settlement.

Fieldwork, methodology and the wider study

The data on which this article is based was gathered as part of an Economic and Social Research Council-funded study *Experiences of Social Security and Prospects for Long-Term Settlement in Scotland amongst Migrants from Central Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (SSAMIS). Fieldwork undertaken between June 2014 and December 2015 involved the collection of 207 in-depth interviews with CEE migrants in four locations: the cities of Glasgow and Aberdeen and the rural regions of Aberdeenshire and Angus in North-East Scotland. Our participants had been resident in Scotland for more than one and less than ten years. In addition, observations were carried out at migrants' places of work, language classes and sites where migrants go to access services. Sixty expert interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders – representatives of local councils, service providers, migrant associations, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) practitioners and employers.

Migrant participants were accessed mainly through their places of work, through ESOL classes, at sites of service provision and through snowballing techniques. Whilst participants were recruited first and foremost as individuals, the snowballing process sometimes led the researchers to other family members; several participants invited their partners, siblings or adult children to take part in the conversation. These small-group interviews and clusters of individual interviews involving multiple family members were often particularly rich in revealing the emotional and practical dynamics of the relationship between family, (in)security and migration/settlement.

Reflecting to some extent the dominant migratory flows from particular CEE countries to Scotland, the majority of our participants were from Poland (N=83), Latvia (N=42) and Lithuania (N=28) as well as from other EU countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia; N=42) and from non-EU countries of the former Soviet Union (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Ukraine; N=12). Participants included 129 women and 78 men and were aged between 19 and 70, although the majority were aged 25–49 (N=157). Most interviews were carried out in the migrants' native language, Polish, Russian[4] or Lithuanian or, where that was not possible, in English.[5] All interviews were fully transcribed (and translated into English), then analysed using NVivo 10 software.

Complex configurations of family, migration and (in)security

'Family migration' encompasses a wide variety of family configurations, migrations and institutional contexts. This is especially true for the EU context, which provides a unique setting for family migration in terms of flexibility of movement (Bailey and Boyle 2004). In EU law, the concept of family is fairly broad and goes beyond the nuclear family. It includes the rights of adult dependent children and ascendant relatives, thus recognising the existence of wider kinship relations. The legal framework of the EU allows families to move freely within the Union and to constitute and re-constitute their families largely as they wish. This right is widely used and, in addition to processes of family migration involving spouses and children, other more-extended and complex patterns are emerging. In this section we explore some of the (in)securities linked to the different family configurations which emerged through our research and the ways in which these influenced and/or were produced by decisions regarding migration and settlement.

Although financial insecurities (connected with low wage levels, loss of job, debt, etc.) remain the main triggers behind migration from the CEE region, recent studies have noted the growing role of family considerations in the decision-making process (Moskal 2010; Ryan 2011; Ryan and Sales 2011; Ryan *et al.* 2009). The most common pattern is staged migration, where a 'pioneer' moves first and is subsequently joined by their partner, children and other family members (cf. Moskal 2010; Ryan *et al.* 2009). One of the reasons for

such 'pioneer' migration is to mitigate the risks and uncertainties connected with migration and develop a more secure position – e.g. finding employment and accommodation before moving other family members. Frequently, these 'pioneers' arrive with the intention of a temporary stay; when it becomes extended, previously unplanned relocations of other family members often take place.

Re-uniting family as a source of security

Although the male pioneer, who is subsequently followed by his wife and children, remains the most typical pattern (cf. Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2006; Home Office 2009), our study included both a significant number of women pioneers and a variety of intergenerational configurations, with older children, for example, acting as pioneers who were followed by parents, younger siblings and others. In Kornelia's case, the first family member to leave their small-town home in Poland and move to Glasgow was her eldest daughter, Dorota. Following a difficult period of separation, Kornelia followed, despite agonising over the new separation from her husband and other children that this entailed. Once established in a job and having built a reputation as a 'model worker' in her factory, she was able to create the greater material security required to bring over first her son and then her husband and younger daughter.

> *When I was leaving, no one believed I would go, and my husband says – 'You are a hero'. (...) I didn't know what would await me, and being separated from my family. It's easy to say. You have to experience it to understand it. (...) Even though I had support in Dorota (...) she understood many things when she came over here to Scotland and she was alone. She wrote me this letter that I was crying over for a week. One of the things she wrote was that she knows how difficult things are for us and what pains her most is that she is helpless, that she can't help us but she swears this will change* (Kornelia, 57, married, 3 children, Poland).[6]

Ewa, also from Poland, moved to a small town in rural Scotland with her husband and three school-age children, motivated primarily by the wish to join her parents and siblings, who had left Poland a few years earlier. Whilst Ewa's nuclear family moved in a single migration, they were part of a – not uncommon – process of wider family reunion in the UK:

> *As far as [coming to] Scotland is concerned, my whole family lives here. They all came one after the other. I was the last to join. All my siblings... My parents... (...) We were on our own there [in Poland] so we wanted to come here... (...) Why shouldn't you take advantage of the opportunity to be together?* (Ewa, 37, married, 3 children, Poland).

As both examples show, patterns of family migration and reunion are complex, often staged over time and involving both nuclear and extended family members. They are also often incomplete and open-ended processes, as discussed in more detail in our final section. Unlike Ewa, most of our participants did not have what they would describe as their 'whole family' living in Scotland: Kornelia's elderly parents remained in Poland and were a source of worry, whilst others who experienced a period of family unification in Scotland found this disrupted again as adult children, siblings or partners made different choices about the length and permanence of settlement.

Nonetheless, as illustrated in both cases above, many of our participants attributed great significance to having close family members nearby. For both Ewa and Kornelia, strong emotional bonds were key to expe-

riences and expectations of family relationships and part of 'making family'. They viewed these as best nurtured and most rewarding where there is close physical proximity. Indeed, as Kornelia makes clear, distance can create deep and painful emotional insecurities. The 'helplessness' which Dorota experienced when separated from her family and the 'opportunities' which Ewa was able to take advantage of thanks to her parents' and siblings' earlier migration also point to the practical support and assistance which were assumed to be part of 'proper' family practices (Morgan 1996).

As noted in the wider literature on family (Finch and Mason 1993), however, there is no universal or automatic link between family and either emotional or material security. Indeed our research has shown that family insecurity can also play an important role in decisions regarding migration and settlement; the breakdown of relationships and changing configurations of family could both motivate decisions to migrate and shape choices regarding longer-term settlement.

Family (in)securities, separations and reconfigurations

As our fieldwork progressed, we were struck by the number of single mothers who explained their move to Scotland as part of a search for a 'better life'. For women like Elizabete, the experience of single parenthood and the obligation to provide materially for their children that this placed upon them was compounded by wider post-socialist insecurities, including precarious employment and labour-market discrimination, fluctuating prices and uncertain access to welfare services and state support, as well as financial barriers to accessing (higher) education. When Elizabete moved from Latvia with her young daughter to join her mother in a small town in rural Scotland, the 'better life' she sought certainly entailed not only greater financial security but also better educational opportunities for her daughter:

> *Because I'm single mum I'm looking for ways to support my daughter and make sure she has best educational opportunities as possible. (…) Because here I can just work and support myself and my daughter, I don't have so much worries about her education in the future, so it's like (…) for my daughter's future, really* (Elizabete, 39, divorced, 1 child, Latvia).

Elizabete's migration also involved reunion with her mother, with whom she shared a council house and who provided both financial/practical and emotional support in caring for her daughter. This was not an uncommon experience. Iza's story further exemplifies the complex and changing family configurations and redistribution of family practices relating to childcare, material support and practical assistance which staged and dynamic processes of migration and settlement can entail:

> *I was here first. The first year I was here, my daughter was with my sister in Poland. Because when I was starting out here, you know, I was living with some friends so I couldn't bring over my sister with my one child and her two children. So by the time I'd applied for a council flat, by the time I'd received a permanent job, a contract and so on, these things took time. It took time for me to gather enough money to bring them over. (…) This was a rather difficult time* (Iza, 31, single, 1 child, Poland).

Iza went on to explain that, while half of the family were in Scotland (herself, her two sisters and their children), the other half had remained in Poland (her father her two brothers and their families). Nevertheless, this family configuration was fluid, allowing the family as a whole to resolve a variety of (in)securities and provide different family members with the emotional, material and practical support they required. While Iza and her sisters were settled in Scotland and her father and brothers were settled in Poland at the time of interview,

various family members changed country of residence periodically, depending on their own and the wider family's needs. It was Iza's need for childcare that had first spurred the migration of her sisters and, later of her younger brother (who eventually returned to Poland). Iza's father, while living permanently in Poland, visited Scotland for extended periods of time, especially in the winter when he was without work in Poland and took on seasonal packing and fish factory work which was readily available in this rural area of Scotland.

Unexpected separations and reconfigurations can, of course, also occur in the country of migration, either after a family has relocated together or following an initial period of reunion. In such cases, new and unexpected insecurities may arise which are often linked to decisions regarding continued stays or return to the country of origin for some or all family members. Mariusz, for example, originally moved to Scotland from Poland as a 'pioneer' and subsequently brought his wife and child over. The couple's second child was born in Scotland. However, after several years the marriage broke down and the couple, now legally separated, continued to live in the same mid-sized town, sharing childcare on the basis of an informal agreement. Whilst Mariusz was unsure about whether he wanted to stay in Scotland long term, any prospect of a return to Poland was complicated by his family situation. His ex-wife had formed a new relationship in Scotland and had no intention of returning to Poland. His eldest daughter, who had been born in Poland, longed to return, in particular to be closer to her grandmother and favourite cousin. However, she had been living in Scotland since she was four years old and Mariusz was unsure about her ability to reintegrate into the Polish education system (cf. Ryan and Sales 2011; Trevena 2014). Mariusz' own plans and intentions seemed to be constantly changing or on hold and, in practical terms, he could not envisage a return in the near future. He was very committed to maintaining close emotional ties with his children and to having an active involvement in their upbringing and his way of 'doing family', in this case fatherhood, was a key motivating factor for him to stay in Scotland, for the time being at least.

Unlike Elisabete and Iza, Mariusz and his ex-wife had no other relatives living in Scotland and he felt that this breaking up of the wider family made their situation all the harder to negotiate:

> It is really all about the children now, to pull ourselves together and try to give them a proper upbringing. Well, I am telling you, my older daughter is simply (...) she was told it was me who dragged them all here and she holds a grudge against me, that I dragged them away from the family, from her gran and so on. So, you know, that's the first issue. The second one is we don't have anyone from family here, we've broken up (...) the ties it seems... (Mariusz, 37, separated, 2 children, Poland).

Nonetheless, for these three families of EU citizens, the relative flexibility and freedom of movement to which they were entitled allowed a considerable degree of fluidity and interchangeability of family practices and relationships, as well as multiple possibilities in terms of family configurations. The same flexibility is not available to non-EU migrants and this can compound sometimes extreme experiences of insecurity, for example in cases of family breakdown. Valerija, a Russian citizen, initially moved to England as part of the seasonal agricultural workers programme. During this time she met a Latvian man and they married. As the spouse of an EU citizen she gained the right to reside in the UK and the couple made Scotland their home. However, following the birth of their child, the relationship broke down. Valerija filed for divorce due to her husband's substance abuse and violent behaviour, but was faced with the prospect of deportation when the Home Office queried her continued right to reside. With support from her employer and good legal advice she was able to formalise her status; however, the experience was extremely distressing and added a layer of insecurity not faced by our EU participants. Moreover, unlike Elizabete or Iza, Valerija's migration status afforded her far more limited options in terms of reconfiguring her family to receive support from other relatives. Her parents and sister lived in Russia. Not only was it impossible for her to bring them over to live in Scotland but even

shorter family visits, in either direction, were complicated by the time-consuming and costly process of applying for visas and the subsequent long and anxious wait to see whether these would be granted. In these circumstances, family configurations are to a greater extent, shaped by immigration policies, rather than their desires, needs and choices. Families are less able to respond flexibly to changing needs which may be caused not only by the breakdown of relationships but also by new family formations, marriages and births taking place in the country of migration.

New family formations and the role of children in determining longer-term stays

For a significant number of our participants, new family formations had arisen as a direct result of migration. These new formations involved finding a partner and sometimes, by extension, new wider family relations, but also, and perhaps most significantly, the birth of children in Scotland. Such new family formations were frequently described as a significant factor behind longer-term settlement in Scotland. Gatis became part of an extended family of Latvian migrants when he met Madara and her older sister, Dita, in England. The three travelled to Scotland together and Madara and Gatis became a couple. At the time of interview, their child had recently started primary school, whilst the family's increasing sense of security had led Madara's older son also to move to Scotland as well as Dita's two adult daughters and grandchildren. As the three of them explained, the extended family was now well embedded in the village where they lived, the children were settled at school and Dita's daughter was engaged to a local Scottish man. Although they remained concerned about their elderly parents still in Latvia, there was little prospect of a return:

> *Of course, we can go back and find a job, but I don't see any prospects for my grandchildren in Latvia. What will they do there? Here they go to a good school and I don't have to pay a lot of money because they go to a state school. They go on school trips, and they're treated well. The teachers are good and treat them very well* (Dita, 45, single, 2 children, Latvia).

For Dita, Gatis and Madara, like Elizabete cited earlier, the vision of a 'better future' for their children (and grandchildren) was the primary motivation behind their long-term or permanent stay, but this was also rooted in a more generalised sense of material and emotional security and broader family connections within this rural Scottish context. As Madara (38, in a relationship, 2 children, Latvia) explained, *It's quiet here and better for the child and I don't need to worry about him going outside and something happening. (...) Anything but Aberdeen – it's noisy*. For others, like Mariusz, the different and sometimes contradictory practical needs and emotional desires of both parents and children could make decisions about longer-term stays complicated. Nonetheless, as children who had been born (or raised from a young age) in Scotland settled into local schools and developed friendship networks and proficiency in English, ideas about return to the country of origin faded for many families and longer-term settlement appeared something of a *fait accompli* (cf. Trevena 2014). In the following section we explore in more detail the complex and sometimes competing intersections of emotional and material (in)securities linked to decisions regarding longer-term settlement in Scotland.

Intersecting emotional and material (in)securities

As noted earlier in this article, family practices and obligations entail both material and emotional effort (Morgan 1996). For many of our participants it was precisely this combination of material and emotional support which provided a strong sense of connectedness and was viewed as key to 'proper' ways of doing family. At

the same time, questions of material and emotional (in)security also underpinned decisions relating to migration and settlement insofar as these were intended to secure a 'better life' for both individual migrants and their wider families (cf. also Flynn and Kay 2017; Sime 2018; Stella, Flynn and Gawlewicz 2018). For Andrei, from Bulgaria, the arrival of family members, including his wife, daughter, elderly mother and disabled brother, was part of an extended process of family reunification, interwoven with and interdependent on a parallel process of growing material and emotional security. After several years of seasonal farm work, Andrei had been offered a permanent full-time contract in a food-processing factory and the material security this offered allowed him to begin reuniting his extended family. At the time of our interview, his wife had already moved to join him and they were planning to bring their young daughter over very soon, to be followed by Andrei's brother and mother in due course. Andrei explained that this reunion of the family was also in some way a prerequisite to his own sense of 'belonging' and emotional security in Scotland: *Home is in Bulgaria, not yet, not yet [here]. Maybe when my daughter is here, my whole family, maybe. But for the moment, no, not home here* (Andrei, 27, married, 1 child, Bulgaria). As well as hoping that this reunion would lead him to feel more 'at home' in Scotland, Andrei saw it as an important step towards further and more permanent material security for the whole family – it would increase his chances of obtaining social housing and he hoped that his brother and mother would have better access to disability benefits and care than in Bulgaria. Thus, material and emotional securities were mutually reinforcing, each providing new potential for the other.

The availability of some formal provisions – especially social housing and benefits relating to children and employment but also ill health and old age – are much appreciated by many CEE migrants and can be a motivation for families to consider longer-term stays. This relates not only to the young families described thus far but also to migrants arriving at a later age – either with their families or alone. Our research has reflected a relatively small but growing trend towards migration of people in their late 40s, 50s and 60s, often linked to particular insecurities associated with ageing, retirement and formal state provision in CEE countries (Lulle and King 2015). Boris had followed his adult son to Scotland, motivated both by a wish to be closer to his child and grandchild and by the prospect of better state provision. Once in Scotland, despite living in hostel accommodation and experiencing precarious employment in the agricultural sector, he explained his decision to stay permanently as prompted by a nonetheless positive view of the extent and range of state provisions available. He described these as directly related to the possibility of a healthier and more fulfilling life, again bringing together material and emotional aspects of security:

> *Here in Scotland, I saw – for the first time in my life and I'm 62 – a state that thinks about its people. (...) I was telling my son that I was planning to sort out my pension paperwork in Latvia this year. (...) He told me that I could get my Latvian pension here in pounds and it will be worth more, and as another plus you have work. I was at the doctor... you don't think you'll be running around like a young man, do you? But I will! [laughs] Here you have free medical care. Free rides on the bus too, I can get that* (Boris, 62, divorced, 2 children, Latvia).

For Boris, like Andrei, emotional and material aspects of security appeared to be well aligned through a combination of access to formal provisions (state support, employment, etc.) and informal connections and support, facilitated by the closeness of other family members (von Benda Beckmann and von Benda Beckmann 1994). Such alignment is, however, not always the case (cf. Sime 2018).

Bożena had moved to Scotland without her family following redundancy in Poland. A divorcee in her late 40s, she had feared that due to age discrimination in the employment market as well as rather limited access to state support, her future in Poland did not look promising. In Scotland she had been able to find continuous employment, albeit in low-skilled and relatively insecure jobs, yet sufficient to support herself. Despite having

gained a relatively strong sense of material security in Scotland, however, Bożena felt that she could not achieve a full sense of emotional security because of living away from her loved ones. Her two adult daughters and their families remained in Poland, whilst her son lived in Germany. She described missing her family terribly and hoped to return to Poland following her retirement *to spend some time with my family. If not now then later. My grandchildren are being born and I'm not there*. In the meantime she planned to stay because, as she put it, *I have to think about my own future* (Bożena, 56, divorced, 3 children, Poland). Thus for Bożena, making longer-term plans was difficult and involved a complex negotiation between her own emotional and material needs and those of her family (cf. Lulle and King 2015: 453).

For Svetlana, negotiations of emotional and material (in)security were also complicated and ambiguous, linked to the differing needs and migration decisions of other family members. Svetlana and her teenage sons had initially moved to Scotland together. However, when her elder son decided to return to Latvia with his wife and young child, Svetlana felt torn between the material security she could provide by remaining in Scotland and a desire for the emotional securities linked to reuniting the family:

> *I don't even know how to explain it. (…) On one hand, I want to go back to Latvia, but the main cause of that is that my elder son and his family are there. (…) We've never been split before. Always together. For me, family means a lot: of course, that's the main reason I would go back to Latvia. But considering living standards, and money for my family, I want to stay here. It's easier here for me. It's just that I feel myself putting down roots. I feel calm here* (Svetlana, 44, divorced, 2 children, Latvia).

As well as experiencing tensions between material and emotional aspects of (in)security, Svetlana also saw them in some ways as aligned. The emotional pull to return to her family notwithstanding, she also found that the material stability of her life in a Scottish village and the knowledge of what this provided for family members back in Latvia – thus fulfilling an important family obligation – gave her a sense of calm and a competing feeling of 'rootedness' in Scotland (cf. Stella *et al.*2017).

Svetlana's and Bożena's examples hint at the importance of considering longer temporal perspectives in order to unpack the relationship between material and emotional (in)securities and decisions regarding family migration and settlement. For both women, past insecurities in their countries of origin played an important role in their initial decisions to migrate and their longer-term plans regarding settlement or return. However, the future was also a significant factor in their considerations and, whilst they tried to balance and plan for future emotional and material securities for themselves and their loved ones, decisions about length and permanence of stay remained open-ended (cf. Lulle and King 2015: 459). It is to these temporal aspects of (in)security which we turn in our final section, below.

Temporal and transnational aspects of (in)security and the open-endedness of 'settlement'

Our research reflects well-established understandings of migration and settlement as open-ended processes which emerge over time and for a range of reasons (Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee 2016; Piore 1979). Having arrived in Scotland, often with uncertain longer-term intentions or, in some cases, with a clear idea that their migration was only a short-term solution to insecurities 'back home', many of our participants found that a combination of material and emotional securities prompted them to rethink their stay as a longer-term commitment. This longer-term planning was often linked to processes of wider family migration and reunification. As such, their decisions were influenced by the emotional and material needs and (inter)dependencies of different family members. These were often explicitly compared to past insecurities in their country of origin and interpreted through expectations of a better future in Scotland. As Iza explained:

We're definitely staying here longer-term because, first of all I have nothing to go back to in Poland. I haven't got a flat there and my parents wouldn't be able to help… Here I have the comfort… I can afford a flat, a car, I can live normally and earn my keep. I can maintain my child as well and don't have to wonder how I'm going to pay my bills the next day. And I'm afraid that's what I was experiencing in Poland for five years. And I suspect it would be difficult for me to adjust (Iza, 31, single, 1 child, Poland).

Iza draws our attention both to the material insecurities in Poland that prevent her from returning and to the material securities she has created in Scotland, which motivate her to stay. Although Iza's family (parents and siblings) was split between the two countries, Iza did not doubt that her future and that of her young daughter lay in Scotland. Indeed, as mentioned above, for families with school-age children, longer-term settlement was, in many ways, the 'obvious' choice. Living in Scotland allowed them to provide basic material and emotional security for the whole (young) family, which they did not see as equally possible in their countries of origin.

Meanwhile, decisions around settlement and return for older migrants with adult children were often more complex, shaped not only by past, present and projected future (in)securities of the family as a unit, but also involving the varied and changing needs of independent decision makers within it. The interdependencies and complex decision-making processes which the migration of multiple and varied combinations of family members entailed could also mean that decisions were ultimately made on the basis of what was not possible or what was least undesirable rather than on more positive grounds. Sometimes, it was difficult to decide what was, in fact, least undesirable and some migrants became 'stuck' between various realities and considerations, both positive and negative, material and emotional, unable to make a conscious choice. As Henryk, whose family was split between Glasgow and Poland, explained:

[M]y situation is quite particular because I'm here alone in practical terms. My daughter's here, and my granddaughter. So part [of the family] is keeping me here. The other part is in Poland and they also absorb me because my wife's there, she's taking care of my mother-in-law. She's 86 years old, she's ill and she simply cannot imagine life without my wife (…). There's also a teenager there, she's 19. She's also very absorbing. And what am I to do, I don't know! I've just left everything to God's will. Of course I think about it, I ponder on it. And it's this way: a flat for free, transport for free, medicine for free and that's good. Barriers: the language, what I'll be doing here, this is terrifying for me (…). If I had some money and knew the language then maybe I could go places, if I had enough money to travel, go sightseeing. And also have family with me. Then I probably wouldn't mope about it. But I don't know how much money I'm going to have. (…) So I'm thinking about it but I'm not planning anything (Henryk, 64, married, 3 children, Poland).

As Henryk's case demonstrates, making a 'rational' choice between present and future material and emotional (in)securities can be near impossible. Henryk had spent 10 years in Scotland working towards his retirement. He could not go back to Poland before reaching pensionable age in the UK for financial reasons. In Scotland he had a job and various social entitlements which allowed him to provide for his family and which gave him a sense of material security. At the same time, he spoke about the emotional insecurities caused by living away from his closest family and of not feeling 'at home' in Glasgow. For Henryk and his family, migration had resulted in multiple and intersecting (in)securities. At the time of our interview, Henryk was also looking towards his impending post-retirement future and trying to weigh up his options: should he go back or stay? He felt insecure about his financial situation in Scotland following retirement and this was unsettling. The feeling was strengthened by his dislike of the neighbourhood he lived in and his lack of English. Henryk was therefore 'stuck', unhappy about his personal situation but unable to make a choice between present and future,

material and emotional (in)securities. As this example shows, tangled webs of emotional and material inter-connections and separations linked to family can make decisions about settlement or return extremely difficult and complicated.

Wider societal, political and legal contexts, which shape both the present and the imagined future, also play an important role in families' (and individuals') decisions regarding migration and settlement. It is not only family relationships, practices and configurations which shape migrants' longer-term plans; external conditions and legal frameworks also impact on both present and future material and emotional (in)securities (cf. Stella *et al.* 2017). In Scotland, a political commitment (at national and local levels) to 'welcoming migrants' as a solution to demographic and economic concerns can lead to policies and practices (for example, the availability of social housing, local integration efforts, etc.)which encourage settlement. At the same time, however, more mixed or negative social attitudes and wider media discourses and political processes can contribute to a sense that migrants' future is out of their own control, creating feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. This was clearly expressed by Boguslawa, who was interviewed at the time of the Scottish Independence Referendum[7] and an increasingly negative portrayal of migrants in the British media:

I don't know for how long [I will stay here]. At least 5 years, I'm assuming, but I think that if I feel good here, because it all depends on whether I find my feet here, then we'll stay for longer (...). How things will ultimately turn out it's difficult for me to say (...) and this makes me inclined not to make any big plans because I really don't know what will happen next. I don't know what the situation will be like over here because as you can see yourself, the way things are at the moment, the focus of the British Government on immigrants and so on. So if we are no longer welcome here then I don't know if there's any sense in staying here and... well, you don't know what's going to happen, you know, we might leave the EU... (Boguslawa, 48, married, 2 children, Poland).*

Conclusions

As this article has shown, migration and settlement are complex and open-ended processes, all the more so when we consider how they intersect with the negotiation of family relationships and responsibilities, processes of family formation, reunion and/or separation. Drawing on and further contributing to the framework for understanding (in)security originally developed by von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann (1994), we have explored the ways in which multiple material and emotional aspects of social security, which seek to accommodate different family members' needs and aspirations, influence migrants' choices regarding both initial decisions to migrate and the gradual emergence of longer-term stays. Migrants' initial decisions to migrate, linked to opportunities for work and (post-socialist) experiences of employment insecurity and financial instability in their country of origin, appear to prioritise immediate concerns regarding material and financial security, for themselves and for wider family members. However, material security is related not only to the immediate availability of work and earning potential but also to questions regarding children's education, the availability and perceived reliability of state support, particularly for those facing issues relating to poor health, ageing, etc. Here we see the importance of a more open understanding of the temporal aspects of 'social security' and the ways in which these can bring emotional and material concerns together. Aspirations for security in the future, both for the individual and for their other family members, especially children, as well as calculations based on past experiences of (in)security, play an important role and are often experienced and expressed as much in emotional terms of 'anxiety' or 'calm' as they are in relation to specific material or financial circumstances.

As longer-term stays emerged for those already in Scotland, these were often related to decisions to reunite families by bringing over spouses, children and other relatives. For these 'new' migrants the decision to move was motivated not only by the current and future securities, both emotional and material, that other family members had been able to access or produce in Scotland, but also by a sense that family reunion could itself further support and engender such securities. For some, reuniting in Scotland was as much a prerequisite for longer-term stays as *vice versa*. Here, a strong sense of the emotional and material significance of family practices (Morgan 1996) emerged through the experiences and perceptions of our participants. For many, physical proximity was perceived as a prerequisite for the proper performance of family relationships; however, for others, emotional and material obligations to themselves and/or to others could be in tension, prompting a range of decisions and sometimes indecision regarding migration and settlement. On the other hand, longer-term stays could result from new separations: divorce and family breakdown had for some been a catalyst for initial migration and for others a reason to stay, especially if combined with new family formations (new relationships, the birth of children) in Scotland. Re-emphasising the ongoing and open-ended nature of these interrelated processes of making and remaking family, those who had spent time together in Scotland could find themselves separating again if adult children, or others, decided not to stay longer-term. Negotiation of these complex and interdependent emotional and material aspects of both family life and social security mean that decision-making relating to migration and longer-term settlement is highly contingent and open-ended.

Significantly, however, migrant families' lives and the decisions they (can) make are also shaped by external factors over which migrants have little influence – for example legal frameworks. As we have demonstrated in this article, while some constraints in decision-making always exist, families from the EU – as opposed to those from third countries – have enjoyed a high degree of freedom in shaping family life according to their changing circumstances and needs. This raises many questions and uncertainties about their 'post-Brexit' future, with regards not only to their own basic rights to stay and work in the UK but also to freedom of movement for the (extended) family. How will the new legal frameworks impact on the family life and migration decisions of EU citizens living in Britain? At the time of writing, decisions on the conditions of stay and travel for EU citizens living in the UK (and their families abroad) have not yet been taken. Nonetheless, as indicated in Boguslawa's example above, the temporal aspects of (in)security can give very tangible present-day meaning to such future uncertainties.

Conflict of interest statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes

[1] In May 2004, eight CEE countries ('A8') joined the EU: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. The UK fully opened its labour market to A8 nationals but introduced a seven-year transition period during which A8 workers had to register with the Workers Registration Scheme and gained welfare entitlements only after 12 months of continuous employment. In January 2007, the 'A2' countries of Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU. Their access to the UK labour market was initially more restricted. In December 2013 they gained the same rights and entitlements as other EU nationals. At the time of writing this paper, EU nationals had unrestricted access to the UK labour market but somewhat restricted access to welfare – having to fulfil additional requirements such as passing the 'habitual residency test' when applying for certain benefits (Kennedy 2015).

[2] 'Brexit' is a term commonly used for the referendum on the UK's membership in the European Union (EU) which took place on 23 June 2016. The overall result was a 'leave' vote and the UK is currently taking steps to enact the process of formally leaving the EU. Notably, while the majority of people living in England and Wales voted in favour of leaving the EU, the majority of people in Scotland and Northern Ireland voted to remain.

[3] CEE nationals from non-EU countries ('non-EEA nationals') are subject to UK immigration control and have limited access to the labour market. In most cases they (and their families) need to apply for a visa to enter and/or work in the UK. Access to welfare depends on individual immigration status and circumstances (e.g. whether they have indefinite or limited leave to remain in the UK) but most non-EEA nationals have no recourse to public funds (Kennedy 2015).

[4] Many of our Latvian participants were native Russian-speakers, reflecting the high percentage of ethnic Russians and Russian-speakers within the Latvian population and amongst migrants from Latvia to Scotland.

[5] Where interviews were conducted in English, citations in the text are verbatim and reflect the differing levels of fluency amongst participants. Citations from interviews in Polish, Russian or Lithuanian have been translated to retain the fluency of the participants' speech in their native language.

[6] All names used in this article are pseudonyms to protect participants' identity.

[7] On 18 September 2014, Scotland held an independence referendum. People living in Scotland (British citizens aged 16+ resident in Scotland, as well as Commonwealth and EU citizens who had been resident in Scotland for at least 12 months) were asked whether Scotland should be independent of the UK. The result was a 'no' vote. Ironically, although several of our participants feared that an independent Scotland would be forced to leave the EU, it was, in fact, the subsequent Brexit referendum in June 2016 which led to this outcome for the UK as a whole.

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Belonging and Ontological Security Among Eastern European Migrant Parents and Their Children

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Research has given increasing recognition to the important role that children play in family decisions to migrate and the significant impact of migration on family relationships. At the same time, the role of emotional labour involved in feeling 'at home' and the sense of ontological security and everyday belonging that families develop post-migration can benefit from further exploration. Drawing on data collected with Eastern European migrant families in Scotland, this article explores intergenerational understandings of (in)securities by comparing parents' and children's views on their lives post-migration. It shows that, while adults constructed family security around notions of stable employment and potential for a better future, children reflected more on the emotional and ontological insecurities which families experienced. Family relationships are often destabilised by migration, which can lead to long-term or permanent insecurities such as family disintegration and the loss of a sense of recognition and belonging. The article reflects on the ways in which insecurities of the past are transformed, but are unlikely to be resolved, by migration to a new country. It does this by grounding the analysis in young people's own understandings of security and by examining how their narratives challenge idealised adult expectations of family security and stability post-migration. It also shows that young people's involvement in migration research brings an important perspective to the family dynamics post-migration, challenging adult-centred constructs.

