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Human Migration

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This document is presented for human readers.

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An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

A complete listing of his writings at <http://psychologywritings.synthasite.com/>. See also material at <https://archive.org/details/orsett-psych>.

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1. MIGRATION STUDIES

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

King (2012) defined "Migration Studies" as covering "all types of international and internal migration, migrants, and migration-related diversities" (quoted in Scholten et al 2022).

Cohen (1996) outlined nine conceptual "dyads", including planned vs flight migration, individual vs context reason for migration, economic migrant vs political refugee, and illegal vs legal migration (Scholten et al 2022).

Based on these dyads, and reviewing recent articles on the subject, Scholten et al (2022) proposed six "meta-topics" of Migration Studies:

- 1. Reasons for migration
- 2. Means of migration
- 3. Different forms of migration
- 4. Consequences of migration
- 5. Governance and control of migration
- 6. Methodology of studying the topics

1.2. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

In surveys many people say that they would migrate given the chance, but "only small fractions of those who

aspire to migrate are actually able to realise it. However, why do people want to migrate in the first place At specific moments in people's lives a number of factors come together and stimulate migration intentions, which, given some achievable livelihood opportunities, may end up in temporary or permanent moves to another domestic or international destination" (Czaika and Reinprecht 2022 p49).

The factors involved are many and varied. These are known as "migration determinants" or "migration drivers", which Van Hear et al (2018) described as "structural elements that enable and constrain the exercise of agency by social actors" and make "certain decisions, routes or destinations more likely" (quoted in Czaika and Reinprecht 2022).

Researchers have produced frameworks or models to explain the reasons for migration. Traditional ideas, include cost-benefit analysis (Sjaastad 1962), and push-pull factors (Lee 1966), focus on the economics, and the individual as decision-maker. "However, individuals belong to households and communities who influence or even take the decisions, or people may even move as a family" (Czaika and Reinprecht 2022 p51).

Based on a review of nearly 300 studies, Czaika and Reinprecht (2022) identified twenty-four drivers, which they categorised with nine dimensions (table 1.1).

DIMENSION	EXAMPLE OF DRIVING FACTORS
Demographic	Population growth at home
Economic	Labour market opportunities better elsewhere
Environmental	Climate change impact at home
Human development	Opportunities to train abroad compared to at home
Individual	Personal resources
Politico-institutional	Migration policies of home and other countries
Security	Conflict at home
Socio-cultural	Cultural ties abroad
Supra-national	Globalisation

(Based on table 3.1 p56 Czaika and Reinprecht 2022)

Table 1.1 - Dimensions of migration drivers.

Alternatively, the drivers can be categorised as (Czaika and Reinprecht 2022):

i) Individual-specific drivers: aspirations and capability - The tension between the desire to migrate and the capability to do so, influenced by financial resources and information. "Migration experience" of self or known others, and attitudes and perceptions about own and other countries are also relevant here.

ii) Group-specific drivers - eg: household size and structure; gender; migration networks.

iii) Macro-structural drivers - eg: economy; home country government policies; human rights issues; conflict and security; environmental change.

"Different migration drivers affect distinct societal groups in different ways... Migration drivers are not static but may change dynamically; while some drivers rapidly change ('shocks'), other drivers may change only gradually over time. However, even when drivers are slow changing, they may still be perceived very differently during a migration journey or a lifecycle" (Czaika and Reinprecht 2022 p71).

1.2.1. Changing Views

A purely economic view of migration "locates the universal human being within the global supply and demand for labour in universal markets, in which countries with more work, higher wages, and fewer workers attract workers from countries with lower wages and less work" (O'Reilly 2023 p4).

A variation of this idea is the dual/segmented labour market view that distinguishes secure and regular employment (the primary labour market) and seasonal and temporary work (the secondary labour market). The latter requires migrant workers for short periods and workers in this market have to move to where the temporary work is available (O'Reilly 2023).

Traditional theories assume migration is linear and unidimensional, whereas more recent theories using the concept of "mobilities" (Urry 2007) to explain non-linear, circular, and temporary movements (O'Reilly 2023).

More recent approaches to migration also highlight power, structures, and agency. For example, Anderson

(2013) showed "the way in which modern nation-states, within neoliberal economies, embrace the individual freedoms and rights of some while excluding others by portraying themselves as communities of shared values that are in need of protecting or defending. Here, outsiders of any form (illegal migrants, benefit scroungers) can be employed politically to remind the insiders of what they should stand for, and migrants (among others) can be deemed worthy or not of the privileges of membership" (O'Reilly 2023 p8). Anthias (2012) saw this as a "central contradiction in modern neo-liberal economies" (quoted in O'Reilly 2023) - the discourses of freedom and movement against the reality of restrictions and limitations. Yuval-Davis et al (2019) talked of the "bordering process" to describe who can and cannot enter, and the changing nature of these categories as opposed to borders as fixed points in time and space (O'Reilly 2023).

1.2.2. Decision-Making

Migrant decision-making is viewed as "multiple inter-linked decisions" from whether to leave or not to where to go and how to get there. There is also the "larger tapestry of life" (eg: political freedoms; economic considerations; family), and that "to migrate is a complex decision" (Erdal and Hagen-Zanker 2023 p63).

Willekens (2021 quoted in Erdal and Hagen-Zanker 2023) made the distinction between decisions ("a mental process"), choices ("an outcome of that process") and outcomes ("the implementation of that choice") (Erdal and Hagen-Zanker 2023). Four dimensions of the migrant decision-making process can be included - formation of aspirations; availability and use of information; time and decision horizon; and "locus of control" (or agency) (Czaika et al 2021). "A fifth dimension pertains to the realisation of the migration journey as an ongoing and dynamic step, recognising the four dimensions as often ongoing and repeated over and over again" (Erdal and Hagen-Zanker 2023 p64).

1.3. MEANS OF MIGRATION

Most of the interest on how people migrate (ie: the infrastructure used between departure from the home and arrival at the new place) relates to unwanted and irregular migration. "In short, migration infrastructure

is probably the least well defined, researched and published theme, whilst it is also heavily biased" (Duvell and Preiss 2022 p83).

The "how" question needs to address two considerations of migration - "natural features" (eg: distance; natural obstacles), and "political obstacles"¹ (borders and bureaucracies of the modern nation-state) (Duvell and Preiss 2022).

Xiang and Lindquist (2014) introduced five dimensions of "migration infrastructures" in their research on labour migration in China and Indonesia - commercial ("recruitment intermediaries), regulatory (eg: the documents required), technological (eg: means of transport), humanitarian (eg: non-governmental organisations (NGOs)), and social (migrant networks). "Migration industries" is a similar concept (Duvell and Preiss 2022).

Duvell and Preiss (2022) included these aspects: "(a) regular and irregular actors and structure; (b) state, quasi-state and non-state actors; (c) commercial and non-commercial actors and structures; and (d) material, architectural, technical and digital infrastructures... (e) practices of and experiences with these infrastructures..." (p85).

Duvell and Preiss (2022) divided the research on migration infrastructures into three categories:

i) The actors - This includes commercial, governmental, and civil society actors.

The first group includes "brokers" or "migration service providers". "On the one hand, travel became faster and cheaper, on the other hand, intermediaries, because they do this for making a profit add costs making migration more expensive and thus impeding mobility. Hence, migration service providers are simultaneously gate-openers and gate-keepers" (Duvell and Preiss 2022 p86). This was the view of Xiang and Lindquist (2014), particularly in relation to low-skilled work migration.

Cranston (2018) studied the "Global Mobility Industry" in relation to migration of employees of international companies, while Koh and Wissink (2018) described the intermediary services for the "super-rich". The latter authors argued that "the transnational

¹ Walters (2015) used the term "viapolitics" - "a concept that looks at the political aspects of infrastructures of mobility. He focuses on 'the infrastructures, authorities and norms of transportation', the 'vehicles, roads and routes' and thus the 'materiality of transportation'. 'Vehicles matter', he insists, because they 'mediate the public understanding of migration and border crossing [and] become objects and settings of political action'" (Duvell and Preiss 2022 p85).

lifestyle of this financial elite is actually dependent on an invisible skilled labour force of intermediaries based around the globe. This research serves as a reminder that migration infrastructures aid rather different purposes depending on the social class of the client" (Duvell and Preiss 2022 p87).

There is also the actors involved in the migrant selection processes - eg: to find the "perfect migrants" from Bangladesh to construction work in Qatar (ie: "pliant and obedient workforce"; Deshingkar et al 2018). Research has been undertaken in relation to sex workers (eg: Molland 2012).

Other areas of research include international students, and "marriage migration" (eg: Thai and Russian women for Norwegian men; Tyldum and Tveit 2008).

The legality of the intermediaries and their activities is an issue (varying from human trafficking to fully legal documentation). This interacts with governmental actors (eg: officials involved in the visa process), and civil society actors, which includes NGOs, activists, and volunteers who facilitate migration.

ii) The material - This covers the means of transport and its infrastructure - eg: the building of airports and "low cost" flights increase the opportunities for migration.

iii) The digital - The use of digital technologies in relation to migration - hardware (eg: computers; smartphones), software (eg: social media blogs), and actors (eg: telecommunications companies; money transfer agencies) (Preiss 2022).

