

Introduction

Being Human, Being Migrant

Senses of Self and Well-Being

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Introduction: Exploring Migrants' Life-Worlds

This volume is as much about being human as it is about being a migrant. It takes as its starting point the proposition that migrant experiences tell us about the human condition, on the basis that our multi-sensorial perceptions and experiences of well-being, self, other and humanity are challenged when people move between shifting social and cultural contexts. Our contemporary world is characterized by an increasing degree of movement that highlights how societies and cultural units are never separate but overlapping, rapidly changing and engaged in repeated processes of fission and fusion (Gellner 1994). Migrants, being people who move between places, times and conditions, can be seen as an archetypical example. This book underscores how migrant experiences accentuate some general aspects of the human condition by exploring migrants' movements not only as geographical movements from here to there, but also as movements that constitute an embodied, cognitive and existential experience of living 'in between' or on the 'borderlands' between differently figured life-worlds.

Current issues regarding multiculturalism have developed into some of the most heated debates between both politicians and academics. These debates tend to focus on relations between distinct groups of migrants and majority populations. This volume does not aim to engage in this important and pressing debate as such, but rather draws attention to an easily overlooked perspective, namely that of the migrants' individual narratives and experiences in everyday life. By exploring individuals' stories and life experiences, we can recognize how migrants' engagement in cultural practices, meanings and values are related to their pasts, while highlighting the human disposition to create and become involved in new cultural, social and climatic contexts. The following chapters present migrant narratives and ethnography from European countries. While not stressing the politically derived social

structures of inclusion and exclusion as such, the volume presents the experiences of alienation and discrimination as they are perceived by individual migrants to and within Europe. The aim in including narratives that discuss the experiences of both voluntary middle-class and forced refugee migrants is to highlight how, beyond the significant differences, there are similarities that illuminate their shared and equivalent experiences as humans as much as migrants.

Migrants carry a unique and vital experience of habituated and familiar life-worlds that are constituted, shaped and figured socially and culturally (Holland et al. 2001; Bourdieu 1989; Husserl 1970), while also being challenged by crossing over to other life-worlds that are both similar and different. Inspired by phenomenological perspectives, a life-world is a horizon of all our experiences that creates a background against which identity and meaning emerge and are decided upon. Such life-worlds are not static and unchangeable, but are the dynamic horizons in which we live, and which ‘live with us’ (Husserl 1970). This implies that nothing can enter or appear in our life-world except what is lived. As such, the life-world is always intimately linked to the individual person’s historicity, though not to such an extent that it is purely individual. Rather, the life-world is inherently intersubjective in terms of the possibility of communicating and sharing meaning, while also necessarily being personal and individual. This perspective emerges in all the volume’s chapters as in their different ways they all highlight individual migrants’ experiences as they are shaped in the intersection of individual historicity and social environmental structures.

Furthermore, examining migrants’ life-worlds confronts us with a tension between what we can conceive as differently constituted life-worlds and single human life-worlds. Instead of taking a fixed position, this volume explores the land in between, recognizing differences both among individuals and groups, while also acknowledging aspects that are common and mutual based on an understanding of a shared humanity. This position is reflected in the concern with how migrants carry with them fragments of the familiar and known, while simultaneously being confronted with new and unknown life-worlds. Thus, migrants can be seen to live their everyday lives on the borderlands in between differently constituted, though mutually human, life-worlds.

Being Migrant: A Human Capacity for Agency and Creativity

Before focusing on migrants’ reasons for leaving and on what happens when they arrive, this book highlights the condition in between as it is embodied in people’s senses of self, well-being, emotions and consciousness in everyday living. It underscores how studies of migrants can open up ‘zones in between’ places, times, life-worlds, moralities and identities, and suggests how such a journey may bring peoples and individuals into existential experiences of

being in their own right as human beings. Moreover, studying the daily lives of migrants requires knowledge that can help to stimulate peaceful coexistence in a world characterized by crises of migration, globalization, war and conflict. Thus, by relating to anthropological literature on migration and refugee issues, this volume adopts a perspective that explores the potential of mutual human solidarity. This view is seen to be in line with the volume's appreciation of a life-world, as it is how 'we, each "I-the-man" and all of us together, belong to the world as living with one another in the world; and the world is our world, valid for our consciousness as existing precisely through this "living together"' (Husserl 1970: 108).

Individually the chapters draw attention to the here and now, to memories and nostalgia, to future dreams and visions. As a whole, the volume aims to demonstrate how the past, present and future in migrants' experience, imagination and improvisation interact and offer zones of ambivalence and ambiguity between the (often nostalgic) remembrance of the past and hope for new beginnings (see also Rapport in this volume). In this dialectic lies, I suggest, an opportunity for a complex and subtle agency that appears in the mundane day-to-day negotiations and dealings. This is an agency that stems from the vulnerability, pain, fantasy and hope, that can allow migrants to transcend what they have left, the boundaries they newly encounter, and the ways in which they creatively craft lives of their own. It should be stressed that this 'everyday agency' does not always or necessarily enable such transcendence, fulfilment and achievement, but may instead turn to self-denial and self-destruction, as well as upheaval and longstanding resistance to perceived structural injustice and discrimination. However, by adopting an approach to migration that addresses the human condition, the human capacity to expand and transform experiences within everyday life become of crucial concern.

The migration narratives presented in the individual chapters contribute to migration studies as they tend to be stories of suffering, though they are also followed by longer-term collective, familial or individual success. Stories such as those told in this volume carry messages of agency as this relates to individuals' creativity, imagination, improvisation and humanity. The chapters tell stories of how, within often restrictive and oppressive circumstances, migrants and refugees negotiate and improvise in their daily lives to create a better life for themselves and their families. In this exploration of migrants' experiences and narratives, the human capacity to create appears in everyday habituated behaviour, in familiar and traditional practices, as the individual needs to respond actively to shifting possibilities and constraints produced by the actual time, context and environment. Thus, the volume discusses how, in the realm of everyday life, the habituated and repetitive alleviate pain and fear while alternating and being supplied with moments of transcendence and creativity that transform the self and the world (see Lefebvre 2002). Through the migrant experience of moving to a new place and environment, the habituated and familiar self and body are sensed in new ways, and thus

the person's practices and perceptions of the old and new environments also shift, even when a familiar form of practice is being repeated. While practice and performance may be repetitive and (almost) the same in form, the individual, positioned in a new context, actively searches for new and different ways to achieve the desired sensations and experiences that are attached to such practices.

