Leaving Homeland Behind: Cultural Attachment, Transnationalism and Acculturation among Kabyle Diaspora of the United Kingdom

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Chapters and References

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and that all sources have been properly acknowledged.

Signature: 

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would thank our Almighty God, who gave me the strength and knowledge of my everyday life.

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Dedication

First of all, I dedicate this thesis to my dear parents, Abdellah and Soltana for being the reason of what I become today. Their affections, love, continuous care and prayers of day and night make me able to complete my project.

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Definition of Key Terms and Concepts

In this section, the sociological concepts used in this study are introduced and are defined according to their application to this study.

Berber (s): Refers to an ethnic group known also as **Amazigh** (singular) and/or **Imazighen** (plural), who are the native people of North African.

Kabyle (s)/ Kabylian (s): Represents the most influential subgroup of Berbers.

Migration/Migrant: Migration refers to the event of moving from one country to another. A migrant is a person who moved from one area to another (Raymer and Willekens, 2008).

Immigration/Emigration: Immigration refers to the flow of migrants into a receiving country. Emigration can be described as the flow of migrants from a particular area (Raymer and Willekens, 2008). In the current thesis, however, the term migration is used interchangeably to refer to immigration.

Ethnicity: The usage of this term in the current thesis implies the ethnic group (i.e. the Berbers) who share the same ancestral origin, language, history and culture (Giddens and Sutton, 2014).

The sense of belonging: may be described as the acceptance of individuals in a particular country other than their home country and providing them with free access to the different social opportunities and welfare system without prejudice and discrimination. In turn, these individuals would have a sense of feeling 'at home' (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Integration Vs Assimilation: Integration refers to the maintenance of one's culture, while we adapt to the host society's culture, values, behaviour and attitude. Assimilation is the process of replacing one's ethnic heritage with the host society traditions and values (Berry,

1997). In this thesis, the concept of integration is based on the findings of the research indicating that the Kabyle migrants have adapted to their new society culture while they maintain their cultural heritage due to the necessity of social and economic integration as well as the influence that their ethnic heritage has on their selves.

Separation/Marginalisation: Separation is the process of maintaining one's cultural identity and avoiding adopting the host society's culture. Marginalisation is the process of maintaining neither one's cultural identity nor host society's culture and traditions (Berry, 1997)

Diaspora: The term of diaspora has long been debated, however, I would like to emphasise that my research aims to use the term of diaspora simply to refer to displaced people outside their homelands who share similar cultural and/or historical background and who engage in activities and negotiate their identities with their co-ethnic compatriots.

Glossary

Acronym	Full Name/ Definition
CADC	Coordination des Inter-wilayas des Aarchs Diaras et Communes/ Coordination of Districts of Tribes and Departments.
CNEPLET	Centre National Pédagogique et Linguistique pour l'Enseignement de Tamazight/ National Teaching and Linguistic Centre for Tamazight Education
CLG	Communities and Local Government
EEA	European Economic Area
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EU	European Union
FFS	Front des Forces Socialist/ Front of Socialist Forces
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut/ Islamic Salvation Front
HCA	Haut Commissariat a L'Amazighité / Tamazight High Commission
GIA	Armed Islamic Group
INALCO	Institut National des Langues et Civilization Orientales/ National Institute of Languages and Eastern Civilization

IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Approach
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBS	point-based system
UKIV	United Kingdom Immigration Visa
RCD	Rassemblement Culturel Démocratique / Rally for Culture and Democracy

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Abstract

This research explores the lived experiences of 10 Kabyle migrants who live in London, Wales, and Aberdeen. Theoretically, the study focusses on four research objectives: (1) the motivation behind their migration, (2) their acculturation process and social integration, (3) the challenges impacting their psychological well-being and (4) cultural and in-group attachment and their attitudes towards returning to their homeland. Methodologically this research employed different data collection methods at three different stages; initial structured interviews, followed by retrospective self-completed diaries and ended by in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews. The theoretical contribution of this research is to extend the concept of attachment to more abstract figures such as culture and community. The detailed insights contributed to better understanding the experiences of the Kabyle diaspora in pre-migration and post-migration periods and the barriers they faced during these two different periods. The study reveals that like most other Algerians, Kabyles' migration of the 1990s mainly resulted from the Algerian internal conflicts known as the Black Decade, and subsequent migration was for social, political, economic, and educational reasons. The results explain how the experiences of pre-migration can lead to relocation and reformation of self while maintaining cultural and group ties. The lack of recognition of their culture and language resulted in a growing sense of cultural resilience and protest that accompanied them in their diaspora. The Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association became important to Kabyles for several reasons; it offers Berber cultural display for Kabyles and non-Kabyles audiences; the Berber events such as Yennayer and Berber Spring provide occasions in which Kabyles from across the UK can collectively celebrate their culture. In addition, such occasions provide an expression of cultural pride and dissemination. However, due to the lack of support from the Algerian authorities in the UK and the recent lack of community cohesion between the

Kabyles, these migrants fail to develop the imagined collective cultural identity, which subsequently resulted in cultural community disconnection and cultural individuality.

Chapter One: Introduction

1. 1. General Research Context: Migration, Acculturation and Attachment

The current study explores the lived experiences of Kabyle migrants living in the UK; one of the largest Berber groups in Algeria who are mainly concentrated in Tizi Ouazou and Bejaia (See section 2. 1. 2 within chapter two for an outline of the demography of Algeria and an overview of Berbers). Some respondents had previous experience of being able to move between different cultures and languages within the borders of Algeria (see section 2. 1. 3 in chapter two). Hugh Roberts, one of the historical researchers who studied the characteristics of Kabyle society and governance in the pre-colonial period, acknowledged the linguistic and cultural variations among the Berber group stating that: "the Berber-speakers of North Africa do not possess a common territory or a common economic life and there is much variation between them in cultural and even linguistic terms" (Roberts, 2014: 4). However, this research is mainly interested in the hybridity of the Kabyle participants in both cultural and linguistic terms outside of Algeria so within their diasporic space. The findings of this research will be discussed in section 9. 3 in chapter nine, and these findings identified that the concept of different hybrid cultures includes mixing with English-speaking culture. An example is the case of the hybrid identities of Louiza's children, who are Italian and Kabyle and living in the UK, and this led to the formation of new identities in diaspora. Although Kabyles are spread throughout the diaspora in diverse destinations, France is their main destination country (Sayad, 1994). Research into the recent migration to the UK could explain their reasons for changing from France as an established destination country. According to Collyer (2004), there is a significant number of Berbers in the UK; however, the exact number is unknown. The phenomenon of Algerian migration is often associated with socio-economic circumstances and seeking better life prospects and security. However, the traditional Algerian labour migrants

have recently been substituted by young migrants with new profiles. This new wave of migrants consists of students, scientists, skilled and non-skilled women, artists, journalists, and other intellectuals. Their common reasons to leave Algeria are not only motivated by economic reasons but also by cultural, social and political push factors (Labdelaoui, 2012).

The current study highlights the importance of investigating whether Kabyle migrants belong to a community within the UK, in which they participate in cultural activities and discourse, whether they show an attachment to their culture of origin, maintain linkage with their homeland and have the ambition to return, or whether they have detached themselves from their past and assimilated to their new society. To answer these questions demands an understanding of attachment theory, diaspora, acculturation, and the conditions under which they were living in Algeria. As Berry (2005) states, to understand the acculturation process it is important to study the historical situation of migrants. In this research, evidence for cultural attachment, acculturation process and psychological distress can be researched at the individual-level through deep analyses of the lived experiences of a group of Kabyles in the UK (see appendix 8 for a description of the research participants). Generally, individuals are more likely to be friends with and/or seek proximity from others who have more or less the same interests, beliefs, social class, education and age. Similarly, my research suggests that during the migration process, Kabyle migrants may first seek proximity from their in-group community in an asymmetrical relationship that stresses cooperation, providing emotional support and negotiating the migration process. Subsequently, migrants shift from the support supplied by their in-group members to developing self-confidence and reliance in engaging with domains such as social and economic integration (Van Ecke, 2007; Flum and Cinamon, 2011). In addition, ethnic solidarity and cultural attachment may act as a mediating factor in maintaining their identity and cultural resilience. For example, although some Kabyle participants in this study became British citizens by naturalisation, they are still subscribing to

their ancestral identity and passing their cultural heritage to the second generation to keep their culture alive. Thus, cultural attachment in a migration setting is an important area of investigation.

Being a member of a minority group frequently implies feeling under pressure from the wider community to assimilate, and this may be especially true for migrants, who may be keen to maintain their cultural identity. Further, the transition from one culture to another is often associated with meeting the standards of the new culture. Thus, the current research focuses on difficulties experienced by Kabyle migrants during their pre-and post-migration periods. For example, despite the existence of technology and the Internet that help them to maintain contact with those left behind, family separation and other social factors may still impact some migrants. According to Siriwardhana et al. (2013), the post-migration period affects health and well-being and family structure.

Acculturation is mainly discussed in terms of migrants' strategies adopted to be part of the wider community. During their migration, a minority group may adopt different acculturation strategies (see Berry 1997) to be part of the wider community. For example, a clear indicator of such integration strategies may be participating in the world of work to contribute to the host society. Migrants' contribution to society by participating in the world of work may serve as a scaffold for their social integration and validation. In addition, it promotes a sense of belonging which is deeply related to their sense of feeling at home. This is discussed in more depth in section 3. 1. 1.

1. 2. Significance and Aims of the Research

In his introduction in Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees in the UK (ICAR) report, Collyer (2004: 5) stated: "The Algerian population in Britain is poorly known and little understood in the wider British community". This statement still can be used today, as from

my own experience with some of my English acquaintances confuse Algerians with Nigerians and asked me what is my secret of being white and not black? They even asked me about the geographical situation of Algeria. When I start to explain that Algeria is in North Africa situated between Morocco and Tunisia, they initially assumed I am an Arab. This is an experience shared with my participants, who declare that people in the UK consider Algerians as Arabs and therefore they had to redefine the identity of Algeria as a Berber country. Although there is substantial research on Kabyle Algerians in France because they represent a significant community (MacMaster, 1997), there has been no study investigating the experiences of the Algerian Kabyle diaspora of the UK. The few studies on Algerian migrants in the UK such as Collyer (2003, 2004, 2005); Rocheron (2002, 2005); Vincent-Jones (2009); Wildford (2016, 2017); and Guémar (2018) focused on issues other than Algerians' cultural dimension. Thus, the overall aim of this thesis is to investigate whether a diasporic community with an imagined collective cultural identity exists among Kabyle migrants living in the UK. This entails consideration of the social constructionist view of diaspora, and in particular the contention that ethnic groups collectively engage in social interaction to create cultural projects that aim to maintain continuity of their ethnic identity by reconstructing their cultural identity and reordering their cultural heritage in their diasporic space (this is further explained in section 3. 3. 1 within chapter three). The lack of research investigating the cultural dimensions of the Kabyle group living in the UK is particularly problematic for academics and non-academics. Thus, the importance of the current study is threefold: (1) it may help the Kabyle migrants to consolidate their network by raising their awareness about the strengths and weaknesses of their community cohesion; (2) the findings of the current research may be reused by other researchers to explore other interesting areas that are not covered in the current project; (3) and to help English people, who have little or no information about the biculturalism that co-exists in Algeria to understand the compound identity 'Algerian-Berber' of the Kabyle community

living in the UK. Biculturalism has been defined in a number of ways (e.g., Berry, 1997; Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005; Schwartz and Zamboanga, 2008; Schwartz and Unger, 2010). In this study, the term 'biculturalism' has been deployed to refer to the presence of at least two different languages (see section 2. 1. 3 within chapter two) and cultures: Arabo-Algerian culture and Berber culture in Algeria. My contribution in this study is to expand the knowledge of attachment theory, which focuses initially on infant-parent and parent-adolescent in relation to infant development and career exploration (Ainsworth, 1989; Sroufe and Water, 1977; Ketterson and Blustein, 1997; Kracke, 1997) (section 3. 1. 2 within chapter three). In this research, however, the theory is used to explore the concept of diaspora among UK Kabyle migrants by exploring their attachment to their culture, their collective cultural identity maintenance, and their orientations towards their homeland.

To truly provide a deep and rich understanding, their experiences must not be based on a mere description, but they must be interpreted by making sense of their own experiences within a specific context. To achieve these aims, the research objectives are stated in the following core themes:

1) Kabyles' decision making in migrating to the UK.

According to Mejia et al. (1979) migration is the result of different forces classified as 'push' and 'pull' factors. Some of these forces are political, social, economic, legal, historical, cultural, and educational (Cited in Kline, 2003). In this current research, it is important to explore whether the motives above can be used to explore what pushed and/or pulled Kabyles to migrate. By doing so, I would be able to provide a better understanding of the conditions which caused them to leave their homeland.

2) Kabyles' acculturation process

The study of Kabyle culture and their intergroup relations form important elements in understanding their acculturation process and their new identity development. An examination of their views of the host society can determine whether they believe they have found a new home, where they satisfy their needs and have a sense of belonging. As Georgiades et al. (2007) argue when considering the process which migrants are going through, it is important to consider both the countries of origin and the host country. Thus, it is important to explore whether the Kabyles integrate or assimilate to the mainstream culture. The issues relating to integration and assimilation are discussed in 3. 2.

3) Challenges and acculturative stressors

Many researchers such as (Grossman et al., 1985; Nicassion et al., 1986; Chataway and Berry, 1989; Nesdale et al., 1997; Liebkind, 1993) have explored the variables that may lead to migrants' psychological distress (See section 3. 4 within chapter three). Regarding this, I am particularly interested in providing insight into the variables affecting the research participants' psychological well-being and their responses to the challenges they have experienced.

4) In-group and cultural attachment

At the early stage of the migration process, migrants may tend to maintain their in-group contact, which may be based on help and support. Although the in-group attachment may be a source of emotional support, it may offer limited practical help. One aspect of this limitation is that integrating into the host society, the individual migrants need to socialise with other ethnic groups within the country. Thus, the over-reliance on in-group and the absence of out-group contact may lead to separation, which in turn may impact negatively their integration process. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the extent of their in-group ties and cultural maintenance.

It is also important to look at the process of identification and disidentification among migrants (Waters, 1990; Smith, 1993; Brewer, 1996; McCall, 2003; Killian and Johnson, 2006; Jesinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009) (see section 3. 6. 4 within chapter three). By doing so, it determines whether identification with a specific culture among the group who represents a minority in their native country acts as resistance to their cultural affiliation.

1. 2. 1. Research Questions

The research objectives discussed above led to four research questions and five sub-questions for this study which are as follows:

1) What are the determinants that motivated Kabyles to take the initiative to migrate?

2) What are the coping strategies they adopt to be part of the host society?

3) What are the challenges that they encountered during their pre-and post-migration periods?

4) Do they have a sense of attachment to their community, culture, and homeland?

4- A) What is their relationship with their in-group members?

4- B) To what extent is their cultural maintenance considered to be important?

4-C) To what extent is their homeland contact considered to be important?

4-D) How do their transnational activities contribute to their transnational peers and their peers back home?

4- E) Do they have the ambition to return to their homeland?

1. 3. The Rationale of the Research

My interest in this specific topic resulted from my own experience as a migrant. Being of Kabyle origin like my participants, I am increasingly interested in the exploration of the lived experiences of this specific ethnic group in a migration context. As a migrant, sometimes I feel confused about who I am as a person; who I am across the international boundaries; and to what extent my culture is important to me. Although I have been in the UK only for a few years, I believe that I have well-integrated into society while at the same time maintaining my cultural identity. From my own experience, I linked this view of self to other Kabyle migrants. Furthermore, having three sisters who live in France and many other acquaintances who migrated to the UK for different reasons, I had an interest in this aspect of migrants and migration. In addition, I think that my interest in this topic is for two reasons: (1) contextual background and (2) my interest in the field of sociology. As I think back on my personal learning experiences, I also believe that personality traits may play a part in conducting this research. Furthermore, I previously held the position of assistant lecturer in sociology, which enhanced my motivation to carry on my research and enabled me to broaden my knowledge of different aspects that could be included in my research.

1. 4. Structure and the Organisation of the Thesis

The current thesis comprises of ten chapters. The next chapter (chapter two) presents the features of Berbers, the features of their society of origin, and their host society. This chapter is divided into three sections; the first discusses the distinguishing features of Berbers, the second discusses possible push factors including the historical background of Algeria, the third provides possible pull factors with an overview of the recent literature on migration to the UK.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework used to conceptualise attachment, acculturation and diaspora, and transnationalism. The extant literature in each of these broad

categories is critically analysed to permit the inclusion of concepts that are related to the current study and to outline the questions that the current research seeks to address. It starts with a detailed discussion of attachment theory to provide a clear picture of how this theory can be related to studies of migration and migrants' psychological distress. This is followed by a section looking at the acculturation strategies as well as the adaptation and behavioural changes among migrants. I end this section by examining the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism to help explain whether the Kabyle group may be classified as a diasporic and transnational group.

Chapter four explains the research methods and procedures used in the study, including the overall research approach and paradigm, ontology and epistemology and a statement about my role as a researcher and positionality. An explanation of sampling procedures, data collection, and methodological issues are discussed. It provides the rationale for adopting qualitative research methods. The chapter ends by discussing the ethical issues and the issues related to the trustworthiness of the study.

The purpose of chapter five is to discuss the steps of my data analysis including transcription, coding the data, and developing the themes.

Chapter six presents the first part of my findings and discussion related to the pre-migration period. The analysis is divided into two sections. The first investigates the circumstances under which my participants decided to leave Algeria. The second explores their reasons for choosing the UK as their main destination country.

Chapter seven presents the second part of my findings and discussion related to the post-migration period. This chapter is broken into two sections by first investigating participants' work experiences abroad and the way they negotiate their professional identity in their new

society. Second, it explores the issue of acculturation and the acculturation strategies they adopt to be part of the melting pot.

Chapter eight presents the third part of my findings and discussion related to the challenges that the participants have encountered during their pre-migration and post-migration periods.

Chapter nine presents the fourth part of my findings and discussion related to their attachment to culture, in-group, and homeland. The analysis of this chapter is broken into three sections. The first explores their relationship with their in-group and out-group members. The second section analyses their contact with their family and friends left behind and the role this contact plays in maintaining a relationship with Algeria. The final section analyses the myth to return to Algeria and relates to participants' perceptions of belonging to a new home.

Chapter ten presents the conclusion drawn from the research. It reflects the importance of the use of attachment as a theory to explore the participants' relationship with their community and culture, and their society of origin. Drawing from the analysis of my participants' cases, it reveals the complexity of cultural identity maintenance among Kabyles second generation and mixed marriage in exile. It discusses the cultural resilience and agency among the participants of the first generation, but it suggests the need for further research into why there is a lack of community cohesion between the Kabyles of the United Kingdom compared to the Kabyle diaspora of France. Finally, the chapter presents some recommendations to the Algerian authorities in the UK which could help the promotion of the Amazigh/Kabyle association and also consolidate the solidarity between the Algerians of the United Kingdom.

Chapter Two: Historical and Regulatory Background

Introduction

This chapter discusses the features of the group being explored in the current study, and the features of their society of origin; Algeria, and their host society; the United Kingdom. Section one discusses the distinguishing features of Berbers drawn upon a range of different disciplines including history, geographical distribution, and language. The information discussed in section two and three represents the possible push and pull factors for migration. Section two is designed to discuss Algeria during the 1990s when some Kabyles decided to leave the county due to the political and economic crisis. It also discusses the identity struggle that still exists between the two different cultural groups, namely the Arabo-Algerians and the Berbers. Section three provides a general overview of the recent literature on migration to the UK and its migration policy. To understand the psychological needs among Kabyle migrants, one must understand the intersecting contexts of why they decided to leave their homeland and what are the factors that attracted them to their host society. Thus, the overall aim of this chapter is to answer the research question (1) that seeks to examine the determinants that motivated Kabyle participants to migrate to the UK through the push and/or pull factors theory. As it has been argued, when seeking to understand migrants' experiences and psychological needs it is important to consider the conditions of pre-migration and post-migration (Sirin et al., 2011). In addition, the findings enabled me to understand the selection of the UK as a country of destination.

Part One: The Profile of Berbers

Introduction

Many studies from different disciplines such as history, sociology, ethnography, anthropology, literature and linguistics have focused on the minority Berber ethnic groups of Algeria and Morocco, especially Kabyles (Michell, 1903; Gallisot, 1994; Brett and Fentress, 1996; Maddy-Weitzman, 1999; Crawford and Hoffman, 2000; Roberts, 2003; Forstag, 2008; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Silverstein, 2013; Aitel, 2014; Soulaimani, 2016; Maddy-Weitzman, 2016). These studies focused on Berber culture, origins, language, and identity struggle in the North African states. There have been other empirical studies on Moroccan Berber migrants that reflect also on identity maintenance across generations in different contexts such as Cammaert (1986); Van Amersfoort and Van Heelsum (2007); Montgomy et al. (2010). However, the exploration of the Algerian Kabyles' experiences in the UK context has seldom been explored Therefore, this study aims to explore the migration experiences of Kabyles who may become members of a newly established diasporic community in the United Kingdom.

2. 1. 1. Origins/Definition

Berbers or *Amazigh* (pl. *Imazighen*) which means 'freeman', are the indigenous people of the 'Maghreb', meaning the part of North Africa which includes, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (Michell, 1903; Gallisot, 1994; Maddy-Weitzman, 1996; Hannoum, 2008; Silverstein, 2013; Aitel, 2014; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Maddy-Weitzman, 2016). Crawford and Hoffman (2000:119) describe Berbers "as a group who are infused with the sentiment of nationalism, indigenousness, human rights, resistance movements, subaltern and post-colonial studies and other cultural self-determination movements". Similarly, Hugh Roberts who is

considered as an institutional historian of Algeria describes the ethnic origin of Algerians as Berbers, who assimilated to the Arab culture (Maas, 2018).

The concept of ethnicity has been debated at length within the scholarly discourse. In this thesis, the term ethnicity is employed to suggest Berbers who see themselves belonging to one of the Berber groups in which they share a common ancestry, custom, language and culture. Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir (2007) stated that Berbers represent 80 per cent of the population in Morocco and Algeria, more than 60 per cent in Tunisia and Libya, and 2 per cent in Egypt, making more than 50 million people within the national boundaries and about 4 million living in Europe. However, due to the Arabisation[1] of North Africa, many people with Berber origins claim to be Arabs. Therefore, those who perceive themselves as Berbers represent 40 per cent in Morocco, 30 per cent in Algeria, 5 per cent in Tunisia, 10 per cent in Libya and, 0.5 per cent in Egypt. About 2 million Berbers living in Europe perceive themselves as Berbers (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). Even though they represent only minorities in North Africa compared to the Arab assimilationists, they are well known by some on the international scale through websites, newsletters and TV channels either in Berber language or other languages.

2. 1. 2. Geographical Distribution

Today, people who self-identify as Berbers are spread across Sahara, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, and Burkina Faso; and there is an important diaspora in the West (Aitel, 2014). Algerian Berbers constitute approximately 20 to 25 per cent of the Algerian population (Maddy-Weitzman, 2016). They are divided into four main groups: Kabyles, speakers of *Taqbaylit* residing in the hills on the Mediterranean littoral;

[1] The process of substituting French and making Arabic the national language during the post-independence (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007:267).

Chaouis, speakers of *Tachawit* locating in the mountainous Aures Range; Mzabis, speakers of *Tamzabit* residing in central south; and Touareg or Twriks speakers of *Tamasheq* locating in far south of Algeria. The most influential and largest group is the Kabyles. Smaller and less politically active groups include the Chaouias (Gallisot, 1994; Maddy-Weitzman, 1996; Mortimer, 2000; Aitel, 2014; Maddy-Weitzman, 2016).

2. 1. 3. Language

There are four important languages in Algeria: Standard Arabic and Tamazight which are the official languages of the state, Darija (vernacular Arabic dialect spoken in Maghreb countries but it is not completely mutually intelligible with other Arabic dialects of the Middle East), and French. The Standard Arabic is not spoken in the homes or on the street, but it is used mainly for religious and educational purposes, and it is also used as a symbol of nationalism and cultural affiliation among the Arabo-Algerian group. Darija and Tamazight, however, are transmitted orally and used for daily communication among Arabo-Algerians and Kabyles respectively. In general, Darija the vernacular language of Algeria can be understood and spoken by the majority of the Kabyle community (in Algeria and abroad) and is very much the language which unites Algerians abroad. The findings of this research that will be discussed in section 9. 2. 4 in chapter nine, identified however that amongst my participants, Darija is used only by those Kabyles who were born and/or grew up in Algiers, the capital city which has mixed community of Arabo-Algerians and Kabyles, whilst the other participants who used to live in Kabylia rather than Algiers prefer to use French and/or English to communicate with Arabo-Algerians. All in all, amongst Kabyle group in Algeria and in diaspora, Tamazight is not only a language of communication, but it is a source of pride and cultural affiliation. Although French is the second language of the state, it is widely used in the educational system, administration, and governmental organisations. The scope of this research is not to analyse

the different languages and/or dialects spoken in Algeria: what interests me is how the denial of Tamazight language led some sympathetic intellectuals and militant Berber associations to fudge the issue by asserting that one's national identity is based on its mother tongue. Also, to investigate how the Kabyle participants of the current study have constructed an imagined collective identity in their transnational space based on Tamazight language and Berber culture.

Although it has been argued that Tamazight is the indigenous language of the Maghreb (Michell, 1903; Gallisot, 1994; Brett and Fentress, 1996; Maddy-Weitzman, 1999; Crawford and Hoffman, 2000; Roberts, 2003; Forstag, 2008; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Silverstein, 2013; Aitel, 2014; Soulaimani, 2016; Maddy-Weitzman, 2016), the ideological orientation towards the identity of Algeria based on language since independence in 1962, has motivated the Arabisation programme whose scope is to include every area of public life and the administration. The promotion of Tamazight led to the establishment of associations such as the *Mouvement Culturel Berbère* (MCB) / Berber Cultural Movement, which organised huge demonstrations and called for a general boycott of Algerian schools and universities in support of its policy of according to Tamazight its official recognition and using it as a language in the schools and higher education (Tilmatine and Suleiman,1996). Although the Berber intellectuals and militants succeeded to move Tamazight beyond its oral character, its written script and the question of its alphabet are far from being resolved (Chaker, 1992; Soulaimani, 2016). The issue of Tamazight script selection had been attempted to be addressed in Algeria, in which the supporters of the national Arabo-Muslim culture tend to foster the Arabisation process as part of the 'cultural decolonisation' programme. The Algerian authorities sought to standardize Tamazight into Arabic script. In 2006, the director of the National Teaching and Linguistic Center for Tamazight Education (CNEPLET) Abderrazak Douari argued that the Arabic script would be more suitable for Tamazight because those Berbers living in Arabic speaking areas preferred the Arabic script. However, the Berber activists, the *Haut Commissariat à*

l'Amazighité (HCA) and the World Amazigh Congress are opposed to the notion of the Arabic script by arguing that Douari's view is an indicator of authorities' effort to stop the development of Tamazight. Thus, the Institut National des Langues et Civilization Orientales (INALCO) based in Paris adopted the Latin alphabet in 1996 (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). Although a distinct script –*Tifinagh* – has been adopted in Morocco (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Soulaimani, 2016), many Berber backgrounds who self-identified as activists reject *Tifinagh* because it is viewed as a symbol of ethnicity and history rather as a way of writing (Aitel, 2014; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Soulaimani, 2016). The use of a modern script based on the Latin alphabet was mainly influenced by the Kabyle intellectuals residing in France who developed the linguistic and graphic system of the Berber language during the 1970s and 1980s. These included one of the most charismatic Berber cultural figures and one of the founders of Maghreb French-speaking literature, Mouloud Maameri (1917-1989), a writer and researcher who also wrote the first modern grammar of Berber (Bourdieu, 1989; Chaker, 1989; Chaker, 1992; Tilmatine and Suleiman,1996). It has been argued that the preference of Latin script over others is influenced by the slow introduction of Arabic scripts into technological devices and the lack of Amazigh material, and this led to the Latin alphabet being spread more rapidly (Soulaimani, 2016).

Summary

One would not value the topic of 'leaving homeland behind: cultural attachment, transnationalism and acculturation among the Kabyle diaspora of the United Kingdom' without understanding their origins and their cultural affiliation. Therefore, in this section, I have tried to offer an overview of the contemporary Berber ethnic group. The features such as origins and language variety have been provided to enable the reader to understand the characteristics of the group under the current research study. In this respect, Berbers investigated in this thesis

are all Kabyles, most of them from Tizi-Ouazou ‘Great Kabylia’, and three of them from Bejaia ‘Small Kabylia’ both of which are mountainous regions in North of Algeria. Outside their homeland, this research will explore whether the Kabyle diaspora, that constitutes a small community in the UK, are still attached to their cultural and linguistic affiliation and whether at the same time they may adapt to the host society culture and norms.

Part Two: Algerian History and Politics

Introduction

When studying the lived experience of migrants, it is important to understand what roles history and politics play in their lives. It is also important to consider both the countries of origin as well as the host society (Georgiades et al. 2007). Thus, the information in this section contributes to the possible 'push' factors for Kabyles' migration. Migration is the movement of people from one location to another for different reasons that could range from seeking better employment opportunities to avoiding persecution, and it could be either temporary or permanent (Hanger-Zanker, 2008). It could be either from rural to urban areas or from developing to developed countries such as the US and European Union (Kingma, 2001). According to Piesse (2014), factors relating to migrant groups are divided into two general categories: humanitarian and economic. Humanitarian migrants are asylum seekers and refugees, who migrate to countries close to their native country to flee civil wars. Economic migrants, however, migrate to seek better job opportunities or to improve income.

Concepts such as push and/or pull factors may be problematic when it comes to deciding which factor can be categorised as a push or pull. Thus, this study suggests that there is no clear-cut distinction between push and pull factors. Generally, push factors are the domestic conditions that encourage individuals to leave their native country. The main forces driving migration are broadly divided into socio-economic and socio-political factors (Kingma, 2001; Piesse, 2014). Kingma (2001) discussed push factors among nurses from a professional development perspective. The findings revealed that nurses migrated from less developed countries to more developed countries to search for professional development, to seek better wages, improved working conditions, higher standards of living, and safe place, which are not reached in their native country. This economic category of migration is known as international migration or

South-North migration, where the migrants from middle-income countries decide to migrate to more developed countries because their salary is lower than of those with a similar educational background in higher-income countries (Piesse, 2014).

Other factors such as ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural conflicts are also major push factors for migration (Piesse, 2014). The diversity of religious and ethnic identities can cause more significant conflict than in homogenous societies. For example, several states within the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) have recently failed to develop a shared national identity among the various groups within their states (Piesse, 2014). Hagen-Zanker (2008) summarises the migration decision framework under three levels: micro-level factors, meso-level factors, and macro-level factors. Micro-level factors include income differences, poverty, market dysfunction, power, prestige, values, goals, and individual and household characteristics such as gender, age, educational level. On the macro-level, the factors influencing the decision making are labour demand, migration laws and economic development. Meso-level is between micro and macro level. It occurs on community and household levels such as deprivation, migration institutions and networks. Furthermore, it has been argued that over the next decade, environmental factors such as climate change will have a significant influence on migration, known as environmental migration (Piesse, 2014). For example, 500,000 people were internally displaced in Indonesia after the tsunami earthquake on 26 December 2004 (HRW, 2005, cited in Czaik and Krisztina, 2009). Given its geographical location and threat of desertification, Algeria may not be immune to such threat.

2. 2. 1. Algerian Migration to France

Historically, North African migration mainly occurred during the colonial period and North Africa was one of the main areas targeted by the French colonial power to fulfil the labour market needs after the Second World War (Lacroix, 2013). The migration took place

principally through bilateral labour agreements and family reunification schemes between European countries (Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden) and North African countries (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria) (Bardak, 2017). The studies of Algerian migration report that the Kabyle groups are considered as being the most important and the oldest foreign community in France (Sayad, 1994), their identification within the Maghreb migration groups is always encompassed within the 'Arab' population, that referred to as the '*Beurs*'[2] (Direche-Slimani, 1997). North African Kabyle men were the pioneer groups that preceded the mass-migration wave of the 1960s and formed clusters in industrial areas of France (Direche-Slimani, 1997; Lacroix, 2013). The Kabyle movement to France started after the failure of a Kabyle insurrection in 1871 and became significant during the early 20th century. In 1914, 13,000 Algerian 'French Muslims' were registered in France, and more than 10,000 were probably Kabyles (Direche-Slimani, 1997; Scheele, 2009). Algerians who migrated to France before 1920 were mostly male Kabyle workers, their number reached about 120,000 by the beginning of 1954 (Direcher-Slimani, 1997; Chaker, 1985 cited in Silverstein, 2003). After independence, the number of Algerian migrants in France had increased from 350,000 in 1961 to 900,000 in 1975. However, this number started to decrease after the Algerian and French agreements in the early 1970s to control migration. As a consequence, the Kabyle movement within Algeria resulted in more internal migration. While as mentioned in chapter one this research has drawn upon Michael Collyer's work on Algerian migration in the UK and France, the current study is one of the few studies to explore in-depth the experience of the Algerian Kabyle diaspora in the UK from a more positive perspective, exploring how cultural ties to the homeland and to Kabyle culture within that play out in the diaspora. Although the work of the sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad (1933-1998) has been essential to highlight the historical

[2] The Beurs is a racialised connotation given to the second-generation Algerian migrants, who are classified as low economic and social class.

process on how the colonisation of Algeria engendered Algerian migration to France, none of his work has addressed the question of cultural variations; thus, his work on the cultural aspect remains obscure (Sayad, 1994; Sayad, 1999; Sayad, 2004). Sayad's work (1999), *La Double Absence* [the Double Absence] has been considered important not only to the understanding the Algerian migration but also to the understanding of migration as 'un *fait social total*' [a total social fact] which is applied to the understanding of the social conditions of the contemporary migration. Thus, by investigating the Kabyle diasporic group who experienced the political conflicts of the 1990s and the cultural conflicts of the 1980s and 2001, this research will enable us understanding not only the Kabyles' responses to the challenges of pre-and post-migration periods, but it will represent a radical break with the approaches to Algerian migration dominant in the 1960s and 1970s, which were predominantly labour focused, and highlighted economic migration which, as Sayad explains, was often a painful and traumatic experience. The group migrating to the UK was very different from the previous labour migration, predominantly to France. Communities migrating to France, both prior to and following independence in Algeria, were often from Kabylia. Economic factors and the need for employment as well as close ties such as language and family connections were salient. Those migrating to the UK were more a mixed population, with a significant number of Islamist party members and their families seeking asylum in the 1990s but also a professional class that had either worked in the Anglophone business sector or were otherwise highly qualified, mastered the language and rejected France as the main destination. (Sayad does not talk about this migration, nor does Roberts: their work is mainly historical and prior to this period, while Maamri gives an in-depth look at the Kabyle question in Algeria but does not focus on this new migration pattern).

The geographical links, the colonial past, and the labour needs in Europe were the major reasons that attracted a large number of unskilled and low skilled migrants from the North

African countries in the 1960s (Bardak, 2017). Thus, migrants chose their destinations according to job availabilities and the presence of kin who could facilitate their settlement (Lacroix, 2013). Hangen-Zanker (2008) cited Wallerstein (1974) who argued that colonialism and the capitalist expansion had profound consequences for migration issues, which created a population with weakened attachments to their land and more motivation to migrate. Likewise, Direcher-Slimani (1997) argued the French colonialism influenced Algerian migration to France. Another factor that has a great influence on migration flow is the language. For example, English speaking countries such as UK and Ireland attract migrants from countries where English is the primary foreign language, while France attracts more migrants from Maghreb countries, where French is the main foreign language (Bardak, 2017). More recently, however, the main push factor of migration in the Mediterranean is due to the 'Arab Spring'[3], which has led to the deterioration of the economic growth in the Mediterranean region, such as regime changes in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, violence in Libya and Syria and pre-emptive reforms in Algeria and Morocco. The amount of south-north migration continues to increase despite the EU migration restrictions towards the third-country nationals (Bardak, 2017).