Preiss (2022) summed up: "Digitalisation has fundamentally shaped the way people migrate over the last years. On the one hand, refugees use their mobile phones for navigation, to contact smugglers and other refugees, for communication with their loved ones back home or in countries of destination. Facebook groups provide invaluable information for people on the move, while mobile money transfers from relatives abroad are often crucial to finance journeys. Sometimes, mobile phones even serve as lifelines between boats and rescue vessels in the Mediterranean, thereby preventing people from drowning... On the other hand, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has influenced regular migration processes. Dating platforms facilitate marriage migration, companies and work agencies recruit workers online, and student mobility is often advertised and mediated through social media and online platforms"

(p99).

For example, Zabyelina's (2009) study of online marriage agencies advertising women from Eastern Europe showed the use of pictures which turned "match-making into an online shopping experience". So, "without the technological means to make the industry globally reachable, easily accessible for payments, fast in the rendering of services, and confidential and highly visualised, there could never have been such a grand-scale business as international match-making" (Zabyelina 2009 quoted in Preiss 2022).

1.4. DIFFERENT FORMS OF MIGRATION

Talleraas (2022) observed: "Tazzioli (2019) notes that 'some people are labelled and governed as 'migrants''. This is an important remark, as it sheds light on the difference between migrant as a category of self-identity, and migrant as a label which others apply when referring to people who move or have moved" (pp111-112). This statement relates to forms, categories or types of migration. How migrants are thus distinguished depends upon factors like the reasons for migration, their characteristics, and their legal status. "This implies that the group, or migration form, migrants belong to, and thus how they are analysed or governed can shift over time and en route" (Talleraas 2022 p112).

A major distinction is between internal (within a country) and international (crossing borders) migrants, and then the division of voluntary or forced movement (appendix 1A). This latter distinction is not without problems, as the "often-used dichotomy risks undermining the potential 'spectrum' of drivers and experiences inherent in any migration journey... A related discussion concerns whether refugees are – or should be – understood as migrants. While one side of the dispute sees all who have changed their country of residence as migrants, the other categorises those who have moved to seek international protection as a separate group, holding that refugees should never be included in the migrant category" (Talleraas 2022 p113) (table 1.2).

Other terms include unskilled/skilled migrants, labour or lifestyle migrants, "boat migrants", "unaccompanied minors", and "unwanted". The "migration form labels applied impact how people are understood, encountered, and treated" (Talleraas 2022 p113).

Talleraas (2022) made a further critical point that a category of migrants may have "little else in common"

- Schuster (2023) challenged the simple distinction between voluntary (economic) migrants and forced (political) refugees. She stated that "migration is in many senses mixed, and at all stages of the migration process, not just in the sense that migrants and refugees make the same journey. Migration motivations may overlap, as those fleeing conflict, human rights abuses, and persecution will also be leaving economic instability and poverty: they will want not merely to save their lives, but to find work and make a living once they arrive in a place of safety. Similarly, those who come in search of employment may be excluded from work or education in their country of origin because of their gender, religion, or ethnicity" (Schuster 2023 p341). Individuals will be somewhere between the wholly rational decision-maker at one end, and the escapee "in a state of panic during a crisis" (Richmond 1994 quoted in Schuster 2023) at the other end.
- Neat categories and distinctions serve "to legitimise some migrants (refugee victims) and delegitimise others (villainous illegal migrants), as Refugee Status Determination procedures (RSD) also legitimise the measures taken against the latter" (Schuster 2023 p343).

Table 1.2 - "Mixed migration".

(Carling 2017) than the label: "While it is useful to distinguish migrants from non-migrants - for practitioners, policymakers, and researchers alike - the label itself does not reflect who people are, how they identify and what they do" (p114).

For convenience, the forms of migration can be divided into three main categories (Talleraas 2022):

1. Labour - eg: high- vs low-skilled.

High-skilled migration is defined as "the movement of persons who normally possess university education..., extensive professional experience, or a combination of the two" (Oso et al 2022 p120).

Migrant populations can include over twice as many individuals with university degrees as the average in the general population of the settled country. But this produces the problem of "brain drain" in the home country. However, if individuals go to study abroad and gain work experience, then returning, it is a "brain gain" or "beneficial brain drain" (Oso et al 2022) (appendix 1B).

The issue is not simply a drain or a gain because of variables like remittances (money sent back home) (appendix 1C), individuals becoming more skilled/educated because of overseas opportunities when they would not have done so otherwise, and "brain waste" ("mismatches Psychology Miscellany No. 204; Mid-July 2024; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

between the education/skills of migrants and the professional position they can secure in the destination country"; Oso et al 2022 p121) (including "over-education"). Medical and health professionals are a prime example in the debate around high-skilled migration.

Low-skilled migration is seen most commonly in (Oso et al 2022):

a) Construction work - "Neoliberalism, combined with restrictive migratory policies, facilitate 'precarious employment regimes' in construction work (economic deregulation, capital mobility and surplus, corporatere structuring, labour flexibilisation and sub-contracting), which leads to a dependence on migrant labour within the sector" (Oso et al 2022 pp123-124).

b) Agricultural work - "In the context of a liberalised, global food economy, agri-food firms can improve their profit margins only through workforce control..., thus employ migrant workers as a cost-saving measure. Changes to production objectives that target mainly export markets and, in some regions, specialisation in permanent crops, also drive the sector's dependence on migrant labour" (Oso et al 2022 p124).

c) Domestic and care work - eg: the migration of women from the Global South to Western Europe and the USA. Note that "as domestic and care work takes place in the private sphere, it is notoriously difficult to regulate working hours and holidays, as well as the paternalistic relationship forged between employer and employee. Thus, domestic and care workers are embedded at the interplay of gender, racial, ethnic, and class forms of oppression" (Oso et al 2022 p125).

d) Sex work - Though exploitation is dominant here, some studies have found that women are not all "passive victims", though their undocumented status does not help.

2. Family - eg: transnational families; "marriage migration".

Transnational families are those "whose members live some or most of the time separate from each other across national borders" (Kofman et al 2022 p141).

Staying in contact with family members using ICT is important, but only where such technologies are

available. Lower income groups in the new or home countries are less likely to use ICT (Kofman et al 2022).

"Return visits are usually the more preferred and traditional means for maintaining relations and bringing family members to the country of destination for short periods" (Kofman et al 2022 p142).

But not all transnational families are by choice. "Forced transnationalism" occurs where immigrant families have been separated by deportation, say (Kofman et al 2022).

Kofman et al (2022) outlined some key topics under-researched so far, including the impact of family migration policies (eg: restrictions on family members joining a migrant worker), and diverse/non-traditional families (eg: lesbian or gay).

3. Humanitarian

a) Refugees - The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) definition of a refugee is "a person who is forced to flee his or her country and unwilling or unable to return because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group" (quoted in Talleraas et al 2022).

Refugees traditionally flee because of conflict, violence, political oppression, and persecution, but also because of poverty, lack of life chances, environmental changes, and natural disasters (Talleraas et al 2022).

Life in a refugee camp has a "substantial literature", including the phenomena of camps moving from "being temporary constructions to a status of semi-permanence" (Talleraas et al 2022 p155).

Resettlement in a third country is another issue that has been researched, particularly when continuing conflict stops refugees from returning home (Talleraas et al 2022).

b) Asylum seekers - An asylum seeker is "an individual who desires international protection in a host country, and whose request has yet to be processed", according to the UNHCR (Talleraas et al 2022 p157).

Asylum claims are not necessarily granted, and the claim may be in a second country (ie: not the country of first arrival after fleeing). "If rejected, they may return voluntarily, be returned by force, may depart for a third country, or remain in the host country irregularly without a permit" (Talleraas et al 2022

p157).

Protection of asylum seekers and refugees is based on United Nations-developed conventions, like the 1951 "Convention relating to the Status of Refugees", and the "Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees" (1967) (Wetzel 2023).

c) Internally displaced persons (IDPs) - "These individuals are not protected by international law because they are legally under the protection of their own government" (Talleraas et al 2022 p158). Thus, IDP is not a legal status in contrast to refugee status.

d) Victims of trafficking.

e) Unaccompanied minors - Defined by the UNHCR as "foreign nationals below the age of 18 who have been separated from their parents and other relatives, and who are not cared for by an adult" (Talleraas et al 2022 p160). Various terms are used including "minor asylum seekers", "unaccompanied refugee minors", "unaccompanied foreign minors", and "refugee children" (Talleraas et al 2022 p160).

A "miscellaneous category" can also be added which includes lifestyle migration, student mobilities, and irregular migration not covered in the main categories (Talleraas 2022).

"Lifestyle migration" covers individuals who move from richer to poorer countries, from the Global North to Global South (eg: North Americans in Central and South America), often to save costs (McGarrigle 2022).

Lifestyle migration also occurs in relation to rural-urban, and Benson and O'Reilly (2009) noted three types - "residential tourist" (with ideals of living the "Mediterranean lifestyle"), "rural idyll seeker" ("in search of a simpler lifestyle in connection with the land"; p174), and "bourgeois bohemian" ("motivated by spiritual or artistic ideals in the search for an alternative lifestyle"; McGarrigle 2022 p174).

Student mobilities or international student migration/mobility (ISM) covers the movement of individuals to study. "The increasing marketisation of higher education sees a double competition: on the one hand between countries and between universities for the 'brightest and best' students from around the world -the 'global race for talent' (Geddie 2015); and on the other hand between students for coveted places and scholarships

in the 'world-leading' universities according to reputation and global ranking lists" (Alves and King 2022 p183).

At an individual level, research has looked at topics like whether the student experience lives up to expectations or "dreams", and decision-making (eg: to study abroad; where to go; what to do when the course finishes) (Alves and King 2022).