This view recognizes how people negotiate, perform and improvise creatively while engaging with the different realities that exist in different locations and at different times. Thus, creativity is not seen as equal to innovation and originality. Indeed, the view I am suggesting is in line with Tim Ingold and Elizabeth Hallam's point that creative power is seen as an effect of the 'freedom of the human imagination . . . to transcend the determinations of both nature and society' (Ingold and Hallam 2007: 3). Thus, the chapters illustrate how creativity and newness reach beyond the search for the exceptional individual as it stands out and against the collectivity, or the novelty in the present as it is distinct from the traditions of the past, or the active mind as it differs from what is passive or unwilling (see Ingold and Hallam 2007: 3). Rather, agency and creativity are seen as embodied human capacities that respond and adjust to day-to-day living in shifting times, circumstances and environments, and as such transform senses of self and well-being as highlighted in the experience of migration. It should also be underlined that while individuals are creatively involved in migration processes, the cultural and social changes in turn enrich or impoverish the conditions in which creativity can emerge.

Migrancy: A Quest for Human Recognition

Migrancy is a concept that encompasses a variety of different people and individuals who all move for different reasons (Chambers 1994). The present volume suggests how movement is not only 'the quintessential experience' of our age (Berger 1984: 55), but suggests that migration, as it involves distinct kinds of movement, is a 'quintessential experience of being human'. This appears in how migrancy is seen to include the geographical, sensuous, emotional and cognitive movement of migrants. Furthermore, the ethnographic cases presented below discuss various individual migrant experiences rather than teasing out any categories such as labour or forced migration. The case studies present both men and women, although with an emphasis on female experiences and narratives. While this volume does not have gender and woman studies as its focus, I suggest that it may modestly contribute to our understanding of the experiences of contemporary gendered migration, as it demonstrates how female migrants meet shifting challenges due not only to how distinct societies view women as a social category, but also to how social structures and cultural ideologies shape women's lives and affect their sense of self and subjective identity (e.g. Moore 1988, 1994;

Lewin and Leap 2002; Behar 2003; Mahler and Pessar 2001, 2006; Geller and Stockett 2006). The feminist attention to variability, issues of power and forces of social and cultural change is addressed in this volume by narrating women migrants' stories that display experiences of relative isolation (see in particular Svašek and Maehara), powerlessness (see in particular Pinelli and Grønseth), and poverty (see in particular Pinelli). Simultaneously, the chapters discuss the individual women's and men's (see Georgiadou and Mikola) everyday agency and creativity in performing, negotiating, and dealing with her/his new environment and conditions as they are perceived and embodied as social experiences framed by being refugees, immigrants and minority groups, stigmatized and alienated. However, the volume's concern with both genders' senses of self and well-being takes it beyond women studies as such; it addresses issues of identity and difference as they intersect with social positions such as minority groups, ethnicity, race, class and age.

Moreover, by addressing the human capacities for agency and creativity, it is demonstrated that gender and other social and cultural distinctions are not innate biological differences or essentials; instead the emphasis is on the creation of subjects through the exercise of power (Foucault 1977, 1980) and on the ongoing performative nature of creating differences between human beings. Thus, recognizing the difference in gendered experience, the volume seeks to transcend issues of gender and to highlight the human condition, encompassing a mutuality of differences, such as male and female experiences, as these are displayed in the different studies of being gendered, being a migrant and being human in these chapters.

Whatever the particular reasons for migration, the practice of migration in itself, the volume argues, instantiates a set of experiences and capacities that are intrinsic to our humanity. It is part of a human ontology to transcend particular life-worlds, as Nigel Rapport puts it (Epilogue in this volume); migration is often precipitated by a lack of being recognized as a fully human being in a 'home' milieu and a political desire to achieve recognition and expression elsewhere. Migration illustrates a capacity for expression and a desire which can be said to call for a human (global) moral response. Acknowledging both moral and ontological perspectives, the volume addresses the connection between being a migrant and being human as it understands the migrant's constituting of self, identity and well-being as a universal human quest undertaken by an agent.

When examining various forms of migrancy, the collection uses both traditional and more recent concepts such as 'labour migrants', 'exiles', 'refugees', 'asylum seekers', 'diasporas', 'creoles', 'hybrids' and 'transnationals'; but these are also transcended, as each author seeks to go beyond these categories to seek what is understood as a mutual humanness. Accordingly, terms which are closely associated with these various traditions of migrant studies – such as assimilation, integration, class, ethnicity and rootedness – are less frequently used, as the volume highlights concepts that recognize the commonalities and mutuality of being human, rather than classifications and distinctions.

This approach of mutual humanity rests in a view in which identity and belonging are created in the course of social life, rather than in an ‘ethnos’ that is often designated as an indisputable ‘biological fact’ (see Baumann 1997: 213). Furthermore, it is recognized that identity is individually created and defined in interaction and performance, rather than being pre-ascribed (see also Amit-Talai 1995: 131). While agreeing with these views, the volume focuses on the bodily, cognitive and emotional experiences of migration, stressing the way in which assertions of fixed and closed identities, communities and categories are, as Nigel Rapport argues, ontologically and morally illicit (Epilogue in this volume).