Keywords: migrant young people; family migration; ontological (in)security; East–West migration; belonging

Introduction

Parents' desire to secure 'a better future' for their children is often mentioned in research as a key motivator in decisions to migrate (Ní Laoire, Carpena-Mendez, Tyrell and White 2011; Orellana 2009; Salazar Parreñas 2005). Children's own understandings and experiences of family migration are important in establishing the

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extent to which their views coincide with those of their parents in relation to the benefits of migration for family life and a secure future. Migration provides adult and child migrants with different standpoints when it comes to reflecting on the experience of migration. In the case of Central Eastern European (CEE) families, adult migrants are likely to draw on their experiences of (in)security in socialist and post-socialist states, while their children might have not experienced insecurities in the same way. This study is situated in the context of emerging literatures which deconstruct both the mythologisation of migration as a safe route to family security and prosperity (Ryan 2010, 2011), as well as the literature on migrants' belonging and identities. To address the proposed intergenerational perspective, I explore families' sense of (in)security and understandings of 'a better life' post-migration by comparing adults' and children's narratives. As I look at experiences of family migration/reunion, I examine these narratives through various lenses, drawing on the existence of kinship ties and social connections as well as on the emotional and ontological aspects of security and aspirations and motivations for the future.

While research has documented CEE-born children's experiences as migrants (Devine 2009, 2011; Ni Laoire *et al.* 2011; Sime and Fox 2015a, b), we know less about the impact which migration has on their sense of ontological security, understood as having a sense of stability, rootedness, continuity and control over their everyday lives and futures. The notion that a person's self or identity and his/her social environment are in synergy has been linked to the concept of belonging (May 2011). Building on the existentialist tradition of Sartre in philosophy, Laing (1965) emphasised the importance of maintaining a core sense of self which transcends places, time and social contexts and allows individuals to relate to others without feeling under threat or excluded. More recently, Giddens' concept of 'ontological security' (1984, 1991) has gained traction in the context of modernity – often seen as void of tradition and stability and leading to psychosocial fragmentation. For Giddens, a person can only feel secure when experiencing a sense of order, continuity and stability, which leads to a sense of control. Modernity has made the self a reflexive project, where social position is less relevant and individuals experience both new freedoms and new challenges while constructing the self. In this study, I examine the extent to which migration, as a feature of family life, impacts on children and their parents' sense of security and belonging or feeling 'at home' in a new place. I examine the effects of uprooting the family in the hope of a more prosperous future on individuals' sense of connectedness and trust in the stability of their futures, both individually and as a family. In order to do this, I begin by looking at the literature on migration and ontological (in)security and show how this relates to family relationships and migrant children's experiences. After outlining the methodology, I use data collected with migrant families in Scotland to explore the interrelation of notions of emotional attachment and material (in)security, ontological security and belonging and connectivity with a community and place. I then reflect on the ways in which children relate to notions of family security in the present and in relation to an uncertain future, and how their narratives challenge idealised narratives of family security.

Family migration, ontological security and children

Migrant children have traditionally been portrayed as 'luggage' in migration research (Orellana 2009), as victimised by the significant structures of inequality which force them to follow their parents abroad and as part of the adult-dominated power relations within their families and communities. As migration has become a global phenomenon, issues of integration, social cohesion and national identity have moved to the forefront of current political and policy debates. In the case of Brexit, for example, the case for Britain leaving the European Union was built on a campaign which emphasised the need to take back control from the EU over national affairs, especially in relation to the economy and immigration. While sometimes veiled and at other times more explicit in the debates on Britain's place in Europe, the presence of migrants, often seen as 'the

others' in national debates and the media, has been a key factor in the majority vote to leave the Union. During the Brexit debate, 'uncontrolled' immigration was debated in terms of the risks posed from outside the national borders, through potential terrorism and illegality associated by some of the 'Leave' campaigners with refugees and new migrant groups, while migrants already in the UK were portrayed as posing a threat to local jobs and increasing demand for public services.

Recent policies in Britain have placed an increasing emphasis on community cohesion and the integration of minority groups, participation and the recognition of migrants' identities, although the responsibility for this agenda seems to be particularly on migrants to adapt, rather than on receiving communities to facilitate their integration (Spencer 2011). Virdee and McGeever (2017) examined how the recent case for Brexit was intimately bound with questions of migration and race relations, a claim also substantiated by the increase in rates of racist hate crimes reported post-Brexit, with many Eastern Europeans said to be among the victims. Their analysis shows how a new politics of resentment has emerged in Britain over the last two decades, closely linked to increasing rates of immigration after EU enlargement; this was soon followed by economic decline and the anti-immigrant feeling encouraged at times by a political will to racialise national politics and build on an anti-immigrant working-class vote. These structural factors have contributed to migrant families' particular positioning, within a political climate mainly focused on regulating and reducing migration. In the context of austerity programmes and anti-immigration rhetoric, research on migrant families poses new challenges in relation to documenting families' strategies for coping with risks and insecurities.

Given the focus in this study on CEE migrant families, it is important to look back in time at what security meant for the adults who grew up in the ex-communist territories – the migrant parents in this study. In countries with limited state provision, individuals depended mainly on family and community relationships in time of need (Read and Thelen 2007). The parents in this study had grown up in the post-socialist societies of Europe where the dismantling and fragmentation of state provision is ongoing. In addition, many have experienced the economic insecurities of precarious and low-paid jobs and possibly personal and political insecurity. The dichotomies between state/non-state, formal/informal, public/private and even traditional/(post)modern types of provision are at the centre of our understanding of how migrant families produce securities (financial, emotional, personal, political and social) and mitigate risks – such as those brought about by migration. In examining how parents and children understand (in)securities and how their ideas and practices of financial, emotional and personal security are adapting over time to the new transnational circumstances, I explore not only the preconditions of a person's sense of security, but also the types of relationship and social distribution mechanisms which family members value and rely on.

These everyday practices of engaging or producing securities may include a combination of formal and informal networks from past and present, and depend on the nature of those social relationships which are available in their new communities. By focusing on the emotional and ontological dimensions of security, as well as on the material aspects, I draw on sociological theory and the concept of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006), with an individual's sense of rootedness or identification with a place developing in time and experienced as a dynamic process. A sense of belonging and connection to place is likely to link to a sense of confidence and optimism in a secure future. May defines belonging as 'a sense of ease in oneself and one's surroundings' (2011: 368), which requires an active process of identification with one's place and culture, and a sense of being actively involved with the development of a community and its collective values. In this sense, insecurities from the past – including economic, personal or political insecurities – which may have pushed adults to migrate, can be vindicated by achieving a more secure present and future and a sense of recognition as an individual. The temporal dimension of individuals' (in)securities is an important consideration when studying migrant families, as family migration may be seen as involving short-term sacrifices in the hope of a more secure future.

A key aspect of reaching psycho-social security is the emotional labour involved in making a new start, with the vision of a better life. Research has documented the experiences of emigration and settlement and the strain that doing families transnationally poses for relationships (Mazzucato and Schans 2011; Ryan 2011). While this literature documents the struggles and routes to material and economic prosperity in the West for many, as well as the failure and perpetual marginalisation for some, there is less research on the impact of migration on the existential aspects of young migrants' lives. Research on migrant families remains mainly adult-centred, as a significant body of research on children's well-being in transnational families relies on adults' accounts (Mazzucato and Schans 2011). Beck (1992) has argued that the normative basis of late-modern society is about safety and the prevention of harm and risk anxiety – especially in relation to an unpredictable future – which has become a feature of Western societies. These ontological insecurities are channelled in part through societal concerns about children's security and young people's futures.

Children's diverse roles in family migration are well documented, from influencing the timing of family migration, to the choice of a destination country and decisions to stay or return (Ní Laoire, Carpena-Mendez, Tyrell and White 2011; Ryan and Sales 2011; White 2011). Family migration is, in the main, a difficult matter for children. Studies have acknowledged the significant challenges that they have to cope with, including disrupted relationships with friends (Haikkola 2011; Reynolds 2007; Sime and Fox 2015b), changed family structures after migration (Salazar Parreñas 2005; White 2011), hostility and segregation at school (Devine 2009, 2011), as well as challenges to identity and sense of belonging (Ní Laoire *et al.* 2011). Nevertheless, in the last decade, research on migrant children has concentrated on challenging assumptions of migrant children as problematic and permanently 'trapped in a miserable structural conflict of living between two cultures' (Mannitz 2005: 23) and has focused on their resilience, agency and voice.

This article adds to this literature by examining migrant children's views of security post-migration, with a focus on their sense of belonging and hope for a secure future. I aim to show that their understandings of ontological securities develop across place and over time and that these understandings may often differ from those of their parents. By focusing on the emotional and ontological dimensions of security, I also draw on feminist approaches to care and 'doing family', which include notions of kinship, domesticity and reliable social relations. These build on an individual's sense of connectedness with family networks as well as on a sense of connection with place and community. The everyday practices of engaging or producing securities may include a combination of formal and informal networks and may depend on the nature of social relationships available to them. In this sense, I aim to contribute to existing scholarly debate on the notion of belonging which, as Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran and Vieten (2006) claim, relates to 'important social bonds and ties' and encompasses feelings of emotional safety and being at 'home' (2006: 528). The affective dimension which lies at the heart of belonging, seen as a process rather than a fixity, reflects the emotional investments involved in doing family post-migration and the 'desire for attachments' (Yuval-Davis 2006: 202).

Methodology

The methodological approach for the study draws on semi-structured interviews with adult migrants and child--centred activities, inspired by the new sociology of childhood which advocates for the recognition of children as competent social actors with their own agency and subjectivity. Social theories of childhood (James, Jenks and Prout 1998; Jenks 1996) conceptualise children as social actors, active in their engagement with adults, institutions and ideologies, which they interpret, reinvent or negotiate in their own ways. Corsaro calls this process 'interpretive reproduction' (2011: 21), to reflect the creative aspects of children's participation in society and their active contribution to cultural production and change. This approach has prompted researchers to think of the 'competent child' (James *et al.* 1998), whose perspective on society, possibly different from

that of adults, needs to be heard and considered in equal manner. Children's voice cannot genuinely be heard unless adults change the ways in which they see children and their competence. As research with children moves into new realms which tackle the long-standing issues around children's lack of representation and power, childhood remains a highly contentious topic, as different historical, spatial, social, political and moral positions are conjured up to discuss it. In this paper, I show that involving children as research participants can highlight internal dynamics in migrant families and challenge adult-centred constructs of family migration as a route to family security.

The data collection for this study took place in 2009–2010, at a time when Scotland was just beginning to experience the effects of the economic crisis which started in 2007/2008. Since the accession of A8 countries to the EU, Scotland had seen a significant increase in the number of EU migrants arriving in search of work. In the years 2004 to 2008, just before this study started, migration to Scotland was on the increase – in the region of 45 000 arrivals per year, the highest since migration records began in 1951. However, by 2011–2012, migration rates were already decreasing, probably as a direct consequence of the economic crisis. The data were collected in urban and rural areas with a high proportion of new migrants and involved 11 focus groups with 57 children who had migrated to Scotland with their parents between 2007 and 2010. The participants included 31 girls and 26 boys, the majority were Polish (N=48) and aged between 8 and 16 years; they came from a range of socio-economic backgrounds and were mostly recruited through schools in urban and rural locations. The focus groups involved child-friendly activities, where children discussed first the experiences of an 'imaginary migrant family' arriving in their area and then their own experiences.

In the second stage, 23 in-depth family case studies were completed, including 29 children – some from the focus groups but also some newly recruited – to ensure a more diverse spread of nationalities. In addition to 13 Polish children, these cases involved five Lithuanian, four Slovak, two Bulgarian and two Romanian children and one Hungarian, one Russian and one Czech family. In total, 15 girls and 14 boys were involved, between the ages of 8 and 16. The families lived across Scotland in both urban and rural areas; most parents were in low- and middle-income employment, including agriculture, factory work or the retail and hotel sectors. All families were visited twice at home and invited to complete diaries of their daily activities and take photographs of their lives, which were then used as prompts for discussion. In each family, one or both parents were also interviewed in the participant's native language – either using an interpreter or by the researchers – or in English if the families preferred this. The article draws on the data from families with young people aged 12–16 in order to unpack the experiences of young people who are likely to find migration more challenging, when friendship relationships and identity formation have distinct characteristics (Baptiste 1993; White 2011). By exclusively selecting newly arrived families, we were more likely to capture the anxieties and insecurities inherent to the initial stages of settlement; however it was important to document these experiences at a time of increasing inward mobility in Scotland.

Homes are complex spaces in which to study children and they often offer a richness of information that participants might not express in words because of the normalised nature of their everyday lives (Sime 2015). Carrying out research in homes has increased advantages in terms of empowering children, as the home may be perceived as a familiar space where the researcher is a guest. However, although homes may offer a less formal setting, they are not free from ethical dilemmas. Homes are shared spaces, where children often do not control access to or use of spaces by other family members (Bushin 2007; Pyer and Campbell 2013; Sime 2008). This means that researchers have to be flexible and negotiate the domestic space according to the children's and adults' wishes. In this study, parents were usually comfortable about allowing the researchers to speak to their children in private and the children were mostly absent when their parents were interviewed;

sometimes, however, the entire family was in the room. We had to take account of the likely power relationships between the family members who were present, aware that the parents may have influenced what their children felt was appropriate to say in their presence and *vice versa*.

Focus groups and activities with young people were recorded, transcribed verbatim and analysed using a grid analysis approach, thematic coding and retrieving methods (Boyatzis 1998). An overview thematic grid was produced to map out the descriptive summaries of the issues emerging from the data. Relevant sections of the transcripts were assigned appropriate thematic codes and refined sub-categories emerged and were allocated to text in transcripts. An NVivo package was used to facilitate the organising and classifying of the data. In the next sections, I identify some of the key themes that the analysis of the dataset revealed in relation to the parents' and children's understandings of migration as a source of individual and family (in)security, and explore in particular the extent to which children and adults had different notions of security. All names used are pseudonyms.

Children's security as a motivating factor in family migration

The decision to migrate was often linked, in the adults' narratives, to opportunities for better paid employment. Parents wanted to find work that provided better financial support for their families, often expressed as 'a better standard of living' and a better quality of life. Financial security was seen as a pre-condition of family security, with an assumption that emotional security would follow. Many parents described having good jobs in their home country but struggling financially and feeling stressed by the demands of that job and their stretched finances. Financial insecurity, determined by the ratio of pay to the cost of living; the constant struggle to secure basic items such as food, and the emotional insecurity linked to work, made adult participants think of migration as a route to a 'better future', as Grzegorz, a Polish parent, stated:

> All I wanted was to have a good life. A good life for my children and to [be able to] provide for them. And I want to make sure that my children are happy and try to give them what other children have, so they don't need to ever feel ashamed.

Like Grzegorz, many other parents were of the view that emotional security follows material security and that a better income would help the family to overcome not just shortages of goods or services but also the parents' deep sense of guilt and even social embarrassment. The children's future played an intrinsic part in the adults' decisions to migrate, often constructed by parents in terms of educational opportunities, as well as financial gains in the short term. Parents, such as Aldona from Lithuania, below, tended to feel that education in Scotland was more prestigious and that the opportunity for their children to go to a good school or university was either unattainable or less likely in their country of origin:

> Here, there is less stress getting into university, a better quality of study, accommodation. Also financially it's easier; you don't really need to overstretch yourself to get children into education. In Lithuania, it would be a struggle.

For some parents, moving was justified in terms of 'a new beginning' as a family unit, with a clear desire to escape the post-socialist environment of ongoing deprivation, the stigma of poverty and a marked shift in aspirations for a different social, political or cultural context. These parents, and again Aldona, said that they did not like what had become of their country of birth and they took the opportunity to leave:

> *We told my son, 'We want a better life for you'. So that's [leaving] for the children. I don't want them to become like a lot of Lithuanians, you know [don't want them to be] like all the other people over there.*

Changes to the state provision of services and support mechanisms across the CEE region have led to new levels of unemployment and welfare insecurities. Some of the parents explained how they experienced increasing inequality of opportunities, whereby employment depended on 'who you knew' and informal networks to accessing work or training opportunities. At the same time, the withdrawal of state-funded benefits – like full-time childcare or free healthcare – increased families' dependence on informal networks of support such as neighbours or grandparents. Drawing on these private, non-state networks and resources to recreate forms of care previously offered by the state also meant a sense of emotional (in)security; it put kinship relationships under strain due to an increasing demand for care by children or elder family members, as Magda, a Polish parent, illustrates:

> *My mother had to help more often and she was resenting it; I had to work longer hours and I was always stressed, then we would argue. So I decided coming here [Scotland] would be a breakthrough.*

Migration was thus a break from the post-socialist past, an escape route from a perceived hopelessness in relation to potential social structures and mechanisms unlikely to develop at a speed that would deliver a secure future in the short term. A significant element of these decisions was the perceived opportunity to secure children's future opportunities. However, the data from children revealed that security after migration was complicated, especially in emotional terms.

Children's lack of control over the decision to migrate and implications for emotional security

Perhaps because they associated childhood with innocence and vulnerability, most parents did not feel it necessary to consult their children on their families' migration plans. As the majority of the children were 12 or younger at the time of their family's move to Scotland, the parents said that they did not think they would understand or, in some cases, said that parents just 'knew best'. 'The parent decides and the children must obey', stated Aldona, a Polish parent.

However, most parents described seeing the initial months in Scotland as a 'testing-the-waters' period after which, if their children were not happy or settled, the family would return to the home country. The 'wait-and-see' approach thus implied a recognition that children's emotional security mattered and might not simply be a given. Some of the children described not wanting to migrate and being angry or upset over their parents' decision. The older children, in particular, talked of feeling more frustrated about their lack of control over their parents' decision and were more likely to wish to return, as illustrated poignantly by 15-year-old Vincent from Lithuania:

> **Interviewer:** *What do you like about living in Scotland?*

> **Vincent:** *Nothing at all.*

> **Interviewer:** *You'd much prefer to be in Lithuania?*

> **Vincent:** *Aye [yes]. I know, like schools are harder in Lithuania, but I'd rather be there.*

Interviewer: Is that maybe because you've got older, or because you live in Scotland?

Vincent: Oh just because she's [his mother] brought us here, just don't like this country at all.

Interviewer: Right. So you feel angry that you didn't have any control over moving here?

Vincent: Yes. Didn't have any choice at all.

In Vincent's case, his mum migrated alone and then requested that Vincent follow her to Scotland. Only in a couple of exceptional cases did the parents say that they left the decision to migrate up to the children themselves. However, were the children to decide not to migrate, the alternative meant their being left behind with relatives – often grandparents – as the parents, like Danuta, had already made plans to leave:

Romek decided on his own that he did not want to come with me [to Scotland] and he wanted to stay back in Poland. I gave him the option to decide; I was fine with him staying with my mother [in Poland].

As a single parent, Danuta decided that moving to Scotland and leaving Romek in the care of her mother would be a satisfactory arrangement until she had secured a family home in Scotland, childcare and better employment. Kinship care was not always an option and some children were left behind on their own. Although both the children and the parents spoke at length about their understanding of the risks involved, such as the safety risks for children or the likelihood of being reported by neighbours to child protection services, they also rationalised their decisions in terms of a temporary and unavoidable sacrifice. In these cases, the young people spoke about how these arrangements impacted on their sense of emotional insecurity, which lingered for years, even after they were reunited with their parents. This also meant that, for the children, the pre-migration stages were marked by mixed emotions of not only excitement and anticipation but also considerable anxiety, which sometimes led to them blaming the parent. Benas (13) had lived alone for almost a year with his 14-year-old sister in Lithuania before coming to join his mother in Scotland:

Interviewer: How do you think a child feels about their parents when they first come Scotland?

Benas: He hates them, definitely. He doesn't hate them, I mean, he just doesn't like them very much (laughs).

Interviewer: So that's why there's tension with the mother, you said.

Benas: Yeah, because, because the mother is trying to protect him and she goes first to find work and to check things are ok. But he still thinks that his mother is to blame.

The parents were usually aware of their children's feelings and talked about their own emotional strain at having to leave them behind, while also dealing with pressure from the rest of their family to stay. They kept in touch regularly, to reassure their children that reunion would happen 'soon' although, in some instances, families had to wait years before the situation was favourable to family reunification. In this instance, transnational mechanisms of care and parenting were the only source of emotional security for both parents and children, with the promise of reunification once material security was achieved. This process of 'caring at

a distance' (Baldassar 2007) could do little, though, to address the significant changes that families were already undergoing on an emotional and relational level. Families who had experienced temporary separation often said, after reunion, that things were 'not the same' and it would often take children months and years to reach a state of emotional stability.

Children's and parents' views of (in)security post-migration

While aspirations for a secure future are often linked to adult migrants' motivations for moving, we have a less clear understanding of what children's views are on families' decisions to migrate for a 'better future' and of the extent to which family migration is experienced by them as a route to a secure future. In this section, I explore parents' and children's narratives of (in)security, directly linked to the desire for inclusion and belonging or feeling 'at home' and examining the often entangled and contradictory web of understandings they construct when talking about their lives in the new country. When compared, these narratives demonstrate the complex interactions between parents' and children's attitudes to migration as a route to future security, their distinct views of material and emotional (in)security, and the significant impact that migration has on family structures.

Financial (in)security

Financial concerns were a key part of the families' decision to migrate and the parents often talked about 'critical incidents' and the experiences of marked financial insecurity that made them decide to move. This included losing their employment, not being able to make ends meet or, in some cases, unhappy relationships or situations of domestic abuse and financial dependence on abusive partners. Many parents discussed how, despite being in highly qualified jobs, their income was low relative to the cost of living and they were experiencing constant financial struggle:

> *In Lithuania, I was dreading the weekends, what to put on the table, how to feed the children, will they ask to go anywhere and having to tell them we can't afford it; it was much more difficult, because of money* (Alma, Lithuanian parent).

> *Now I can go to bed without this feeling that tomorrow I won't have money for living. Here [in Scotland], if you work you can afford many things. In Poland, we were struggling each month with many things* (Beata, Polish parent).

As well as food and basic needs, the adults described the additional costs of services such as healthcare or education. Although the latter had remained free in most CEE countries, families had to pay for things like uniforms and textbooks, equipment and school trips and they had often struggled to cover these, as Simon, a parent from Poland, explained:

> *To buy everything for four children, like all books, notebook, school dress and so on, we needed a lot of money, it was around 2000zl [£440], more than I would earn some months.*

The children seemed very aware of their families' insecure economic situation pre-migration, of how much things cost in their home country and of the strain that this was putting on their parents, as 13-year-old Jelena illustrates:

It was quite stressful there… prices are always up and quite expensive, everything, and stuff like that… sometimes, people didn't get much money or, like, the salary was not on time, and they had a lot of expenses.

Discussions about their awareness of the sacrifices that their parents had to make in the past, especially with a view to securing a better future for their children, were frequent in the focus groups like this Polish one:

Interviewer: Why did your parents decide to come here, do you know?

Klaudia (13): I think it was because of school, our future. In Poland, education is very expensive; here, college is free.

Ola (16): Well, university is not free, but everything is much easier.

Wioleta (13): It is better than in Poland.

Ola (16): My mum said that she came here to give me a better future. It was for me, for my future, not for her, but for me and my brother.

Children and young people were thus aware that their future depended on their families' financial stability as well as on the social, economic and political contexts in which they were growing up. Implicit in children's and adults' comments was the idea of dissatisfaction with the economic environment in post-socialist states and an awareness of the sacrifices made by the adult generation to secure a more democratic society – which had failed, however, to deliver the opportunities they wanted for their families. On this issue, the parents and children were mostly in agreement – their new situation in Scotland was a positive change in terms of immediate financial security although, in some cases, it was still precarious due to the uncertainty over long-term employment. What the parents and children did not always agree on was the extent to which financial security was a price worth paying in terms of other dimensions of security – such as emotional and ontological security – discussed next.

Emotional (in)security

Linked to the issue of employment and financial security, the parents talked about the emotional security that a stable job and recognition at work brought them, which shows that, in relation to the parents' work, their emotional and material securities seemed interdependent and aligned. This was often linked to aspects such as securing a permanent contract of employment and a more positive and supportive work environment. Maya, a Bulgarian teacher, talked about the shift in her well-being as a result of moving to Scotland:

One thing which brings more security is what I do – I can now sustain my family, although we are newcomers here. This, in the longer term, gives you more confidence, I'd say. Before [migrating], I was doing two or three jobs and under constant pressure, thinking 'What will help me get more money?' – not to get rich, but just to sustain your family. So I'm now happy, my boss recognises my work – and it's not just me; I see a difference in my children in that they have more positive feelings about school.

The children also commented on the opportunities that migration had created for their parents in terms of emotional security through employment. In some cases, they talked of how an ongoing, precarious political or

economic context in their home country was a drain on the energy of their parents, who had their hopes crushed in post-socialist period. Maya's two daughters, aged 13 and 16, agreed that the move had been to their benefit, as well as better for their mother's career, although they missed Bulgaria and their friends. Gintare, a 16-year-old Lithuanian, talks here about the 'typical migrant child' and what would make his or her family move to Scotland:

> *S/he would hate the political situation that forced us to move, that meant s/he had to move, I mean… s/he would know that s/he didn't have a choice. But still s/he would hate that. S/he would think that s/he could have stayed if the politicians weren't, if politicians were better. And for your parents, you don't have a choice in that situation. They waited for so long, they thought it would be better, but then it wasn't. So they decided, it's better to move, you have more money, and you can do whatever. So, like… you have freedom.*

The sense of family (in)security draws thus on young people's knowledge about adults' experiences of the past and what the children were told about them, about their current access to resources and their estimations of the likely future. Most children said that they understood how their parents' experiences of insecurities in relation to work and money in the past compared negatively with their present chances of securing employment and the potential for better opportunities in the future. They often linked these interpretations to the wider political and economic uncertainties of post-socialism, showing a clear awareness of changes in the available state-regulated support and of the fluid and ambivalent nature of social relations and processes of care and support in their country of origin.

However, while the children were prepared to concede that their parents had gained some financial security and recognition through work, they often thought that this came with a heavy price in terms of emotional security for the whole family. This included the anxieties which they had to cope with on leaving close family members – such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins – behind as well as the struggle to leave their friends.

> *I miss my grandmother, I used to spend my summer holidays with her and she looked after me when my mum came first to Scotland. I'd help her in garden. Here, we don't have the garden like in Poland. And we'd do things like paint Easter eggs, play cards and so on* (Agnieszka, 12, Polish).

> *The beginning, it's like, you can't remember them [your friends and family], or you don't want to, because you have so many problems, you have to start a new life and you have to find new friends and you have to live in a new city or town or you're having stress in your family and it's like, everything is like broken* (Gintare, 16, Lithuanian).

Many young people talked openly about the resentment they felt towards their parents as well as that felt by those left behind – like older parents and siblings – with family rifts often mentioned. The children talked about the sense of loss they often experienced when leaving and how their emotional security had been affected by the realisation that certain relationships were now lost or at least transformed forever by their parents' decision to move the family, as 12-year-old Marta from Poland explained:

> *I have some Scottish friends, but my really, really good friends are from Poland. And I'll never get them back. You might call your grandmother, but it is not the same. Same with friends in Poland, even though you might contact them by Skype, on the phone or send letters, it is not the same. It will never be the same.*

Young people commented on how grandparents left behind were affected by their families' move abroad, and the resentment they often felt towards their children, who had disrupted traditional family patterns and left the grandparents lonely and with limited opportunities to get involved in their grandchildren's upbringing. Others, like Marta, talked about the role of modern technology in maintaining transnational relationships; however, the closeness of their relationship had been affected and their interactions were 'not the same'. Uprooting the family reconfigures opportunities for everyday encounters and relationships, making the relational aspect of migration fraught with emotional (in)securities, particularly where immediate access to networks of emotional and moral support is not readily available. Technology, in this sense, goes some way in allowing connections over spaces but it also alters the potential for direct interconnectivity and emotional bonding.

Life post-migration often leads, therefore, to tensions between parents and children, as well as between parents and grandparents. Agata, a Polish single mother who had lived in Scotland for about three years, discussed the strain which migration had put on her relationship with her son, Bartek (12), and with her parents, who wanted them to return:

> *Bartek really misses his grandmother and his dogs, and he misses Poland a lot. I think he will never get used to this new place. He is torn between two places, Poland and Glasgow. He often gets mad at me that I took him from Poland, I ruined his life (laughs). And my mother didn't speak to me for months – now it's a bit better.*

At the time of the interview, Agata had lost her job and was relying on job-seeker's allowance, a benefit for people seeking work. She saw unemployment as an opportunity to reconnect with Bartek, who was also encountering difficulties in finding meaningful friendships in his new school or neighbourhood:

> *Well, Bartek's teacher told me that he isn't doing his homework, and they have problems with him. I never had problems with him in Poland. I know that Bartek is doing his homework, but he doesn't want to show it. This is his way of saying to me that he doesn't want to live here, and that we won't do anything here. He needs to show me that he doesn't like it here. It's difficult, things are different from Poland, children are not coming to our house and they are not going outside together to play games. Everything is more formal, or maybe they treat Poles differently. Where we live, in these flats, there are a lot of social problems, teenagers doing drugs and drinking, so Bartek has no friends.*

In the absence of extended family networks, young people also had to take on responsibilities such as looking after younger siblings, doing more household chores or even taking small paid jobs themselves, contributing thus to family divisions of labour. In some cases, this led to more reliance on siblings for emotional support; their siblings said migration had brought them closer together, as they bonded over shared feelings of dissatisfaction with the new family arrangements. In other families, the strain of migration led to the breakdown of the parents' relationships and to divorce, and the children found themselves in single-parent or reconfigured families, with their parents' new partners or step-siblings now living with them, as described by 16-year-old Lithuanian Gintare.

> *The parents in many families would be separated, yep. Because lots of people are coming here and, they are divorced. Or they divorce when they come. And after, they find someone [a new partner]. And then, the mother would be trying to protect the step-father, because he's new in the family and it's very hard for a child, it doesn't matter that he is, like, a teenager or whatever, it's just, like, the way it is and so I think that, as a child, you get further away from her [mother].*

Emotional security is thus not always a given in the context of family migration and does not always align with financial or material security – families often experience significant disruptions in and reconfigurations of relationships and traditional roles and norms. The evidence seems to suggest the different temporal axes which shape adults' and children's conceptualisations of emotional security. While adult migrants seem to place more weight on their own and their children's future, the children themselves seem to emphasise more the present and the immediate sense of emotional (in)security and loss that come with migration. While migrating adults may often think that emotional insecurity is a short-term sacrifice and one worth paying for more long-term material and emotional gains, the children's own experiences and feelings of loss, interrupted kinship relationships and perceived lack of understanding on the part of their parents all contributed to a sense of emotional insecurity.

Ontological security and belonging

Giddens (1991) talks about ontological security as a sense of order and continuity in relation to an individual's experiences. In the case of migrant families, migration comes with discontinuities and new risks over individuals' place in society. In this section, I examine the resources that families draw on in order to produce new securities in relation to their sense of recognition and belonging in the wider community. When we asked families what they missed most, they described missing a sense of belonging to a place or wider family networks. In addition, most of the children and adults spoke of missing family traditions that took place around birthdays and annual celebrations, like Easter or Christmas, which used to give them a sense of cultural belonging:

> *I miss the family celebrations… getting together for birthdays, weddings and funerals, and being together, where everybody knows you. And the food, things like sausages and fresh meat. They taste different here* (Katia, Polish parent).

> *When you walk around the town, and you meet familiar faces, friends or relatives – here [in Scotland] no one knows you* (Marta, Polish parent).