The gender balance of study abroad varies depending on the direction. For example, from the UK, more females as studying abroad has been associated with language courses (traditional "female" subjects), while those coming into the UK are males (eg: from India), as they are "more likely to be encouraged by their families to study abroad" (Alves and King 2022 p183).

Alves and King (2022) outlined the different discourses around ISM including:

i) International students as channel of knowledge creation and growth benefitting the home country.

ii) As a source of income for universities, particularly as international student fees are higher than that of home students (eg: UK).

iii) The student visa as a "backdoor" to working in the country.

iv) Returning international students as source of influence for the educating countries (eg: "soft" power; alumni societies).

"Irregular migration" is a catch-all term covering individuals who crossed a border unlawfully to rejected asylum seekers who remain. It is not as "self evident" as presented in media and political discussions because of the overlap between different variables as shown by Triandafyllidou and Bartolini's (2022) categories (table 1.3) ².

² "From the traditional nation-state perspective, irregular migration has been a dual phenomenon. It challenged state institutions responsible for the maintenance of security, law and order within the national territory, as well as sometimes becoming a source of trouble in the international arena, especially when it stirred up controversy over humanitarian and ethical issues. However, irregular migration also entailed positive effects, especially for national economic development and domestic labour markets. Irregular economic migrants, especially 'overstayers', as well as undocumented workers and asylum seekers, constituted a reservoir of manpower that filled gaps in the labour market (especially in its lower sectors), making it more flexible and competitive. In principle, they were tolerated either by force of a general consensus or a tacit political deal among major forces. Occasionally their status was legalised and they became tolerated through so-called regularisation mechanisms" (Gruszczak 2019 p274).

"Irregularity is not entirely of the emigrant's making: it may result from delays and errors in the administration of red tape. It is moreover embedded in labour market dynamics that privilege irregular stay and irregular work. Irregularity is functional to labour market conditions in specific sectors such as construction, domestic work, agriculture and the food industry, irregular migrant workers providing a cheap and plentiful workforce... By creating conditions of regular stay and work that are impossible to meet, states indirectly support the interests of unscrupulous employers and create ethnic segmentation and hierarchies in the labour market that are functional to the national economy" (Spencer and Triandafyllidou 2022 p193).

Ambrosini (2016) made two distinctions - regular/irregular states, and "symbolic authorisation" - "in the sense of recognition that the migrant is filling a job vacancy and performing a job that is socially valuable. This distinction is gendered, as female careworkers and cleaners are usually recognised as valuable and represented positively, while narratives of 'clandestine' migrant workers usually refer to male migrants. Asylum seekers, too, although temporarily authorised in the receiving country's territory while their application is processed, are similarly stigmatised" (Spencer and Triandafyllidou 2022 p194).

- Individuals with forged papers or real papers for an assumed/false identity
- "Working tourists" - enter on tourist visa and work legally/illegally
- Individuals who have lost their residence status (eg: end of contract; expiration of visa)
- Individuals who entered country illegally, and some have registered with authorities (eg: asylum claimants)
- Children born to those unlawfully residing in country
- "Tolerated persons"/semi-legal status (eg: not possible to deport because nationality not known)

(Source: Spencer and Triandafyllidou 2022)

Table 1.3 - Categories of irregular migration according to Triandafyllidou and Bartolini (2022).

"Global elite" migration is a new area of interest (Isaakyan 2023). Global elites are "exclusive social groups that occupy most prestigious professional niches" (Isaakyan 2023 p116).

Global elite migration is distinct from high-skill migration (eg: doctors; academics), as global elite migration involves "mainly unregulated occupations that do not require professional accreditation for overseas employment, while high-skill migrants are normally subjected to rigid procedures of accreditation that vary from state to state" (Isaakyan 2023 p118).

Isaakyan (2023) explained further: "The most rigid borderline between global elite and high-skill migrants is drawn by the transnational remittances they generate through their work... Global elite migrant professionals are clearly recognised by their global socio-cultural impact, whether it comes in monetary or non monetary forms... Their daily work should either impact public opinion, tastes, and behaviours on the globally massive level or affect the global economy. This is illuminated by the production of mass cultural images of success by migrating musicians, actors, and athletes... Another example of such global impact is the generation of large volumes of financial capital by transnational business executives and managerial elites" (p118). These individuals are "socio-politically visible" (ie: famous) (Robinson 2011).

Lasch (1996) defined global elite migrants as "non-patriotic and nationally detached 'irresponsible citizens' who form 'the new meritocratic class through upward social mobility and increasingly come to be defined by rootlessness, cosmopolitanism, a thin sense of obligation and diminishing reservoirs of patriotism'. He attributes their imagined civic selfishness to society's denationalisation and the rise of globalisation. In his opinion, they are 'world citizens without any polity affiliation', who selfishly invest their money in their private elite neighbourhoods including private schooling and exquisite residential conditions while 'withdrawing from public life'" (Isaakyan 2023 pp120-121).

1.5. CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

Triandafyllidou (2022) noted two opposing political and social trends in recent years: "a comeback of nationalism", and "the emergence of powerful movements of transnational solidarity and connectedness" (p207). Both trends being magnified the covid-19 pandemic. Migration

today takes place in this context.

Specifically, the concepts of "Nation" and "Other": "Nationalism and national identity have a double-edged character they define not only who is a member of the national community but also, and perhaps more importantly, who is not, who is an Other; a foreigner" (Triandafyllidou 2022 p208).

Smith (1991) defined the nation as "a named and self-defining human community whose members cultivate shared memories, symbols, myths, traditions and values, inhabit and are attached to historic territories or 'homelands', create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and standardised laws" (quoted in Triandafyllidou 2022). Implicitly, in this "classical" definition, is the uniqueness of each nation. A "functional" view (eg: Deutsch 1966) of the nation notes that "members of a national community are distinguished from non-members by their ability to communicate with one another better than they do with outsiders" (Triandafyllidou 2022 p211). Both approaches emphasise an ingroup ("us") in some way, which means that there is a "them" (outgroup or "Other"). Migration is a challenge to ideas of national identity and to the ingroup.

The late 20th century saw the development of globalisation which increased international migration. "This landscape of increased and multi-directional mobility affects not only migrants themselves but also those who are sedentary, those at destinations who receive the newcomers, and those at origin who are left behind" (Triandafyllidou 2022 p214). Sayad (1991 quoted in Triandafyllidou 2022) talked of "the paradox of alterity" - "migrants are missing from where they should be (their country of origin) and are present where they should not be (at destination). They thus defy the fundamental principle of the national order notably that territorial and ethnic/cultural boundaries should coincide" (Triandafyllidou 2022 p214).

This allows for a "plural nationalism" (Triandafyllidou 2020) - "an open form of nationalism that acknowledges diversity, interacts with it, and eventually embraces and synthesises a new national configuration" (Triandafyllidou 2022 pp214-215). But there is also a reaction in the form of "neo-tribal nationalism" (Triandafyllidou 2020) - "a reactive form of nationalism that is exclusionary, based on the construction of an authenticity and homogeneity that is organic and does not change" (Triandafyllidou 2022 p215).

The mixing of migrants and the home population includes such terms as "integration", "assimilation", and "multi-culturalism". The first two terms suggest "some adaptation by both minority and majority and one intended to achieve a multi-cultural society: a society which would value diverse traditions and give this some recognition in institutional form, but in which community and cultural boundaries would be permeable, not set in stone" (Spencer 2022 p223) ³. Multi-culturalism includes policies to reduce discrimination and promote equality of opportunity. However, critics have argued that "such interventions can overemphasise group differences, foster separateness, stifle debate, ossify cultural practices that would otherwise adapt over time, and create vested interests in ethnic and faith-based groupings, thus reinforcing divisions rather than what people have in common" (Spencer 2022 p223).

Another concept is "inter-culturalism" - "social mixing across communities as well as valuing diversity and equality" (Spencer 2022 p223).

Other criticisms of concepts like integration are that they are normativity (ie: assume that certain outcomes are desirable and others not), they objectify the migrant as "Other", and they present the "receiving society" as "culturally homogeneous, bounded, and self-contained" (Spencer 2022 p225).

1.6. MIGRATION GOVERNANCE

Geddes (2022) observed that the phrase "migration governance" is oft used, but has "little definitional clarity" (p311). He asserted that "it acquires meaning precisely because of what various kinds of actors, such as local authorities, national governments, and international organisations actually do, ie: how they try to regulate and manage migration as well as the ideas that inform these actions" (Geddes 2022 p311). So governance shapes migration rather than reacts to it, he argued. For example, presenting migrants as a security issue for the host country.

"Migration governance" "includes but is broader than migration policies" (Geddes 2022 p315) (appendix 1D). Three categories can be distinguished (Geddes 2022):

³ In a number of countries the response to immigrants can be summed up as "they just work/ temporarily live here, and we don't need them integrated into society" (Ivaschenko-Stadnik 2019 p191).

- i) Norms, rules, policies, and laws ⁴.
- ii) Actors, and institutions.
- iii) Processes of decision-making.

In order to compare migration policies around the world, researchers have created indicators (eg: the degree of restrictiveness; equal treatment of migrants and non-migrants) (Solano and Huddleston 2022).

"An indicator is an observable entity that captures a specific concept and provides a measure of that concept. Indicators can be aggregated into an index. An index is a set of indicators that are aggregated to provide a concise measure of the nature of a given phenomenon. Typically, an index is a single score that combines several other scores" (Solano and Huddleston 2022 p390). For example, the "Migration Integration Policy Index" (MIPEX) (Huddleston et al 2015) is composed of indicators covering eight policy areas, while "Immigration Policies in Comparison" (IMPIC) (Hebling et al 2017) "focuses on admission policies for different kinds of admission (labour migration, family reunification and refugees and asylum)" (Solano and Huddleston 2022 p392).