In the following, I will address briefly how this volume is situated within anthropological studies of migration and how it offers a new perspective. I will also reflect on how the migrants’ engagement with and experience of everyday life captures a human disposition of movement and change, and position of living “in between” or on the borderlands of differently figured life-worlds. The third section addresses the way in which the contributors to this volume emphasize migrants’ sense of well-being, belonging and self as this appears in a complex existential agency while moving between and dealing with the past, the here and now, and their hopes for the future. The fourth section discusses how migrants’ experiences offer a keyhole into a shared and reciprocal existential humanness that bespeaks a cosmopolitan morality of responsibility and solidarity with all human beings. Finally, an overview of the individual chapters shows how the distinct theoretical approaches nevertheless share a common bottom-up and face-to-face focus on migrants’ movements, which impress themselves on the ethnographer and provide insights into self and agency that are as concerned with ‘being human’ as ‘being a migrant’.

Studies of Migration: Towards Everyday Life Agency and Well-Being

As this book is as much about being human as being a migrant, the aim of this section is not to present a complete overview or thorough discussion of the anthropology of migration (see rather Malkki 1995a; Brettell 2000; Foner 2000). However, I will briefly point out some facets and features that can help to identify this volume’s position as it examines migrant experiences with the intention of imparting something about what it is to be human. Thus, the following is not meant to assess the theoretical shifts and empirical concerns of migration studies as such, but to sketch out how studies of migration can be seen to have progressed and thus highlight this volume’s overall concern with individual agency and the human condition.

The early migration studies of the 1940s and 1950s generally addressed the fundamental socio-economic changes or rapid urbanization and shifts from agricultural subsistence to industrial labour (e.g. Epstein 1958; Gluckman

1965; Mitchell 1969 and others). As anthropologists began to focus on peasants and 'tribesmen' living in the cities, the concern with migration increased (e.g. Mayer 1961; Mangin 1970 and others). Many of these studies felt a need to develop analytical concepts that could grasp social processes better than the earlier emphasis on structures. Thus, studies of migration saw a shift of interest in anthropology from principles and patterns of social and cultural order towards a focus on continuous processes of change and movement.

With an emphasis on case studies developed by Max Gluckman and the Manchester School, the concepts of the social network and group identity became vital in anthropology and the social sciences and still run through much work in contemporary anthropology (Roger and Vertovec 1995; Banks 1996; Harbottle 2000; Schiller and Faist 2010; Schiller and Çağlar 2011). Generally, anthropological research on migration pays attention to the places that migrants originate from and the places they go, including how people locally respond to global processes. Brettell (2000: 98) points out how issues of adaptation and cultural change, forms of social organization, identity and ethnicity all became of central concern. The theme of ethnicity was hotly debated following Barth's (1998 [1969]) influential conceptualization highlighting the fluent, contextual negotiation of boundaries for ethnicity and identity. An appreciation of the fluency and contextual perspective of new concepts such as hybridity (e.g. Çağlar 1997), creolization (e.g. Palmie 2006) and cosmopolitanism (e.g. Wardle 2000; Wardle and Rapport 2010; Breckenridge et al. 2002; Werbner 2008; Nowicka and Rovisco 2009; Schiller et al. 2011) came to the forefront of analysis.

While studies of identity remain of great interest for anthropology, the concept of transnationalism has become vital to our understanding of the agency and practices of today's migrants (Schiller et al. 1992; Basch et al. 1994; Portes et al. 1999; Levitt et al. 2003; Vertovec 2009). The interest in transnationalism continues and runs parallel with a growing concern with globalization, which together make up a framework that has provided an opportunity to rethink notions of culture in light of global flows and forms of deterritorialization (Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1996; Olwig and Hastrup 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1997), which are crucial in shaping the migrant experience and human conditions. The combined concern for global flows and fluent identities has also led to an interest in multi-ethnic settings and multiculturalism (Grillo 1998), while underscoring the need for a non-reifying understanding of culture (Baumann 1999; Watson 2000). While recognizing and including a concern for the transnational and multicultural, this volume aims to reach beyond the substance of relations and cultures in themselves by attending to migrants' sense of self and well-being as constituted in experiences of the moving dynamics that take place in the areas in between places, times, relations, cultures and life-worlds.

In the literature on migration and transnationalism, one also finds an increasing attention being paid to second- and third-generation migrants and the way in which their relations with or images of past origins might affect

their lives today (Schiller et al. 1992; Basch et al. 1994; Hinnels 2007; Kibria 2002; Roosens 1989). In the aftermath of the Second World War and the era of (post-)colonialism, migration studies have included the global situation of increased forced international migration related to conflict and war. In this context one finds that refugees have become a vital object for anthropological and other social science studies. Much of this research has been conducted close to the war zones and refugee camps (Malkki 1995b; Daniel and Knudsen 1995; Agier 2005; Hammond 2004; Zmegac 2007).

Forced migration and refugee studies have not only focused on ethnicity and conflict. The war experiences of the refugees have had overwhelming humanitarian costs, including losses and reduced social and economic security, as well as social status. Many studies have focused on questions relating to social suffering, cultural continuity, illness and health (Schulz and Hammer 2003; Sideris 2003; Coker 2004; Migliorino 2008; Bradby and Hundt 2010; Oakley and Grønseth 2007; Grønseth 2010). The present volume is situated within migration and refugee research, with well-being, agency and creativity as core issues. Questions of health, well-being, and migration are complex because of the linkage between social forces and ill health. Research suggests that mental health concerns frequently relate to more general issues, such as economic welfare, environmental living conditions and the kinds of resources available to a person, family or community (Desjarlais et al. 1995: 15). The reasons for dislocation, the escape journeys and the living conditions where a person or family resettles create threats and challenges for personal and social well-being. However, this book looks at the more mundane experiences that migrants and refugees face in a variety of contexts such as negotiating work and education opportunities, making asylum applications, and striving to achieve a sense of belonging within family and kin relations, as well as within larger social networks.

Within studies of multiculturalism (Lamphere 1992; Modood and Werbner 1997; Sanjek 1998; Baumann 1996; Werbner 2002; Wise and Velayutham 2009), there has also been a shift of interest towards the roles of individual agency and consciousness. In many studies of globalization, multiculturalism and migration, questions of individual and group identity, together with concepts of diaspora, network, authenticity, belonging, relatedness, place making, home and origin, all became topics for discussion (e.g. Rapport and Dawson 1998; Brettell 2003; Manuh 2005; Delanty et al. 2008; Olwig 2007; Vertovec 2010 and others). However, in more recent studies these questions have been downplayed as concepts such as urban diversity, super-diversity and conviviality have come to the fore (Schiffauer et al. 2004; Vertovec 2007; Hylland Eriksen 2007; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010).

