Migration uncertainty in the context of Brexit

Hall, Kelly; Phillimore, Jenny; Grzymala-Kazlowska, Aleksandra; Vershinina, Natalia; Ogtem-Young, Özlem; Harris, Catherine

Link to publication on Research at Birmingham portal

Migration Uncertainty in the Context of Brexit: Resource Conservation Tactics

Kelly Hall, Jenny Phillimore, Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazlowska, Natalia Vershinina, Özlem Ögtem-Young and Catherine Harris

Abstract

The Brexit referendum has led to uncertainty, which has threatened EU migrants' resources, including their rights to reside, to run a business or access welfare. Cross-national political and legal resources that include citizenship rights can enable migrants' access to health care, pensions, education and other welfare benefits, but these remain far from guaranteed. Using Conservation of Resources theory, we show how coping with uncertainty requires the mobilisation of individual and collective resources. We draw on 55 qualitative interviews to explore how three groups of EU migrants, entrepreneurs, Somali onward migrants and British retirees in Spain, respond to Brexit related uncertainty. We examine the ways migrants utilise individual and social resources to respond to such uncertainty and explore their local, national and transnational coping tactics. Our data builds on existing knowledge around the relationship between migration and uncertainty and enables the development of Conservation of Resources theory in relation to migration and transnationalism. We show how migrants draw upon wide-ranging transnational resources, which complement the local resources that are usually the focus of the theory. As such, we provide a useful mechanism to understand migration and uncertainty, which may have utility in considering other migration crises or stresses.

Keywords: migration, uncertainty, Brexit, conservation of resources, transnationalism

Introduction

The years following the UK's Referendum on membership of the European Union (EU) and the resultant decision to leave have resulted in significant uncertainty for intra-European migrants many of whom have lived in the UK for decades but never felt the need to apply for residence (Tapper, 2019; Trabka and Pustulka, 2020). UK citizens living in parts of mainland Europe were also subject to high degrees of economic, legal and social uncertainty as the UK left the EU with the fate of Europeans living outside their country of birth unresolved (Benton, 2017). There are reports of high levels of anxiety with migrants struggling to cope with Brexit related uncertainty (Allen and Ögtem-Young, 2020; Lulle et al, 2018). The relationship between migration and uncertainty is well-established, with consideration of approaches to reducing uncertainty an inherent part of migration decision-making processes (Williams and Balaz, 2012). However, migration uncertainty has largely been explored from the perspective of those considering whether to migrate away from their country of origin, rather than after migration.

The advent of the UK's Brexit crisis offers a unique opportunity to look at uncertainty post-migration. The paper, therefore, explores the ways in which migrants experience and respond to uncertainty, focusing on their use of resources. The paper explores the interplay of migration and uncertainty for three distinct migrant groups: EU entrepreneurs in the UK, Somali EU migrants living in the UK and British retirees living in Spain. We draw on the Conservation of Resources theory (Hobfoll, 2001, 2018) to show how migrants enact different kinds of resources in the face of uncertainty. In doing do, we bring an understanding of the ways in which migration uncertainty is managed while further developing Conservation of Resources (CoR) theory in relation to transnationalism. We show how transnational resources are mobilised to deal with migration uncertainty adding for the first time a transnational dimension to the CoR theory, whilst continuing to link the resource mobilisation tactics of migrants to their situated social context and agency.

In the next part of the paper we examine existing knowledge around migration-related uncertainty and then consider CoR theory. We then describe the research methods utilised and set out our findings. The findings first outline the ways in which uncertainty related to Brexit is experienced and then explore how migrants respond through the enactment of individual and social resources. We finish by showing the utility of CoR in understanding migrant behaviour in uncertainty and stress the need to consider transnational resources.

Uncertainty and Migration

The idea that uncertainty is inherent to migration is well-established, with uncertainty being pervasive, albeit to differing degrees, in all forms and stages of migration (Williams and Balaz, 2012). Kleist (2016:2) refers to uncertainty as "precarious or unpredictable life conditions and how the hoping subject deals with them". Uncertainty is often associated with 'risk' although the difference between the concepts is widely contested (Williams and Balaz, 2012). Risk is connected with the known probability of outcomes i.e. a risky decision involves a choice from a range of possible outcomes where probabilities are known, whilst uncertainty is linked to the 'unknown'. However, in reality known and unknown uncertainties overlap, as migrants usually have partial knowledge of possible outcomes (Williams and Balaz, 2012). Further, some migrants may perceive something as a risk to their lives and/or their business, whilst others might perceive the same event as a sign of uncertainty. Risk and uncertainty are therefore highly problematized phenomena that are difficult to quantify and whilst often viewed as 'real' in economic theories, sociological theories suggest they are socially constructed.

Instead, Luhmann (2002) contrasts risk with danger by stressing that risk emerges only as a part of decisions or actions. To unpack the notion of uncertainty in the context of migration, it is useful to refer to Luhmann's (2000) conceptualisation of familiarity, confidence and trust, which are different modalities that challenge individuals' expectations and their self-assurance. This distinction is particularly useful in depicting how uncertainty caused by Brexit has distorted migrants' *familiarity* of their surrounding environment, impacted their *confidence* in the stability of institutional structures, and influenced their relationship with and *trust* in British society.

Theories that link uncertainty and migration often focus on decisions around whether to emigrate with mobility a possible response to difficult life situations (Kleist, 2016). Migration

can be used to overcome disadvantage, to access opportunities, fulfil social obligations or pursue educational goals. Uncertainty about future conditions in both the sending and receiving countries can discourage migration. Research focusing upon pre-migration decision-making (O'Connell, 1997) indicates that people may enact 'wait and see' behaviour by postponing migration until as much uncertainty as possible is resolved, or alternatively engage in speculative or 'try your luck' migration, especially if there is an option of return (O'Connell, 1997). Moreover, migration literature has tended to focus on economic uncertainty and risk (e.g Katz and Stark, 1986; Dustmann, 1997) or cultural uncertainty and acculturation (Berry, 2010) prior to emigration.