1.6.1. Citizenship

Dzankic and Vink (2022) described citizenship as "a tool for social closure, through which states determine who belongs to the group that can share common entitlements and who, by contrast, are excluded from them", as well as "a defining feature of the international state system, which both reflects and reinforces inequalities of wealth and opportunity around the world" (p357). In the former case, migrants are motivated to acquire citizenship once settled in a new country, while the latter both "encourage[s] migration of individuals from less privileged parts of the world and enable[s] mobility for those with a citizenship status in the more advantageous countries" (Dzankic and Vink 2022 p357).

Citizenship has been described as meaning different things to different people. "For some, citizenship is

⁴ In Western Europe, the European Union became "a primary actor promoting co-operation on migration" (p433), especially with the "Global Approach to Migration" in 2005 (Weinar 2023). Weinar (2023) distinguished three features of European co-operation – it is highly institutionalised, emphasises partnership and equality ("even where it is not the case"; p435), and includes policy convergence. Psychology Miscellany No. 204; Mid-July 2024; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

simply a legal status that comes together with a set of rights; for others, citizenship goes much beyond a 'mere' status and is only realised in practice by active participation in the polity or requires a form of shared identity" (Dzankic and Vink 2022 p358).

The types of citizenship status include (Dzankic and Vink 2022):

i) Granted at birth within a country's territory (known as "ius soli" ("the right of the soil") principle).

ii) Granted based on person's parents ("ius sanguinis" ("the right of the blood") principle).

iii) Naturalisation through settling in a country.

iv) Acquiring second citizenship without being in the country.

v) Loss of citizenship through voluntary renunciation, or involuntarily when acquiring another citizenship, residing abroad, or security-related concerns about allegiance to another state.

1.6.2. Sanctuary Cities

Though there is no agreed definition, "sanctuary cities" have policies "to support their residents who live without status, without documentation, or who experience precarious immigrant status. Through these policies - be the formal or symbolic - local governments aim to achieve multiple goals, including protecting their residents from immigration enforcement activities, ensuring their access to municipal services, and generating more participation and sense of belonging for all city residents" (Paquet 2023 p434).

The idea of sanctuary cities (re)emerged in recent times in the USA in the 1980s, in particular in response to the federal government's refusal to grant refugee status to individuals from Guatemala and El Salvador (Paquet 2023).

Kaufmann (2019) described three ways that sanctuary cities manifest their strategies:

i) "Sanctuary city policies" that limit official city co-operation with immigrant enforcement by central government, say.

ii) "Local bureaucratic membership" that encourages access to local services and facilities.

iii) "Local regularisation policies" that include "local interventions that provide some official status to irregular immigrants and that often also include lobbying for national immigration policy changes" (Paquet 2023 p435).

1.7. METHODOLOGY OF MIGRATION STUDIES

Migration is studied using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative research tends to collect numbers about the behaviour under study, whereas qualitative research explores the meaning of this behaviour. The latter can come from individual interviews or focus groups. "Individual interviews are good for in-depth exploration of individual accounts. Focus groups, in addition to revealing individual opinions, generate group discussion and provide information on group consensus, conflicts, and interaction" (Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz 2022 p418).

Quantitative methods include surveys, which collect information from a sample of people in order to generalise to the whole population, and experimental research to establish cause-effect relationships. The latter is used less often in migration research (Salamonska 2022).

Natural and quasi-experiments focus on the impact of a real-life event on migration (eg: famine and seasonal migration in Bangladesh; Bryan et al 2013).

Surveys can be cross-national (ie: compare different countries) (eg: "European Social Survey"), and longitudinal (ie: following the same group over a period of time) (eg: "Canadian Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants") (Salamonska 2022).

Administrative (or secondary) data is a source for many researchers. This involves data collected by official sources. Researchers have no control over the content of the data (eg: the questions asked), there is "the lack of comparability across countries due to differences in administrative procedures", and "the potential systematic undercounting of certain groups not captured in administrative registers (eg: undocumented or unregistered migrants, groups not captured by certain administrative procedures)" (Kraler and Reichel 2022 p449).

"Big data" is a new source for researchers. This covers the automatic data collected by mobile phones, smartphones, websites, and social media. For example, Spyrtos et al (2019) analysed Facebook users' profiles of migrants (table 1.4). "While most data collections are biased to some degree, big data sources are particularly prone to bias, because particular population groups are over-represented among users of different online services. Most notably, not all people in the world have access to the internet and even fewer own smartphones" (Kraler and Reichel 2022 p451).

- Data from "Facebook Network" users (Facebook, Instagram, Messenger, and the Audience Network) for January-February and August-September 2018 (covering 55 countries).
- Aim: To estimate migrant number using Facebook advertising platform classification of users as "lived in country X" if different to current.
- Official statistics were used as a comparison of accuracy of this method.
- As an example this method successfully captured the increase in Venezuelan migrants in Colombia and Spain in 2018.

Table 1.4 - Spyrtos et al (2019).

1.7.1. Migration Forecasting

One area of interest in migration research is forecasting future migration. This includes forecasts of future numbers, and de Valk et al (2022) noted seven methods used:

i) "Argument-based models" - Based on the subjective views of experts.

ii) "Migration intention surveys" - Using data from surveys of the population about emigration intentions.

iii) "Explanatory econometric models" - Using economic data like Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

iv) "Spatial interaction models" - Focusing on geographical movements between different places or areas.

v) "Time-series extrapolation" - Uses past migration data to predict the continuing pattern in the future.

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vi) "Bayesian models" - Combines a variety of other methods to make probability predictions.

vii) Machine learning - Based on past data.

Each method varies in their aims, strengths and weaknesses, and the time frame of the forecast.

An alternative method is to use scenario-based approaches, which provides data similar to qualitative methods rather than the numerical conclusions of the above forecast methods. "Therefore, what we can get out of the two approaches is quite different: scenarios produce narrative storylines; forecasts produce numbers. The future is full of uncertainty and both approaches try to address that in different ways. The scenario approach produces 'what if...' scenarios to better prepare for migration resulted from unexpected events: environmental changes, conflicts, and other types of crises. The goal is not to provide accurate predictions but sensitise participants as well as readers about future possibilities. Forecast studies, on the other hand, aim at producing numbers about future migration levels" (de Valk et al 2022 p474).

1.8. APPENDIX 1A - FORCED MIGRATION

Concentrating on forced migrants, which the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated at 100 million people globally in 2022, Schouler-Ocak and Graef-Calliess (2023) asserted: "Migrants and refugees face mental health conditions which constitute a serious public mental health problem" (p366). For example, in one study, nearly half of refugees in Europe suffered from depression, and anxiety, and over one-third from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Lindert et al 2023).

Migrants and refugees are vulnerable to different types of risk at the five stages of resettlement in high-income countries - pre-travel, active travel, initial settlement in the host country, social integration attempts, and changes in immigration status (Schouler-Ocak and Graef-Calliess 2023).

"Ethnic minorities as migrants and refugees have poor access to healthcare due to poverty, cultural and language barriers, administrative barriers, racial discrimination, difficulties navigating the healthcare system and/or lack of entitlement to healthcare in general. There is evidence that discrimination has been found to be one of the main post-migration

adversities affecting mental health, well-being and quality of life of migrants and refugees. Moreover, it has been identified as a strong chronic social stressor disengaging the process of integration" (Schouler-Ocak and Graef-Calliess 2023 p367).

1.9. APPENDIX 1B - RETURN MIGRATION

The interest in "return migration" has grown in the 21st century. Originally, referring to return at retirement, labour migration, and seasonal workers, the term has been widened to include student returns, second-generation returns, and lifestyle migrants (Kuschminder 2023).

"A central emerging question in conceptualising return migration has been when does the return begin?" (Kuschminder 2023 p55). The obvious answer would be when the physical return starts. "If return is the actual end goal of the migration itself, anticipating and planning for return may start even before the migration begins as the individual plans and anticipates their migration cycle for a return" (Kuschminder 2023 p55). Anwar (1979) coined the term "myth of return" to describe Pakistani migrants in Britain who saved money and prepared for a return though it may not actually occur. Oxfeld and Long (2004) had a similar idea in "imagined returns", and Bolognani (2016) with "return fantasy".

"Return visits" could also be included in "return migration", and Miah (2022) distinguished eight types - routine, ritual, care, roots, rights, pre-return, economic, and leisure visits (Kuschminder 2023). Defining a visit as return migration depends on a number of issues, including (Kuschminder 2023):

i) Duration - The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) uses a minimum period of one year.

ii) Intention.

iii) Perception of locals - eg: Ethiopians who had lived in the USA and returned to Ethiopia were viewed as "diaspora" irrelevant of their length of stay (even decades).

iv) The literal meaning of "return" - eg: second-generation migrants "returning" to the country of their parent(s) or grandparent(s). Technically, these

individuals were born abroad, so it is not a return.

Returns can be forced, voluntary, or spontaneous. "A forced return is what academics typically term a deportation, wherein a state enforces a removal unwillingly upon an individual who does not have the right to stay to in the destination country. A voluntary return is considered as having been chosen by the individual and frequently arranged by the state. A spontaneous return occurs without any role of the state and at the individual's own volition. The majority of global returns are expected to be spontaneous" (Kuschminder 2023 p56).