The notion of super-diversity is meant to underline a level and complexity that transcend multiculturalism, as it tends to focus on distinct groups and individuals within these, and more so highlight the dynamic interplay of variables such as multiple origins, transnational connections, socio-economic differentiation and legal stratification among immigrants who have arrived in

Europe during the last decade (Vertovec 2007). Through this volume's inclusion of chapters that narrate migrant experiences as they relate to different legal statuses, socio-economic positions and transnational connections, and from distinct places of origin, while all currently living in Europe, I suggest that the volume as a whole casts light on the super-diverse complex dynamics at play that shape the migrant experience and human circumstances. Furthermore, the volume's concern with both refugee and middle-class migrant narratives demonstrates the diversity and complexity of migrant experiences, while exposing a shared human sense of self and a shared quest for well-being.

Being Human: Experiences of Everyday Life in the Borderlands of the 'In between'

To capture the experience of living in the borderlands – bodily, existentially, emotionally and cognitively – the volume refers to a phenomenological zone which is experienced as being inbetween distinct though overlapping life-worlds. Living in such a zone involves habituated and familiar relations, events, practices, meanings and values no longer being as clearly distinct, determined or full as they were (see Jackson 2009: xii). Entering the border zones between different places and life-worlds implies realizing that things are not necessarily what we conceive them to be: they have no fixed and distinct essence, and are open to new interpretations, meanings and connections. This is reflected in how Svašek, in this volume, suggests how Anna, a migrant woman from the Netherlands who settled in Northern Ireland and more than a decade later is preparing to return to the Netherlands, makes sense of her life as she is confronted with distinct though mutual notions of personhood, family ties and personal fears, dreams and hopes. As such, the chapter offers a personalized migrant tale of the challenges of loss, love and hopes, while also being a human tale at the heart of everyday life on the borderlands of the inbetween.

Focusing the investigations on migrants' senses of self and well-being, the volume addresses how transformations, creativity and agency appear in the improvisations, negotiations and narrated stories of the less attended experiences of ordinary day-to-day living (see also Sandywell 2004). Everyday life, I suggest, can be seen to link social and institutional structures with individual performance, subjective experience and social practices (Lefebvre 2002). The different chapters demonstrate and discuss how moments and locations of everyday life bring together structures, activities, emotions, sensations and meanings that make up a wholeness of the individual self and of social reality. By exploring narratives and narrations from the realm of everyday life, the volume offers an insight into how routine and tradition alternate with dynamic improvisation, negotiation, performance and creative transformations as the migrants and refugees are exposed to new structures,

environments and conditions. This relates to the way in which the volume understands narrations as more than a mere list of events on a timeline since they convey the significance and meaning of events by situating interactions with an influence on other events and actions in a single, interrelated account. As such, narration is a form of communication that arranges human actions and events by specifying their interactive or cause-and-effect relations to the whole. Thus, narratives are always about the explanation and meaning of events and actions in human life, however simple these may be (Smith 2003: 65–66). In this view the close link between narration and everyday life is suggested to highlight the migrant experience as it shaped in the borderland between individual subjectivity and structural conditions, which together tell us about the human condition in which we sense our own selves and our well-being.

As Michael Jackson points out, ‘Border situations not only imply a radical break from the known; they presage new possibilities of relatedness that often transcend specifically interpersonal ties’ (2009: xiii). Thus, living on the borders actualizes the human capacity to form bonds and connect to any Other whatever without limits. In this context, we address how the study of migrants, as they are conceived to live on the borders and inbetween, illuminates the becoming and nature of human beings. As Wittgenstein observes (see Monk 1990: 302–3), exploring statements in themselves does not convey the existential and immediate depth of nature. Rather, the nature of things appears when the ‘shifting spaces between statements, descriptions, and persons, and in the course of events’ (Jackson 2009: xiv) are explored. The human self is therefore recognized as creative, moving and flexible, open and ready to connect with new others and new environments.

This agentive force in the migrant experience is explored in Barbara Pinelli’s chapter about Rolanda, a Togolese woman who sought asylum in Italy. Exploring Rolanda’s subjectivity in terms of vulnerability and fantasy, Pinelli shows us how Rolanda is confronted by power dynamics, yet managed to regain a sense of independence, desire for motherhood and experiences of well-being. This flexibility and movement of the self is illuminated by exploring the experience of migrants living in between the spaces of the here and there, and the shifting sense of time between memories of the past, the here and now, and the imagery of the future. The individual migrant narratives of the volume suggest how the migrant experiences the tenses – the past, present and the future – as differently located spatially. It appears that the past and the future are perceived as located somewhere other than where the migrants are placed in the here and now, while the spatiality of the present is perceived as temporary, as not meant to be or not meant to be continued (Ricoeur 1980). Furthermore, I suggest, it is from the sense of self, as it improvises, moves and connects with others, that we experience (new) wholeness, identity, well-being and success. Thus, living on the borders not only engenders suffering from endings, losses and uncertainty, but also supplies an existential and agentive force in creating new beginnings, selves and well-being.

The study of migrants is seen to illustrate how people's and the self's movements are always and above all bodily experiences. This view relies on the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (1962 [1945]), in which the self and consciousness do not come from a disembodied thought, but from the bodily disposition and intention to act. The body is always intentionally positioned in a particular place in the world, from which it perceives and embodies its surroundings. This perspective emphasizes how individuals, on an existential level, perceive, position and figure themselves in everyday life experiences and in wider social and cultural environments. Recognizing bodily perceptions as pre-objective, they create the existential ground for consciousness and knowledge (see Csordas 1994).