Uncertainty is frequently portrayed as problematic for psychosocial well-being (e.g. Landis, 1996). Research exploring the consequences of uncertainty often focuses on migration through conflict and displacement, particularly in relation to increased unpredictability. Uncertainty is however not universally considered to be problematic and can be experienced as productive, constituting a social resource with potential to reduce insecurity, create relationships and enable people to envisage future hopes (Kleist, 2016). When hope is present, uncertainty can generate anticipation opening one's future to new opportunities (Hernandez-Carretero, 2016). Uncertainty in relation to migration does, however, remain relatively unexplored, particularly uncertainty that arises post-migration.

The EU referendum took place on 23rd June 2016 and saw 51.9% of voters electing to leave. The UK left the EU on the 31st January 2020, and whilst the Withdrawal Agreement has now secured the rights to residency and welfare of approximately three million EU nationals living in the UK and over 1 million British nationals permanently residing in other EU countries (Benton, 2017), uncertainties about their future and that of new EU migrants continues. Brexit uncertainty has forced migrants to contemplate everyday activities and rights formerly taken for granted, fuelling imaginations about potential adversities, new vulnerabilities and social risk as individuals experience a sense of lives suspended (Knight, 2017; Reichl-Luthra, 2020; Trabka and Pustulka, 2020). Brexit has therefore been referred to as an 'unsettling event' (Kilkey and Ryan, 2020), that has constrained migrant agency, diminished rights and evoked sentiments of separating 'us' and 'them', especially for EU migrants in the UK who have felt a sense of rejection (Lulle, 2018). The level of precariousness surrounding a situation that has long-term consequences makes living with the physical and psychological effects of uncertainty challenging with Green (2016) arguing that EU migrants live in a 'new normal' of uncertainty.

Brexit has been regarded to as 'an ongoing, structural event and a manufactured risk that everybody relates to', but not necessarily in the same way (Trabka and Pustulka, 2020:4). For instance, migrants do not necessarily hold a uniform social status. Moret (2017) recognises that less privileged migrants, including Somali migrants in Europe, may have social and economic disadvantages in comparison to other European migrants. However, they may have advantages as their previous experiences of mobility provide them with what Moret (2017) calls 'mobility capital', which is the accumulation of diverse mobility experiences and skills that they can exercise to enable future mobility. Such technical and cognitive skills are useful for crossing borders again, or rather to cross them in increasingly fruitful manners. Similarly, prior experiences of uncertainty can help migrants to cope with future uncertainty. EU-Somali migrants may have more flexible approaches to EU citizenship compared to EU citizens 'from birth' who may take for granted their EU freedom of movement (Sredanovic, 2020). Some

migrants are therefore in a stronger position to exercise agency, particularly in relation to their ongoing mobility strategies. We explore how different groups of EU migrants enact or conserve their resources in response to Brexit uncertainty, by drawing on Hobfoll's CoR framework.

Responding to Uncertainty: The Conservation of Resources

Resources have been defined by Hobfoll (2011:339) as 'objects, personal characteristics or energies that are valued in their own right, or that are valued because they act as conduits to the achievement or protection of valued resources'. CoR has been used to understand the ways in which individuals utilise resources to cope with stress or crises (Benight et al., 1999; Hobfoll, 2011; Phillimore et al., 2018). Hobfoll (2001:341) argues that in the face of stress or crisis individuals seek to obtain, retain, protect and foster those things that they value in a bid to achieve psychosocial security. We use CoR theory to explore how actual and anticipated behaviours of acquiring, protecting, and developing resources act as coping mechanisms to help manage uncertainty caused by Brexit. We explore both potential and actual resource loss and the tactics migrants adopt to cope with those losses.

For Hobfoll (2001), resources can be organised into four types; objects (physical entities e.g. a house), conditions (social circumstances that can avail people to other resources e.g. love), personal characteristics (skills/personality attributes that enable an individual to better withstand stressful conditions, achieve desired goals, or obtain other resources e.g. optimism) and energies (can be used to obtain other resources but also valued in their own right e.g. money). CoR considers both environmental and internal influences, and as such resources can be both contextually and culturally determined (Hobfoll, 2001). Self is derived from both internal and external processes, so individuals are seen as situated within a broader social context that includes families and other social groups. Hobfoll (2001:338) refers to how CoR integrates the 'individual-nested in family-nested in tribe' as a means to explain how individuals cannot be separated from their wider social context. In this paper, we focus on individual and social (or collective) resources. Although, as with Hobfoll, we recognise that these are not necessarily distinct categories.

Migration studies have barely utilised CoR with the exception of Phillimore et al. (2018) and Grzymala-Kazlowska (2018), who used CoR to explore migrant adaptation and integration. They argue that whilst an individual's experiences of migration can be highly variable, the process of separating from one's home country can involve the loss (and gain) of resources including individual resources, social resources (families, friends) and symbolic resources (language, landscape, music, weather, media) (Phillimore et al., 2018). They point to the importance of knowledge including language, culture and institutions in replacing resources lost during migration.

Extending Conservation of Resources Theory using a Transnational Lens

CoR theory has not yet considered resources from a transnational perspective instead assuming a sedentary, rather than mobile population. As has been widely acknowledged,

migrant resources can span local, translocal and transnational spaces (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995). These resources include ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital and can play a crucial role in promoting immigrant entrepreneurship, community, family formation, and political integration (Levitt, 1998). 'Transmigrants' forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded economic, cultural, political and social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Bailey, 2001). The importance of transnational resources for migrants is widely recognised, including in enabling individual survival during times of hardship and uncertainty (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995). Migrants create transnational spaces of agency by translating the economic and social resources, including the abovementioned mobility capital gained in one setting into political, social and economic capital in another (Moret, 2017). Cross-border mobility therefore constitutes a key aspect of migrants' resource to negotiate structures and exert some agency in a global context.