2. 2. 2. Identity Struggle: Berber Ethno-Nationalism

The Algerians are perceived as being a disconnected group, the intolerance and lack of trust between Algerians resulted from the experience of colonial rule that destroyed the Algerian identity and the existing solidarities in Algerian society (Bourdieu, 2013). During colonialism, the French colonial government identified Berbers as different from the majority of Arabs and their culture as non-Algerian and adopted the strategy of 'divide and conquer' to weaken the Algerians by creating conflicts between Berbers and Arabs (Brett and Fentress, 1996; Crawford

[3] Arab Spring (2010-2011) refers to the political revolt and civil protests that started in Middle East in 2010 as response to the authoritarian regimes and a low standard of living, then spread across Maghreb until 2012 (Castles et al., 2014).

and Hoffman, 2000; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Forstag, 2008; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). Another strategy was encouraging an attachment to Berber culture by providing them separate legal and cultural institutions (Forstag: 2008), which gave the Berber group an important advantage in the colonial period relative to their Arab neighbours, which resulted in the Berbers' having better use of French language than Arabs (Maddy-Weitzman, 1999; Maddy-Weitzman, 2016). Nevertheless, these linguistic distinctions went on to impact the intercultural relations, in which Arab opponents assume that Berbers have received preferential treatment from the French during the period of colonialism (Maddy-Weitzman, 1999; Aitel, 2014).

In the same vein, the post-colonial state chose continuity. After the independence, the definition of Algerian nationalism was based on the Islamic faith and Arab ideology, although the Kabyles had been among the first to fight for the Algerian nation and act against imperialism in the mid-1940s to the 1950s (Forstag, 2008). In 1962, the president of newly independent Algeria, Ben Bella declared "*Nous sommes des Arabes*" [we are Arabs] (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). Post-colonial repression of Berber culture began in the early 1960s, when the Tamazight radio station was limited to four hours of daily programming, and the use of Berber names was illegal, and public expressions of Berber culture were discouraged by the state (Forstag, 2008). The Arabisation of Algeria was triggered by a radical Islamist movement, a major feature of Algerian political life since the mid-1970s and especially since the death of President Houari Boumediene in 1978 (Roberts, 2003). The emergence of the Berber movement can be dated roughly to the late 1960s and early 1970s when a new generation of Berbers started to research and work on Berber identity (Aitel, 2014).

Further, the rise of Islamism proposed by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in the 1990s reinforced the cultural differences (Forstag, 2008). Berber organisations - including the Front

of Socialist Forces (FFS) and the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD) - rejected the Islamic policies. This strong Berber constituency prevented the FIS getting positive results in the different elections in the Kabylia (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). While FFS and RCD had their democratic claims to Kabyle regions, their aspirations attempted also to gain an audience outside Kabylia because the issues of '*el hogra*'[4] were not unique to Kabylia. However, neither FFS nor RCD were able to address these issues effectively. RCD mainly focused on the issue of the status of the Berber language, in contrast, the FFS was concerned with political matters (Roberts, 2003).

Generally, Berber activism in North Africa demanded state recognition and the inclusion of Berber language and culture through different tactics such as peaceful protests, roadblocks and boycotts (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Forstag, 2008; Silverstein, 2013). The activist movement was mediated by several factors. For example, on 20 April 1980, known as *Tafsut Imazighen*[5] [Berber Spring] (Silverstein, 2003; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Silverstein, 2013), when the government established a new military operation to regain control of the institutions in Tizi-Ouazou. This change resulted in a demonstration that called for a general strike in Tizi-Ouazou, which subsequently spread in the entire region of Greater Kabylia (Silverstein, 2003). The government reacted by blocking roads, isolating the region and arresting many activists including Berber students and workers. To appease the tensions, the government promised to support the Berber culture and create a university for Berber studies, but these promises were not realized (Roberts, 2003; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007).

[4] *El Hogra*, Algerian colloquial word referring to people who do not enjoy the real status of citizens in practise and are disfranchised (Roberts, 2003).
[5] *Tafsut Imazighen*−Berber Spring−refers to the period of political protests and civil activism started in 1980 claiming recognition of the Berber identity and language (Aitel, 2014).

Kabyle song and music do not only assert Kabyles' pride in their heritage, but it is another way of protest that played a significant role in creating an active Berber involvement and constructing a collective identity. For example, the famous Kabyle singer Lounes Matoub criticized the state's Arabisation policies, and he supported the Kabyle culture and the officialization and nationalization of Tamazight. Therefore, his songs were often banned from Algerian media. During the riots of October 1988, Matoub was shot five times by a policeman and left for dead. Although he had been warned that his name appeared on the *Groupe Islamique Armé* [Armed Islamic Group] (GIA) lists − the GIA was a militant group which emerged from the FIS −along with other artists and intellectuals (see McDougall, 2017), Matoub remained in Algeria and on 25 June 1998 he was assassinated in a false roadblock. His death led to several weeks of riots in Kabyle cities such as Tizi-Ouazou, Bejaia, Tazmalt, Akbou and Sidi-Aich, using anti-government slogans '*Pouvoir, Assassin*' [Government, Assassins] (Silverstein, 2003). Likewise, in April 2001, a secondary school Kabyle pupil, Massinissa Guermah, was killed by gendarmes in police custody close to Tizi-Ouazou − Great Kabylia. His death turned the *Tafsut Imazighen* [the Berber Spring] into what quickly became known as *Tafsut taberkant*[6] [Black Spring]. This tragedy led to a long period of continued unrest, which lasted almost three months (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). Subsequently, the Berber revolt spread to different parts of the country, which resulted in more than sixty deaths. The protesters did not only make cultural claims such as the recognition of Tamazight as an official language, but they were also rioting against the lack of economic opportunities, despair at employment and poor housing that they share with other Algerian youths (Roberts, 2003; Silverstein, 2003; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007).

[6] *Tafsut taberkant* −Black Spring −was a series of violent conflicts and political demonstrations by Algerian Kabyle activists in 2001, which were met by repressive police measures and became a symbol of Kabyle discontent with the national government.

The demonstrations led to the creation of a fifteen-point platform that was adopted in June 2001 by the local movement *Coordination des Interwilayas des Aarchs Diaras et Communes* (CADC) [Coordination of Districts of tribes and departments] also known as *le Mouvement Citoyen des Aarchs* [Citizens Movement of Tribes] that served as a basis for dialogue with the authorities (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). The government's agreeing to recognize Tamazight as a national language by introducing it in education in March 2002 appeased the tensions in the region (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). While Tamazight has enjoyed its official status in Morocco since 2011 (Soulaimani, 2016; Maddy-Weitzman, 2016), the Algerian president Bouteflika in 2007 had argued that recognising two official languages to be used in administration and correspondence is impossible and irrational (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). However, in February 2016, the Algerian government made amendments to the constitution, in which the Tamazight language became the second official language of the state. This resulted from the activist movements who rejected the idea that the Algerian government does not have the budget to formalise the teaching of the Tamazight language in local schools. However, the activists highlight that the country still rejects the Tamazight language and Berber identity (Language Magazine, 2018). Although Berber activists are thought of as a unified group who defended their identity by succeeding in getting national and official recognition for their written language, they have failed to form a political community due to the lack of materials and conditions (Crawford and Hoffman, 2000).

2. 2. 3. The Black Decade and Political Transition

In the 1990s, Algeria slipped into a period of terrorism and civil war, which led to violent conflicts and the crisis of the Algerian regime. This civil war, known as the 'Black Decade,' was caused by the pressure for change and followed riots in October 1988 (Mortimer, 2000;

Roberts, 2003; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Mortimer, 2015; McDougall, 2017). Four years later, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) opposed the Algerian military's decision to cancel the second round of the country's 1992 parliamentary elections to prevent an Islamist party from coming to power. In January 1992, the FIS had forced former president Chadli Benjedid to resign. In the same year, Mouhamed Boudiaf headed the country and tried to create a third path between an Islamist republic, which FIS demanded, and the military regime which had held power since Algerian independence from France in 1962. However, in June 1992, the FIS assassinated Boudiaf while addressing a televised meeting and they launched terrorist campaigns against the Algerian state, both military and civilian (Mortimer, 2000; Donald, 2002; Roberts, 2003; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Mortimer, 2015; Gardenstein-Ross et al., 2015; McDougall, 2017). To understand in detail why Algeria was a battlefield from 1988 to 2002 see Roberts (2003). During the black decade, one of Algeria's major concerns was to dissuade other governments from supplying the FIS. While some African states such as Tunisia and Egypt, which were facing the same crisis, supported the Algerian regime (Mortimer, 2015), other Arabo-Muslim governments such as Saudi Arabia and other Gulf monarchies had ties with the FIS and supported them financially (Roberts, 2003).

Within the need to end the violence and reintegrate into the world economy, two different leaders tried to bring back the stability in politics, in the economy, and in social and cultural spheres. During Lamine Zeroual's presidency from 1995 to 1998, he placed greater emphasis on rescuing Algeria from the Black Decade, but he did not have an ambition for foreign policy. His premature resignation led to the return of an emphasis on foreign policy and development of politics and the economy (Mortimer, 2000; Mortimer, 2015). The army who still have a powerful influence in Algerian politics supported the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika in 1999, and this election opened the door to the return of the golden era of Algerian foreign policy

(Mortimer, 2000; Roberts, 2003; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011; Mortimer, 2015). Although over the course of his early presidency, Bouteflika succeeded in a definite change in foreign policy (Mortimer, 2000; Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011), Algeria is still facing political, demographic, economic and demographic difficulties. The economic prospects in Algeria depend mainly on the fluctuations of international oil and gas prices (ETF, 2015 cited in Bardak, 2017). According to the United Nations Program (2011), other efforts are still necessary to achieve Millennium Development Goals in Algeria because of the high unemployment rate among both skilled and unskilled men and women. Further, Algeria is still facing other issues in education, such as a high drop-out rate, and illiteracy particularly among women; and in health, with high infant and maternal mortality rates (United Nations Program, 2011). Thus, the inauguration of Bouteflika's fourth re-election in 2014 was boycotted by some political opponents who claimed that his electoral victory was fraudulent (Guardian, 2014; Marcky and Chikhi, 2014). Likewise, despite his disability, the announcement of Bouteflika's fifth term in 2019 led to the emergence of the '*hirak*' movement − long peaceful protests in which the protestors went onto the streets every Friday chanting anti-government slogans expressing their anger and calling for a radical change. Following the 22nd February 2019 presidential election there were signs of public anger and disapproval at the country's authoritarian leadership and the *hirak* continued, hence the military insisted on Bouteflika's immediate resignation, which took place on 2nd April 2019. In December 2019, although the number of voters was small because all electoral candidates had links to the previous political regime, Abdelmadjid Tebboune was elected as president. Therefore, Algerians continued to protest in ongoing *hirak* demonstrations until early 2020 (Northey and Guémar, 2020).

Summary

This section presented a general description of Algerian migration, identity struggle and political transition. This section aims to enable the reader to understand the different events that the Algerian in general and Kabyles in particular have experienced either directly or indirectly. It enables the readers to understand their decision to leave their homeland. In addition, it would enable the reader to follow my interpretation of the findings of the push factors that led the Kabyles to migrate to the UK.

Part Three: The UK Migration and Migration Policy

Introduction

Migration is a complicated process that involves decision making and necessitates the evaluation of the advantages against the disadvantages of migration. As Hagen-Zanker (2008: 18) states: "it is clear that most migrants do not take the decision to migrate in a social vacuum and that their family is likely to have some influence … The migration decision entails weighing up the costs versus the benefits of migration". Similarly, Czaiker (2009) posits that when individuals decide to migrate, they compare places and choose areas with the largest benefits. Magnet factors in the destination country are more likely to impact the economic migrants in their decision-making process because they move to countries that accept their skills or have better conditions than their native country. This section discusses the literature on the international movement of migrants to the UK. Most of the participants of the current study are living in London, a destination that has always been popular for international migrants (Green et al., 2008; ONS, 2012). Thus, this section aims to provide an overview of the UK migration to understand the reasons behind Kabyles' choice of the UK either as an initial or second destination country. However, throughout this section, I consider only those aspects which relate to my research participants such as migrants' employment, migration channels and irregular migration.

Piesse (2014) defines pull factors as the favourable conditions that influence migrants' destination choice. For example, Kline's (2003) findings demonstrate that nurses migrate to receiving countries such as Australia, Canada, Ireland, the UK, and the United States to seek better wages and working conditions than they have in their countries of origin. The movement of the nurse to receiving countries affects their native countries due to the loss of skilled personnel and economic investment. Receiving countries, on the other hand, receive skilled

nurses to fill critical shortages with less economic investment. This pull factor is known as the dual labour market theory which results from a strong structural labour demand in developed countries (Priore, 1979, cited in Hanger-Zanker, 2008). A qualitative study carried out across five districts with high labour migration rates in Sri-Lanka demonstrates that socio-economic situation and expected higher income abroad are the main pull factors for labour migration (Siriwardhana et al. 2013). The dual labour market in developed countries relates to differences in wages and skill requirement. Thus, the unskilled sector became unattractive to the local workers but attractive to migrants (Hangen-Zanker, 2008). The concentration of migrants in low skilled jobs permits the local people to move to a higher occupation. This would enable the locally born workers to protect their wages from the migrant competition while keeping those jobs that require manual tasks provided by migrants (D'Amuri and Peri, 2014). The unskilled sector hence is attractive not only for unskilled migrants but also even for the brain-drain professionals who may no longer practice their skills while they work abroad. The Sub-Saharan African professionals who have been forced into exile due to political instability are frequently engaged in unskilled jobs (Oywe, 1996, cited in Kingma, 2001). Although there is a great demand for migrant labour, not anyone can cross the border easily because there are laws that limit migration flows. The nation-state laws are influenced by the dual labour market, national identity and the extent of multiculturalism in the country (Hangen-Zanker, 2008).

2. 3. 1. Historical and Recent Migration to the UK

Historically, during the period between 1950 and 1971, migrants came to the UK mainly from the new and old commonwealth countries (Spatial Strategy and Research, 2010). The citizens of these countries who hold a commonwealth passport and nationality gave them the privilege to have the same rights as the other subjects of the crown (Geddes and Scholten, 2016). The facilitation of the commonwealth migration to Britain was due to the British Nationality Act

1948, which gave them the right to reside and work in Britain to create a 'multicultural Britain' (Finney and Simpson, 2009; Geddes and Scholten, 2016). However, by the 1950s campaigns against the arrival of West Indians in Britain emerged such as the 1958 Nottingham and Notting Hill Riots, leading to the passage of the Commonwealth Act 1962. This act withdrew the right of Commonwealth citizens to reside in Britain, but it introduced a work permit voucher (Finney and Simpson, 2009; Geddes and Scholten, 2016). Subsequent and far tougher acts were passed to restrict the movement of the primary migrants such as the Immigration 1971 Act. From 1973, the UK was a member of the EU and gave an automatic right to EU citizens to settle and work in the UK without a visa and/or work permit. For this reason, the number of EU migrants increased between 1990 and 2014 (Van Wissen and Jennissen, 2008). Further, the number of migrants increased significantly especially after 2004 when migration was made possible from East European countries (Office for National Statistics, 2015; Geddes and Scholten, 2016). Between 1995 and 2015, the number of EU nationals living in the UK tripled from 0.9 million to 3.3 million (Wadsworth et al., 2016). More recently, since 2014 the humanitarian crisis caused by the instability in Syria, Libya and Iraq has resulted in a huge number of migrants seeking refuge in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and the migrant population of the UK rose from 5.9 million to 6.4 million between 2015 and 2016 (OECD, 2017).

It has been noted that the increased movement of EU nationals within Europe from 1988 to 1990, was followed by increased migration from the third countries into Europe (Conant, 2004). The Maghreb countries; Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libyan have been important sources of migrants to European countries and recently they have become countries of transit for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa (Dumont, 2006; United Nations, 2006). Data on the foreign-born population in OECD countries around 2000, showed that the largest numbers of these migrants were from Morocco (1.4 million) and Algeria (1.3 million) (United Nations,

2006), and their profiles tend to be less skilled and mainly male-dominated (Dumont, 2006). Even though there were relatively few Algerians in the UK, their number increased significantly after 1992 (Collyer, 2004). In 2012, the data on Algerian migration showed that 22,000 Algerians resided in the UK, the fifth selected country for settlement after France (721,796), Spain (60,456), Canada (33,515) and Italy (23,233) (Migration Policy Centre, 2013). The migration of Algerians to the UK are generally made under routes such as student visa, tourist visa, family reunification and illegal migration mainly from France (Collyer, 2004).

2. 3. 2. The Idea of Multiculturalism in the UK

The concept of multiculturalism appears to be a response to the racist attitudes that emerged in Western societies with diverse cultural ethnic groups. According to Panayi (2004), Britain represents one of the established European liberal democracies with long traditions of migration. Thus, the massive migration wave to the UK after World War II and its aftermath may be assumed to result from a driving force to seek not only better employment but also equal recognition of ethnic, religious and culturally defined groups. According to Joppke (1996), a multicultural state tolerates the different cultures and provides equal treatment of historically disadvantaged and discriminated groups in society. Similarly, Berry and Kalin (1997) argued that a successful pluralistic society can be achieved through the support of diversity where the migrants' cultures are accepted. In these cases, there should be a low level of discrimination and prejudice, and there should be an attachment to the host society without ethnocentrism. Multiculturalism stands as a critique to the traditional melting pot theory that emerged in the US when there were a large number of migrants, claiming that the cultural differences brought by migrants into the receiving society should be homogenised and controlled (Steinberg, 2014). In Britain, multiculturalism is mainly related to migration and

aims to establish the notion of nationhood such as promoting the English language in the minority communities and encouraging them to engage and respect the principal national institutions (Joppke, 1996). Britain's migration law was based on the interests of imperial migrants and the notion of jus solis. Consequently, the traditional legislations such as the British Nationality Act 1948, and the Commonwealth Act 1962 were established for the sake of British colonies. However, since 1965 Britain introduced a series of Race Relation Acts '3 RRAs' to combat discrimination and facilitate integration such as the 1965 Race Relations Act, the 1968 Race Relations and the 1976 Relations Act, which subsequently became incorporated into the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (EHRC) rooted in the Human Rights Act of 1998 (Panayi, 2010).

The reasons behind Kabyles' destination choice have rarely been explored in the UK context. This research, therefore, explores the features that attracted Kabyles to the UK to clarify the reason for the destination shift. Thus, it is important to look at the philosophy of integration in France and Britain. The rationale for looking at the difference between Britain and France's migration policy is based on two arguments: that France is known as a well-established destination country for Kabyles; that both British and French colonialism resulted in modelling their migration integration policy. According to Todd (1994), the French integration framework is more assimilationist than the British, which is claimed to accept the concept of multiculturalism. In France, the policy framework is based on the ideas of citoyenneté and integration. However, Britain's policy framework is based on race relations and multiculturalism. France emphasises the idea of integration by transforming migrants into full French citizens. Britain sees integration as a question of adaptation and mutual tolerance and allowing ethnic cultures and practices to mediate the process (Favell, 1998; Bleich, 2005). Based on such policies, we may suggest that the link between migrants and the choice of a destination country is expressed through the laws of citizenship and naturalisation. Castles et

al (2014) claim that states that grant citizenship without requiring common ethnicity or cultural assimilation, seem to cope with ethnic diversity. On the other hand, states that link citizenship to cultural belonging tend to marginalise the disadvantaged migrants.

Despite the different strands of legislation that have tried to address the problem of ethnic and racial inequalities in Britain, the concept of multiculturalism is challenged by the Conservative Party that seeks to remodel British nationhood and shift the official context for thinking about migration and diversity (Joppke, 1996). The shift in multiculturalism optimism of the late 20th century and the emergence of Euroscepticism have resulted mainly from the large-scale movement of EU and non-EU migrants and also the recent terrorist attacks (Finney and Simpson, 2009; Siméon, 2016). It has been argued that the United Kingdom membership in the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1973 was more about economic integration, i.e. the 'Common Market'; including the free movement of services, workers, goods, and capital rather than a desire for political collaboration with other EU nations (Baldwin, 2016; Siméon, 2016). According to Baldwin (2016), Brexit was a vote against the free movement of workers within the EU – a vote to "take (back) control" over immigration policy (2016:105). On 1st January 2021, the free movement between Europe and UK ended and the UK introduced a new points-based immigration system (PBS) (HM Government, 2020).

2. 3. 3. Migrants' Employment

Generally, migrant groups are concentrated in low social status occupations (Amuri and Peri: 2014, Castles et al.: 2014) and they are more likely to accept lower-quality jobs, more likely to have lower wages and less likely to be in managerial occupations than the UK resident population, despite having high skill levels (CLG, 2009b). This is due to job requirements which are hard to fill with UK born workers (Green et al., 2008a; Someville and Sumption, 2009) and also due to the lack of language proficiency (Winkworth et al., 2007; Green et al.,

2008a; Green et al., 2008b; Damas De Matos and Liebig, 2014; D'Amuri and Peri, 2014). In addition, migrants' qualifications and experience are valued less and are not recognised in the labour market (Someville and Sumption, 2009; Damas De Matos and Liebig, 2014; OECD, 2017). Further, migrants are attracted by low skilled jobs because they earn more money than those workers in high skilled job at home (Pollard et al., 2008). Such migrants may enable the employer to gain motivated staff, which in turn might lead to job competition between the existing foreign-born workers and the new migrants (Someville and Sumption, 2009). However, the migrant workers are unevenly concentrated across sectors dominated by routine tasks and vary by country of origin (Green et al., 2008b; OECD, 2017). To improve the employment prospects of low skilled migrants several OECD countries have adopted a framework to combat discrimination against migrants and also to assist schools to facilitate the integration of migrant students (OECD, 2017). In response to the decrease in wages in the low-skilled sectors particularly in agriculture, the UK Immigration act passed in 2016 appointed a new director of Labour Market Enforcement to ensure better wages (OECD, 2017).

2. 3. 4. Right of Citizenship

Naturalisation is an important instrument of integration policy because obtaining the nationality of the host country is often regarded as the ultimate result of successful integration, and at the same time having citizenship can facilitate integration itself (OECD, 2017). However, there is not one single integration programme that would fit the needs of all immigrants with different educational backgrounds, experiences, socio-economic profiles and family characteristics. Language training has been the core component, followed by employment as the main objectives of the integration schemes in all OECD countries (OECD, 2017). The UK Citizenship and Immigration Act requires all migrants to speak English, support themselves financially, pay taxes and obey the law (CLG, 2008; CLG, 2009a; OECD, 2017).

In the current research, it is important to consider the aspect of citizenship because it would enable me to determine whether sense of belonging has been influenced for those who have already acquired their citizenship. In addition, it would enable me to explore the reasons that motivate other Kabyles to apply for British citizenship, although with their indefinite leave to remain they have the same rights as the native-born.

2. 3. 5. Migration Types

The migration types into the Western countries are dominated by different types such as labour migration, family reunification, refugees, and asylum seekers (Castles et al., 2014). Although family reunification still represents the main channel of Algerian migration, highly skilled labour Algerian migration and illegal migration may have grown due to high unemployment and lack of political stability in Algeria. Thus, the current research aims to explore my participants' entry channel.

2. 3. 5. 1. Family Migration

A decrease in family migration was observed in the UK between 2010 and 2013 because of the 2008 financial downturn, then it rebounded in 2014 and 2015 (OECD 2017b). Another important category that makes an increasing part of family migration in many OECD countries is family formation[7] that accounts for about 30% to 40% of family migration in 2014 (OECD, 2017). In the UK, a family member of citizens or foreign residents such as documented spouses, registered partners, fiancé (e)s, dependent children, and dependent adult relatives are eligible for family reunification (Data from Home Office, 2009 cited in Mulley, 2010). Although family migration has been the main route for permanent migration (Spatial Strategy

[7] The marriage of resident 'native-born or foreign-born or foreigner' with a foreigner 'resident or non-resident'.

and Research, 2010), it presents less favourable outcomes and faces more challenges than economic migrants, who are selected according to their skills and qualifications (OECD, 2017b). Further, family reunification of spouses and children of foreigners is subject to income and housing requirements. The UK Migration Advisory Committee proposed that the principal applicant must have a sufficient gross annual income as a pre-condition for admission (OECD, 2017; OECD, 2017b). In addition, the pre-entry A1 level English language requirement has been imposed since 2010. Post-entry language requirements have been in place since 2016, in which non-EU/EFTA national partner and parents must acquire A2 level after 30 months in the UK. The age limit for marriage migration is also imposed for both sponsor and the sponsored spouse to reduce the risk that residents might be forced to marry someone from their own families' home country (OECD 2017b).

Geographers who have paid considerable attention to family migration argue that family migration is significantly influenced by gender role beliefs (Cooke, 2008a). Traditionally, the labour markets demand has limited opportunities for women to migrate (Cooke, 2008). Recently, however, the gender composition of the family has started to change because women are achieving higher education in their country of origin, and also due to the increasing demand for foreign labour in female-dominated sectors (OECD, 2017b). Despite the heterogeneity of family migration across OECD countries, family migration flows mainly consist of women (OECD, 2017b). Because of such gender-related differences in response to the principal migrant, this research set out to explore the gender roles among the Kabyle migrants.

2. 3. 5. 2. Labour Migration

Labour migrants holding higher qualifications have better outcomes than refugees and asylum seekers, and family migration (Damas De Matos and Liebig, 2014). Several countries have migration law restrictions for particular migrant categories such as low-skilled workers and

asylum seekers, but they facilitate other migration categories such as family migrants and high skilled migrants (Bardak, 2017). The labour markets of most OECD countries have experienced an increasing demand for jobs requiring more complex skills relative to manual and routine skills in the last 15 years (D'Amuri and Peri, 2014). The permanent migration flows to OECD countries reached 4.7 million entries in 2015 (OECD, 2017). The academic literature on labour migration suggests that some migrants are likely to come to the UK for a fixed period, earn money and return home, whereas others come to settle permanently (Green et al., 2008a).

In the early 2000s, the saturation of the low skilled migrants in the Northern European countries led to the migration from Eastern Europe to fill the medium-skilled jobs due to the Eastern enlargement of the European Union, which in turn resulted in restrictions toward third world country nationals (Bardak, 2017). Regarding the UK Immigration Visa (UKIV), migrants can enter the UK legally through the following main routes; free movement within the EU until December 2020, as asylum seekers or refugees and through a point-based system (PBS) that is designed to allow migrants that have financial assets, skills needed by the economy to work in the UK (Finch et al., 2009), family reunification, study, and others (Mulley, 2010; OECD, 2017).

In relation to labour flows for both skilled and less-skilled workers, in April 2017 the UK Migration Advisory Committee restricted the entry conditions for skilled migrants (Tier 2) and raised the minimum annual salary for skilled workers from £ 20,800 to £ 30,000 (OECD, 2017). Further, in March 2016 the UK has restricted access to education for international students mainly to regulate their growing number and to prevent the abuse of student migration as a channel for entry for people who do not qualify. For example, the international students may not extend their leave to study a course lower than the previous course and the conditions to switch courses without obtaining a new visa have been tightened (OECD, 2017). However, the

secretary of state for the Home Office presented a new graduate immigration route, which will be launched 1st July 2021 enabling international students on tier 4 visa to apply for a graduate route that will enable undergraduate students to stay for two years, and three years for PhD students after they graduate to secure skilled jobs for the best international graduates and to contribute to the economic growth of the UK (HM Government, 2020).

2. 3. 5. 3. Irregular Migration

After changes in the labour market and the saturation of low-skilled migration in Northern Europe, the Southern European countries such as Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Italy became the new destination countries for North African low-skilled migrants, who occupy mainly domestic sectors. However, low-skilled migrants are now no longer needed in Southern European countries because they are facing labour market issues (Bardak, 2017). This led to the restriction of migration laws towards third world nationals, which may, in turn, lead to illegal migration flows. Data has revealed that in 2015, 7,164 Algerians and Moroccans used the western Mediterranean route to migrate illegally to Europe (Volkel, 2017).

The German government stated that in August 2011, the majority of irregular migrants in the EU overstayed their short-term visa (Bundersregiering, 2011, cited in Volkel, 2017). Therefore, while the European Commission has tried to keep the humanitarian aspect of migration, the governments of EU members tried to address the security and safety of irregular migration (Volkel, 2017). Therefore, many countries have put in place measures to control and limit the phenomena of irregular migration by preventing foreigners to enter the country illegally, launching sanctions for illegal employment and expelling the migrants to their countries of origin (OECD, 2017). The 2016 UK Immigration Act laid responsibility on landlords, banks, and other agents to check that those using services were legally in the country and they would be fined if they failed to do so (OECD, 2017).

Summary

In this section, I have tried to provide a picture of UK society in terms of its migration policy. As an in-depth exploration of the determinants of Kabyle migration has not been carried out in the UK context, the overview of the migration patterns stated earlier in this section; professional migration, interregional migration and labour migration may highlight similarities with the Kabyles' motivation to migrate. Thus, the information presented in this section would enable the reader to understand my interpretation of the reasons that led the Algerian Kabyles to choose the UK as their main country of settlement or second country of destination after France. In addition, it would enable the reader to understand the participants' experience in the diaspora regarding the host society policy and norms. According to pull factors for migration, the current qualitative study seeks not only to focus on the attraction of income for migrant workers but additional pull aspects such as cultural diversity, better life prospects and human rights will be considered.

Chapter Three: Review of Empirical Literature and Conceptual Framework

Overview

This chapter outlines the conceptual framework related to attachment, acculturation, diaspora, and transnationalism which informed the research design to identify the key themes to be explored. In researching migrants and migration, it is necessary to consider other disciplines to provide a full picture of my research context. Therefore, this chapter collects a wide range of academic debates ranging from human geography to psychology and well-being. These disciplines are important in illuminating and explaining the data of this study. Most research related to the phenomenon of migration focuses on how the host society policies impact minority groups with a distinct language, religion and/or skin colour and/or vice versa. However, less is known about the psychology of Kabyle migrants who represent a minority, not only in their host society but also in their homeland, and how they could create a cultural community within and outside the national borders through their attachment to their culture and in-group members. According to attachment theory, the desire for closeness is part of our evolutionary drive and extends to both people and the environment. Bowlby stated: "there is a marked tendency for humans, like animals of other species, to remain in a particular and familial locale and in the company of particular and familiar people" (Bowlby, 1973: 146). Obviously, migration seems to make people challenge this model. How then does attachment theory reinforce migrants' ties and lead to the creation of diasporas? Personal/vocational/cultural/community attachments are crucial for Kabyles in diaspora, because it is how they have always held together in a community as a minority group in Algeria. Attachment helps them to form communities as migrants and hence it is crucial for the formation and sustenance of a new diaspora.

3. 1. Attachment Theory

The British psychoanalyst John Bowlby first developed attachment theory in 1969. He argued that healthy human development results from the emotional connection provided by significant dependable figures such as parents or caregivers (Bowlby, 1969; Holmes, 2014). These figures help to develop a child's personality since childhood, but attachment can also be developed during the lifespan (Bowlby, 2005). Attachment theory suggests that the early contact between child and parents provides an insight into the understanding and the responses of both child and parents (Bowlby, 1969). In addition, attachment theory suggests that the desire of closeness comes from our biology and humans evolve and survive because they build and maintain close relationships, which may provide security and emotional support (Bowlby, 2005; Ainsworth, 1989). This continues to inform our behaviour during the lifespan and the attachment system becomes and leads to attachment behaviour when someone experiences separation from the important figures and/or when we experience loss, anger, frustration, or stress (Bowlby, 1998).

Ainsworth et al. (2014) conducted an exploratory study that was based on observing the behaviour of children who were separated from their mothers, and then reunited after a short period, in a procedure called 'Strange Situation'. Their results showed that after the reunification, the child's behaviour in relation to attachment could be placed in one of three categories, which could be either (1) secure attachment, (2) anxious-avoidant attachment or (3) anxious resistant attachment. Hesse (1999) claims that like a child's attachment behaviour, adults have four attachment status designations, which have almost the same terminology; (F) secure attachment or autonomous, (Ds) dismissing, (E) preoccupied and (U) unsolved or disorganised (Hesse, 1999: 399). Main (1999) argued that adults have a secure or autonomous state of mind when an attachment figure is available in times of need, but this attachment becomes insecure when there is a doubt that an attachment figure will be available. The

insecure attachment could be either dismissing or preoccupied. The dismissing attachment suggests that during danger or threat, the individuals seek other alternatives of safety rather than seeking proximity of people. The preoccupied attachment, however, relies more on the proximity of attachment figures. The unsolved attachment suggests that individuals are unable to resolve a state of being confused especially when a person experiences trauma or loss. In all these attachment statuses, individuals are confused about what to do when they experience either threat or danger and there is no specific strategy that enables them to resolve the activation system and return to stability. Bowlby (1998) argued that individuals have a disturbed state of mind during the time of loss. For Bowlby, protection is the key function of the attachment relationship that provided care. "When an individual (of any age) is feeling secure he is likely to explore away from his attachment figure. When alarmed, anxious, tired, or unwell he feels an urge towards proximity" (Bowlby, 2005: 137).

Abubaker et al. (2014) examine the factors that contribute to the psychological well-being of minority youth in the African context. They conclude that connectedness to some figures such as parents and peers contribute to life satisfaction and fewer mental health problems. Similarly, Alonso-Arbiol et al. (2014) employ the approach of investigating the positive aspects of psychological well-being among Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch mainstream youths. They argue that attachment pattern contributes to well-being and life satisfaction. Similarly, studies investigating adolescent migrants and relatedness such as Karcher (2011) and Laghi et al. (2014) provide information about how attachment provides enough security to enable them to build a more positive future. The lack of attachment, however, affects the health and well-being of the family structure (Baumeister and Lary, 1995; Organista et al., 2002; Siriwardhana et al., 2013). The separation from family and the lack of in-group contact can be a severe stressor and can be applied to different migration contexts. These stressors may result in cultural loss and a feeling of foreignness. As Castles et al. (2014: 18) state "the position of migrants is often

marked by a specific legal status: that of the foreigner or non-citizen". Humans feel scared and lost when they are in a strange place and/or in the company of unfamiliar people (Bowlby, 1998). Regarding this, during the early years of their migration, Kabyle migrants might have felt like foreigners and were insecure because of being in an unfamiliar environment and surrounded by unfamiliar figures. However, feeling secure is essential even among unfamiliar figures (Bowlby, 1998). Theories of attachment and social relationships motivated me to understand the consequences of family and/or in-group separation among Kabyle migrants because understanding their psychological health and well-being is another important feature.

3. 1. 1. Attachment and Career Exploration

Attachment theory is one of the most successful theories that have been applied in the career exploration realm (Ketterson and Blustein, 1997); its significant notion is the fact that the relationship with the 'attachment figures', such as parents or others provides emotional support as well as a feeling of security (Ainsworth, 1989). This feeling of security and emotional support has contributed to the mastery and exploration of the world (Sroufe and Waters, 1977). It has been argued that it is important to explore migrants' career experiences and their career transition (Dollarhide et al., 2013; Gibson et al., 2010; Ronnestad and Skovholt, 2003) because migrants may find difficulties in integrating in the workplace due to many factors such as lack of language proficiency and having a foreign qualification. As argued, some individuals develop new careers because their skills and qualifications are not transferable (Aycan and Berry, 1996; Blustein and Noumair, 1996). Further, integrating the workplace and being an active citizen in the host society may be considered as one of the main principles for social validation. Thus, in the current study attachment and career exploration is explored from in-group attachment relationships, in which the newcomers may maintain contact with the earlier Kabyle migrants to help them to find jobs adequate to their qualification, skills and status. In

addition, they may also orient them to certain jobs, in which they share a similar domain of practice. Hoeve et al. (2014) suggest that nurse educators need to interact and share their work experiences with an individual from the same domain of practice (nurse community) to learn and construct their identity. In this sense, identity is created in relation to others, rather than inherited; this would suggest that the social process relates to social constructionist theory (Gergen and Gergen, 2008, cited in Woods et al., 2016).