Other parents, like Wera, described a constant sense of displacement and not belonging, and talked about a 'pull' towards their homeland, however indistinct:

> *Not sure how to say this, but you live abroad and, although your living conditions are better and you have better prospects for the future, there is something else missing… I can't say what it is that I miss about Poland: there is something special about the place you were born.*

While many accepted that missing family get-togethers was part and parcel of the sacrifices made when moving abroad, the sudden absence of family and friends led to a sense of loss and change of self. Community norms which families had become used to over the decades, the reciprocal support between kin and community-based encounters were common before migration:

> *I'm the person who likes to meet with people and I must say I miss that here [in Scotland]. Our home in Poland was always busy, the house was full all the time, and here, no one opens our door (Beata, Polish parent).*

As a consequence, many adults talked of experiencing a personal crisis in relation to their loss of place in the local community while, in their homeland, they used to be recognised on the street or had certain community responsibilities. In many narratives, the sense of a shared past was the 'glue' of local communities and, through migration, families had lost a sense of connectivity and togetherness. This went hand in hand with the absence of a sense of belonging – families did not feel that they belonged in Scotland while not feeling that they fully belonged to their homeland any more either, as this parent, Jurek, explained:

> *I won't ever feel like a Scot, no. See, to understand some things here, I would need to be born here. My heart belongs to Poland definitely but, if I'm here, I need to integrate in this society. You need to keep your culture and language, teach them to your children but, on the other hand, you can't isolate yourself from the new society. I like it when people you don't know ask how you are, wave, it is nice. It's fine but you are still a foreigner to them.*

Weronika, a Polish mother who was now working in catering in Scotland, talked about the loss of a sense of recognition in a community. Whereas she had been a teacher in Poland, her teaching qualifications were not recognised in Scotland and her English language skills were still developing. Having worked all her life as a teacher, Weronika found a way to compensate for her loss of status through the establishment of a Polish complementary school, where teachers like her, who were now working in low-skilled jobs in Scotland, could get back some of their professional identity:

> *We are factory and hotel workers Monday to Friday, then we put on a suit at the weekend and we transform into teachers. Because that's who we really are, but no one here sees us like that [in the wider community].*

The multiplicity of intercultural encounters, when a person had to deal with discrimination and cultural racism, was also exemplified by encounters which the children and parents mentioned when they talked about their struggles for recognition and participation in the public sphere, as did 12-year-old Weronika and her mother Basia:

> *Everyone was nice to me at the beginning, it was because I was new, from Poland, wow! But after some time they just stopped, and I had no friends, some days no one to talk to.*

> *Yes, what I noticed in my work, there's hidden discrimination, everyone is nice, but when it comes to real help, they just don't help. They ignore you when you ask, but if some other Scots ask for that same help, then they will help straight away.*

This points to the emotional labour involved in fighting for recognition, linked to the emotionality of being a migrant and the ways in which power relationships mapped on ethnicity and status are experienced and negotiated on an everyday basis across a range of sites, such as school and work. When thinking about the potential for one day belonging, some of the participants talked about the long-term possibility of becoming a British national, emphasising, therefore, formal citizenship. However, it soon became evident that, although citizenship might be secured, in practice, some of the adults and children felt that they would not be able to 'fit in' and be accepted in Scotland.

The sense of social or civic (in)security is linked to notions of feeling accepted as equal members of work or neighbourhood communities. Equally, while the parents thought that their children would become 'like

natives' in time, the young people – such as 12-year-old Ana from Bulgaria – did not agree and felt that, on an emotional level, they could not achieve ontological or social security and feel that they completely belonged:

Interviewer: Would you say that Scotland feels like your country or not yet?

Ana: No, not like my country. But it's the place I like to live in.

Interviewer: Do you think you might move to other countries then?

Ana: That's another like option. Yeah I could… I'm too young to think about that now. I still have, like, my life in front of me.

Overall, the young people expressed uncertainty over their futures and many emphasised a global 'migrant' identity, rejecting the need for a local or national identity and connectivity:

Momchil (12): My mum says I'm Bulgarian – I say I'm American.

Interviewer: American? Have you been to America?

Momchil (12): No, not yet, but I'd like to live there – or anywhere.

I like being different. I mean, because it's, like, you're not the only different person in here. It's, like, there are all sorts of people in here… all kinds of religions, you know, different cultures and everything. It's great, it's fantastic. And you're one of that, you're one of that different kind of thing. It's like you are a citizen of the world, not of one country (Gintare, Lithuanian, 16).

While the young people seemed to be open about their expectations of an unpredictable future, the insecurity over their future preoccupied their parents more, many of whom, like Ludmila and Maya, from Lithuania and Bulgaria, respectively, realised that their long-term plans to stay in Scotland would depend on precarious work opportunities and returned to the prioritising of their children's future when considering their options for staying, returning or moving on:

The children were thinking of going back to Lithuania when they finish their studies at university. First we thought to go back, after a year, but now it seems that we're staying for at least eleven years, until they finish their studies. You never know what the future holds for us, now that this credit crunch is bad everywhere in the world. So you just don't know what's going to be next, but we're trying to focus on the children's education.

I don't know what will happen in four years. I'm flexible. Because it also depends on what my children will be doing. I mean my family, I'm now focusing on supporting them to continue their education, and then afterwards they will hopefully start their own lives, then I will see. Because it's one thing to be on your own but it's another thing when you have children.

Conclusion

This paper has offered some insights into migrant families' everyday struggles for a sense of security and long-term stability by also examining the emotional labour involved in the processes of constructing belonging and the challenges to the sense of feeling 'at home'. In this process, the agency of young people and their emotional resilience are manifest extensively and configured by intersections of existing and acquired identities, reconfigured spaces of belonging and transformed intergenerational relationships. While CEE adults' explanations for their decisions to uproot the family seem to be motivated mainly by a desire for a secure future for themselves and their children, family experiences post-migration seem to point not only to some acquired securities but also to some new insecurities created by the family's migrant status. In this context, examining the children's and adults' narratives of security post-migration can reveal the tensions that the act of migrating brings to family relationships, emotional dis/connections, sense of (not) belonging and ontological (in)security. These narratives are often shaped by discourses of modernity whereby the self and the family become reflexive projects, with often unanticipated risks associated with the loss of close kinship and friendship networks, and the sense of recognition that a person gets from family and community. The evidence presented in this article points to the fluid and individualised production of social (in)securities, whereby the complex material, emotional and relational aspects shape families' sense of security in unpredicted ways.

Bauman's 'liquid modernity' (2000) is applicable here, pointing to the vulnerable nature of relationships, the temporariness of many family plans and the expectations of still-to-come change emerging from the fragile nature of new beginnings abroad (see also Engbersen and Snel 2013). The perspective adopted here, with its focus on intra-family experiences, highlights the tensions that migration brings to family relationships, emotional dis/connections and threats to an individual's sense of belonging and ontological security. At the same time, it points to the temporal aspect of (in)security, where perceptions change over time depending on family circumstances, but with a sense of collective family memory of an insecure past. While, for the adults, migration brings financial stability and the belief that emotional and social security would follow, the children (and some adults) often question the family move abroad as they reflect on the sacrifices of family and friendship networks and of the emotional (in)security that comes from reduced networks of support.

This article has shown that the children's and their parents' views of their life post-migration were not always aligned in terms of perceived benefits and worthy sacrifices. While financial gains were undeniable in most families, the emotional strain led to family separation or tension between the generations. In terms of a secure future, both parents and children were still uncertain that their migration had put them on a safe and secure route to future stability and personal success. In this sense, the parents were taking precautions by investing in their children's education or working on a 'backup' plan, such as thinking about a possible return. While both generations seemed to acknowledge that migration had opened doors to better paid employment or better schooling, for example, the lived realities also meant an acute sense of loss of places and relationships and of not always belonging to a community. Most of the children saw themselves now as belonging 'here and there' – in the country of birth through relationships left behind and in their new country through new relationships – and found themselves at the centre of complex interactions between material, emotional and ontological (in)securities.

The article has also shown that involving children in migration research can highlight internal dynamics in migrant families and challenge adult-centred constructs of family migration. Understanding issues of emotional and ontological security in relation to family migration requires a clear recognition and positioning of children as a group who have distinct views and experiences. To a certain extent, children draw on their parents' narratives of security from the past, while they develop their own understandings. In the families in this project, the parents needed to believe that their decisions had not been in vain and that ultimately their children

would be able to achieve a sense of stability and grounding in their new country. While they sometimes expressed uncertainty over their own futures once their children would have grown up, the parents seemed confident, overall, that benefits had outweighed the risks in their families' migration. Their children reflected more openly on the emotional and ontological insecurities brought about by migration – while their narratives sometimes reproduced idealised views of family security, whereby migration was seen as a 'way out' to a better chance of success and security in the future, they also balanced the potential gains against the losses that occurred from leaving a home, family and friends behind. The ambiguity of their feelings has been apparent in the data presented – on the one hand, understanding their parents' decisions and feeling a sense of emotional debt and, on the other, resenting them for removing their children from kin and friends. The sense of (in)security is based on a combination of experiences of the past, current access to resources and estimations of the probable future. While the parents' experiences were nuanced by their post-socialist ones, their children's understandings were mainly based on their own experiences of a rupture in relationships and sense of belonging and place. The children's sense of security was thus mainly configured by what they saw as uprooting, reluctant departures, uneasy settlements and dislocated selves. This reflects the multilayered ways in which individual and collective worlds are actively reconfigured and reformulated post-migration, with a clear place for children's views in any research on migrant families.

Conflict of interest statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Unpacking the Meanings of a 'Normal Life' Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Eastern European Migrants in Scotland

Francesca Stella*, Moya Flynn*, Anna Gawlewicz*

This article explores the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) migrants from Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union in Scotland. Drawing on interviews with 50 migrants, the article focuses on the experiences and aspirations which they articulate as being part of 'a normal life', and analyses them within broader conceptual understandings of security and 'normality'. We first examine how normality is equated with an improved economic position in Scotland, and look at the ways in which this engenders feelings of emotional security and well-being. We then explore how more positive experiences around sexuality and gender identity are key to a sense of emotional security – i.e. of feeling accepted as 'normal', being visible as an LGBT person but 'blending in' rather than standing out because of it. Finally we look at the ways in which the institutional framework in Scotland, in particular the presence of LGBT-affirmative legislation, is seen by participants to have a normalising effect within society, leading to a broader sense of inclusion and equality – found, again, to directly impact upon participants' own feelings of security and emotional well-being. The article engages with literatures on migration and sexuality and provides an original contribution to both: through its focus upon sexuality, which remains unexplored in debates on 'normality' and migration in the UK; and by bringing a migration perspective to the debates in sexuality studies around the normalising effect of the law across Europe. By bringing these two perspectives together, we reveal the inter-relationship between sexuality and other key spheres of our participants' lives in order to better understand their experiences of migration and settlement.

Keywords: queer migration; East–West migration; LGBT rights in Europe; normality

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Introduction

Despite extensive research on East–West migration to the UK following EU accession processes in 2004 and 2007, this body of work has, by and large, neglected the role of sexuality and gender identity in migrants' experiences (Mai and King 2009; Binnie and Klesse 2013). In particular, the experiences of non-heterosexual migrants remain virtually invisible in this body of work, despite uneven levels of recognition of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights across Europe. The article discusses findings from a project exploring the experiences of LGBT migrants from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Former Soviet Union (FSU) in Scotland (see Acknowledgements). The wider research project explores how sexuality and gender identity interplay with other factors in shaping decisions to migrate to and to stay in Scotland, as well as lived experiences of transnational migration and settlement, and migrants' networks of sociability and sense of belonging. We explore how East–West post-accession migration, widely understood to be primarily driven by economic factors, maps on to different attitudes, policy and legislation towards LGBT citizens across Europe. Drawing upon 50 in-depth biographical interviews conducted with LGBT migrants living across Scotland, the article focuses on how migrants articulate their aspirations and experiences, and how they evaluate their lives in Scotland in comparison to their lives 'back home'. Key to these aspirations were ideas of a 'normal', 'liveable' life, understood as a secure, dignified, ordinary life, articulated in relation to both material and emotional aspects of the migrant experience. The article unpacks the material and emotional meanings attached to notions of feeling secure and having an easier and better life in the context of migration and settlement. We use the notion of a 'normal life' to frame our analysis here because it was widely used during our interviews, both in relation to economic and material security and to migrants' experiences around sexuality.[1] Notions of normality as both an aspiration and a discourse have emerged in research on post-accession East–West migration (e.g. Galasińska and Kozłowska 2009; McGhee, Heath and Trevena 2012). Concepts of normality, social norms and normativity are also critically explored within the sexuality literature: we draw here in particular on Butler's (2004) notion of 'livable lives', which she understands as enabled or restricted by norms and social conventions, including those coded in law.

This article thus engages with the literatures on both migration and sexuality and provides an original contribution to them: firstly through its focus upon sexuality – which remains underexplored in debates on normality within studies that have looked at CEE migration to the UK – and, secondly, by bringing a migration perspective to the debates in sexuality studies around 'liveable lives' and the normalising effect of LGBT-affirmative legislation across Europe. Furthermore, by bringing these two perspectives together, we reveal the inter-relationship between sexuality and other key spheres of our participants' lives in order to better understand their experiences of migration and settlement. We do this by unpacking migrants' everyday perceptions of what is 'normal' (i.e. expected and common-sense but also desirable), and how these relate to their migration trajectories and their identities (particularly their sexual identities).

Before exploring the diverse ways in which LGBT migrants articulated ideas of normality and security in relation to their lives in Scotland, we start by exploring these ideas conceptually. We look in particular at the literature which relates to the concept of normality with regards to both migration and sexuality. We then briefly outline the design and methodology of the project and the methods we employed, and provide an overview of our participants' demographic profiles. In the remainder of the article, we explore LGBT migrants' experiences and unpack the meanings which they ascribed to a 'normal life'.

Unpacking normality

Notions of a better life

We originally set out to explore perceptions of security among LGBT migrants from CEE and the FSU which emerged through our analysis of the empirical data we had collected. We understand security as a holistic concept which goes beyond access to social welfare and encompasses what might facilitate and encourage a sense of both material and emotional security. Anthropological studies, specifically those by the von Benda-Beckmanns (1994) and von Benda-Beckmann, von Benda-Beckmann, Casiño, Hirtz, Woodman and Zacher (1988), focus attention on the diverse ways in which people actively strive to produce securities (social, economic, personal and cultural) through a combination of public and private resources, formal and informal networks, and state and non-state structures. Such an understanding encompasses and combines the material (e.g. access to jobs or housing) and the emotional (e.g. the existence of positive relations and social connections, a sense of being secure) aspects of what is required for security. We came to understand this holistic idea of security as bound up with the notion of normality, understood in a Goffmanian sense, as both actuality and aspiration, and as something that 'provides us with feeling of safety, certainty and familiarity' (Misztal 2001: 312). This understanding of normality emerged organically from our data; as we were analysing our interview transcripts and making sense of how participants spoke about 'security', we realised that a significant number of them used the word 'normal' when describing their experiences, perceptions and aspirations.

Our findings in relation to security and normality fit well with the body of literature which has looked at the idea of normality and post-accession East–West migration. This literature has focused primarily upon the experiences of Polish migrants who arrived in the UK, in particular England (see Galasińska and Kozłowska 2009; Galasińska 2010; Lopez Rodriguez 2010; Rabikowska 2010; Ryan 2010; McGhee *et al.* 2012). The focus in this work is on how normality is perceived and created by individual migrants in many different aspects of their lives, both real and virtual. The research often focuses on how a 'normal life' is perceived by migrants in the future, as something to be strived for, an aspiration but not yet achieved (Lopez Rodriguez 2010: 349). In addition, a 'normal life' is often discussed as something that is in contrast to the 'abnormal' state of being which was left behind upon departure from their home countries, a creation of a new sense of normality, both different from but also imitating what was, at one time, experienced at home (Lopez Rodriguez 2010: 340; Rabikowska 2010: 287; McGhee *et al.* 2012: 715). Through all of the literature there is an implicit connection of the emotional and material in the empirical discussion of normality. Furthermore, a number of the articles cited above attempt to theoretically underpin their empirical concept of normality, drawing again in particular on Goffman (Goffman 1959/1990, 1963/1990, 1971, 1974; see for example Rabikowska 2010, Ryan 2010). Rabikowska (2010: 288), for example, argues that 'normality is always a state to come, a state projected to the future, but it is also immersed in the present from which desires and ambitions originate'. Importantly, the literature explores the place of the West within this idea or discourse of normality, where 'the West has become an aspiration and a desired embodiment of normality for people living in Eastern Europe' (Rabikowska 2010: 288). This idea of the West reflects past imaginings prevalent in the socialist period and also points to the insecurities which people are facing in the post-socialist present. Lulle and King's (2015) article on Latvian older female migrants, although not explicitly engaging with the concept of normality, offers important insights into the literature outlined above by looking at ideas around 'a better life' and how this is imagined and created in different time-spaces (Lulle and King 2015). The authors write about the 'duality of well-being', i.e. economic considerations and psychosocial dimensions of self-esteem and personal development, which can be easily mapped onto the material and emotional aspects of normality (2015: 458). These ideas around a 'better life' echo what emerged from our study and the way in which participants spoke of

enjoying a 'better life' in Scotland, as we explore below. This body of literature as a whole is relevant to the findings from this research, particularly in its attention to the place of the West in understandings of normality and to the focus upon both the emotional and the material. We add to this literature firstly by interrogating how ideas of a better life complement understandings of normality and a normal life, and then by showing how, for our participants, the way they experience their sexuality in a Scottish context is crucial to their perceptions of 'having a normal life'.

Sexuality, migration and a normal life

As noted in the introduction, the extensive research on post-accession 'East–West' migration to the UK has been largely silent on the issue of sexuality, with rare exceptions (Mai and King 2009; Siara 2009; Binnie and Klesse 2013). Discussion of LGBT 'East–West' migration has often focused on whether it can be 'explained in terms of flight from homophobic persecution or from poor economic opportunities' (Binnie and Klesse 2013: 1114). However, Mai and King argue against explaining migration as exclusively motivated by political or economic considerations, and suggest instead that the 'decision to migrate and to continue living and working abroad can only be understood by bringing into the analytical equation the affective, sexual and emotional dimensions' (Mai and King 2009: 297). We utilise here the notion of 'normality' to encompass these different dimensions of the migrant experience. Social norms are arguably central to any understanding of a 'normal life'. Butler (2004), writing about LGBT subjects, argues that norms and regulations shape the possibilities for how queer lives can be lived, imagined and articulated – while certain norms 'permit people to breathe, to desire, to love and to live', others 'restrict or eviscerate the conditions of life itself' (Butler 2004: 8). Butler's work predominantly focuses on gender and sexual norms; however, she also argues that the notion of 'liveable lives' can only be fully understood by considering how gender and sexual norms play out against the material conditions of 'liveable lives'.

Gender and sexual norms are often inscribed in law and, indeed, the very uneven legal and policy landscape concerning LGBT rights in Europe is an important backdrop to East–West LGBT migration. It informed the design of this project, although it was not explicitly focused on in interviews, which explored migrants' life stories and everyday experiences, rather than LGBT rights. Nonetheless, in response to questions about experiences of prejudice and discrimination, feelings of safety and comfort, and attitudes towards LGBT communities in Scotland and in their country of origin, participants often discussed differences in the legal and policy contexts. For this reason, we briefly outline here the legal and policy landscape concerning LGBT rights in Europe, while acknowledging that social norms are not only inscribed in law and policy but also reproduced and contested in less-formalised social conventions and everyday interactions.

Despite significant regional variations, same-sex sexualities have been widely stigmatised as deviant across Europe for most of the twentieth century, not least through legal and policy provision (e.g. the criminalisation of consensual same-sex relations, the different age of consent for same-sex and opposite-sex relationships, and policies forbidding the discussion of homosexuality in schools). Thus, the 'normal' citizen was implicitly constructed as heterosexual (Richardson 2004). Since the 1990s, however, there has been a notable shift towards greater inclusion of non-heterosexual citizens across Europe, prompting debate about the normalising effects of the law on the lives of LGBT citizens (Richardson 2004, 2015). This shift is evidenced by significant legal and policy change at both national and supra-national levels, and was informed by the process of European integration and transnational activism (Stychin 2003; Binnie and Klesse 2013; Kollmann and Paternotte 2013; Ayoub and Paternotte 2014). Nonetheless, this 'normalisation' through law and policy has occurred unevenly across Europe and, in many ways, remains contested and partial. Noticeable differences remain in terms of the introduction and implementation of LGBT-affirmative policy and legislation across European states: these can

be gleaned from recent comparative surveys (ILGA-Europe 2015, 2016a 2016b). These surveys suggest a marked East/West divide in the introduction of LGBT-positive policy and legislation across Europe with regards, for example, to the legal recognition of same-sex couples. All 13 European countries which have introduced same-sex marriage are located in Western Europe; no Eastern European country has thus far opened up marriage to same-sex couples, although some have introduced civil unions. However, the introduction of same-sex union legislation has been more uneven and controversial in post-socialist Eastern Europe – for example, same-sex unions have more-limited rights attached and have sometimes been accompanied by constitutional amendments defining marriage as a union between a man and a woman, in a deliberate attempt to prevent the introduction of same-sex marriage (Carroll 2016; Ayoub and Kollmann 2017). This, together with the introduction of legislation banning the 'propaganda of homosexuality' in Russia, seems to be indicative of a widespread resistance to the 'normalisation' of LGBT rights, a process often resented as part of an imposed 'Europeanisation' impinging on national sovereignty and national values (Stychin 2003; Stella and Nartova 2015). The narrative of an 'East/West' divide is, in many ways, an oversimplification of a very fluid and complex picture; indeed, post-socialist countries such as the Czech Republic (2006) and Hungary (2007) introduced some form of civil partnership rights much earlier than Western European countries such as Greece (2015) and Italy (2016) (Kollman and Paternotte 2013; Carroll 2016; ILGA-Europe 2016a). Rankings such as the ILGA-Europe (2016b) Rainbow Europe Map are problematic, not least because the letter of the law may not straightforwardly reflect wider social norms and attitudes.

For the purpose of this article, however, it is important to bear in mind that all our participants were originally from countries which, at the time of writing, had a lesser level of legal and policy protection for LGBT citizens compared to Scotland. Indeed, in recent years, the UK (and Scotland within it) has been consistently ranked as among the most 'progressive' countries in Europe in terms of legal and policy provision for LGBT citizens (ILGA Europe 2015, 2016b). The Rainbow Europe Index,[2] which ranks European countries according to their record on LGBT equality, ranked the UK first in 2015 and third in 2016. With regards to the constituent parts of the UK, in both 2015 and 2016, Scotland met a higher number of criteria compared to England, Wales and Northern Ireland (*Guardian* 2015; Harrison 2016).[3] The backdrop of uneven legal and policy provision is important to understanding how Scotland was both imagined and experienced by the LGBT migrants we interviewed. This approach responds to Richardson's (2004) call to consider the possible impact of the normalisation of non-heterosexual subjects through law and policy reform at the level of everyday interaction, by exploring the experiences of those who are expected to benefit from the process of normalisation. A substantial body of research has explored the effects of this 'normalisation' on the ordinary lives of LGBT individuals in the UK, focusing mostly on UK citizens (Browne and Bakshi 2013; Heaphy, Smart and Einarsdottir 2013). This article explores a novel dimension of this debate by examining the experiences of LGBT *migrants* and by considering how migration may open up new 'transnational spaces of possibility' (Morokvasic 2004).

We are aware that normality and normalisation themselves are contested concepts. Indeed, critical sexualities scholars have pointed out that the LGBT equality agenda has produced new normativities, underpinned by neoliberal notions of citizenship. For example, the inclusion of LGBT citizens is conditional upon them fitting into certain narrow parameters of acceptable sexuality and gender, premised on 'monogamy, domesticity, capitalist individualism and consumerism, as well as class and racialized positioning' (Browne and Bakshi 2013: 9). While mindful of these critiques, we wish to bracket them here in order to focus on normality as a functional necessity of everyday interaction, which is based on shared presumptions and understandings of what is 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' and of what is 'in' and 'out of place'. In other words, we are focusing here not on normality as normativity, but on the 'factual' dimension of normality or, referring back to Butler (2004), on what makes people's lives 'liveable'.

Methodology

The interview data on which this article is based were gathered as part of the wider 'Intimate Migrations' project. Fieldwork was conducted in different locations across Scotland between April 2015 and June 2016 and the data were collected in two stages, using different methods. In this article, we draw on stage 1 data, which comprised biographical interviews with 50 participants. These explored migrants' backgrounds, their experiences as LGBT persons in their country of origin, their reasons for migrating, their experiences of migration and settlement in Scotland, and their plans for the future.[4]

Bearing in mind the compounded challenges of reaching a 'hidden' population and of researching migrants, the project was advertised Scotland-wide using a range of different strategies. We produced advertising leaflets, in a number of CEE/FSU languages, which were distributed through voluntary-sector organisations and ESOL colleges, and posted on social media (including on gay dating websites such as Planet Romeo and Facebook pages targeting specific language communities in Scotland). We also left leaflets and posters in commercial venues and community spaces targeting either the LGBT community or migrants from CEE/FSU (for example, Polish/Russian/Baltic corner shops). We also used snowballing, asking participants from the 'Intimate Migrations' project and from a previous pilot project (Stella 2015) to pass on information about the project to friends and acquaintances who may be able to help or be interested in taking part. We offered participants the option of being interviewed in Polish, Russian or English – the languages spoken by the research team – or to be interviewed via an interpreter, although none of our participants requested this latter. Giving participants the option to be interviewed in their first or preferred language whenever feasible was dictated by ethical considerations – it was important to make participation accessible regardless of interviewees' fluency in English. We also anticipated that some participants may be more comfortable talking about deeply personal and intimate issues in their first language. The interviews conducted in Polish and Russian were translated and transcribed into English (the translation procedure employed is discussed in Gawlewicz 2016), while those in English were transcribed *verbatim*.

Our sample included a majority of Poles (31), which reflects the demographic prominence of Polish nationals within the recent migration from CEE and the FSU to both Scotland and the UK as a whole (Scottish Government 2016; White 2016). Other nationalities represented included four Bulgarians, four Romanians, two Hungarians, two Russians, two Ukrainians, two Latvians, one Lithuanian and one Belarusian. The vast majority of our participants were citizens of countries that joined the EU in the 2004 and 2007 rounds of EU enlargement. Most of them were therefore able to travel to the UK without restrictions on their right to work, under the principle of the free movement of labour. It is also worth bearing in mind the distinctive features of the Scottish migration context, owing to Scotland's devolved government and its specific demographic and socio-legal characteristics within the UK. Although migration is a reserved matter controlled by the UK government, the Scottish government is generally seen to have adopted a more liberal approach, where migration is seen as a means of encouraging demographic stability and growth in order to facilitate wider economic development. However, due to current constitutional arrangements, Scotland is unable in real policy terms to significantly depart from dominant UK government approaches (Scottish Government 2016).

Our research participants were based in different locations across Scotland, although the majority were based in the Central Belt, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow. They ranged in age from 19 to 49, and the vast majority of them had lived in Scotland for several years (average: 5.5 years). Most of them were educated to undergraduate degree level or above; this is, in all likelihood, an indication that our sample is skewed towards better-educated and relatively well-off migrants from the CEE and FSU regions. The majority of our participants (46) were in paid employment; despite their educational attainments, a large number of them were

employed in low-pay jobs and worked below their qualifications. It is worth noting that the 'Intimate Migrations' project initially focused specifically on sexual orientation and did not explicitly include gender identity – recruitment material was addressed at CEE/FSU migrants who identify as lesbian, gay or bisexual and participants self-selected to participate. Two of our participants identified as transgender and, in the interview, they focused on gender identity rather than sexual orientation. Nonetheless, we were able to include transgender experiences only to a limited extent, and this is also reflected in the focus of the present article.[5]

'A better life': material and emotional security

A very strong narrative which emerged across the interviews was the importance of material security and the presence of it in our participants' everyday lives in Scotland. This material security included having a good job, a decent salary, a pleasant place to live and a more relaxed pace of life. In the quotes below, Przemek talks of how, in contrast to his life in Poland, he was able to live independently and not struggle financially in Scotland:

> *I was hoping to have a peaceful life… and economic stability… You know, a simple job, but a stable job that allows me to afford everything I need. (…) When I lived in [name of large city in Poland], I kind of had a decent salary… but it was just enough to cover my expenses… Sometimes I had to ask mum to give me some money… or send me something to eat. I feel great in [name of city in Scotland]. I've got a very good life… a very good job. (…) I earn good money. I live close to the city centre – the city is just fine in terms of size. It's not too large (…). It's not too small… so I'm not bored here. (…) When I came here I thought I'd be staying for a year or two and that I'd move again after that time. But I sort of settled down here. It's a bit scary, but I just feel good here* (Przemek, m, PL, 35–39).[6]

Like Przemek, many of our respondents associated Scotland with greater material security, in contrast to their experience in their countries of origin. In fact, Marcell, one of our respondents from Hungary, stated that better material conditions were key to his decision to move to Scotland, rather than his sexuality:

> *If the economic situation was much, much better in Hungary, and the salaries were much higher, I think I would go back to Hungary tomorrow, because I'm missing my country a lot. And, because being a gay [man], living a gay kind of lifestyle in Hungary is not a problem at all. There is no reason for me to leave, but unfortunately, I don't want to say it, I'm not materialistic, but earning, like, a four or five times higher salary, with exactly the same job, in the UK, is definitely much, it's definitely something that really attracted many people, not just gay people* (Marcell, m, HU, 35–39).[7]

For many of our participants, material aspects were often paramount in their decisions to migrate, and sexuality was often bracketed as less important or even disregarded as an immediate reason for migration. Nevertheless, despite these material gains, it is important to note that migration was also seen in some cases as a trade-off, which had led to deskilling and downward social mobility.[8] Piotr talks of how difficult this can be:

> *And, it was difficult. Because, in Poland we were people, we were important, we did important things. And here we found out we weren't good enough for a cleaning job… (…) I thought I was tough, that I was insensitive, but… in such moments rain would mix with my tears* (Piotr, m, PL, 40–44).

Although deskilling and downward social mobility in terms of employment were common, this was not a universal experience for our respondents. Some people had found comparable or better jobs in Scotland, but an important factor was that they earned more and enjoyed a higher standard of living than in their home country. Even for those who did experience deskilling, the overall situation was acceptable due to the other forms of material security they were able to achieve through working in these lower-skilled jobs, including access to leisure pursuits. As Piotr adds:

> *I might not have the greatest job, I may not be earning a lot of money… but… life's good. We have a car and a dog and we spend all the weekends outside of the city… so… this country is just great* (Piotr, m, PL, 40–44).

Furthermore, in other cases, even if their current employment might be in a low-skilled position, the sense of stability this allowed them in the present allowed a future to be imagined, as Blagoy remarks:

> *I like this place, I like this country, I like the way people are thinking… You're working hard and… you're planning vacations and you're going somewhere and that's it… I want stability in some way. So that's why I was studying here, I have my job, you know, I'm going to develop my skills here* (Blagoy, m, BL, 30–34).

The importance of economic factors and of access to economic stability ties in with the broader literature on East–West migration and what are identified as its primary causes (see, for example, Burrell 2010: 298–300; Trevena, McGhee and Heath 2013). However, what is important to draw out, as is reflected in the quotes by Przemek, Piotr and Blagoy, is that economic stability and security contribute to and interact with a sense of emotional security. This is expressed through phrases such as having a 'good life', a 'peaceful life', of 'feeling great', that 'life's good', and the fact that, as Przemek states, 'I just feel good here'.

It is important to stress that some participants spoke of having a 'good life' in their home countries and of the difficulties they faced when first arriving in Scotland, when their life was indeed initially 'worse' in a material sense. However, for the majority of participants, a 'better life' was achieved in the longer term. The way in which an improved material position fed into and contributed to a sense of a better, easier life demonstrates the duality which is central to our participants' understandings and experiences of a more normal life in Scotland: the existence of material (economic and financial) security, along with emotional feelings of well-being that this material security helps to facilitate. Rafał sums this up well when responding to a question about how the move to Scotland had changed his life:

> *It's changed my life in a sense that it's less stressful, easier, I have a lot more time for self-fulfilment. There's more time to discover the world and yourself. Life here is a lot easier, a lot easier than in Poland. You can afford a lot more things, if you find a job with a good wages. You can go on holidays. There's no problem with asking for time off. I can just go to the office and say that I want holidays. It's a lot easier to work here, it's pleasant* (Rafał, m, PL, 25–29).