The paper offers a unique empirical examination of resource utilisation post-migration when an individuals' ability to remain in the receiving country is threatened. We argue that looking at migrant resource-use tactics will enable us to understand how migrants cope with uncertainty. Such 'tactics' have been shown to reduce stress and re-establish self-esteem via resource replacement (Phillimore et al., 2018; Hobfoll, 2011). Whilst much of the migration literature tends to refer to migrant 'strategies' as general ways in which migrants aim to achieve their overall goals (e.g. Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 2003; Snel and Staring, 2001), we draw on De Certeau's (1984) distinction between strategies and tactics. Strategies can be seen as manifestations of the structural conditions produced by institutions, whilst individual agency can be viewed as micro-level 'tactics'. 'Tactics' involve the steps taken by individuals and groups to redress unequal power relations (Lulle et al., 2017). The term 'tactics' has been used in research on migration in relation to acts of resistance either as a last resort (De Certeau, 1984) or as part of everyday encounters (Scott, 1985). These include the ways in which marginalised migrants make the best of their resources and capabilities (Williams, 2006). Lulle et al. (2017) in their exploration of Brexit on intra-European youth mobilities, refer to 'micro tactics of belonging' to explain how migrants adjusted and adapted in response to Brexit and negotiated distinctive notions of belonging. Thus, resource enactment and conservation can be considered as tactics adopted by migrants to address uncertainty. In the following section, we set out the methods used to identify and examine migrants' resource utilisation tactics.

Methods

We draw on qualitative interview data to explore how three groups of EU migrants respond to Brexit related uncertainty. These are: migrants from Poland, Latvia and Lithuania who were running businesses in the UK (the 'entrepreneurs'); Somali onward migrants who relocated to the UK after gaining refugee status in mainland Europe (the 'EU-Somali migrants') and retired British citizens resident in Spain (the 'retirees'). Through the interviews, we examine the ways in which each group responded to the outcome of the EU referendum, focusing on the uncertainty experienced and the tactics employed to cope. We explore migrants' accounts of their tactics as opposed to actual practices, focusing on their perceptions of Brexit uncertainty in relation to past, current and future resource loss and reported responses. We undertook a total of 55 interviews: 10 with EU-Somali migrants, 20 with entrepreneurs and

25 with retirees. Some 46 interviews were with individuals and 9 were interviews undertaken with couples meaning the total number of people interviewed was 64. All interviews explored responses to Brexit uncertainty, with couple interviews examining their shared life narrative. Whilst couple interviews generated the risk of one interviewee dominating, we benefitted from a deeper understanding of household relationships and roles.

Table 1: Participant Characteristics

	Retirees	Entrepreneurs	EU-Somali Migrants
Migration Trajectory	Living in Spain. Arriving 1981-2015 after retiring in the UK.	15 originally from Poland, 2 from Latvia and 3 from Lithuania. Arriving 2003-2015.	Migrated to the UK from Netherlands (3), Sweden (3), Norway (2) and Finland (2). Arriving 2003 - 2014.
Legal Status	Born in UK. Five not legally resident in Spain.	Born in Poland, Latvia or Lithuania with EU citizenship.	Gained EU citizenship in mainland EU then onward migration to UK.
Age	51-91.	21-52.	16-43.
Employment status	Retired (2 retired early on health grounds).	Employed in own businesses with 0-10 employees.	Two full-time, two part-time, one self-employed, two students and three homemakers/carers.
Gender	18 female, 16 male (9 couple interviews).	13 female, 7 male.	6 female, 4 male.
Family situation	26 married/co-habiting, 4 widowed, 1 divorced and 3 single. Two with adult children in Spain. 23 with children in the UK.	12 married, 3 single, 5 have a partner (3 of whom in mainland EU and another in Nigeria). 9 with children in the UK, 2 with children in mainland EU.	5 married, 4 single and 1 divorced. Spouse/partner and children in UK. Some with parents and/or other relatives in UK.

The three migrant groups were selected because they were all experiencing Brexit related uncertainty. However, there were some key differences (see Table 1) around their migration trajectory, legal status, family situation and other socio-demographic characteristics. One key difference within our sample was the relatively 'privileged' position of the entrepreneurs and retirees compared to many of the EU-Somali migrants who had arrived in Europe as refugees. These similarities and differences enabled us to understand how uncertainty is understood from different perspectives. In our analysis we focus on the tactics interviewees reported in response to uncertainty. Participants were interviewed by the authors using a common topic guide with some specific additional questions. For example, entrepreneurs were asked

questions about their future investment plans and retirees asked about their pensions. Participants were interviewed either with the use of interpreters (EU-Somali migrants) or through utilising the language skills of our multilingual research team. Interviews took place in February-March 2017, approximately 8 months after the referendum and just before Article 50 was triggered. Interviewees were identified in several ways including through community, voluntary and faith organisations, using the research team's networks, snowballing and through social media.

Ethical approval was obtained from the host University's Ethical Review Committee. Each participant was approached by email or by telephone, and provided with an information sheet that detailed the purpose of the research, the ways in which data would be utilised and how contributions would be anonymised and retained. All participants had the opportunity to ask questions before being asked to sign a consent form alongside the interviewer. Participants had the right to withdraw from the study including after being interviewed but none decided to do this.

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. We adopted a systematic thematic analysis approach to data analysis following the step-by-step process of data coding (Braun and Clarke, 2006), which enabled us to engage in independent open coding of the transcribed interviews. Following group discussion we developed a coding scheme focusing around common themes e.g. individual and social resources, with 'social' being sub-divided into family and community, and local and transnational (see Fig. 1). Once common codes were devised, each interviewer coded their own data in NVivo. With coding complete we searched and retrieved data around key concepts building from the bottom the dimensionality of "uncertainty", "resources" and "transnationalism", while paying attention to differences and similarities between the three migrant groups. Our findings begin by exploring Brexit uncertainty and resource loss before going on to explore the individual and collective tactics employed as a response to this loss. We illustrate the strong transnational dimension underpinning these resources and tactics.
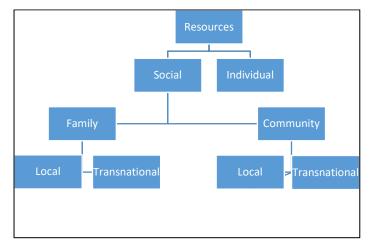
Fig 1: Coding Tree Example

Brexit Uncertainty and Resource Loss

We begin by focusing on the how uncertainty was reported distinguishing into two levels; the first is an actual loss of resources and the second a potential or anticipated loss. Brexit had

led to the actual loss of agency for all groups, particularly in relation to how it generated an inability to plan ahead and a feeling of lives being 'on hold':

> *I'm concerned about what's going to actually happen with Brexit…it's the fear of the unknown. All my life, I've planned things... At the moment, we're all going back to no plan because you don't know what to do.* (Marjorie, 65, Retiree)

Marjorie's words illustrate the impact of Brexit and the way in which it has distorted the familiarity of her surrounding environment, created challenges in forming everyday life expectations and led her to withdraw from future planning (Luhmann, 2000). Such challenges were exemplified by the *actual* loss of crucial personal resources, including those set out by Hobfoll (2001): 'knowing where I were going with my life', 'feeling that I have control over my life' and 'a feeling that I know who I am'. As Ben explained, Brexit led to him losing his sense of identity and belonging:

> *I want to be a European and that really, really gets to me.* (Ben, 64, Retiree)

This lack of certainty and loss of belonging contributed to a sense of precarity with interviewees expressing feelings of anxiety, hopelessness and insecurity that have also been reported elsewhere as responses to Brexit (e.g. Lulle, 2018).