3. 1. 2. Migration from the Attachment Perspective

The initial focus of attachment theory had been on infant-parent relationships that contribute to infant development. To expand the application of attachment theory it has been used by Van Ecke (2007) to illuminate the responses to challenges, which Dutch and Belgian migrants experienced in their society of settlement 'California' during four stages: premigration, transit, settlement and adjustment/adaptation. The author argues that understanding social support and migrants' needs will benefit from the application of attachment theory (Van Ecke, 2007). Similarly, the current study uses attachment theory to explore the relationship between the Kabyle diasporic group and their attachment to their culture outside their homeland. The participants' separation from their homeland and those left-behind may lead to a feeling of dislocation and cultural loss. Therefore, they may be motivated to create a diasporic community, in which they seek proximity to their in-group members, who in turn enable them to maintain their culture, while they still seek closeness to those left-behind through social networks (this is further explained in section 3. 6 within this chapter). In addition, the in-group attachment may help the well-established migrants to provide help to their Kabyle followers during the early years of migration. Hager-Zanker (2008) argues that the social linkage is an important network for new migrants because the former migrants will make the access to their followers to the destination country easier, and they will provide help such as arranging the trip

and finding a job. In addition, the established network of pioneer migrants can strongly impact the migration decision by decreasing costs such as providing or finding housing, support, employment and other contacts (Czaiker and Kis-Katos, 2009). However, the over-reliance on in-group contact may lead to a lack of integration into the wider community. In relation to attachment theory, this study aims to examine the research question (4) Do they have a sense of attachment to their community, culture, and homeland?

3. 2. Migration and Acculturation

3. 2. 1 Acculturation Strategies

Acculturation takes place when people move between two cultures leading to cultural and psychological change (Berry, 2005). In addition, in the acculturation process, one should think of cultures as 'moving and mixing' (Hermans and Kempen, 1998: 1117). Berry (1997) suggested four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation. Assimilation strategy refers to the individuals who seek interactions with other cultural groups and do not maintain their cultural identity. In contrast, separation strategy occurs when migrants maintain their cultural identity and avoid communicating with others. Marginalization occurs when individuals do not maintain their culture and have little interest in interacting with others. Integration strategy occurs when individuals maintain their own culture while they interact with other groups (Berry, 1997).

The integration strategy has been claimed as being the most successful strategy for migrants (Berry and Sam, 1997; Berry et al, 2006). However, it can only be attained when the minority ethnic groups choose to adopt such strategies and the mainstream group tolerates cultural diversity. Richmond (1993) proposed that migrants can be either 'reactive' or 'proactive'. In the former, individual migrants are motivated by the negative factors that exclude them, and in the latter, are motivated by positive factors that facilitate their integration (cited in Richmond,

2002). To this, integration and separation strategies can only be pursued when individuals wish to hold their cultural identity (Berry and Sam, 1997). In this sense, integration and separation are collective strategies, whereas assimilation is individualistic. In the former, the minority group work together collectively to improve their status and maintain their culture by joining associations to maintain their cultural heritage. In the latter, however, the minority group choose not to join such associations and they individually attempt to be accepted by the mainstream group (Moghaddam et al 1987). As far as acculturation is concerned, this research will attempt to answer research question (2) which explores the coping strategies that Kabyle participants adopt to be part of the host society.

3. 2. 2. Acculturation and Behavioural Change

Berry (1997) suggested that the process of adjustment has resulted from the acculturation process, where individuals change their behaviour either unintentionally, selectively, or deliberately by replacing it with another behaviour that allows improving the 'fit' in their host society. It occurs at the group as well as at the individual level, "at the group level, it involves a change in social structures and institutions and cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire" (Berry, 2005: 698-699). In this study, the Kabyles may change their behaviour and attitudes to better meet the culture of their host society, because the mainstream group may impose limits so that the individuals cannot act freely according to their preferences (Berry, 2005). For instance, the participants of this study may change their behaviour in respect to the individuals they meet in their transnational space such as foreign colleagues and/or friends. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the acculturation process among these participants needs to be examined.

3. 2. 3. Acculturative Stressors

Minority groups are the most exposed to emotional health problems and may experience cultural conflicts and acculturation stress during the intercultural interaction, which may lead to adaptation difficulty (Grossman et al., 1985; Nesdale et al., 1997; Angel et al., 2001; Organista et al., 2002; Berry, 2005; Sirin et al., 2011). Many researchers have identified different variables that may contribute to migrants' psychological distress, including both pre-migratory, such as socioeconomic status and language proficiency, and post-migratory, such as employment, housing, education and intercultural difficulties (Chataway and Berry: 1989; Liebkind: 1993,1996; Nicassion et al., 1986). Regarding employment, Organista et al. (2002) analysed the distress and acculturation among African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, and Latinos, and argue that the pre-migration conditions such as traumatic experiences have consequences on migrants' mental health. In addition, the early post-migration period causes greater stress related to learning English and seeking a job. Obviously, economic, and educational achievement correlates with migrants' psychological well-being, whereas economic and educational underachievement correlates with stress.

Migrant status is another variable that may cause stress. For example, Sirin et al., (2011) illustrate the role of acculturation of the offspring of the first-generation migrants and how acculturation stress can affect migrants' family in the US. They argue that new migrants may experience discrimination, racism and anti-immigrant attitudes upon entering the USA, which is also a potential source of mental health distress. Portes et al., (2009) who explored how the offspring of the first-generation migrants in America are disadvantaged in their early adulthood, developed an intergenerational model of three different forms of acculturation relating to parents and children that are sources of acculturative stress: Dissonant acculturation, Consonant acculturation, and Selective acculturation. Dissonant acculturation occurs when the

children acquire the English language and the American culture, and they reject their parental language and culture quicker than their parents. Consonant acculturation occurs when both parents and children adapt to US culture, and both simultaneously reject their ethnic origin culture. Selective acculturation occurs when both parents and children preserve some elements of parental culture along with the acquisition of English and US culture. The longitudinal study of Portes et al. (2009) shows that the dissonant acculturation is demonstrated in challenging the parents' authority because the parents lose control of their children's lives which may increase stress. Selective acculturation is associated with positive outcomes because racial discrimination may be filtered and confronted with family and co-ethnic community support. As Spears (2011) argues, migrants reaffirm their in-group relatedness when an act of discrimination has been confronted, this may help them to protect their boundaries and ethnic traditions. The feeling of affiliation with one's ethnic community is found to lessen the impact of the negative stereotype and racial discrimination among the ethnic minority groups (Martinez and Dukes, 1997; Sellers et al., 2006). In addition, undocumented migrants may be at risk of stress and depression because they may experience the ambiguity of belonging (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). To understand the variables that may have contributed or still contribute to Kabyles' psychological distress, the current research aims to answer this question by exploring the research question (3) that seeks to examine the challenges that the Kabyles encountered during their pre-migration and/or post-migration periods.

3. 3. The Concept of Diaspora: An Overview

Generally, the word 'diaspora' that is derived from Greek, refers to migration and colonization (Cohen, 2002). Traditionally, the concept of diaspora was used as an analytical tool to examine the dispersion of the Jewish people in exile and the survival of African culture in the New World. Contemporary migration studies use the concept of the diaspora to refer to the dispersal

of all kinds of people who show a bond to the homeland. By applying the concept to other migrants such as Jews, Africans, Palestinians and Armenians, Cohen (2002) claims that the concept acquired more sinister and brutal meanings. Thus, Cohen defines diaspora as collective trauma among those who dream of imagined natal territories but live in exile. For Tölölyan (2007), however, diaspora refers to migrant communities who show attachment to their co-ethnic groups and homeland and act as a collective community. Given the variety of the concept, each diasporic community settled in exile articulates its own definition of diaspora depending on its circumstances. It has been argued that to belong to a diasporic community one should demonstrate strong maintenance to his/her past history and possess a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background (Cohen, 2002; Tölölyan, 2007). However, not all migrants are considered diasporas because diasporas are created when migrants' culture is distinct from the host culture and/or the migrants experience the cleansing of their culture by the host society (Tölölyan, 2007). For example, Asian-Indians and Chicano communities of the US are diasporic. Migrants with German ancestry, however, are not necessarily diasporas because their culture is not distinct from the US culture (Bhatia and Ram, 2009). In other words, the non-European and non-white migrants are more likely to be considered cultural diasporic groups because they have a sense of negotiating their selves between their host society and homeland. Following Tölölyan's view of the concept of diaspora, this research places attachment to culture and in-group contacts as primary elements to explore whether the Kabyles of the UK can be described as a diaspora. Thus, the research will attempt to answer sub-research question (4-A) that aims to look at the relationship of Kabyle participants with their in-group members and sub-research question (4- B) that aims to explore to which extent their cultural identity and cultural maintenance is important to them.

3. 3. 1. Beyond Ethnicity: Social Constructionist View of Diaspora

Many typologies have been adopted to explain the diasporas. Cohen (2002) proposed five typologies: victim (Africans and Armenians), labour (Indians), trade (Chinese and Lebanese), imperial (British) and cultural diaspora (the Caribbeans). Within these suggested typologies, some diasporas take dual or multiple forms, however, others change their character over time. The current research is interested in the cultural diaspora that Cohen proposed, which is one of the most productive types because its cultural dimension emphasizes the notion of hybridity that is used by post-modernists to create a new social perspective seen as mixed cultures. Cohen (2002) claims that diaspora studies are influenced by the social constructionists[8] who were influenced by postmodernist[9] theory. According to social constructionists, the concept of diaspora still places ethnicity[10] as an essential characteristic in maintaining and constructing solidarity between displaced people. However, it refocuses attention on dynamic processes and other important characteristics such as the role of gender, class, and other identities. Anthias (1998) suggested that the diasporic black writers such as Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy contributed to the development of the concept of diaspora and paved the way for the social constructionists to overturn the traditional view on ethnicity as being fixed. Hall (1990) contributed to the theoretical argument that ethnicity is not limited to the national state, but it also found at a transnational level. He also made a strong connection between hybridity and the changing character of diasporas. Gilroy's book 'The Black Atlantic' (1993), did not only

8 Social constructionism makes sense of social world from those who live in by considering their understanding, language, and interaction. It opposed to scientism who view knowledge as created and grounded in an observable and definable external reality (Burr, 2018).

9 Postmodernism is a critical analysis that shifts away from the definitive features of the modernism. Its logic reflects the social change and speaks about the cultural changes that the world is currently going through (Featherstone, 2007).

10 Ethnicity, as previously mentioned in chapter two, the term ethnicity in this study refers to individuals who show their inclusion to a specific group because of their shared ancestry, history, language, and culture.

defend the conceptualisation of diaspora as a social condition but he also deployed the concept as a heuristic device to understand migrants' relationship to their society of settlement and their country of origin (Anthias, 1998).

In the study of the concept of diaspora, social constructionists consider the relationship of migrants with their society of origin whilst they look at the cultural ties that link them to their diasporic communities. By considering cultural identity and social conditions as essential elements for the diaspora, this research is based on a social constructionist view of diaspora. Thus, this research suggests that Kabyles' diasporic experiences may be cultured and aims to explore whether the role of a cultural attachment may lead to the growth of the trans-ethnic solidarity whilst looking at their past, present, and future experiences. According to Anthias (1998), the etymology of the word diaspora is multifaceted that encompasses migrants' past, present and future conditions. Considering the social constructionist arguments, the current research uses Kabyles' past social conditions to explain their experiences during the Berber Spring and black decade. In addition, the notion of 'brotherhood' among Kabyles, may take the form of solidarity to fight against cultural oppression. Furthermore, this research uses cultural attachment as a tool to explore the relationship between the Kabyle diasporic community and their Kabyle peers in Algeria. Brubaker (2005) cited Sheffer (2003) who argued that some labour emigrant groups including Algerians have been construed as diasporas because of their involvement (to some extent) in emotional and social ties with their homeland. Finally, by using attachment as a condition to explore Kabyles' relationship to their culture, dispersed community, and homeland, I fully agree with Tölölyan (2007) who argued that the cross-national border contact of the diasporic groups should be based on strong ties that would enable the practice of cultural work, which in turn supports the diaspora.

3. 3. 2. Renegotiating of Identity in Diaspora

To understand the concept of diaspora, we can see homeland and exile as influential components on negotiating of self in the transnational diaspora. Byfield (2000) cited Patterson and Kelley (1999) who argued that the diaspora depends largely on the diasporic identity, which links the elements created from diaspora to the homeland. However, the discourse about identity is divided between those who perceive identity as fixed and racialised and those who perceive identity as dynamic and multiple. In the postmodern world, social constructionists view identity as changeable, dynamic and hybrid (Hall, 1990; Anthias, 1998; Pavlenko, 2002; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Block, 2007; Hall, 2011). This may have resulted from the process of migration that alters the meaning of national borders and boundaries, which may lead to the loss of their stable 'sense of self'. This de-centring of individuals from their place in the social and cultural world constitutes a 'crisis of identity' (Hall, 2006). In such a view, I may suggest that the fixity of boundaries have been replaced by fluid identities. Hall (1990) argued that cultural identities are in transition, based on different traditions and harmonising the old and new cultures without assimilation or total loss of the past. This dynamism occurs when moving from one place to another, having a specific attachment to the homeland while being transformed by the host society, which produces different forms of identities (Anthias, 1998; Hall, 2006; Anthias, 2008).

In his social identity theory, Henri Tajfel (1982) defines 'identity' as identification with a social category. He, therefore, argues that an individual's behaviour reveals not only their individual identity but also their social identity (Tajfel, 1978, cited in Tajfel, 1982). It has been argued that cultural or ethnic identity shows people's inclusion in a specific group (Jenkins, 2008) and defines them as unique individuals (Brewer, 1996; Jameson, 2007). According to Bhabha (2012), the identification with one's culture shows our original identity or received tradition

and describes one's cultural contemporaneity and reinscribes one's common history. Although identifying with one's culture and the social group strengthens security and connection (Ashmore et al., 2001; Licata et al., 2011), it may lead to prejudice and discrimination because others may see them as different (Licata et al., 2011; Smith, 1993). Many studies focusing on ethnicity conduct research into whether migrants identify themselves with their original nation or with their host nation (Killian and Johnson, 2006). Similarly, McCall (2003) and others suggest that studies drawing on identity need to examine the feature of identification and 'disidentification'[11]. The change in identity results in the formation of multiple or dual identities producing what is known as 'hybridity' or 'hyphenated identity' (Verkuyten, 2004). To illustrate this: in the US the word 'American' refers to the national identity, so migrant groups may shift from using identity based on their origins (e.g., Chinese) to a compound or hyphenated identity (e.g., Chinese-American), and in some cases, they use single national identity, American (Waters, 1990). However, this hyphenated identity depends on the way we are represented in a cultural context. For example, self-definition as an Irish-American in the USA is common and emphasizes different ways of being an American. Their hyphenated identities combine the notion of national identity with that of a distinct ethnic identity, and one is not an alternative to the other (Verkuyten, 2004).

In the context of North African history in general and in Algeria in particular (as previously discussed in section 2. 2. 4 within chapter two), the solidarity among Kabyles is associated with their common culture, language, and history. Thus, the current study will try to explore whether Kabyles' identification with hyphenated identity 'Algerian-Berbers' is produced from the perspective of being disenfranchised or whether it acts as a symbol of resistance to oppressive Arab assimilationists and mediates the question of Algerians' identity redefinition

[11] It is a process adopted by migrants who separate their self-identity from their country of origin (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al, 2009).

for all Algerians and diasporic communities. Kabyles may seek recognition of their cultural identity at a transnational level as a form of solidarity to support their peers living in Algeria. Further, Kabyle migrants may deploy cultural hybridity to fit within the two environments (native country and host country), some Kabyles who acquired British citizenship may add elements of the host society culture to their definition of self. This identification is known as additive identities which refers to retaining one's cultural identity while acquiring and/or assimilating a new one (Verkuyten, 2004). Others, however, identify themselves with their original national and cultural identity. According to Verkuyten (2004), the core of identity depends on the context. In some, it is one's national identity that is important, and in others, it is one's ethnic identity. For the Kabyles, the salience of their identity may be equal. Therefore, within the borderline, some Kabyles' identification as 'Algerian-Berbers' may be produced from the perspective of their nationalism and from exposure of the host society culture that may threaten their culture. In Robins' (2011) exploration of the Turkish cultural identity experiences in Western Europe, he argued that exposure to modern culture resulted in dependency and conformity. However, this excessive openness to western culture would threaten the historical culture. Therefore, Kabyles' cultural identification may be a reaction that involves the reassertion of origins and traditions for the first-generation migrants in general and second-generation migrants in particular.

As far as identification is concerned, there is one further element of identity that needs to be considered. Edwards (2009) argues that each individual has a specific accent, dialect and language variation which may reveal speech communities, social classes, ethnic and national groups to which the user belongs. According to Anthias (2008), identity represents the intersubjective relations, where the migrants endure questions about 'where are you from?' and/or 'where do you belong?' relating to skin colour, language, accent or name. As far as this study is concerned, participants' identification may be influenced by their migrant status. In

the current research, at the early stage of migration, the participants may have differed in their status: documented (regular) and undocumented (irregular). As the Kabyle participants of the current research are multilingual, those being documented may identify themselves with the cultural and/or national identity. However, Kabyles who were undocumented may have identified themselves with the colonial identity. The latter may be reinforced by their knowledge of and proficiency in the French language (see section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 within chapter two). The undocumented participants may have identified themselves with French identity to avoid discrimination and also to avoid paper checks. As Edwards (2009) argues, bilingual or multilingual speakers select a language, often subconsciously, according to the context and the situational demands. For his reason, I suggest that the identification of Kabyle participants of this study may depend on language, space and time, and migrant's status, which therefore provides an understanding of their inclusion.

3. 4. Transnationalism: Migrants' Engagement and Homeland Ties

To complete the discussion about diaspora, it is necessary to reflect on the concept of transnationalism that is associated with diasporas. Although diasporic groups do not show aspiration for permanent repatriation, they maintain ties to their homeland in multiple connections such as travel, remittances, cultural exchange, and involvement in political solidarity during conflicts. According to Tölölyan (2007), transnationalism involves the crossing of one or more national borders by a migrant. The assimilation theory that was reduced to the ideology of the melting pot was focused on homogenising different ethnic groups by imposing one common culture. Based on these remarks, the concept of transnationalism appeared in migration studies in the early 1990s as a response to the assimilation theory (Raouse, 1995). Glick Schiller et al. (1992) were among the pioneers who conceptualised the term of transnationalism. They contested the earlier view that migrants cut linkage with the

homeland and social ties, and instead focus on the socio-cultural, economic, and political activities in their host society. Thus, they argued that the life of today's migrants encompasses those networks and activities in both their host and home societies. Similarly, Van Amersfoort (2001) argues that while assimilation theory views migrants as participants in their host society, transnationalism focuses on the migrants' simultaneous social and economic engagement in both the receiving and sending countries, and this is what makes transnationalism in early 1990 novel (Portes et al., 2017). In addition, the movement across nation-states is made possible because of the improved communication channels and transportations systems (Portes, 1996; Zhou and Lee, 2015). Although transnationalism became an important analytical tool in migration studies, the term is criticised due to its ambiguity, which results in competing definitions between scholars working on migration (Kivisto, 2001).

Portes et al. (1999) offered an understanding of transnationalism by refining and limiting the broad definition provided by Glick Schiller et al. They defined transnationalism as the back and forth movement of people who have two lives, speak two languages, have homes in their host society and their homeland, and have cross-national social networks. In addition, Portes et al. (1999) do not consider all migrants as transnationals. Transnational migrants are those who are involved in a continuous social relationship. Moreover, migrants with high social capital and who are close to their homeland are more likely to engage in transnational activities. Based on the characteristics of transnational migrants, it has been argued that transnational migrants might represent a minority of the total migrant population (Kivisto, 2001). To explore transnationalism among Kabyle participants, the current research follows Portes et al. (1999) who view transnationalism as the movement of migrants between their transnational space and homeland. For this reason, the sub-research question (4-C) will try to determine to which extent their homeland contact is important to them and sub-research question (4- D) will attempt to explore the myth to return to their homeland.

Portes et al. (1999) identified three types of transnationalism: (1) socio-cultural transnationalism involves activities that aim to reinforce national identity or collective celebration of cultural events, (2) political transnationalism involves political activities to achieve political power and influence on the host society and society of origins, (3) economic transnationalism that involves supplying markets across borders. Although historians and scholars had long known that migrants provide financial support to their families in their homelands (Kivisto, 2001), the empirical survey of Portes et al (2017) found that not all migrants in the diasporic community engage in remittances. In their later studies they discovered that although the transnational practices in migrant communities were not regular, they are still significant for both the host society and the society of origins. Indeed, Gans (1979) argued that migrants involved in cultural transnationalism are preserving a nostalgic symbolic ethnicity. Mazzucato (2008) used a transnational perspective to analyse the lives of Ghanian migrants in the Netherlands. His analysis showed that Ghanian migrants are doubly engaged, they contribute to their peers back home not only by investing in housing, business, education but also but donating generously at funerals. Thus, transnational diasporic activities extend to maintaining social networks between the expatriates in exile and their peers back home (Goldring, 2002; Iskander, 2010; Zhou and Lee, 2015). Given the variety of transnational activities, I am keen to explore whether the Kabyle migrants of the UK have dual engagement. If the answer is yes, I would like to find out which kind of activities they are engaged in.

Summary

This chapter has examined four concepts; attachment, diaspora, acculturation, and transnationalism, which would contribute to the understanding of Kabyle migrants' experiences. Attachment theory explains the importance of humans' relationships (Bowlby, 1969; Ainsworth, 1989; Bowlby, 2005; Ainsworth, 2014) and diaspora theory examines the

dispersal of people who show a bond to their peers, culture, and homeland, whether this could be an existing or an imagined homeland (Cohen, 2002; Tölölyan, 2007). From the attachment theory perspective, I considered that it is important to understand how Kabyles' attachment to their language, group and culture contributed to the ongoing existence of their community in their homeland despite the marginalisation and the oppression that the group has known. From the diaspora studies perspective, it is important to understand how Kabyles' diasporic character contributes to the understanding of the interaction to their transnational peers, their transnational space, their transnational activities, and their homeland. Although attachment theory has been used in migration studies such as Van Ecke (2007), who argues that understanding social support and migrants' needs will benefit from the application of attachment theory (Van Ecke, 2007), to the best of my knowledge, there has been no study combining diaspora and attachment theory in migration studies. Thus, the use of attachment theory and the concept of diaspora in the current study contribute not only an understanding of the responses to challenges that Kabyle migrants experienced in their pre-migration and post-migration periods but also how their attachment to their culture and their group ties reinforce their community in the diasporic space. Studies focusing on Algerian migration in the UK do not offer any explanation of how acculturation among Kabyles is processed. Therefore, this current research considers the behavioural modification that Kabyle migrants might endure during their acculturation process to better fit within their host society, as it is argued by many researchers that behavioural change may influence their integration and settlement (Berry, 1997; Berry and Sam, 1997; Richmond, 2002; Berry, 2005; Berry et al., 2006; Portes et al., 2009).

Chapter Four: Research Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

The current chapter presents the research methodology that is based on a qualitative approach to explore the lived experiences of first and second-generation Kabyle migrants. The methods were selected according to their usefulness for answering my research questions. A detailed research methodology design is presented, which consists of a detailed data collection instrument to provide a deep and rich explanation of the participants' lived experiences.

Part 1: Qualitative Methodology and Participants' Recruitment

4. 1. 1. Research Paradigm

Qualitative research was initially developed in social sciences, to permit the researcher to understand and explain social phenomena. It makes use of qualitative data collection tools such as fieldwork, documents, and interviews, which produce texts rather than statistics (Myers, 1997). These methods also make it possible for the researcher to be involved in the research study as much as the subjects and the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). This contrasts greatly with the quantitative method, which originated in natural sciences to study natural phenomena through the use of surveys and numerical methods (Myers, 1997). Qualitative methodology is often used in exploratory research, according to Babbie (2011: 65) "exploratory studies are often done when a researcher is examining a new interest, or when the subject of the study is uncharted". In addition, qualitative methods are used in phenomenological research as they offer the privilege to explore human experiences from first-person accounts (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011). As Kabyles' experiences have seldom been explored in the UK context, the qualitative methodology, as an exploratory study, best suits my project. It also suits my concern with their first-hand phenomenological examination of the migration experience.

4. 1. 1. 1. Phenomenology as a Framework: Overview

Phenomenological research has been widely used in social sciences and it is a distinct perspective from positivist research. Phenomenologists see the world through the descriptive data that is produced by qualitative methods such as observation, open-ended interviews, and personal documents (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Broadly speaking, phenomenology focuses on individuals' lived experiences, and it embraces subjectivity and engages with structure and interpretation (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011). Whilst Husserl (1859-1938), the father of phenomenology had a descriptive stance, Heidegger who developed it to a methodological research approach had an interpretative stance (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011). This division is still apparent between phenomenologists such as Giorgi's descriptive stance (2010) and Smith's interpretative stance (2010).

Unlike descriptive phenomenology, interpretative phenomenology goes beyond describing the phenomena, it attempts to understand the meaning of participants' accounts that they contribute to their lifeworld (Smith and Osborn, 2008). In the interpretative approach, the researcher's presumption and the existing literature are a guide to the research process and the data analysis. Further, intersubjectivity between the researcher and the researched is key in producing data and influencing findings (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011). Thus, the data of the current study are analysed by considering the existent theories as well as the researcher's presumption to demonstrate the relationship between the researcher and the subject being studied and also to demonstrate the researcher's role. Having said that, I do not mean that as a researcher I let my thinking influence the data, however, I interpreted my participants' experiences against the existing literature to find out the contribution of my research.

The essence of the participants' lived experience is communicated by spatiality and intersubjectivity. The lived experience of spatiality includes the separation of the migrants from

their families left behind, which impacts both the migrants' life and those left behind. The lived experience of intersubjectivity is transmitted mainly by the connection and interaction with other ethnic groups found in the host society and also their diasporic peers. Other forms of subjectivity such as ethnicity, culture, and religion influence how the relations with others are experienced (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011).

Although phenomenology has a well-established history, it has been criticized for its lack of focus on the wider social context. For example, how language and politics structure people's experiences (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011). To respond to this critique, some authors have combined phenomenological approaches with discourse analysis (Landridge, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). Further, Crath (2010) reviews Ahmed's (2006) 'Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others', which demonstrates how phenomenology can be a productive approach in queer studies. In the current study, the response to this critique resides mainly in the topic of the research itself. Exploring migration from a phenomenological perspective, enabled the research participants to provide a detailed account of their own lived experiences, which in turn reveal the political and social determinants that motivated them to migrate to the UK. Further, being multilingual, these migrants provide an interesting insight into their ethnic and cultural identity that is expressed through the cultural organisation and their using (or indeed not using) of Tamazight to preserve their identity and culture for coming generations.

4. 1. .1. 2. Interpretative Phenomenology as Data Analysis Approach

Following Heidegger and Smith's stances, I am interested in the interpretative paradigm that perceives the social world as subjective rather than objective. The Interpretative Phenomenology Approach (IPA) was first used as a distinctive research method in psychology in the mid-1990s (Lawthom and Tindall, 2011; Shinebourne, 2011), it aims to examine how people are making sense of their personal and social world through a detailed exploration of

their personal lived experiences (Smith and Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009; Shinebourne, 2011). IPA was initially used in areas of health and illness, then it has been evolved to other areas of research including sex and sexuality, psychological distress and issues of life transition and identity (Shinebourne, 2011).

In exploring migrants' lived experiences, it is important to explore how the world is experienced by those experiencing the phenomena of migration. Bogdan and Taylor (1975: 9) stated "We hear them speak about themselves and their experiences and, though we do not accept their perspectives as truth, develop empathy which allows us to see the world from their points of view". As I am exploring migrants' lived experiences, IPA analysis best suited my research project as it helped me to identify how these migrants dealt with their life transition from being a native citizen in their home country to a migrant in their host society, and how this affects their new self. Further, it enabled me to explore their emotions and feelings of being far from those left behind, and how this affected their psychological well-being.

Further, the interpretivists seek to understand a particular context rather than to discover universal rules (Willis, 2007). Similarly, my research seeks to explore the migration experiences among a specific group (Kabyles) and in a specific context (the UK) rather than seeking generalisation of the findings, because each individual has his/her own experience depending on the social context and structure. Although their experiences are different, I believe that the meaning that they contributed to their experiences is constructed in relation to their social reality and influenced by their cultural context. As Willis (2007: 97) states: "Humans in groups and using the tools and traditions of the group (including language), construct meaning and thus are able to share their understanding with another member of the group". Thus, being close to the participants' world and having the role of an insider correlate with the approach of IPA (Smith and Osborn, 2008). The detailed description of participants'

experiences is another core component for interpretivists who use qualitative methods to provide a rich and deep report because the context is needed for understanding (Willis, 2007).

Research Theory	• Abductive reasoning. • The researcher moves from a particular exploration (The lived experiences of Kabyle diasporic group living in the UK) to the discovery of patterns underlying a particular exploration through the preconceived existing literature and vice versa.
Research Paradigm	• Mesotheory paradigm, which examines both the macro-level and the micro-level. • Macro-level involves examining both country of origin (Algeria) and the host society (the UK) in terms of push and pull factors of migration. • Micro-level involves examining their individual lived experiences.
Research ontology	• The social reality of this current study context 'migration' is constructed by the migrants who lived those experiences. The meaning they provide to their migration experiences is shaped by the socio-cultural, political, and historical processes.
Research epistemology	• Knowledge is embedded in participants meaning of their experiences.

	• Knowledge is attained by exploring their lived experiences in detail. • The conclusion is made by interpreting their experiences and analysing them against the existing theories.
Researcher's Positionality	• Insider. • Interpreter. • Reflector.

Table 4. 1. 1. The Research and the Researcher Position

4. 1. 2. Participants and Sampling Procedures

4. 1. 2. 1. Sample Group

To explore deeply the process of migration and integration among this specific ethnic group, a purposive sampling best suited my research aims and objectives, because it enabled me to collect information from participants' first-hand experience (Babbie, 2011; Silverman, 2014). Purposive sampling refers to a type of non-probability sampling, the goal is to select individuals who are appropriate to the research study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Silverman, 2014; Bryman, 2016). Further, IPA employs a more closely defined group for whom the research questions are significant (Smith and Osborn, 2008).

Due to the invisibility of the Kabyle group living in the UK, it was difficult to reach a large size sample. Therefore, to obtain a relevant and purposive sample, I have recruited my participants through snowball sampling via a social network − Amazigh/Kabyles Cultural Association − and with the help of personal contacts. This type of sampling refers to gaining

access to a larger group of people who are relevant to the research topic by first approaching a small group (Bryman, 2008; Babbie, 2011; Nolas, 2011; Silverman, 2014; Bryman, 2016). This type of sampling not only suits my research because it enables me to recruit groups who are not easily accessible (Babbie, 2011; Shinebourne, 2011), but also because the IPA employs a small size sample group (Smith and Osborn, 2008; Shinebourne, 2011).

The purposive sampling in this study is characterised by the following features: (1) they are adult, (2) they are first or second generations (3) they have been in the UK for two years or more to seek permanent residence, and (4) from the same cultural background (Algerian Kabyles and/or mixed), and (5) included both males and females (see the figure 4.1 below). IPA attempts to explore a homogenous sample (Smith and Osborn, 2008).

Sampling Criteria
-Participants must be adults. -First or second-generation migrants. -Resident in the UK 2+ years. -From the same cultural background (Algerian Kabyles and/or mixed). -Included both males and females.

Figure 4. 1. 2. Research Sample Criteria

4. 1. 2. 2. Contacting the Participants

In recruiting my participants, I have posted a brief description of my study on a Facebook page named ‘Amazigh/Kabyles Cultural Association UK (Non-Profit Organisation)’. Complying with Facebook terms and conditions and having permission from the administrator, I posted in both English and French, where I emphasized that the purpose of my study is to recruit Kabyles

who live in the UK. Therefore, before asking them to send me their email address, I used an initial Facebook conversation via 'Messenger' to explore potential participants for suitability and to explain to them briefly my research aims and objectives. Subsequently, I sent to their email address the invitation letter (Appendix 1) and the consent form to participate in the research study (Appendix 2). In addition, a detailed information sheet about what their participation would involve in each research method, along with a separate consent form have been sent to their emails; an information sheet for the initial interview (Appendix 3); a consent form for the initial interview (Appendix 4); an information sheet of the solicited diary (Appendix 5); a consent form for the solicited diary (Appendix 6); an information sheet for the final interview (Appendix 7); a consent form for the final interview (Appendix 8); information concerning how to fill in the diary (Appendix 9); and a diary protocol (Appendix 10). From a total of 15 Algerians to whom the consent forms have been sent, ten participants who identify themselves as Kabyles accepted to participate in the current research. As all participants are located out of my town and also due to the travel expense, time constraints, and for safety and security reasons, both interviews (initial and final) were conducted via Skype.

4. 1. 3. The Role of the Researcher

As a researcher who used qualitative methods to ask my participants about their life experiences, my task was not easy. I began with the identification of related literature, recruiting the appropriate participants, formulating the research questions, and developing a research plan. Sharing the same ethnic background with my participants gave some advantages as discussed earlier, however, it could also render the task more challenging because it may lead to personal bias. Therefore, to achieve trustworthiness, I was responsible to reduce any personal biases and promote objectivity. For instance, although my participants have been provided with a diary protocol to complete their diaries, I did not influence the participants to

provide me with responses that I believed to be the best to answer my research questions. Instead, the purpose of the diary protocol was to prevent the participants from deviating from the research objectives. As an insider, I provided discussions that included my personal beliefs about the current study, which aimed to clarify my perceptions and ideas. Due to the sensitivity of my topic, I have to emphasize the confidentiality and anonymity of my participants. The ethical considerations have been considered by providing them with a detailed explanation of my research study and their role in the research because I believe that the participants must feel comfortable enough to discuss their personal lives and issues.

Part Two: Methods, Data Management and Transcription

The current study aims to examine and understand Kabyle participants' lived experiences in pre-and post-migration periods. As a researcher, I am particularly interested in the context to understand my participants' past and present events and their feeling towards such events. To do this, the research method incorporates dairy self-completion followed by in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews to understand how the contexts shape their lived experiences.

4. 2. 1. Research Methods and Data Collection Methods and Procedure

In this study, the data collection procedure is of three stages. At the first stage, participants' characteristics were gathered using initial interviews as a primary data source, which allowed me to create participants' profiles (see appendix 8) and also as a briefing session to introduce the diary method. The second stage is solicited diaries, where participants were engaged in writing diaries over a limited period. In the third stage, the participants were invited to take part in in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews to explore further the themes that emerged from the data obtained from the participants' writings about their experiences and reflections. As Elliot (1977) claimed, interviews can be used as a follow-up to solicited diaries

to enable the researcher to explore both issues raised in solicited diaries and those that have not been tackled during the diary method. Similarly, Charmaz (2014) argues that thinking theoretically leads the researcher to new analytic places to discover fresh ideas.

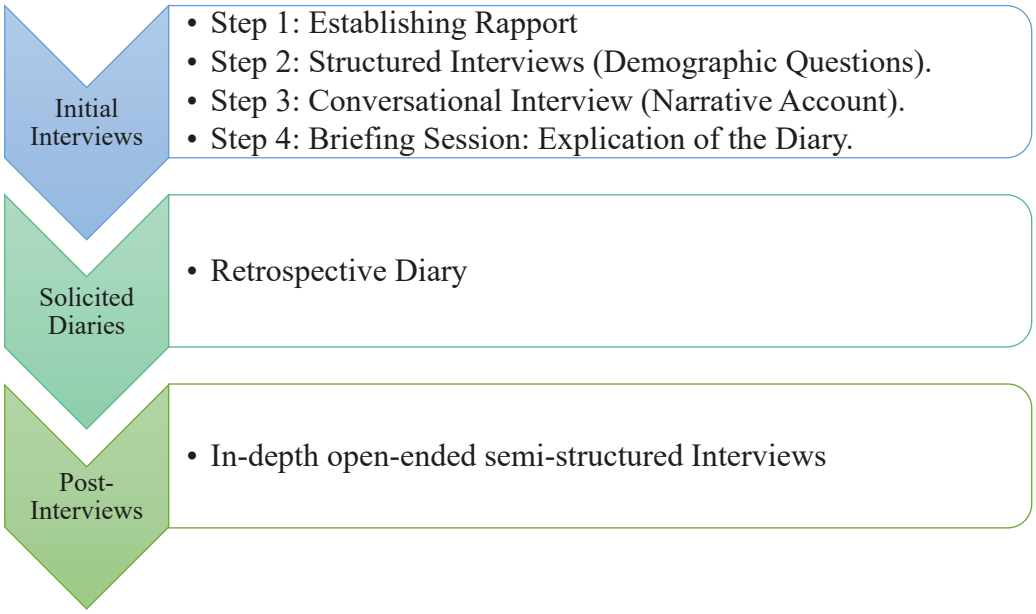

Figure 4. 2. 1. Data Collection Process

4. 2. 1. 1. Initial Interview

This first stage of data collection method consists of four different stages as described below.