1.10. APPENDIX 1C - ECONOMIC REMITTANCE

Remittances are "the transfer of money from migrants to individuals in the country of origin" (Weeraratne 2023 p267) ⁵. The motivations vary from altruism at one end of a continuum to self-interest at the other. Though the reality is a combination of these extremes, including "selfishly wishing to enhance prestige by being perceived as caring" to "tempered altruism or self-interest in which remittances are one element in a self-enforcing arrangement between migrant and home" (Lucas and Stark 1985 quoted in Weeraratne 2023).

The impact of remittances can be assessed at a micro and a macro level (Weeraratne 2023). The former is the benefit to individual households who have increased income. Issues of concern are the use of the money "to fund conspicuous consumption" or "promote laziness and an unproductive dependence on transfer income" (p269), and the impact of the loss of such money when the migrant returns home (Weeraratne 2023).

"At the macro level, remittances often serve as a stable and important source of development financing, which is counter-cyclical and thus works as a stabiliser of the country of origin's economy. In many countries, remittances cushion the deficit in the trade accounts and affect market liquidity by offsetting the loss of tax revenue and enabling national savings to surpass domestic savings and maintain high investment rates, despite having the potential to create 'Dutch disease' syndrome" (Weeraratne 2023 p270) ⁶.

⁵ As well as financial remittances, there are "social remittances" (ie: "related norms, practices, and social capital acquired in the countries of destination"; Fihel 2023 p385).

⁶ "Dutch disease' is when large inflows of foreign currency result in appreciating a country's real exchange rate and decreasing the competitiveness of sectors involved in international trade" Psychology Miscellany No. 204; Mid-July 2024; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

1.11. APPENDIX 1D – POLITICS OF MIGRATION

Weinar et al (2019) described the “politics of migration” as politics that “evolve from a basic negotiation over who is allowed in or out (politics of entry/exit), who is accepted as a permanent resident (politics of residence and integration), and how a community defines its boundaries (politics of citizenship and belonging). Within each of these realms is a scene where power plays take place between actors, practices and discourses, the continual interactions between which shape our understanding of migration and the ways to address it” (p2).

The academic interest in studying this topic in recent years is attributed to Zolberg (1978) in the North American context (Weinar et al 2019).

In an introduction to the politics of migration in Europe, Weinar et al (2019) outlined seven areas of study:

- i) Governance
- ii) Institutions
- iii) Integration
- iv) Irregular migration
- v) Asylum
- vi) Labour migration
- vii) Pan-European co-operation

Weinar et al (2019) observed: “Class plays a key role in the politics of migration in Europe, even though politicians very seldom mention ‘class’ explicitly. One of the recurring themes in the problematisation of immigration in various European countries is the notion that Europe has been receiving the wrong kind of immigrants – specifically, not the best and the brightest but rather the ones with ‘poor prospects’ (Bonjour and Duyvendak 2017) because of their low education and poor skills; they are deemed to be those who are likely to impact European economies and welfare states negatively rather than positively” (p4).

The differences between Western, and Central and East European (CEE) countries can be seen in the areas mentioned above. Pawlak (2019) commented: “Various social actors and interest groups in Eastern Europe observe Western debates and make use of them. Sometimes immigrants are a rather mythical figure of policies or discourses, for example, in the case of the rise of

(Weeraratne 2023 p272).

Islamophobia in countries where immigration from Muslim countries is nearly non-existent... Therefore, ignorance studies are a useful frame for understanding migration governance in Eastern Europe: they explore how strategic ignorance and social unknowing are used in maintaining and disrupting social and political orders by 'allowing both governors and the governed to deny awareness of things it is not in their interest to acknowledge' (McGoey 2012...)” (p92).

Pedziwiatr and Klaus (2019) gave a specific example: “In 2016 and 2017, radical right-wing, mainstream right-wing and sometimes even central parties in the CEE strongly contested the EU [European union] relocation and resettlement programme, which was launched in 2015 and aimed to relocate 160,000 people in need of international protection from Greece and Italy to the other member states over a two-year period... In this way, the parties tried to further instrumentalise the social malcontent with immigrants in the region and to gain some political capital” (p138). Certain EU members in CEE, like Poland Hungary, agreed to the EU policies on paper rather than in practice (Pedziwiatr and Klaus 2019) ⁷.

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⁷ Fihel (2023) found it difficult to generalise about migrant inflows and outflows in the CEE, but did emphasise two important features: “the predominance of labour migration and the spread of short-term forms of migration, including temporary, circulatory or even trans-border movements” (p384). Psychology Miscellany No. 204; Mid-July 2024; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

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2. MENTAL HEALTH OF REFUGEES

- 2.1. In the global north
- 2.2. Urban refugees
- 2.3. References

2.1. IN THE GLOBAL NORTH

Around three-quarters of the estimated 82 million displaced persons are in neighbouring low- and middle-income countries. So, the minority are living in the Global North (Ermansons et al 2023).

"While arriving in a relatively wealthy host country and receiving refugee status may be a relief, it is often accompanied by difficulties relating to the places where refugees reside and try to settle" (Ermansons et al 2023 p1). Ermansons et al (2023) reviewed the literature on refugee mental health in the Global North, finding 34 relevant studies published in English between 2000 and 2021.

The studies were categorised under five themes:

i) The mental and physical characteristics of the post-migration place can be positive or negative for refugee mental health - eg: "quiet, welcoming and reliably safe spaces" versus "underfunded ill-equipped places" (Ermansons et al 2023 p5).

ii) "Place-specific social determinants of refugee mental health" - eg: A study of refugees in Sweden (Leiler et al 2019) "suggested that limited healthcare, high levels of passivity and low levels of meaningful daily activities contributed to their poor mental health and perceived quality of life" (Ermansons et al 2023 p5).

iii) Residential instability and mental health - eg: Short-term accommodation and consequent frequent moving in the host country had a negative impact, particularly for families. "According to Warfa et al (2006) residential instability disrupts schooling, undermines social cohesion, and creates overall psychological distress in refugee families who feel they have no control over life or their future" (Ermansons et al 2023 p15).

iv) Ethnic diversity of the local area - Living in an area with low ethnic diversity can create social isolation, on the one hand, while, on the other, can

foster connections with local people if the refugees feel welcomed.

Finnvold and Ugreninov (2018) studied "ethnic enclaves", which they defined as a "geographic entity where the share of immigrants with a common country of birth is at least twice as large as that of the same group in the total population, in the same geographical entity" (quoted in Ermansons et al 2023). Refugees living in such areas had lower admission rates to mental health institutions in Sweden, "despite higher rates of deprivation characteristic of such ethnic enclaves. According to the authors, ethnic density may work as a buffer against distressing experiences. However, they also questioned if ethnic enclaves might suppress mental health help-seeking among refugees because of intra-community stigma" (Ermansons et al 2023 p16).

v) Neighbourhood violence and disorder (ie: post-migration trauma) may have a cumulative effect on mental health depending on pre-flight and passage experiences.

Ermansons et al (2023) summed up: "For refugees in the Global North, structural and everyday conditions of post-migration are imbricated with experiences of trauma and flight, and present considerable challenges to mental health and well-being. These challenges intertwine with places of refugee residence and their social and material environments. Refugees may have little choice where they resettle and live. Consequently, stressors encountered, such as adverse neighbourhood safety, housing, climate, employment options, living conditions, healthcare, and community ties, have considerable implications for mental health and wellbeing that are situated" (p16).

The studies in the review varied in their methodology, including:

a) Method used - 14 quantitative, 14 qualitative, and six mixed-methods studies.

b) Refugee group studied - Somalis and Syrians most studied specific group, while fourteen studies were general.

c) The country of study - Most common were the UK, Australia, and the USA.

d) Measures of mental health, or quality of life, or subjective well-being.

e) Conceptualising of "place" - eg: "where the environment and human perception interact and produce a therapeutic atmosphere"; Biglin 2020 quoted in Ermansons et al 2023).

2.2. URBAN REFUGEES

It has been estimated that nearly two-thirds of refugees and asylum seekers around the world live in urban areas (Ermansons et al 2024). Thus, the term "urban refugees" has been coined. What is the experience of such individuals like?

Ermansons et al (2024) attempted to answer this question from interviews with 26 Somali refugees in London and Bristol. Three over-riding themes about urban life emerged:

i) "Local area: Settling and finding safety" - The experience can be summed up in the words of this women: "When I came to this country, I felt depressed because I ran away from conflict. I did not know anyone, and I felt isolated. I did not know anyone to talk to... Now, I feel like I'm home because I get used to living here, yeah, and I'm familiar with the area, so I feel like I'm home" (LF5; p5). Familiarity with the area was important, which was helped by not being forced to move around.

ii) "Neighbours and everyday social integration" - For example, a participant from London told this story: "Neighbours, actually, um, tried to help us settle and there were Somali neighbours and there was also a British lady who was actually giving me some English classes because she felt sorry for me because I wasn't in school, and I was struggling with language. But she, yeah, it was a lovely experience" (BM1; p6).

Positive experiences, however, were countered by negative ones for some as in this case: "My neighbour, he smoking too much weed and drinking night-time, he not sleeping, sometimes he abuse you, abuse me, yeah, abuse me. He says 'fucking', he's talking to himself, yeah" (LM1; p7).

iii) "Life and well-being in urban communities" - The development of Somali-owned businesses, particularly in one road in Bristol, was important in a feeling of community, as expressed simply by one interviewee: "When you can see your friends, you get excited, and you get a power from the community" (BrM3; p7).