The existential and emotional power in changing bodily position in the world is illustrated in Naoko Maehara's chapter, in which she explores the narrative of Naomi, a Japanese woman who migrated to Ireland. Maehara addresses how Naomi's bodily attunement and subjectivity are formed by her relationships with the physical and social environment, as well as through the intrapersonal processes of bodily memory and symbolic formation. Thus the chapter demonstrates how Naomi experiences a movement in her embodied self and creates a sense of belonging in the new place of Ireland that links her current experiences and embodied past.

This relates to the volume's suggestion that it is not migrants' consciousness or a thought alone that brings the body from one place to another. Rather, I argue that exploring migrants' everyday lives in the borderlands illuminates how consciousness expresses interrelationships between self and other, subject and object, which are pre-conditioned through the intermediary of the body (Jackson 1995: 169). As such, a phenomenology of 'being-in-the-world' and embodiment stresses social and cultural processes like migration as part of perception, existential experiences and human capacities (see also Grønseth 2010).

The bodily perceptive experience implies a sense of home, of being in the world, as a mobile habitat (Chambers 1994: 4). Thus, living and dwelling are conceived as a mobile habitation of time and space, not as fixed and closed structures, but as supplying an opening and movement in what constitutes our sense of identity, place, belonging and well-being. There is no one place, time, language or tradition that can claim this role. It emerges that the migrant self is challenged by the differences of other life-worlds and discovers that its living is sustained beyond encounters and confrontations with other places, histories and other peoples. This implies, as is evident in Anna's return home (Svašek, this volume), that there is no return to home other than to the existential experience of the initial self-in-the-world. Moreover, being in between or in movement does not necessarily imply geographical movement or travel. Migrancy involves a movement in which point of departure and point of arrival are uncertain and mutable.

Metaphorically speaking, migrants can be seen to live in a zone that is characterized by 'the limit, as happening between the two deaths, as the

point in which death is engaged with life' (Das 1995: 161; see also Lacan 1992: 270–83, which includes Lacan's discussion of the Greek tragedy *Antigone* by Sophocles). As migrants leave something behind, embody and engage with life anew, they demonstrate what is seen as a human natural disposition. From this I suggest that intrinsically the experience of living in between – neither here nor there – involves the uniqueness of being human (see Lacan 1992). Fundamentally, it refers to a human need to be able actively to extend and involve oneself, to be recognized and mirrored by the others, which together provide a space for reflection and the creation of self, well-being and life-projects (Rapport 2003). When migrants experience alienation, exclusion, repression and pain, this volume suggests they suffer an embodied (often unspeakable) acknowledgement of social circumstances (Lacan 1992; Nussbaum 1986; Grønseth 2010) related to power inequalities, legal status and relations between migrants and states, bureaucrats, officials and others. Moreover, such a view is seen to contribute to an acknowledgement of the limits of the body and self and a recognition of the humanness of voices, bodies and worlds on the other side, beyond one's self. Seeking to cross borders, the self is paradoxically forced to confront its own confines and by effort (and often pain) engage in relations across them. Therefore, bringing one's self into the borderlands potentially (and hopefully) opens a space for recognition and responsibility for other human and mutual life-worlds, places, histories and futures. As such, engaging in everyday life with others brings one's self in between and offers a human experience of movement and migrancy in mind and body. Thus, I suggest that the migrant experience captures vital aspects of what it is to be human, while also recognizing that the human position is to inhabit and explore this passage. As such, being human means being a migrant.

Migrants' Sense of Self and Well-Being: Existential Agency and Temporality

Studies of migrants and refugees tend to focus on the suffering, the pain, the losses, the splintering of kin and family, the broken bounds, the nostalgia, the homesickness, illness and disease. Illness, pain and well-being always need to be understood as part of the systems of power relations and resistance within social structures (see e.g. Farmer 2005; Scheper-Hughes 1992; Das 1990; Kleinman 1988). The present volume suggests that the migrant experience comes from in between these, in a way within but also transcending such structures and powers. Although highlighting individual migrants' everyday experiences, the chapters recognize how these experiences are perceived and conceived from a position in between that calls for a critical assessment of distinct and overlapping life-worlds, social structures, moralities and identities. Such critical assessment is vital in all chapters, though it appears via different approaches. Naoko Mahera's chapter about Naomi explores images of

identity and well-being, and discusses how cognitive, emotional and bodily experiences of home, belonging and self interplay with experiences of local inclusion and family membership in Ireland. Thus, the chapter draws attention to how, by investigating migrants' everyday experiences, one can grasp the multifaceted agency that emerges from the contradictions and tensions of living in between, not only between places and times, but as a cognitive, bodily, emotional and existential human experience.

Experiences of pain and well-being are embedded in social relations and constitute a crucial part of the individual's constitution of herself or himself, as self is seen as an embodied relation (Grønseth 2010). When recognizing how the distribution of infectious diseases and pathologies reflects social inequalities (Farmer 2001: 5), and how education, employment and health are unevenly shared, the meanings and explanations of a person's level of welfare can easily be reduced to external circumstances or some inner core essence. Instead, this volume looks at the zone in between, in which the struggle for being is not a pre-set and fixed course, but a dynamic relational process of self-reflection and dialogue between the environment and a person's capacities (see Jackson 1998, 2005; Sartre 1956). Studies of well-being do not necessarily imply the investigation of the actual (or a static) condition of well-being in its various empirical forms. Indeed, I suggest seeing them as explorations of a quest for different experiences, sensations and feelings of comfort, contentment, security, joy, pleasure, achievement and success, which may occur in various degrees along a continuum between illness and health as it shifts in different everyday moments and phases of a life-span. Thus, well-being is understood as something to be experienced not as a static condition of comfort, but rather as a dynamic and shifting experience that comes from the border zone in which the self is realized, not independently, but as a mutual part of the other.