4. 2. 1. 1. 1. Stage One: Establishing Rapport

It is important during the interview to build a good relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. The rapport with the interviewees has been established through spontaneous dialogue. At the beginning of the initial interview, each participant was informed about the objectives of the current study and how it aimed to understand their experience. I informed the interviewees that their interviews will be recorded and some of their extracts would be used

during the analysis. During this rapport, I also informed the participants about the confidentiality of their information and the anonymity of their identification. Some participants were exposed to disclose their irregular status during the early years of their migration, therefore, I asked them to be cautious of disclosing information that might threaten them. I also informed them that they do not have to answer any questions that they do not want to answer, and they could withdraw from the study at any time. To protect their identities, I asked my participants to provide a pseudonym of their choice in accordance with their gender, however, I emphasised that if they have any pseudonym in mind, it must not be recognized by their acquaintances. Five of them have chosen their pseudonyms, the rest of the participants gave me the responsibility to choose a pseudonym that does not identify them.

4. 2. 1. 1. 2. Stage Two: Structured Interview

This step was based on structured questions, a method that is designed to answer specific questions which the researcher has (Bryman, 2016). In this study, the specific questions were based on demographic questions such as gender, age, migrant status[12], formal education, work experience, participants' position in the workplace, and length of stay in the UK. These structured questions aimed to facilitate the description of my participants. The limitation of this method is that it may reflect more the researcher's concerns rather than the interviewees' own perspectives (Bryman, 2016). To address this limitation and to increase the relevance of the demographic data collected during this phase, more open-ended questions were asked during the second phase.

[12] In the current study, migrant status could be either 'first, 1.5 or second generation'. First generation are those born abroad and arriving in the United Kingdom as an adult, 1.5 generation are those born abroad and migrated at a young age (during their teens) and second generation are those born outside of Algeria.

4. 2. 1. 1. 3. Stage Three: Open-Ended Interview

After I collected the demographic information, I continued the third step of the initial interview in a conversational manner. This stage aimed to clarify some information gathered during the first stage and to allow the participants to expand their descriptions by providing further details about their family, for example, their spouse's type of work and origin, the number of dependents, type of work they had before they migrated. At this stage, I employed a narrative approach, where I asked my participants to talk about themselves in a conversational manner. As Elliot (2005) argues "over the past twenty years there has been a dramatic increase in interest in narrative among those adopting qualitative approaches to research … allowing respondents to provide narrative accounts of their lives and experiences" (Elliot, 2005: 2). By considering their narrative accounts, I gained a greater understanding of how each participant differs from the others in terms of their profiles. In addition, through their short narratives, respondents' stories acted as a means to understand and know my participants better.

4. 2. 1. 1. 4. Stage Four: Briefing Session

Alaszewski (2006) cited Zimmerman and Wieder (1977) who suggested the diary-interview method that consists of linking the diaries to interviews, in which the initial interview enables the participants to ask questions about the instrument, and which can create other opportunities to support and guide the diarists in their diary completion (Alaszewski, 2006). Following the same perspective, Alaszewski (2006) reports that in his and co-researchers' study of how nurses managed risk, they used an initial briefing interview to explain to the participants the purpose of the diary and diary completion (Alaszewski et al., 2000). Similarly, the current research used the final stage of the initial interview as a briefing session to explain to my participants how to complete their diaries, at the same time I provided them with the

opportunity to raise questions about not only the diary method but also about the research as a whole.

4. 2. 1. 1. 5. Procedure

Prior to our interview, I contacted the participants one week in advance via Messenger to check their availability and to arrange the date and the time. Two were conducted during the morning time, four in the afternoon time and four in the evening time. In addition, the necessary documents including 'how to fill in the diary' and 'the diary protocol', had been sent to their email addresses five days before the interview to allow the participants to be prepared and make the interview more discussion based. Although I had regular contact with my participants either via phone or Messenger before my data collection, the initial interview method enabled me to break the ice with my participants, especially with those that I have not had the chance to meet personally.

In the first stage of the initial interview, I reintroduced myself to the participants and read their consents aloud and re-explained to them the aims of my research study. I also explained the aim of the initial interview and its phases. After that, I used their background information that I obtained during the first contact (via Messenger) to gather demographic questions such as age, length of stay, educational level, marital status, the number of children and religion. While answering my questions, the participants felt comfortable and answered my questions spontaneously and sometimes they answered my questions before I asked them. This shows the logic of my questions. In some cases, they provided me with responses that I have not thought to ask which were important in the data analyses and comparison.

During the fourth stage 'briefing session', I explained to the participants how they should complete the diary at the same time I explained the questions. However, I made it clear that the diary protocol was just guidance; they should keep their answers open and recount their

migration experiences in detail. While explaining the questions, I made pauses and asked them whether it was clear and whether they were still willing to carry on the interview.

4. 2. 1. 2. Solicited Diaries

The solicited diary is a data collection tool used in qualitative research that enables us to explore psychological, physiological, and social experiences in everyday contexts (Bolger et al., 2003) and permits the researcher to explore personal phenomena through participants' recount of reactions, feelings, behaviours, social interaction activities, and/or events (Symon, 2004). Further, diaries provide a greater understanding of how individuals perceive situations and attribute meanings to events and actions (Alaszewski, 2006). Diaries are classified into three different types namely: intimate journal, where private opinions are written down, this model is the most interesting type for the psychologist; the memoir as an impersonal diary, where the writer tells a little about his personal opinion; and the log which consists of listing activities or events without including personal comment (Alaszewski, 2006). In the current study, I asked my participants to provide a retrospective self-completion diary where they narrated their lived experiences and their challenges during pre-and-post-migration periods. Simultaneously, they reveal their feelings towards these experiences.

Conventionally, the participant diaries involve keeping a written diary by using paper and pencil. Although it is still the most commonly used means in diary research, its main limitation is the failure to have the dairies at hand (Bolger et al., 2003). More recently, digital technologies offer new possibilities for using diaries (Bartlett, 2012). During the first contact that I had with my participants via Facebook, I noticed that my participants have a good mastery of internet usage. Rather than engaging and/or imposing any type of diary, I offered my participants the choice of maintaining their diaries. For example, I asked them whether they wanted to complete

their diary as a hard copy (paper and pencil) or online diary including emails and weblog diary, or they could even write their diaries on Microsoft word. In this way, my participants were encouraged to choose the type of diary according to their preference and the one which they feel more comfortable with. Although all my participants were in favour of the digital diary, only 4 out of 10 were able to complete their dairy using Microsoft word document.

4. 2. 1. 2. 1. Diary Structure

In this study, rather than using a structured diary (yes/no answers or ratings), the participants were asked to keep an open format diary, a method that is used by many researchers as a reflective intervention. Examples of this method include; in clinical situations to help patients to reflect on their experience (such as Jacelon and Imperio: 2005); in education to assess students' reflection on their learning process (such as Norton, 2000; Gleaves et al., 2007; Gleaves et al., 2008); and in sociology as a source of knowledge to depict individual everyday experiences and activities (Bolger et al., 2003; Symon, 2004; Haldar et al., 2009). In the current study, the design of the diary protocol was based on a set of open-ended questions designed as guiding questions to help my participants not to shift from the research aims and objectives (see part one in appendix 7). In addition, the diarists were provided with a note on how to complete their diary (see appendix 6).

4. 2. 1. 2. 2. Objectives of the Diary Study

The literature on the study of migration is more based on collecting narrow data (for instance using surveys, open and semi-structured interviews). As I wanted to get a comprehensive understanding of their migration process, participants' diaries in combination with the in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews enabled me to gather deep and rich data. In addition, the major advantage of the diary method relies on its natural account to social phenomena (Reis, 2013), which provides a greater understanding of how individuals perceive situations

and attribute meanings to events and actions (Alaszewski, 2006). In addition, Elliot's (1997) paper provides a review of the literature on the use of diaries in sociological research, where she reports that Zimmerman and Wieder (1977) argued that the diaries have the potential to substitute observable situations that could not be accessed by the researcher. Similarly, Jacelon and Imperio (2005) assume that solicited diaries can be used when participant observation is inaccessible. This concords with my research because I had to substitute observation of the participants with solicited diaries because such observation was judged as being not feasible by the research ethics committee.

4. 2. 1. 2. 3. Diary Completion Schedule

In using diaries, the researcher should consider the frequency and the timing of the diary (Campbell et al., 2004; Symon, 2004). In addition, Jacelon and Imperio (2005) suggested that the ideal length for solicited diaries is no more than two weeks. Linking this to my research objectives, I asked the participants to complete their diary whenever suits their schedule and availability. Regarding my research plan, however, I asked them to complete their diary over four months to allow more data gathering and also to give them more time to recall the important information and to enable them to make changes and/or add information. Although I considered the availability of my participants and I provided them with sufficient time, some participants who completed their diary failed to complete their diaries on time. As a researcher who considers the circumstances of my subjects, I encouraged them to complete their diaries by extending the time.

4. 2. 1. 2. 4. Procedure

The diarists were asked to recount their lived experiences by narrating about their pre-and post-migration experiences, their challenges, their identity, and their acculturation. During the diary

project, I maintained ongoing contact via Messenger every fifteen days. As Symon (2004: 105) argues: "keeping regular contact with participants during the diary study, will avoid the participants to feel abandoned", yet the contact should not be in an intrusive manner (Boiger et al., 2003). Furthermore, Jacelon and Imperio (2005) conclude that reminding participants to complete the diaries will increase the amount of the data. In this study, the regular contact that I had with my participants has two-fold advantages: (1) to check the progress of their diaries and remind them to complete the diary, and (2) to check whether they have completed the diary correctly (Alaszewski, 2006). For example, Fleur de Sable, a female participant, had completed her first diary in a form of a questionnaire. Thanks to the regular contact, I was able to explain again how she should complete her diary.

4. 2. 1. 2. 5. Limitation of the Self-Completion Diary

To explore the participants' experiences during their pre-and post-migration periods, there was a concern that the small sample size would affect the richness of the data. However, that was not the case. I found that having my participants write a retrospective self-written diary in combination with in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews were effective methods because they enabled my participants to provide rich and deep data in context, providing information concerning culture and feelings from their first-hand experiences such as the existence of Fleur de Sable's counter case, who provided an experience different from other participants. In this way, this study presented a context-rich account of Kabyle migrants' experiences and made their narratives available for this thesis. Although the diary method provides rich data, it has been argued that it is time-consuming (Meth, 2004; Alaszewski, 2006). To avoid such limitation, I provided my participants with enough time to complete their dairy. In addition, as my participants are not diary keepers, I was cautious in considering their motivation when engaging them in diary writing. By taking the necessary measures and

providing a detailed explanation of diary completion, I expected that most of my participants would be able to complete their diaries. However, only four out of ten were able to complete their diaries and the six others reported that they were unable to complete their diaries because it was time-consuming. A limitation that led to one of my participants namely 'Louiza' to withdraw from the research study, but she gave me her full consent to use the data gathered during the initial interview. In addition, giving responsibility to the participants may lead to bias (Leitch, 2015). To address this limitation, I devoted the final stage of the initial interview as a briefing session to explain their diary completion (see appendix 7) to prevent them from deviating from the research aims and objectives and also to prevent them from narrating the information of their own choice. However, three of the four participants who completed their dairies failed to cover the important points needed to answer my research aims and objectives. Thus, I explored the uncovered questions in their diary during the final interviews.

4. 2. 1. 3. In-depth Open-Ended Semi-Structured Interviews

The final stage of my data collection procedure consisted of in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews to follow up on the topics which emerged in the diaries. In addition, as mentioned above, this method was used as a substitution for the solicited dairies for those participants who were unable to complete their diaries. The researcher who uses in-depth interviews seeks deeper information, an advantage that cannot be obtained through other means such as surveys (Johnson, 2001; Marvasti, 2004; Kaar, 2007). One of the strongest advantages of in-depth interviews is that they enable the interviewee to respond freely to the questions and provide a detailed description of their experiences (Kaar, 2007). Unlike an unstructured interview, the semi-structured interview is guided by a specific topic to be covered, but the interviewee can answer in different ways (Smith and Osborn, 2008; Bryman, 2016). In addition, in-depth interviews aim to explore the hidden views and to penetrate deeply into the

nature of participants' experience (Johnson, 2001). Furthermore, the in-depth open-ended semi-structured interviews enable the interviewer to pick up on the interviewee's replies and use them for the subsequent interviews (Bryman, 2016).

Kaar (2007) argued that providing total freedom to the interviewee may lead them to divert from the original topic. In the current study, to enable the interviewee not to deviate from the researcher's concern, the final interviews that were conducted with those who completed their diaries were based on the themes that emerged in their diaries. Furthermore, the information provided in the dairies enabled me to get a deep understanding of the larger picture during the final interview (Kaar, 2007). However, the interviews conducted with those who have not completed their diaries were guided by specific open-ended semi-structured questions covering specific themes (see appendix 7).

4. 2. 1. 3. 1. The Objectives of In-depth Open-Ended Semi-Structured Interviews

It has been argued that dairies supplemented by interviews provide rich data (Conti, 1993; Jacelon and Imperio, 2005). Similarly, in the current study the 'diary interview method' is a good method to obtain rich data on participants' experiences and behaviour, including the feelings about their migration experience, and the challenges they have encountered either during their pre-migration or post-migration periods. Further, it enabled me to have a conversation with my participants, which in turn enabled me to prompt my questions and ask further questions for clarification.

4. 2. 1. 3. 2. Procedure

All interviews were recorded using a digital recording. Bryman (2016) argues the principal advantage of digital recording relies on its sound quality and also it can be played back many times to check the transcripts without any risk to damage the recording. The information

collected through the in-depth open-ended semi-structured interview lasted for four to five hours. So, I have provided my participants more time to reflect on their lived experiences and recount the most significant events that they have encountered. In addition, during the interviews I provided them with more time to express their emotions in case they wish to answer a sensitive question. However, I did not take the opportunity to use their weakness for more data collection. For example, when I experienced one such situation with one of my participants 'Thiziri', I noticed that she was too emotional about a particular question. I addressed the situation by stopping the interview for a few minutes, then I asked her whether she was still willing to pursue the interview. In addition, I have minimised any distress or negative feeling that might be resulted from the interviews by being cautious about the use of sensitive words as well as the structure of the question. In this sense, I have chosen less offensive words and an appropriate structure. For example, in his diary, 'Tutor' reported an act of discrimination by his colleague. During the final interview, rather than asking him 'Could you tell me more about when you have been discriminated?', I asked him 'In your diary, you have mentioned that you had a negative experience at the workplace, could you tell me more about it?' By using the interview-diary-interview method, the diaries have not only highlighted the data that may not have been uncovered by interview alone but enabled me to explore further the important themes that emerged in the diaries during the final interviews. For example, in his diary, Musician introduced the black decade, a topic that had not been listed in the diary protocol. During the final interview I explored the theme further by asking him more details about his experience. The interview-diary-interview method also enabled me to think about the appropriate structure and word choice to formulate my follow up-questions. In this way, the participants provided rich and deep data, recounting not only a description of events but also their emotional response to such events. Again, I can argue that the feasibility of using the interview-diary-interview method in this study with the small sample size was evident.

As I share the same ethnic backgrounds with my participants, we sometimes switched between English, French, and Kabyle. As Rossman and Rallis (2012) argued when the interviewer and the interviewee are bilinguals, they may switch between languages during the interview. Similarly, Spardley (1979: 90) states that "the more familiar the informant and ethnographer are with each other's cultures, the more important native-language questions become" (Cited in Madison, 2005: 29). However, the information that we exchanged in a language other than English is generally simple and few words and/or sentences. In reporting the findings, however, I translated any discussions that are not conducted in English. Birbili (2000) argues that translation is common in social science where the researcher collects data in one language and presents the findings in a different language. Consequently, this was turned into a narrative account where my interpretation during the analysis was presented with the support of verbatim extract of my participants, as Patton (1990) claims, citing directly the interviewee shows deeply their feelings, thoughts, and perceptions.

4. 2. 1. 3. 3. Setting Time and Space

Both interviews - the initial and final interviews - were conducted carefully because I made sure about three important steps (1) setting the day and the time of the interview in advance (2) having confirmation from my participants that they were available (3) having the necessary materials, such as batteries/external charger and digital recorder. Regarding the location, the interviews were conducted by Skype. According to Bryman (2016), webcam and Skype offer a new alternative for face-to-face interviews. He cites some early impressions reported by some researchers such as Deakin and Wakefield (2014), Hanna (2012), and Weinmann et al. (2012), who suggest that the advantage of using Skype relies on its visual element that is similar to face-to-face interviews.

This alternative is appropriate for my research study because my participants are located in different areas. Thus, this has several advantages for both the researcher as well as the interviewees (1) it minimises travel expense (2) it reduces the investment of time and energy (3) it is safer than the face-to-face interview because the research ethics committee requires the researchers to be responsible to conduct the research in a safe place for both researcher and the participant. In addition, it is important to take into consideration the location of the interview because the setting of the interview impacts the individual's comfort and provide a more productive interview (Kvale, 1996; Smith and Osborn, 2008)

4. 2. 1. 3. 4. Limitations of the Interviews

The challenge that I have encountered with the interviews in this study was mainly a technical problem. During a mock interview that I had with one of my participants, my personal computer stopped working. This mock interview enabled me to fix my computer before the real interviews. In addition, during the real interview, I had another computer at hand in case the problem would re-emerge. Although Skype offers a new alternative for face-to-face interview, the constraints of the Internet have occurred with two of my participants during the diary-interview stage. While I was interviewing my participants, we kept interrupting each other and the video kept freezing. Consequently, this impacted the conversation, and the participants tend to forget either what I was saying or what they were saying. I addressed this issue by playing back the recording to the point where the conversation stopped to remind the participants what they were saying.

4. 2. 2. Data Management and Storage

Briney (2015) argues that a researcher needs to be concerned with data storage. Therefore, this study used both digital and physical storage. In the digital data storage, I kept two copies; I

stored the analogue data interview transcripts on my personal computer as an onsite copy and by backing them up to Google drive as an offsite copy. For the diary transcripts, since they were written digitally, I simply stored them on my personal computer as an onsite copy and by backing them up to Google drive as an offsite copy. Prior to storing and backing up my data, I estimated the amount of data that I had and the hardware storage available. However, I was periodically checking the efficacy of my backups to ensure that it worked correctly, and the data were safe. As Briney (2015) argues testing backup is important to check that they work properly, and the data remain safe. In the physical storage, I stored the printed interview transcripts and diaries and the recorder in a securely locked cabinet at home. The cabinet was first checked to determine its size to define the amount of physical space needed to store the hard copy transcripts and diaries, and the recorder. I also checked whether it will not cause any physical deterioration over time of the recorder such as heat and humidity. At the end of the research, the diaries, interview transcripts, and recordings will be destroyed.

Part 3: Ethical Issues and Research Trustworthiness

4. 3. 1. Ethical Consideration

Since my topic has a potential sensitivity, I first sought permission from the research ethics committee of the University of Northampton to obtain full approval for my research project. In my first submission, I did not obtain full approval from the research ethics committee due to the workplace observations that I proposed to conduct during the fieldwork as the first stage of my research methodology. Therefore, this research method was replaced by solicited diaries. In the second ethics submission, I obtained full approval to conduct my research study. Furthermore, to gain more insight and to add a safeguard to my project, and to ensure the safety of my participants, I completed another optional research ethics course that concerns the research that deals with human subjects.

Madison (2005), who conducted an ethnographic study on the incision of women in Ghana by using the documentary method to recount their lives, argued that depicting individuals' lives is a difficult process. Therefore, for ethical issues purposes, I obtained consent from my participants. As a researcher, I presented myself by providing them with my student ID card and gave a full description of my study. The research method and the project were explained to my participants because it is their right and it was my responsibility to explain. Participants' names and contact details are kept confidential and their identities will be anonymous in any publications. Any information provided in the interviews and diaries were used for the research purposes only such as the thesis, conference presentations and posters, and publications on the University of Northampton depository NECTAR. In addition, as the diaries and the interviews involved aspects of participants' lives, I ensured that all pieces of information that identify specific individuals were removed to ensure anonymity. According to Hall (1996), we know how people are treated in the way they are represented. Therefore, my findings are reported truthfully because as a researcher I stand as a transmitter and a skilled interpreter of valuable information rather than judging other human beings.

4. 3. 2. The Trustworthiness of the Research Process

While the terminologies of reliability and validity are used in quantitative research to evaluate the utility of the study (Stenbacka, 2001; Golafshani, 2003), Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested different terms and ways of evaluating qualitative research. These terms are replaced in the qualitative epistemology by terms such as trustworthiness, credibility, transformability, and dependability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985); quality (Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001); and rigour (Davies and Dodd, 2002). In the same vein, more recently Golafshani (2003) encompasses both reliability and validity under terms such as transferability, credibility, and

trustworthiness. A description of each of these concepts and their inclusion in this research are discussed in the following paragraphs.

4. 3. 2. 1. Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of research findings in qualitative research encompasses words such as internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity. It seeks to determine whether the researcher persuades the reader as well as himself/herself that he/she had paid attention to the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In this study, my audience will be persuaded by reporting my findings accurately by providing them with a deep and rich description. My findings include some extracts that my participants used in their diaries and during the interviews.

4. 3. 2. 2. Rigour

This is a concept used in qualitative epistemology to substitute concepts of validity and reliability. It refers to the attentiveness to the research study (Davies and Dodd, 2002). In addition, a rigorous research process leads to the trustworthiness of the findings. The contextual relationship between the researcher and the participant is of great importance in any research study. Therefore, the attentiveness of my research was tied to the relationship that I had with my participants. Since I share the same ethnic and cultural background with my participants, some issues of bias may raise. Therefore, I paid attention to the following disadvantages:

a) The Participation of the Subject

I have explained clearly that participation in the study is voluntary and is not connected with any issues dealing with legal migration. I think that they accepted to participate in my research study because of the importance they placed on the topic as well as on their culture. In addition, my relationship with people who were not willing to participate has not been affected.

b) Misunderstanding the Research Aims

During the recruitment phase, I felt that my participants saw their involvement as entailing an increased awareness of their culture. This is an important aspect of my study because it aims to explore Kabyles' pre- and post-migration experiences and attachment to their culture.

On the other hand, sharing the same ethnic and cultural background has served many advantages:

1) Easy access to participants

My ethnic and cultural background helped me to have easy access to my participants. Many of the participants that I have recruited have encouraged their friends and/or acquaintances to participate because they trusted me to represent their views accurately.

2) Equal power and status between the researcher and the participants

My role as a novice Kabyle researcher led to an equal balance of power: I was not seen as an expert researcher but as a person who was interested in their lived experiences. I believe that they felt comfortable taking part in my study more than they would talking to someone from a different cultural background.

3) A greater understanding of the migration process

I think that my status as a Kabyle migrant sojourner brought more understanding to the participants' experiences than someone with little knowledge of the Kabyle group and the migration experience.

4. 3. 2. 3. Quality

The term quality in social research encompasses both concepts of validity and reliability; it aims to raise awareness about the methodological implications of particular decisions made during the research process (Seal, 1999). To address quality in my study, I justified any decision made to demonstrate the good quality of my research.

4. 3. 2. 4. Transferability

Transferability substitutes the term external validity in quantitative studies; it used to check whether the findings are applicable and transferable to other situations and contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It refers also to whether the findings of a particular context can be applied to a broader population (Elliot, 2005). In the current study, the findings may be used to inform future research − using different sampling methods − to see if the findings are more generally valid. Thus, I tried to provide a deep and rich description of the experiences that informants have provided. Elliot (2005:12) cited Goodwin and Horowitz (2002: 44) who reveal that one of the strengths of qualitative research is that it enables the researcher to "create a deeper and richer picture of what is going on in particular settings". Through providing a deep and rich description of a heterogeneous sample, the audience will have the opportunity to decide whether the findings of the current study apply to another ethnic group in the same context.

4. 3. 2. 5. Credibility

Credibility or truth value is similar to the concept of internal validity in quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). They proposed that the conclusions are analysed according to three principles: (1) they should make sense (2) they should describe accurately individuals' experiences, and (3) they should appropriately represent the phenomena being studied. To reach credibility in the current study, I consulted with a peer debriefer, a process that enables the researcher to present his interpretation to an external peer to help him in exploring aspects of the research process that may be implicit (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In addition, I presented the participant's voices through quotes that render the text more readable and lead to credibility to the audience. Furthermore, presenting results and research feedback to the participants are used as a strategy to enhance the credibility of the research findings.

4. 3. 2. 6. Dependability

Dependability is comparable to the concept of reliability in quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It seeks to determine whether or not the research findings are stable over time (Guba, 1981). To address the stability of my findings, Guba (1981) suggested the researcher should ask for an external auditor who is competent to examine the research process. Therefore, I relied on consultation with my supervisors who had already worked with migrants. The supervisors were asked to comment on my research aspects, particularly data collection, analysis, and results. The supervisors were also asked to comment on the clarity of the research plan.

4. 3. 3. Researcher's Reflexivity

The work on reflexivity is well established in sociology and social sciences (Hardy et al, 2001) and it has been accepted in anthropology during the past three decades and developed in the work of ethnographers since the 1960s (Salzman, 2002). Therefore, many studies include reflexivity when conducting social research (Higate and Cameron, 2006). Reflecting on my own experience, I believe that in qualitative sociological studies it is important to consider the researcher's reflexivity when thinking about how the researcher interprets his/her participants' shared experiences. Higate and Cameron (2006) who used reflexivity in their research on the military, argued that there is much to gain by reflecting on the process of doing research. They state that "it is helpful to know more about the motivation of researchers …the ways in which access to the military sample was negotiated" (Higate and Cameron, 2016: 219). In addition, reflection helps us to understand the participant's moral motives as well as their emotions and behaviour (Calori, 2002). For Mead, reflexivity is a process between the researcher and the thing researched (Salzman, 2002). Further, providing a detailed description of the research trajectory such as the way the researcher accessed the sample and conducted the interviews

would enable us to gain the trustworthiness of the reader. Salzman (2002) argues that avoiding the researcher's reflexivity may render the external validation of the findings mistaken.

In my research, I discussed my reflective approach in all stages of the research, including approaching the sample, research design, conducting interviews and analysing the data. Conducting my research project through a reflexive dimension would shed light on understanding my social context. My trajectory in this research project was heavily influenced by my own experience as a Kabyle migrant as stated in the first chapter. Thus, my research allowed me to reflect and attempt to understand the experiences of other Kabyle migrants as well as my transition from a researcher to a migrant. To understand the influence of reflexivity in research, Salzman (2002) quotes Scholte (1972: 448) who stated: "We have once again come the full hermeneutic circle: the comparative understanding of others contributes to self-awareness; self-understanding, in turn, allows to self-reflection and (partial) self-emancipation; the emancipatory interest, finally, makes the understanding of others possible" (Cited in Salzman, 2002: 806). Clearly, from this quotation, one would understand that reflexivity is part of the interpretative paradigm, the approach adopted in this research. The interpretative paradigm would not be based merely on participants' observation but rather on "human inter-subjectivity," in which there has been "a dialectical and constitutive relation of exchange and communication" (Scholte 1972: 439-440, cited in Salzman, 2002: 806). To reach the understanding of the interpretative paradigm, the researcher and the researched should be engaged in face-to-face communication (Calori, 2002). Further, the motivation in examining others' experiences had a similar transition in understanding my status as a migrant and this became visible during the discussion that I had with my participants.

The project allowed me to push myself more to my cultural zone. My shared cultural background gave me the privilege to be inside the Kabyle community and also to understand

how the life of a migrant might be from a Kabyle point of view. Rosaldo described reflexive autoethnography, in which he argued that the researcher can only understand the researched unless he/she experiences the same situation, and he/she should be like them (Salzman, 2002). In my research, however, I am not assuming that a researcher understands better his/her participants unless he/she should have the same cultural background and experience. Rather my familiarity with the participants is used as a path to develop a good rapport and build trust with my participants. During the interviews, the participants felt comfortable and talked about their experiences openly and there was always an informal chat about the situation in Algeria, about our culture and also about the host society. As I did not struggle to develop a sense of ease with my participants, I quickly realised that the quality of the data that I gathered was rich and deep.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided a detailed description of the research methodology that I used in the current study. Part one dealt with the characteristics of qualitative research by considering the methods of analysis adopted for this research and the rationale for choosing them. This was followed by a description of participants' recruitment procedure, the respondent group size and issues relating to participants recruitment. Part two described the specific qualitative methods that I used for data collection. Key choices over methods were presented by considering their impact on the collected data, also their weaknesses and strengths are assessed by considering evidence from the literature. Also, in part two I discussed data management and transcription. Finally, part three addressed the ethical issues and the trustworthiness of the research.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis: Transcription, Coding and Themes Development

Introduction

The current chapter presents the analysis of my data. It discusses in detail the steps that I have gone through from the transcription of the interviews to the development of the themes that have emerged from the diaries and the interviews. Like any other research, some challenges were encountered during the analysis stage. Thus, this chapter also reveals these difficulties that may help other researchers to avoid and/or to minimise in their research.

5. 1. Data Transcription

During the interviews as explained in section 4. 2. 1. 3 within chapter four, I was reflecting on my participants' answers. Thus, I added some questions in relation to my participants' responses. While doing this, I was able to probe interesting areas which emerged and at the same time, I was checking whether my understanding and interpretation were correct. As I mentioned in my previous chapter, each interview was digitally recorded. Although the interviews were intended to be conducted in English, some participants were mixing English with other languages either French or Kabyle and rarely in Arabic. When English is used, I transcribe them the way they are told. However, I had to translate other languages. For Kabyle and Arabic, however, I transcribe them using Latin phonetics then I translate it to English. The translation was made by me (five out the eleven participants were mixing between languages).

I conducted 10 interviews for 28 hours in total: the initial interviews lasted no less than 30 minutes and the final interviews lasted no less than one hour. I started transcribing the interviews soon after I conducted my interviews. I spent about 300 hours transcribing the interviews. During the transcription, I highlighted the important words and/or phrases and I

commented on my participants' account in the right margin by reflecting the knowledge acquired during my reading. These initial notes, which were grounded in my participants' own words, served as primary themes. In some areas, where I share a similar experience with my respondents, I was reflecting on my own experience while I was making sense of my participants experience. Therefore, each time I started to transcribe a new interview, I was trying to link to the previous data and thinking of differences and similarities. I believe that thinking of the themes while transcribing is of great importance because it not only saves time but also it helps to remember the meaning of that particular moment when I started my analysis. Therefore, I concluded that data analysis cannot be done as one step but rather it can be done through different steps.

While transcribing, ethical issues have been taken into consideration where participants' names are anonymous, and any potential identification such as the name of their company, children and/or husband/wife are removed from the transcripts. Therefore, in each transcript, I wrote the participant's pseudonym on the top left side. During the transcription process, I was involved in two types of transcripts. The first was the transcription of the diaries that have been collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews (as explained in section 4. 2. 1. 2. 7 within chapter four). The second was the transcription of the initial and final interviews. During the transcription of the interviews, I have been through three stages.

In the first stage, I was close to the data through repeated careful listening to the recording. In the second stage, I have produced a full transcription of the data by including even pauses, by using [inaudible segment], filler words such as *hm, yeah, whoa*, and nonverbal sounds between parentheses such as (laugh). In the third stage, to improve and to ensure the correctness of the transcripts, I re-listened to the recording whilst I was re-reading the transcribed data. As Bartlett and Payne (1997) suggested during the data transcription, the researcher should not be selective but should transcribe everything until having the whole

meaning that the data tells. Another advantage of detailed transcripts is that they enable the researcher to inspect sequences of utterances rather than limited extracts (Silverman, 2014). For the solicited dairies, in the first step as the diaries were already in a written form, I read them many times to check for the meaning of their narratives. In the second step, I did not correct the grammatical mistakes, but I wrote the corrected word in square brackets between two forward slashes adjacent to the incorrect word such as pacific [/specific/]. In the presentation of my findings, to reach the trustworthiness of the transcription, I used certain signs to enable the reader to distinguish between my interpretation and the informant's extract, for example, I used "inverted commas" and italic style for extracts less than forty words, 'single comma' for paraphrases (Silverman, 2014). For quotes of forty words and above, I indent the quotes and used a single space. To denote the quote, I used double-spacing before and after each quote.

5. 2. Data Analysis

My analysis started when I was thinking of the topic, formulating my research question, thinking about my sample group, deciding on the language to use in my interviews and diaries, and reading about the topic of investigation. Then, I moved into exploring my participants' lived experiences. This process can be seen as an interpretative cycle, where the researcher moves around the circle and enters the world of his/her participants (Smith and Osborn, 2015). The data that I collected through the methods, previously mentioned in chapter three, were used as core information for the chapters of findings and results. As I am looking to explore in detail my participants own experiences during pre-migration and post-migration periods, I used IPA as an approach of analysis for my data. The analysis followed the stages described in Smith and Osborn (2015). As in IPA, the analyst engages in an interpretative relationship with the transcripts (Smith and Osborn, 2008, 2015). During the

analysis, I maintained a sustained engagement with the transcripts because my aims were not only to learn and understand my participants' lived experiences but also to enter their social world. During the analysis, I followed the idiographic approach, whereby I examined the transcripts case by case before I moved to other transcripts. According to Smith and Osborn (2015), idiographic analysis begins with particularity and then it moves to more general claims. While examining the transcripts, I tried to interpret the meaning of each word that I found interesting in relation to the whole sentence or the general idea. Then, once I grasped the meaning of the sentence, I interpreted that sentence in relation to the whole paragraph. By doing so, I made sense to the whole story. This is known as a hermeneutic dynamic circle that involves looking at both the part and the whole (Smith, 2015).

5. 2. 1. The Process of Coding the Data

I started the initial stage of data analysis by reading the transcripts many times, and I used the line-to-line open coding procedure to identify the emergent themes during the initial reading of each transcript. Then, I wrote the significant words or phrases in the right-hand margin of the transcript. Some of my comments were either a summary or paraphrasing, some others were my primarily interpretations. As I examined the transcripts, I commented on the contradictions in what my participants are saying. In addition, as I moved to other transcripts, I commented on similarities and differences between participants. While analysing, I tried to be close to the text to have a close interaction with the transcripts. In other words, I let the data speak to me because the analysis in IPA is interactive and involves a close interaction between the reader and the text (Smith and Osborn: 2008, Shinebourne: 2011). The following extract shows the first stage of the analysis for a small section of Tamazight's diary (the extracts are on the left, the comment I made are on the right):

I urgently felt the need to see him and discover him from another angle than his songs and music.	The discovery of Matoub beyond his songs The urge to discover Matoub
My shyness stopped me from asking. I am also someone who likes working and discovering on her own.	Shame of disclosure Shy/introvert person Responsible/ Independent
I feel emotionally really attached to him. His sensitivity, his damned life and the ordeals he had to go through have touched me to the core.	Matoub's influence on her Berberness Felling attached to Matoub Empathy for Matoub's life.
I realised I thought I was someone else for all these years … I owe the discovery of a part my identity to him.	Unknown self Discovery of her hidden identity
The Lebanese community in London being very important does make me feel close to Lebanon sometimes.	The importance of in-group community Lebanese community in London made her Feel close to her father's land.
The Amazigh association does make me feel closer to home, to my culture, to my family. That helps me to keep a part of me, my culture alive.	The impact of Amazigh Cultural organisation on cultural maintenance. Berber cultural events made her Feel close to her mother's land and culture Amazigh cultural association keeps her Berber identity alive.

The order of the initial codes on the right is based on the chronological order as they came up in the transcript. This process is continued for the whole diary. Then I went back to my initial codes to transform them into initial themes, see the section below.