The researchers commented: "Instead of solely examining the influence of neighbourhood factors on mental health and well-being, the three themes emphasise how refugees actively engage in shaping their lives within the urban neighbourhoods as eco-social niches. We illustrate that neighbourhoods have features that can simultaneously be accommodating, safe and familiar, while also being alien, threatening and unwelcoming. The dynamics of such overlapping neighbourhood features are context-dependent, varying across scales and time-frames. For instance, one's home may feel secure while the surrounding neighbourhood may not, or a busy street may induce stress while a café in the local area provides relaxation" (Ermansons et al 2024 p8).

The findings from the interviews led the researchers to recommend "implementing policies and initiatives that address refugee safety concerns, offer appropriate housing options, and promote positive recreational activities to enhance mental health and well-being of refugees within urban neighbourhoods. To ensure successful settlement and well-being of refugees, it is essential to provide continuous support for education, employment and socialisation throughout the entire asylum process and transition into the general welfare system. Enabling refugees to establish their daily lives in familiar and safe environments is crucial for fostering mental health, and minimising post-migration forced mobility plays a significant role in achieving this" (Ermansons et al 2024 p8).

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3. SPORTS MIGRATION

- 3.1. Concepts
- 3.2. Creating a home
- 3.3. Multi-cultural teams
- 3.4. Young athletes
- 3.5. Minority athletes
- 3.6. Coaches
- 3.7. Other non-athletes
- 3.8. Sport as helping migrants
- 3.9. References

3.1. CONCEPTS

Prato et al (2021) began: "International migration in elite sport has expanded worldwide and become a common path for the development of elite athletes" (p1). The distinction is made between migrant and transnational elite athletes. The former are "those moving to a different country and engaging in a long-term relocation, while transnational athletes are those living in continuous international movement, including comings and goings to and from their country of origin, and developing their athletic careers within transnational dynamics" (Prato et al 2021 p1) ⁸.

Bobrownicki and Valentin (2022) gave this example of the problems that can arise: Mike Edwards was a high jumper, born in Great Britain to a Nigerian mother and Jamaican father, who spent long periods in the USA. He represented Great Britain in 2018, but subsequently was picked by Nigeria. However, the sport's governing body "World Athletics" ruled him ineligible for Nigeria because of the prior representation of Great Britain. Note that he held Nigerian citizenship at the time of selection for this country's team. This was later resolved and he won a gold medal for that country in 2022 ⁹.

Underlying this example is the issue of nationality. "Historically, citizens were linked to only one sovereign state with policies and mechanisms deliberately designed to prevent occurrences of dual nationality... With greater mobility and immigration though, not only has the

⁸ The study area is such that "while migration refers to the physical movement of bodies, objects, and ideas from one place to another, it instigates a transition process through a series of events produced by the individuals, groups, as well as various organisations and institutions within relational space" (Ryba and Stambulova 2022 p1).

⁹ See <https://www.makingofchamps.com/2022/06/12/edwards-wins-nigerias-1st-african-champs-medal-in-mens-high-jump-since-1996/> (accessed 27th March 2024).

rigid exclusivity of nationality receded in many places (ie: there is greater capability of changing allegiance or citizenship), but there is also increasing allowance or acceptance of dual citizenship.., where athletes or individuals may become citizens of multiple states (ie: multi-national). One way of acquiring dual citizenship may be through naturalisation as part of sport-related migration (eg: to play in foreign sports leagues, to seek better training opportunities...)” (Bobrownicki and Valentin 2022 pp2-3). There are two concepts here - country of origin and country of settlement (or residence).

Bobrownicki and Valentin (2022) distinguished different categories related to identity and legal status. Firstly, “nationality orientation”, which they defined as a “[C]lose correspondence between perceived national identity, legal status (ie: citizenship or similar), and place of residence” (Bobrownicki and Valentin 2022 p7). While “transnational orientation” refers to “{A}thletes whose lives span international borders with formal and informal connections across two or more countries, but may only have permanent legal status in one (eg: citizenship)” (Bobrownicki and Valentin 2022 p7). Athletes with dual citizenship will have a “multi-national orientation”. There is also (Bobrownicki and Valentin 2022):

a) “Post-national orientation” - This category reflects “an emerging trend of globally oriented individuals whose lives not only spread beyond national boundaries and will ordinarily contain membership of multiple groups, but their lives also reflect increasing deterritorialisation and/or weakened emphasis on official relationships with nation-states or other relevant identity groups, in line with post-national concepts of citizenship” (Bobrownicki and Valentin 2022 p5). To compete internationally an athlete may have to travel to their “home” nation (ie: they are resident elsewhere and may have been all their lives), or “migrate” to the country to reside (ie: acquire citizenship).

b) “Intra-national orientation” - An athlete identifies with a territory, province, or area in a larger region or nation (eg: a Scottish athlete representing Great Britain).

c) “Non-national orientation” - “Stateless athletes”: “Athletes may have identity, but do not have a

corresponding legal status. Traditionally this may be associated with athletes from collapsed states or fleeing war, persecution, or poverty. More recently, athletes may be effectively stateless in sport due to national-level sanctions (eg: for state-sponsored doping)" (Bobrownicki and Valentin 2022 p7).

3.2. CREATING A HOME

All athletes that move country face sport challenges (eg: different style of play; new training routines), socio-cultural challenges (eg: new language), and psychological challenges (eg: homesickness; social isolation) (Prato et al 2021).

"Cultural Sport Psychology" (CSP) (Ryba et al 2018) has been developed to explore this topic ¹⁰. "Cultural sport psychology scholars have underlined that cultural transition is a socially constructed process and, therefore, social support networks, both in the new and origin countries, play a key role by influencing athletes' motivation and well-being" (Prato et al 2021 p2).

Prato et al (2021) explored the sense of "Home" in a new country of seven Columbian emigrant athletes in in-depth interviews. All athletes had migrated to improve their athletic performance, and were trying to qualify for the Olympic Games. Two main themes were elicited in the analysis:

i) "Assembling house: developing a new sense of home" - The physical housing was usually different to the home country (eg: rented apartment; room in a team house). "Athletes narrated that there was a difference between the accommodation sites that they named house, and those that they named home. According to their stories, the house is the space where they sleep and rest, which could turn into 'Home', an entanglement composed of heterogeneous elements (eg: rooms, objects, people, interactions, meanings) that influence their sense of security and confidence as well as their mood, and mental health" (Prato et al 2021 p4).

For example, a professional cyclist living in a small house with team mates (strangers) emphasised the

¹⁰ Bobrownicki and Valentin (2022) pointed out: "To promote research and practice that is for — rather than on — individuals, cultural sport psychology has emerged within the professional and academic domains emphasising practice and exploration of unique and/or cultural perspectives and experiences, as well as the performance implications relating to these" (p1).

physical closeness: "There was a big closet for three people, so you needed to learn to accommodate your spaces because you couldn't leave your things around the house or outside the closet... Precisely talking on the phone! It's such a small house that everything can be heard, everything you say! (...), so sometimes, I didn't speak. I was speaking via WhatsApp all the time" ("Monica"; p4). She continued: "I felt alone, I cried a lot, I couldn't sleep. I missed my house, my things, my family. So, I yearned my country much more and I began to count the days to come back" (p4).

"Home" was perceived as "a place of refuge where they can express emotions, behave, and communicate in a natural way. For example, Camilo defined Home as the space that allowed him 'to express myself in a natural way that generates calmness and facilitates the necessary physical and psychological rest after training sessions and after all the efforts I do for my integration into my new team and the new culture'. Like Camilo, all athletes stated that, when they migrated, their sense of home was disturbed, which in turn influenced their process of adaptation. This disturbance might be related to homesickness, 'the distress that individuals experience as they transition to a new environment' (Smith et al 2015...)" (Prato et al 2021 p4).

"Catalina", living in university accommodation, described how "she assembled a new sense of home" (Prato et al 2021 p4): "On the wall, I put some photos and I brought some objects that remembered me my family. There, you begin to feel that you identify yourself with it, and that your dorm is not the same as the girl's next door. Connecting with this new space and changing it with the objects I identified with, helped me feel that my dorm was my new home" (p4).

ii) "Assembling sport: feeling home to perform" - "Miguel", an elite fencer, struggled with relearning his technique and game strategy to fit the new country: "I really had to forget 90% of what I had learned in Colombia. In order to make these new technical corrections, I had to modify my sword. Specially, learning how to put it together in a different way than I learned fencing, with which I won in the South Americans, Central Americans, the Pan American medals, and nearly relearning everything almost from zero" (p5).

There was a need to assemble a sense of Home in the sport context. An elite swimmer, "Diana", described achieving this feeling: "I felt big, powerful, confident with myself. That sensation of training and feeling good,

comfortable, safe, is a sensation close to the one when I trained in my country at my 'lifelong' training facility. It is a feeling of being at home, but in your new home" (p6).

Ryba et al (2016) outlined three psychological mechanisms to facilitate cultural transition, and Prato et al (2021) found support for them in their interviews:

a) Social repositioning - eg: relearning technique ("Miguel").

b) Negotiation of cultural practices - eg: learning to live with team mates in a small apartment ("Monica").

c) Meaning reconstruction - eg: "when they had to learn how to use new sport apparel, materials required to train and to compete in the world of elite sport" (Prato et al 2021 p6) ("Diana").

Prato et al (2021) ended: "Initially, the migration experience of the seven athletes was born out of desire to pursue a better performance to qualify for the Olympics. When they settled at the country of destination, our results show that athletes needed to create a new sense of home to adapt and to compete. Thus, both the narrative and the material worlds are vital in the process of assembling a new sense of home. That is because adapting to a new sociocultural and sport context is an agentic assemblage entailing humans, narratives and material components that do things" (p7).