Emotional security, sexuality and 'feeling normal'

Importantly, emotional security also emerged for our participants as something often specifically related to their sexuality. For example, Tomek talks about how attitudes to homosexuality are more relaxed ('normally approached') in the UK, and reflects on how this environment impacts on the way he relates to his own sexuality: *This issue is just normally approached here… If people treat you normally, you start treating yourself*

normally (Tomek, m, PL, 35–39). Tomek uses the word 'normally' to convey the sense of something common, ordinary, usual, rather than compliance to social norms and rules. This understanding of normality was commonly used by a significant number of participants in relation to attitudes to homo- and bisexuality, and the impact it had on their lives as LGBT migrants.

The expectation that life is easier in the UK for LGBT people was widespread among participants prior to migration; sexuality was not always mentioned in interviews as a key motivation to migrate, although it did feature in the migration narratives of most of our participants. This is worth stressing, as images of LGBT migrants desperate to leave Eastern Europe to escape persecution, or being attracted by the UK as a 'gay-friendly' country, have not been uncommon in the UK media (e.g. Graham 2007; Paterson 2015; cf. Boston 2014). Nonetheless, greater acceptance of sexual diversity emerged as a key factor when participants talked about their reasons for staying in Scotland, or the reasons why they were not considering moving back to their country of origin. Even participants whose migration was mainly motivated by economic or educational opportunities often talked about more relaxed attitudes towards homo- and bisexuality as a collateral benefit of migration. For example, Vita moved to Scotland from Lithuania to pursue a university degree. She chose a Scottish university because, as an EU student, she would not have to pay tuition fees, something that was very important to her as a working student whose family was unable to help her financially during her studies. However, reflecting on her plans for her future, she mentions her sexuality as a key reason for staying, alongside the lack of job opportunities in her field in Lithuania:

> *It [sexuality] is one of the biggest ones [reasons for staying in Scotland]. (...) I did not think about it before... but last summer, when I had a relationship in Lithuania, I saw all that, and I figured, how could you live there?! I don't want to live openly [there]. (...) Life is too short. Many people think that this is not right, that I should be patriotic: 'Why are you running away [from Lithuania] like a rat from a sinking ship?!' I spent many years in this negative environment and I do not want to live in hiding any longer. Life is too short for that, that's all. It would be difficult to live there, more difficult, I would not say it is very difficult, but it is more difficult. I don't want it* (Vita, f, LIT, 25–29).

The experience of feeling pressurised to be discreet in Lithuania contrasts with the ability which she enjoyed in Scotland to be more open about her sexuality. Like Vita, many other participants experienced a new sense of freedom upon moving abroad, and reflected on how this made them more open about their sexuality. Mags talks about learning to be more open about her sexuality in public spaces only after leaving Poland:

> *So, I don't think about it at all. When we walk and I feel like kissing Grażyna [partner], I kiss her... because I feel like doing it. But, I learnt to be like this only when I moved out from Poland. It's completely – it's like breathing* (Mags, f, PL, 30–34).

Iza also reflects on different expectations about the visible presence of same-sex couples in public spaces by comparing Scotland and Poland. While she feels comfortable holding hands with her partner in the large Scottish city where they live, she expected this behaviour to be met with hostility in Poland:

> *I'm still shocked... that here we can hold hands when we walk... just like this. Although, I'm still thinking in the back of my head – I'm still wondering if there's a chance that I'll get a beating. But... I'm less tense now...* (Iza, f, PL, 25–29).

Vita, Mags and Iza all associate the sense of freedom they experience in Scotland with the perception that they can afford to be more visible about their relationships and their sexual identity there. This is something they relate to their emotional well-being and security ('It's like breathing', 'I'm less tense now'). However, in Iza's case, her sense of security and behaviour in public continues to be informed by expectations about what is normal and acceptable – expectations which were shaped during her previous life in Poland (where the expectation was that being openly gay in public may be met with hostility and even violence).

Public visibility was widely perceived as evidence of the acceptance and ordinariness of homo- and bisexuality in Scotland. At the same time, visibility was not associated with standing out as different, or with coming out as a political act; on the contrary, migrants felt their sexuality could be visible and at the same time inconspicuous and unremarkable. Grzegorz talks about the different levels of comfort he experienced in Poland and Scotland when talking about his personal life at work:

> *In Poland I got accustomed to thinking twice when people asked me what I did over the weekend… I was, for example, in a cinema with my boyfriend… or we were out of town… And I had to think twice in order to reply to such questions. And, I used to – I don't do that anymore – but I used to erase such pieces of information from my stories… information about my boyfriend… and what we did together… Here, I've got very positive experiences… And when I say that I spent the weekend with my boyfriend I can see that this piece of information doesn't matter* (Grzegorz, m, PL, 40–44).

Grzegorz no longer edits out personal information when telling colleagues about what he did at the weekend because, in his experience, his sexuality is unremarkable in Scotland ('This piece of information doesn't matter'). This contributes to a sense of comfort and emotional security.

It should be pointed out that acceptance was not exclusively discussed with regard to Scotland. Many of our participants spoke about spaces of acceptance in their country of origin. However, these were more qualified and usually restricted to the private sphere and to specific social circles, in contrast to a more general acceptance in public and semi-public spaces in Scotland. It was this public visibility and the ability to be inconspicuous *and* visible at the same time, which was associated with the notion of normality and 'liveability'. This very much relates to Butler's (2004: 8) argument that 'liveable lives' are enabled or constrained by social norms. However, Scotland was not uniformly experienced as accepting of and relaxed about sexual diversity. Participants related experiences of being treated differently because of their sexuality, or not feeling safe about making their sexuality visible, in certain locations and social contexts. Roman, for example, felt uncomfortable in the small city in the north of Scotland where he had lived for four years, and spoke of seeking opportunities to move to a larger place:

> *I am a cleaner in a hospital. It's probably my eighth or ninth job here. So it's quite OK. (…) But I still seek opportunities to get away from here as this town is too small for me… because I spent all my life in big cities. Besides, it is too intimate. You say something in one place and suddenly everybody knows in another. This just won't do for me. Because in a bigger city there is greater anonymity. And apart from that, it's not the best place for sexual minorities. Unfortunately (…) I thought it would be different, that it's the West and it should be normal…* (Roman, m, UKR/PL, 35–39).

Roman did not feel at home in the small city where he lived and where his low-paid job as a cleaner meant he could not afford to live on his own. His discomfort, however, was mainly linked to his sexuality; as he related in a different part of the interview, he had experienced homophobic prejudice from both Scottish and Polish flatmates, and had to move out from two flat shares. These experiences challenged his expectation that LGBT

people enjoy a 'normal' life in 'the West', unlike in his native Ukraine – or in Poland, where he lived for several years. This insight helps to provide greater nuance to the assumption, found in many studies of normality and CEE migrants, of 'the West' being an 'embodiment of normality' (Rabikowska 2010: 288).

The normalising effect of law and policy

The perception that sexual diversity is ordinary and unremarkable in Scotland (and, more broadly, in the UK) was often associated with its institutional framework, in particular with the presence of LGBT-affirmative legislation. Law and policy were perceived to have a normalising effect within society and to lead to a broader promotion of inclusion and equality.

As already mentioned, participants' countries of origin offered a lesser degree of legal protection for, and recognition of, LGBT citizens. Legal protection, or the lack thereof, fed into participants' sense of emotional security and featured in participants' accounts of their reasons for moving abroad or for staying in Scotland:

> *All these situations added up and led to this decision [to move to Scotland with his Scottish partner]. Why put up with these kinds of situations over there [in Russia]? Something will happen. And something did happen when they introduced the laws on gay propaganda* (Vlad, m, RU, 40–44).

Vlad met his Scottish partner in his native Russia. They eventually moved to Scotland and their decision to move was linked to a homophobic incident they felt powerless to challenge in a socio-political climate generally hostile to the LGBT community. The latter eventually culminated in the introduction of the law against the 'propaganda' of homosexuality to minors (Stella and Nartova 2015), something Vlad is referring to here. Similarly, Mags relates her decision not to return to Poland to a lack of legal protection, which would make her feel unsafe and isolated:

> *Well, I'm not going back to Poland for sure… because there's no law in Poland that would make me feel safe… Of course we could just move to Poland and buy a house – but I won't build a wall – two metres high – to isolate [myself] from everybody else… because I don't want to isolate myself. But, this sense of safety… it's very important. (…) We've got Polish TV and I try to watch the news… and when I watch the news I keep thinking that I cannot imagine how homosexual people can handle living there* (Mags, f, PL, 30–35).

Like Mags, many Polish participants kept up to date with news from their country of origin, and followed political debates, including developments related to LGBT issues. The highly politicised and contentious debates around the recognition of same-sex couples, and the homophobic language routinely used by politicians and religious leaders, were often mentioned as a way to gauge the mood in the country and to assess whether they could imagine moving back.

The legal situation in migrants' countries of origin was often compared to the greater recognition of LGBT rights in Scotland, particularly with reference to family rights (the legal recognition of same-sex couples and parenting rights). This was important to many of our participants: ten of them had entered a civil partnership or same-sex marriage since moving to Scotland and nine had children. Some younger participants mentioned getting married or starting a family as a future aspiration and a reason why they were not planning to return to their country of origin. Marta talks here of how she moved with her partner Nadiya to Scotland with the specific aim of entering into a civil partnership (later converted to a same-sex marriage) and have a child together:

We knew that we wanted... I mean, we recently spoke about it, she always wanted to have a baby and we knew that it would be possible, that it wouldn't be possible in Poland, but somewhere else, where it's much more common. So, we came here. (...) To be honest, to be able to start a family, to be together, not to have to hide. (...) Nadiya got in touch with a girl who lived in London, she also had a girlfriend. (...) They told us how it was here, that it was normal, that you had a normal life and so on (Marta, f, PL, 30–34).

For Marta and Nadiya, having a child as a same-sex couple becomes a possibility because this is 'much more common', ordinary and 'normal' in the UK. Marta emphasised how family rights were empowering because they allowed her and Nadiya to lead an 'ordinary' and dignified life. This contrasts with the situation in Poland, where same-sex marriage is constitutionally banned, attempts to legalise civil partnerships have been repeatedly thwarted and the legal recognition of same-sex couples remains a highly politicised and contentious topic (Piekut and Valentine 2016).

There was also a widespread perception that the law in Scotland trickles down to policies and practices in institutional settings, as Hania's experience at work illustrates:

I feel supported by the law, by the state. I feel nothing can happen to me here. Even at work (...) someone made allusions to my sexuality. (...) My manager (...) said that if anything ever happens or anyone tries to do something to me, he would do his best to take legal action against these people (Hania, f, PL, 25–29).

Here, Hania's manager offers to support her, and even to assist her to take legal action if necessary, if colleagues make inappropriate remarks about her sexuality. Similarly, Grzegorz (m, PL, 40–44) talked approvingly of the zero-tolerance policy towards homophobia at the further education college where he had studied. In some instances, it was the very existence of the law and the sense that it was upheld that made participants feel secure, as Nadiya explains:

I guess many people could say I could do the same in Poland… I could hold hands with my partner in Poland and nobody would care – well, if something happens – either verbal or physical abuse – there's no such law to protect me. (...) Here it's the law – you cannot do this here. It makes me feel secure (Nadiya, f, UKR/PL, 30–34).

Nadiya is aware that holding hands with her partner in public may elicit indifferent or hostile reactions in Scotland as much as Poland. However, she feels differently about doing this in Scotland, safe in the knowledge that homophobic harassment on the street can be legally sanctioned. This adds an important contribution to the literature which has looked at the impact of law and policy reform on the normalisation of non-heterosexual citizens – here, from the perspective of LGBT migrants in the UK, whose stories reinforce the idea that people can benefit from, and feel secure due to, the existence of policy and legal frameworks.

Normality and attitudes to difference

Acceptance of LGBT communities was also frequently linked to liberal attitudes towards difference more generally, understood as encompassing ethnicity, religion, class, gender, age and disability. In the quote below, Tsveta compares discriminatory behaviour towards gay people with discrimination of the Roma in her country of origin (Bulgaria):

You can imagine what it was [like] in Bulgaria. Jokes about homosexual people, this was, I even myself have told jokes and I thought it was really funny, and… nobody was out. You don't even suspect that there are people like that around you. The whole society is very discriminatory towards any kind of minorities, like… the Roma minority, or anybody who is different in any way (Tsveta, f, BL, 40–44).

In framing attitudes towards sexuality within broader attitudes towards difference, many participants implicitly referenced the UK (and EU) equality legislation and its different protected characteristics. The sense of protection that came with the existence of equality legislation, and the feeling that the law was enforced, significantly contributed to a broader sense of safety and 'normality'.

They're [hate crimes] treated seriously and it's not only with regard to non-heteronormative people. Racist attacks or crimes, for example, are also treated seriously. And in Poland – they're not (Iza, f, PL, 25–29).

Nevertheless, some respondents also suggested that there may be a discrepancy between the letter of the law and what it prescribes, and people's actual attitudes. What was framed as 'political correctness' masked, for some participants, a hypocritical approach where people's real views are kept secret or expressed in one's absence. This is particularly evident in Krzysztof's narrative below:

If the [UK] government says 'You have to love gay men', people will love gay men, because the government says so. That's the law. But, they'll still think otherwise. And, I think we're similar in this thinking… Poles and Scots… But, the difference is – Poles show it… Poles will show you what they really think. Scots won't, because it's against what politics say… because it's illegal… they're afraid of the law. (…) They make a show out of it. You're gay and they love you because that's the right thing to do. Because that's politically correct. But, they still have their own thoughts about that. Once you don't see them, they have a laugh at you… or tell jokes (Krzysztof, m, PL, 45–49).

Valentine and Harris (2016) argue that, in the UK, equality legislation can lead to the 'privatisation of prejudice' rather than a meaningful engagement with difference and actual change in attitudes. The authors suggest that equality legislation may translate into the enforcement of a superficial and widely resented political correctness in public, while prejudice becomes relegated to the private sphere. Although some of our participants seemed to agree with this, many perceived LGBT-affirmative laws and policies to be making a real and positive difference to people's lives. Interestingly, this appeared to be the case regardless of whether or the participants thought the laws and policies translated into genuinely positive attitudes towards LGBT people:

You know, some people say the society here is hypocritical… that people are not open about things to one another. But, honestly, I'm not interested in the reasons why I'm being attacked. In Poland, I'll get attacked and here I won't. I'm not interested in whether somebody likes me or not. People don't have to like me. It's enough if I'm not beaten up on a street, right? And the reasons for not being beaten up… whether this is because people are afraid of the police or because they simply respect me… that's a completely different story (Piotr, m, PL, 40–44).

Piotr is talking here about hypothetical homophobic violence; in fact, he never experienced this in his native Poland. What he emphasises is, rather, the importance of the law in preventing and sanctioning homophobic aggression. This, as the previous sections of this article have illustrated, seems to significantly contribute to LGBT migrants' sense of security and everyday well-being.

Conclusions

This article contributes novel insights to existing literature within both migration studies and sexuality studies. As already pointed out, the literature to date on East–West migration to the UK rarely touches upon issues of sexuality and intimacy, which are discussed mainly in relation to heterosexual family migration. Thus, the article contributes to the 'sexual turn' in migration studies advocated by Mai and King, whereby migrants are not just seen as mobile workers but also as 'sexual beings expressing, wanting to express, or denied the means to express, their sexual identities' (Mai and King 2009: 296). The article also speaks to work within sexualities studies on the 'normalisation' of LGBT subjects, a process driven by legal and policy change (Richardson 2004, 2015). This work has concentrated on citizens and has rarely explicitly addressed how this normalisation relates to migrants as non-citizens, within a broader context of ongoing disparities concerning equality legislation and policy across Europe and beyond.

In this article, we have explored the experiences of LGBT migrants who settled in Scotland and their articulations of what is involved in having a 'normal', better life. These narratives show how the material, the emotional and the sexual dimensions of their lives are intertwined in their decisions on, and experiences of, migration and long-term settlement. Our understanding of 'normality' as encompassing different aspects of migrants' lives draws on empirical insights from the literature on East–West migration to the UK and on the notion of 'social security' that emphasise how both material and emotional aspects are involved in feeling secure in one's everyday life (von Benda-Beckmann *et al.* 1988; von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 1994). This is integrated with Judith Butler's (2004) notion of 'liveable lives' as grounded in the materiality of life and at the same time enabled or restricted by social norms and conventions pertaining to gender and sexual expression.

Our participants felt that they often enjoyed a better, more dignified life after their migration to Scotland in terms of their material situation – for example in relation to job security, living standards and disposable income. Importantly, material security also engendered a sense of emotional well-being. The material benefit of migration was apparent when they spoke of their reasons for coming to Scotland, with considerations relating to employment often paramount and more prominent than those relating to sexuality. However, sexuality was also important in participants' understandings of a better, more-dignified life, although this was more commonly related to their reasons for staying in Scotland or not returning to their country of origin than to their immediate reasons for migrating. Many participants talked about the greater freedom they experienced in Scotland in terms of their sexuality. Although not universally experienced, and certainly not unproblematic in some cases, participants spoke of how they were able to live in an environment where their sexuality was, in a positive sense, unremarkable and ordinary, even when publicly visible and therefore 'normal'. The presence of an LGBT-positive legal and policy framework in Scotland, and the potential protection this offered, was seen to have a wider 'normalising' effect within society and played a significant role in making our participants feel more secure and 'normal'. This was the case even when these frameworks were not always seen as translating into genuine change in attitudes beyond a superficial and public political correctness. The importance of a sense of normality and security emerged in many different areas of our participants' lives; when these came together, our participants were able to enjoy a 'feeling of safety, certainty and familiarity', which allows them to imagine their future lives as being in Scotland (Misztal 2001: 312).

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Notes

[1] The focus of this paper is sexuality rather than gender identity because the latter was explored only marginally in the project, as explained in more detail in the methodology section of the article.

[2] The Index measures protection against discrimination, measures to tackle hate crime, rights and recognition for transgender and intersex people, and equality in family law, including same-sex marriage and parenting rights.

[3] Because of the partial devolution of power to the devolved administrations of Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, the four countries of the United Kingdom have slightly different policies and legislation on LGBT rights. For example, Northern Ireland recognises same-sex partnership but, unlike England, Wales and Scotland, has not introduced same-sex marriage. Scotland offers more-extensive legal protection for intersex and transgender persons.

[4] At the end of the Stage 1 interviews, participants were also asked to draw and discuss a map of their closest social relations (sociograms) as a way of exploring their social networks in Scotland and beyond. In Stage 2, a subset of Stage 1, 18 participants were invited to produce a photo diary on the topic of home to further explore issues of belonging and identity; the photo diary was then discussed in a follow-up interview.

[5] A more detailed overview of the project's methodology and of our participants' socio-economic profile can be found in Stella, Gawlewicz and Flynn (2016).

[6] All names used in the article are pseudonyms.

[7] It should be noted here that Marcell is talking about a large city in Hungary with a fairly vibrant gay scene.

[8] Experiences of deskilling have been found to be common for CEE migrants coming to the UK (see also Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich 2009; Trevena *et al.* 2013).

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Exploring Potentialities of (Health)Care in Glasgow and Beyond: Negotiations of Social Security Among Czech- and Slovak-Speaking Migrants

Taulant Guma*

This paper draws on an anthropological perspective on social security to explore the complex ways in which Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants living in Glasgow negotiated their healthcare concerns and built security in the city and beyond. It is based on 12 months of ethnographic research conducted in 2012 with migrants who moved to Glasgow after 2004. Inquiring into healthcare issues and the resulting insecurities from the migrants' perspective and in their everyday lives, the paper demonstrates how these issues were largely informed by migrants' experiences of 'uncaring care' in Glasgow, rather than due to their lack of knowledge or understanding of the Scottish/UK health system. Furthermore, the findings reveal how these migrants drew on multiple resources and forms of support and care – both locally and transnationally – in order to mitigate and overcome their health problems. At the same time, the analysis also highlights constraints and limitations to the actors' care negotiations, thus going beyond a functional approach to social security, which tends to overlook instances of 'unsuccessful' or unrealised care arrangements. In conclusion, I propose that migrants' care negotiations can be best understood as an ongoing process of exploring potentialities of care by actively and creatively opening up, probing, rearranging and trying out sources of support and care in their efforts to deal with perceived risks and insecurities in their everyday lives.

Keywords: post-accession migration; healthcare; social security; transnational negotiations; limitations

Introduction

In 2004, ten countries[1] joined the EU, and the UK, as one of the few existing EU members that opened their labour markets to the nationals of these new member states, attracted a large number of migrants, especially from the eight Central and Eastern European countries (or so-called A8 states).[2] This post-accession or 'A8

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migration' has attracted significant attention in public discourse as well as among scholars and policy-makers in the UK. Generally, there has been a great deal of negative sentiment in parts of the British media and among the British public about the impact of 'Eastern Europeans' on public services and society. Concerning healthcare, this is well captured in the trope of 'health tourism' in the country's media and public discourse (Bentley, Faulkner and Borland 2015; Bowater 2010; Chapman 2013; Mason and Campbell 2013; Slack 2016). In the UK, the term 'health tourism' has a largely negative connotation and is often used to refer to people who travel to the country with the 'deliberate intention to obtain free healthcare' and who plan to 'take advantage' of the health system or National Health Service (NHS) (Prederi 2013: 61). Although there are various groups of people who could fall under the category of 'health tourists' (including Brits living abroad), the term is closely linked with immigration and, within the context of EU migration, 'Eastern Europeans' are particularly targeted by the media and politicians as 'abusers' of the British health service (Bentley *et al.* 2015; Bowater 2010; Davidson 2017; Slack 2016).

A considerable amount of literature has been responsive to these public concerns. Several (mainly quantitative) studies have focused on the question of whether migrants, including 'A8 migrants', have had a negative or a positive effect on the country's NHS (Giuntella, Nicodemo and Vargas Silva 2015; Hanefeld, Horsfall, Lunt and Smith 2013; Prederi 2013; Vargas Silva and McNeil 2014). At the same time, researchers have also looked at post-accession migrants' own health needs and the challenges they face when accessing health services in the UK. Various studies have, for example, focused on specific health problems encountered by this migrant population – e.g., mental health, smoking, alcohol consumption (Garapich 2010; Goodwin, Polek and Goodwin 2012; Healthwatch Reading 2014; Lakasing and Mirza 2009; Leaman, Rysdale and Webber 2006; Madden, Blikem, Harrison and Timpson 2017; Madden, Harris, Harrison and Timpson 2014; Osipovič 2013; Raphaely and O'Moore 2010; Suffolk City Council 2015) – or discussed concerns around healthcare alongside other problems and challenges – e.g. pertaining to employment, housing and so on (de Lima and Wright 2009; Orchard, Szymanski and Vlahova 2007; Poole and Adamson 2008; Scullion and Morris 2009a, 2009b; Stevenson 2007). With few notable exceptions,[3] however, the findings of this literature have tended to be largely descriptive and policy-orientated, often presenting interview-based and 'snapshot' accounts of healthcare issues among this migrant population that rarely centred on the migrants' own perspective, especially of how they dealt with these problems in their everyday lives and across borders.

This paper attends to this gap in the existing literature. It inquires into healthcare issues and the resulting insecurities from the perspective and in the everyday lives of Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants living in Glasgow. The paper seeks to understand how these issues were informed by migrants' experiences in the city as well as in their respective countries of origin. Drawing on an anthropological perspective on social security, the paper explores the various ways in which these migrants negotiated their healthcare concerns and sought to build security in Glasgow and beyond. This includes shedding light on the resources, relationships and ideas that these migrants drew on in their attempts to secure themselves and their families against these insecurities, as well as on the limitations of these negotiations.

The article is based on 12 months of ethnographic research with Czech and Slovak nationals who moved to Glasgow after their respective countries joined the EU in 2004. The fieldwork which took place in 2012 explored various insecurities and risks as they were experienced by these post-accession migrants and the ways in which they negotiated these issues in their everyday lives in the city and beyond. Healthcare issues emerged as one central theme for some of my research informants; this paper focuses on this small group of individuals and their experiences of healthcare in Glasgow.

Migrants and healthcare

A major focus of scholarly analysis concerning the nexus of migration and healthcare has been on the impact of migrants on the health systems and public health of the 'host' countries. This includes an extensive amount of research that is preoccupied with migrants' 'health assimilation' in the residence country, which is most notably manifest in the ongoing debates around the presence or absence of the so-called healthy immigrant effect (Constant, Garcia-Muñoz, Neuman and Neuman 2015) – i.e. whether migrants are healthier or not in comparison to the 'host' population (and thus whether or not they pose a risk to the latter). By adopting the interests and perspective of the 'host society', this strand of literature tends to problematise migrants as a potential rupture or strain on the country's health services and, by extension, on society, often neglecting migrants' own experiences and their backgrounds. On the other hand, researchers have also approached the field from a rights-based perspective, looking into migrants' health issues and their use (and underuse) of the health services in the country of residence (Zimmerman, Kiss and Hossain 2011). Studies that follow this approach recognise the specific challenges that migrants experience when accessing healthcare, often drawing attention to the multiple and complex factors – e.g., experience of migration, language and cultural barriers, length of stay, legal status, a lack of understanding of the health system, social exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation – that give rise to these issues (see, e.g. Derose, Escarce and Lurie 2007).

Differently from the aforementioned strand in the literature which has a tendency to restrict the analysis to the context of the 'host' country, an emerging body of research has focused on the ways in which migrants negotiate (access to) healthcare not only within the country of residence but also transnationally (Horton 2013; Horton and Cole 2011; Lee, Kearns and Friesen 2010; Thomas 2010). It has been inspired by a transnational perspective on migration which emerged in the 1990s, when scholars began to take an interest in and to study migrants' lives beyond the places in which they came to live (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994). It further developed in the context of globalising healthcare and what has been described as 'medical tourism' (Kangas 2007; Lunt, Smith, Exworthy, Green, Horsfall and Mannion 2011; Sobo 2009).[4] Studies of migrants' transnational healthcare negotiations have drawn particular attention to the significance of migrants' cultural background in shaping individuals' perception of healthcare and their motivations to seek medical treatment outside their country of residence. In their study of Mexican migrants living in the US, Horton and Cole (2011), for example, use the term 'medical returns' to refer to their respondents who travelled from the US to Mexico for medical treatment. Their research suggests that these migrants accessed healthcare services in their home country due to their preference for a specific 'Mexican medical practice' over that in the US, which their interviewees experienced as impersonal and heavily reliant on medical tests and surgeries. In a similar vein, Lee *et al.*'s (2010) study of South Korean migrants living in New Zealand found that dissatisfaction and frustration with local doctors led many of these migrants to seek medical treatment back in South Korea. For their research participants, the decision to travel to Korea for healthcare was also about receiving treatment in a place that they felt comfortable and familiar with, a place that they associated with 'home'. This included familiar hospital settings, the presence of competent, experienced and trustworthy doctors, familiar surroundings in terms of language, and so on. Thus, the authors argue, by travelling to Korea, migrants were not only seeking 'effective health care but also affective care in which notions of being "in-place", trust and familiarity [were] significant factors in promoting feelings of well-being' (Lee *et al.* 2010: 114).

In this paper, I approach the nexus of migration and healthcare by drawing on an anthropological perspective on 'social security' as proposed by Franz and Kebeet von Benda-Beckmann (1994, 2007). Although originally not specifically formulated in relation to healthcare concerns, their work offers a broader approach for studying the healthcare issues that migrants face and the ways in which they deal with them not in isolation but as part of social security. The von Benda-Beckmanns developed a new perspective on social security

through their critique of the 'institutionalist' concept of social security prominent in Western societies. Drawing on empirical research in developing countries, they questioned the conventional understanding of social security as state-provided support as well as its inherent ethnocentrism, showing, for example, how people draw on multiple resources and relationships which extend beyond institutionalised forms of support in order to deal with insecurities and uncertainties in their lives (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2007). In their reconceptualisation of social security, the term is thus significantly broadened to include not just material support provided by institutions and actors of the state but also informal and immaterial forms of support and care in varied assemblages.

Broadly speaking, social security refers to a plurality of

efforts of individuals, groups of individuals and organisations to overcome insecurities related to their existence, that is, concerning food and water, shelter, care and physical and mental health, education and income, to the extent that the contingencies are not considered a purely individual responsibility, as well as the intended and unintended consequences of these efforts (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2007: 36).

In this sense, the term becomes multireferential in that social security points to both an 'abstractly conceived field of problems, and to the actual social phenomena within this field' (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2007: 6); it denotes the relative state of an individual's or a group's security or insecurity, the social relationships through which securities are built, as well as normative rules or ideas about 'what is a situation of need, who is entitled to receive, and who is obliged to provide goods and services' (2007: 6) to construct social security.

From this broad perspective, (health)care can be considered as part of social security; it refers to resources and relationships that individuals draw on to mitigate and overcome health-related insecurities affecting themselves and their family. This way of conceptualising care, i.e. as a 'dimension of social security' (Read and Thelen 2007: 7), has been adopted and further developed by scholars working in different non-Western contexts such as in post-socialist societies (Kay 2011; Read and Thelen 2007), demonstrating the usefulness of this conception of care in opening up an analytical perspective that enables the examination of care practices and arrangements in a holistic way and in their complexity.

This broader approach to social security can be fruitful here in various ways. Firstly, it enables the studying of migrants' healthcare experiences across formal and informal settings, drawing attention to the diverse set of players and complex relations involved, including state and non-state institutions, family and social networks and public and private resources. Secondly, it facilitates a multi-layered analysis of issues concerning healthcare, taking into account not only care providers and those who receive care but also ideas and histories in which healthcare practices are embedded, both in the context of the 'host society' and that of the migrants' country of origin. Thirdly, the authors' anthropological theorisation of social security necessitates a 'bottom-up' approach, one that does not prioritise the views and perspectives of the institutions and policy-makers or, more generally, of the 'host society', over those of the migrants. Thus, rather than reproducing the 'methodological nationalism' still prevalent in much of mainstream migration research (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), their work opens up a conceptual avenue that takes as a starting point the routine, ordinary ways of overcoming problems in migrants' everyday lives that may stretch temporally and spatially well beyond the migrants' present in a specific locality in the country of residence – for example, through transnational linkages.

After describing the methodology of the empirical research on which this paper is based, in the following I draw on this perspective in order to put migrants' experiences and understandings of healthcare issues at the

heart of my analysis and guide my approach to the field of insecurities among Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants and the ways in which they negotiated these insecurities in their everyday lives in Glasgow and beyond.

Methodology and methods

This paper is based on 12 months of ethnographic research that I conducted in 2012 with Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants who came to Glasgow after 2004.[5] The study was part of my doctoral research which aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of how these migrants – as both locals and transnational actors – negotiated insecurities and risks in their everyday lives in the city. In order to overcome the problem of 'methodological nationalism' and the 'ethnic lens' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), I focused on a language-based group consisting of Slovak and Czech speakers including, among them, Roma. Thus, instead of *a priori* pigeonholing these migrants into separate ethnic and/or national groups or 'communities', my research population was constructed across categories of ethnicity, nationality, and culture. This does not mean that ethnic, national and cultural boundaries did not matter; on the contrary, rather than taking them for granted, I empirically inquired into how these boundaries became or were made relevant in the field (Guma 2015). For example, while ethnicity and nationality did not emerge as significant factors regarding my research participants' healthcare issues, I have shown elsewhere how they shaped other insecurities and risks faced by these migrants (Guma 2018).