5. 2. 2. The Process of Developing Themes

According to Lawthom and Tindall (2011), the researcher has an active role in identifying and analysing themes and patterns when using phenomenology as an approach for analysis. Thus, after I coded each transcript as illustrated above, I returned to the beginning of the transcript to transform the initial notes into concise phrases, which subsequently became the

initial themes. In the analysis of Tamazight's diary related above, the following themes emerged:

I urgently felt the need to see him and discover him from another angle than his songs and music.	The discovery of Matoub
My shyness stopped me from asking. I am also someone who likes working and discovering on her own.	Personal characteristic
I feel emotionally really attached to him. His sensitivity, his damned life and the ordeals he had to go through have touched me to the core.	Empathy for Matoub's life
I realised I thought I was someone else for all these years … I owe the discovery of a part my identity to him.	Attribution of the discovery of Berber identity to Matoub
The Lebanese community in London being very important does make me feel close to Lebanon sometimes.	Community influence on sense of belonging
The Amazigh association does make me feel closer to home, to my culture, to my family. That helps me to keep a part of me, my culture alive.	The impact of Amazigh cultural organisation on cultural maintenance

The emergent themes were then listed on a separate word document in the same order as they appeared on the coding process:

Initial List of Themes
The discovery of Matoub Personal characteristic Empathy for Matoub's life Attribution of the discovery of Berber identity to Matoub

Community influence on the sense of belonging The impact of the Amazigh cultural organisation on cultural maintenance

Table 5. 2. 2. 1. An Extract of Initial List of Themes (Tamazight case)

The process of transforming the initial codes into initial themes was continued for the whole diary. The themes contain participants' voices to remain grounded in the text to allow the reader to understand the story from the participant first-person rather than influenced by the researcher's view and theoretical framework. I clustered the themes according to their conceptual similarities. After I generated the themes, I gave each cluster a label that represents the conceptual meaning of subordinate themes. During this stage, I did not delete or was selective about a particular passage: rather I was breaking down the entire raw data into meaningful units of analysis, which later would enable me to reconstitute and make sense to the whole story by selecting the most significant themes in accordance with my research questions and objectives. In other words, the selection of my themes was made at the end of the analysis of all cases. The clustering of initial themes of the whole diary is listed in a separate table (see Appendix 8C). The order of clustering of themes is based on analytical ordering, in which the themes that are connected are clustered.

After I finished the first case, I moved to the next cases and I followed the same steps as described above. During the analysis of the subsequent cases, I reviewed the first transcripts in light of the new subordinate themes that emerged in the subsequent transcripts. As Smith and Osborn (2008: 73) argue: "the subordinate themes in one transcript could emerge in another transcript". Similarly, Shinebourne (2011) argues that the analysis of the first case may influence further analysis. Although I kept in mind the themes that emerged from the previous transcripts, I analysed each transcript afresh and I kept an open mind to allow new

themes to emerge in the subsequent cases. After I finished the coding of each transcript, I created a table of clustering of themes of each case by adding participants' words and/or phrases of each subordinate theme to facilitate the location of the illustration of each theme in the transcript, and I continued this process for all diaries and transcripts (See appendices 8A-17C). After I finished the analysis of all transcripts using the interpretative process, I constructed a master table of themes. At this stage, the selection of themes was based on cross-referencing the emerged themes in light of my research questions. In addition, any themes that did not fit in the emerging structure and were not rich in illustration within the transcripts were not considered. As some themes and/or subordinate themes did not emerge in all participants data, I used ticks to help to locate the emerged theme in each participant. The table below lists the main themes, the subordinate themes and the aspects of the whole study whereby participant' pseudonym and ticks (√) are added to help the organisation of the analysis.

Main Themes, Subthemes and Aspects / Participant names	Tamazight	Tutor	Louiza	Fleur de Sable	Painter	Dahiya	Axel	Thiziri	Musician	Mazigh
Algerian Kabyles' Migration: Push/Pull Factors and Destination Choice	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Reasons for Migration	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Seeking higher education	√							√		
Seeking better life prospect		√		√			√			
Family reunification			√			√				
Fleeing black decade									√	√
Women's narratives of the black decade				√		√		√		
Fleeing cultural oppression					√					
What attracts Algerian Kabyles to the UK?		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Family and/or next of kin influence on host society choice					√		√		√	√
Algerian Kabyles' work experiences in the UK	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Coping strategies and social integration	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Adaptation and integration	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Behavioural change and adjustment		√			√	√	√	√	√	√
Assimilation and detaching from homeland culture				√				√		
Challenges and psychological stressors		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
The impact of family separation on migrants						√	√	√	√	√
Loss and illness				√				√	√	√
Trauma and terror							√		√	√
The impact of undocumented status							√		√	
Relationships with in-group members in transnational space		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Help and support		√	√	√	√		√		√	
Jealousy, competition and sabotage		√					√			
Activities bridging cultural maintenance in diasporic space	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Diasporic community contact	√	√			√	√	√		√	√
Cultural activities in diaspora	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
The role of Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association in cultural maintenance	√	√			√	√	√		√	√
The importance of Tamazight language among Kabyle diasporic group		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Changing identities in diaspora: identification and disidentification		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
National and cultural identity: Algerian-Berber		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Colonial and national identity: French-Algerian							√		√	
Attribution of discovery of Berber identity and cultural preservation to Matoub	√									√
Transnationalism and homeland contact	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Maintaining linkage with the homeland	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√
Cutting linkage with the homeland				√				√		
Transnational activities and cross-commitment		√			√	√	√	√	√	√
Cross-cultural commitment and emotional ties		√			√	√	√		√	
Transnational financial support								√		√
Idea of staying, returning or looking for a new home	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

Theme Subtheme Aspect

Table. 5. 2. 2. 2. Main Table of the Themes, Subthemes and Aspects for the Whole Study

5. 2. 3. Challenges in Analysing the Data

It is worth mentioning that initially during the coding process my research questions were in mind, and they were written on a sheet of paper in front of me. A few minutes later unconsciously I forgot about my research questions and immersed myself in the data. I rather let the data talk to me rather than imposing my ideas and/or approaching the data with

specific questions in my mind. The way I approached the data and produced initial codes was data-driven enabled, and this enabled me not to neglect any single unit in my data. However, later I started to feel anxious and shared my worry with my friend who had just passed this stage and I asked for advice from my supervisors. I was asking myself whether this long list of coding is reliable and useful? Or was it just a waste of time and a wrong way of doing it? As the coding progressed, I realised that what I was doing is going to answer my research questions and objectives, and also I conclude that IPA coding is not a prescription that I needed to follow but rather is personal. If someone would ask me what the role of an interpretivist is, I would answer that an interpretivist is like a forensic investigator who decorticates the story told by the witness or the experienced person. As a forensic investigator, the interpretivist does not take anything for granted but he goes back to the scene, reconstitutes the story, seeks the smallest and significant elements that would enable him to understand the circumstances and the context. Then, he makes sense of all these elements in accordance with the existing evidence by using his analytical interpretation. This is to say that an IPA analysis is itself a long process with some challenges, especially for a novice researcher. Even though I started the data analysis while I was transcribing the interviews, I faced the challenge of having to examine 125,002 words including the diary-interview transcripts, the solicited diaries, the final interviews, and some of the initial interviews gathered at the beginning of data collection procedure. Coding a high volume of data may result in a long list of codes because each significant sentence and/or passage was reviewed several times. Another challenge that I encountered related to the terminology. I found it a bit challenging to give the appropriate label to each cluster of themes because I kept changing the labels. As a theme in IPA is experiential, when analysing it is worth thinking about the appropriate terminology that captures exactly the participant's lived experience and also to link it to the research question itself. Another limitation that I faced

related to the meticulous examination of the approach. As IPA is a microscopic analysis (Smith and Osborn, 2015), I was overwhelmed by a large number of themes in each participant's transcript. With a long list of themes, the task of deciding which theme to prioritize became more challenging. To overcome this limitation, I selected the main themes in accordance with their prevalence in the whole data and the richness of the passages that illustrate them and also the significant themes that best answer my research questions. Another task that I found time-consuming was locating the convergences between my participants' tables of themes. All in all, when using IPA as a data analysis approach, one should keep in mind the research questions that he/she attempts to answer.

5. 3. Defining the Themes

To ease the reader's recognition of each theme presented in table 5. 2. 2. 2 within this chapter, the final themes below are presented with description/ definition, indicators and differentiation.

Theme 1: Algerian Kabyles' Migration: Push/Pull Factors and Destination Choice

- **Description:** the participants revealed the reasons for their migration and the reasons for choosing the UK as their main destination country. The participants took decisive action to migrate and find a new home. This theme has three subordinate themes: (1) reasons for migrating that includes six aspects; (a) seeking higher education, (b)seeking better life prospect, (c) family reunification, (d) fleeing black decade, (e) black decade: women's narratives, (f) fleeing cultural oppression, (2) what attracts Algerian Kabyles to the UK? and (3) family and/or next of kin influence on the destination choice.
- **Indications:** Tamazight: "*My migration in the UK is voluntary… to build an international career*"/ Mazigh: "*The black decade was the cause, yes, but I wanted*

to emigrate a long time ago"/ Dahiya: "*I didn't come to this country because I had problems or to improve myself. Even in my country, I was doing very well before all those problems, it's just because I had to join my husband, it's my marriage*"/ Thiziri: "*I was in an American company and I have done my studies in English and I worked in English. So, being bilingual hmm trilingual, what interest us is to change because the majority go to France*".

- **Differentiation:** Although the participants provided different push and pull factors, they showed similarities in the determinants of their migration.

Theme 2: Algerian Kabyles' Work Experiences in the UK

- **Description:** the participants described their work experiences and professional career. Some have shared their peak and nadir experiences in their career. The majority of male migrants in this study argued that a job is a prerequisite for a migrant. It is worth mentioning that all participants are working either part-time or full-time.
- **Indications:** Dahiya: "*to tell you the truth, I regret nothing, I had a great experience especially for [a] person like me who came here, I didn't speak their language and I wanted to learn it*"/ Musician: "*you have to work, if you don't work you cannot move on and to go for many things*"/ Painter: "*When you come to this country and to fiddle that's I do not agree with. If you come to this county, you need to work and find work like everyone else*"/ Painter: "*Not at the beginning, I never had any problem in finding a job at the beginning. I suffered a little bit when I was made redundant in 2007 that's because of my age*". Fleur de Sable: "*The only thing I can say about my work is despite our policy it says no discrimination or favouritism, it is only on the papers,*

because if you look at the important jobs such as office jobs, they are all given to British Natives".

- **Differentiation:** all participants argued that there are gender and ethnic equality in the workplace, except Fleur de Sable who argues that migrants are subject to a glass ceiling at the workplace. There is a clear indication that the nadir experience at work for both Tutor and Painter was their redundancy. They both expressed their job as desirable and describe their redundancy as an obstacle that forced them to change their career activity.

Theme 3: Coping Strategies and Social Integration

- **Description:** participants mentioned the strategies that they adopted to be part of the society. This theme has three subordinate themes; (1) adaptation and integration; (2) behavioural change and adjustment; (3) assimilation and detaching from homeland culture.
- **Indications:** Tamazight: "*I indeed had to learn the codes of a new country*"/ Musician: "*To become one of them and have your place, you have to know what to do and what to avoid*"/ Tutor: "*I made some adjustments because I realised that there were not adapted to the environment. I made adjustments in certain habits that I had in a different society*". Fleur de Sable: "*I see myself as adopting the culture of this country. As I said I left my country with all its tradition and everything*".
- **Differentiation:** All participants showed an integration strategy in which they maintain their own culture while they adapt and respect the host society culture and norms. Fleur de Sable is the only participant who showed a distinct strategy. She stated clearly that she adopts the host society culture.

Theme 4: Challenges and Psychological Stressors

- **Description:** The participants identified the obstacles encountered in their pre-migration and/or post-migration periods. This theme has four subordinate themes; in which the participants revealed their nadir experiences which involve: (a) the impact of family separation on migrants; (b) loss and illness; (c) trauma and terror and (d) the impact of undocumented status.
- **Indications:** Thiziri: "*For the personal problems, first, I would say that the difficulty is being far from family, of not being able to see our family as we want and when we want to gather for a dinner. This is difficult, and we feel it because of the remoteness is something that we cannot manage*"/ Mazigh: "*the consequences of my life that affected me I think hmm I don't know it was my life. The migration was good for me, I had everything I want to have but things have changed after my divorce. It becomes dark, the divorce, then her illness*"/ Musician: "*So, it was a bit embarrassing because [inaudible segment] I came here illegal [illegally], so I have not got the right to work*"/ Thiziri: "*Yes! Yes! It was a horrible period because I lived in Algiers, I lived the period of terrorism. It was the terror. We were so worried in 2001 and even after*"/ Axel: "*I witnessed two people dying between my hands [pause] among the 128 Kabyles who died during the riots, two died between my hands [pause] …I have been traumatised for six months*".
- **Differentiation:** All participants have experienced a turning point in their life, which affected them either directly or indirectly. Tamazight is the only participant who did not show any obstacle in her life experiences which might be attributed to the fact of her being a French citizen.

Theme 5: Relationships with In-Group Members in Diasporic Space

- **Description:** the participants described their relationships with the earlier Algerian migrants. This theme has two subordinate themes: (a) help and support; (b) jealousy, competition, and sabotage. In the former, the participants of this study reported that their relationship with the earlier Kabyle migrants in their early stage of migration is based on help and support such as accommodation, finding jobs and providing emotional support. In the latter, Axel reported that the relationship between Arabo-Algerian and the undocumented Kabyle migrants is based on jealousy. Tutor, however, reported that the relationship between the Arabo-Algerians working at the Algerian consulate and Algerian-Berbers supporting Amazigh cultural association is based on sabotage.
- **Indications:** Thiziri: "*if there will be an Algerian community I would be ready to help but without being chained up to that community because I feel myself to be more international*"/ Musician: "*Finding some people that I know which I have been stand on and [inaudible segment] I [inaudible segment] just help helped me to find out my way*"/ Fleur de Sable: "*To be honest, I hate being with Algerians and they judge you […] I didn't leave thirty million behind me to come [to the UK] and associate with them*" / Axel: "*Sometimes, when it gets busy and stressful in the kitchen, they give us more work than we are asked to do. Even if you want to say why or complain, he would tell you either you work, or I call the police. An Algerian like me he would report you to the police!*"/ Tutor: "*it [Amazigh cultural association] was not accepted by the Algerian authorities here because it's an independent association and purely cultural […] So, I think they did what they could to make sure that it doesn't last"/ Tutor: "I couldn't believe I had just lost a dream job, I was so hopeful until someone*

barred my way simply out of jealousy […]. The sad part of all the story is that the person behind it was a migrant descendant refusing to see another migrant prosper".

- **Differentiation:** All participants reported that they maintain regular contact with their in-group members, while they seek proximity from the mainstream group. However, Fleur de Sable and Thiziri did not show a strong motivation to be close to their in-group community. Rather, they maintain regular contact with out-group members.

Theme 6: Activities Bridging Cultural Maintenance in Diasporic Space

- **Description:** the participants described their attachment to their culture. This theme has six subordinate themes; (1) diasporic community contact, (2) cultural activities in the diaspora that is found in most participants and absent in Fleur de Sable and Thiziri, (3) the role of Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association in cultural maintenance, (4) the importance of Tamazight language among the Kabyle diasporic group, (5) changing identities in diaspora: identification and disidentification: (a) national and cultural identity: Algerian-Berber; (b) colonial and national identity: French-Algerian and (6) attribution of discovery of Berber identity and cultural maintenance to Matoub.
- **Indications:** Tutor: "*My link with the cultural field goes back decades when I was a student. As a student, I used to do a lot of cultural activities like photography and music and it did stay with me"/* Musician: "*To take part among those in [the] cultural association, is very important. The thing is we have to know how many of us live in the UK and to prove to the people we are few, but we still exist [pause] hmm another point is to give to ourselves a chance to express ourselves, who we are?!*"/ Dahiya: "*I just keeping it for everybody for myself for my kids […] both the language and his*

long name, he cannot deny who he's or his origins. I gave him a Berber name because when people will question him and he will always talk about it, that he's Algerian, he's Kabyle. He cannot go away from it"/ Fleur de Sable: "*I don't want to impose our culture, but they have pictures when they were young when they attend a celebration at their school with a Kabyle dress but now they grew up, it will be not me who would say to wear a Kabyle dress just to make me happy that why I don't want to impose them anything*" / Tamazight: *"I make sure I listen to Lounès Matoub for at least 30 minutes […] He is the one who has made me realise and discover a part of myself, of my identity that I had no idea existed*"

- **Differentiation:** Almost all the participants showed a strong attachment to their culture and they reported that they are involved in simple activities that may help them to remember their origins and preserve their culture. Even Tamazight, a second-generation migrant, showed a strong interest in Berber culture; however, she provided a unique experience regarding the emergence of her Berber identity that she attributes to Matoub. Although Fleur de Sable and Thiziri identify themselves with their ethnic identity and showed a disagreement regarding the Arabisation of Algeria,
- they did not show a strong motivation in transmitting their culture to their children.

Theme 7: Transnationalism and Homeland Contact

- **Description:** the participants described their attachment to their homeland and most participants argued that their mobility to Algeria is a necessity except Fleur de Sable. This theme has two subordinate themes: (1) maintaining linkage with the homeland and (2) cutting linkage with the homeland.
- **Indications:** Dahiya: "*We as migrants our life is not limited to this country […] As if our body is here and our thinking is back there because we have family there […]*

It's not just nostalgia, I am chained to my country"/ Axel: "*I still have this need to go back to my natal village as a visitor to see my brothers and sister and to spend few days in my village to remember my youth*" / Fleur de Sable: "*My plan is to never go back to Algeria after my parents will die, so what is the point? If I am that keen, I should stay in Algeria. I found this a form of hypocrisy […] I prefer to pay [for a visa] rather than give them [her daughters] Algerian nationality […] In addition, my husband told me to promise him that it will be the last time that I took them there [Algeria]"*.

- **Differentiation:** the divergence regarding this theme is discussed under two subthemes: (1) maintaining linkage with the homeland that emerged in most participants but is absent in Fleur de Sable, (2) cutting linkage with the homeland that is found in Fleur de Sable and absent in other participants.

Theme 8: Transnational Activities and Cross-Commitment

- **Description:** This theme emerged from Tutor, Painter, Dahiya, Axel, Thiziri, Musician and Mazigh who described their commitments to provide help to their peers back home either (1) cross-cultural commitment and emotional ties and/or (2) transnational financial support.
- **Indications:** Musician: "*The thing is when you came in here to work and to feed other people back home, it means that you're sacrificing your own life for the others*"/ Thiziri: "*All the financial help for Algeria is frozen, so what I can do is to create the association and try to attract finance by myself so that I can use these finances in Algeria*"/ Dahiya: "*I always start the event by a commemoration. I do my speech about the people who suffered and lost their lives for our culture […] we always put our hands together for the families who lost their loved ones. We mention the names*

of the people who died […] We always have a minute silence for them […] Each anniversary of their death, I put their pictures on my Facebook page. I always also put our Amazigh flag on my Facebook profile as a symbol of my language".

- **Differentiation:** The commitment of Painter, Axel and Musician involved sending money that they earn from their work back home to support their families. Due to the divergences found in this theme, two subordinate themes emerged: (1) the cross-cultural commitment and emotional ties, and (2) transnational financial support. The cross-cultural commitment and emotional ties emerged in Mazigh, Tutor and Dahiya, however, these three participants showed a slight difference in their commitments. Mazigh's commitment involved donating monthly to an association that provides financial help to other Kabyle migrants in organising the funeral of a deceased migrant. The previous cultural association in which Tutor was a member, they were sending money to Kabylia to help those who lack financial resources while they were providing emotional help between Kabyle migrants and the Kabyles left behind. However, Dahiya's current non-profit cultural association aims to provide emotional ties between Kabyle migrants and their peers in Algeria. In the transnational financial support, Thiziri is the only participant who showed a business commitment in which she organises charities to raise money so that she can invest back home to help the mistreated animals and traumatised children.

Theme 9: Idea of Staying, Returning or Looking for a New Home

- **Description:** in the current theme, the participants described their plan of whether they wish to stay in the UK, to return to Algeria or to move into another host society.
- **Indications:** Tamazight: "*there is nothing like home, your culture and your roots, if I don't get an outstanding opportunity as an engineer in London, I will be heading*

back home to France" / Painter: "*I came here to settle to tell you the truth, I did not come with the idea to return […] The more I stayed here, the more it's was clear in my mind that I won't return*" / Mazigh: "*It remains to me five years or six years to go back to France, I won't stay here […] We need hmm a familial atmosphere*"/ Thiziri: "*It isn't a country that encouraged people to stay for a long time. I mean for years and years. I don't think that I will be staying here due to this [weather]*"

- **Differentiation:** Although they maintain regular or irregular contact with their homeland, with unanimity all the participants revealed that they do not intend to return to Algeria. In their data, they showed clearly that their return to Algeria is for a short stay family visit and holidays. Tamazight, however, showed interest to stay in the UK on the condition that she can find a job that is adequate to her level, otherwise, she will return to France. While almost all first-generation participants intend to stay in the UK, Thiziri and Mazigh intend to move to another home. Being accustomed to the Mediterranean weather, where the sun shines in all the seasons, Thiziri finds the Scottish weather depressing. Therefore, she is thinking of moving to another host society that offers less hostile weather. Mazigh, however, already knows his next destination that is France. Being affected by family separation and the feeling of being an orphan, Mazigh wants to return to France to be surrounded by his family. Surprisingly, one element of her wish list, Tamazight would like to experience life in Kabylia for at least two months.

The themes described above act as the basis of the narrative accounts in the next chapters. Using the themes to make a narrative account requires an interplay between the participants' narratives and the researcher's interpretation (Shinebourne, 2011). The phenomenological approach produces accounts which are co-constructed, as the meaning of the transcripts is generated by the interconnection of researcher and participants (Lawthom and Tindall,

2011). The following chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, present an interpretative analysis of my research findings in light of my research questions that were cross-referenced with the final themes discussed above. The following table represents the core themes that are fully cross-referenced with my research questions and relevant chapter sections:

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Themes</th><th colspan="2">Research Questions</th><th>Chapters</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Theme 1: Algerian Kabyles' Migration: Push/Pull Factors and Destination Choice
Subtheme 1 | Subtheme 3 | Subtheme 3
Reasons for Migration | What Attract Algerian Kabyles to the UK? | Family and/or Next of kin Influence on Host Society Choice
Aspects
•Seeking Higher Education
•Seeking Better Life Prospect
•Family Reunification
•Feeling Black Decade
•Women's Narratives of the Black Decade
•Fleeing Cultural Oppression</td><td colspan="2">1- Determinants for their migration:

What are the determinants that motivated Kabyles to take the initiative to migrate?</td><td>Chapter Six: Pre-Migration: Kabyles' Decision Making Process in Migrating and Destination Choice</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Theme 2: Algerian Kabyles' Work Experiences in the UK
Theme 3: Coping Strategies and Social Integration
Subtheme 1 | Subtheme 2 | Subtheme 3
Adaptation and Respecting Rules | Behavioural change and Adjustment | Assimilation and Detaching from Homeland Culture</td><td colspan="2">2- Social integration:

What are the coping strategies they adopt to be part of the host society?</td><td>Chapter Seven: Post-Migration: Kabyles' Settlement, Transition and Acculturation</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Theme 4: Challenges and Psychological Stressors
Subtheme 1 | Subtheme 2 | Subtheme 3 | Subtheme 4
The Impact of Family Separation on Migrants | Loss and Illness | Trauma and Terror | The Impact of Undocumented Status</td><td colspan="2">3- Psychological Stressors:

What are the challenges that they encountered during their pre-and-post-migration periods?</td><td>Chapter Eight: Psychological Well-Being of Kabyle Migrants</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Theme 5: Relationships with Their In-group Members in Transnational Space
Subtheme 1 | Subtheme 2
Help and Support | Jealousy, Competition and Sabotage</td><td>A- What is their relationship with their in-group members?</td><td>4- Attachment:

Do they have sense of attachment to their homeland, community, and culture?</td><td>Chapter Nine: In-group, Cultural and Homeland Attachment</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr>
<td colspan="3">Theme 6: Activities Bridging Cultural Maintenance in Diasporic Space</td>
<td rowspan="11">B- To what extent their cultural identity and cultural maintenance considered to be important?</td>
<td rowspan="15"></td>
<td rowspan="15"></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtheme 1</td>
<td colspan="2">Subtheme 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diasporic Community Contact</td>
<td colspan="2">Cultural Activities in Diaspora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtheme 3</td>
<td colspan="2">Subtheme 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of Amazigh/Kabyle Cultural Association in Cultural Maintenance</td>
<td colspan="2">The Importance of Tamazight Language among Kabyle Diasporic Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtheme 5</td>
<td colspan="2">Subtheme 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing Identities in Diaspora: Identification and Disidentification</td>
<td colspan="2" rowspan="3">Attribution of Discovery of Berber Identity and Cultural Preservation to Matoub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Aspects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and Cultural Identity: Algerian-Berber</td>
<td>Colonial and National Identity: French-Algerian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="3">Theme 7: Transnationalism and Homeland Contact</td>
<td rowspan="5">C) To what extent their homeland contact considered to be important?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtheme 1</td>
<td colspan="2">Subtheme 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining Linkage with the Homeland</td>
<td colspan="2">Cutting the linkage with the Homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="3">Theme 8: Transnational Activities and Cross-Commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtheme 1</td>
<td colspan="2">Subtheme 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-Cultural Commitment and Emotional Ties</td>
<td colspan="2">Transnational Financial Support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="3">Theme 9: Idea of Staying, Returning or Looking for a New Home</td>
<td>D) Do they have the ambition to return to their homeland?</td>
</tr>
</table>

Table 5. 2. 2. 3. Finalised Themes cross-referenced with research questions and relevant chapter sections

Summary

This chapter discussed the process of data coding that was undertaken in the current study and how I broke the data was also illustrated along with the challenges encountered during the analysis. The steps of my analysis are summarised in the following table:

Step 1	Transcribing the interviews	Careful listening to the recording and checking the accuracy of the transcript.
Step 2	Familiarising myself with the data and making sense to the whole story	Being close to the data and fragmenting the data into small units to understand the whole.
Step 3	Commenting on the data and generating initial codes	Writing the initial ideas about the data and highlighting the significant words and/or phrases.
Step 4	Transforming the initial notes into themes	Moving into a higher analytic level by transforming the initial ideas into concise terminology that captures participants' experiential themes
Step 5	Clustering the themes of each case and giving them a label	Again, moving to a higher analytical step, where I grouped the connected themes under the same main theme.
Step 6	Reviewing the initial themes in accordance with the subsequent analysis	Having an active role by reviewing the initial themes in the light of the newly emerged themes, where some themes have dropped, and others have emerged.
Step 7	Writing the report	Interpreting the data using co-analysis, i.e., using my participants' experience and my analytical thinking.

Table 5. 3. 1. Steps of the Analysis

Chapter Six: Findings, Analysis and Discussion Part 1- Pre-Migration: Kabyles' Decision-Making Process in Migrating and Destination Choice

Introduction

The current chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the first theme; Algerian Kabyles' migration: push/pull factors and destination choice that was previously identified (see section 5.3 within chapter five). The findings are also discussed in relation to my research objective that seeks to explore the circumstances under which Kabyle participants were living. Therefore, it is important to recap my first research question: 1) What are the determinants that motivated Kabyles to take the initiative to migrate? This chapter is related to push and pull factors for migration as previously explained (see parts and 3 within chapter two).

6. 1. Algerian Kabyles' Migration: Push/Pull Factors and Destination Choice

The findings of this theme discuss three subthemes: (1) reasons for migration, (2) what attracts Algerian Kabyles to the UK and (3) family and/ or next of kin influence on host society choice.

6. 1. 1. Reasons for Migration

This subtheme has five aspects: (1) seeking higher education, (2) seeking better life prospects, (3) family reunification and (4) fleeing the black decade and (5) fleeing oppression. Although the data showed that each participant has a different reason for migration, they shared a view that Algeria is not a prosperous country because of the different problems that Algeria is still facing, such as lack of justice, lack of employment and lack of human rights.

6. 1. 1. 1. Seeking Higher Education

Due to the language fluency and familial attachment resulting from colonialism, many Algerians went to study in France and some still do. However, recently, some Algerians started to choose the UK as their destination country to study. Currently, many Algerian students from the English and Literature departments are sponsored by the Algerian government to study in the UK, and this includes me. While some have the privilege to earn a government scholarship, other students with great potential have applied for undergraduate studies in the UK universities relying on their own means. Among the ten participants interviewed in the current research, two participants, namely Fleur de Sable and Thiziri entered the UK with a student visa in 2003 and 2007 respectively. These two participants were self-funded and were seeking a higher degree with the intention not to return.

Thiziri who is married to an English husband and a mother of two boys is successfully settled in Aberdeen. Thiziri explains in fluent English that her migration was planned, and she came to the UK as a self-funded student, after graduating in English teaching and accountancy. The main determinants of her migration are better education and a better job.

> The reason why I came to the UK, was especially for my Masters' degree. Just to have a higher degree and I find a job […] I came with my own means because I worked for more than ten years.

This shows how the ability to rebuild an occupational career when living abroad depends on self-funding and motivation. Paying the course fees and accommodation, as Thiziri did, can be very expensive, so Thiziri first undertook internal migration within Algeria to seek higher wages. She worked as an accountant in Hassi-Messaoud, in the south where the industrial oil company employs highly skilled employees. Although the job that she had in the south was better paid than the one she previously had in the north, Thiziri still felt underpaid compared to her work experience and qualification. In addition, she explained that the south is not an

ideal place to live possibly due to the hot weather. Thus, her low-paid job in Algeria and the hot weather in the South pushed her to migrate to the UK when she said:

> I wanted to change the country because the job that we had, was a low-paid salary […] So, the most important thing to do was to have better education, post-graduate and then find a better job elsewhere.

Even though Tutor entered the UK with a tourist visa, he later wanted to take a postgraduate course in engineering:

> when I started working with Professor X hmm, I realised that the research itself costs a lot of money […] although I had approval from the professor […] he advised me, to sponsor myself, which I did. I looked for sponsorship, but it wasn't enough. As a result, I had to stop […] obviously the British still have to pay for a PhD even if you aren't a migrant. The difference though was enormous! Was enormous! At that time the difference was £2000 year to £8000. So, we had to pay four times more than a local person simply because you're an overseas student. So, I didn't find that very fair.

This shows his disappointment in not being able to pursue his postgraduate degree. Despite his academic ability, he was discouraged from taking the postgraduate course because of the high costs of tuition fees imposed on international students. From this we can readily understand that to access higher education in the UK, the overseas students need to pay higher fees than the locals, which Tutor perceives as 'unfair'.

6. 1. 1. 2. Seeking Better Life Prospects

Two participants, Fleur de Sable and Axel revealed that they are relieved to be in the UK because they have better social conditions and lifestyle. Although Fleur de Sable came on a student visa to pursue her studies, her main reason to migrate was to flee the radicalisation of the Algerian society that resulted from the black decade. Fleur de Sable, who married a Welsh husband and migrated in 2000, wrote in her diary:

> When I was working for an American oil company, I enjoyed the luxury lifestyle in the UK. I loved the UK so much that how I decided to come, and study here then start a new life.

At this point, I thought that the luxury lifestyle and better education are the major pull factors behind Fleur de Sable's migration, but she had not finished yet telling me her main push factors that caused her departure:

> Also, the reason I decided to emigrate is that I hate everything related to Arabic culture, so I don't try to pretend that I like Eid or Ramadan or whatever. I didn't leave Algeria to bring their thinking here. Honestly, I always felt that I am happy here than in my own country. I always felt that in Algeria I have been imposed everything, religion, tradition and the worse of all the Arabs values and language which I hate […] I grow up when Algeria was living the French way and when people were much westernised. Nowadays I feel like I am going to Pakistan or backward Middle East countries.

Fleur de Sable explains that her migration was caused by the radicalisation of the Algerian society, in which Islamist ideology gained control over the country and imposed restrictions on her life as a woman. She objects to the imposition of the Arab culture with all its values and language and the imposition of Islam, in which she considers Ramadhan and Eid as strict practices. She felt that she did not fit in such an environment because she belongs to a post-colonial generation. During our final interview, Fleur de Sable continued with a further account of her experience of how the Algerian society portrays and reacts to emancipated women, and how she adheres to secularism. Fleur de Sable describes when she worked for the American company in the south of Algeria. This was an Arabo-Algerian speaking city, and she said:

> Being in the middle of Algeria and from a small town, you know there is always gossip, I was well-known as a Tomboy. I [have] always been rebellious, I played football, handball, I travelled on my own […] I do remember when I started working, someone told my dad why you let her work?! I said to my dad ask him to come and argue with me. I said to my dad if you will pay me the salary I am getting, and you will pay for my retirement, I swear to stop! He realised what I meant, and he never said a word.

This account shows how emancipated Algerian women fought against the hostile views of society. This quotation reminds us of the politics of Islam and its effects on Algerian women, particularly when they are emancipated and skilled. Fleur de Sable was courageous to confront her father and persuade him to let her work. The act of confronting parents might be rare among Algerian women who are generally governed not only by the patriarchal rules that govern the society but also Islamic rules that gave instructions regarding parents, which appear in many places of the Quran[13]. In contrast to Tunisia, the Moroccan and the Algerian societies and families remain steeped in patriarchalism that was brought by the Arabs, who claim that they follow the Islamic law instituted in sharia (Lacoste-Dujardin, 1994). Fleur de Sable, who showed a western attitude and disagreed with how Arabs portray Islam, considered neither the social nor the Islamic rules when she confronted her father about her right to work but instead, she followed her self-determination and aspirations. Further, she recounts that she was an active member of 'l'Union de la Femme Algérienne' (UFA)/the Algerian Women Union. Fleur de Sable was one of the few participants who pointed out the social barriers that the Algerian women faced. In contrast to Thiziri, who migrated to the UK to widen her knowledge in her chosen field of management and human resources, Fleur de Sable's account stressed the social barriers and the restrictions toward women as an accumulative factor behind her decision to migrate. The social oppression towards Algerian women is particularly prevalent in rural areas and practised among those with low social status, such as divorced and widowed women.

> I was a member of an organisation called UFA 'l'Union de la Femme Algérienne', which was only for the widow and divorced women. Most divorced women in Algeria are looked at badly and oppressed. I do

[13] In chapter (17) sūrat l-isrā (The Night Journey), Allah said: And your Lord has decreed that you do not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment. Whether one or both of them reach old age [while] with you, say not to them [so much as], "uff," and do not repel them but speak to them a noble word (sūrat l-isrā: verse 23).

> remember the headmaster said to me, how can you associate with this group? I am sorry to say that because they are looked at as not being a decent family.

The quotation above shows that widowed and/ or divorced Algerian women are perceived as taboo within the society and are mainly portrayed with negative stereotypes and are watched constantly by their families. In addition, in some rural areas, despite their age and their marital status, to exercise their daily activities as a citizen some women need to be accompanied by a male guardian, who could be either the father, the brother or the husband. This is reinforced by Dahiya's experience as a migrant. She pointed out, on her trips back home without her husband, that her family-in-law were constantly watching her and deciding on her behalf who she could talk with:

> To be honest with you, those women [the wives of international labour migrants] suffered a lot because they are not independent. Everything they do is around the whole family because the husband is not there anymore. Is like everyone is taking responsibility for her. To tell you the truth, even when I go on holiday to Algeria without my husband, they feel like they need to look after me. For example, they would tell me what to do, with whom I should speak to and so on.

Seeking better quality of life is not only found among Kabyle women who may be subject to patriarchal rules, but men in the current study revealed also that their motivation to migrate was to search for better life mainly related to better wages. Axel, who is married to a French wife and migrated in 2013, expressed that his reason for migration as follows:

> The reason why I applied to the UK because my friend said that you're working here as a slave and they give you 100,000 DA. Of course, in Algeria in that period when you got around 100,000 DA per month was a lot of money of course, but he said to me go to the UK, of course, in the beginning, I will suffer but after you'll find your way and if you work as you work now you will get double.