> *You can deal with the present situation. It's difficult to anticipate anything if you don't know what's coming. It's like walking down the road and you see a bend. Until you take it, you don't know what's behind it.* (Julia, 30s, Entrepreneur)

Respondents also talked about their fears of *potential* resource loss on a personal level. The EU-Somali migrants feared that they would be marginalised from the wider British community, anticipating that they would lose their sense of being integrated:

> *It will be like 'you guys are not part of us.' There will be changes that will remind us that we are not part of Britain.* (Asad, 29, EU-Somali migrant)

Uncertainty also centred around more tangible loss including the potential loss of legal rights and entitlements to reside in the UK. The entrepreneurs and EU-Somali migrants outlined the potential loss of their rights to remain:

> *I was scared. Definitely. Because I did start a new life here and I thought 'Oh my god, do I have to start again?' I don't want to go back and start again. I am already tired as it is! I am already settled. I am finally settled and then the vote came and it was like 'Oh my god!' I was very scared.* (Salma, 34, EU-Somali migrant)

> *First of all, panic, panic. People scared... Everybody panic... Are we going to have the right to stay?* (Iwona, 20s, Entrepreneur)

The strong emotional reactions of Iwona and Salma show how uncertainty led to the loss of familiarity and confidence, and left them lacking trust in the societies in which they were embedded (Luhmann, 2000). For the EU-Somali migrants, Brexit generated a loss of confidence in the welfare systems that some of them depended on. Asad spoke about the potential loss of access to social housing, healthcare and education:

> *When I think about [Brexit], it is scary. Because Brexit is just a stepping-stone to greater change. It has started soft now like, there is no more Jobseeker's Allowance, no more*

housing benefit. Then it's going to be, you cannot go to uni, you are an international student, so you have to pay the same fee as international students. (Asad, 29, EU-Somali migrant)

In Spain, retirees also worried about whether they would be permitted to continue accessing health and care services and whether they would receive the annual state pension increment. One interviewee explained that if they lost their rights to free public healthcare in Spain, they would not be able to afford to pay for private healthcare insurance because of their age and pre-existing health conditions:

> *If we lose health care, then I have no choice, I will be literally thrown out under current rules and regulations, because I can't go private.* (William, 69, Retiree)

For all groups, the actual and anticipated loss of material and financial resources featured prominently in interviews. The entrepreneurs centred their fears on the future sustainability of their businesses, and included the actual and anticipated loss of income due to exchange rate fluctuations and lost trade:

> *Pound to Euro changes, and the prices in small shops go up, so the customers always have an option of going to ASDA and buy cheaper produce. This may hurt us the most.* (Elza, 25, Entrepreneur)

Similarly, the retirees had experienced actual financial loss relating to a decline in the value of their state pension because of a drop in the value of the pound post-referendum. This uncertainty prompted participants to adopt a range of tactics to address uncertainty. Following Hobfoll (2001:341), we demonstrate that in the face of uncertainty, participants sought to obtain, retain, protect and foster the resources they valued. In the next section we explore the ways in which individual and collective resources were utilised and explain how these resources were important at both a local and transnational level.

Individual Resources and Personal Recovery

In response to the uncertainty created by Brexit, many interviewees sought to regain control over their lives by conserving and enacting their sense of independence and agency. Interviewees referred to the need to maintain an inner or personal strength in order to cope. The entrepreneurs highlighted using personal determination to move forward with their lives and their businesses:

> *Probably persistence. You can say I am obstinate...and this is how it must be. When we select a direction to grow the company, I prepare a plan of action and I don't allow any deviations because then we will never find if the solutions we introduce will be effective. I try not to allow any external interference into my plan.* (Julia, 30s, Entrepreneur)

The tactics used to respond to uncertainty varied with enactment of resources and was somewhat dependent on prior experiences. The EU-Somali migrants had previously encountered migration related uncertainty having migrated before moving to the UK. The accumulation of cognitive and technical skills developed through mobility was utilised as 'mobility capital' (Moret, 2017) making it easier to address different types of movements in

response to new uncertainty. Their prior multiple migrations and associated uncertainties meant that they not only acquired mobility capital but also forged 'multiple place attachments' (Giuliani, Ferrara, and Barabotti, 2003) i.e. positive bonds with different places, that they were able to draw on tactically to create a sense of personal security and belonging:

> *Right now, I feel like the UK is my home. But at the back of my mind, the vision that I have is saying you will probably go back to Sweden… If I'm forced to leave the home that I am in right now I know that I will make another home.* (Asad, 29, EU-Somali migrant)

Similarly, Anders, a Lithuanian entrepreneur, explains how he was able to utilise his prior experience as mobility capital:

> *You just gain more experience and realise that in some cases you know you have been through something similar before, and hence it makes it easier to make a decision on how to solve the issues.* (Anders, 33, Entrepreneur)

This experience gave Anders a sense of confidence and the 'conditions' (Hobfoll, 2001) needed to access knowledge and resources to cope with Brexit. On the other hand, the retirees tended to lack 'mobility capital' as they had only migrated to Spain. Their tactics might therefore be described as 'wait and see' behaviour, the nature of which has been widely observed as a response to pre-migration uncertainty and can be contrasted to the more proactive 'try your luck' (O'Connell, 1997) response of the entrepreneurs and EU-Somali migrants. Despite feeling that they lacked control over their lives, retirees enacted Hobfoll's (2001) resources of 'hope' and a 'sense of optimism' as coping mechanisms:

> *I'm just taking it a day at a time…because whatever happens will happen, well that's my attitude now because there's nothing we can do about it, we can't stop it, we just keep our fingers crossed and hope for the best.* (Margaret, 82, Retiree)

For Margaret, exercising hope in response to uncertainty allowed her to anticipate future opportunities (Hernandez-Carretero, 2016). 'Hope' closely connects to Hobfoll's (2001) individual resource of 'feeling that my future success depends on me' which was evident in the approaches adopted by many participants. This included reacting to uncertainty by taking the pro-active decision to return to the homeland. The entrepreneurs were the most likely to refer to return as a tactic. For many, return was a decision made on a personal level:

> *You have to have an emergency exit and count only on yourself and not trust anybody completely. Because even when they say something then they will say something different. Because first we thought that we can live here. You have to be prepared to have an emergency exit.* (Marta, 30s, Entrepreneur)

For Marta, the response to 'up and leave' was viewed positively as a way to regain her lost confidence and independence. Similarly, Pietr tactically enacted his agency by deciding to leave:

> *I don't really want to go in the subject of talking to people about why did they make the decision, they had the right to make their own decision, this is what they've made, I've made mine, I'm done living here.* (Piotr, 40s, Entrepreneur)

The lives and lifestyles of some migrants were therefore not bound to a particular locality or country. Many were 'transmigrants' whose lives were dependent on multiple interconnections across national borders and whose identities are configured in relation to more than one nation (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995). This transnational outlook coupled with mobility capital enabled many entrepreneurs and EU-Somali migrants to develop the confidence and skill-set to 'pack up and go' whenever they decided, thereby generating agency in migration decision-making (Moret, 2017). Whilst some interviewees were contemplating return or onward mobility, others had decided to remain for the time being. Gustaf, a Latvian entrepreneur who owns businesses in multiple countries, explained that whilst he did not intend to leave now, he could exercise agency in the future through knowing he could utilise his financial and business resources to leave:

> *I travel light, my bags are ready packed I can go whenever I want, I can stay for as long as I want so for me I'm kind of unaffected [by Brexit] in many ways.* (Gustaf, 52, Entrepreneur)

Alternatively, some interviewees cemented their decision to remain by taking up permanent residence or citizenship. For Aisha, an EU-Somali migrant, Brexit was the trigger she needed to apply for permanent residency. She felt this was a positive decision that enabled her to take back control of her life, as well as her sense of self and identity:

> *I can say it was happy, the Brexit thing, because if it hadn't happened we would not have thought about this residency…with Brexit it is "Oh no!" You question, who are you? Are you allowed to stay or not to stay here? And that prompted us to apply for residency.* (Aisha, EU-Somali migrant, 34)

Similarly, some entrepreneurs adopted pro-active tactics to retain their businesses and lives in the UK by seeking new business opportunities outside of their current locality. Despite intending to remain living in the UK, they were able to utilise and conserve their transnational resources to seek business opportunities in other countries, move their business online or explore office locations in other countries:

> *It's going to be a big change for me but I will adapt because I already did something in one country and I am trying to do and gather business knowledge that if I will need to live in Spain, Italy or anywhere else, I will do the same.* (Piotr, 34, Entrepreneur)

Piotr and Aisha therefore demonstrate how uncertainty can be converted into opportunity (Kleist, 2016). Following Genova and Zontini (2020) who use the notion of liminality to analyse the coping practices of Bulgarian and Italian migrants in the UK in the face of Brexit, we note that the loss of frames of reference may be both unsettling and liberating, depending on migrants' positioning and attitudes. Similarly, Agata, explained how she was able to turn uncertainty into opportunity by expanding the reach of her business to attract new customers. This would in turn reduce her financial uncertainty:

> *I'm planning to stay here, if the market changes, my business will obviously have to adapt to the new market…so I'll try to target British customers… I'm thinking it's either going to be multilingual and just adding something else to it, geographically I've got the software, just haven't had the time to take the course that I already paid for in graphic design.* (Agata, 43, Entrepreneur)

Most respondents were firmly embedded in the UK or Spain, yet their lives and resources spanned national borders. As transmigrants, they were settled in the economy, political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they resided, yet at the same time, were 'engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated' (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995:48). For entrepreneurs, transnational resources included their own knowledge and financial investments that were located in either the country of origin or other countries. A similar global outlook was held by some of the retirees who in seeking to protect their resource of 'retirement security' (Hobfoll, 2001), decided to retain or buy a property in the UK. This provided them with the economic security needed in case their Brexit fears, including the loss of free healthcare or pension increments, were realised:

> *I was thinking about…buying a small property [in the UK] as a bolthole in case the balloon goes up… I have property [in Spain] but maybe I need to have somewhere that I can go back to.* (Rose, 70s, Retiree)

Individual resources therefore included personal attributes, but these were also connected to both objects and conditional resources including material assets and social connections that could be used tactically at an individual level in response to the ongoing uncertainty. Assets and connections were not always based in their locality but often transcended national borders. This was particularly evident where participants had knowledge of multiple countries including cultural and business knowledge or simply the experience of multiple mobilities. As demonstrated in the next section, these transnational resources also included social networks.

Social Resources and Collective Recovery

Hobfoll (2001) refers to the importance of family as a resource and the emotional and practical support of a spouse/partner, a parent or children was reported to be important in helping all of our participants cope with Brexit uncertainty. Hobfoll, however, also goes beyond the family and uses the term 'tribe' when referring to social resources of friends, colleagues, organisations and communities. These 'social attachments' (Hobfoll, 2001) were used by all groups as a resource to cope with uncertainty. Locally based 'supportive communities' outside of the immediate family were a key source of both emotional strength and practical advice. For the EU-Somali migrants, the local community offered a sense of reassurance and emotional support that was reciprocal in nature:

> *The kind of support we give each other, the support that I give to my community, speaking from my angle, is to be involved in the community… I am involved in all of these things because it is a way of giving them back. Gives you a sense of purpose.* (Asad, 29, EU-Somali migrant)

Local communities based on shared ethno-national backgrounds provided what Hobfoll (2001) refers to as 'cultural belonging', which is itself a resource that can be used to overcome adversity and uncertainty. The entrepreneurs reported that their local community provided information and advice on Brexit, although to some extent this could exacerbate uncertainty:

After Poles moved here, everything developed. Now people, and I have contact with Poles, are asking what's going to happen. Brexit is an everyday topic for everyone. People have different information, good or bad, true or exaggerated, and no one knows what's coming. (Marta, 30s, Entrepreneur)

Collective knowledge, therefore, emerged as a key resource, including shared information on residency and welfare entitlements. The retirees turned to British voluntary organisations for information and were the only group of migrants to report using local and national government resources, including the British Consulate and Town Halls, for information and advice:

There are lots of organisations out here…The British Legion. There are various other organisations that have set themselves up to try to get information from various Consulates. (Chester, 73, Retiree)

Hobfoll (2001) referred to 'involvement in organisations with others who have similar interests' as a crucial resource for coping with uncertainty, which was exemplified by the entrepreneurs who turned to business clubs:

We have had a lot of conversations with clients and as well as the Polish Business Club. There is…a lot of information about what to do, apply for permanent residency and there [are] a lot of people try to make money on that, say 'OK yeah I can help you to fill the form'. (Piotr, 34, Entrepreneur)

Collective tactics or acts of resistance designed to regain power (De Certeau, 1984) were also displayed by the retirees, some of whom organised and participated in campaigns to oppose the referendum result:

On 31st March, we're having a forum here and I'm talking to other people that I know, just really to raise awareness and to say, 'Look, this is what some people are doing to campaign against Brexit. Why don't we join in?' (Stella, 68, Retiree)

Such group responses relate to what Tajfel and Turner (1986) label 'social identity' whereby people react as a group rather than individually leading to increased trust, social responsibility and equality. Social identity via a collective response to Brexit uncertainty was therefore evident in the tactics employed by the migrants.

In addition to social resources utilised and conserved locally, participants also drew on a wider range of transnational social resources both physically and virtually. Whilst most participants were firmly rooted in the UK or Spain, as 'transmigrants' they maintained multiple linkages to their homeland (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995) that included formal and voluntary organisations such as the British Consulate, but also more informal social ties with family and friends. Respondents were able to use these transnational social and cultural ties as resources to cope with uncertainty. The extended family of most participants were located in the home (or another) country and so maintaining connections to family living elsewhere was important. These transnational ties included visits to and from family in the homeland (and elsewhere), as well as regular communication with family and friends in other countries via social media and other communication technology. Physical and virtual 'simultaneous' connections with transnational family and friends can help to define a migrant's sense of self (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), and act as a resource for emotional, practical and financial support, including the exchange of money, goods and knowledge/information. The EU-Somali

migrants had family members offering emotional support in different countries. Family overseas provided access to financial and practical support including a 'place to stay' if needed, which gave them a sense of solidarity and reassurance as they dealt with Brexit uncertainty:

> *I have options and I have people to help me. I have family members around the world that if I go to see them they will take care of me until I find my own feet... To be honest the kind of support we give each other, the support that I give to my community, speaking from my angle, is to be involved in the community.* (Asad, 32, EU-Somali migrant)

Resource exchange and utilisation included financial exchange, but also social transfers or what Levitt (1998) refers to as social remittances. Social remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving to sending country communities (Levitt, 1998) and are widely acknowledged to play a role in promoting migrant entrepreneurship, community, family formation, and political integration. Further, as we demonstrate here, such social remittances are important as a coping mechanism to deal with uncertainty. Most of the retirees retained strong transnational family ties, despite geographical separation with adult children living in the UK a key resource. Some of the older retirees were contemplating returning to live with a child or sibling because of Brexit, indicating the importance of transnational family resources for both emotional support and financial/retirement security:

> *My youngest son...he's got a big house in a little, tiny village in [UK] and he wants us to go back so he can look after us.* (Bertha, 81, Retiree)

> *We could go back to her sister if we wanted to because she'd be happy to take us.* (Roy, 87, Retiree)

At a transnational level, business associates and networks overseas were a crucial resource for the entrepreneurs enabling them to 'plan ahead' by re-locating their businesses or developing alternative tactics in light of Brexit uncertainty:

> Participant: *So if something changes and [it is] really, really bad...an option for us...we're not going to Poland, that's for sure, we will move to a different country.*

> Interviewer: *What country?*

> Participant: *Monaco, because my husband has lots of business contacts...there and he has the opportunity to work [there].* (Ewa, 30s, Entrepreneur)

Transnational social networks therefore enabled the possibility of return or re-location, and as previously acknowledged, transnational family relations and economic transactions that reserve a place 'at home' for migrants can offset what Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1995) refer to as their 'global vulnerability' (Gmelch, 1992). These global connections enabled respondents to build and maintain businesses and property in both the country of origin and settlement.

Discussion

Brexit has undoubtedly created a period of uncertainty for EU migrants, including those living in the UK and other EU countries. Our interviews have indicated how three different migrant groups experienced and responded to uncertainty, and the ways in which uncertainty can impact on and be mediated by individuals, families and communities. We have illustrated how uncertainty can lead to resource loss or worries about anticipated losses, and how migrants respond by seeking to obtain, retain, protect and foster those things that they value in a bid to overcome adversity and achieve security. Brexit has provided an opportunity to explore the relationship between migration and uncertainty using a CoR framework. Following Hobfoll (2001) we have considered how internal (individual) and environmental (social) processes are used by migrants to develop tactics in response to resource loss. Our focus is on how migrants' plan and discuss their responses to uncertainty rather than the implementation of actual tactics. Whilst we recognise that the migration journeys and socio-cultural backgrounds of the migrant groups were often different, their experiences of and responses to uncertainty were similar in many ways.

Responses to uncertainty included the need to regain control and identity at an individual level. The personal attributes of determination, hope and optimism were crucial resources enacted to regain a sense of agency. Sometimes agency was enacted tactically by turning uncertainty into opportunity (Kleist, 2016). Opportunities included some of the EU-Somali migrants making the positive decision to apply for UK citizenship or entrepreneurs deciding to expand their business into new areas. We also demonstrate that individual resources cannot be considered in isolation. Indeed, the self is derived not only from internal but also social processes. Therefore, social attachments were crucial in explaining how individuals responded to uncertainty. Families, often located in a different country, were found to support respondents emotionally and provided some practical support, including a possible place to return. However, wider networks of friends, associates and communities, or what Hobfoll (2001) refers to as 'tribe', were important resources for accessing knowledge, information and reassurance, that enabled respondents to plan ahead and tactically exert their agency e.g. by collectively organising anti-Brexit campaigns or collaborating with international partners to relocate a business. 'Tribes' also provided 'cultural belonging' (Hobfoll, 2001) based around shared ethno-national backgrounds and shared interests e.g. as entrepreneurs, EU-Somali migrants or retirees.