Importantly, the decision to select Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants as a research group was informed by the field itself; two small pilot studies that I conducted prior to my research found that these migrants interacted in various ways and on different levels in Glasgow and beyond. For example, I came across several informal groups and gatherings involving Czech and Slovak speakers,[6] such as a Facebook group of 'Czechs and Slovaks in Glasgow' and another one covering Scotland as a whole; I also became aware of shared services and projects involving Slovak and Czech speakers in Glasgow's voluntary sector.

The ethnographic fieldwork involved participant observation at different sites in Glasgow – such as advice centres, drop-ins as well as migrants' informal social gatherings and events – which were frequented by Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants. My involvement in these different settings over a sustained period of time led to an incremental growth of contacts and to the emergence of new field sites. By way of introduction I got to know other migrants, family members, friends and friends of friends, and I came to participate in events and activities independent of the initial sites and access points. Over the course of 12 months, I came in contact with over 100 migrants who frequented various sites in the city. Among them, 28 individuals became key informants whom I met repeatedly in varying settings throughout the fieldwork period, enabling me to be part of their everyday lives and activities; others I met with less regularly. This paper thus draws on ethnographic data produced throughout 2012 which involved field notes, ethnographic interviews with migrants (in Slovak/Czech and English) and semi-structured interviews with relevant actors and other stakeholders in the field.

As noted, this article is based on a larger study which explored various issues and insecurities as experienced by Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrants living in Glasgow. Here, however, I only discuss healthcare issues.[7] While the study found concerns regarding local healthcare provision in the city to be widespread among these migrants, such concerns developed into significant insecurities only for some individuals within my research sample – nine individuals whose cases I discuss in detail in this paper. This small number of key informants presents a diverse mix regarding aspects such as family status, age, class, employment status, nationality, ethnicity and gender.[8] These key informants were five women and four men aged between 30 and 54 years, living in different parts of Glasgow, and who were single, in a couple, married or widowed (1 person). Three were Czech speakers, while six spoke Slovak. Amongst this group, two informants self-identified as

Roma. In terms of occupation, these individuals held the following jobs: a housekeeper in a hotel, a project worker in the third sector, a freelance interpreter, a factory worker; five people were not in employment. Educational background also varied greatly amongst this group, ranging from those who had finished secondary education, to individuals who had acquired vocational qualifications and those who had completed university or postgraduate degrees. It should be noted that my study did not assess or evaluate the medical conditions of these informants but accepted their understandings and perception of their health problem and its impact on their lives as 'real', in line with the methodological approach adopted here.

Given the small number of research participants, the findings presented here do not claim to be representative of the Czech- and Slovak-speaking migrant population in Glasgow or the UK. Generally, my research aims were not orientated towards producing statistical generalisations of the risks and insecurities experienced by this group of migrants. As noted, the study aimed at providing an in-depth understanding of these issues from the migrants' perspective in their complexity and as and how they unfolded over time. Following Creswell (2003: 125–128), I employed a theoretical sampling technique which aimed to develop theoretically generalisable concepts through an intensive, interpretive engagement with the empirical data. Thus, the strength of this paper lies in offering an empirically grounded, ethnographically rich and theoretically informed account of the ways in which my research informants dealt with healthcare issues and built security in their everyday lives 'here and there'.

Uncaring care

Irena Herčeková,[9] her partner Stefan Materák and their baby boy had just returned from a two-week holiday in Slovakia when I met them at their home in north Glasgow in early October to catch up. As well as seeing their family, relatives and friends, this time they had also taken their one-year old boy to a paediatrician in their home town, and they told me about the professional manner in which the health check had been conducted in Slovakia. Among other examinations, the paediatrician had also carried out a blood test and 'told us straight away what the problem was', enthused Ms Herčeková. This account and the enthusiasm with which it was presented to me have to be understood in the context of several previous conversations around their worries about illness and issues of healthcare in Glasgow. Their baby, who seemed to suffer from abdominal pain, had caused the couple great concern for several months, and they had wanted to find out what was causing it, but also, more generally, to check his health with a specialist. Ms Herčeková had consulted her local GP (General Practitioner) in Glasgow several times but to her frustration, the latter had not, she felt, addressed their concerns. On one occasion, she told me, she had even taken the baby's soiled nappy with her and showed it to the GP in an attempt to get the doctor to take this issue more seriously. However, this desperate attempt was of little avail. On the contrary, as Ms Herčeková reported, bringing the nappy along with her rather 'shocked' the doctor, who asked her disparagingly: 'Oh, is that what you do when you are in Slovakia!?'. For Ms Herčeková, this remark only added to her frustration, which was mixed with feelings of being discriminated against. 'It wasn't enough that I was worried about my son, but the doctor was also making jokes about my country', said the 32-year old with bitter disappointment. It was 'little situations like these' that had left the couple worried about the prospect of raising a child in this country, and this was further exacerbated when their baby boy seemed unwell.

The couple's dissatisfaction with the local health services and their worries were further reinforced by previous experiences of these services. Stefan Materák, for example, recalled a visit to his doctor when he was suffering from a chest infection. During the visit, he explained, he found it surprising that the doctor did not use the stethoscope but, after listening to his account, told him that his illness might be stress-related and that, if the pain continued, he should take painkillers. The doctor's swift diagnosis angered Mr Materák because

'I didn't feel like I was under stress. But to be honest, that he didn't examine me, that he didn't seem to be interested, that stressed me out'. In the end, he continued, 'I had to force him to use the stethoscope, and that is why I'm so angry with healthcare here'.

Feelings of frustration and concerns about local healthcare provision, especially by GPs, were widely shared by my key research informants as well as the other migrants whom I encountered during my fieldwork. Overall, GPs were described as impersonal, 'cold' and not trustworthy, and as having little interest in the individual patient but being more concerned about following a standard procedure. A widespread complaint about GPs in Glasgow referred to what these migrants perceived as doctors routinely prescribing painkillers as a panacea for all illnesses: 'All they do is give you paracetamol and say goodbye', was how the Šimkos, a Czech couple in their early fifties, summed it up.[10] Similar criticism also came from Eva Mešková, a 30-year-old Roma informant, who told me the story of her husband, who went to see his local GP after he had injured his back at work. But the doctor 'gave him only paracetamol', she stated looking perplexed. 'He didn't give him an injection or anything, but paracetamol!?'. Nevertheless, such concerns did not always have a significant impact on people's everyday lives and mid- or long-term plans. However, for some key research informants, like the Šimkos, Mrs Mešková's family and the Slovak couple introduced above, they emerged as major insecurities which they actively sought to address. In the following, I focus on their experiences.

The negative perceptions of local health services seemed to be informed by the informants' past experiences and familiarity with healthcare services in their countries of origin. This was evident in the various 'comparing and contrasting' assessments of healthcare that they made between Scotland and Slovakia and the Czech Republic respectively, pointing to a 'dual frame of reference' being at play.[11] For instance, the lack of 'proper examinations' by local GPs was a common theme which was juxtaposed to the more thorough checks that doctors would routinely carry out in Slovakia or the Czech Republic, such as measuring a patient's temperature and blood pressure, undertaking blood tests, palpating a painful body part and so on. This was exemplified by Mr Materák's complaint above, who felt he had to urge his GP to physically examine him rather than just rely on his verbal account. Other research participants emphasised the difference in the ways in which particular treatments were administered in Glasgow in comparison to treatment methods in their country of origin. The prescription of the painkiller paracetamol was contrasted with remedies treating the causes of ill health such as the antibiotics which doctors would 'normally' prescribe to patients in their countries of origin. This is reminiscent of Lindenmeyer, Redwood, Griffith, Ahmed and Phillimore's (2016) study on antibiotic use among recently arrived migrants in the UK which reported similar contrasts among their research participants, who felt frustrated with the doctors prescribing them paracetamol instead of antibiotics. In their research they note how these migrants perceived paracetamol as being a 'weak' or 'ineffective' form of medication, as opposed to antibiotics, which were seen as 'effective' and 'strong', perceptions which, the authors point out, reflected migrants' cultural background and experiences of healthcare in their home countries (Lindenmeyer *et al.* 2016: 805–806).

Specific expectations towards healthcare in line with my informants' cultural understandings of health and illness seemed to underpin their perceptions. Historically, in socialist Czechoslovakia, for example, a 'modernist' or scientific and rational approach to healthcare had been promoted, focusing on physical and biological care and relegating emotional care to the realm of family and kinship relations (Read 2007: 204–208). While ideas and ideologies around medical care provision have started to change post-1989, some of the older values appeared to still shape medical culture in the Czech Republic (Read 2007: 216) and Slovakia and might have contributed to my informants' complaints about the lack of examinations and medical tests by their 'unprofessional', 'unskilled' and 'cold' GPs in Scotland. In other words, compared to the rather 'more physical' practice of healthcare in their countries of origin, my research participants perceived GP services in Glasgow as 'uncaring'.

To some extent, my informants' everyday comparisons also reflect differences in the organisation of institutionalised healthcare between Scotland and Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Take, for example, the common complaint about GPs acting as 'gatekeepers', making it very difficult for patients to be seen by 'specialists' in Glasgow, as the above case of Ms Herčeková exemplified. The healthcare system in Scotland / the UK consists of two key components: GPs who provide primary care (and thus are the first point of contact for patients) and hospitals that provide specialist or secondary care (Robson 2011). The key arrangement in this system is that it is GPs, as primary service providers, who refer patients to further services such as specialist examinations and surgeries in hospital if they (the GPs) deem it necessary. In Slovakia and the Czech Republic, on the other hand, there is no such rigid differentiation, as hospitals and/or polyclinics provide both primary and secondary care (Bryndová, Pavloková, Roubal, Rokosová aand Gaskins 2009; Szalay, Pažitný, Szalayová, Frisová, Morvay, Petrovic and Ginneken 2011). This means that patients are able to access specialists such as paediatricians, gynaecologists and physiotherapists directly, without the need for a doctor's referral.

At the same time, even when access to specialist care was readily granted, experiences of it varied. Marta Černáková, for example, a 39-year-old research informant, spoke positively about the emergency care she received following an accident on a hiking trip in Scotland which left her with a broken leg and out of work for six months. While she was full of praise for the ambulance staff and hospital surgeons who operated on her, she described the post-surgery physiotherapy treatment that she received as inadequate and disappointing: 'Back home they do physio every second or third day… for an hour or so, different exercises. Here, the whole treatment is for about 10 minutes. I have got an exercise sheet with some exercises [to] do at home, I wasn't sure because should I push more, rest more.' While Ms Černáková's account was once again constructed with reference to her experiences of healthcare in Slovakia against which the physiotherapy in Glasgow compared unfavourably, Ms Herčeková experienced maternity services in Glasgow as exceeding her expectations. She was very satisfied with the hospital care that she received when she gave birth to her son the previous year. In particular, she liked the patient-centred approach that placed importance on the birth plan that she was allowed to draw up. She found this approach to be more relaxed and natural, in contrast to the rather 'pushy' doctors in Slovakia. This led her to draw a clear line between what she perceived as the bad quality of primary care on the one hand and the good hospital service or secondary care in Glasgow on the other: 'Here, health professionals [at the hospital] are good but not the GPs'. These accounts show that my research informants distinguished not only between but also within national healthcare systems, thus pointing to more nuanced perceptions of healthcare services beyond a monolithic commendation or rejection of different national healthcare cultures. Importantly, previous experience of healthcare services in the country of origin did not serve as a standard which automatically devalued any deviation in the way care was provided in Glasgow. Rather, as Ms Herčeková's evaluation of maternity services in Glasgow illustrates, such perceptions were also open to change.

In other words, a health issue engendered insecurity in the daily life of my key informants whenever they felt that the health problem was not being resolved and that they were not 'receiving care'. Especially with regard to primary care services in Glasgow, they felt they were merely 'processed' rather than 'cared for'. Thus, while their past experiences and cultural understandings formed in their countries of origin played a role, incidents and encounters with local GP services and health professionals in Glasgow did not just evoke feelings of bewilderment among the research informants; being prescribed the 'wrong' medicine, not getting 'properly' examined or receiving derogatory remarks about one's country of origin, all gave rise to a sense that their health was not taken seriously, that they were, as the Šimkos put it, 'not being looked after'. In this sense, their experiences of local healthcare in Glasgow were not shaped by a lack of understanding of the Scottish healthcare system but were, rather, underpinned by what I call a notion of 'uncaring care'. Here, care referred not only to the medical practices administered by GPs or other health professionals meant to (perform) care by

profession but also to the quality of the relationship between migrant patients and medical staff. These different 'constructions of care' (Read 2007) mean that, from these migrants' point of view, the availability and accessibility of healthcare through the NHS in Glasgow did not automatically translate into 'receiving care'.

Negotiating social security 'here and there'

Faced with these health-related insecurities, my informants employed various ways to deal with these issues. Focusing on the multiple resources and forms of support that these migrants drew on to negotiate social security for themselves and their families, my analysis showed that some did so transnationally, as they considered and/or used health services in their home countries. This was the case, as noted above, with the Materáks, the Slovak couple who took their baby son to a paediatrician in Slovakia. This involved mobilising support through their social networks; for example, family and friends in their home town provided them with accommodation during their stay as well as advice and recommendations of a 'good' and trustworthy doctor. Although they had to pay for this medical service privately, having their baby 'properly examined' by a specialist and gaining a picture of his overall health was a relief for the couple, as it brought a long phase of insecurity to an end. In fact, theirs was a rather long-term strategy; after this experience they planned to take their boy for further routine medical checks whenever they visited Slovakia, usually twice a year. To this end, they registered their son with the paediatrician in Slovakia in addition to the GP in Glasgow.

Combining visits home with medical treatment was also the way in which Marta Černáková mitigated her concerns about the long-term recovery from her accident which resulted in a broken leg. During one of her trips home, she had her leg checked by doctors in Slovakia who, she said, confirmed that 'they really did a good job' in Glasgow. Furthermore, Ms Černáková described how, during the long period of convalescence in Glasgow which she mostly spent confined to her flat, regular Skype calls with her mother in Slovakia offered her much-needed emotional support. At the same time, she was also very grateful to friends and colleagues in Glasgow for their visits and the practical help that they offered, such as bringing her food, doing shopping for her, etc.

In the case of Mrs Mešková, whom I briefly mentioned above, and her family (husband and two children), healthcare abroad was sought *ad hoc* and under difficult circumstances. The Meškos left for Slovakia a few days after their GP had told her husband that his back injury was not serious and had prescribed him paracetamol to cope with the pain. The decision to seek medical treatment in Slovakia was not taken lightly. The Meškos' finances were already stretched to the limit (Mrs Mešková was unemployed at the time, whereas her husband was participating in an unpaid work scheme when the accident occurred), so they were very worried about the costs for their flights to and healthcare in Slovakia, especially given the last-minute arrangements. Nevertheless, dissatisfied and mistrustful of the GP's (failure, in their view, to make a) diagnosis, the couple managed, over the course of several days, to raise money from relatives and friends living in Glasgow to buy flight tickets and leave for Slovakia. For the Meškos, dealing with an imminent health issue was thus facilitated by a collective effort involving their local family and friendship network in Glasgow. It was by drawing on this informal support network that they were able to raise enough money to travel abroad and have Mr Meško's back 'properly' checked. However, this came at a high risk. As the family had managed to borrow just enough money to purchase one-way tickets to Slovakia, Mrs Mešková was worried that they might not be able to return to Glasgow, which would again involve a collective effort, only this time in Slovakia. If they did eventually get back to Glasgow, they would have to pay back the several hundred pounds that they had borrowed.

At first sight, my informants' actions to consider or seek care abroad may be read as a matter of consumer choice, as part of the free movement of EU citizens and the globalisation of medical services. From this per-

spective, my informants could be framed as 'medical tourists' or 'medical travellers' who, free from immigration controls and with readily available transport links between Scotland and Central European countries, chose to access medical care in these locations. This would place them among the rising number of people who utilise medical services abroad, a growing phenomenon which I described earlier. Yet, clearly, the experiences of my research participants do not sit easily with such a description. Cost-effectiveness was not the rationale for accessing healthcare in the Czech Republic or Slovakia; on the contrary, instead of relying on free NHS healthcare services in Glasgow, they had to pay privately for treatment abroad (in addition to further expenditure for flights etc.) as I indicated above.

To some extent, my participants' transnational arrangements can be seen as migrants' 'medical returns', in line with Horton and Cole's (2011) definition mentioned earlier, since their decisions to travel abroad to seek medical care were informed by their past experiences and familiarity with healthcare services 'back home'. In line with a 'dual frame of reference' perspective, both theirs and Lee *et al.*'s (2010) study emphasised the significance of migrants' cultural backgrounds, showing how their informants accessed medical care in their home countries because they felt better cared for in a medical environment which was familiar to them, both with regard to broader cultural aspects (such as language and ideas about the body) and medical practices. However, whereas Lee *et al.*'s (2010) study highlighted the relevance of 'home' and 'homeland' in migrants' choices regarding healthcare, notions of 'home' were not invoked in my informants' accounts of their decisions to use healthcare services in their countries of origin. My analysis showed that, even though cultural preferences informed their perceptions of healthcare to some extent, my participants formed a more nuanced understanding of healthcare services and the differences between them in the two countries than the notion of 'cultural background' seems to imply. Based on their ongoing experiences with healthcare providers in Glasgow, these perceptions were also open to change (see also Osipovič 2013).

Importantly, as the literature on migrants' medical returns focuses on those who have used medical services abroad, it often neglects the experiences of migrants who did not or could not seek healthcare in their countries of origin (or elsewhere) or where such attempts were unsuccessful. The case of Pavel Hubar provides an example of the latter. Mr Hubar, a 48-year-old divorcee from the Czech Republic, suffered an accident while at work four years earlier when he fell from a height and injured his back. The accident had a huge impact on his life and wellbeing. After the accident, he found it difficult to gain suitable employment and only managed to find work for a few months in between. Increasingly, the back pain intensified and he was frustrated with the doctors who, he said, kept prescribing him various strong painkillers to help cope with the pain but did not operate on him or 'do something about it'. Scared at the thought of ending up in a wheelchair, he was keen to go to the Czech Republic to get medical treatment but had given up on the idea as he lacked the necessary financial resources. By 2012, he could only walk with the aid of a cane and increasingly needed everyday care and support. However, his legal status as an 'A8 migrant' had hindered his access to social care provision.[12] This is why Mr Hubar asked his adult daughter to come from the Czech Republic and join him in Glasgow. This was a long-term family plan that was supposed to benefit both him and his daughter. Moving to Scotland would be an opportunity for her and her two children to escape their difficult economic situation back in the Czech Republic and 'start a new life' in Glasgow, while providing emotional and practical support to Mr Hubar. However, things did not go according to plan. His daughter was unable to find employment when she arrived in Glasgow, while Mr Hubar was himself in a precarious situation and could not help financially. Eventually, three months after their arrival she and her children were forced to return to the Czech Republic.

Interestingly, Mr Hubar's case shows that efforts to negotiate healthcare issues transnationally could also involve movements in the other direction: not just migrants going abroad for healthcare but also attempts to draw on the support of a family member by having them join them at the migrant's place of residence. Furthermore, excluded from state-provided support and unable to access healthcare abroad or to bring a family

carer to Glasgow, Mr Hubar often relied on help from individuals in the city (e.g., interpreters, local shop owners) who would invite him for a coffee, give him advice and help him renovate his flat, etc. Various local organisations were also important sources of (formal) support for Mr Hubar, not only in terms of offering support in the Czech language (e.g., regarding housing, health or welfare) but also as places he visited to share his concerns and socialise. His case thus emphasises once again how migrants (try to) draw on a multitude of forms of care and support locally as well as transnationally in their efforts to build security in their daily lives; however, it also points to the fact that the varying sources of care do not easily substitute each other and do not lead to the same degree or kind of security.

In addition, the Šimkos, the middle-aged couple briefly mentioned above, provide an example of cases where the individuals' social marginalisation left them with hardly any forms of support and, thus, with few options to negotiate their health-related insecurities. Throughout the fieldwork period, the couple spoke repeatedly and at great length about their struggles with severe pain in their joints and limbs and how much it affected their daily life. However, to their frustration, they had not received a clear diagnosis in Glasgow. They dreamed of undergoing 'proper' health checks in the Czech Republic but could not afford to travel to their home town to do so. They faced financial difficulties and were struggling to make ends meet since they lost their factory jobs five years earlier. In addition, they could not secure help from Mrs Šimková's sister who, although living in Glasgow, suffered from health problems herself. This led to feelings of vulnerability which came to the fore in expressions such as 'We're just guinea pigs for them (the doctors in Glasgow)'; from the couple's perspective, local health professionals were not caring for them but 'experimenting' with them. The reference to 'guinea pigs' also hints at feelings of being trapped and isolated, feelings which were sometimes vented in sudden outbursts: 'I did not come here to die. And since I have worked here and I have paid [National] Insurance [contributions] and I have done everything right, I believe that they have to look after us a little'.

As the cases of the Šimkos and Mr Hubar show, drawing on healthcare resources abroad was not always a realisable option; for some, it remained out of reach while, for others like the Meškos, it was only achieved at great (emotional, social, financial) cost. My findings, thus, differ from Lee *et al.*'s (2010) and Horton and Cole's (2011) findings also in emphasising, firstly, that the phenomenon of medical returns among migrants was not equally available to all; secondly, that seeking healthcare abroad was only one way of dealing with healthcare concerns; and, thirdly, that transnational negotiations were often interconnected with or even dependent on migrants' efforts to resolve these issues locally.

A qualitatively different trajectory emerged in the case of one of my key informants, which is included here to adequately represent the spectrum of ways in which these migrants dealt with healthcare-related insecurity. Miroslava Trpková, a 39-year-old informant from Slovakia, suffered from an ongoing health condition that caused inflammation in her legs, feet and hands, impacting significantly on her physical and mental wellbeing. The illness appeared irregularly but, when it did, it had a devastating effect on her daily life: 'I found myself in a situation that I could not walk, you can imagine [the] pain. I felt hopeless and, due to the fact that I stayed alone, I do not have anybody to help me. I could not go to chemist to buy any painkillers, I literally could not move'. Ms Trpková became increasingly concerned about her continuing illness and, as in the cases discussed above, with her experiences of 'uncaring care' in Glasgow. Unlike the other participants, however, she did not want to go to Slovakia to get 'proper' treatment. She believed in the importance of alternative forms of medicines and treatments, practices which, she said, were not encouraged or promoted by the 'modernist' mainstream healthcare system in Slovakia. It is in this context that Ms Trpková embarked on a journey of self-care which included maintaining a strict diet and reading 'all kinds of books about therapy, body, mind' to learn more about her condition and find ways to treat herself. This ultimately led her to study for a complementary healthcare degree at a Scottish university, which she completed after my fieldwork period came to an end. She currently works as a professional therapist in Glasgow.

Conclusion

This article has inquired into healthcare issues as experienced by Slovak- and Czech-speaking migrants living in Glasgow and examined the complex ways in which they dealt with these healthcare concerns and negotiated their social security in Glasgow and across borders. Placing the perspective and everyday experiences of a small number of informants at the centre of my analysis, I showed that experiences of 'uncaring care' in Glasgow gave rise to significant insecurities for those left to deal with unresolved health problems. Based on an extended notion of social security proposed by the von Benda-Beckmanns, I then considered what formal/informal and material/immaterial forms of support and care they drew on to mitigate and overcome these insecurities.

What emerged from the empirical data was that my research informants sought or relied on multiple resources and forms of care, including formal medical care and informal (self-)care, emotional and practical support as well as financial and social resources, often bringing these into play both locally and transnationally. My analysis found that some informants accessed formal healthcare services abroad, often in addition to their use of services available in Glasgow. At the same time, it pointed to the fact that 'medical returns' to their countries of origin were not equally available to all migrants concerned; some informants could achieve medical travel only with great difficulties while, for some informants, this option could not be realised at all. The financial costs of specific solutions (e.g. paying for private healthcare in Slovakia or the Czech Republic or the costs of accommodating a family member in Glasgow) were certainly an issue for most of my informants. However, their economic capital alone did not determine the different trajectories. For example, the case of the Meškos showed that, despite their lack of financial resources, their social capital enabled them to seek healthcare abroad. More generally, across the cases I found that concrete negotiations of healthcare concerns were dependent on the various resources available (cf. Kay 2011); this, in turn, could lead to multiple exclusions for those economically and socially marginalised, as we have seen in the cases of the Šimkos and Mr Hubar.

Thus, while my informants' EU citizenship and freedom of movement[13] between Slovakia, the Czech Republic and the UK enabled them to hypothetically draw on a relatively wide range of options, my analysis highlighted the uneven nature of possible care arrangements. In this sense, the paper did not stop with a celebratory image (Favell 2009; Morokvasic 2004) of post-accession/EU migrants' ability to negotiate care transnationally. Rather, from the research informants' perspective, prioritising and trade-offs between the various options and risks were important elements in their negotiations of social security, sometimes even putting their life in Glasgow at stake, in their efforts to contain or mitigate a health problem that was considered as severe or urgent (see, for example, the Meškos' case). This was also exemplified by the Materáks who, although both had negative experiences of GPs in Glasgow, prioritised their son's health issue and only sought medical care abroad for him, not so for themselves. Connected to this aspect is the finding that not all available resources and options are drawn on – emotions and ideas, for example, around what constitutes 'good healthcare' or makes a 'good doctor' were important elements in care considerations. This was most evident in the informants' readiness to pay for healthcare services abroad (rather than rely on free NHS services in Glasgow), which somewhat belies the common trope of these migrants as 'health tourists'. The significance of ideas about the body and health/illness was also manifest in Ms Třpková's case, whose strong convictions favouring alternative therapies shaped her healthcare negotiation.

My emphasis on understanding healthcare negotiations as ongoing processes which span instances of 'successful' care arrangements as well as situations and periods when the actors in my field were unable to realise certain options or where the outcome was still uncertain, somewhat complicates the functional approach to social security suggested by the von Benda-Beckmanns (1994, 2007). Their approach is functional 'because,

instead of looking primarily at institutions normatively or symbolically designed for social security, it also considers relationships and institutions that are not primarily designed for it, but that take on a function for social security' (2007: 6). While this conceptualisation proved useful here for opening up the analysis to a whole array of different practices and levels as relevant resources for dealing with health-related insecurities, it strongly favours an *ex post* perspective focused on the outcome. I argue that we need to go beyond such a functional approach so as not to lose sight of unsuccessful attempts at drawing on / offering specific resources or relationships to build security. This way, we can make visible not only a multitude of sources of support and care but also assess their constraints and limitations. In this sense, I argue that my research informants' negotiations of social security can be best understood as an ongoing process of exploring potentialities of care. With this concept, I suggest that the research participants actively and creatively opened up, probed, re-evaluated, rearranged and tried out sources of support and care in their efforts to manage and/or overcome perceived risks and insecurities. From the perspective of their unfolding everyday lives, this ongoing process also involved 'making-do' with certain situations, which reminds us that the negotiation of insecurities is not about reaching a fixed state of security but an elemental feature of living life and making sense of it in the face of ever changing uncertainties.

With its capacity to include various forms of support and assistance, its emphasis on individual agency and everyday practices as well as on structural limitations and opportunities, the notion of 'exploring of potentialities of care' offers a fresh perspective that might be usefully employed in future research related to healthcare. It also contributes to recent and emerging research in the field that is calling for more creative and alternative conceptual approaches to the study of migrants' (and non-migrants') health-seeking behaviour in an increasingly changing and interconnected world (Phillimore, Humphries, Klaas and Knecht 2016).

Notes

[1] These were Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus.

[2] Statistical analyses have estimated that, between 2004 and 2010, more than one million people went to the UK from these countries (McCollum, Cook, Chiroro, Platts, MacLeod and Findlay 2012: i). The term 'A8' or 'accession 8' refers to the eight countries that acceded the EU in 2004; I use scare quotes for the expressions 'A8 migrants' and 'A8 migration' to problematise their homogenising and essentialising tendencies with regard to individuals coming from these countries and their movements.

[3] For example, Osipovič's (2013) research has highlighted the complexity and interdependence of various factors influencing healthcare issues amongst Polish migrants in London and their actions to seek medical care abroad.

[4] Although it initially emerged with reference to the one-directional flow of often wealthy people in search of cost-effective care, 'medical tourism' has increasingly become a global phenomenon and highly profitable industry, with people moving for varying reasons, in various directions and between different countries around the world, to seek healthcare. Hence, Kangas (2007) suggests replacing the term 'medical tourism' with 'medical travel' in order to adequately capture the diverse experiences and contexts of people seeking transnational healthcare. Also, 'medical tourism' differs from 'health tourism'; while both relate to the practice of travelling abroad for medical treatment, as noted above, 'health tourism' has a negative association in the context of the UK.

[5] Between 2004 and 2011, Glasgow is estimated to have received the second-largest number of migrants from the so-called A8 countries in Scotland (McCollum *et al*. 2012: 15), with Polish, Slovak and Czech nationals (in that order) constituting the three biggest groups.

6 Czech and Slovak are 'mutually intelligible' West Slavic languages, and the communication between Czechs and Slovaks can be characterised as a sort of 'passive bilingualism' (Nábělková 2007: 55–56). The two languages are closely related in terms of vocabulary, phonetics and grammar, so that speakers of one of the languages can generally understand a speaker of the other language without ever having learnt the latter. Indeed, as I also found during my fieldwork, Czech and Slovak speakers communicated with and understood each other in a very natural way.

7 Among the issues which I explored were employment insecurities, problems arising from welfare 'cancellations' and the risk of children being taken away by social services, etc. (Guma 2015).

8 In line with the significance of range in ethnographic (and generally in qualitative) research, I consciously aimed at recruiting a diverse population in my study and sought to emphasise and explore the heterogeneity within this group of migrants to avoid crude generalisations.

9 All research participants have been anonymised; I chose to use randomly selected full Slovak and Czech names to capture the authenticity of the field and be respectful towards the informants.

10 Concerns around the 'paracetamol issue' have been widely documented by various studies, be they on Eastern European migrants (e.g., Goodwin *et al*. 2012; Madden *et al* 2017) or other migrant groups living in the UK ((Lindenmeyer *et al*. 2016). For example, in Goodwin *et al*.'s (2012: 162) study, their Polish respondents referred to GPs as 'the paracetamol force' while, in a small qualitative research on Polish migrants conducted by Healthwatch Reading (2014: 8) their participants dubbed the local GP practice as 'the paracetamol service'.

11 Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1994: 130) define a 'dual frame of reference' as an orientation whereby migrants 'are constantly comparing and contrasting their current lot in the host society against their previous experiences and expectations in the country of origin'.

12 The accident happened during the time when citizens of the Czech Republic and Slovakia (and members of other European countries that joined the EU in 2004) were subject to restrictions that the UK government put in place as part of transitional measures for these nationals. These measures required post-accession nationals to work continuously for 12 months in order to be entitled to social security benefits, a condition which Mr Hubar could not meet as he suffered the accident on the eleventh month of his full-time employment in a cash-and-carry company.

13 Following the 2016 EU referendum and the resulting Brexit vote, currently in the UK there is a great deal of uncertainty surrounding the rights of EU nationals and the freedom associated with EU citizenship.

Conflict of interest statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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The Impact of Stigmatisation upon Russian and Russian-Speaking Migrants Living in Scotland

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This article explores the nature and impact of stigmatisation upon Russian and Russian-speaking migrants living in Scotland. It is based upon data gathered from 19 interviews with Russians and Russian-speakers living in the Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire and Central Belt regions of Scotland. Ongoing conflict in Syria and Ukraine has worsened relations between the UK and Russia, while EU enlargement and, latterly, the 'refugee crisis' have fuelled hostile attitudes towards migrants. Russians and Russian-speakers living in Scotland therefore face two potential sources of stigma, firstly because of a (perceived) association with the actions of the Russian state and, secondly, because they are often misidentified as Polish and are consequently regarded as threatening the availability of resources such as jobs, housing, benefits and school places (Pijpers 2006; Spigelman 2013). The article explores how people respond to such stigmatisation, emphasising the complexity of engaging with misdirected stigma. It is suggested that stigma – and the way in which people respond to it – is situational and context-specific in that it is significantly influenced by the identity, background and perspective of the stigmatised person. Also investigated is the wider impact of stigma on Russian and Russian-speaking migrants' lives, highlighting the emotional and social insecurities that can result from stigmatisation. Drawing on anthropological theories of social security (Caldwell 2007; von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000), the article suggests that robust social support, particularly from people who are local to the host country, can mitigate the negative effects of stigmatisation.