Recognizing that knowledge and the meaning of suffering and well-being are attained and embodied by living in an everyday world on the limits and borders, between fractions and portions of social life and meaning, I suggest that an existential agency emerges. It is understood as a bodily experience of intersubjectivity, made up of paradoxes, contradictions and ambivalences. It is an agency that gains force not from an individual will towards self-realization or authenticity, but from the everyday struggle to create continuous intuitive, idealistic and opportunistic changes of course that suggest more or less satisfactory solutions to the events that form the life lived. Such complex and existential agency is discussed in all of the chapters, and strikingly so in the stories of Rolanda who opposes victimization (Pinelli, this volume), the two young Russian asylum seekers in Slovenia who by means of silence create a space for dialogue (Mikola, this volume), and Ismat and Zhia who make efforts to be resilient by intertwining habit and creativity in everyday life (Georgiadou, this volume).

It is in border situations and critical junctures – such as migrancy and exile – that we stretch ourselves between a sense of being actively engaged

in the familiar and being passively acted upon in a foreign world (Jackson 2009: 37) and that we most fully experience our human nature. Being in movement and migrancy, which implies living in between, provides a feeling of being torn and thrown away, while paradoxically also being thrown open to new possibilities and connections. However, from living in between, or living in ambivalence, one does not always succeed in creating a new life of one's own. In the case of Rolanda, living so to speak between Togo and Italy, it is exposed as subject to changing and contradictory emotions and understandings of herself and the world around her (Pinelli, this volume). Taken together, the stories demonstrate how (inter-)relations of the past, present and future constitute senses of self and well-being as part of being both migrant and human.

Pinelli's chapter reminds us that when the self is stretched to the limits of its endurance by suffering, not all persons find ways in which to carve out a new life. As Jackson (2009) observes, some persons find it enough to survive, having lived through the rupture and the night to see the dawn (Jaspers 2000: 535, 543), while others surrender. Others again may 'migrate inwards', struggling with anxieties of separation, a lack of continuity and the sense of self connected to the present life. Recognizing that all that is new requires a kind of ending (like falling behind, forgetting or sometimes death), this volume addresses migrancy as the human disposition and potential to create anew and connect to others, in which the sense of self emerges.

As in Pinelli's chapter, Mahera's highlights how the self is seen to occur in the transfiguration between relationships, rather than in any pre-defined and distinct essence or identity. This fits in with my suggestion that it is in the space of the intersubjective as experienced in the interplay between self and other – being other persons, gods, objects, institutions, ideologies, cosmologies, ideas or imagery – that the sense of self, pain and well-being emerge. Dealing with and negotiating between memories of what used to be, the here and now, and hopes and dreams for the future not only brings about a sense of loss and longing, but also the motivation and direction to actions in the present that can provide experiences of pleasure and success in retrieving a life of one's own in the new settlement and surroundings.

This view also appears in Georgiadou's chapter, in which the everyday life of two young Afghan refugee men in Athens, Zhia and Ismat, illustrates how self and subjectivity emerge from experiences, emotions, motivations and dreams challenged by the socio-political and cultural environment. Thus the lives of Zhia and Ismat demonstrate how the subjective self carries the relations between memories of the past, experiences of the present and aspirations for the future. Many migrant studies have explored how nostalgia and memories of the past interact in migrants' experience and practices of the here and now (e.g. Schneider 2001). This volume introduces a novel perspective by recognizing that interests, visions, dreams and hopes for the future also play a significant role in promoting a sense of self, meaning, motivation and direction for the practices of the everyday life of today. Grønseth's chapter

introduces us to Malar, a Tamil refugee woman resettled in Norway, and discusses how her pain is linked to breaches between past, present and future. While Malar experiences being squeezed between the Norwegian and Tamil life-worlds, she re-creates and negotiates embodied practices and opens up a space in which to create a life of her own in the present, motivated by visions for the future.

This view relates to how, by not simply passively living and reproducing our life-world, but by actively producing and transforming, we create a sense of life as worth living and a sense of well-being (encapsulated in Bourdieu's concept of 'conatus'; Jackson 2005: xxii). If a person's habitus (Bourdieu 1989) is no longer efficient, the capacity for action is challenged and may lead to a loss of confidence, contentment and joy, and eventually to a feeling that life has lost its meaning and is no longer worth living. Such an experience deeply affects our sense of time (Jackson 2005: xxii). Time is no longer experienced as forthcoming (Bourdieu 2000) but as an empty and threatening absence of a future, mixed with a diffuse longing for the past. As embodied history, or habitus, implies the presence of the past in the present and conditions the possibilities of the future, living on the borders – as migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, culturally torn so-called 'halfies' or second-class citizens – profoundly challenges the sense of self as it is associated to what is forthcoming. If there is no hope for the future, one may seek a sort of recognition through violence toward oneself or others. This is illustrated in Maša Mikola's chapter, in which she discloses how two young Russian men encounter the Ljubljana Asylum Home in Slovenia, and enter an existential struggle to retain a sense of self and of the future by stretching communication and engagement beyond particular social structures, places and languages. It appears that migrants' challenges in creating self and well-being are linked to an existential need to be recognized as mutual human beings beyond distinctions and diversity.

Being a Migrant, Being Human: Calling for a Cosmopolitan Morality and Solidarity

Our contemporary world is characterized by increased migration and a global politics that offers the promise of a shared human identity and human rights, while presenting a Janus face of Othering and stigma leading to discrimination, exploitation, war and genocide. In this light the present volume explores how the study of migrants' everyday lives can contribute insights in a shared humanity across difference that inspires a cosmopolitan ethics of solidarity and peaceful co-existence. It is a cosmopolitan approach that appreciates group identities, while also recognizing the individual freedom and human rights in encounters with actual social contexts of structures, practices, meanings and values (see Rapport 2010). A cosmopolitan appreciation of a human singularity – as all humans are equally human – holds out an

invitation to a mutual and imparted and as such – a single human life-world, though not denying difference and variation, as these are seen as a crucial aspect of humanity. Searching for knowledge about the human condition, a cosmopolitan and phenomenological perspective of an ‘embodied being in the world’ fits in with the volume’s ethnographic endeavour as created in the borderlands between ethnographer and informant, as between self and other, and us and them (see also Grønseth and Davis 2010). As the chapters of this volume demonstrate, it is by employing the methods of participant observation, often demanding painful engagement in face-to-face relations while sharing and embodying events in the everyday life of the Other, that anthropology attains its characteristic and distinct mode of knowledge. While the chapters present narratives of migrants’ movements, both voluntarily and forced, it is through anthropologists’ willingness to move to the limits and enter the borderlands between distinctly figured life-worlds that we learn not only about migrant experiences, but also what it is like to be human.