3.3. MULTI-CULTURAL TEAMS

"Football migration" describes the number of non-home grown players in professional leagues (eg: over 40% in top European clubs in 2019; Darpatova-Hruzewicz and Book 2021).

Success in team sport is about the integrating of different players into a whole. "For the game's stakeholders (eg: coaches, directors, administrative personnel), the delivery of sporting results (eg: winning, avoiding relegation, qualifying for European competitions) implies transforming a diverse group of individuals from varying ethnic/cultural backgrounds and ages into a cohesive team, and doing so in highly uncertain and precarious job environments..., juggling conflicting organisational interests... and managing a

multitude of structural constraints (eg: regulatory, financial, human)" (Darpatova-Hruzewicz and Book 2021 p1).

Darpatova-Hruzewicz and Book (2021) explored this process in an ethnographic study of two top-division Eastern European men's football clubs over a 26-month period. The participants included eighty players, coaching staff, and administrative personnel from eighteen countries, and the data took three forms - observational (over 1200 hours), field notes/reflective diary, and interviews (over 50 hours).

Overall, the following themes were found:

i) Communication as critical to the functioning of the team with the challenges of language barriers, and differing cultural values and expectations.

ii) The organisational culture as driving the team and interpersonal interactions within it (eg: performance orientation; conflicts; masculine environment).

iii) The team dynamics (eg: relations with teammates; ingroups).

iv) Structural constraints (eg: financial constraints; conflicting interests).

3.4. YOUNG ATHLETES

Top football clubs sign players at 15-16 years old or younger from abroad, so adolescent and young adult athletes (AYA) face the challenges of transnational migration, as well as those of that age group (eg: developing an adult identity). Social support is a particular issue for this group (Storm et al 2022).

On behalf of the "Danish Player's Union", Storm et al (2022) surveyed 36 young transnational footballers from Denmark, and interviewed in-depth eight male players and their parent(s). The findings were organised around three phrases of the transnational migration experiences of these AYA:

i) "Pre-transition: The dream" - Before the migration there were two steps: "The first step was the realisation of their childhood dream of becoming a professional football player, and the second step was the very short period of time from when players received and signed an offer with a foreign club until they relocated"

(Storm et al 2022 p5). At this time, agents, parents, and current and coaches were reported as most influential and supportive of the AYA. As expressed by "Player 2" (17 years old at migration): "my dad, my club coaches, my agents - and myself - were the most important people. My agents initiated the transition... my dad was involved in everything, and my coach was a key reason for selecting this club" (p5).

The realisation of the childhood dream was summed up by "Player 8" (21 years old at migration): "We don't know if we will get the chance again. This is what we all dream of. Should we then wait for something better to come? We cannot just say that we want to transfer in one and a half years. A lot can happen. Take my situation, I was not even in the line-up in my home club. I would have been crazy if I had not accepted the offer" (p5).

Though agents could be supportive, AYA and parents were also aware of the business side - eg: "of course I know they contacted me because they see money" ("Player 3"), and "everybody wants to earn money, so it is important to make sure to have decent people around you - and around your son" ("Parent 1") (p6).

ii) "Acute cultural adaptation: Adjusting on the field" - This phase was "the player's experience of becoming 'part of the dressing room', whereby they gradually accumulated knowledge, behaviours, and skills needed to understand the culture and earn social status. The cumulative percentage gave an impression of the temporal dimension of the transition with 47% of the players feeling part of the dressing room after two to seven weeks, 81% after six to seven months, and 94% after 12 months" (Storm et al 2022 p6).

For example, "Player 4" (17 years old at migration) said: "Overnight, I arrived with my suitcase and had to take a lot of responsibility. Food, diet, a new language, and with a need to be tough from the get-go. I didn't want to show too many feelings to my teammates at the start. I had to earn their respect. I wasn't used to showing off, but I wouldn't gain anything by holding back" (p7). While "Player 2" described the everyday experiences: "It isn't easy being away from home because you're all alone, and the only one who can make it a success is yourself. In the beginning it was tough, and I would text my parents a lot. My dad was more like, 'come on, get a grip, you have committed to a goal'. When I would text my mum how hard it was or that I can't make it, I know it was tough for her to hear that. One has to

be mentally strong or else you are eaten alive in this brutal world, but that's also what makes it exciting for me" (p7).

iii) "Socio-cultural adaptation phase: The success" - This phase "refers to the ability to 'fit in' and become culturally fluent in a new context" (Storm et al 2022 p7). About half of the survey respondents rated their transition as a success.

"Player 4 stated that 'It has been a major success - football and personally. Naturally, I don't see my family that often and friendships crumbled away. But I had to also give things up'. Player 5 agreed saying that 'it was the best decision to leave Denmark. I love Denmark, but not its style of football' while Player 6 believed that he 'became a better football player and also a better person'" (Storm et al 2022 p7).

Injuries were a major threat to successful transition, as "Player 4" explained: "At home in Denmark, the boys would come to the gym after the practice session and chat with me. Now, I work on my own at the gym while the others are on the pitch, and then I cannot talk to them about the practice. Then I feel alone and outside the team" (p7).

Storm et al (2022) concluded that "ceding and receiving organisations should all consider the age of the footballers and their needs not only as footballers but as AYA" (p10). In particular, the provision of support beyond performance enhancement.

3.5. MINORITY ATHLETES

Book et al (2021) reported a study of thirty Black male professional basketball players from underserved communities in America who migrated to play in Western Europe. Focusing on seven individuals, the researchers described two "cultural transitions" of these players:

i) From a poor neighbourhood into a more affluent environment, "as well as integrating from a Black dominated culture and into an unfamiliar White society" (Book et al 2021 p7) (eg: going to college as teenager).

ii) The move to Europe.

The researchers saw the first transition as stepping stones to the transnational migration. They stated:

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"Regardless of ones' background, migrant athletes often experience loneliness..., have to adapt to new playing styles..., deal with relationships in their home country..., and often fail to maintain prolonged careers away from home... Within this small sample of American basketball players, they also experienced similar challenges, but they did not dominate the conversations. In fact, some of the athletes enjoyed being alone, thrived on the challenge of carving a career path without the help of others, and did not discuss a deep connection to their life back in America. This is not an implication that their careers in Europe were easy, but it seems that their ability to cope with adverse experiences and the challenging transition during their teenage years minimised some transition issues and made the move to Europe less uncomfortable" (Book et al 2021 p7).

3.6. COACHES

Transnational coaches also exist in the 21st century, but there is "a scarcity of research regarding the experiences of migrating coaches..." (Samuel et al 2021 p1).

For example, Borges et al (2015) interviewed five male coaches in elite football or handball who had migration experience, and found three "migration types" - "ambitionist" (to achieve highest level in career; eg: Danish handball coach interviewee), "cosmopolitan" (curious to gain knowledge and experience; eg: Slovenian handball coach interviewee), and "pioneer" (the desire to expand the sport; eg: Spanish handball coach interviewee) (Samuel et al 2021).

A study of ten transnational coaches in Canada (Schinke et al 2015) found that the migration experience was linked training standards, commitment levels of athletes, athlete respect for coach, and coach status (compared to the home country) (Samuel et al 2021).

Samuel et al (2021) interviewed eight transnational handball coaches from Europe (six from Balkan countries) working in Israel. The in-depth interviews produced three main themes (and each with sub-themes):

1. Cultural transition - This was the most important theme and included nine sub-themes:

a) Motives for migration - eg: financial.

b) Decision-making around moving - eg: whether to bring family along.

c) Objectives in moving - eg: to promote handball in Israel.

d) Planning - eg: familiarity with Israel as a country.

e) Professional barriers - eg: Israeli players' poor sport mentality.

f) Emotional barriers - eg: missing family and friends.

g) Perceptions of support - eg: one coach's wife living in Israel, not allowed to work, simply waiting at home for her husband to return. Thus, the need for support for the family generally.

h) Participation in a training abroad programme in Israel before full migration.

i) Transition outcome - Satisfaction with sporting results greatly influenced overall assessment of migration experience. For example, one coach said: "First of all, I have feeling that is good, that is good what we are doing, that is not invisible, not for my image, for the image of Israeli handball... we send players to foreign clubs, it's not invisible" (p7).

2. Cultural adaptation - This theme was sub-divided into three:

a) Adapting - Culturally adapting to Israel, as one coach from a Balkan country explained: "So, I need to know what is your culture. I need to know what is Bagrut [matriculation exams]. I need to know what is army. I need to know what is Kidush [Friday meal]... so in the beginning, first one or two months, I only connect with Israeli. I go to Kidush, I listen what you speak, I listen what is your problem, because this or the team, it's my problem. If I connect with Balkans, I don't see your problem, and then we are two different worlds" (p7).

b) Similarities and differences - "Five of the participants identified cultural similarities and differences between their home countries and the Israeli context. While the Serbian coaches felt that the Israeli

and Balkan mentalities were close, they also found Israelis to be more reliable and trustworthy in financial issues. However, the sport mentality between the two cultures was found to be much different" (Samuel et al 2021 p8).

c) Acculturation - Feeling "at home" in Israel.

3. Insights about migration - "The participants provided insights concerning the migration and mobility experience of transnational coaches, with a message to other coaches. This message focused on personal or professional issues. The personal messages were: Go for challenges, not after money; always believe in yourself and in your instinct; everything in life is giving and getting; be open to the experience; if it's in your blood go for it; try to have prior knowledge of the designated country... The professional messages mainly focused on the relationship between a foreign coach and domestic players: listen to the players; respect and adapt to each player, it's important for foreign coaches to improvise; adjust to the players" (Samuel et al 2021 p8).