CoR theory helps us to understand different responses to uncertainty and to explore the multiple resources that people draw on, yet it assumes a sedentary population and ignores the proximity and location of resources. However, migrant resources are often transnational (Vertovec, 2001) and can include the retaining of resources (e.g. social networks, property) in the homeland (Phillimore et al., 2018; Hall and Hardill, 2016). Whilst we acknowledge that transnational resources are generated, enacted and experienced differently by individual migrants, we broadly define transnational resources to include social formations and communities that span national borders (Vertovec, 2001; Wakeman, 1988), multi-local living (Clifford, 1994) and transnational capital transfers involving 'small players' spreading assets and doing business across borders (Portes, 1988). The 'social remittances' (Levitt, 1998) that we focus on are at the micro-level of the individual, family and community, yet are also underpinned by macro level social transfers of welfare rights, institutions and culture. The EU offers a form of political transnationalism whereby, at least until the UK fully withdraws from Europe, migrants have freedom of movement and can access health and welfare rights. Brexit

introduced obstacles for all our respondents, and whilst they shared many of the same challenges and utilised similar resources, there were also some key differences. The retirees stand to lose their EU citizenship yet are free to return to the UK at any time, whilst the entrepreneurs and EU-Somali migrants may lose some of the rights in the UK whilst retaining EU citizenship and freedom to move to another European country.

We demonstrate how resources are conserved and used tactically to enable migrants to remain in place or to undertake return or onward migration. Whilst at the time of writing the majority of participants intended to remain, and some referred to Brexit as a trigger to enact permanent residency or citizenship, a small number decided to return 'home' or move elsewhere. The response to 'up and leave' was made as a pro-active tactic to regain a sense of control and instil certainty. This option was most prominent among the entrepreneurs, many of whom had business networks that offered resources that could be utilised to generate income. Similarly, some of the British retirees and EU-Somali migrants spoke about family and friends in the home country who would offer support if Brexit fears were realised. One clear finding from the study is the importance of access to financial resources to cope with uncertainty (either their own financial resources or those obtained via social connections). Those who are dependent on welfare were most likely to feel uncertainty and have less agency than those with economic capital. The EU-Somali migrants and some of the retirees with a low income were particularly concerned about ongoing access to public healthcare in the country of migration and had limited ability to move elsewhere due to financial constraints. Alternatively, entrepreneurs with successful businesses or the retirees with property in the UK were able to use their economic resources to contemplate returning or moving elsewhere.

Whilst we point to many similarities among the migrant groups in our study, we also recognise the heterogeneity both across and within our sample. The entrepreneurs and retirees were more 'privileged' than many of the EU-Somali migrants who had arrived in Europe as refugees, had limited economic capital and may face discrimination and disadvantage on the grounds of ethnicity, race and religion. The EU-Somali migrants had accumulated significant experience, skills and knowledge from prior migration and uncertainty experiences that provided them with 'mobility capital' (Moret, 2017), which for some offered the confidence to plan mobility or draw on their transnational resources for support. Mobility capital also includes the ability to decide not to move (Moret, 2017) with some of the EU-Somali migrants obtaining UK citizenship and remaining permanently. Similarly, many of the entrepreneurs drew on their mobility capital to secure their futures and that of their businesses. Alternatively, despite being a socio-demographically and economically diverse population, the retirees had similar migration journeys having retired in the UK prior to migrating. They had limited mobility capital and were less likely to be planning any onward or return migration. They were most likely to enact 'wait and see' behaviour (O'Connell, 1997) as compared to the more 'try your luck' attitudes of the entrepreneurs and EU-Somali migrants.

Our study shows that all participants either enacted, or anticipated enacting, transnational resources to address uncertainty. These were both individual and collective and consisted of social networks, financial assets and/or knowledge of other countries, systems and cultures. A key asset here was perhaps the knowledge and experience of mobility. While the uncertainty associated with Brexit was experienced largely as negative, possession of mobility capital and transnational existences meant many participants felt they had the capability to enact transnational resources if needed.

Conclusions

The EU-referendum result has generated uncertainty that threatens migrants' resources, including their rights to reside, to run a business or access welfare. Using Hobfoll's (2001) CoR theory, we have shown that coping with Brexit uncertainty requires the mobilisation of individual and collective resources. CoR theory offers a useful mechanism to understand how people cope during uncertainty which may well have utility in considering other migration crises or stresses. However, we show that the theory needs further development in relation to migration and migrants to take account of mobility. Migrants bring with them mobility capital and wide-ranging transnational resources, which alongside more local resources, they can enact when facing uncertainty. To expand the usefulness of CoR theory in understanding the coping tactics of migrants facing other forms of crisis, i.e. failed asylum decisions or immigration detention, further work is needed to examine how transnational resources are enacted alongside the individual and collective resources envisaged by Hobfoll (2001).

References

Allen, C. and Ögtem-Young, Ö. (2020) Brexit, Birmingham, belonging and home: the experience of secondary migrant Somali families and the dirty work of boundary maintenance, *Safer Communities*, 19(2), 49-59*.*

Bailey, A.J., (2001) Turning transnational: notes on the theorisation of international migration. International Journal of Population Geography, 7, pp. 413–28.

Benight, C. C., Ironson, G, Klebe, K., Carver, C. S., Wynings, C., Burnett, K., Greenwood, D., Baum, A. and Schneiderman, N. (1999) Conservation of Resources and Coping Self-Efficacy Predicting Distress Following a Natural Disaster: A Causal Model Analysis Where the Environment Meets the Mind. Anxiety, Stress & Coping, 12, 107–126 .