Here Axel explains that his friend, who was already residing in the UK, encouraged him to migrate for higher wages. Knowing the competency and the hard work that Axel contributed to his work in Algeria, his friend convinced him that he would earn a better salary in the UK. Thus, Axel's motivation to migrate is to seek higher wages and a better life. Further, in Axel's narrative above, the change in the personal pronoun 'I' to 'you' when Axel reported his friend's speech: "*of course in the first time, I will suffer but after you'll find your way*", demonstrates that Axel's irregular status was a struggle, which he described as 'the crossing of the desert' (this is further discussed in section 9. 1. 4 within chapter nine).

Similarly, when I asked Tutor who entered the UK with a tourist visa, why he decided to settle in the UK, he said:

> I would say maybe because of the lifestyle and wages […] I had two jobs in Algeria, and the wages were enough for me to live comfortably because I was single, and I was with my parents […] but I must admit that it would have taken me years and years to achieve what I have achieved in this country financially. In that sense, there is a big gap.

Tutor's statement reinforces Axel's friend's claim regarding the difference in wages between Algeria and the UK. It is important to mention that a decade ago before the general increase in prices and the fall in the value of Algerian dinars, Axel's salary was adequate because the majority of Algerians either married or single, tend to live with their parents. The latter are the owners of their properties and lands, therefore those men who are married may inherit a piece of land or a flat from their parents. In addition, in contrast to the UK, in Algeria people do not pay house taxation, which does not decrease their salaries pro-rata. However, the familial structure of Algerians has changed, we now notice that the new generation especially the married ones want their independence from the larger family not only because of the familial conflicts but also the parents are not able to cover the expenses of their extended family due to the inflation. The change in familial customs was reported over fifty years ago

by Bourdieu and Sayad (1964) who examined the cultural change in the Kabyle society. They argued that after the independence the Kabyle families composed of many generations used to live together under the same roof in villages. However, now they live separately in urban areas, which led to the weakness of the customary links and the fragmentation of communities, and the emergence of a new type of solidarity based on the identity of existence. As far as the current study is concerned, some participants did not only separate themselves from the shared habitat, but they separated themselves from their homeland, which ceased to provide them with a satisfactory life and identity of existence due to the political, social and economic struggles in the Algerian society.

This study suggests that the decision to leave the homeland may be made differently between men and women. Algerian male migration is more likely to be economically related, Algerian female migration is more likely to be socially related because the latter are not given power and are likely to experience a lack of freedom and find patriarchal rules imposed on them. However, skilled women who belong to the new generation may decide to claim their rights to reach a certain place in the ladder of the Algerian society such as gaining higher education and/or seeking employment. In Fleur de Sable's case, migration is seen as a solution and this may also be the case of other women who decided to flee the social restrictions. Thus, in understanding the circumstances that pushed individuals to migrate, it is important to mention the circumstances of society and family in which they lived. According to Lacoste-Dujardin (1994), although Kabyle women exercise a matriarchy compared to Arab women, some of these women, either young or old, in Kabylia or diaspora, share the aspiration to free themselves from male guardianship. Today, however, the gender equality balance starts to bounce, the changes can result from the women's migration. The increase of women's migration through different routes such as; family reunification, seeking a better quality of life among emancipated women, seeking higher education among skilled women, and the

growing influence of technology, has led to the existence of second-generation Algerian women born abroad, who circulate ideas and information through different means of communication. Thus, today's young Kabyle women have all the means and possibilities to widen their knowledge about other models of living and show other aspirations different from their mothers and grandmothers.

6. 1. 1. 3. Family Reunification

In the current research, seven participants are settled in the UK through family migration (see section 2. 3. 5. 1), except Thiziri who benefited from the post-study work visa. Although Fleur de Sable, Tutor, Axel, Mazigh and Painter came to the UK either with student or tourist visa, they have been granted indefinite leave to remain through family formation, which is an important category that increased the number of migrants in the UK (OECD, 2017).

Dahiya and Louiza, however, settled in the UK through family reunification. Geographers argue that family migration is significantly influenced by gender role beliefs (Cooke, 2008a). Traditionally, labour markets offer limited opportunities for women to migrate (Cooke, 2008). Recently, however, the gender composition of the family started to change because women are achieving higher education in their country of origin, such as the case of Thiziri and Fleur de Sable, and also due to the increasing demand for foreign labour in female-dominated sectors (OECD, 2017b). In the light of family migration, the findings of the current research suggest that men are usually the principal migrant, such as the case of Painter, while the four married women are principally the dependent applicants. This reinforces the fact that despite the heterogeneity of family migration, its flows mainly consist of women (OECD, 2017b).

Dahiya entered the UK in 1993 as an Algerian citizen, while Louiza entered the UK in 2009 as an Italian citizen. Similar to Thiziri and Fleur de Sable, as an emancipated woman, Louiza

had the privilege to travel for work. Thus, her work in the south of Algeria enabled her to meet her husband, who is originally Italian-British. After migrating to Italy for a few years, Louiza and her husband migrated to the UK in 2010. The following quotation demonstrates Louiza' view regarding her acquired citizenship:

> I think my journey would be different if I had an Algeria passport […] officially I am Italian but socially I am Algerian. I think it's much easier to do things like paperwork all that stuff with an Italian passport rather than an Algerian one […] I didn't see any difficulty because I was like a European citizen.

Louiza believes that if she entered the UK as an Algerian citizen, she might have had a different journey compared to her actual experience. The inclusion of the UK within the European Union did not only enable the free movement to the UK (Mulley, 2010; OECD, 2017) but it also enabled EU citizens to enjoy similar rights as the locals in terms of work and benefits. Thus, Louiza reported that she did not face difficulties during her migration. Although Louiza acknowledged the benefits of introducing herself as an EU citizen that can be understood as a 'privilege', she does not deny her Algerianness on the social and cultural scale. From this, we understand that Louiza's identification changes accordingly to the situations and contexts. She identifies herself with EU citizenship 'Italian' when it comes to employment, and this may be as a strategy to avoid prejudice and also to enjoy the full rights of the host society. On the social scale, however, Louiza identifies herself as 'Algerian' to show her inclusion to a specific cultural group. From this, we can suggest that Louiza's dual identification functions depending on her 'personal interest' as an EU citizen and 'cultural interest' as an Algerian citizen. During the interview, Louiza shows clearly that she did not hesitate to accept her husband's marriage proposal. Dahiya, however, who never thought to leave her country, explains how she accepted her husband's marriage proposal and her decision to come to the UK:

> I told my husband before I accept, my kids have to be with their father […] I didn't want to be like the emigrants of olden days, where the husbands emigrate and leave their wives and kids in Algeria […] My grand-dad lived in France for forty-five years and his kids and wife stayed in Kabylia […] Sometimes if he is lucky, he can assist to his childbirth and then he won't see him two years later. I don't accept that, it's not acceptable.

Here, Dahiya pointed out the impact of the separation of the international labour migrant (ILM) on his family left behind. According to Siriwardhana et al. (2013), the post-migration period affects the health and well-being and family structure of the family left behind, including non-migrant spouse, children, or caregivers. Her grandmother's experience as a spouse of an ILM made Dahiya unwilling to have a similar experience. Yet, Dahiya accepted her husband's marriage proposal and moved to the UK not only because he accepted the dilemma but also because he is a Kabyle man from her village. According to Rochron (2005), exogamous marriage is often seen as 'mixed' between insider and outsider. Traditionally in the British context, the notion of mixed marriage operates around a racialised view of the white and black (Parker and Song, 2001). However, the recent reflection on mixed marriage indicates that the union between outsider and insider goes beyond the black/white binary, which is usually perceived as impure and illegitimate (Douglas, 1966). This study suggests that the exogamous marriages of Fleur de Sable, Louiza and Thiziri may violate the ritual marriage of Kabyles, while Dahiya followed her ethnic group traditions to preserve her culture. This argument is reinforced by Bourdieu (2018) who stated that traditionally the Kabyle marriages are homogamous to preserve their symbolic and cultural capital. Homogamous marriage may be still practised among a few Kabyles who live mainly in rural regions. However, with the modernisation of society, Kabyle women became more literate and had access to higher education, which enabled them to detach from their marriage traditions. Tribalat (1996), who examined the mixed

marriage among Maghrebin women, observed that intercultural marriage is generally between highly qualified Maghrebin women with French men. She argued that these women are able to overcome the symbolic capital of their ritual because of their high-cultural capital and their high qualification. This matches the findings of this research, which revealed that intercultural marriage is found among skilled and emancipated women who belong to the modern Kabyle society.

Further, the current research reveals that interfaith marriage between Muslim and non-Muslim takes place among the Kabyle diaspora either between Kabyle women with a non-Muslim husband or vice versa. Regarding interfaith marriage, the tradition is reinforced by the Algerian society and culture, which considers that it is taboo for a woman to marry a non-Muslim husband, while they are more tolerant to men who marry a non-Muslim wife. This is clearly stated in Fleur de Sable's diary, in which she expressed her worry to go back to Algeria because of her interfaith marriage: "*my husband and I refused to have my children in Algeria. I wouldn't take the risk of asking him to go with me to Algeria because I married a non-Muslim*". Fleur de Sable unwillingness to return to Algeria is influenced not only because of the political instability but also because of her interfaith marriage. Rocheron, who examined the narratives of Algerian men married to English women (2002), and the identity of Francophone Algerian women married to English men (2005), found that Algerian men employ strategies of resistance against fixed redefinitions of their ethnic identification. The Francophone Algerian women claim that what Rocheron calls 'the tragic paradigm of exile' is a symbol of cultural hybridity. Similarly, the participants' narratives in this study reflect the conception that marrying an English, or a European person is a way of living in the host society culture while living to some extent in their native culture. Their intercultural marriage is based on mutual respect and love for cultural diversity achieved through the strategies of adaptation and/or assimilation.

6. 1. 1. 4. Fleeing Black Decade

While some participants such as Thiziri, Fleur de Sable, Dahiya, Louiza, Axel and Tutor voluntary decided to migrate to the UK to seek better education, jobs, and wages. However, Mazigh, who left the country during the 'black decade', revealed his complete loss of hope because of living the daily fear and witnessing people dying.

> Once I finished my studies, I left the country straight away […] We used to live in Kouba, it was '*la fievre du FIS*' [stronghold] at that time […] You wake up in the morning and you will be informed that your friend was killed. I told myself, I have to escape from here, even my mother told me whether I return to Great Kabylia or I emigrate to France […] I didn't come here because I lacked means and to search for luxurious life no! I came here because people were dying! I have many friends who died. So, I escaped!

His decision to migrate was triggered because he was living in Kouba as he described as 'la fievre du FIS', an area that was known as FIS stronghold. Mazigh who was raised in an upper-middle-class family, had the ambition to become a pilot. He initially migrated to France due to the deterioration of safety and the intensity of terrorism in 1995, and later he moved to the UK in 1996. His decision to leave was also fostered by his uncles' help and his mother's support (this is further explained in the next section within this chapter). His mother, like many other Algerian parents in general and high-middle-class families in particular, was worried about the future life and career of her son. Therefore, she pushed her son to leave Algeria when the terrorist acts became intense. As Mazigh commented above, terrorism appeared to be the main cause of his migration. In the following quotation taken from the interview, Mazigh further invokes other reasons:

> Believe me, I had everything in Algeria but the lifestyle, which wasn't good. In Kabylia they have a good lifestyle but in the Arabo-Algerian cities, it's bad […] the Kabylia is unique, in Kabylia there is a democracy, they organise *thijemmu'a* [meetings] and solve their problems between them. We grow up in these values […] because of *Nif* and *Niya*.

Mazigh explains explicitly that the reasons behind his departure were not only influenced by his uncles and triggered by the black decade but were also influenced by the lifestyle of the Algerian society. Thus, we may suggest that Mazigh's migration was caused by the accumulation of external factors; political and social. Further, Mazigh highlights the difference between Kabyle society and Arabo-Algerian societies, in which he states that Kabylia is a democratic and secular city compared to other Algerian cities, and he invoked the word '*thijemmu'a*' (singular: *thajma'th*) that refers to either formal or informal meetings that aim to discuss the problems of villagers in Kabyle society. This may be true during the time of people of '*Nif*' and '*Niya*'[14]. Both *Nif* and *Niya* are principles and life values of the Berber cultural heritage, which are transmitted from our ancestors. Traditionally, the villagers tend to ask for help and advice from the wise man in the village, who tries to solve their problems. The implication of this social behaviour is derived from the values of Berber culture and the need to take control of their own problems without losing the relationship with the other. Their act of constituting the value of the indigenous culture requires the organisation of *thijemmu'a*, a symbolic activity that enables kindship groups to self-govern village communities (Roberts, 2014). Therefore, the Kabyle culture gives great importance to wise individuals, who tend to listen to both rich and poor and tend to be available to their families and community. These people who are involved within the community are not guided by financial interest, but they are guided by the dignity and the value of their culture. Bourdieu (2001) argued that the people of Niya have extreme generosity and have a special place in the Kabyle community. Nowadays, however, some people who have disagreements tend to present the case directly to formal legal processes before even consulting the wise people of the family and/or village.

[14] The concepts of '*Nif* and *Niya*' have been discussed in Bourdieu's (2001). The former refers to the sense of connection and honour, and the latter refers to respect and naivety.

Similar to Mazigh, Musician also stated in his diary that his idea of migration was influenced by his uncle since his childhood. During the interview, Musician reported the unfavourable conditions such as the spread of violence, fear and the lack of human rights pushed him to leave Algeria.

> In that period [black decade] many people left the country; they were seeking asylum and that what happened. That period affects me, but I didn't leave the country until late that period in 1997, it wasn't the main thing, but it did affect [me] because nothing was clear in the future at that time. We didn't know who's who and how the country is gonna be settled down, when and how and who's gonna govern hmm we didn't know all these things because things go up and down […] Many facts were accumulating, one file by one file by one file, in my mind when it was time I just left because it's too much. Also, it was time to leave. I was at the right time [pause] I left".

The influence of his uncle implanted an imagined western culture and lifestyle in Musician's mind. Then, the instability of the country resulted from the black decade, reinforced his idea of migration and caused his departure. Thus, we may understand that the black decade was the last straw for Musician. Further, he pointed out how difficult it was to obtain visas from Western countries during the terrorism: "*I decided to travel but the procedure was hard […] I failed that year I didn't succeed in 1990 […] In addition, the country was politically in trouble*". According to Bourdieu and Leca (1995), France ceased to grant a visa for Algerians during the black decade. In 1989, 800,000 visas for various purposes were granted. By 1994, however, 100,000 were granted and in 1995 only one visa out of 10 applications was granted. Later in 1997, when Musician was finally granted a visa from Greece, he left Algeria without delay. He went first to Greece, then he flew to France before entering the UK with false papers. Clearly, Mazigh's and Musician's reason for migration was to seek safety, during which they could have claimed asylum. However, they sought asylum neither in France nor in the UK because the right to asylum was a long process and uncertain in the UK and Europe in general.

> There is a difference between when you say I am Algerian [pause] or French-Algerian. At that time, when you say you are an Algerian, they know what happened back home, straight away you have to prove it with all documents and story of what happened to you. But if you say I am French-Algerian, for them you're a French citizen, they won't disturb you or asking your documents. You're protected because you're French actually […] when you're a European, you're luckier because you've got your country behind but when to present yourself as African, you're down.

Here Musician implies that asking for asylum is 'risky' because if he would fail to provide tangible proof, his host society might refuse his application and he risks deportation and/or being sent to another destination. For this reason, Mazigh and Musician opted for false documentation. This assumption concurs with Benyamina (1988), who argued that Algerian asylum seekers in Britain are still affected by the image of terrorism. In addition, in the quotation above, Musician reinforces Louiza's argument who viewed her Italian citizenship as a 'privilege'. The study suggests that the undocumented participants and the participants married to a European citizen preferred a racialised definition of their ethnic origins identifying as Europeans rather than Algerians because of the possible discriminatory treatment towards the non-EU nationals (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Conant, 2004; Richard, 2016).

According to push factors of migration, humanitarian migrants are those who leave their native country to flee civil wars (Piesse, 2014). Mazigh and Musician are excellent examples of that type of migrants who were forced by insecurity to leave their homeland. Thus, when looking at their determinants of migration, i.e., terrorism, it matches perfectly with the push factors as the theory of migration that include escaping danger as the main determinant of migration (Kingma, 2001; Piesse, 2014).

6. 1. 1. 5. Women's Narratives of the Black Decade

Mazigh and Musician have migrated when the terrorism was intense. Thiziri, however, was still living in Algiers (capital city of Algeria) toward the end of the black decade. Thiziri expressed daily fear when she was a student in one of the universities in Algiers.

> It was a horrible period because I lived in Algiers, I lived the period of terrorism. It was the terror. We were so worried in 2001 and even after. Especially when I was travelling by train from Sidi-Aich to Algiers, it took five hours and during the journey, it stops in places where you can meet men with a long beard. As I was an emancipated woman, I was with jeans, trainers and very long curly hair, I have already been followed by a terrorist and I was obliged to run away! We were on the alert and fearful all the time.

From Thiziri's quotation above, we understand that like other Algerians, Thiziri experienced daily terror and suspicion during the black decade. During that period, however, emancipated and unveiled women were more endangered than others because the FIS was obliging women to wear hijab, a religious code that governs wearing the headscarf in public among Muslim women to prevent men's verbal and/or physical harassment. Lazreg (2011) argues that is important to understand the psychology of the veil because the veil that is considered as an antidote to sexual harassment is merely fiction. Similarly, Fleur de Sable recounted her experience of fear and imposition of hijab during the period of terrorism.

> The Black Decade has affected me a lot, a lot. It's a period where I was obliged to wear a headscarf, to wear hijab. So, when I was working in college, we received a letter from the terrorists saying that if you don't wear a hijab, we will bombard your school!

In this quotation, Fleur de Sable was affected because of having a religious identity imposed that she does not consider part of her culture. However, because of a death threat, Fleur de Sable was obliged to wear the hijab to pretend that she shows respect to Islam, while at the same time it was an opportunity for her to avoid struggles with the FIS on her daily

commutes. It is interesting to note that from the accounts of Thiziri and Fleur de Sable, we understand the acceptable and the unacceptable women's outfit during the black period.

> When I was working in Hassi-Messaoud, I used to travel to Algiers, to Oran, to Tizi-Ouazou. So, I said I have to wear the hijab. I remember one day, I was travelling from Algiers to Tisimsilt, I brought a daughter of three years of one of my relatives. On that day I travelled with a man and old woman that I met in Algiers. Halfway, a military man stopped our car, he checked inside the car and he saw me with the baby, and we were both wearing scarfs of course and he asked where you are going? The driver answered him then he lets us go […] It was a scary period, it was very hard we were not sure if we will live or die because everything could happen, everywhere and anytime.

An interesting point in the above quotation is the resistance of Fleur de Sable to terrorism. Although it was a period when people's lives were uncertain, many other Algerians like Fleur de Sable never gave up on their work and career. To carry on her professional career and emancipation, Fleur de Sable was strategically wearing the hijab during the period of terrorism to minimise the risk of being killed and/or harassed by the FIS. In addition, Fleur de Sable reveals that when she was travelling in dangerous areas for work, she borrowed two identities, the hijab − as a symbol of religious identity − and the daughter of a relative – as a symbol of motherhood − to escape death. From this, Fleur de Sable may want to emphasise that the terrorist attacks target mainly the rebellious intellectual young women to discourage them from working, because working women are perceived as invading Algerian men's public space. The ideal place for Algerian women is considered to be home, where their main role is to manage housework. However, later in the quotation with her use of the pronouns '*we*' in '*we were not sure if we will live or die*' implies that everyone was targeted. Further, the attacks did not have a specific place and/or time when she said: '*everything could happen, everywhere and at any time*'.

6. 1. 1. 6. Fleeing Cultural Oppression

Painter, who currently owns a café with his wife, migrated to the UK in 1982. His wife Dahiya joined him in 1993. Painter revealed that he integrated into the workplace as soon as he arrived. In his narratives, Painter revealed a push factor, which I had not anticipated that one of my participants would point out:

> I will tell you the truth, I would never have thought to come here. The reason I came here, I was actually sacked in my job in Algeria because when you come from a Kabyle region and then you go to Algiers and you work with the Arabs […] they caused me problems until I was sacked […] The director of the hotel was an Arab from Biskra and of course he didn't like me. So, yeah it was discrimination by Arabs. So, it gave me an opportunity to come here.

In the above quotation, Painter explains that his reason for migration was caused by his dismissal, that he logically linked to the cultural oppression that existed during that time. Yet, although in the quote above Painter seems to have a job, he was the subject of institutional discrimination at his workplace, which caused his dismissal based on his cultural identity. Cultural oppression towards Kabyles resulted from the Algerian identity struggle, which arose violently between the Berber activists and the government since the post-colonial era towards the end of 1989 and still exists afterwards. Thus, after his dismissal Painter decided to migrate to the UK. However, in his last sentence when he said: "*it gave me like an opportunity to come here*", shows that his dismissal was the cause of his migration that he considers as 'an opportunity' but he was hoping to migrate sooner or later. This argument is reinforced by Painter who expressed his dissatisfaction with his country by saying:

> To tell you the truth, I had enough of our country. Unfortunately, some people don't care about us, they only care about themselves. For a long time, we were oppressed we were living in a dictatorship. Especially when Boumediene was president and then Chadli.

In the above quotation, Painter pointed out the intensity of cultural oppression during the presidency of Houari Boumediene and Chadli Ben Jadid. Houari Boumediene a socialist authoritarian, became president from 1965 to the late 1970s, after he effected a coup against Ben Bella. Quandt (1998) described Boumedienne as "hardly known to the public at large, but quickly, became the formidable leader, ascetic, and a strong nationalist, with more of an Arabist education than most of his contemporaries" (Quandt 1998: 23). After the death of President Boumediene in 1979, Chadli Ben Jadid took over the presidency and chose the continuity of Boumediene's regime. The long duration of the cultural conflict and the disregarding of Berber culture and its speakers made Painter think of possible alternatives to avoid and escape the situation. An interesting point is that Painter changes the tenses of the verbs by moving from the past simple when he said, '*I had enough*' to present simple when he said: '*there are people who don't care about us*'. The use of the past tense expresses his dissatisfaction with the previous political regime practised by Boumediene and Chadli. However, his use of present simple implies that dictatorship still exists in Algeria but in a different form; this argument is reinforced when he used past simple again when he said: "*We were oppressed, we were living in dictatorship especially when Boumediene was president and then Chadli*". Further, the use of the adverb 'especially' signifies that Painter illustrated two dictatorship Algerian leaders among others. The cultural conflicts that started as social conflicts, turned into a political dispute with the involvement of the military. Thus, the conflict led to a revolt in the early 1990s, it became intense after the murder of Matoub in 1997 and also the death of Massinissa in 2001 (Forstag, 2008). This study suggests that the cultural conflicts that occurred in Algeria during the Boumediene and Chadli presidency are the main determinants of Painter's migration. A factor that seems to be shared by Mazigh's uncle who apparently according to Mazigh, left the country during the Boumediene presidency when he said:

> Initially, I wanted to go to Canada. As I have my uncle, he is a doctor in computer science. He was one of the brains drains who left the country during the 80s […] my uncle was hurt by the system during Boumediene presidency. He felt oppressed and he rarely goes back to Algeria, he goes every ten years.

From the quotation above, it seems clear that both Painter and Mazigh's uncles left the country during the same period and for the same reason. As it is beyond our research scope, it would be interesting for future research to explore whether there was a large-scale Kabyle displacement during the cultural conflicts.

This study uses push and pull factors theory to understand the main determinants behind Kabyles' migration to the UK. The results of this study indicate that the cultural conflicts that occurred during the Boumediene and Chadli presidency appear to be a possible push factor for international migration. The different factors for migration explored by many researchers (Kline, 2003; Kingma, 2001; Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Czaika and Kis-Katos, 2009; Siriwardhana et al., 2013; Piesse, 2014), seem to be consistent with our findings, which indicate that the Kabyles' push and pull factors for migration are mainly cultural, political, and socioeconomic factors. While Czaika and Kis-Katos (2009) found that the civil conflicts caused the displacement of the Acehnese minority in Indonesia from central Aceh to a more stable urban area, the current study found that the civil conflicts are reflected on both internal and international migration perspectives. Further, the current findings were able to identify that the socioeconomic factor is the main driving force of internal Kabyle displacement from Kabylia to Algiers. While Thiziri and Tutor moved to Algiers for higher education, Axel and Painter migrated to Algiers for a better job opportunity. Similarly, Musician points out that his father's internal migration was for employment, in which he goes on to say: "*all those who immigrate to the capital because of a job. We as well, we left our country to look for our daily bread*". This reinforces the argument of researchers who argue that the movement of

individuals from smaller agricultural areas to a larger industrial area is for the better quality of life, employment, and educational opportunities (Mabogunie, 1970; Kingma, 2001; Sridhar, 2012). Yet, the oppression then led the Kabyles to migrate abroad such as the case of Painter.

While Painter revealed that his migration was triggered by the acts of discrimination that he received in his workplace because of being Kabyle, other participants provided some lived experiences of cultural oppression. Mazigh who was born in Kabylia and grew up in Algiers − an Arabo-Algerian city − reported that talking in Kabyle was forbidden on the street in Algiers.

> I remember when my father and I took the bus from my home to Algiers city centre, when I start to talk in Kabyle, my father asks me to shut up! Don't talk in Kabyle! Leave it for later […] In the past, during the 70s and 80s, it was hard! In the past, it was taboo to talk in Kabyle in Algiers. Never! It was a shame, if you speak in Kabyle even the policeman would tell you, what's this language, shut up! Speak in Arabic! In the past, it was impossible to talk in Kabyle, never! never! During Boumediene presidency, then during Chadli presidency, you must not speak in Kabyle.

The above Mazigh experience suggests that during the 70s and 80s it was hard to display publicly the Kabyle culture because Tamazight was perceived as taboo and inferior compared to the Algerian dialect. Another participant, Fleur de Sable who used to live in West of Algeria, where the majority are Arab speakers said:

> The Arabs built hatred against the Berber especially in the West of the country. I do remember being called by all names by the Arabs, but I never stopped speaking in Berber outside, I wasn't embarrassed, I wasn't afraid.

The restriction of displaying Berber culture outside should not be seen only as a social conflict as it was also more political. During the presidencies of Houari Boumediene and Chadli Ben Jadid, who both showed a strong affiliation to the Arab language and culture, there was structural racism towards the Algerians who claim their Berberness. Thus, the

Kabyles who were paternalized under French colonialism (Forstag, 2008), started to protest the new authoritarian regime by claiming the inclusion of Tamazight in the educational system. The Arab assimilationists were unhappy with the protests and supported the Arabic and Islamic cultural values and claimed that Algerians fought for the Muslim-Arab Algerian identity. The strong resistance and the protests led to the death of some Berber activists, hence, in 2001 the Algerian government recognised Tamazight as a national language, which was upgraded subsequently into an official language in the 2016 constitution alongside Arabic.

6. 1. 2. What attracts Algerian Kabyles to the UK?

Among the ten participants who participated in this research, six have been granted a visa by the British authorities. Thiziri and Fleur de Sable entered the UK with a student visa. Although Tamazight entered the UK to take her post-graduate course, she entered the UK without a visa because she is a French citizen. Tutor and Painter entered the UK and were granted a tourist visa, on the date of their arrival because they migrated to the UK before visas were necessary for Algerians. Only, Musician and Mazigh travelled illegally through France by using false ID. Dahiya joined her husband already resident in the UK through family reunification. Louiza entered the UK as a European citizen because she has been granted Italian citizenship. Surprisingly, although all Kabyles I interviewed have family members in France, six of the respondents had no desire to migrate there. They reported that they are more likely to visit their families but not to live there. Therefore, it seems that the family was not a significant reason for their presence in the UK. Other factors explain Kabyles' reasons for choosing Britain as their host society. The first reason results from the improvement of Algerian migrants' profile. More Algerians, including women, are better educated and skilled people who have more possibility to travel. Unlike the less skilled traditional Algerian migrants who mainly migrate

to France for the lower-skilled job, the new migrants are aware of host societies other than France and they are more likely to speak English. This is the case of Thiziri who commented:

> It's [I choose the UK] because I was in an American company and I have done my studies in English and I worked in English. So, being bilingual hmm trilingual, what interest us is to change because the majority go to France. So, I told myself either I emigrate to Canada or the US or the UK. As I applied to universities, the one which gave me more hope to work after my studies was Aberdeen university.

The post-study work visa is another factor that encouraged Thiziri to migrate. Her working experience in an American company and her familiarity with English influenced her destination country choice. She was not interested to go to France because most Algerians go there. Rather, she was thinking to migrate to other countries such as Canada, the US or the UK. Choosing the university that offered her a talent visa can be interpreted as a strategy to stay after her studies. Thus, this reinforced the fact that her idea of the settlement was pre-planned.

The second reason is the perception that British society is more diverse and tolerant to different ethnic groups and is supported by all participants. To illustrate this, I quote Tutor when he stated in his diary:

> One of the reasons why I have chosen this country is this respect of the other cultures and identities, the fact that diversity is a cultural wealth rather than a source of conflict. In my country, however, cultural differences have been used to divide to rule and that has been the case since the French occupation. After independence, the ruling powers have chosen continuity.

This quotation explains that Tutor chose the UK as a society of settlement due to its multicultural aspects and its tolerance to other cultures. Tutor's narrative regarding multicultural Britain reinforces the claim that Britain supports cultural tolerance allowing ethnic culture and practices to mediate the process of integration (Todd, 1994; Favell, 1998; Bleich, 2005). In Algeria, however, he mentioned that cultural difference is a source of cultural

conflict. This quotation reminds us about the strategy of 'conquer and divide' (Brett and Fentress, 1996; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011), which was adopted by the French coloniser, and which has been enhanced by the Algerian authorities after independence.

The third reason for preferring Britain over France is lack of identity checking as declared by Musician and Axel. Musician, a previous teacher of music, had been refused his first attempts to migrate to France during the black decade. Later, after he obtained his visa from Greece, he revealed that he entered the UK illegally from France, as according to Collyer (2004), clandestine entrance to Britain from France is common to most Algerians. Musician explained his reasons for choosing the UK as follows:

> I have chosen the UK, first of all, because it is a country of human rights and it is a free country. The UK is really different from other European countries. It was the only country where you can work without papers and walk without any checking on the street and the best of it you can have access to social services.

Similarly, when Axel expresses his gratitude to his friend who encouraged him to migrate to the UK, he mentioned the lack of identity control when he said:

> I always thank him [his friend] when he said to me to migrate to the UK, [it] is better than if I went to France […] Here in the UK, you are documented or undocumented, you get a job. Of course, when you are undocumented you have some ways to take but the job you have it. Of course, you won't get easy work but at the end of the month, you get money to pay your rent and save money.

Concerning the the fourth reason, the preference of the UK over France, Musician and Axel reveal that they had more chances to access a workplace despite their undocumented

status compared to other western countries such as France. In addition, they revealed that the UK offers more job opportunities to migrants regardless of their experiences, abilities, and

status. This is reinforced by Dahiya, who revealed that despite her lack of English proficiency, she was offered a job when she said:

> I haven't had difficulty in my job search, because there were a lot of jobs available hmm, in addition, I was working with my Algerian passport […] they offered a job even though at that time my English was poor, wasn't as good as it is now.

The fifth reason for choosing the UK was the concern of the large Algerian community in France. Some of the Kabyles I interviewed expressed the desire to migrate to a place where there are fewer Algerians. This reason was expressed by three participants: Fleur de Sable, Thiziri and Musician. In her diary, Fleur de Sable clearly explains her preference of the UK over France by stating "*My husband once asked me why I chose the UK over France, and my answer was because there is fewer Algerian here"*. Musician, who made his first visit to France, could have stayed in France, but he said: "*I wasn't feeling comfortable, it's not my cup of tea […] as if I didn't leave Algeria, to be honest. The same building, many Algerians, just the flag which is different*". Thiziri also stated "*what interests us is to change because the majority go to France*".

Given the explanation about their reasons for choosing the UK as their destination country, the Kabyle respondents of the current research provided five significant reasons: the improvement of Algerians' profile, cultural tolerance, lack of identity checking, employment availability, and fewer Algerians. Four of these reasons appear to be consistent with Collyer's (2004) findings, who investigated the recent migration of Algerians to Britain. In his study, he argued that the barriers that Algerians faced to enter France forced them to move to the UK for five reasons: work access, lack of identity controls, link to the USA, religious tolerance and lack of official relationship with Algeria.

6. 1. 3. Family and/ or Next of Kin Influence on Host Society Choice

Having family and/or acquaintances in the host society, and mastering the language, may influence migrants' decision about the choice of their host society, which in turn may facilitate their transition. In the current study, at least three of my participants, Mazigh, Axel, Musician have reported that their initial destination country was France because they have at least one member of their family who lives there. Mazigh who migrated initially to France, revealed that his migration was mainly influenced by his uncles, who planted the idea of migration in his mind since he was a boy. Later, the black decade triggered his migration process "*My emigration was also influenced by my uncles […] The black decade was the cause, yes, but I wanted to emigrate a long time ago*". As soon as he had the opportunity to leave the country, Mazigh probably chose initially France as his main destination country because of having a familial attachment, in which his uncles offered him a job and support.

> I went to France, I was with my uncles who helped me a lot […] To tell you the truth, I have never struggled in France. In France, I was living like a king, I had a studio in the heart of Paris, I worked at my uncles' premises … we had a small dispute, then I came to the UK, this was the reason.

Mazigh did not struggle in France, and this may be explained by the fact of being surrounded by his family who provided help and support. However, his migration to France did not last for as long as he planned. Although he had been helped by his uncles, who secured him a job, working in a brewery was not his field of interest. Mazigh reported that his reason to migrate to the UK was due to a disagreement that he had with one of his uncles. Later during the interview, he again expressed the regret of the turn that his professional career undertook due to the black decade when he said, "*The brewery isn't my domain, I came from Algeria with a high hmm an intellectual level and I found myself in a brewery*!"

Mazigh continued to reveal that after his disagreement, he wanted to migrate to Canada again because of his familial attachment to that country. However, he migrated to the UK because it was the easiest destination country that he could enter with a false French ID, and also because he has acquaintances from his in-group members in London.

> I initially wanted to go to Canada as I have my uncle […] But how to go to Canada? I didn't have a visa, so I had to go without paper, it wouldn't be a legal migration. I came here without papers. I came with a fake ID like other Algerians […] I changed my mind to come to the UK because I have many Algerian friends from Algiers who live here.

This shows clearly that his decision about which destination country to choose did not come in a vacuum. However, he was weighing positive against negative, and he chose countries where he has a familial attachment, who in turn would provide him support and a sense of familial environment. Mazigh's choice of the UK was mainly triggered by the fact that the UK was a member of the European Union, which enabled the free movement of EU citizens into the country. The free movement between Europe and the UK was an opportunity for Mazigh who entered the UK with a false French ID. In addition, his choice of the UK was also influenced by the availability of acquaintances from his in-group members in London. This result reinforces Lacroix's (2013) argument that migrants choose their destination country according to job availability and the presence of family members who could facilitate their settlement.

Axel, who never thought that he would migrate to the UK because of his low English proficiency, said: "*I never put in mind that I go to the UK and live there because my English was very bad*". He later applied for a tourist visa because of the encouragement of his friend as he recounted:

> A friend of mine said look, with your status in this [X] company, try to get a visa from the UK, you might get it because you have a good profile. He also said I know someone who can help you.

This suggests that Axel's friend has an influential role in triggering his migration to the UK. Axel added:

> When I get my visa, meantime I tried to improve my English, I tried to get a lot of information about the jobs in the UK generally and London particularly. After I got my visa, I stayed two more months to work and save more money, because I knew that if I come here, I won't come back.

Here Axel seems to use all resources to widen his knowledge about his host society. Axel improved his English language level and tried to familiarise himself with his host society before migrating. Here, it is important to mention that knowing the language of the host society is an important factor for migration, especially for the migrants who have a well-established idea to settle in their host society. Language is a key factor to integrate into the host society in general, and the workplace in particular. Similar to Axel, Musician explained that he gathered information about his host society from the earlier Algerians already resident in the UK prior to migrating:

> Yeah! Of course, because when you've got all this information that there is no checking. Just avoid problems and respecting rules, you will live. That what happened, we've got all this information from those who were already here. We followed their instructions and we succeeded.