Keywords: Russian; Scotland; stigma; social (in)security; immigration

Introduction

In recent decades, critical approaches to the study of (in)security have emphasised the need to explore individual experiences of vulnerability (Booth 2007; Philo 2012; von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000). This article draws upon the findings of research carried out with Russian and Russian-speaking migrants

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in Scotland, in order to explore the emotional and social insecurities created by the stigmatisation of a migrant's (perceived) country of origin – in this case Russia – as well as the stigmatised representation of immigration more broadly. Goffman's (1963: 5) understanding of stigma as an 'undesired differentness' is used to theorise this double-sided experience of exclusion.

Diplomatic relations between Russia and the UK have long been strained, with conflict in Syria and Ukraine further compounding this hostility. British media sources from all ends of the political spectrum have suggested that Russia poses a threat to the UK (Doyle 2015; Soros 2016). At the same time, there has been a significant media and political concern regarding immigration. EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007 prompted an outpouring of anti-migration hostility, particularly from the tabloid press (Dursun-Ozkanca 2011). The impact of such discourse upon public attitudes towards migration is well documented (Beyer and Matthes 2015; Blinder and Jeannet 2014; Dunaway, Kirzinger, Goidel and Wilkinson 2011; Dursun-Ozkanca 2011). While no similar studies have been conducted on the relationship between media and public attitudes towards Russia,[1] recent data suggest that 66 per cent of the British population have an 'unfavourable' view of Russia and 80 per cent report 'no confidence' in Russian President Vladimir Putin (Pew Research Centre 2015). Within this climate, Russians and Russian-speakers have, nevertheless, continued to migrate to the UK. Although Russian migration to Scotland has occurred on a lesser scale than that to England, EU accession in the mid-2000s has facilitated the move to Scotland of increasing numbers of Russian-speakers from the Baltic States, in addition to those from the Russian Federation who have moved for work, study or marriage. As will be discussed, there is limited work on the experiences of Russian and Russian-speaking migrants in Scotland and so the empirical findings of my research substantially expand this area of study.

The article is based on 19 in-depth interviews carried out with Russian and Russian-speaking migrants living in Scotland. The term 'Russian-speakers' is used to denote participants who originated from countries other than the Russian Federation but who identified as ethnically and linguistically Russian. I suggest that Russians and Russian-speakers are subject to stigma in Scotland because of a (perceived) connection to the Russian Federation, within a political context where Russia is regarded as hostile. I discuss the highly contextual and situational nature of stigma (LeBel 2008), arguing that Russians and Russian-speakers are vulnerable to a different form of stigmatisation when they are misidentified as Polish. The article uncovers the complexity of responses to stigmatisation in these differing contexts, identifying the strategies which participants used to challenge or dissociate from stigma.

I then look beyond immediate responses to stigmatisation and focus on the emotional and social vulnerabilities which people experience because of their association with a stigmatised place or migrant group. The discussion draws upon anthropological theories of emotional and social security to explore how people respond to, and cope with, such stigmatisation, particularly focusing on interactions and relationships with other people. Social security encompasses 'a set of resources and strategies – material, social, economic, symbolic – that people mobilise to guarantee their personal well-being and stability' (Caldwell 2007: 69). Rather than focusing upon external threats, this approach explores the emotional dimensions of feeling secure. Relationships and interactions with others are regarded as critical in mitigating vulnerability and promoting feelings of security and belonging (de Bruijn 1994; Reed and Tehranian 1999; von Benda-Beckmann 2015).

The article begins by exploring the theoretical grounding of the paper in more depth, before providing some contextual background to the research and an explanation of the fieldwork methods used. Drawing upon interview data, the article then explores the experiences of Russians and Russian-speakers in Scotland.

Stigmatisation and (in)security

In his seminal work on the subject, Goffman (1963: 5) defines stigma as 'undesired difference'. He suggests that the impact of stigmatisation is to 'taint and discount' an individual, because of his or her association with a 'deeply discrediting' attribute (1963: 3). Such attributes can manifest themselves in various forms, including 'tribal' stigma, which stem from a person's race, national identity or religion. Stigmatic attributes are not fixed; what is perceived to be 'undesired difference' (Goffman 1963: 5) can alter depending upon the historical and cultural context (Crocker, Major and Steel 1998; LeBel 2008). Stigma emerges when a person 'possesses (or is believed to possess)' an identity that is 'devalued in a *particular social context*' (Crocker *et al*. 1998: 505 [emphasis added]).

The significance of social context is evident within work on the stigmatisation of migrants. There is ample evidence to suggest that prejudice towards migrants is group-specific, in that people from different countries are considered to pose different threats to society (Hellewig and Sinno 2017).Migrants from Middle Eastern countries are often stigmatised because of a perceived connection with terrorism (Schech and Rainbird 2013; Sjöberg and Rydin 2014). Conversely, Central and Eastern European (CEE) migrants are more commonly regarded as threatening the availability of resources such as jobs, housing, benefits and school places (Dawney 2008; Pijpers 2006; Spigelman 2013). Additionally, these CEE migrants and, particularly, Roma from CEE countries, are often associated with criminality (Fox, Moroşanu and Szilassy 2012; Moroşanu and Fox 2013). Russian migrants in Western Europe in the 1990s were similarly perceived as linked to criminal activity (Darieva 2004; Kopnina 2006); however, I discuss whether or not this remains relevant later in the article.

The literature discussed thus far is distinctive in that it focuses upon the stigmatisation of people rather than places. It is Russian, CEE and Middle Eastern *migrants* who are stigmatised, rather than the countries from which they originate. An exception to this trend is the work of Sjöberg and Rydin (2014), which explores the way in which media representations of the Middle East, and of people from this region, have affected Arab migrants living in Sweden. Participants felt that they were depicted as terrorists but that the countries from which they originated were typified as 'uncivilised', 'poor' and 'miserable' (Sjöberg and Rydin 2014: 205). This alternative framing of people and place is worth highlighting, as this article focuses on both the stigmatisation that results from an association with the Russian Federation and on the negative perceptions that emerge when Russians and Russian-speakers are misidentified as Polish. Individuals can be subject to multiple stigma simultaneously, as work on intersectionality makes clear (Crenshaw 1989).

People respond to stigmatisation in a variety of ways. Moroşanu and Fox (2013) found that some Romanian migrants responded to the representation of Romanians as criminals and beggars by transferring this stigma to the Roma, thus creating a hierarchy of migrant identities. Ryan (2010: 367) has similarly highlighted how Polish migrants created a delineation between 'good, well behaved Poles' and those who had behaved 'badly' as a means of distancing themselves from the anti-social behaviour of some Poles living in London. Another strategy is to emphasise educational and occupational achievements in order to overshadow negative perceptions (Moroşanu and Fox 2013). There is also the possibility of social activism, proactively responding to stigma by challenging prejudice and 'discrediting' stigmatisers (LeBel 2008: 416). Like the expression of stigmatisation, how a person responds to being stigmatised can vary depending upon the social and cultural context.

The emotional and social impact of stigmatisation

Migration is often the first time that an individual is confronted with other people's perceptions of their identity (Ryan 2010: 365). If the identity they see reflected in public or media perceptions is stigmatised, this can have

a significant and detrimental impact upon their emotional security. In their discussion of the stigmatisation of asylum-seekers, Waite, Valentine and Lewis (2014) stress the impact upon emotional and *ontological* security which essentially encompasses the 'confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity' (Giddens 1990: 92). For Waite *et al.* (2014), insecurity is simply the capacity to feel hurt, which encompasses feelings such as pain, anxiety and uncertainty. This article understands security as a broad concept encompassing the material, social and emotional aspects of feeling secure and mitigating vulnerability.

The findings of Moroşanu and Fox (2013) and Ryan (2010) are significant because they highlight that stigmatisation does not only undermine emotional security but can have wider ramifications upon how people interact with others. Ryan (2010: 365) narrates the experience of a Polish participant who was shocked to find that a taxi driver was frightened of him because another driver had been attacked by a Polish man. Similar experiences are recounted in the work of Schech and Rainbird (2013), who focus upon the integration of asylum-seekers and refugees in Australia. They include several quotes from participants that illustrate the way in which stigmatisation could have a negative and harmful impact on everyday life, as the example below demonstrates:

> *In all the newspapers and TV it was about asylum seekers and how they could be terrorists. People believe this and then it creates problems. I have experience of this felt from local people who are very careful of me. I will not go [...] anywhere at night because people may get violent because they are afraid of who I might be* (Schech and Rainbird 2013: 114–115).

Media stigmatisation led to a lived experience of vulnerability, where an individual felt that he was unable to leave his house at night because he would be perceived as a terrorist. Crawley, McMahon and Jones (2016) present similar findings in a piece of research that looks at the effect of representations and perceptions of immigration upon migrants from various countries, including Poland and Romania. Participants describe feeling worried that they would be judged by other passengers on public transport and recounted occasions when their children had experienced discrimination at school.

It is evident that stigmatisation creates insecurities. The stigmatised individual is not only impacted upon emotionally but also suffers vulnerabilities in relation to how s/he interacts with people in the wider community. It is here that anthropological theorisations of social security are helpful in conceptualising the different and complex ways that people use formal and informal sources of support to manage insecurity (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000). Social security-based research has emphasised that developing and drawing upon support networks is crucial as a strategy to ensure individual security and wellbeing (de Bruijn 1994; Reed and Tehranian 1999; von Benda-Beckmann 2015). Caldwell (2007: 69) points out that social security is tied to the notion of social capital – that feelings of security and wellbeing are linked to the quality and resilience of a person's social networks. Both Kay (2012) and the von Benda-Beckmanns (2000) suggest that the emotional aspects of social security are as important as the material in terms of supporting people during times of vulnerability.

While few participants in this research expressed concern about material insecurity, most experienced social vulnerability in relation to feelings of exclusion, resulting from experiences of stigmatisation. People who migrate to a new place are often removed from the social, economic and symbolic resources that Caldwell (2007: 69) refers to when defining social security. They may be completely new to the area they are living in, potentially speaking a new language, and are often separated from existing support networks. This vulnerability can be compounded by a person's experience with the host community and whether or not they encounter prejudice and pre-conceived ideas about migration or the country from which they have moved. While there is much work on how migrants respond to stigmatisation, there has been less focus upon the broader coping

mechanisms that people deploy to manage and respond to living with stigmatised identities, particularly in the context of migration. While this article, too, explores how Russians and Russian-speaking migrants respond to stigmatisation, it also explores how people cope with stigmatisation more broadly, highlighting the importance of reliable social networks.

Context and methodology

While there is a growing academic focus upon the experiences of Russian and Russian-speaking migrants in the UK, this tends to be somewhat Anglo-centric. Such research usually also concentrates on issues of identity, rather than looking at engagement with host communities. For example, as discussed later in the paper, in one of the first studies of Russians living in the UK, Kopnina (2005) researched the concept of 'community' as it related to Russians living in London and Amsterdam in the 1990s. While she touches upon perceptions of Russian migrants in London and Amsterdam, this topic is not explored in any depth. Other projects have explored the role of the Internet and online communities in the formation of Russian migrant identity (Morgunova 2013), the identification of Russian-speaking communities in the UK as diasporic (Byford 2012) and the role of material possessions in maintaining a sense of Russian identity (Pechurina 2015). More recently, Kliuchnikova (2015) has looked at Russian-speaking migrants' attitudes towards the Russian language. These studies largely focus upon England, giving only brief consideration to the Scottish case – in fact, the only substantive engagement with Russian-speaking communities in Scotland has been in two theses, submitted for a PhD and a Master's degree respectively (Judina 2014; Mamattah 2006).

This paper is based upon interviews carried out during 2015 and early 2016, with 19 Russian and Russian-speaking migrants living in Scotland. I have provided demographic information about my interviewees in Appendix 1; however, it is worth briefly discussing the ethnic and linguistic identities of the respondents, of whom 16 were from the Russian Federation and three from other countries in the former socialist space. These latter three had lived most of their lives in Ukraine, Lithuania and Latvia, although they had also lived in Russia for substantial periods of time and therefore felt strong connections to the country. The empirical sections of the article explore how these differing backgrounds affected participants' responses to negative attitudes towards Russia.

Interviews were conducted in the Central Belt of Scotland, which includes Glasgow, Edinburgh and smaller towns surrounding the two cities, and in Aberdeen City / Aberdeenshire. The chosen research locations each have differing and distinct migration 'profiles'. Glasgow is the largest city in Scotland and has the highest population of migrants (Vargas-Silva 2013). However, a greater percentage of the population of Edinburgh, Scotland's capital city, was born outside the UK. Census data indicate that Edinburgh attracts higher numbers of migrants from the European Economic Area than any other city in Scotland (National Records for Scotland 2015a). Aberdeen City and the surrounding Aberdeenshire are also distinctive in Scotland because of the region's close ties with the North Sea oil industry, which operates as a pull factor for skilled and unskilled migrant workers. The presence of forestry, fishing and farming industries in this region present further employment opportunities.

Scotland offers a distinctive and under-researched context within which to study migration. While immigration policy is reserved to Westminster, Scottish policy-makers are responsible for integration and community cohesion. The Scottish National Party (SNP) has controlled Scotland's devolved parliament since 2007 and has taken a distinctive approach to migration from that of the UK Government in that immigration is positioned as essential both for economic growth and as a response to Scotland's ageing population (McCollum, Nowok and Tindal 2014). Key to the SNP's discourse on immigration is the idea of a civic, rather than an ethnic, version of Scottish nationalism. This is underpinned by the popular belief that attitudes towards

migration are more positive in Scotland than in England (McCollum *et al*. 2014). However, attitudinal data do not wholly support this position. A recent survey on attitudes to immigration revealed that 75 per cent of people in England and Wales wanted immigration to decrease, compared to 58 per cent in Scotland (Blinder 2014). It would therefore be more accurate to suggest that Scots *do* have negative attitudes towards immigration but to a lesser extent than in England and Wales. It should also be noted that Scotland has a far smaller migrant population than other parts of the UK (Blinder 2014).

It is challenging to find reliable and consistent data on the number of Russian and Russian-speaking migrants in the UK. Estimates of the numbers of Russians in the UK range from 60 000 to 300 000, with around 10 per cent of this population presumed to be based in Scotland (Judina 2014). The most recently available census data indicate that 6 001 people in Scotland speak Russian at home (National Records for Scotland 2015b). A specially commissioned table shows that just under 1 000 Russian-speakers lived in Aberdeen City (National Records for Scotland 2015c); however, no such breakdown exists for the rest of Scotland. It is not possible to discern country of origin from these data. Despite the lack of up-to-date population data, social media groups can offer some insight. Facebook groups for Russians in Glasgow, Edinburgh and North-East Scotland have a total membership of around 4 100 people. While such data are not wholly reliable, they are indicative of a Russian community in each city. This is reinforced by the presence of Russian Saturday schools in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen.

Most interviewees were recruited via a survey on life in Scotland which is not discussed in this paper. Respondents were asked to provide contact details if they were willing to take part in a follow-up interview. The remaining interviewees were suggested by the original pool of survey-recruited participants. It should be stressed that the purpose of this article is not to provide a representative overview of the experiences of all Russians and Russian-speakers in Scotland. Rather, I emphasise what Llewelyn (2007: 300) terms the 'messy, fleshy, local subjectivity' of the experiences participants recounted in interviews, rather than seeking replicability.

The interviews were loosely structured, focusing upon participants' reasons for migrating and their opinions about life in Scotland. They were primarily carried out in English, but with some discussion in Russian depending upon participants' language abilities. All communications prior to the interview took place in Russian and I would generally begin the interview in the language. However, most of the people involved in the research had been living in the UK for at least a year (if not significantly longer) and so almost all participants' English language abilities far exceeded my Russian-speaking abilities. It was therefore often easier to converse in English; however, when concepts were particularly difficult to explain we would switch between English and Russian to facilitate understanding. Despite my lack of fluency in Russian, I found that my experience of visiting Russia and my desire to improve my language skills garnered approval from participants. Many noted that it was unusual for people in the UK to study Russian, or to be interested in the lives of Russians in Scotland.

Russians' and Russian-speakers' experiences of stigmatisation

Russians' and Russian-speakers' experiences of stigmatisation stemmed from a (perceived) connection with the actions of the Russian state, rather than from prejudices relating to the character of Russian migrants. The timing of the interviews (late 2014 and 2015) meant that media and political discourse on Russian interventions in Ukraine and Syria played a significant role in motivating negative perceptions of the country (cf. Sotkasiira 2018). Anna,[2] a doctor in her early 50s living in Glasgow, explained:

> *There are changes now because of Ukraine and the way Russia is presented in light of Ukraine. One-dimensional news stories – that's upsetting. I mean, we were watching a programme the other day, like an evening*

of questions and answers. All of them called Russia a terrorist country! And that is scary, because people see you and talk on behalf of you. (…) I was upset.

Crucially, respondents felt that such perceptions of the country impacted upon how people in Scotland regarded migrants from Russia. Interviewees talked about a 'sharp inhalation of breath' or the few moments of hesitation that often followed when they mentioned that they were from Russia. Evgeniya, a participant in her late 30s from Stirlingshire (Central Belt), talked about some of the changes that she had observed following the annexation of Crimea:

I kind of notice, when you say 'I am Russian', there is a few seconds when people try to work out how to behave. I feel a change in attitude; even if it's a slight pause it's different from how it was… At the moment, as soon as you say you are from Russia, the association is Putin and what happened in Ukraine.

Evgeniya's and Anna's testimonies are evidence of the stigmatising effect of Russia's actions upon Russian people living abroad. This article therefore sits at the intersection of what Philo (2012: 2) terms big 'S' and small 's' security concerns, whereby globally significant insecurities, such as inter-state conflict, permeate the everyday lives of people quite removed from the physical danger of conflict. Prejudice was not experienced because of an association between Russian migrants and criminality, as was the case in Kopnina's (2005) work. Rather, as Evgeniya's recollection makes clear, her 'undesired' differentness (Goffman 1963: 5) stemmed from a connection to a poorly perceived host country.

For some participants, this prejudice extended to being held responsible for the actions of the Russian state. For example, Alyona (45–50), who worked in a pub in Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, reported the following interaction with a customer:

There was a story about [Litvinenko] – Russia had been accused. And in fact, they were not speaking like it was the parliament, or president, just accusing the entire country. A drunk guy where I was working asked me about Litvinenko: 'Why did you Russian people kill that person?'. And I'm like: 'Yes; I just stopped doing everything and just went to kill somebody' – that's ridiculous.

In a similar case, Pavel, an interviewee who lived and worked in Aberdeen City, recalled that a friend had been asked: 'Why [did] you invade Syria?'.

Of course, such experiences were dependent upon the person being accurately identified as Russian, or self-identifying as such when asked where they were from. For Goffman (1963: 2) it is by a person's appearance that stigma is first identified; however, as Kopnina (2006: 195) observes, most Russian migrants are initially able to 'blend in' with a predominantly white society. This is particularly true of Scotland where, in the last census, 96 per cent of the population identified as white (Scottish Government 2011). It was therefore the identification of a non-native accent that participants felt the most commonly drew attention to their otherness – however, this accent was often incorrectly identified. Polina, a Russian-speaker in her early 30s living in Glasgow, explained:

Sometimes they don't ask 'Where are you from?', they ask 'Are you Polish?'. This is a bit like (…) it's easy just to say 'Where are you from'. (…) 'Where are you from?' is a different question from 'Are you Polish?'. You came here because you have problems, the economy, you come here and take our jobs...

As Polina recognises, the stigma associated with a Polish identity was quite different from that linked with a Russian identity. In this case, 'undesired differentness' (Goffman 1963: 5) stemmed from an assumption of economic need and that Polina would be 'taking' jobs. Raisa, a participant in her early 30s who lived in North-East Scotland, made a similar observation:

Lots of people think you're Polish. If people ask where you come from I'm, like, 'Not from Poland'. That's another perception, that's another stereotype. (…) I don't know why there is such negativity towards Polish people. But again, that's the media. Any time you see posts about immigrants, or immigrants getting houses, it would also be Polish people mentioned there.

The stigma that people encounter is not a fixed certainty but rather, as Crocker *et al*. (1998) emphasise, emerges within particular social contexts. People manage their identities through everyday social encounters (Kanuha 1999) and, as Raisa's and Polina's experiences make evident, responding to misdirected stigma can be part of this negotiation process. It should, perhaps, be made clear that none of the participants involved in my research recalled an experience where they had encountered stigma because they were both misidentified as Polish and then correctly identified as Russian within the space of the same encounter. Rather, it was the case that experiences were context-specific, developing from the preconceptions and prejudices of the other person involved in the interaction.

Responding to stigmatisation

I have established that Russian and Russian-speaking migrants living in Scotland encountered stigma both because of their association with the Russian state and because they were often misidentified as of Polish nationality. I have suggested that this demonstrates the highly situational nature of stigma. In this section of the article, I move on to explore the similarly contextual nature of *reacting* to stigma, exploring the strategies that participants adopted to respond to prejudiced assumptions about their identities.

Responses to stigmatisation because of a perceived association with the Russian state tended to correlate with participants' attitudes towards Putin, and the domestic and foreign policies of the Russian government. It is helpful to revisit the comments made by Anna, the participant quoted in the previous section, who was distressed by comments made about Russia on BBC Question Time. For Anna, the stigma she experienced was the result of the *misrepresentation* of the conflict in Ukraine. She described pride in Putin's handling of the conflict, aligning closely with Russian public opinion at that time (Simmons, Stokes and Poushter 2015). Anna's anxiety stemmed from a feeling that the Scottish and British public had been misled by media coverage and she described sending her Scottish friends articles about the conflict to challenge their misperceptions. Her response to stigma can be conceptualised as proactive (LeBel 2008) in that she acted to persuade others that Russia should not be regarded negatively and nor, by association, should she.

Other interviewees, such as Pavel, who was mentioned in the previous section, had more complex responses. Pavel is a distinctive case because he initially recounted occasions when he had responded proactively to negative comments about Russia, becoming involved in long arguments with people at bus stops or in shops who had asked about his accent and consequently made negative comments about Russian foreign affairs. In such cases, his responses were akin to Anna's, taking an active stance in challenging perceptions of Russia and trying to offer an alternative, non-stigmatised viewpoint of the country. However, throughout the course of the interview, Pavel explained that, when talking to academic colleagues, he would often share in their criticisms of Putin's handling of the Ukraine crisis, seeking to distance himself from the Russian government. Pavel explained that he felt more comfortable criticising the Russian state when conversing with 'educated'

people, because they had a better understanding of the complexity of Russian politics. LeBel (2008: 419) points out that it is often assumed that people consistently rely upon the same strategy to respond to stigma; however, he argues that those with stigmatised identities adopt varying responses depending upon the social networks they are interacting with. This is evident in Pavel's case – his preconceptions about education levels and knowledge of international politics influenced whether he responded proactively or dissociatively to stigma.

Dissociative strategies are well documented within the literature on stigma, particularly in relation to migrant groups. However, within such literature it is generally the case that a group of migrants will seek to disassociate themselves from others within the same group who are perceived to merit stigma – for example, Roma (Moroşanu and Fox 2013), 'badly' behaved Poles (Ryan 2010: 368) or Albanians who have been involved in crime (King and Mai 2009). However, in the present case, disassociative strategies took place between the individual and their perceived country of origin. The qualification 'perceived' is important here because, of course, some participants did not originate from the Russian Federation and this further facilitated disassociation from the country. Polina, who we have already heard from, explained:

> *I think I'm more Ukrainian because I went to Ukraine when I was 16… So now I say I'm Ukrainian and I think, especially with the situation (…) when you ask about Russia, if you compare Russia and Ukraine, I think attitudes to Ukraine (…) I think because of the war, people are, like, 'Oh that's a pity', but Russia – they're, like, 'Ohhh [adopts negative tone] Russia, Putin, no, no'.*

Polina had been born in Ukraine, but moved to Russia when she was a baby, and remained there until she was 16. Her parents had then returned to Ukraine, where she lived until she migrated to Scotland at the age of 30. Kosmarskaya (2011: 63) notes that, for Russian-speakers, identity is complex, formed as it is of competing and intertwining identities. For Polina, the current 'situation', as she phrased it, meant that she was more inclined to identify as Ukrainian. This allowed her to remain distant from the negative reactions that she felt would result from an admission of Russian identity.

The discussion thus far has focused upon responses to stigmatisation resulting from a connection to the Russian Federation. However, I have also established that Russians and Russian-speakers sometimes encountered stigma when they were misidentified as Polish. In such cases, my participants adopted similar strategies to those identified above – challenging or dissociating themselves from stigma to varying degrees. Polina and Raisa, who were quoted in the earlier discussion on this topic, both challenged the stigmatisation of CEE migrants. Polina explained that it was ridiculous that migrants from this region were typified as 'stealing jobs', because Scottish people would refuse to work in most of the industries populated by CEE migrants. Similarly, Raisa lambasted negative press coverage of CEE migrants, suggesting that the purpose of such media engagement was simply to provide a scapegoat for the housing crisis in the UK. However, not all interviewees responded in this way. Discussing instances when he had been misidentified as Polish, Maxim, an interviewee in his late 20s from Edinburgh explained:

> *I do make sure that I make [people] aware of the fact that I am from Russia... I opened the door to my postman… and I had to spell my name and he was annoyed – but I say 'Russian, not Polish' and it's all sorted – shiny smile. I mean, that prompted me to study the situation a little bit and, from the time when the EU accepted Poland (…) it's, like, one million people came over – obviously not all of them were well behaved.*

In this case, the disassociative strategy more closely reflects that discussed in the pre-existing literature on the topic (Moroşanu and Fox 2013; Ryan 2010) in which stigma is transferred to another group of migrants.

Maxim's wording is an almost verbatim reflection of the 'badly behaved' Poles discussed in Ryan's (2010) work. What is particularly distinctive about Maxim's testimony is that, unlike any of the accounts discussed thus far, he describes his Russian identity as an asset in this context.

While participants acknowledged that Russian literature and culture were held in high regard, it was rare that they felt that the Russian identity was regarded in broadly positive terms. In fact, the only two occasions when such comments were made were in the context of the stigmatisation of CEE migrants. I had this interaction with Sasha, an interviewee in her early 30s from the North East:

> **Sasha:** *Sometimes, people from Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, I hear [Scottish people] don't like these people because they (…) don't like work. To have benefits only. But about only Russians, [they] like. [They] love Putin. Some people don't see the difference between Polish and Russian people. Some people ask me 'Are you Polish?' – 'I am not, I am Russian'. It is a different reaction.*

> **Interviewer:** *Are people more negative to Polish people?*

> **Sasha:** *Sometimes, yes, I hear it. My husband is Bulgarian but his mother is Russian. When Scottish people ask him where he is from he says 'Russia'. Because he says to me 'When I say I am Bulgarian, it's a different reaction'. All the people love Russia.*

Sasha's wholly positive account of Scottish attitudes towards Putin and Russia was, like Maxim's, framed in the context of highly prejudiced attitudes towards CEE migrants. For Sasha's husband, identifying as Russian was preferable to admitting to Bulgarian identity. Sasha herself was a Russian-speaker from Lithuania but, as she explained, she would identify as Russian when asked where she was from. Her perspective on perceptions of Russian identity interlinked with the way in which she saw Lithuanian and Bulgarian migrants to be perceived in Scotland. This is directly comparable to Polina who, conversely, felt that identifying as Ukrainian was less likely to invoke a negative response than if she identified as Russian. However, Romanians and Bulgarians have been subject to particularly virulent hostility in the UK press (Fox *et al*. 2012; Vicol and Allen 2014) – unlike Ukraine, which has been represented sympathetically following Russia's intervention in the region (Tsirkunova 2016: 409). There is a complex hierarchy of stigmatisation emerging here whereby, in some contexts, a Russian identity was regarded as less stigmatised than other identities and, for some, as more likely to invite positivity. However, the organisation of this hierarchy appeared highly dependent upon individual experience and the varying situations in which people encountered stigma.

Stigmatisation as a source of (in)security

The article has thus far focused upon participants' immediate responses to stigma. In this final section I explore how Russians' and Russian-speakers' experiences of emotional and social security were affected by stigmatisation, which I suggest is a source of emotional and social vulnerability which can be mitigated by robust support networks.

Waite *et al*. (2014) define emotional security in relation to a person's ontological security – the security that they feel in their self-identity. Ontological security stems from predictability and a trust in one's place within the world (Silverstone 1994). Waite *et al*. (2014) further refer to a person's capacity to feel hurt, pain and anxiety when defining emotional security. We can recall Anna's description of watching the television as 'upsetting' and 'scary' because of the way in which Russia was portrayed. She talked about the frustration of other people 'speaking on behalf of [her]'. This was a feeling also expressed by Alyona, in response to the

suggestion that she was in some way responsible for the assassination of Litvinenko. Of concern to Alyona was the idea that she was held *personally* responsible for Russian policies and actions that she did not condone. Both Alyona and Anna had been ascribed a version of Russian identity with which they did not identify. Polina and Raisa were similarly assumed to be Polish and consequently subject to a barrage of assumptions about their identities.

Such experiences could make life in Scotland challenging and unpredictable, because stigmatisation was generally experienced in banal, everyday settings. Recall that, when Raisa was asked who it was who thought she was Polish, her response was 'People, just people on the street'. Pavel and Alyona were subject to prejudiced opinions at a bus stop and in a pub, respectively. Anna was simply watching the television in her own home. There are echoes here of the testimony of a Polish man, discussed in Ryan (2010) who was shocked to discover that a taxi driver was frightened of him, simply because he was Polish. Discussing the emotional and ontological insecurities experienced by migrants, Georgiou (2013: 12) points out that '"big" politics' is often turned into 'personal experiences and emotional pain'. This aligns with Philo's (2012: 2) analysis of the intersection between big 'S' and small 's' security concerns. Macro-level security concerns, such as the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, or global migration trends, can permeate the minutiae of day-to-day life.

Such experiences also carried potential social implications. Migration often removes a person from their existing support networks (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000) and therefore building relationships within one's local community is a key aspect of integration (Ager and Strang 2004). There is a debate within the literature as to what kind of relationships people form and how they form them when they migrate to a new place, but there is a consensus that forming social networks is important (McGhee, Heath and Trevena 2013; Ryan 2011). Relationships provide emotional (and often material) support in times of hardship (Kay 2012). Goffman (1963: 31–32) suggests that people will often turn to 'their own' when they are subject to stigma, seeking comfort in shared experiences. However, a notable theme that emerged from this research was the importance of friendships and relationships with Scottish, rather than other Russian, people.

On a positive note, most interviewees felt that their friends could tell Russian people apart from the actions of the Russian state, and did not let their opinions of Russia impinge upon the friendship. Stigma was encountered almost exclusively during encounters with people that my interviewees did not know, rather than those with whom they had close relationships. Anna, in her early 50s and from Glasgow, explained:

> *Unfortunately our Scottish friends still follow the media; well that's the way they were brought up in this country, with the fear and scepticism about Russia. They don't treat you in a negative way, they kind of separate us from the politics of Russia.*

Although the fear that Anna's friends had of Russia was troubling for her, she felt that this negativity did not filter into their relationships. A similar sentiment was expressed by Vladimir, a student who had moved to Glasgow with his mother in his mid-teens. Vladimir considered Putin to be the main source of consternation for his Scottish friends, saying, 'When it comes to "Oh you're a Russian man" – that's alright, that's fine, but see that Putin guy – he's crazy'.