Taking this insight to be at the heart of anthropology and the ethnographer’s effort requires us to recognize that knowledge exchanged and created at the borders entails not only contractually agreed bonds but an ethical responsibility to the people and persons with whom one has lived and worked. Such a perspective recognizes how anthropological knowledge is created through relations (Strathern 1993) as the ethnographer engages in the life-worlds of others and senses connections not from above or from an objective stance, but relying instead on a subjective stance within (Hastrup 2005). This view is iterated in Georgiadou’s chapter as she explores Ismat and Zhia’s intimate ‘moral worlds’ (Kleinman et al. 1997: 95). Georgiadou argues that it is only profound involvement, commitment and concern that enable an ethnography of the Other as human beings, rather than as representing categories of differentiation, such as in this case ‘victims of forced migration’. Thus, by engaging in everyday life not only by ‘being with’ but by ‘being for’ the Other (Bauman 1995: 51), Georgiadou points out how the anthropologist is confronted with moral responsibility for the Other with whom he/she has worked; this also includes a duty to assess what needs to be done – and to act.

Engaging in responsible relations is an emotional, cognitive and embodied approach of cosmopolitanism that comes from intersubjective moments which recognize a mutual humanity. Following the thoughts of Ulrich Beck (2006), this is also a ‘cosmopolitan realism’ in that it has entered the reality of the human condition in terms of global risks and threats of terror, as well as individuals’ everyday lives. As such it is a concept that features the era of reflexive modernity in which national borders and differences are dissolving and simultaneously must be negotiated from a new perspective: being the cosmopolitan (Beck 2006: 2). Furthermore, cosmopolitanism challenges and transcends the distinctions between universalism and relativism as well as nationalism and ethnicity, as it is meant to affirm the Other as different and yet the same (see also Josephides 2010).

While recognizing cosmopolitanism as departing from a politics of otherness, social inequality, modernity, nation states and globalization, this volume highlights the ethical responsibility for the Other that arises in intersubjective moments. These are moments in which the self arises and is shaped by continuously changing modes of embodied social practices, from the interplay between object and subject, self and other. As intersubjectivity arises in the space between self and other, it is seen as a shared experience which can include both empathy and conflict and affirms sameness and difference along a continuum (Jackson 1989: 4; Grønseth and Davis 2010). Achieving a between-ness in the encounter between self and Other lies at the heart of intersubjectivity, where we can (hopefully) experience a mutual humanity and dependency, as well as a responsibility for the Other (Grønseth 2014; Jackson 1998; Rorty 1989; Levinas 2003 [1972]). The contributions in this collection share this approach; it is strongly iterated in Mikola's chapter, as she invokes the moral responsibility of acknowledging asylum-seekers as human beings who cannot be detained in asylum centres that keep them apart and beyond dialogue and social space. However, all the chapters take us beyond the losses and traumas associated with migrant and refugee categories and bring us to individual persons' everyday struggles for a meaningful life of their own as distinct but also equal human beings.

Exploring migrancy and intersubjectivity in the borderlands, I propose to highlight the empirical person by drawing attention to the relationship between singular persons, but also between persons and a world of ideas and objects held in common. Otherness and selfhood are not something that is given through merely existing. Rather, they are both an outcome of intersubjective engagement. When entering 'in between', as in intersubjective spaces and moments, it emerges that across great social inequality between self and Other, each being is essentially dependent, obliged and indebted to the Other. It is an approach that recognizes how sensing and recognizing the vulnerability and sensitivity of the Other as part of oneself stimulates a heartfelt responsibility (see also Grønseth and Davis 2010; Grønseth forthcoming). From such a phenomenological perspective cosmopolitanism calls one to take ethical responsibility for the Other. Thus, I suggest that the study of migrants in engaged face-to-face relations not only offers ethical rules and solutions, but also generates an ethical source (Levinas 2003 [1972]) that offers hope and potentiality. This is a humanism not based on the self, but on the fellow human being's humanity.

Exploring Migrant Bodies: An Anthropological Approach to Humanity

Together and individually, the chapters illustrate and discuss the migrant experience and struggle for senses of self, identity, well-being and agency. Each author demonstrates how migrant experiences of illness, losses,

exclusion and inclusion, together with memories of the past and hopes for the future, interact in the daily task of creating a life of their own. By examining such experiences as they are seen to take place on the borderlands in between self and Other, the chapters constitute a volume that explores how migrancy carries a particular uniqueness of being human.

As a whole, the collection demonstrates not only how the everyday migrant life takes place in situations of flux, but also how the individual self is in constant flux as it lives at the intersections of time – past, present and future. While the individual migrants' lives are explored, their fears and hopes for love and social relatedness are displayed as poignant for migrants as much as for all human beings. The volume thus highlights how hopes and dreams for the future, together with memories of the past, are literally at the heart of migrants' everyday lives and as such constitute their sense of self and well-being, as well as their fear of losing both. This brings the volume to the interesting paradox that moments of wellness often occur through their closeness to the biting force of pain, as if the one was caused by the other (Jackson 2009: 94).

Barbara Pinelli's chapter discusses subjectivity and agency by exploring how the Togolese woman Rolanda, by applying for asylum in Italy, experiences vulnerability and suffering that are socially structured by asylum reception and assistance policy. A vital element of Rolanda's accounts, actions and experiences in everyday life is how memories of the past are crossed by the present, together with desires, fantasies and hopes for retrieving identities and well-being in the future. As Pinelli points out, highlighting fantasies and desires for the future makes possible a vital dimension in migrant and refugee studies which acknowledges that migration is a process with no end. Rather, it is the processes of becoming and of being human that continue across space and time.