This suggests that there is an established social network between the earlier migrants and those who intend to migrate and settle in the same country. The attachment between the earlier and the new migrants may be interpreted as providing help in employment and decision-making. According to Ketterson and Blustein (1997), secure attachment among young adults supports greater career exploration and prevents premature decision taking. The fact Axel and Musician gathered information about their host society prior to migrating, signifies that their migration is a result of the expected benefits in their host society in terms of employment, lifestyle and

checking. Further, when choosing a destination country, individuals take into account not only the traditional socioeconomic factors but also other security factors. This reinforces Czaiker and Kis-Katos' (2009) argument that individual migrants generally choose areas with the largest benefits. Further, it is important to mention that Axel and Musician migrated to the UK because their visa applications to France were not accepted. For example, when I asked Axel why he chose the UK as the main destination country, he responded:

> To be honest my first destination was not the UK; my destination was France. Kabyles migrate to France because we have a colonial relationship, and we don't have a problem with the French language and culture. I tried to go to France three times, but they always refuse my application.

Clearly, Axel's first destination country choice was influenced by French colonial attachment because of his ability to speak the French language and familiarity with the French culture. This reinforces Direcher-Slimani's (1997) argument that colonialism has influenced Algerian migration to France, and Bardak's (2017) argument that France attracts migrants from French-speaking countries. In addition, this quotation reminds us that the language proficiency of the host society is one of the important variables that may facilitate workplace integration (Kingma, 2001) and also contributes to migrants' well-being (Chataway and Berry, 1989; Liebkind, 1993,1996; Nicassion et al., 1986). Furthermore, Axel's quotation above implies that it was difficult to obtain a visa from a western country, including France. Collyer (2002) argued that the restrictions on Algerians' visa application started in 1994 with the closure of all French consulates in Algeria. Thus, the Algerians' asylum application in Britain increased from 1993 to 1995. These visa restrictions were probably linked to the black decade, which led the western countries including France to develop a suspicious resentment towards Algerians. This possible explanation that can be suggested for the rejection of his application, is maybe due to the increasing number of Algerians in France who overstayed their visa. The current

findings suggest that for some respondents, as seen in Axel's and Musician's narratives, the choice of their destination countries, the UK and Greece respectively, was influenced by the French immigration restriction policy. However, this is not a shared experience with the rest of the participants, such as Tutor, Fleur de Sable, Thiziri and Painter who revealed that the UK was their main destination country choice (see section 7. 1. 2).

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted and discussed the reasons behind Kabyles' migration, the role of family and next of kin influence on host society choice, and the reason for choosing the UK as their main destination country. Each Algerian Kabyle who came to the UK has a different motivational factor depending on the period of his/her migration. Thus, I summarise the migration decision among the Kabyle migrants under three categories; (1) the early migrant investigated in the current research, as illustrated by 'Painter', who came at the beginning of the 1980s to flee the cultural oppression, (2) the newly graduated intellectual, who migrated during the political instability in the 1990s to 1997s to escape danger, (3) the category that encompasses the migrants who came after the black decade, who came to seek better education, a better job, better wages and higher standard of living. All these migrants, who possessed different qualifications, left their home country to seek a better life prospect and to achieve their objectives that they were unable to achieve in their homeland. Regarding the destination choice, it is difficult to establish whether all the migrants are still attracted only to the countries where they have social networks and familial attachment. This study shows that this traditional theory is still applicable to some participants such as the case of Axel, Mazigh and Musician. However, it is clear that their decision to choose the destination country entails weighing the benefits. Given the explanations of their motivation to migrate to the UK, the participants

provided five significant reasons: the improvement of Algerians' profile, lack of identity checking, employment availability, cultural tolerance, and the presence of fewer Algerians.

Chapter Seven: Findings, Analysis and Discussion Part 2- Post-Migration: Kabyles' Transition, Social and Economic Integration, and Acculturation

Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth analysis of theme 2−Algerian Kabyles' work experiences in the UK − and theme 3 − coping strategies and social integration, which were identified in chapter five, section 5.3. These themes are analysed in relation to my second research question: (2) What are the coping strategies they adopted to be part of the host society? In this research question, the participants provided information on how they coped with the host society culture and behaviour because migrants may adopt different attitudes and behaviours corresponding to the host society. These attitudes and behaviours are called acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997). In addition, this chapter encompasses participants' perception of their host society and their work experiences in the UK.

7. 1. Algerian Kabyles' Work Experiences in the UK

This theme discusses to what extent workplace integration is considered to be important for my participants. The findings of this theme reveal that having a job is a prerequisite for a migrant to earn money. For example, Axel perceives a job as a prerequisite when he said: "*you can't live in London without work, the condition in our mind is to get a job and save your job and working hard to save some money*". Musician added a comment to the question on how integrating into the workplace is important to him: "*you have to work, if you don't work you cannot move on and go for many things*". However, Fleur de Sable perceives work as an asset to be part of the society, when she said: "*Over ten years ago I wanted to go out and work because work to me is important and it doesn't only mean money it means socialising, getting out and knowing new people and being part of the society"*. This demonstrates that integrating

in the workplace in the host society is an important factor not only to be financially independent but also to be part of society. In addition to the previously mentioned factors that made the UK a magnet destination country to the Kabyle participants (see 6. 1. 2. within chapter six), all the interviewees support the view that the UK is an attractive country in terms of employability, lifestyle, education and safety. Soon after they arrived and explored some places in the UK, the participants entered the labour market and none of them reported any difficulty in finding a job. Participants who were entitled to social benefits preferred working and paying their taxes rather than claiming benefits because they associate asking for benefits to the bad image as 'scroungers', (Fleur de Sable) and 'beggars', (Musician). Only Dahiya and Musician had requested social benefits when they were unable to work because of health issues, however, they went back to work as soon as they recovered.

Many studies underline the importance of exploring the influence of skilled migrants' new professional careers on their level of satisfaction. As Taylor (2008) argued, the type of occupation that people are engaged in has a great influence on their professional identity and self-satisfaction. All participants in this research declared that they developed a new professional career. Thiziri, who migrated in late 2007, was able to resume her studies in Aberdeen and it was important to her to re-establish a new professional career based on her master's degree that she completed in the UK (as explained in section 6. 1. 1. 1 within chapter six). She showed a determination to requalify to work in the field of her interest when she said: "*When I was looking for a job, in my covering letter, I was very precise in my objectives. I was looking for a job that is related to my master's and this is what I have been offered*". Despite the participants reporting that they have easy access to employment in their new society, some of them faced barriers to rebuilding their professional career. For example, Fleur de Sable revealed that she experienced a decline in her professional career by saying "*My job in the UK is not as good as the one I had in Algeria but being in South Wales didn't help either as there*

is no petrol industry around here". Others revealed that their Algerian diplomas were not recognised, as a result hey were obliged to experience a different job. It has been argued that the qualification and work experience are usually devalued in the host society (Cumming et al., 1989), either due to the differences in qualification or to the prejudice, which leads to status loss and risk of stress (Berry, 1997). For example, Mazigh reported that: "*I have never never never worked with my qualification here, I have even a friend who did similar studies as me hmm he is an Aeronautic engineer, he is in Cambridge and he works as a taxi driver!*". Throughout the interview, Mazigh constantly expressed the regret of not attaining the desired professional career because of the political circumstances of the 1990s that obliged him to flee the country, for example when he said: "*I regret not attaining the professional career that I wished to have […] I didn't take the opportunity because of the Black Decade*". Despite the political circumstances of his country, he completed his bachelor's degree at the University of Blida in Aeronautic Engineering. The following quotation illustrates Mazigh's response when I asked him to describe his professional identity:

> In terms of my professional identity, it's inside me, it's in my heart. It hurts me inside. When I meet people, who have a good career, I tell myself I could have been better than them […] Yes! It hurts me inside my heart! It kills me! […] [my professional identity] is not successful [my professional identity] is not successful, it's not my job […] It's not me, although there is a lot of money involved it's not my happiness.

Clearly, the lack of safety and security in the country impeded Mazigh to construct his professional career in his field of interest. Thus, the study suggests that the horrific violence did not only affect the safety of the country and the daily life of Algerians, but also it affected the educated people because of not having an adequate environment to study and to attain an intellectual level that they wished to have. Similarly, the circumstances of Musician's

migration and his irregular status impeded him to construct a successful professional career. When I asked Musician about the professional identity he responded:

> Even I work hard and contribute to my workplace, but I see it as not successful because these are consequences of life, we plan something but then we find ourselves in another way. At that time, I just need a job and apply for it.

The definitions of their professional career quoted above suggest that migrating under certain circumstances such as political conflicts may affect greatly the professional career of the migrant, who might have less opportunity to resume his/her studies. Although Mazigh and Musician have secured a job, they seem not to be satisfied with their professional career because of not being able to work in their field of interest. The black decade caused their departure, which in turn has changed the flow of their professional career, and obliged Mazigh and Musician to follow a different career trajectory other than as an aeronautic engineer and a teacher of music, respectively. Even though Mazigh and Musician found a safer environment, they faced the dilemma in reconstructing a professional career and showed unsatisfactory outcomes due to their irregular status in their early years of migration. In addition, these intellectual Kabyle men still express the shadow of their past that impeded their professional career construction. Mazigh's and Musician's feelings about their unsatisfied professional careers corroborate with the findings of Aycan and Berry (1996), who examined the impact of employment on Turkish migrants' well-being and adaptation in Canada. Their results showed that those Turkish migrants who experience a greater loss in their status were less satisfied with their professional career. Yet, despite their strangeness in their new home, they are motivated to build a new self and to be part of society. In sociological terms, like other participants, Mazigh and Musician seemed well integrated into the British society since their arrival, and they are now documented migrants in full employment as self-employed and cleaning supervisor, respectively.

Regarding participants' employment and wages, Axel stated that his friend, who was already resident in the UK, influenced his migration by telling him: "*if you work as you work now you will get the double*". Similarly, Tutor stated, "*I must admit that it would have taken me years and years [in Algeria] to achieve what I have achieved in this country financially. In that sense, there is a big gap*". Given the job opportunities and higher wages compared to Algeria, it not surprising that many Algerians would prefer to migrate to a country where they have more chances to earn a decent wage. This reinforces Pollard et al.'s (2008) argument that migrants are attracted by low skilled jobs because they earn more money than those workers in high skilled job at home. Participants such as Musician and Axel accepted lower-quality jobs, despite having high skill level, and this was not only because of their irregular status but also because of a lack of language proficiency (Winkworth et al., 2007; Green et al., 2008a; Green et al., 2008b; Damas De Matos and Liebig, 2014; D'Amuri and Peri, 2014) and also their qualifications and experience are not transferrable (Someville and Sumption, 2009; Damas De Matos and Liebig, 2014; OECD, 2017). In addition, their main objective was not only to survive in their new home but also to integrate into the world of work to make a successful social integration (Aycan and Berry, 1996). Despite being satisfied with their salary, which is much higher than the one they were earning in Algeria, they revealed that their work was far from ideal and less satisfying because it was repetitive and uncertain, and they were having long night shifts and working overtime. For example, despite Musician holds a teaching qualification status in music, Musician was not ashamed to work in a restaurant during his early years of migration. However, he revealed that catering is not his field of interest and he felt obliged to work to cover his living expense.

> I worked for the first time in a restaurant, it was okay it was a new job for me new hmm like an opportunity to know this kind of job, I didn't like it because is not my cup of tea, I don't like the kitchen, but I have to.

Similarly, despite formerly working as a manager in an important company in Algiers, Axel did not mind working in a restaurant. The following passage reveals Axel's professional identity in his homeland and host society:

> Although now I am not a teacher, I work in an environment of education. It's a new challenge because I have never done it in Algeria. In Algeria, I was a businessman, where I was counting millions and millions. When I came here, I have experienced the crossing of the desert which lasted four years, in which we were obliged to work in a restaurant. Now, *El Hamdoulillah* [thank god] I am focusing on my new job and I really like it.

Here Axel compares his work experiences in his new society and native country. In Algeria, Axel was enjoying the professional career of a businessman; however, during his irregular status, he experienced what he described as 'the crossing of the desert', which implies that he had struggled (this is further discussed in section 8. 1. 4 within chapter eight). Currently, Axel integrated in a new workplace that he found challenging because it is different from his field; however, he is thankful and looks forward to focusing on his new career. By using the plural pronoun in 'we were obliged', Axel refers to other Algerians, who were obliged to work in the restaurants because of their irregular status. While Musician declared that catering is not his field of interest, Axel proudly reveals that he likes cooking and was promoted to the position of chef de partie because of his hard work and devotion. According to Axel, working in a restaurant involves working under pressure and being exploited. From my analytical view, having his false ID and working in an English company, which contributed to his promotion and improvement of his English, impacted positively Axel's self-esteem. He subsequently started to rebuild himself and became more self-confident when he recounted:

> Little by little, I started to know better how things function. I started to work with my name but with French nationality. I worked in that [English] company for more than a year, and it was there where I got my levels, I started as a delivery driver, then commis chef, then chef de partie and I did even section manager. It's the company which has

> enhanced my level. From then on, I start to be self-confident, I can answer every question in relation to food, hygiene, allergies. Even my English has developed […] Then I jumped to 3 stars and 4 stars.

Even though Tutor did not take his postgraduate degree in engineering, he has a successful professional career. Tutor is a highly educated man with transferable skills and expertise, fluent in both written and spoken French. Hence, when he had been made redundant, his skills were a great help when it came to starting to build his reputation in private tutoring. Tutor recounted that he found another alternative to realise his ambition for teaching and maintained his previous occupational identity. Tutor started to work as a private tutor in physics and maths at a French college where he met students from a different cultural background. However, his migrant status and his Algerian qualification caused him stress when he said:

> The fact of being a migrant didn't make it easy for me, some parents asked me about my origins and the origin of my qualifications, which is understandable, they didn't have to trust me with the future of their children without knowing me or my potential […] behind their mind, they might think that being a migrant might affect the teaching quality and performance of their children […] I was worried about my future in the field because I was a migrant.

In the quotation above, Tutor expresses again the difficulty to integrate the workplace with a foreign qualification as argued by (Aycan and Berry, 1996; Blustein and Noumair, 1996). However, Tutor devoted all his time to teach undergraduate and postgraduate students of physics and maths in order to make them successful and satisfied. Due to his great efforts and his adaption to his workplace, he has gained the confidence of the parents of his students who later showed respect to his cultural and educational background and appreciate his love for teaching. This strategy has enabled him to find a job without the need to abandon his career as a teacher.

Although Dahiya joined her husband as a spouse, she expressed the necessity to work to sustain her husband. Yet, when Dahiya was speaking about her work experience regarding her lack of language proficiency, she acknowledged that English people gave her the most pleasant feeling to learn.

> When I applied for the job, I wasn't speaking English at all, it was just my smiley face and I did get my first job […] In this country it is not difficult to integrate with others, they understand that English is not our language, they will give you the time to improve and learn and even they help you in your language.

Despite her lack of English proficiency, her English employer gave her the opportunity to work and develop her skills. Dahiya's experiences at work and the social world let her feel welcomed and comfortable in British society. In addition, her employer and colleagues' help let her have a positive feeling about British society. In Dahiya's narrative, we can readily understand that the UK society and its local citizens facilitated the development of a migrant who lacks language proficiency to a confident migrant who is able to develop her skill. Dahiya changed from being a newly arrived migrant who sustained her husband to become a migrant with interpersonal skills who seeks social integration and plans for a better professional career. Fleur de Sable, however, is the only participant, who revealed that she experienced a glass ceiling because of her migrant status:

> The only thing I can say about my work is despite in our policy says no discrimination or favouritism, it is only on the papers […] When I applied two or three years ago for a position as an officer, I felt discriminated because they took all British native and they took someone with a lower level than me.

In the quotation above, Fleur de Sable criticises the workplace practice, which according to her did not respect the anti-discrimination policy. She further explained that her application

to become an officer was not accepted. Instead, the position was given to a local person, who is less skilled than her.

7. 2. Coping Strategies and Social Integration

The findings related to this theme are interpreted and discussed in relation to how the participants of this research dealt with the issue of acculturation in order to be part of their new society. The elements that I identified related to this theme included three sub-themes:

1. Adaptation and integration
2. Behavioural change and adjustment
3. Assimilation and detaching from homeland culture

7. 2. 1. Adaptation and Integration

This section is guided by the research question (2) what are the strategies adopted and changes made by the Kabyle migrants to be part of their host society? According to Phinney (2003), cultural change includes a change in customs, economic and political views, while the psychological change includes a change in cultural identity, and Berry et al (2006) added the change in behaviour in relation to the behavioural norm of the mainstream group. The findings of the current study indicate that all participants have a transnational character based on respecting the rules of the host society despite its distinct religion and culture. These migrants have slightly changed their cultural identity but showed behavioural adaptation, which subsequently led them to achieve a successful integration. It is important to recall that the use of the word 'integration' here refers to adapting to the new environment - as used by Berry (1997) - rather than to 'assimilation' as it is understood as in some countries such as France (Sayad, 2004). My findings correlate with Berry et al's (2006) implication that to achieve a

successful integration, migrants should retain their sense of cultural heritage while they seek closer ties with the larger society. For example, when Dahiya was asked the above question, she answered:

> For me integration, we have to mix with others, I have to respect their beliefs and their differences. I have to accept their culture as they accept my culture […] It [Kabyle culture] is part of my identity and then pass it onto the young generation because if we change our culture who's going to be in that culture? Everywhere we go I adapt, there is always this word of adaptation, I adapt but I never forget or leave my culture.

The quotation above indicates that Dahiya has a high involvement in her ethnic culture as well as adapting to the host culture. Like Dahiya, other participants endorse the integration strategy that Painter views as 'paramount'. Thus, the strategy that Kabyle migrants adopted to integrate in their host society clearly coincides with Berry et al's (2006) implication; these Kabyle migrants maintained their cultural heritage, while they established relationships with the larger society. It is also important to mention that although I did not conduct a longitudinal study to explore the acculturation process of Kabyle migrants over time, the data were able to determine that with their long residence, the Kabyle migrants were able to integrate in their host society and develop a sense of belonging. Dahiya also expressed her view regarding marginalisation and separation by saying:

> the worst enemy of emigrants is singling themselves out [pause] making themselves different from others. When I say others, I mean the country where they are emigrated to. The minute they start to single themselves that's it, all their trouble will start.

Here Dahiya strongly supports integration and adaptation; however, she supports less marginalisation and separation (see section 3. 2. 1 within chapter three), which she describes as "the worst enemy of emigrants". Similarly, Mazigh rejects the idea of assimilation when he said: "*I don't need to assimilate [to the UK society], I have my identity, I have my culture. The*

only thing that I do to be part is to respect them". In addition, Painter points out the necessity of speaking English and interacting with the mainstream group by saying:

> We try to be part of the integration. If we come here, I don't try to separate myself from English I like to integrate myself that how it is […] If we come here, we need to respect, it doesn't mean that you have to forget or to leave where you come from! […] When you come here you should not separate from or don't speak to English or don't socialise with British people. You need to integrate; you need to be part of the package.

This quotation indicates that Painter shows a balanced usage of both Tamazight and English depending on the interlocutor (this will be discussed further in section 9. 2. 4 within chapter nine). In addition, he seeks contact from both in-group and out-group. Thus, the study suggests that Kabyles' integration process was achieved through their double engagement in both cultures (ethnic identity maintenance while they adapt to the host society culture and norms), balanced language use and social network contact. I conclude that my findings reinforce the bi-dimensional model of acculturation proposed by (Phinney, 1990; Berry, 1997; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001), who suggested that the process of acculturation involves double engagement in both cultural origin and host culture, the use of both native and host society language and seeking proximity from in-group and out-group. This bicultural acculturation also supports the findings with adult migrants (Berry and Sam, 1997).

7. 2. 2. Behavioural Change and Adjustment

Studies in cross-cultural psychology have demonstrated the important relationship between cultural context and individual behavioural development (Berry et al., 1997). Thus, the second part of the second research question: what are the changes that these Kabyles made to be part of UK society, aims to understand how the first-generation, who had already established their lives in Algeria, then rebuilt their lives in the UK context. Given the complexity of this

question, it has been argued that understanding the acculturation process depends on the social and personal variables that exist prior to migration, post-migration and during migration (Berry, 1997). Thus, the current study started by providing a comprehensive understanding of the push and pull factors of Kabyles' migration (as discussed in chapter six). Regarding the relationship between the determinants of migration, stress and adaptation, Kim (1988) found that migrants experience psychological adaptation problems because of the push factors they experienced in their homeland. Kim's findings contest the findings of this study, which indicate that despite the different push factors that motivated these Kabyle participants to migrate, they showed a smooth integration. This was possibly because adaptation, integration and behavioural change are not only based on the push and pull factors but, as Berry (1997) argued, they also involve personal qualities, and also the interaction between the migrants and the institutions of the host society. In addition to the participants' adaptation and integration strategies previously discussed, the current subtheme 'behavioural change and adjustment' is found mainly among male participants, who indicate the necessity to change and make some adjustment to their behavioural repertoire to better fit in their new environment. Among the five male participants, only Tutor revealed that he experienced a 'culture shock' (Oberg, 1960) or 'acculturative stress' (Berry, 1970) when he said:

> migration affected me at the beginning of my emigration in the sense of certain aspects that I couldn't understand. Obviously, when I came, I found an environment with a culture that I didn't understand properly. Then, it was a bit difficult to socialise because when I start socializing with people, I was a little bit reluctant, I didn't know how they would interpret my reactions. So, in the beginning, it is always complicated in that sense.

In the quotation above, Tutor indicates that at the beginning of his acculturation, he found it difficult to socialise with the mainstream group due to the cultural differences between the countries, his country of origin and his host society. The lack of cultural knowledge usually

results in less positive adaptation (Berry, 1997), and this made Tutor reluctant to seek proximity when he said:

> As years passed, I started to understand their feelings, the way they think, their reactions and I just adapt to that […] Then, I just became part of the whole melting pot and mixture. We need to understand the way they live, the way they behave. I don't really need to change myself but as soon as I understand the way they think, I react accordingly to their common sense. Because when you end up in a different society, there are certain guidelines.

This shows that Tutor understands that he was facing cultural difficulties, which resulted from the intercultural contact. To deal with the experiences that are considered as culturally problematic, Tutor engaged in three coping strategies: (1) understanding the outgroup's 'feelings', 'thinking', 'reaction' and 'behaviour', (2) adapting to the outgroup's way of life, (3) behaving appropriately. The factor affecting Tutor's adaptation in his early stage of acculturation seems to reinforce Ward (1996), who argued that cultural knowledge, group attitudes and degree of contact usually predict less cultural distance and successful sociocultural integration. Drawing on the acculturative stress and adaptation, Tutor's coping strategy seems to be based on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) problem-focused coping, which deals with how to solve acculturative problems. According to Berry (1997), when acculturative stress is coped with, the effects are generally positive. Thus, the fact that Tutor could be part of what he describes as 'the melting pot' and perceives this as positive, we may argue that Tutor's difficulties were moderate and minimal. Other male participants, who did not demonstrate any acculturative stress, reveal that it was easy for them to change their repertoire. For example, when I asked the Musician whether he made any changes to fit in his new society he answered:

> My root didn't change it's just the behaviour which becomes calmer because back home there is some stress, we all are like hot people in any circumstances we get angry but here we learnt to be calm and zen

> you know. We become colder, we take it easy. What we learn here is calming down and take it easy in any circumstances and any situation.

Here Musician explains that even though he did not change his cultural identity, he adjusted some of the previous behaviour that he considered as inappropriate in his new society. The behaviour of 'bad temperament', is shared by other male participants, who also perceive it as not appropriate in their new cultural context. Tutor said:

> I made some adjustments because I realised that there were not adapted to the [British] environment […] certain behaviours are considered normal in our society, but I cannot apply here. For example, if I am in a situation where someone angers me or upsets me, I may react similarly in our society. Although it is wrong, it's considered a normal reaction in our society. Whereas here you need to be more careful if someone upsets me for any reason, I just have to be calm and think of consequences. However, on the whole, I haven't changed anything in my personality, no. Apart from the cultural elements that I added to my personality and identity, I don't consider myself changed a lot in terms of character.

In these quotations, both Musician and Tutor are engaged in 'behavioural shift' (Berry, 1980), 'culture learning' (Brislin et al., 1983) and 'social skills acquisition' (Furnham and Bochner, 1986). According to Berry (1992), such processes encompass 'culture shedding' and 'culture learning' (deliberate abandonment of one's previous behaviour and replacement by the appropriate behaviour), which is known as 'adjustment' process because the changes are made with minimal difficulty (Ward and Kennedy, 1993). In this study, the Kabyle males abandoned their 'bad temperament' and replaced it with the appropriate one 'calm temperament'.

The participants of the current research reported that their acculturation did not pose a problem and their behavioural shift was smooth; however, they reported that they experienced a lack of cooperation with those left behind on their visits back home. As Berry (1992) suggested, on some occasions, the process of behavioural change may be accompanied by 'culture conflict' (incompatible behaviours which create difficulties for the individual). As most of my

participants revealed that they maintain regular contact with their homeland, so it is apparent that those left behind may hold different attitudes towards their behavioural change. Thus, it became important to ask the question of how those back home react to the Kabyle migrants who developed a new cultural behaviour that they acquired in their migratory context. Musician said:

> I think that for them is negative because you cannot cooperate so quickly with them [laugh]. The thing is that they might think that I am influenced by British culture like you've been among some people and you get out. It means that you're not among them anymore this what they think. You've gone, you've gone, you are not one of us.

From this, it became apparent that those left behind hold a negative attitude towards his behavioural change and adjustment, which resulted in cultural conflict. According to Berry (1992), the 'cultural conflict' occurs within the migratory process, where the migrants face cultural stressors with the behavioural norms of the dominant groups; however, the findings of the current study shows that 'cultural conflict' occurs in homeland context, where the Kabyle migrants with the newly acquired behaviour face incompatibility in behaviour with their peers back home. The current findings reinforced Berry's (1992) statement, in which the process of behavioural change among the Kabyle participants is achieved by abandoning their previous behaviour through the processes of 'cultural shedding' and 'culture learning', but their contact with those left behind resulted in 'cultural conflict', which subsequently created difficulty in cooperation and is more likely to interpreted by their peers as assimilation (Berry, 1997). This is reinforced by Tutor who reveals that the cultural conflict is due to lack of tolerance to other cultures when he said: *"The open-minded consider this [behavioural change] as a good addition. Some others, who are slightly more limited in terms of openness to other cultures, consider it as a way of abandoning completely my identity which is not the case"*.

7. 2. 3. Assimilation and Detaching from Homeland Culture

In the current study, the results showed that some of the Kabyles who belong to the post-colonial period, and who have resided in the UK for a long period and married to foreigners, are less likely to be enclosed in their in-group community and subsequently present higher assimilation level. Fleur de Sable is the only participant in the current study who reported that she is partially assimilated into her new society. This is illustrated when she wrote in her diary:

> I believe that if you chose to go and live in a Christian country you have to adopt their culture, traditions and values […] To me I am in this country which I love, I must respect their values […] I don't care about boundaries, I think if someone wants to keep their culture, clothes, language, religion etc better to stay where they came from […] To me, it is hard to maintain the culture because I always ask myself what for? My plan is to never go back to Algeria after my parents will die, so what is the point? […] I see myself as adopting the culture of this country. As I said I left my country with all its tradition and everything […] I didn't leave thirty million behind me to come and associate with them because if you stay within your community, you are not going to move forward, you are going to stay exactly the same. I fled from Algeria to avoid all its culture and its traditions; I don't want to have them here.

Here, Fleur de Sable suggests that migrants should adopt the host society culture. Using Fleur de Sable's words "*I see myself as adopting the culture of this country*", shows that she assimilated to the culture of her host society. Again, in her last sentence in the above quotation when she said: "*I fled from Algeria to avoid all its culture and its traditions, I don't want to have them here"*, reinforces her narrative about her push factor for migration. During the final interview that I had with Fleur de Sable, she said that she is in contact with people from the same migration wave who have more or less the same cultural attitude. This is illustrated when she said:

> I am still in contact with all my colleagues, who I used to work in Hassi-Messaoud. Some are in Scotland, hmm and some are in Bristol […] I have got another one who didn't work with me, she is here, and I met her here. The reason I spoke to her, is the fact that

> she was talking in Berber and she has the same dialect as mine […] Since then we became friends, but she is very westernised, she is like me here, she is not here to hmm to socialise with other Algerians.

This explains that her in-group contact is limited to those who have more or less the same attitude to acculturation because she believes that enclosing herself in her in-group community would impede her progress. Later, Fleur de Sable recounted that she does not impose the Kabyle language and culture on her daughters, rather she gives them the total freedom to choose whether they want to adopt it or not. Fleur de Sable added: "*I will tell you, I don't see them [her daughters] living in Algeria or they will be in contact with Algerians. As they say, they would never drink from my water!*". From this, we can readily understand that Fleur de Sable is unwilling to encourage her daughters to seek proximity from other Algerians because of the fear of adopting a 'narrow-minded attitude' and also of being influenced by the religion. According to Berry and Sam (1997), the acculturation process may be influenced by the age, gender, religion, and socioeconomic status of the migrants. Interestingly, the literature suggests that females are more likely to be at risk for acculturation problems compared to males (Beiser et al., 1988; Carballo, 1994). For example, studies on Asian migrants found that a high level of assimilation is more likely to be found among female migrants than their male counterparts (Tang and Dion, 1999). Similarly, these findings support Berry et al., (2001) who found that boys have better psychological adaptation than girls. Due to the small size of the sample, I am not able to apply such claims to the findings of the current research. However, a possible explanation of Fleur de Sable's assimilation level might be related to her place of settlement. Thus, we may suggest that the degree of assimilation to the host culture may also depend on the place where the migrants settle. In large cities such as London, where in-group members are more available, the Kabyle migrants might retain their cultural heritage due to their contact with their in-group during the different stages of their transition. However, the social networks

might be different for Fleur de Sable who has settled in Wales, where she lacks contact with her in-group members, and she established contact with the mainstream group. Although Fleur de Sable showed a higher level of assimilation compared to other participants, she revealed that she is still practising her culture from time to time for leisure when she said:

> Celebrating '*Yennayer*' was just to show people how we celebrate *Yennayer*, but it doesn't mean that I made a big show-off and looking for the Berber community, No! I did it for pleasure, just to give an idea to the people about my culture and where I came from.

In some cases, assimilating into the host society might not necessarily imply that a migrant abandons completely his/her culture. However, if the migrant shows a certain degree of cultural maintenance, 'partial assimilation' is likely to occur, such as in the case of Fleur de Sable. The terms 'structural assimilation' (high degree of participation and contact) and 'cultural assimilation' (high degree of cultural maintenance) have been employed to refer to acculturation that involves individuals in one culture (Gordon, 1964). Berry (1997) argued that when both forms occur, it results in complete assimilation. However, the findings of this study show that Fleur de Sable's acculturation results in 'partial assimilation' because she showed a high degree of structural assimilation to the host society combined with a low degree of Berber cultural maintenance.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted and discussed the process of transition of a group of Kabyles, as Algerian citizens, to being migrants in the UK. Based on their lived experiences, we may conclude that even though the participants of this study faced challenges and had to rebuild their lives and professional career, none of the participants gave up; they had successfully re-established their lives and they feel now fully integrated into the UK society. The transition of Kabyle migrants involves economic, social and superficial cultural changes. For some Kabyle

participants, their economic changes involved either loss of status or having different employment opportunities, which sometimes demand less skilled and involve long working hours. Their social changes involve maintaining contact to some extent with their in-group members while they seek interaction with the mainstream group. The cultural changes, that are considered as the core of acculturation, involve adaptation to the host society culture while keeping their inherited cultural identity. It also involves the use of both English and Kabyle, and finally, it involves some behavioural adjustment to better fit the host society cultural norms. However, only one female participant showed partial assimilation to the host culture.

Chapter Eight: Findings, Analysis and Discussion Part 3- Psychological Well-Being of Kabyle Migrants

Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth analysis of the fourth theme − challenges and psychological stressors − that was previously identified (see section 5.3 within chapter five). The findings relating to these two aspects are discussed in the light of the research question (3) that aims to examine the challenges that the participants encountered during their pre-and post-migration periods. The findings are also discussed regarding how the barriers they have faced affected their psychological well-being. In this study, psychological well-being includes self-satisfaction regarding the different aspects of one's life.

8. 1. Challenges and Psychological Stressors

The subordinate themes that I identified in relation to this main theme are as follows:

1. The impact of family separation on migrants
2. Loss and illness
3. Trauma and terror
4. The impact of undocumented status

8. 1. 1. The Impact of Family Separation on Migrants

Despite living in a better environment and achieving a successful integration in their new home, these migrants were confronted with other challenges such as homesickness and dislocation. Thiziri, who showed a strong attachment to her family back home, explains that living away from her loved ones is like having a 'hollow'.

> Of course, not having the family around was painful, we would love to have our mother, our brothers and sisters every day. This is what matters the most in an immigrant's life. Not seeing our family as often as we want is a bit difficult […] despite the existence of communication technology such as video calls […] Being away from family is like a hollow that we have in ourselves, but we have to accept it. It's like something empty but we go around it. When we have this feeling of not being surrounded by family, it's at that time that we feel this hollow […] Not having family support when we are ill and when the husband is on a business trip and we need to take care of children, we have to do everything by ourselves and we have to rely on ourselves. If I were in Algeria, my brother and sisters or my mother could have helped me.

Although Thiziri acknowledges that she is fully integrated into her new society – she considers it as her home and has established a successful professional career – the separation from her family is still affecting her well-being. She explains that it is difficult for those living in exile to manage their life during periods of illness without the support of their family. Thus, Thiziri feels lonely and feels obliged to rely on herself. She imagined herself in her homeland, where her experience might have been different, and her psychological state might have been better because she would have received family support. During Thiziri's experience of illness away from her attachment figures, she feels that her state of mind is insecure (See Main, 1999). Thiziri experienced dismissing attachment (See Hesse, 1999), in which she was relying on herself because she knew that the attachment figures are not available. Thiziri continued her narrative:

> The difficulty that I faced is more to do with the adaptation to the weather. As Mediterraneans we are more exposed to the sun, to the happiness of the sun but when there is this mode of winter, we feel a bit depressed and also being far from family […] I would wish to have here my family and better weather, Mediterranean weather and I would say also Algerian food, Berber food, the olive oil, you can't find it in Scotland for example […] I am well integrated and settled, I did my studies, I had my work, I did voluntary work for charities and have my children but there is this side of the family that we never forget. So, migration isn't a problem.

Thiziri expresses the lack of family and also Algerian local products that she cannot find in Aberdeen, such as Kabyle olive oil which is very famous in Algeria for its taste and benefits. Although Algeria has rich natural resources, it does not have the necessary equipment and trade agreements that would enable exportation. This would increase the social capital of the country; it will create jobs and also it would enable the Algerian diaspora to feel at home while being abroad. I share the same experience with Thiziri regarding the local products. I sometimes struggle to find products that we used to have in Algeria. I sometimes bring up to five litres of olive oil because I know that I would never find a similar taste in the UK. Based on these remarks, the current study suggests that the feeling of dislocation does not depend only on important figures such as parents but also it depends on other less important figures, even including the local products of the native country. Similarly, Dahiya attributes her psychological distress to the family separation:

> Another thing as an emigrant, when my family and I are good, I don't feel the distance, I feel like they are in another house or another area but when it comes to an illness, either me who's ill or them, it becomes a different story. Is then the emigration hits you to your head and you think oh I am far, is then I realise the distance. I experienced myself devastation, my granddad was very ill, and I didn't manage to say goodbye […] experiencing such sad event creates anxiety, we are anxious again, and we would think when it is going to happen again […] all those negative questions come to your mind.

This shows that Dahiya feels the distance in moments of illness and/or mourning. Experiencing loss or illness while abroad affect migrants' wellbeing, and they generally develop anxiety and stress because they constantly think when it could happen. Further, they show the anxiety of not being able to say their final goodbyes to their loved ones back home.

Like Thiziri and Dahiya, Mazigh showed a strong attachment to his family and revealed that family separation made him feel 'weak and orphaned'. Despite his successful integration, he

revealed that there is a missing piece of the puzzle that made his life incomplete. This puzzle refers to his 'family' that he intends to join within five or six years.