Benton, M. (2017) Safe or Sorry? Prospects for Britons in the European Union after Brexit, Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe

Berry J.W. (2010) Mobility and Acculturation. In: Carr S. (eds) The Psychology of Global Mobility. International and Cultural Psychology. Springer: New York, NY

Clifford, J. (1994) Diasporas' Cultural Anthropology, 9, pp. 302–38

De Certeau, M. (1984). The practice of everyday life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dustmann C. (1997) Return migration, uncertainty and precautionary savings. Journal of Development Economics 52, 295–316.

Genova, E. and E. Zontini (2020). Liminal Lives: Navigating In-Betweenness in the Case of Bulgarian and Italian Migrants in Brexiting Britain*, Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 9(1), 47-64, DOI: 10.17467/ceemr.2020.04.

Giuliani, M. V. (2003) Theory of attachment and place attachment. In M. Bonnes, T. Lee, and M. Bonaiuto (Eds.), Psychological theories for environmental issues (pp. 137-170). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Blanc, C. (1995) From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration, Anthropological Quarterly, 68(1), pp. 48-63

Green, S. (2016) The World after Brexit: Britain's Vote to Leave the EU Has Ushered in a Surprise: It Turns Out That Voting Matters, and the UK Is Living in a New Normal Now. Anthropology News, October 17. Accessed December 15, 2016. http://www.anthropology-news.org/index.php/2016/10/17/theworld-after-brexit/

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2018) From connecting to social anchoring: adaptation and 'settlement' of Polish migrants in the UK, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44(2), pp. 252-269.

Hall, K. and Hardill, I. 2016. Retirement migration, the 'other' story: caring for frail elderly British citizens in Spain, Ageing and Society, 36(3), pp. 562-585.

Hernandez Carretero, M. (2016) Hope and Uncertainty in Senegalese Migration to Spain Taking Chances on Emigration but not Upon Return, in N. Kleist, and D. Thorsen (eds.) Hope and Uncertainty in Contemporary African Migration, London: Routledge.

Hobfoll, S. (2001) The Influence of Culture, Community, and the Nested-Self in the Stress Process: Advancing Conservation of Resources Theory, Applied Psychology: An International Review, 50 (3), pp. 337-421

Hobfoll, S., Halbesleben, J., Neveu, J. P. and Westman, M. (2018) Conservation of Resources in the Organizational Context: The Reality of Resources and Their Consequences, The Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 5, pp. 103–28

Hobfoll, S. (2011) Conservation of resource caravans and engaged settings, Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 84(1), pp. 116-122

Katz E, and Stark O. (1986) Labor migration and risk aversion in less developed countries. Journal of Labor Economics 4, pp. 134–149.

Kilkey M, and Ryan L. (2020). Unsettling Events: Understanding Migrants' Responses to Geopolitical Transformative Episodes through a Life-Course Lens, International Migration Review, https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918320905507

Kleist, M. (2016) Introduction: Studying Hope and Uncertainty in African Migration in N. Kleist, and D. Thorsen (eds.) Hope and Uncertainty in Contemporary African Migration, London: Routledge.

Knight, D. M. (2017) Anxiety and cosmopolitan futures: Brexit and Scotland, American Ethnologist, 44(2), pp. 237-242.

Kosic, A. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2003). Albanian immigrants in Italy: Migration plans, coping strategies and identity issues. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 29(6), pp. 997–1014.

Landis, B. J. (1996) Uncertainty, Spiritual Well-Being, and Psychosocial Adjustment to Chronic Illness, Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 17(3), 217-231,

Levitt, P. (1998) Social remittances: migration driven, local-level forms of cultural diffusion. International Migration Review, 32, pp. 926–48

Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society. The International Migration Review, 38(3), 1002-1039.

Levitt, P., DeWind, J., and Vertovec, S. (2003). International Perspectives on Transnational Migration: An Introduction. International Migration Review, 37(3), pp. 565–575.

Luhmann, N. (2000) 'Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives', in G. Diego (ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, electronic edition, Department of Sociology, University of Oxford, chapter 6, p. 94-107.

Lulle, A., King, R., Dvorakova, V. and Szkudlarek, A. (2018) Between disruptions and connections: 'new' EU migrants before and after the Brexit in the UK, Population, Space and Place, 25(1), e2201.

Lulle, A., Moroşanu, L. and King, R. (2017) And then came Brexit: Experiences and future plans of young EU migrants in the London region, Population, Space and Place, 24(1), e2122.

Moret (2017) Mobility capital: Somali migrants' trajectories of (im)mobilities and the negotiation of social inequalities across borders, Geoforum, November, 1-18.

O'Connell, P. (1997) Migration Under Uncertainty: "Try Your Luck" or "Wait and See, Journal of Regional Science, 37(2), pp. 331-347.

Phillimore, J., Humphris, R. and Khan, K. (2018) Reciprocity for new migrant integration: resource conservation, investment and exchange, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44(2), pp. 215-232,

Portes, A. (1998) Globalisation from Below: the Rise of Transnational Communities, ESRC Transnational Communities Programme Working Paper No. 1

Reichl-Luthra, R. (2020) Mitigating the hostile environment: the role of the workplace in EU migrant experience of Brexit, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1726173

Scott, J. C. (1985) Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Snel, E. and Staring, R. (2001). Poverty, migration, and coping strategies: An introduction. Focaal European Journal of Anthropology, 38, pp. 7–22.

Sredanovic, D. (2020). Brexit as a Trigger and an Obstacle to Onwards and Return Migration. *International Migration,* https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12712.

Tajfel, H., and Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel, & W. G. Austin (Eds.) *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Trabka, A. and Pustulka, P. (2020) Bees & butterflies: Polish migrants' social anchoring, mobility and risks post-Brexit, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1711721

Vertovec, S. (2001) Transnationalism and identity, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 27(4), pp. 573-582.

Vertovec, S. (1999) Conceiving and researching transnationalism, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22(2), pp. 447-462

Wakeman, F. E. (1988) Transnational and comparative research, Items, 42(4), pp. 85–7

Williams, A. and Balaz, V. (2012) Migration, Risk, and Uncertainty: Theoretical Perspectives, Population, Place and Space, 18, pp. 167–180

Williams, L. (2006) Social Networks of Refugees in the United Kingdom: Tradition, Tactics and New Community Spaces, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 3(5), pp. 865-879.