Visions and hopes for the future are also seen as crucial in Anne Sigfrid Grønseth's chapter, in which she explores the illness and pain of Tamil refugees in Norway as embodied experiences of living in between distinct life-worlds. Exploring the case of Malar, a Tamil refugee woman, the chapter discusses how her painful experience of living in between, or of 'living in a tunnel' gave her the opportunity to recognize that what appears to be distinct can connect and change. Striving towards her future goals, Malar involved herself in the here and now and connected with others, and transferred her sense of being lost and alone to include an experience of mutuality and belonging with the Other as fellow human beings. While exploring links between senses of time and tenses, spatiality and localities, Grønseth's chapter highlights how migrants' experiences of living in between and on the borderlands activate a human disposition to connect in everyday life and to create future visions that include new senses of identity and well-being which embrace the Other as part of the self.

In a more autobiographical narrative, Maruška Svašek draws attention to how the story of the migrant and re-migrant Anna from the Netherlands is

enveloped by desires, hopes and fears, and how she changes her perceptions of past and future. By Svašek's interpretive analysis we come close to Anna's emotional dynamics and sense of freedom, belonging and alienation, which are all central to her awareness of self and well-being. Anna's narrative is analysed as part of a discourse, practice and embodied experience of emotions and highlights how subjectivity and the self emerge in transits and transformations in a world of movement. Paying attention to the shifts and movements in Anna's narration, Svašek observes how Anna experiences emotional stimulus and awareness of herself in flux when her narration enters zones of ambiguity and being in between times and spaces. As such the chapter offers decisive insights into the complex interplay of changing perceptions of time and space together with emotional dynamics in human senses of self, agency and well-being.

In a similar vein, Naoko Maehara explores how interactions in embodied memories, perceptions and emotions, in Naomi's narrative of her migration from Japan to Ireland, affect her sense of (non-)belonging, loss and quest for well-being. With reference to Edward Casey's concept of 'place memory' (Casey 2000), Maehara analyses Naomi's suffering as not being able to engage in the activity of re-emplacing or re-experiencing past places, the disruption of embodied knowledge and the lack of future visions. However, Naomi's narrative and photographic diary display how, with the aid of imagination, she is gradually able to appropriate her new surroundings as part of her own ongoing life while she 'attunes her body' to the new place and achieves a sense of continuity from the past into the present and future possibilities. Thus, the chapter demonstrates the human disposition towards and also the fluid contingency of subjectivity, self and well-being.

Staying with the study of individual life stories, Christina Georgiadou studies the everyday life of Zhia and Ismat, two young men from Afghan seeking refuge in Athens, Greece. Exploring the everyday lives of these two men, Georgiadou transgresses the politics of classification and Othering that would reduce Zhia and Ismat to refugees and offers instead a morally engaged ethnographic approach that highlights a mutual and shared humanity. Her exploration offers a view of Zhia and Ismat that goes beyond the problematic and passive victims whom the media and politicians tend to display, and rather recognize their existential efforts towards resistance, resilience and creativity in reconstructing a new life in exile. Georgiadou's chapter highlights how creativity and subjectivity constitutes a part of everyday human life, as it is directed towards individual fulfilment and well-being negotiated and challenged by institutional structures and disciplinary technologies constructed and effectuated by the politics of asylum-seekers' reception and thus sets the boundaries between legality and illegality.

Adding to the theme of Othering, Maša Mikola investigates how the spatial relocation of the Ljubljana Asylum Home in Slovenia stems from an economy of fear and fosters a certain kind of resistance within the Home. Mikola describes how, in the struggle to maintain and restate their sense of

self, two young men from Russia living in the Home opposed the structural and spatial boundaries between ‘us’ and the ‘others’ by cutting their veins, and by this bodily communication creating a zone for possible dialogue. Surviving the attempted suicide, they embarked on a hunger strike which became part of a public debate on asylum in Slovenia. Mikola points out how the two young men communicated a sense of self and being by means of silence, as silence is seen as a ‘speaking of the threshold’ (Irigaray 2008) in encounters between different subjectivities, such that a dialogue can begin. As the chapter points out, it is not from a shared common meaning, but from the thresholds – in this case the embodied silence – that self and Other can meet and humanity speak.

Calling for studies of migrants that move between memories, dreams and hopes in the here and now, I argue that this volume will contribute to an anthropology that illuminates the diversity and mutuality of the human experiences of self, well-being, emotions and consciousness in everyday life. The volume sheds light on social and existential conditions relating to the migrant experience as it is uniquely human. In investigating both social and existential conditions, together and individually the chapters illuminate the complex relationships between migration, self and well-being which acknowledge how experiences of illness and health are embedded in structures and power relations, while also transgressing these by acknowledging that migrants’ positions are both within and in between. By emphasizing the position in between, the volume addresses a crucial embodied agency that acknowledges that migrants, however they may be categorized, are intentional agents who create lives for themselves within day-to-day living.

I therefore suggest that the volume demonstrates how illness, health and senses of self and well-being are closely interwoven with experiences of being recognized – or in various degrees not recognized – as fully and equal human beings. All chapters illustrate self and well-being as emerging in embodied, intersubjective and agentive moments and spaces. In adopting this perspective, I argue that senses of self and well-being are inter-related to experiences of intersubjectivity and agency. As intersubjectivity arises in the borderlands between self and Other in a broad sense, the study of migrants provides a vital occasion for the investigation of self and well-being. Thus, this volume suggests that the migrant condition is a human condition.

Exploring the migrant embodied experience provides access to the life in between and reveals implicit, embodied and intersubjective data on what it is to be human. As such, exploring migrant bodies as they live their lives in the borderlands – between places, times, moralities, identities and life-worlds – calls for an anthropology that underscores the need for the ethnographer to stretch herself or himself into the borderlands between self and Other. Thus, the ethnographer’s effort to engage and move the self may serve as an anthropological approach that gains access to migrant/human bodies in movement. Thus, movement makes us humans as much as it makes us migrants.

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