Samuel et al (2021) concluded: "While our findings echo previous studies in regard to motives for cultural transitions, decisions involved, and support resources..., they also present some unique content. Specifically, our findings suggest that factors such as having small children or not knowing the local language, previously identified as a limiting factor, can actually be considered by transnational coaches as pull factors. These coaches viewed their transnational engagement as a mechanism for self- and familial-development not only in financial or professional aspects but also in educational, cultural and spiritual aspects" (p9).

3.7. OTHER NON-ATHLETES

Other research has looked at academics (eg: two female sport scientists; Chroni et al 2021), and sports psychologists who migrate. In the former case, Chroni et al (2021) identified three strategies used by the women - negotiating (eg: the relationships made), redirecting (their personal narrative), and accepting (of the situation). As one of the women said: "Through our career journeys, we have come to accept a few more nuances, like as a transnational you are always a 'foreigner, not fully belonging' with the locals. When work is rolling, we are

a team but when disagreements arise, we are easily singled out; few colleagues will dare to stand on our side while the majority will look away" (p7).

In the case of sport psychology practitioners (SSPs), Quartiroli et al (2021) interviewed six women and found men who had studied abroad and returned home to work.

Eight themes ("domains") emerged from the analysis, divided into two groupings:

A. Studying Abroad

1. Motivations - eg: opportunity to receive high quality training; the dire to stretch themselves.

2. Challenges - eg: being labelled as "foreigner"; dealing with a different culture.

3. Strategies used - eg: engaging with the local community; applying sports psychology skills to own life.

4. Benefits - eg: personal development; professional development and experience.

B. Returning Home to Work

5. Motives - eg: to reconnect with family, friends, and home; to contribute to home country (HC).

6. Challenges - eg: dealing with standards in sport lower than now used to; reintegration into home culture.

7. Strategies - eg: developing relationships; remaining true to values.

8. "Significance of the journey" - eg: personal growth; professional growth.

Quoting the words of the interviewees, "Noam", for instance, described the HC as "still like twenty years behind... when it comes to applied sports psychology", and so studying abroad was a must: "If i really wanted to experience what was possible, and get a good idea of what that field was about, I pretty much had to go" (p5). While "Mariana" noted how "the way sport psychology is seen in the sport system in [HC] is sort of different" (p6).

However, the return home had its frustrations, as

"Eitan" described: "you're coming back and now you have this great education and new insights... and then you know that you don't turn the world upside down from one day to the next, not even one year to the next" (pp6-7). "Kanae" was also frustrated: "the other huge issue with athletes was the whole laid back [HC] culture, and oh well what the heck well there's tomorrow and there's another day and things will get by, let's go have a cup of coffee. Anything can be solved with a cup of coffee outside in the sun... it was difficult to apply all I have learned in a very, much more lay back way, less structured way" (p7).

3.8. SPORT AS HELPING MIGRANTS

From a different angle, Middleton et al (2020) considered whether sport could help newcomers to a country adapt, particularly forced migrants (eg: refugees). These researchers performed a meta-synthesis of qualitative research on the topic with twenty-three relevant peer-reviewed articles published between 1990 and mid-2018. Three main themes emerged:

i) The beneficial role of sport for forced migrants - "Forced migrants described how sport provided them with the opportunity to feel human again and forget feelings of isolation exacerbated by monotonous days due to a lack of access to activities and being unable to work... As described to Hurly (2019 ¹¹ ...), "... if I go out for a walk, or ride a bike, I just forget everything and keep going. Your body becomes good. You come back with a fresh mind". Another forced migrant described sport and physical activity as a form of stress relief and a context in which forced migrants felt "a sense of freedom, relaxation, and energy" (Hurly 2019...)" (Middleton et al 2020 p6).

ii) Sport as a means of integration - "An inclusive sport and physical activity context was also portrayed as one where positive social interactions between culturally dissimilar groups helped forced migrants connect with members of their host society" (Middleton et al 2020 p6).

iii) Barriers to sport and physical activity - eg: subtle forms of discrimination; logistical barriers.

¹¹ This study interviewed three adult female refugees from South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo in Canada.

Middleton et al (2020) commented: "The unique life stories of forced migrants include a journey to safety and waiting for approval of their asylum application that can have a significant impact on the mental health of forced migrants and leave them feeling the world is an unsafe place... Sport and physical activity programs must be designed with forced migrants' emotional and physical safety as guiding principles in order to provide relief and healing in relation to previous traumatic incidents... Researchers of the synthesised work presented here have proposed two approaches that could be used to develop a safe sport context for forced migrants: the creation of ethno-centric clubs and the inclusion of cultural insiders in the development of sport programmes designed for all members of a community" (p10).

Middleton et al (2021) reported on work with twenty-two refugee or asylum seeking youths in Canada and the role of sport in the new country. The "stories" told by the individuals showed "the importance they place on being active in sport... Importantly, through their story telling the youth also show how their participation in sport, the meaning they ascribe to their participation and the manner in which they feel safe in sport contexts shifts over time and place" (Middleton et al 2021 p7).

Sport helped to keep a feeling of connection to the home country, as "Saad" described: "Football was a big part of my life in Syria too. My friends would come and say, 'hey let's go play football.' 25 people would come; the first 2 hours would be spent trying to make teams" (p5).

Playing sport was also a way to meet host community people, as "Abdo" explained: "Sports was really how I met new people too. Like one time, I was at the park playing with my brothers. Then these other kids asked us if they can play with us, we said yes, and we became friends" (p6).

Co-operative sporting activities as in team sports can promote inclusion and facilitate feelings of belonging. Van Yperen et al (2021) focused on youth male soccer teams in two large clubs in the Netherlands. Two hundred and forty-five players aged 10-16 years old completed the survey. Statements were presented about perceived inclusion (eg: "My team allows me to be who I am"), and perceived coach-initiated motivational goal climate (eg: "My coach tells us to help each other get better"; "My coach tells us to try to be better than our teammates").

Motivational goals can be divided into two types related to achievement: "A mastery and a performance goal climate... At either level (individual or team), coaches who pursue mastery goals focus on self-based (ie: doing better, or avoiding doing worse than one did before) and task-based standards (ie: doing the task well, or avoiding doing bad), whereas performance goals are grounded in other-based standards (doing better than others, or avoiding doing worse than others...)" (Van Yperen et al 2021 p2).

Van Yperen et al (2021) explained that "mastery goal climate perceptions are likely to satisfy players' fundamental needs for belonging and authenticity; therefore, we hypothesised a positive relationship between players' mastery goal climate perceptions and perceived team inclusion" (p2). This was supported by the data as perceived inclusion and perceived coach-initiated mastery goal climate scores were positively correlated. The opposite relationship was also hypothesised and supported by the data - namely, a negative relationship between players' perceptions of performance goal climate and perceived team inclusion.

Perceived inclusion among "minority status" players was particularly sensitive to high mastery and low performance goal climates. "Minority status" was defined as the player born himself or at least one parent born outside the Netherlands, which was nearly two-thirds of the sample.

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4. DRUG USE

"Migrants are a highly heterogeneous segment of the population, and the links between migration and drug use are complex" (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction 2023 p1). Generally, drug use among migrants is lower on arrival than the general population in the host country. But experiences prior to migration and/or experiences on arrival can make the individuals vulnerable to substance use. So, "over time the prevalence of substance use in migrant communities becomes increasingly similar to that observed in the general population" (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction 2023 p3).

Horyniak et al (2016) pointed out: "There is some evidence that immigrant populations experience better health than native populations. This 'healthy immigrant effect' has been attributed to both self-selection (educated, wealthy and healthy people are more likely to have opportunities to migrate) and exclusion of unhealthy migrants at immigration pre-screening. This is, however, unlikely to be the case for forced migrant populations, as forced migration is involuntary, commonly occurs on short notice, and impacts all classes of the community" (p3). This means that forced migrants can be vulnerable to substance use. Often there has been trauma leading to the forced migration before the stressors of assimilation in a new country and the common problems therein experienced.

Horyniak et al (2016) performed a review of the academic literature (published in English, French, and Spanish) on alcohol and/or illicit drug use by forced migrants (refugees, internally displaced people (IDP), asylum seekers, people displaced by disasters, and deportees). Forty-four quantitative, sixteen qualitative, and three mixed-method studies were found, of which only ten were rated as high methodological quality.

Fifty-five studies looked at hazardous/harmful alcohol use, which had a prevalence ranging from 17-36% in refugee camps, and 4-7% in the community ¹². There was little research on illicit drug use.

Substance use was predicted by exposure to trauma, and mental health problems, as well as being male.

There was substantial heterogeneity between the studies, including in the measurement of substance use

¹² Among regular drinkers, the figure was as high as 66% in one study of IDP a camp setting in northern Uganda (Roberts et al 2011), and, in other studies, 14-19% in community settings. Psychology Miscellany No. 204; Mid-July 2024; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

(eg: validated questionnaire or not), the inclusion of a comparison sample (and its composition) (only sixteen studies), and the make-up of the migrant sample (eg: mostly refugees in high-income countries; 9 studies males only).

Only one study was longitudinal (Arfken et al 2014), covering newly-arrived refugees in the USA over the first year. It found a significant increase in the prevalence of lifetime alcohol use, "suggesting that vulnerability to substance use may increase following a resettlement" (Horyniak et al 2016 p24).

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