Furthermore, I found that relationships with Scottish friends or partners could mitigate the vulnerabilities experienced as a result of stigmatisation. Such relationships, perhaps unlike friendships with other Russians or Russian-speakers, served to make people feel included in Scottish society and secure in the knowledge that there were some people who would not engage in stigmatising behaviour. Ager and Strang (2004: 18) have emphasised the importance of building social 'bridges' between communities, suggesting that such relationships connect people from different backgrounds, increasing social cohesion. It was mentioned earlier that several Russian women who had married British citizens took part in the research. A notable finding from

conversations with these women was that they often identified their relationship with their (Scottish or British) husband as important in terms of dealing with stigma. For example, Raisa explained:

> *People have very stereotypical views, but my partner, I don't know if it is because he lives with me, but he is very supportive of Russia and Putin (...) we talk, we watch both sides of the news.*

For Raisa, her partner's willingness to listen to her perspective and watch Russian television was significant in terms of providing an antidote to the 'stereotypical views' she encountered in day-to-day interactions. As an aside, it is also worth noting that Raisa also referred to a close group of Russian-speaking friends who had also married Scottish men; she explained that they would often socialise together as a group. This provided an opportunity to share her concerns with friends who had similar experiences, reflecting Goffman's (1963: 31–32) emphasis on the importance of shared experiences.

The importance of close relationships in mitigating the emotional and social vulnerabilities created by stigma was a recurring theme within the interviews. On one occasion a Scottish husband, Cameron M. and his Russian wife Zoya F., both in their early30s and from Aberdeen, were interviewed together and it was clear that the former was highly supportive of his wife's indignation towards the representation of Russia, as well as towards the negative coverage of migration from Eastern Europe. We had this conversation regarding perceptions of Russia and CEE migration:

> *Zoya: They've no idea... Like, this woman came to my house. She has a Polish husband and she said 'Oh we're travelling to Poland by car but you can't travel to Russia by car because people will shoot you in the road!'. I was, like, 'What? What are you talking about?'. So, so stupid. People have no idea what happens. And every single media almost, even this stupid programme...*

> *Cameron: Over the past 15 years or whatever, with the freedom of movement in the EU, you've got this badge 'Eastern Europe'... So people have a kind of default opinion of Eastern European people and a lot of people don't give a toss whether that means Polish, Lithuanian, whether it means Moldovan. (...) And then you do have things that are specific to Russia and again I would refer back to that series that Reggie Yates did on BBC 3. So there's almost two sides to it. There's the generic Eastern European, 'Oh immigrants again, they probably live, like, 10 of them in a shitty apartment, in a one-bedroom flat, horrible part of town. Don't speak to anybody else, don't have proper jobs, just work for cash and don't pay taxes and just cream off...', and then with the Russian side of it. And that's the negative stuff that's going on really from Vladimir Putin.*

Cameron's observation essentially encompasses the focus of this article – that there was the potential for his Russian wife, Zoya, to experience prejudice both when she was mistakenly identified as 'Eastern European' and also if she was accurately identified as Russian. Cameron sharing in Zoya's frustration was a clear source of reassurance and support. Indeed, when I expressed surprise and concern at some of the comments that Zoya had received from local people, like that quoted above, she gestured to her husband and said 'It's OK, I have huge support'. Similarly, Polina, who was also discussed in the previous section, identified her husband as a source of support in the face of anti-immigration feeling:

> *My husband had joke today (...) he said 'How can someone come to steal our jobs and to take benefits at the same time – how is that possible?'. You have to choose what we are taking – benefits or jobs!*

Earlier in the interview Polina had also explained that her husband previously worked in Lebanon and was critical of BBC coverage of this region. He had reassured her with this information when she was troubled by the way in which Russia was represented in the press. The fact that Polina's husband had grown up in the UK and could explain the way the press functioned was key in bridging a connection between Polina and Scottish society (Ager and Strang 2004).

There were two participants in the research sample who did not appear to enjoy this level of support and it was evident that this could further compound the vulnerabilities caused by stigmatisation. Vera, a participant in her early 30s who had recently moved to a small town near Edinburgh, explained that she could not rely on her husband for support when she encountered hostility. She recalled a few upsetting experiences in the local shop where she worked, when people had made insulting comments about Russia or assumptions about her character on the basis that she was Russian. Vera had telephoned her parents in Russia for support on these occasions. She explained:

> *[The conflict in Syria] is the reason I always fight with my husband – he told me that, in Russia, you never know the truth. I told him, 'Who knows what is true?'. I don't like to talk about politics with him because I get annoyed or if he is watching the news he is 100 per cent clear that what is in Russia is [wrong].*

Even within her own home, Vera could not trust that her understanding and experience of Russian politics would be believed and taken into account. It appeared that there was limited acceptance of her conceptualisation of Russian identity by either her husband or her mother-in-law (with whom they lived). Vera could not rely on her relationship with her husband as a resource to mitigate emotional and social insecurities (Caldwell 2007). She could not benefit from the trust and predictability – so intrinsic to emotional wellbeing – that other participants could depend on.

In a similar case, Alyona explained that her husband was very critical of the annexation of Crimea and regarded Russia as an aggressive and threatening state. However, Alyona was older than Vera and had lived in Scotland for over ten years. She appeared more annoyed than upset about her husband's opinions, but it was evident that she lacked the support that other participants, like Raisa and Polina, benefited from. Alyona explained that she would think about returning to Russia when her children were grown up and, indeed, was the only participant who was married to a British citizen and had children in Scotland who mooted a return to Russia as a possibility. While this was not solely because of her husband's attitude, his lack of support appeared to feed into a broader feeling of discontent with and alienation from Scotland. It became evident, therefore, that having a partner or friends to 'vent' one's feelings to and who did not judge the individual on the actions of their country of origin, was significant in fostering a sense of security.

Conclusion

Drawing on Goffman's (1963: 5) definition of stigma as 'undesired difference', this article has argued that Russian and Russian-speaking migrants in Scotland can be subject to 'tribal' stigma – that based on their race, nationality or religion – for two reasons. The first is because of their perceived association with the Russian Federation in a context of poor diplomatic relations between Russia and the UK. The second is because they are often misidentified as Polish, which results in stigmatisation because of a perceived threat in relation to the availability of resources such as jobs, housing and benefits (Pijpers 2006; Spigelman 2013).

The article has emphasised that the two forms of stigma are not necessarily experienced simultaneously but emerge within different social contexts and situations. I have suggested that the ways in which people respond to stigma are also situational, identifying occasions where participants sought to challenge preconceptions

about Russia or Polish migrants, as well as discussing cases where my interviewees described disassociative behaviour. The article has highlighted the complexity of disassociating from stigma, building upon the work of Ryan (2010) and Moroşanu and Fox (2013) to explore some of the hierarchies that can emerge when trying to put forward a non-stigmatised or, in some cases, less-stigmatised identity.

The article has engaged with the broader emotional and social vulnerabilities that can be created by stigma. In this regard, the work of Philo (2012) and Waite *et al.* (2013) has been helpful in conceptualising the challenges to ontological security and emotional wellbeing that can result from having a stigmatised identity or identities. I have suggested that this further undermines migrants' social security (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000), influencing their ability to build social networks within a new community. Drawing on the idea of relationships as a 'resource' in managing emotional and social insecurity, I have highlighted how important close relationships with people from Scotland are in mitigating such insecurities. I have suggested that such relationships operate as a source of reassurance, trust and predictability when the subject is faced with often unpredictable and unexpected stigmatisation in seemingly banal contexts.

A direction for future research would be to explore the extent to which Russians' and Russian-speakers' experiences of stigmatisation have been affected by Britain's decision to leave the European Union. It is foreseeable that there could be significant implications for those Russian-speakers who originate from EU member-countries. There is the further possibility for comparison between the experiences of Russians and Russian-speakers in England and in Scotland (where the majority of the population voted to remain in the EU). The research also has potential implications for the study of the 'refugee crisis'. Future studies could explore the experiences of asylum-seekers and refugees, who also originate from poorly perceived countries of origin. A case that springs to mind is the way in which Syrian refugees could be stigmatised both because of their status as refugees and because of the potential stigma associated with their countries of origin, due to of the influence of ISIS in the region and the resulting perceived threat of terrorist activity. There is scope to explore how these different forms of stigma interact and, more broadly, how they intersect with other forms of stigma related to characteristics like age, gender and class identity.

Notes

[1] However, this research is part of an ESRC-funded PhD research project (reference *ES/J500136/1*) entitled *Russia in British Media and Public Discourse: How Does this Affect Russian Migrants Living in the UK?*, which explores the representation of Russia in the UK press and UK public opinion towards Russia and Russian people. In addition to interviews with Russians and Russian-speakers, the research also involved a discourse analysis of seven British/Scottish newspapers, a survey with 500 Scottish and Russian respondents and interviews with 24 British/Scottish participants.

[2] Pseudonyms have been used for all respondents.

Conflict of interest statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Appendix 1

Table 1. Characteristics of participants

Pseudonym	Age group	Gender	Current occupation	Location	Reason for migrating
Alyona	45–50	Female	Hospitality worker	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Marriage
Anna	50–55	Female	Doctor	Central Belt	Marriage
Boris	35–40	Male	Research assistant	Central Belt	Work
Ekaterina	40–45	Female	Stay-at-home mum	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Marriage
Evgeniya	35–40	Female	Interpreter	Central Belt	Marriage
Ivan	50–55	Male	Not disclosed	Central Belt	Not disclosed
Larissa	30–35	Female	Retail worker	Central Belt	Work
Ludmila	50–55	Female	Retail worker	Central Belt	Husband's work
Maxim	25–30	Male	Student	Central Belt	Study
Nikolay	50–55	Male	Hospitality worker	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Work
Pavel	30–35	Male	Lecturer	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Work
Polina	30–35	Female	Stay-at-home mum	Central Belt	Marriage
Raisa	30–35	Female	Administrative worker	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Marriage
Sasha	30–35	Female	Stay-at-home mum	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Husband's work
Svetlana	25–30	Female	Student	Central Belt	Study
Vera	30–35	Female	Retail worker	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Marriage
Vladimir	25–30	Male	Retail worker	Central Belt	Work
Yuri	45–50	Male	Scientist	Central Belt	Work
Zoya	30–35	Female	Retail worker	Aberdeen/Aberdeenshire	Marriage

'Sometimes It Feels Like Every Word Is a Lie': Media Use and Social (In)Security Among Finnish Russian-Speakers

Tiina Sotkasiira*

This article examines the connection between media use and social in/security from the perspective of Finnish Russian-speakers. Based on 25 interviews conducted in Finland in 2015–2016, it analyses the ways in which people in conflict situations mitigate social risks and attempt to produce security by governing their use of the media. Drawing from von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann's work on social security, the article argues that security studies ought to include transnational media use in their scope and broaden the emphasis towards the social and societal aspects of threat and insecurity. Furthermore, it explains how, in times of conflict, transnational media may turn into a digitalised 'war zone' with alarming consequences on the identification and social security of their audiences.

Keywords: Russian-speakers; media use; social security; Finland

Encountering conflicting mediascapes

When the conflict in Eastern Ukraine flared up after Russia annexed Ukraine's southern Crimea peninsula in March 2014, there was a lot of talk about the role of the media in directing people's loyalties and views on the events in the field. It soon became evident that there were significant variations in the framing of the conflict, in the portrayal of the actors involved and in the approaches to and perceptions of the conflict across the different national media settings (Innola and Pynnöniemi 2016; Khaldrova and Pantti 2016; Nygren, Glowacki, Hök, Kiria, Orlova and Taradai 2016). Changes in the media and in the increasing importance of citizen journalism meant that the events in Ukraine were transmitted into people's living rooms and onto their computers and mobile devices across Europe. Simultaneously, concepts such as hybrid warfare, cyber threat and information influence started to appear in the vocabulary of European politicians, academics and the average 'man in the street' (European Parliament 2016; Riiheläinen 2017; Tapiola 2015). The link between information, media and security was established as strong and pivotal to the future of Europe.

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In Finland, these developments led to a rising concern over the loyalties of Russians and Russian-speakers (Rautio 2014; YLE 2014b, 2014c). Their positioning became volatile as discussions started in the media about whether Russians and Russian-speakers who live in Finland, and particularly those with dual citizenship, pose a threat to national security (YLE 2016, 2017). At the same time, worries were expressed over the spread of Russian propaganda and about misinformation in news reports and online (YLE 2014a). Concerns about the Russian minority's insufficient integration and media use existed in Finland prior to the Ukrainian conflict (Horsti 2014: 175). Nevertheless, there was now rising interest in Russian-speakers' media use and their integration into the Finnish national media space (Heiskanen 2015; Kauhanen 2016), mainly based on an assumption that migrants connect to their homelands because they want to remain loyal to them and that new communication technologies make such long-distance bonding possible (see Aksoy 2006: 925).

While the debate on the role of Russia and Russians with regard to national security continues, relatively little insight is being offered into the experiences of Russian-speakers themselves, their understandings and means of negotiating the shifting mediascapes. Already, in 2008, during the aftermath of the Bronze Soldier conflict which took place in Estonia over the removal of a Soviet World War II memorial, Davydova (2008: 407) noted how peculiar it is that there is so little research on the impact of Russian media – especially television and the Internet – on Russian-speakers in Finland. Dhoest, Nikunen and Cola (2013: 14) also claim that, while national audiences have been studied at length throughout the twentieth century, migrant audiences have only been added to the European research agenda in the past two decades.

This article attempts to address these concerns by contributing to the body of critical migration studies exploring and contesting narratives that present migrants as a challenge or even a threat to national security (on critical media ethnography, see Gillespie 2006, 2007). This kind of securitisation discourse dominates politics and media discourse on migration in the European Union and, to a degree, scholarly publications (Bigo 2002; Bourbeau 2014, 2015; Buonfino 2006; Messina 2014; Tsoukala 2011). Here, in this article, the aim is to highlight the agency and activity of Russian-speakers who live and consume the media in Finland and transnationally. Drawing from the anthropological theorisations of social security (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000), I examine the interrelations between the media and social security and the ways in which people govern their media use in order to deal with oncoming insecurities.

Based on 25 interviews conducted in 2015–2016 in Finland, the article explores the ways in which Russian-speakers experience and interpret (in)securities with regard to their media use and the media practices in which they engage to produce security. I am interested in how they interpret the recent politicisation and polarisation of their mediascapes and how it has affected their (sense of) social security. The term 'mediascape' is adopted from Appadurai (1996), who uses this concept to denote the distribution of the electronic ability to produce and disseminate information as well as the images of the world that the media creates (Osborne 2002). The mediascapes – i.e., the 'image-centered, narrative based accounts of strips of reality' (Appadurai 1996: 35) and their contradictions are at the core of my analysis. Before presenting the results, I briefly discuss the study's theoretical framework, explain who the Russian-speakers in Finland are and describe how the interviews for the article were collected. Thereafter, I present the analysis and finish with the conclusions.

Russian speakers and social security in Finland

There are many lies, sometimes it feels like every word is a lie. There is also this one anecdote. A Russian calls a Ukrainian and asks: 'What is the weather like in Kiev?'. The Ukrainian answers: 'It is great weather, sun is shining'. 'No, it is not sunny, it is rainy and stormy'. 'What are you talking about? I just looked out the window and it is sunny there'. 'I watched the news and they said that you have storm and rain'. This is how it is, with my dad. He lives in Russia, and my aunt lives in Moscow. We don't talk politics.

This quote from an interview with Nadya[1] reveals how her life and the lives of her family members are saturated by the media. Her insight concurs with debates around the concept of the mediatised migrant which Hepp, Bozdag and Suna (2012) introduced to argue that the everyday life world of migrants is shaped by media environments in (trans)national contexts. In their (2012: 173–174) view, the everyday experiences of migrants, like those of other people in Europe or North America, can only be understood by focusing on the interrelation between the different media and everyday practices, including the (traditional) mass media, as well as (new) media of personal communication (see also Madianou and Miller 2012). Hepp *et al.* (2012) also point to the analysis of the communicative connectivity of individual migrants and media networks – which include a more or less stable mix of media forms and practices. Such networks can be local or, as Nadya's case illustrates, can be transnational networks of diaspora as well as the centralised communicative networks of specific national mass media (Hepp 2012: 84).

Nadya's interview extract also shows how – as a transnational subject – she is positioned in the conjuncture of multiple cross-cutting mediascapes and how the different media produce their own truths for people to adopt. As Silverstone (1999: 6) explains, the media has the ability to filter and frame everyday realities and produce touchstones and references for the conduct of everyday life and for the production and maintenance of what is regarded as common sense. It is this construction of 'common sense' and 'truth' in the media which produces media content as a resource for the conduct of everyday life and reasoning, and consequently establishes a link between media use and (social) security.

Research participants' thoughts and feelings relating to media and security can be sorted into two larger categories. The first relates to the focus on national security concerns that Russian-speakers are compelled to negotiate. The second relates to how these security concerns and the negotiations that follow will affect participants' social relations, or what Flynn and Kay (2017), following von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann (2000), refer to as 'social security'. Their work emphasises a need to analyse social security in a broad sense by focusing on the complexity and range of ways in which people mitigate risk and produce securities (social, economic, personal and cultural) by drawing on their available relationships, resources and networks (von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann 2000; Kay 2011, 2012).

Russian-speaking migrants in Finland are, in general, relatively well and diversely researched, although much of the research on their (in)security and well-being has focused on Russians and Russian-speaking women (Castaneda, Rask, Koponen, Suvisaari, Koskinen, Härkänen, Mannila, Laitinen, Jukarainen and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2015; Heino and Veistilä 2015; Pöllänen 2013). Russian-speaking men and Russian-speakers from countries other than the Russian Federation are included in the research but to a lesser degree. While this discrepancy needs to be taken into consideration, it is evident that previous research gives a mixed picture of social security among Russian-speakers in Finland. According to Saarinen (2007: 132), Russian women have a high regard for social security and social welfare in Nordic societies. The women who participated in Saarinen's research argue that they feel safe in Finland, at least in material terms. They also claim confidence in the constancy of Finnish society and its ability to provide citizens with basic social security (Saarinen 2007: 132–133). On the other hand, researchers like Davydova (2012), Könönen (2011) and Pöllänen (2007, 2013)

have outlined the precarious social and labour-market positions of Russian women in Finland. Russians and migrant women as a whole end up unemployed and outside the work force more often than both those born in the country and many other minority groups (Busk, Jauhiainen, Kekäläinen, Nivalainen and Tähtinen 2016: 42; see also Forsander 2007). As Pöllänen (2007: 374) discovered, before moving into Finland, Russian women were used to participating in paid work in order to secure economic and social security for themselves and their children. However, in Finland, Russian-speakers face an unstable labour market and, often, a need to rely on temporary jobs and social provision to support themselves and their families.

Saarinen (2007: 141) uses the concept of *grey area* to describe the various ambiguities, (in)securities and dependencies that are present in the lives of Russian women in Finland. She acknowledges the importance of the Nordic welfare state for her research participants but claims that their social vulnerability is heightened by the stigmatised national, ethnic and gendered identification to which female migrants from Eastern Europe are subjected. Russian women experience the ethnicisation and sexualisation of their identities (Davydova and Kozoulia 2009; Reuter and Kyntäjä 2006). Russian men, too, have reported discrimination and othering. These experiences make it harder for Russian-speakers to claim the rights and responsibilities to which they are legally entitled (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Vesala 2002; Ombudsman for Minorities 2010).

Such a discussion is crucial for understanding why the approach, which equates social security simply with jobs and welfare, is too limited in scope. As Heino and Veistilä (2015: 96) argue in the context of families with Russian backgrounds, security can be explored on the basis of three different kinds of need: to protect against danger, to have continuity and order, and to maintain an inner mental and spiritual balance. On the group level, these needs manifest as, for example, a need for family security (Niemelä and Lahikainen 2000: 22). In Heino and Veistilä's study (2015: 96), families with Russian backgrounds received social support mainly from two sources: the authorities and other family members. Furthermore, in their case, social security and care are often organised transnationally. As Pöllänen (2013) argues in relation to Russian migrant wives who live in Finland, their transnational families are important sources of security as their members continue to care for each other even after migration. However, as the author goes on to note, the transnational life-style also creates specific responsibilities and insecurities.

This discussion is in line with the argument by von Benda-Beckmann and von Benda-Beckmann (2007) that social security includes much more than merely the mechanisms by which the state intends to ensure care for its citizens who cannot take care of themselves. Their (2007: 33) argument lies in the fact that in developed countries, too, including Nordic societies with relatively strong welfare-state systems, the arrangement of social security on the basis of non-state or market relations constitutes an important source of security provision. This is relevant particularly for migrants with relatives and family members in countries where social security relies much more on interpersonal/private sphere networks and relations, such as kinship networks. The sense of social security therefore presumes a trust in state protection as well as in the intimate relations of care and support. For the analysis of social security among Finnish Russian-speakers, it is necessary to expand the inquiry from their material circumstance to include their experiences of stigmatisation, and more broadly their social and political positioning, as well as the issue of transnational and transgenerational relations of care.

Data and methods

The term 'Finnish Russian-speakers' refers to people of all ages with a variety of national, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, language identities and life histories (Lehtonen 2016). What the Russian-speakers have in common is the use of Russian as their native tongue and/or family ties with the (post-)Soviet space. The Russian-speaking population of Finland has grown rapidly in recent decades (YLE 2013), currently forming the largest group of immigrants speaking a foreign language in the country – at the end of 2015, they numbered 72 436 people,

a fifth of whom were under 20 years of age (Statistics Finland 2016). Most Russian-speakers live in major cities in Southern or Eastern Finland, near to the Finnish–Russian border.

In Finland the Russian-speaking minority is often perceived as divisible into 'old' and 'new', depending on the time of their arrival in Finland (see Leitzinger 2016). The terms 'old Russians' and 'historical Russian-speaking minority' refer to those (and in some cases to the descendants of those) who moved to Finland between 1809 and 1917, when the country was an autonomous part of the Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. These terms are also used to designate Russians who moved to Finland after World War I – specifically, after the Russian revolution (Nylund-Oja, Pentikäinen, Jaakkola and Yli-Vakkuri 1995).

The 'new' minority, meaning the latest group of Russian-speakers, arrived in Finland after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This group, which is the focus of this article, is commonly categorised as consisting of Ingrian Finns – the descendants of Finns who emigrated from Finland to Russia between the seventeenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries – and other returnees, as well as of other Russian-speakers who came to Finland to marry and for work (Nylund-Oja *et al.*1995). A number of people also went to Finland from the post-Soviet space to study at Finnish universities and polytechnics. As Davydova (2009) explains, people's motivations to migrate often overlap and such clear-cut definitions, such as those based on the type of residence permit which individuals have obtained, do not describe the ways in which migrants themselves explain their decisions to migrate. On the other hand, Davydova's analysis also shows that state rules and legislation to regulate migration simultaneously construct and produce identities for people during the migration process and afterwards.

This article draws on data collected as part of a wider research project – *Finland's Russian-Speakers As Media Users* – which included an analysis of the media usage of Russian-speakers living in Finland, presented a comparison between the Finnish and the Russian mediascapes and examined the production of Russian language media in Finland (Davydova-Minguet, Sotkasiira, Oivo and Riiheläinen 2016; Sotkasiira 2017). The analysis of Russian-speakers' media use and its interlinkages with social security is based on interviews conducted in Finland in 2015–2016 in Helsinki, Joensuu and Tampere. Altogether 25 interviews were conducted with 12 male and 13 female participants. All but two of the interviews (which were conducted in Finnish) were conducted in Russian, and then transcribed by the members of the research group. The interviews focused and gathered information on the participants' past and current media use as well as on changes that had occurred in this respect. They also included questions about Russian-speakers' media use as part of their everyday life and comparisons of Finnish and Russian mediascapes.[2]

The criterion for selection to be interviewed was that the person identified him- or herself as a Russian-speaker and was willing to discuss this topic – considered by many to be sensitive – with researchers (see Dickson-Swift, James and Liamputtong 2008). The sensitivity of this research is primarily related to the fact that the Russian--speaking community in Finland is divided in their views on Russian foreign and domestic policy. The participants explained that politics is considered to be a topic which divides people and which many prefer not to discuss openly. The sensitivity of the topic is also due to the fact that Russian-speakers, particularly those holding dual citizenship, experience mistrust from both the Finnish and the Russian governments (Happonen 2017; Jerman 2009; YLE 2017). Russia also holds a special meaning in Finnish public discourse; even to mention the words 'Russian', 'security' and 'threat' in the same sentence may evoke emotions and images that date back decades – to the years of warfare between Finland and the Soviet Union during World War II (Raittila 2004).

Our participants do not form a representative sample of the Russian-speaking population in Finland; instead, the sampling was based on a combination of feasibility and purposeful sampling. We first used snowball sampling and contacted colleagues and friends of friends to find interviewees. Furthermore, we asked partici-

pants to suggest others whom we could invite for interview. We also contacted the organisations of Russian-speakers to find participants who were unknown to us, as well as anyone we knew. The sampling was selective in the sense that we made a conscious effort, for example, to find participants of both sexes and of different age groups. We also looked for people from different Finnish regions and with various educational backgrounds and employment situations.

Table 1. Information on interviewees

Country of origin	Russia (16), Estonia (3), Ukraine (3), Kazakhstan (1), Lithuania (1), Finland (1)
Age at interview	18–25 years (3), 26–45 years (11), 46–65 years (9), over 65 years (2)
Gender	12 male and 13 female
Professions	Teacher, engineer, economist, lawyer, university student, interpreter, painter, mechanic, teaching assistant, graduate of a commercial institute, accountant, dressmaker, cleaner, restaurant worker, CEO, researcher, student (some interviewees were unemployed or received pay subsidies)
Length of residence in Finland	1–5 years (2), 5–10 years (7), 10+ years (16)
Level of Finnish	Excellent (8), Good (10), Weak (7)

Note: We did not test the informants on their Finnish skills but the evaluation of their language skills is based both on the informants' self-evaluation and interviewers' accounts.

The material on Russian-speakers' media use was analysed by focusing on the narratives that touch upon the different aspects of social security, namely the material, social, emotional and ontological aspects. I discovered that, while the material needs of participants were largely catered for, the participants experience media-related unease with regard to their social positioning and social security, and it is on this which I focused, together with their strategies to mitigate them. The use of 'traditional' and 'new' media were analysed together since, particularly in Russia, state television has a strong impact on agenda-setting on the Internet and in society as a whole. Cottiero, Kucharski, Olimpieva and Orttung (2015) argue that the relationship between television and the Internet in Russia is a continual loop, with each affecting the other.

The media as a source of insecurity

Our Finnish Russian-speaking interviewees' use of the media is very versatile. They use both traditional means of mass communication as well as methods of personal communication – like the telephone, Skype, emails and so forth – to connect with people and make sense of events and developments relevant to their lives. Our findings therefore support the outcome of earlier research which has concluded that immigrants are an equally active and heterogeneous media user group as any other group in Finland (Maasilta, Simola and af Heurlin 2008: 81).

　　Ideally, transnational mediascapes construct relatively coherent worldviews for people to relate to. As Georgiou (2013: 319) writes, there is nothing extraordinary in sustaining links here and there and in being emotionally attached to various communities, in the same way that there is nothing unusual in watching and enjoying programmes and channels in different languages. In particular, when people struggle with anxieties related to finding their way in new surroundings, the transnational media has an important role to play – for example, in alleviating home-sickness by providing an accessible means of communication with communities

to which people seek to belong (Wong 2017). The media may assume the role of a friend who has lived in the country longer and already knows his/her way around, as well as perhaps helping others to keep in touch with family and friends in the places of origin.

Our participants also argue that, up until recently, their relationship with the media was fairly unproblematic or that the problems they faced were similar to those of any other media-user in Finland, with the exception of those who grew up in Soviet times and regard the then-media as particularly propagandist and fake. However, for the most part, the participants describe everyday media conflicts as situations in which they, for example, felt a need to limit their exposure to because it ate up too much of their time; they also discussed the circumstances in which they, as parents, worried that their children spend too much time on the computer.

While such individual concerns persist, the conflicts that respondents describe as part of their current media landscape are much more likely to relate to political insecurities and tensions at national or international levels. For many interviewees, the Ukrainian conflict was a milestone which marked a change in their attitudes towards the media and in the way in which the Russian and Western media construct reality. An understanding prevailed among our participants that the Russian national mediascape is very different when compared to Finnish or European mediascapes. Nikolay, a young man in his twenties, explained the situation like this:

> *[My media use] has changed a lot because the Finnish media blames Russia for everything and the Russian media blames the West. (…) In Russia, they have, kind of, learnt the Western way to broadcast news. It means that you don't provide people with false facts but you give partial information. Like, let's think what happened in Syria. Russians are bombarding there and so forth. It was quite interesting that, in the Finnish media, they immediately focused on civilian casualties. (…) In the Russian news there was no mention of civilian casualties or casualties at all, while in Russia they always state how many casualties Americans are responsible for. (…) There is a clear contradiction. Russia is good, no, I mean Russia is bad and Europe is good. Finland is part of Europe, Europe is good; Europe is in the west, Yankees [sic] are in the west, Yankees are good. It is so clear and annoying. That's why I can't take all Finnish media seriously. (…) Like my grandmother, she calls Finnish news American propaganda, and here Russian news is called Russian propaganda. This kind of contradiction has emerged.*

Interviewees commonly describe the Russian and, to a lesser degree, also the Finnish media as state propaganda (for comparisons see Dougherty and Kaljurand 2015; Juzefovics 2013). Alternatively, they argue that the media is being distorted by the capitalist market system, which disregards truth in its pursuit to get more 'clicks' and revenue. In the Russian context, participants claim to recognise a particular subtext or undertone in practically any mainstream media content (see also Cottiero *et al.* 2015). They argue that television news, in particular, contains messages that are not expressed directly but are implicit and understood only by those who have lived in Russia or the Soviet Union. According to the participants, the dominant discourse in the Russian mainstream media is built around state patriotism: television news is designed to evoke emotions by providing viewers with an irresistible wealth of images, facts and information. Finnish news, on the other hand, is regarded as more neutral, shorter and less analytical. This said, the participants also stated that the Western media is partial and manipulates opinions and that the Finnish media has a tendency to portray Russia and Russians in a negative light. Interestingly, some interviewees argued that Russian news tends to exaggerate positive societal developments, while others described it as particularly gloomy and saddening. *It is all death, blood and catastrophes*, argues Mariya, a 28-year-old, who has lived in Finland for several years and now watches Russian television mainly when visiting her parents in Saint Petersburg.

According to our interviewees, the Ukrainian conflict and its intersection with conflicting political loyalties are clearly visible in their everyday lives. Adults as well as children have all found themselves on opposite

sides of the conflict. Many people blame this awkward situation on the media and its tendency to take sides and exaggerate the differences of opinion. Maksim relates how his whole family is now part of the conflict:

We also get information from our children, based on what they say after school. I mean how Finnish children evaluate events. This is how we receive information about the Finnish media. These ideas must come from somewhere and I suppose they come from the Finnish media. They tell our children and our children tell us that Putin is not liked and things such as 'Putin is Hitler'. Actually, it is not just Finnish children who talk like this; also Russian-speaking children who go to the same school do that. I find it strange. I have also been asked why the Finnish media slags off Russia. I cannot say if they do that or not, since I don't follow it, but I have the impression that the Finnish media portrays the Ukrainian conflict in a biased manner when it comes to, for example, Russia's role in it. Things are not so straightforward. It is complicated there. It is not as simple as Russia attacking Ukraine and that is it.

The impression of the Finnish media distorting reality is strong and is shared by those who, like Maksim, do not follow the Finnish media at all. This would suggest that this image at least partially derives from everyday encounters, such as those described above, as well as from other, mainly Russian media sources. On the other hand, even greater differences of opinion are perceived between Russian and Ukrainian or Russian and Western mediascapes than between Russian and Finnish mediascapes (see Nygren *et al.* 2016).

Ekaterina, a middle-aged woman who lives in the South of Finland, discusses a tendency to stereotype Russians and Ukrainians based on their media choices. She also calls attention to the interconnections between what people come across in the media and how they relate to each other in the real world:

There are changes. Not only because of the influence of the media. Rather it seems to me that people are affected by changes taking place in the real world, because they believe everything. 'Well, your Russian channels are full of propaganda'. But you also have propaganda on your side. Isn't that correct? I mean those same Ukrainians. I just know that even families have broken up. People break up in different directions, because one says that 'You are Kremlin's zombie', and the second says, 'But you are zombified by Maidan' and that's all. Especially now when people are really shaken up. It's difficult. It seems to me that news will not get through to people, because they have already made up their minds. What a painful topic this is.

The interviewees find such encounters emotionally and socially upsetting. They worry about the psychological consequences of being subjected to propagandist and violent media coverage. Inga, for one, is concerned about her state of mind being affected by the tragic contents of news bulletins as well as by the style in which they are presented. She finds it important to protect herself and especially her child from certain types of media:

Well, firstly, the information that is being delivered is not true and the style of broadcasting is aggressive, it does not raise any positive emotions. And, secondly, maybe because there is a small child in the house, you know, if the TV is on. When you watch TV, it happens that they show documentary plots, excerpts that are not meant for children's eyes and it's very dangerous for a child's psyche. News in Russian is dangerous for your health [laughs]. At least for children it is horrid. Just recently, they were broadcasting about Ukraine, and the child passed by and saw the bloody documentary shootings. He was in shock and said that we cannot to go to see his grandmother, because there is war and everybody gets killed.

Previous research has outlined the ways in which Finnish Russian-speakers give and receive care transnationally and inter-generationally (Pöllänen 2013). Both the older relatives, who have stayed behind, for example, in Russia or Estonia, as well as the young children born in Finland, are looked after across generations and national borders (Tiaynen 2013; Tiaynen-Qadir 2016). The current situation, however, puts these relations of care and security in jeopardy. The participants give numerous examples of how conflicts in the media and real life have become intermingled and how they play out even in the most intimate of relationships. Nikolay, for one, was close to his grandmother. He has been an important link between Finnish society and the grandmother, who does not speak much Finnish. Recently, however, the grandmother's orientation towards Russia has complicated their relationship, which Nikolay finds unsettling.

> *Nikolay: There are many, like my grandmother, who live in Finland and don't speak much Finnish or watch any local news. The only source of information for her is me and my sister. She asks: 'What is really happening here? Can you tell me? I cannot make out what they say, on television they fuss about [President] Niinistö doing this and doing that, are we going to join NATO or not, what is this, oh my, we are not going to NATO, are we?'*
>
> *Researcher: So she sort of gets the Finnish language…*
>
> *Nikolay: I explain to her in Russian. But, you know, now my relationship with grandma, I haven't had much contact because her views on any topic are quite radical. That's why she has been in touch with her son who lives in Russia. They are in sync. They have formed a kind of a circle.*

Nikolay is not the only participant, who accounts for relationships being strained or broken due to Russian-speakers' different worldviews – which are linked with their divergent political and media orientations. In fact, such stories are common among the participants. On the other hand, his narrative also illustrates how changing worldviews and media practices 'push' people into new alliances and relationships. Nikolay's grandmother, who used to be close to her grandchildren, now spends more time talking to her son who lives in Russia than to her children and grandchildren who live in the same country. It is thus possible that, through multilevel communication networks, Russian-speakers' experiences of community, identity and security are detached from their specific geographical locations and given a transnational frame (Budarick 2015; Georgiou 2013; Shields 2014). At the same time, however, the media actualises its potential to reinforce the reterritorialisation of Russian-speakers' identities as well as create social divisions in and between societies.

Negotiating insecurity through media use

Based on our interviews, it appears that Russian-speakers' social relations and their sense of security are affected by news reporting of the Ukrainian conflict, by people's responses to it and by their specific encounters with these experiences in their intimate relations. In some ways, people find it difficult to escape the resulting emotional and social distress: they are startled by the media's influence over the issues that people think about and its ability to penetrate their lives. On the other hand, the interviews also reveal ways in which Russian-speakers exert authority over these dynamics (see also Qureshi 2007). For example, the participants referred to their discomfort at watching particular images or reports on television or in social media and referred to their more or less conscious withdrawal of attention from such news. Their interest in some types of media content and withdrawal from other types can also be analysed as a way of managing the potential of news to undermine their sense of security and pose risks to their social relations. As Qureshi (2007: 303) remarks, these notions

echo Giddens' (1990: 132) discussion of how people deal with risks to their ontological security so as not to paralyse their ordinary day-to-day life.

In her work on the responses of London's Turkish-speaking migrants to the events surrounding 9/11, Aksoy (2006: 936) demonstrates the variety of responses from her research participants as well as the importance of temporal considerations to assessing their media use and its motives. The initial response by Turkish-speaking migrants was to assume an active search for reliable information and the consumption of various news sources. Over time, however, their attitudes changed and scepticism started to gain ground as participants began to view all media as equally biased and unreliable. This same kind of development is identifiable among Russian-speakers: scepticism and criticism seem to characterise the Russian-speakers' overall attitudes towards the media (Dougherty and Kaljurand 2015). On the other hand, it is important to note the multiplicity of their responses and strategies.

In fact, the participants draw upon at least three types of strategy with which to manage arising insecurities. The first strategy is to withdraw themselves from the media's sphere of influence by simply limiting their use of it. Alternatively, they claimed that they have stopped consuming certain kinds of media content, such as news bulletins and talk shows, and instead focus on media entertainment, like films, documentaries, music and games. Nadya, the young woman quoted above who described how a distance is building between her and her relatives in Russia, is very concerned about the media's ability to twist reality. She reported considerable changes in her media use. Her initial reaction, when the Euromaidan demonstrations broke out, was to actively search for information. However, during the interview, she explained how this exhausted her and how she later ceased this habit:

> It was really dramatic. I constantly followed it, on telly, live streaming, not just news but what happened in Kiev, on Liberty Square. (…) Russian propaganda is hair-raising. (…) Then I chose to take a break because I got so tired of it all, Ukrainian news. Ukrainian news is also propaganda, just from the other side. It is distorted information, ugly even. It lacks the professionalism of Russians. Now this topic is closed for me. Sometimes I watch Finnish news, but the less the better.

When asked why she had given up television, Nadya explains:

> Because I was of the opinion that all we see and hear is largely propaganda. It completely 'clogs' your head. It does not allow you to think, and you stop being yourself. Everything is blurred into some kind of nonsense. I do not want that.

She emphasised her complicated positioning as a Russian-speaking former Ukrainian who 'knows how the situation is in Crimea'. She claims that, although she has never lived in Crimea, she still identifies with the region and this strongly affects her views and her emotional response to the conflict. She feels very distressed by the situation and its portrayal in the media. In her mind, the media draw sharp and mutually exclusive boundaries between people, which some eagerly identify with, even if such categorisations ignore the messy and multi-layered realities of people like herself. Nadya claims that the overarching tendency among people to rely on the media rather than use their own intellect creates feelings of threat and insecurity.

Igor, a young man who has only recently moved to Finland, also claims to be tired of the media's pessimistic and polarised worldviews:

> Because people don't want to all the time, now all the news, it is always so sad, despairing and gloomy. There are always problems. People have enough problems of their own and they don't want to hear about

other people's problems. And, recently, in the news, it is all the same, politics, it goes in circles and we are sick of it. And the war goes on, there is nothing new. Time and time again, they tell us that the war goes on.

Russian-speakers typically mitigate such perceived risks by regulating their own use of the media. For many, greater security is achieved by distancing themselves from the media and the conflict although, in the current mediatised world, this is proving difficult. Yana, a middle-aged woman who lives in Eastern Finland, explains how her colleagues interrogated her on Russian politics and how she tries to avoid such situations by focusing on the positive:

It's hard. I don't want to talk politics. For example, at work a woman asked me: 'Well, did you go to see Putin? Did you go to Russia?'. I answered that I did. 'Well, how is Putin doing?'. I didn't want to reply. I thought that perhaps it would be better to leave all politics aside because, if something bad happens and they know I come from Russia, they think that I am just the same as some other woman who has done something bad. I replied: 'Let's talk about children, nature, culture, travels'. It's hard. I don't have a recipe for how to survive. I try to think that, in the world, here in Finland as well as in Russia, there are good events and bad events and people. It's hard. I look for something positive that we have there and here [sighs].

This and other interview quotes illustrate Russian-speakers' reactions towards psychological stress and demonstrate existing strains on their social relations (cf. also McKenna 2018). Furthermore, it shows how people on an individual level work on their identities, for example by presenting themselves as 'good' and 'safe' Russians' who avoid conflicts and political quarrels.

Among the interviewees, there were also those who made a decision to believe in one reality portrayed by one national mass media. They take a strategic stand on their media use by making conscious decisions about what types of media to follow and whom to trust, and often orient towards television and Internet sources from their country of the origin. Participants who rely more on the Russian media space regard it as more reliable and one that is in line with their political views. Olga, who moved to Finland from one of the Baltic States, chooses to consume mainly Russian television as she believes she receives all the information she needs from there:

My friend makes recommendations. She urges me to visit this or that site. (…) Of course it would be interesting to see what they say there but the thing is that I already get a lot of information from Russian news. And it is not like they only broadcast their own point of view. They broadcast everything. What Sarkozy says, or Obama, what Merkel has got to say. Russian television is enough for me.

Olga's choice of media reflects her worldview and becomes visible in her political commentary. She argues, for example, that Finland and the European Union suffer much more due to the economic sanctions than Russia. Furthermore, she is worried about the 'refugee crisis' that she finds is threatening Finland and believes that the Finnish government is unable to control the situation. She also claims that refugees are taking advantage of the gullibility of Finns and considers the European Union as too fragmented to handle the crisis in a decisive manner. She trusts that in Russia such issues would be handled more efficiently. These views have been circulated in the Russian media over the years, and they resonate in the minds of those who choose to trust Russian media over any other media source.

Olga is very aware of the dissonance between the Western and the Russian media and considers this largely natural. She believes Finnish people to be misled by their media. In her view, Finns lack the factual knowledge to evaluate the situation at hand in an objective and honest manner:

> *What I think about Finland – this really has no negative connotations – but Finns simply view things differently because of the information they receive. They think like that about Russia because that's how they are taught. What can you do if they lack objective knowledge. Although they consider themselves as objective, of course.*

Interestingly, people have a tendency to think that others are more susceptible to media propaganda while they themselves are able to differentiate between what is true and what is false. Therefore, instead of thinking that they are narrowing their views by focusing on one media reality and ignoring the others, these respondents believe that they are searching for a coherent and trustworthy worldview. This said, it seems that this kind of selective media use puts a strain on social relations and social security. With limited knowledge of what those 'on the other side' think, people are more likely to rely on rumours and stereotypes. They are also more likely to seek the company of like-minded people, which could lead to minimising contacts with those who do not share the same worldview.

A third strategy for obtaining security is to opt for transnational and diverse media use in so far as they choose to follow multiple news sources and transnational channels and even contribute, themselves, to discussions in an international arena. These are the participants who consciously expose themselves to different versions of reality in order to construct their own realities by comparing the various media. For them, the world starts to make sense via critical inquiry through which different sources of information are compared. Nikolay, who speaks fluent Finnish, Russian and English, follows several media and on-line sources. He attempts to distance himself from simplified worldviews that, in his opinion, are dominant in any national media. He aims to build his own 'truth' by comparing information provided by different media:

> *I have started to pay more attention to Russian language media just because the Finnish media accuses Russia of everything, and the Russian media accuses the West of everything. I read them both and then I make my own mind up somewhere in the middle. Sometimes if I read an interesting piece of news I also check how the different world media comment on it. (...) Usually, if I check, yes, maybe the* Guardian *is among them, or the* Washington Post *or the* Financial Times. *Sometimes I also check the financial pages, just to see what they say about Russia. (...) My advice is to read as many sources as you can, in different languages and to be critical towards everything. That is the only thing I can really recommend.*

Following Robins (2003), this strategy for coming to terms with a stressful media environment could be called a 'productive sense of distance' which, he claims, is typical of critical thinkers who mediate between the different media and worldviews. According to Robins, this capability makes it easier for people to ask questions and create new thinking instead of simply repeating ready-made answers that any media tends to produce and resonate with. These critical, yet not cynical, media users seek social security by sustaining and creating contacts and communication with a variety of thinkers and worldviews. They could play an important role as mediators in situations where people's emotional and social security are at stake.

Conclusions

Numerous studies have documented how the media marginalises, denigrates and even demonises certain social groups, positioning them as stigmatised outcasts and depositing them into categories labelled 'social problems', 'unworthy', or 'dangerous' (Cottle 2007; Slade 2010). As Cottle (2007: 34–35) explains, this storyline has been rehearsed repeatedly in respect of various social groups. While not denying the damaging consequences of such narratives for the relationship between the dominant majority and the minorities that are subjected to such distorting representations, I claim that there is a need to shift the focus towards the effects of media representations and media use of minority communities themselves. In addition to research on securitisation, there is a need for scholarly work that details the consequences of this discourse on minorities from their own perspectives. We need to bring to the fore the understandings and views of those who experience the effects of securitisation first hand.

In the post-Soviet space, individuals and families have migrated both internally and overseas. They have become multicultural, multinational and transnational. Even though research has identified vulnerabilities associated with transnational living (Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein 2017*;* Varjonen, Arnold and Jasinskaja-Lahti 2013), the transnational mobility of Russian-speakers has usually been regarded as a positive phenomenon. In the current political climate, however, Russian-speakers living in the EU come into view as a group that faces the need to come to terms with the politicisation and securitisation of their identities.

Following Frölich (2016: 30), I find it important to broaden the classical emphasis of security and communication studies on the 'military' and 'war activities' toward the social and societal aspects of threat and security. This article, therefore, focused on the negotiations around social security among Finnish Russian-speakers. It was concerned with the role of the media in relation to Russian-speakers' national security concerns and their interlinkages with social security. In particular, I explored the ways in which people mitigate risks and produce securities (social, economic, personal and cultural) by drawing on the media and their communicative networks.

In an ideal situation, transnational media use plays an important role in supporting a person's sense of security (Georgiou 2013; Silverstone 1993). However, this argument presupposes a social reality in which the media is not manipulated to antagonise its audiences. In the case of Finnish Russian-speakers, the antagonisation seems to be taking place. In fact, the interviews with Finnish Russian-speakers revealed that the different media play on people's fears and emotions by portraying a polarised view of current affairs, creating insecurity on many levels. Participants often describe the Russian media as propaganda. The Finnish media is considered less propagandist but, at the same time, the participants argue that, in the Western media, Russia and Russian people are consistently portrayed in a negative light. The people we interviewed were thus not able to relate to the image of Russian people which they find in the Finnish media, which then diminishes their trust in Finnish society and leads them to question their own position within it. This polarisation also makes it harder for them to rely on traditional communities of care and informal networks of support, as other people – Finnish and Russian-speakers alike – are perceived as being (potentially) positioned in another 'camp'.

The politicisation of the mediascapes is linked with (although not limited to) the military conflict in Ukraine, which is commonly regarded as an 'information war' as much as a conventional one (Hutchings and Szostek 2015: 184). As Kuntsman (2010: 300) explains, in conflict situations both online and offline violence 'reverberate between spaces, bodies and psyches', which may produce effects that can also intensify the experiences of violence among those who participate in warfare from a distance. During our interviews, Finnish Russian-speakers described their symptoms of emotional and social stress and explained how families and friendships are ruptured due to conflicting media orientations and worldviews.

This means that, even though Finland is considered to be one of the safest countries in the world and the Nordic welfare model as one of the most inclusive, the Russian-speakers interviewed for this study demonstrate a level of distrust in Russia, in Finnish society and even in their closest relationships. It seems that material security, or at least a basic social security which, in the Finnish context, is attainable to anyone with a permanent residence status, still does not guarantee social security in broader terms for Russian-speakers (see also Heino and Veistilä 2015). Social insecurity exists at the level of Finnish society, and in relation to Russia and the personal networks of Finish Russian-speakers. The identities of these latter and their sense of security are both transcended and reinforced by their individual media choices and their exposure to the mixture of local, national and transnational media.

Notes

[1] Because of the sensitivity of the research topic and the small size and connectedness of the Russian-speaking population in Finland, I have altered small details of interview quotes – such as place names – in order to protect the identity of my interviewees. All participants were therefore assigned, and are *referred to by, pseudonyms.*

[2] The majority of interviews were conducted in Russian by Daria Kettunen. Two were conducted in Finnish and one was conducted by Daria Kettunen, Olga Davydova-Minguet and Tiina Sotkasiira. They were audio-recorded and transcribed by Daria Kettunen and Mariia Ponomareva and the citations translated from Russian into English by Tiina Sotkasiira.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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— BOOK REVIEWS —

Zana Vathi, Russell King (eds) (2017). *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Discourses, Policy-Making and Outcomes for Migrants and Their Families*. **London, New York: Routledge, xviii, 279 pp.**

The link between return migration and psychosocial wellbeing has been waiting to be unpacked for well over a decade. In 2004, a seminal paper by Jean-Pierre Cassarino (2004) drew attention to the newfound salience of return in migration policy and discourse. At that time, the rise of return mobility raised hopes for economic development in the countries of origin. The anticipation of wealth and knowledge transfers on the back of return migration was part of a wider trend wherein policymakers started looking towards diasporic networks in the global North to harness political support and inward investment for the global South (see Mohan 2006 and 2008). Cassarino focused on the link between development and return specifically to problematise this narrative. He differentiated between different types of returnee: those who had arrived seeking asylum and those seeking economic opportunity; those who returned to be actors of socioeconomic change and those who did not. He then argued that successful returns depend on resource mobilisation – that is, the tangible assets and social networks necessary to facilitate the move – and returnee's preparedness – in other words, their readiness and willingness to move. However, his focus was largely on the material and not the emotional aspects of return. Further, as often happens in policy-oriented migration studies, the impact of return on the migrants themselves was not particularly high up on the list of concerns and hence the subsequent debate has remained chiefly oriented towards migratory and economic outcomes and not psychosocial ones.

A new book entitled *Return Migration and Psychosocial Wellbeing*, edited by Zana Vathi and Russell King (2017), aims to address the blind spot of psychosocial wellbeing in return migration research. It does so by tackling two assumptions that underpin much academic work and dominate policy discourse on return migration. Firstly, studies collected by Vathi and King destabilise the dichotomy of forced versus voluntary return to 'illustrate the complexity found in the return spectrum' (2017: 3). Secondly, and more conventionally, the authors also approach wellbeing as a continuum and frame it 'as a developing, nonlinear experience of migrants, conditioned by circumstantial as well as structural factors' (2017: 3). While specific definitions of wellbeing differ somewhat from one case study to another, they all cast it as complex and relational – as an emotional response to one's social position and a sense of agency.

To generate and substantiate these insights, studies collected in the volume proceed from a person-centred perspective and discuss human mobility from the standpoint of returnees as individuals – sentient and social beings who are hopeful at some points of their life-course journey and can be desperate at others. Pursuing this kind of enquiry has to rely on qualitative approaches and so the book is built upon decades of ethnography, often at multiple sites, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of in-depth interviews. What stands out methodologically is that several of the collected studies take a life-course approach and draw on repeat interviews to capture how returnees' perspectives of their mobility and wellbeing are reworked in time and space. They are shaped by individual experiences of ageing and mobility, of settlement and return, as well as by multiple external influences. As regards the latter, policy changes and economic crises are the two most often cited factors that affect perceptions of – and decisions to – return.

External and internal factors intersect throughout the volume in various ways; this creates a sense of depth and shows serious engagement with the complexity of the social field. For example, in Chapter 12

(*Migration and Return Migration in Later Life to Albania: The Pendulum Between Subjective Wellbeing and Place*) Eralba Cela describes older men who considered and enacted return from Italy to Albania as their employability diminished with age and their social and family status faded away in a new spatio-temporal setting that had upset traditional age and gender hierarchies. On the other hand, in Chapter 13 (*To Stay or to Go? The Motivations and Experiences of Older British Returnees from Spain*) Kelly Hall, Charles Betty and Jordi Giner show that thoughts and enactments of return from Spain to Britain are more typical in women, especially in the context of family-related return. These two migrations were also differently exposed to the effects of economic crisis: while many Albanians were unable to remain in Italy due to an increasingly competitive labour market, some Britons were impoverished by fluctuations in property prices and currency exchange rates and so were unable to return from Spain. The various dynamics of return therefore stemmed from differing dynamics of arrival and were differently impacted by cultural norms and economic effects. This is just one example, amongst many, to show the impossibility of framing return migration as either forced or voluntary, and to illustrate the wealth of empirical material that substantiates this overarching claim. The framing of willingness to return as a complex equation, alongside the framing of return migration as a process that is not psychosocially safe, bind together all the case studies presented in the volume.

This wealth of empirical material and theoretical insights is organised into four parts, which are introduced by Vathi and followed by concluding remarks from King. The first part, which is entitled *The Forced–Voluntary Continuum in Return Migration*, builds on the key theme from the introduction to disrupt the forced–voluntary dichotomy and instead present return migration as a process where both aspects can be present, and where so-called voluntary mobility is often all but forced. It does so by interrogating the agency of returnees who move from Western and Southern Europe as part of the aptly named Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) programme. The three stud-

ies forming this part tell the uneasy story of programmes promoted by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). Nominally AVRs aim to improve migrants' wellbeing, but the actual aims seem to have more to do with alleviating migration pressures on the West and providing another layer of immigration enforcement.

In the second part, *Ancestral Returns, Adaptations and Re-Migration*, the book moves on to discussing roots and life-course migrations into Poland, Portugal and Bosnia. This stretches the concept of return back in time to include not just a lifetime but also past generations. In so doing, this part of the book shifts our focus away from the willingness to return and, instead, unpacks the meaning of return and belonging for those who enact it. In many cases the dream of the homeland turns out to be an illusion and a return to be impossible. This paradox was perhaps best summed up by a root migrant from Moldova, cited in Chapter 5 by Marcin Gońda (*Roots Migration to the Ancestral Homeland and Psychosocial Wellbeing: Young Polish Diasporic Students*), who said: 'The Poles somehow treat me better as a Moldovan than a Russian (…) but in Moldova I've never been a Moldovan, I was there, so to say, a Pole (…) but here I've never been and I will never be a Pole. (…) I'm not a Pole for sure, nor Moldovan either' (2017: 88). This illustrates the broader point made by many cases presented in the volume – the notion of 'homeland', which underpins the notion of 'return', is often itself deeply problematic.

Further paradoxes of return are explored in the third part – *Asylum Systems, Assisted Returns and Post-Return Mobilities* – which picks up on the trade-offs between a life with a precarious migration status and going back to a sometimes even more precarious life in the country of origin. In so doing, the chapters in this part expand Cassarino's framework of preparedness and readiness to return by including post-return outcomes. They show that the relative psychosocial safety – or risk – of return often cannot be known in advance. This points to the importance of reintegration policy within return programmes, which is currently barely existent, and to the multitude of factors affecting wellbeing after return.

Finally, the fourth part entitled *Life Course, Family and Health* spells out the key tensions revealed through return migration. It shows belonging as a multivalent and dialogic process and as a personal feeling that is socially embedded. Importantly, it also shows that, just like any other type of migration, return mobility is intrinsically transnational.

As stated in its preface (p. xvii), the volume emerged from meetings, conferences and discussions that were part of the IMISCOE research network on International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe. This has two sets of implications: one is the geographical focus on Europe or, more specifically, on migrations that concern Europe. Migrants who originally came from Asian and African countries are featured prominently in the volume but, apart from Chapter 9 by Nassim Majidi (*The Return of Refugees from Kenya to Somalia: Gender and Psychosocial Wellbeing*), the studies tell the story of migrations to, from or within Europe. Of note, the case studies include Poland, Latvia, Albania and Bosnia, which gives the volume a significant focus on Central and Eastern Europe. This may invite interesting comparisons with Krystyna Iglicka's (2002) book on return migration to Poland, as well as with work on return migration in the wider region.

The second implication of the project's exploratory design is the diversity of research and theoretical approaches within the volume. The aforementioned dominance of qualitative approaches, largely determined by the subject, is a common feature that links up otherwise distinct case studies. The analytical work here unfolds as a series of understated negotiations between empirical findings and diverse theoretical points. While the introduction makes explicit reference to the mobilities approach as a guiding theoretical orientation for the volume, this is only partly followed through. The chapters collected in the volume provide nuanced accounts of human mobility – they do not essentialise place or borders and repeatedly problematise the image of return as a concluding stage of the migration cycle – without necessarily falling back on the mobilities framework. Instead, they draw on a wide range of theoretical influences. This spectrum extends from literary theory, deployed

to analyse negotiations of belonging in a fabulously nuanced Chapter 11 by Aija Lulle (*The Need to Belong: Latvian Youth Returns As Dialogic Work*), to the political economy that informs Barak Kalir's analysis in Chapter 4 (*Between 'Voluntary' Return Programmes and Soft Deportation: Sending Vulnerable Migrants in Spain Back 'Home'*). The latter case is the only one in the volume where a concern for broader migration regimes overshadows the person-centred focus that otherwise guides the chapters and it somewhat jars with presenting the forced–voluntary dichotomy as a spectrum. Nothing ever seems voluntary in a neoliberal world and consent to return is always manufactured through 'a financial and ideological construction' (p. 69) of the neoliberal state.

The upside of this theoretical diversity is that the volume does not just guide a reader through the different modes and spatio-temporal manifestations of 'return' but also the various ways of reading it. To me, frames informed by theories attuned to the processes of emotional and intellectual negotiations of the meaning of home, belonging, mobility and choice – which are shown as *dialogic* constructions in Lulle's study – seem more suited to the volume's objective of problematising return from a returnee's standpoint than the bird's-eye view of a critique of neoliberalism which we find in Kalir's chapter. Some of that theoretical richness also feels slightly lopsided: the vast majority of case studies draw on social network theory and show how transnationalism is not just part of the process of onward migration but is also fundamental for return – but then Lulle's chapter works through the lens of cosmopolitanism instead of transnationalism. This feels like a missed opportunity to elaborate on the insights offered by both transnational and cosmopolitan approaches, particularly in the light of recently published person-centred accounts of cosmopolitanism (Rapport 2012). That being said, there is an intrinsic value to showcasing a range of approaches within the volume, given the pioneering and exploratory nature of the project it concludes.

A person-centred perspective is inherently holistic and so, against literatures that theorise the drivers of migrations – or push and pull factors – this volume's

focus on how such factors intersect in individual people, on how they become embodied and enacted, is moving and inspiring. It provides a series of studies that exhibit the social and emotional complexity of migration and, at the same time, attempts to generate practical knowledge through policy recommendations. It does not provide an overarching theory of return migration and psychosocial wellbeing but it does something far more important than that – it shows that there is not one.

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Christine Mahoney (2016). *Failure and Hope: Fighting for the Rights of the Forcibly Displaced*. **Cambridge University Press, 168 pp.**

One of the struggles facing the humanitarian sector regarding displaced people is the discrepancy between the ideal of saving lives, on the one hand and, on the other, the often-abysmal living conditions awaiting those who are saved. This discrepancy is es-pecially pronounced in the case of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) who find shelter but no solutions, leaving them to face increasingly protracted displacement. Christine Mahoney's (2016) *Failure and Hope: Fighting for the Rights of the Forcibly Displaced* investigates global advocacy efforts related to protracted displacement, showing how failures have proliferated at three different levels of governance – the international level, the level of national governance of host countries and the local camp level. Mahoney's focus not only on refugees but also on IDPs provides valuable insights for the humanitarianism literature, which concentrates less on IDPs as a key subject of inquiry.

In Chapter 1, the author lays out her main contribution to the literature on forced displacement and advocacy for displaced people. Although many scholars have analysed global advocacy efforts through cases that successfully achieved their aims, Mahoney's project is different. Indeed, she does something rare in the global advocacy literature: she flips the starting point of her analysis from the rare successful international advocacy cases in order to consider levels of governance where advocacy for the rights of the displaced is unlikely to be successful. In Chapters 2 and 3, through content analysis of the coverage of 61 protracted displacement crises between 2000 and 2010 in the *New York Times* as well as in five different European and American newspapers for 2011, and through fieldwork in seven countries (Colombia, Croatia, Kenya, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Uganda) experiencing major protracted displacement, Mahoney demonstrates how and why 'failure is the norm' (2016: 1) in global advocacy today related to displaced people. Although Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia hosted more than 380 000 IDPs in Central and Eastern Europe as of 2008 when Mahoney chose the cases, Bosnian refugees in Croatia and Croatian IDPs were chosen to be focused on because the displacement crisis in Croatia had been experienced for at least five years and the Croatian state had more than five camps to host displaced populations. These cases also perfectly demonstrate how the break-up of Yugoslavia affected

the living conditions of people who were citizens of the same country before 1992.

Despite the merit of fieldwork in hard-to-access camps, analysing the coverage of massive displacements through Western media outlets may not be the most suitable method through which to grasp failures in global advocacy, as the silence of the West in relation to the dire humanitarian conditions in the global South as a longstanding concern illustrates.

In Chapters 4 to 6, detailed discussion of each of the seven cases of displacement and the difficulty of advocacy for displaced populations are provided. Throughout these chapters, Mahoney suggests that it has generally been assumed that advocacy at the camp level to improve living conditions for refugees and IDPs is minimal, because of the limited political space available for camp residents and UN officials to make claims. In contrast, Mahoney successfully illustrates how advocacy for displaced people unfolds not only at national and international levels but also at the local camp level. Unfortunately, her in-depth interviews with aid workers and refugees suggest that such advocacy efforts are not successful in bringing about change in the living conditions which refugees and IDPs face. She draws out a great deal about the concerns and problems that drive the failure of advocacy for displaced people. Due to the IOs' and NGOs' lack of economic and political leverage, the relegation of the displaced as 'non-priority citizens' (2016: 138) and the corruption and economic constraints of host governments, failure becomes standard in advocacy for displaced populations.

Building on this analysis, Mahoney does something different from many other books on global advocacy on behalf of vulnerable populations. In Chapters 7 and 8 she not only shows the reader why advocacy toward displaced people at different levels has not been successful but also suggests a new strategy for global advocacy and concrete action to ameliorate the living conditions of refugees and IDPs, proposing public mobilisation – investing in bettering the lives of displaced persons through micro-financing for social entrepreneurship. Focusing on a wide range of advocacy cases regarding displaced people,

demonstrating their limits and proposing a new approach to advocacy and support for refugees and IDPs is ambitious, reflecting Mahoney's interest in offering 'not empty critiques, but rather real-world solutions' (2016: 127).

Her attempt to add an action-oriented flavour to the study of humanitarianism and advocacy in protracted displacement situations is worthy of respect, although Mahoney's suggestion on this front unfortunately appears to be neither viable nor realistic. Her recommendation to use either person-to-person micro-financing or crowd-funded conditional microgrant pools faces implementation challenges for the very same reasons that advocacy attempts at the national and local camp levels were set back: the lack of leverage and the use of state power and bureaucracy to hinder the efforts of NGOs and IOs. Given that, as Mahoney details, aid workers often cannot gain access to camps because of state officials' informal practices – such as asking for bribes – it is likely that advocacy and fund-raising organisations following Mahoney's proposed model would encounter similar obstacles to accessing persons who are in need. Hence, the book stops short where it should ideally be strong. Mahoney's empirical work yields an extensive insight into the pitfalls associated with advocacy for refugees and IDPs in protracted displacement, yet her policy recommendations are in need of further refinement.

Failure and Hope: Fighting for the Rights of the Forcibly Displaced analyses the sources of advocacy failure for displaced people, reveals the asymmetry in capacity between the different institutions concerned with serving vulnerable populations and describes how those failures emerge. Overall, Mahoney's book is a major contribution to the ongoing pursuit of justice and advocacy for the displaced. Regrettably, it misses an opportunity to advocate for more practical ways of improving advocacy and practical efforts on behalf of forced migrants in protracted situations.

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