> The family is very important. Even in our religion, the attachment to your family is stated, if you don't have any contact with your siblings, your mother, your father, your aunt, your uncle, your cousin, you're lost! When I lost my ex-wife, there were more of my family members who contacted me than my friends […] It's in the moments like this that you say the family is very very important […] Maybe it is the loneliness, you are right, you are right. Maybe this loneliness abroad you become sensitive, you become weak. Even though you have a business, you have a home, but you tell yourself something is missing hmm I am not strong, there are times when you don't feel strong. You feel like I don't know you feel like an orphan. Even though we have all these social networks, but you feel the loneliness.

In the early years of his migration, Mazigh did not feel family separation as he feels it now, because he was preoccupied with having a stable life and building a new professional career. As he set about building this new career, and after his ex-wife died, the only refuge that he needed was the family nest, where he would feel secure and supported. We may also understand that the impact of family separation affected Mazigh's psychological state due to the unavailability of his family members during the divorce and the loss of his ex-wife. If Mazigh had been surrounded by his family during his grief and loss, he might have surmounted the situation differently. During these difficult moments, Mazigh needed emotional support from his family who might have been able to lessen his psychological distress.

An interesting feature that emerged in my findings is the 'strange situation' (Bowlby, 1969, 1982; Ainsworth, 2014) (See section 3. 1). According to attachment theory, the relationship between the child and the mother after their separation could result in a strange situation during their reunification. The same result might be found when the individual migrants

reunite with their family after a long stay abroad. This is illustrated in the interview with Mazigh:

> When I went to Algeria, I was chatting with my mother, she looked at me and she stared in my face. Then, I asked her mum are you okay? She said *wallah* [I swear to God] my son I cannot recognise you [laugh of irony] she doesn't recognise me! This was a long ago before the existence of the Internet and these social networks. She said my son, I cannot recognise you, the person who had gone is not the same person who came back. I was like a stranger to her. I emigrate with long hair and I went back with a bald head.

In the above quotation, Mazigh revealed that his mother's reaction made him feel like a stranger because his physical appearance has changed. Similarly, Axel pointed out the strange situation when he reunited with his nephews when he said:

> My nephews were around the age of 4 and 5 when I left the country. So, when I went back to Algeria [pause] I met them again and I told them to come to say hi, I am your uncle. They were worried! they didn't want to come to me, you know as if I am a stranger for them.

The long period of separation between the individuals abroad and those back home resulted in strangeness during their reunification. In other words, a migrant who does not go back home regularly is the most likely to be perceived as different and stranger to others.

As a migrant, who came to the UK to complete my PhD, I have a shared experience with my participants regarding the geographical separation. We feel the distance when important events such as births and/or weddings take place back home without our presence, we feel anxious during the times when one of those left behind becomes ill or has passed away before we had time to say our final goodbyes. As Bowlby (1998) stated, individuals have a disturbed state of mind during the time of loss. Although there are convenient means of communication and transport that enable a continuous familial relationship between transnational migrants and those left behind (Portes, 1996; Zhou and Lee, 2015), a migrant's life is still marked by family

separation. In addition, despite the successful integration and better life that migrants might have, we all miss the family's physical contact. Since the desire for closeness and security are parts of an individual's biological need, separation and loss are the core component of attachment theory (Bowlby, 2005). This study seems well fitted within the attachment theory perspective when it comes to exploring migrants' psychological distress which resulted from the separation of the important figures due to migration. Ainsworth (2014) argues that the separation between a mother and her child results in a disruptive relationship (see section 3. 1). Similarly, migrants participating in this research reported that they faced a disruptive state of mind brought about by geographical and physical separation. The latter is considered to be a risk related to psychological stress. It has been reported that family separation and lack of social support might affect the psychological well-being of individual migrants (Baumeister and Lary, 1995; Organista et al., 2002; Saarez-Orozco et al., 2002; Siriwardhana et al., 2013). Further, Hovey (2000) concludes that family dysfunction, family separation and low-income wages led the Mexican migrants in Los Angeles to acculturative stress, which increased their risk for depression. Thus, he suggested that family closeness and financial resources may decrease the risk of acculturative stress. The findings of the current study reveal that separation from family led some Kabyle migrants to develop an 'insecure attachment' (Main, 1999) such as in the case of Thiziri.

On the other hand, Painter and Tutor, who already experienced family separation when they were students back home, seemed to cope well with the idea of family separation when Tutor said: "*I did miss many events, but it wasn't dramatic for me*". Painter also revealed the following:

> I always used to live away from my family back home […] I was in boarding school and sometimes I would stay two months before I go home. Of course, when I came here, I can feel probably my family is not here, but I had to live my life […] So, I don't have really enough

> time to think about my family. From time to time, I think about my parents, my mother especially but I could handle it, no problem as I said I left home when I was 8 years old.

This quotation reminds us about secure and insecure attachment (See Hesse, 1999; Main, 1999). Thus, the current study suggests that migrants who used to have a secure attachment back home are more likely to experience less pain, such as the case of Painter and Tutor, than other migrants who already experienced insecure attachment, such as Thiziri. Yet, Painter and Tutor, who belong to the dismissive attachment group (See Hesse, 1999; Main, 1999), were less affected by their family separation and tried to find other alternatives to cope with the difficulty of migration. They had a well-established idea that their family figures are not going to be present physically in their everyday life while living abroad, and also they were well prepared psychologically for the hardship that they might face in the host society. As Axel said: "*I can say that I prepared myself psychologically before I came. I prepared myself for the long term, not for the short term*".

8. 1. 2. Loss and Illness

This subtheme emerged in Thiziri, Musician and Mazigh who reported different psychological stress that impacted their well-being. The death of a parent or a beloved one is considered an expected event in people's lives; however, little is known about how the event of loss could affect individual migrants who were unable to say the final goodbyes and who mourned away from the rest of their family. The distress expressed by these participants is related mainly to losing someone close and experiencing the illness of someone close. When I asked Thiziri what is the hardest experience for a migrant, there was first an uneasy silence settled in Thiziri and then she started crying. Her reaction obliged me to find suitable words to carry on the conversation. I said she is not obliged to talk about it if she does not feel comfortable. I thought

she was going to end the interview, but instead, she answered: "*death*". Then she carried on the conversation by explaining the impact of losing someone close while being abroad.

> After two years of my migration, my mother had passed away. So, I haven't had the time to see her that year […] It's a great sorrow because even two years later I couldn't believe it! […] it went so quick, so it was very very hard to live with [tears] sorry [tears]. Well, I would say that we accept more the death of someone when we are home but not when we are far, especially the fact that we haven't had the chance to see each other before. So, it makes it more difficult to deal with.

Thiziri's experience showed that losing someone close has impacted her psychological well-being. She explained that her disbelief and despair were because she was not physically present when her mother died. This is to say that migration negatively impacts migrants well-being in events of loss and death. Although death is still a bitter experience whenever it occurs, experiencing loss while surrounded by members of the family and receiving emotional support from others, may lessen the pain. Similarly, Musician, who experienced the loss of his uncle during his irregular status, provided the following account:

> Oh, emotion, emotion, emotion, never forget that day and I will not because it's something which is deep in my heart and I cannot forget it. He was like a brother, like a friend, my idol [pause] suddenly, at midnight on Friday [pause] I received a call from my mum she said your uncle passed away, I couldn't believe it, I couldn't believe that day. I was just felt down, down, emotionally down. When I heard that I was on the train working, I just locked the door and sit down for two hours […] The thing is when knowing that you haven't got your papers in your hands, that's the killing [pause] I've just felt like without legs.

Employing Musician's words 'felt like without legs', means that Musician was immobile and was unable to travel because of his irregular status, which subsequently reinforced his grief. It has been argued that the loss of attachment figures can lead to mental disorder (Carlson et al., 1995; Cicchetti et al., 1995; Main, 1999). Indeed, separation from – and loss of – attachment figures do not put all people at risk of depression. However, the loss of a loved one might affect

the psychological well-being such as in the case of Thiziri, Mazigh and Musician. This reinforces Bowlby's (1969/ 1982) argument, who noted that the attachment system is alarmed during times of danger and loss. Further, the inability to attend the funeral and be surrounded by their family during times of loss, such as the case of Thiziri and Musician, left them with a sense of loneliness and reinforced their grief. Thus, Thiziri's and Musician's grief may be understood in Bowlby's (1998) stages of mourning: paralysed, shocked and disbelief, followed by despair and homesickness.

Mazigh's declared that 'he has never struggled in France', this may insinuate that he struggled somewhere else. Thus, I followed up the data by asking him whether he suffered elsewhere, Mazigh responded promptly:

> In England yes [I struggled]. My divorce, my divorce which made me back to zero! You know how the law is in England. Here, if you share a house with your wife, it's the husband who should leave the property. […] she also obtained the custody of our son but when she was unable to take care of him, she gave me the custody […] I separated from my ex-wife in 2010, but since then there were good times when we stayed friends, there were times where we were arguing […]but I felt the real separation when she died. It becomes dark, the divorce, then her illness. She discovered her cancer after our divorce, then we went back together after the divorce, I lived with her for 3 years. Then, we started to have a disagreement, then I decided to leave home forever. She wanted me to stay, but it was late.

It is not surprising that Mazigh's turning point above is related to his post-divorce period and the loss of his ex-wife. The divorce of Mazigh resulted first in a 'well-functioning binuclear family' and then it turned into 'emotional divorce' (Graham, 1997). The former refers to the well-established relationship between the spouses during the post-divorce, and the latter refers to the recognition that there will be no future between the two spouses even though they are attached to each other. In the quote above, Mazigh highlighted that he maintained a friendly relationship with his ex-wife, which revived their hope to be together again. Mazigh claimed

that it was not until her death that he realised that they are separated, which negatively affected his psychological well-being and happiness. Nevertheless, in Mazigh's case, being unable to forgive himself for not returning to his ex-wife while she was alive was not the only challenge; another challenge was the disruptive effect of the divorce that led him to move out of the home they jointly owned (Feijten, 2005). Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen (2008: 507) stated that "Separating means that some have to find new housing that meets the needs of the new situation and that others will stay in the matrimonial home". In the dissolution of a marriage, the first perspective concerns who to remain in the matrimonial house and who is going to have the custody of the children. Mazigh's describes his post-divorce situation as being a social loser and marginalised man because his divorce led him to leave the matrimonial house, while his ex-wife stayed in the matrimonial home. Mazigh's psychological stress might be reinforced by his traditional attitude about divorce that might be influenced by his cultural background, in which the men are more likely to be the winners. For example, in Algerian culture, when a divorce occurs the wife should leave the house even if she contributed to buying it because it is most common that the house is under the name of the husband. Algeria's Family Code permits the wife to stay in the marital house between three months to two years until the divorce process ended (Ait Zai, 2011). However, in the UK the legal framework allows the woman to stay in the matrimonial house even if the family home is in the husband's sole name. The wife has the rights of matrimonial home under the Matrimonial Homes Act 1983 until the court grants a Decree Absolute in her divorce. Until then the husband cannot make her leave the matrimonial home if she can prove that she lived with the husband while she was married to him, and she continued to live there despite the breakdown of their marriage. In addition, the husband cannot sell the home without the wife's consent (Border and Moir, 2004). Further, the custody of children usually goes to the mother (Chan and Halpin, 2005). A suggestion that might be drawn from Mazigh's psychological distress is that his

attitude to divorce is bound up to his cultural background, which indicates gender differences between men and women. Thus, Mazigh may perceive the rights given to divorced women by the UK legal framework as violating his traditional gender role.

8. 1. 3. Trauma and Terror

The narratives of this theme comprise the consequences of the black decade and cultural oppression previously discussed in sections 6. 1. 1. 4 and 6. 1. 1. 5. Although everyone's experiences are unique, the Kabyle participants expressed in many crucial ways the difficulties when experiencing violence. Although they struggled to establish a new self, and later they adjusted more smoothly to their new society, the participants of the current study still remember the consequences of the violence of the past. Musician, who already revealed that his migration was caused by accumulated facts, including the period of political instability, still expressed his anger and sadness by saying:

> I'll say it loudly that they took our youth [pause] from us. During that decade we lived it black, it was horrific, they terrorised us. We were around our 20s-27, we were in our flowerage. The time to improve ourselves, to find a nice job, to give back to our country and to raise it but we find ourselves just hiding, protecting ourselves from death, at that time we didn't know who's who. It's really affected me and traumatised me [pause] I've seen many dead people.

According to Papadopoulos (2005: 35), 'political violence generates an overall climate of insecurity, unsafety and instability which adversely affects the entire fabric of society'. In Musician's quotation, we understand that the political violence did not only affect the stability of the Algerian society but also it affected Musician's career progress. He expressed regret and anger when invoking the topic of his professional career, despite his successful integration into his new society. From this, I may suggest that I discovered two different Musicians; the one who is happy with his life in the UK, and the other Musician who is still affected by the trauma

which resulted from the political violence. Musician's account appears to suggest that the impact of the terror was connected to the barrier of constructing a prosperous professional career, especially his professional identity as an intellectual. While Musician and Mazigh lived through the black decade, other participants – such as Painter and Tutor who left Algeria before the period of terrorism, and Dahiya who left Algeria before the terrorism became intense – seem to have been very concerned with what was happening in Algeria from abroad. Although they were personally out of danger, they expressed their worry about the safety of their families left behind. Dahiya, for example, revealed the following:

> For me as an emigrant, I was frightened to go back to Algeria during that time because we land in Algiers. It was scary, especially with the flights which arrive late in the evening and they impose us curfew […] At that time, it wasn't safe to go back to Algeria and it was scary because anything could happen. I was taking the risk when I was going there, all the risk I was taking was for my loved ones, if I didn't have my family there, I would avoid going […] When I came to the UK, I heard that they started to spread to Kabylia. Then I panicked because I've got my parents there, I've got my family there.

Here Dahiya explains how it was dangerous to go back to Algeria during the black decade. However, her love for her family did not impede her from going back even during the period of terrorism. Further, she expresses her concern about her family back home, especially when terrorism started to spread to some villages in Kabylia. Similarly, Tutor who expresses his concern about his family, says he kept updating about the events: "*I was probably out of the danger, but my friends and my family were endangered. So, it's probably harder when you are far away, and you can't do anything. You just have to watch on the news what is happening*". This shows his transnational character because he developed a diasporic consciousness about those left behind and the future of his country. Further, he revealed that the period of terrorism had lessened his visits to Algeria when the violence was intense, and he avoided the main cities.

> I only went back once things settled down and it became much safer. After the events, big cities were still not very secure. For this reason, when I go to Algeria, I avoided them, and I always go to Kabylia where I feel comfortable […] we do feel secure mainly when we go to small villages.

Similarly, Fleur de Sable and Thiziri decided not to go back to Algeria for the sake of their children who can easily be noticed as foreigners. Thiziri expressed her worry to take her children back home when she said:

> My children are Anglophone, so on one side, with all what's happening, I worry to take them there. I am worried to go and then find myself kidnapped because I have friends who were traumatised because they have been attacked by a group of terrorists in Bejaia Town Centre because the mother is French, and the father is Kabyle.

Thiziri's statement about limiting contact with her homeland is mainly due to the external force that resulted from the black decade (this is further discussed in section 9.3.2 within chapter nine). We may suggest that the aftermath of the black decade has implanted the lack of safety and trauma in Algerian migrants, particularly those married to non-Algerians, as they are more likely to be exposed to the danger because of being foreigners. Thiziri is reliving a traumatic feeling of her friends' experience; expecting to be also kidnapped by terrorists if she went back to Algeria. She expresses the sense of being close to danger if she continues to go back to Algeria with her children.

Those who experienced the black decade either from near or far cannot erase the horrific period from their memory. While the black decade was a concern for all Algerians, the Kabyle group, however, experienced another turning point that affected not only their culture but − for some − it also affected their psychological well-being. Axel, who was an aid trainer at the Red Crescent during the cultural riots in 2001, shared his experience of traumatism.

> One of the turning points in my life was related to our culture in 2001, something that I would never ignore in my life. I witnessed two

> people dying between my hands [pause] among the 128 Kabyles who died during the riots, two died between my hands [pause] at that time I was first aid trainer at the Red Crescent. I have been traumatised for six months. At that time, to sleep, the light should be on, and it shouldn't be quiet, I use to put the radio on. I have been traumatised for six months! Every night when I sleep, I always wake up at 3.14 am […] From the place of the incident to my home is only 25km, I could go by walk but within eight months, I went there only twice. In addition, in 2001 there was no psychological care, there was nothing.

Axel described the turning point that he experienced during the time of cultural conflict. This quotation indicates that Axel's witnessing the death of two people during the riots of 2001 impacted severely his psychological well-being. According to Papadopoulos (2005) trauma occurs when people experience oppression, violence, or were close to death, which then might become engraved in the 'psychological world' of the victim. Seeley (2008) argued that the psychological effects of violence are more harmful than natural disasters because they are caused deliberately by other individuals. In Axel's case, his traumatism resulted mainly from the Berber riots of 2001 and reinforced by concrete factors such as the lack of psychological care provisions. Although the black decade and cultural oppression are not the only determinants that caused the premature departure of some Kabyle migrants, the study suggests that these push factors are among the main reasons that caused severe consequences on their psychological well-being. It appears reasonable to suggest that trauma among migrants may occur during the time of their departure from their homeland to the host society, such as the case of Mazigh and Musician; however, the traumatic experiences may also occur well before the arrival to the host society such as the case of Axel.

8. 1. 4. The Impact of Undocumented Status

Three of my participants; Mazigh, Musician and Axel, revealed clearly that they used to be undocumented during their early years of migration. Mazigh initially went to France on a student visa, then in 1996 he entered the UK with a false French ID. After one year and half of

staying in the UK irregularly, Mazigh regularised his status through family reunification as his wife had British citizenship. Similarly, Musician had been issued a Schengen visa from Greece, from Greece he flew to France, then he entered the UK with a false French ID. Under the program of the UK's 2013 immigration policy, which provided amnesty for those undocumented migrants who stayed in the country for over twelve years (Workpermit.com, 2018), Musician was able to regularise his status by applying for the indefinite leave to remain in 2013, which he was granted in the same year. In 2018, the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, suggested the Home Secretary making amnesty official, to allow undocumented migrants to work and pay taxes, the Home Secretary. However, Prime Minister Theresa May, said that the UK has no intention to grant an amnesty to the current irregular migrants because it would encourage illegal migration to the country. The rules have now been changed, and to be allowed to stay in the country, the undocumented migrants will need to stay at least 20 years (Workpermit.com, 2018). Axel, opted for a false French ID after he overstayed his tourist visa, which he had been granted by the British authorities in 2013. In 2017, Axel was able to regularise his status through family reunification with his French wife.

Throughout the whole interview, Mazigh did not seem to be affected by his irregular status. The only thing he mentioned is: "*There is no difference between when I was without papers or with papers. The only difference is that you cannot travel but for me, it was only for one year and a half*". From this, we may suggest that Mazigh's irregular status seemed not to impact him psychologically because it did not last long compared to Musician and Axel, who were undocumented for fourteen and four years, respectively. When I asked Axel to describe his experience as an undocumented migrant, he describes the UK as 'not a piece of cake' when he said:

> I remember when I got my visa to come here, people were asking me what is your feeling to go to the UK? I was happy of course but I remind

> myself that I won't find a piece of cake ready when I arrive at Heathrow. It's not a piece of cake, I knew it, I knew it.

Although migration was his deliberate choice, Axel knew in advance that he would face other challenges. Yet, his awareness of the possible challenges that he might face did not affect his determination to migrate because he was prepared psychologically. When Axel was describing his irregular status, he added:

> when you stay here without papers, you always feel afraid of losing your job. For example, migration services [might] come to your workplace or someone under investigation. Sometimes, when you got in trouble with someone from Europe or another country, you cannot fight with them. You know Algerians get tempered very quickly, but we have to calm ourselves because we are not documented.

The above quotation shows that Axel's concern had more to do with the possibility of losing his job, because if an incident happened it would be difficult for him to find another job due to his irregular status. Another concern is related to his inability to defend himself in a situation of disagreement with another documented migrant, fearing the disagreement would involve the police, who eventually would ask about his ID. Similar to Axel, Musician expressed the idea of 'let it go' by saying:

> We have to avoid as much as we could. Even sometimes if it's your right but how can you face your right when you're undocumented?! What are you gonna represent?! How are you going to defend yourself?! So, you just let it go. Now, it's another story, when you are documented, whatever it is, if you have the right you have to fight for it. There is a law, you cannot just let it go!

From these testimonials narrated by Axel and Musician, we may suggest migrants' acceptance of humiliation and/or oppression is characterised by the idea of 'let it go' during times of disagreements because of their irregular status. In Algerian society, when a man defends himself in a situation of disagreement with another man, this is usually interpreted

as being virile and macho. However, if he does not react, he is seen as effeminate and weak. We may suggest that irregular status affected and weakened Axel's maleness, in which he is obliged to put aside his accustomed attitude and manhood, and he thinks more about his situation than he would think of his gender character. As the interview progressed, Axel continued to describe his work conditions when he was undocumented:

> I will tell you another one, when I started to work my English was bad, my first experience was in an Algerian restaurant […] we agreed on £5 per hour from 8 am to 5 pm, we were earning £40 per day. When the months progressed, we start at 7 am and we finish sometimes at 6 pm or 7 pm during busy periods but the wages still the same. Further, I realised that he was paying me £3.50 per hour and not £5 as we agreed. He knows that I couldn't complain because I was irregular. It means that he exploited me. Some Algerians prefer to employ other Algerians not because you are an Algerian but because they pay them less. Further, they know that if there will be any problem the employee cannot complain because he's without papers. Actually, it is exploitation but it's good for us at least we have a job because we haven't had the right to work in this country and also, I didn't have the choice because I haven't had where to go.

This quotation shows that the absence of familial and linguistic connection to the host society made Axel's settlement more stressful and complicated. This reinforces Lacroix's (2013) argument that the presence of next of kin in the host society facilitates migrants' settlement. According to the 2016 UK Immigration Act, it is against the law to employ someone without a regular status, because it is the responsibility of landlords, bank, and employers to check that those using their services are legally in the country (OECD, 2017). It is beyond the scope of the current study to evaluate legally the behaviour of Axel's employer; however culturally it may be interpreted as an act of help and solidarity between in-group members abroad. Yet, Axel reveals that when Algerians employ other Algerians it is less likely to be as an act of solidarity, but rather they provide employment to less-skilled and undocumented migrants for low-paid salary. Although Axel describes his employer's behaviour as 'exploitation' (and elsewhere in the interview as 'a new version of slavery' when he said: "*When I came, the*

manual jobs were available, and it was a bit easy to work without papers but it is like a new version of slavery […] during Christmas, we work up to 18 hours a day"), he acknowledged that at least he provided him with a job that by law is forbidden due to his irregular status. Thus, we may understand that at some point in the quotation, Axel was implicitly grateful for his employer, who offered him a job. However, during this time, his psychological well-being was affected because he developed psychological stress manifested in the form of uncertainties and ambiguity (Aycan and Berry, 1996: Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Further, Axel was overcome with nostalgia for his way of life that he used to have in Algeria:

> Sometimes, I ask myself, I left what I left in Algeria, I left my work […] I had my own office in the company and behind the door, I have two secretaries and a private driver. These are not given to anyone in Algeria. Of course, without forgetting I left my family […] I left all these to find myself being exploited.

Then he continued to reflect on the lack of sympathy from his in-group member. When he was undocumented, Axel was spending his nights on a small bench, regretting his transnational life compared to the comfortable life and good job conditions that he used to have in Algeria.

> I spent 12 days in a restaurant of an Algerian guy from Algiers, I used to sleep on a bench of 45cm wide and 1m50 long [pause] I was sleeping on a bench [irony laugh] and I wasn't using it for free!

Despite the social barriers, at least in Algeria, he had a job adequate to his qualification, a comfortable roof over his head, and he was surrounded by his family. However, being abroad and undocumented, he found himself with no appropriate accommodation and being exploited by his in-group members. The fascinating feature of Axel's story is his deep sense of hope when he said: "*what makes me always standing, it was the job, we are hard workers*". Clearly, Axel's ambition is to have stable work, which would enable him to earn his living. At the end

of the interview, I asked Axel how he currently would describe himself compared to before. He responded:

> Currently, I am a full citizen, with all rights and duties that I have, I feel I am a citizen […] Before, I was nothing [pause] before [pause] even I have my rights as a human, but I couldn't claim them [pause] people exploit us, I was quiet [pause] hmm we were oppressed, I was quiet. All this because we don't have that piece of paper! [pause] it's just a piece of paper. Without that paper, we had our hands tied.

This adds the idea that Axel's irregular status did not only impact his psychological well-being, but it had also impacted his human rights, in which he describes himself as being 'nothing' because he could not complain about his rights when he was exploited and experienced oppression. However, currently, his legal status enables him to apply for a job, walk the street without the fear of the authorities, and exercise his daily activities as a full citizen. Axel ended his description of his irregular status by saying: "*the situation of an undocumented migrant is like having balls suspended with a thin rope, which might fall on us at any time*". Musician, who was in a similar situation as Axel, described his anxiety as following:

> It was hard for me to be away and far from my family because it was like gambling, I didn't know if I go back or stay here. The worse idea that kept my mind is the worry to lose someone in my family and that what was happened in 2009, when I lost my uncle. I could not go to his funeral and I am still feeling pain and sadness.

Here Musician described his irregular status as an act of 'gambling' because he was uncertain about his future. From Musician and Axel's shadowed lives, we may argue that they experienced multiple consequences as a result of their undocumented status. Although these participants seemed well integrated, they were irregular in the eyes of the law. Suarez-Orozco et al. (2011) examined the experiences of children and adolescents who are growing with undocumented parents in the US. They reported that undocumented parents are usually exploited at work, they work in poor conditions and at illegally low wages. In addition, despite

the human rights offered by the democracy, undocumented migrants cannot dare to report unacceptable working conditions or treatment because of the fear of being fired or reported which may lead to their deportation. The current study suggests that undocumented migrants develop psychological distress not only related to the difficulty to access employment, housing and other social services, and fear of being deported but also feeling daily the anxiety of losing one of their family left behind (Van Ecke, 2007).

Conclusion

This chapter examined and discussed the participants' psychological well-being. The findings reveal that factors such as family separation, loss and illness, the trauma of the past and the irregular status are the main stressors. Thus, we may suggest that our findings are consistent with the studies conducted by (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Hovey, 2000; Organista et al., 2002; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002; Siriwardhana et al, 2013), who identified family separation as a source of psychological distress. In addition, the current findings reinforce the argument that attachment to some figures such as parents and peers contributes to life satisfaction and lower psychological stress (Karcher, 2011; Abubaker et al., 2014; Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2014; Laghi et al., 2014). In addition, the current study demonstrated that the absence of emotional support during events such as loss and illness were invoked as major concerns. However, the study found that some participants still show persistent painful memories which resulted from the violent conflicts of the past that occurred in their homeland and which appeared to function as a form of trauma and terror. It is noteworthy that the participants who suffered from traumatic events had received scant psychological care. The latter may have an important role in helping individuals to minimize the impact of violent conflicts related to trauma on their psychological well-being. Furthermore, the undocumented migrants attributed their

psychological distress to their undocumented status, during which they appeared to live in ongoing anxiety and uncertainty.

Chapter Nine: Findings, Analysis and Discussion Part 4- In-group, Cultural and Homeland Attachment

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of themes 5-9: relationships with in-group members in transnational space, activities bridging cultural maintenance in diasporic space, transnationalism and homeland contact, transnational activities and cross-commitment and the idea of staying, returning, or looking for a new home, which were previously identified in section 5.3 within chapter five. The findings are discussed in the light of the fourth research question, which explores participants' attachment to their diasporic community, culture and homeland. In addition, it explores participants' relationship with their in-group members and the activities they practise to maintain their culture.

9. 1. Relationships with In-group Members in Transnational Space

The results related to this theme are discussed in light of the sub-question of the fourth research question of this study (4- A) What is their relationship with their in-group members? Within this theme, I identified two subthemes:

1. Help and support
2. Jealousy, competition, and sabotage

9. 1. 1. Help and Support

The findings indicate that the relationship between the participants of the current research and the earlier migrants is shaped by the interplay of shared ethnicity and culture. Based on participants' narratives, the study indicates that in the early years of their migration, the participants acculturate by primarily seeking proximity from their ethnic group, with limited

involvement with the mainstream group. This is illustrated by Musician when he said: "*You know migrating from one place to another, it always people from your tribe or people from your place who give you a hand to make your own way*". This separatist strategy, however, is not adopted during the whole process of their acculturation, as Painter said: "*you need to integrate, you need to be part of the package*".

The results of the current study show that earlier migrants usually assist the participants in their accommodation and job search, "*I met a chap from Azazga, an Algerian Kabyle, who gave me the address of the agricultural camp, this how I went to work in the agricultural camp*" Painter. Similarly, Musician, Tutor and Axel expressed their appreciation of similar hospitability. In the Algerian culture in general, particularly Kabyle culture, a person from the same village may feel obliged to accommodate the new migrant for a few weeks until the newcomer may depend on themselves. Tutor reported being accommodated by his Kabyle acquaintances for a few weeks. Later, however, not to abuse their hospitality, he did his best to find a job to become independent and rely on himself:

> we have been received by our friends because obviously they have a much better idea and they acted as a guide for us […] The fact that when we arrived here, and we went straight away to the place where to stay [...] From the second week, we started to be autonomous […] also those people are from the same cultural background. It was great support and company of course.

Interestingly, Axel revealed that he is still providing help for newcomers in their social and economic integration:

> Some Kabyles in London what we tend to do between us is to help other Kabyles to find a job. For example, if someone is looking for a job, I won't suggest him directly to go to someone. I would ask what kind of job, which place and his qualification […] we help each other for work and accommodation. As I found people who helped me when I came here, so today there are others who may need my help.

This illustrates how the relationship between the earlier and new migrants is shaped by the motivation to help the integration of the newcomers. Axel's motivation is to enable newcomers to avoid the difficulties that he experienced. Further, Axel declared that the contact he made from Algeria and the information provided to him about jobs availability and accommodation were useful. This experience is not unique to Axel, other participants −and also in my own experience − report that there is a social network among Kabyles living in the UK. The earlier migrants provide a source of information to the newly arrived Kabyles about the support available in the host society.

Generally, the male participants of the current study reported that their first jobs were suggested by earlier Algerian migrants, generally from their native village, Kabylia. This solidarity between the new and the earlier migrant may be interpreted as ethnic attachment and solidarity. Thus, we may suggest that earlier Kabyle migrants' desire to help their co-ethnic compatriots is influenced by a sense of ethnic solidarity and attachment to their inherited cultural values. However, this ethnic solidarity does not extend to all stages of migration. Except Axel, other participants do not seek to maintain regular contact with their community; instead, their sense of ethnic attachment and help is likely to be found at the early stage of their migration, and online.

Fleur de Sable is the only female participant who expressed appreciation for the support that she received from her Kabyle friend. She wrote in her diary: "*When I was studying, I stayed with my friend who is Kabyle married to an English man. I felt happy to have someone who can help me when needed*". An interesting point that emerged in the current study is that the support between the Kabyle migrants is mainly found amongst men. The Kabyle female participants who came to the UK are generally dependent on their spouse or were a student. Hence, they encounter fewer challenges compared to their male counterpart, who are generally single and/or undocumented, and face barriers in finding a job and/or accommodation. Dahiya,

who joined her husband Painter, had a different attachment figure compared to Fleur de Sable, who came as single woman. Thus, Fleur de Sable sought proximity from her in-group community to assist her in the early years of her migration. Further, the study reveals that some Kabyle migrants are willing to provide emotional support such as Painter, who revealed that he moved to Cardiff for few months to provide emotional support to his friend, who lost his wife "*I moved to Cardiff, there was a friend of mine from my village […] who lost his wife. So, I went to provide him support […] once, I know he was okay, I came back to London*".

9. 1. 2. Jealousy, Competition and Sabotage

While the ideology of support is found in Kabyle migrants, some intergenerational tensions appear to be also found. Axel's and Tutor's narratives show that their relationship with some other migrants is based on jealousy and competition. For example, Tutor was fired from his work because of sabotage from his colleague:

> I did notice among migrants like me or second-generation migrants, they have a competition in mind. Is like they always want to know who's the other and where is he coming from. To try somehow to compare themselves to them and see how successful they are compared to them.

Similarly, although Axel acknowledged the relationship of help among his peers, he reported intergenerational conflict among Kabyle migrants:

> I noticed that there is a certain conflict between the new generation and the old one. From my own experience, I noticed that the new generation migrants like me came here with a clear idea and have been well informed about how the system works. Of course, the new generation works first in the kitchen but once they develop their English, after two to three months he would change to another job. However, the previous migrants who have been here for thirty years would stay four to five years in the same job.

The conflict that exists between the earlier and the new migrants is based on employment competition. According to Axel, the newcomers do not work in catering for a long time compared to their earlier peers. He links the difference between the two groups to the knowledge about the host society that the newcomers receive prior to migrating. This can be interpreted as a form of jealousy because the fresh migrants shift to better work and pick up the host society norms more quickly, which in turn enables them to rebuild a better professional career in a short time. The long duration of work in restaurants among the old generation made their integration slower. Further, Axel reported the tensions that exist between the documented and undocumented migrant. He was obliged to move out to a new accommodation because of a threat he received from his diasporic peer.

> I remember when I was living in a house with other Algerians, one of us who has a student visa, he menaced us to bring the police. Then we left the house and run away because we were afraid to be arrested. The second day, I found a cheap room in the centre of London, but I gave it to my Kabyle friend because he has health issues.

This exemplifies the relationship between the documented and undocumented Algerian migrants, and that within migrant groups there are strong and weak. The legal migrant is in the dominant position, who can deliberately obstruct the future of the undocumented migrant for his advantage. The quotation suggests that even Axel's accommodation was affected by the incident, he decided to give his new room to his friend quoted above. This again illustrates the act of solidarity and compassion still exists amongst some Kabyles abroad. Concerning the social network of Algerian migrants, Axel deplored the lack of support from Arabo-Algerians regarding the undocumented Kabyle migrants:

> It happened to me to witness '*lahqer*' [oppression] from other Algerians. When I was working in an English company, there were many Algerians working there. There was a misunderstanding between a Kabyle and an Arab speaker, that Arabo-Algerian has his citizenship. He menaced the Kabyle who is irregular, he told him if you don't do what I am telling you

> to do, I am going to report you to the police! Do you imagine this? […] I felt '*lahqer*' [oppression], if we receive this [menace] from a British or a French, it's okay because we are in their homes, but it hurts and becomes worst when it comes from someone like you. Is someone [an Algerian] who normally should help you and not push you in the hole.

Axel recalled the attitude of the legal Arabo-Algerian migrants towards the undocumented Kabyle migrants, which he described as '*lahqer*', a Kabyle word, and/ or '*el hogra*' an Algerian colloquial word which refers to oppression (Roberts, 2003). Axel expressed a feeling of deception and anger at the Arabo-Algerian who threatened the irregular Kabyle migrants. According to Axel, Algerian migrants should support and help their peers whatever their status and/or cultural background. He added that the act of oppression would be more accepted by the outer group than being received by his Algerian peers. The phrase '*because we are in their homes'* implies that Axel perceives himself as a guest in his host society, even though later he made a successful integration.

Another testimony related to this subtheme; Tutor described indirect sabotage by the Algerian authorities who, according to him, did not assist the former Amazigh association. Because of his long stay in the UK and his high degree of attachment to his culture, Tutor was an excellent participant to talk about the former Amazigh cultural association which I knew nothing about, and this was reinforced in Dahiya narrative when she said: "from *1995 to 2015, I haven't heard about any cultural celebration. When I recreated the current association in 2016, it made me proud of myself*". According to Tutor, the former Amazigh cultural association started in the 1990s, was more active and attracted more audiences than the current one; however, it ceased to operate in late 1995. He was an active member in both former and current associations, in which he participates as a singer. Tutor reported that the main reason which led the former cultural association to cease to operate, was the lack of help from the Algerian consulate:

> Well, it [The former Amazigh cultural association] was not accepted by the Algerian authorities here because it's an independent association and purely cultural, we had no political affinities […] We haven't been encouraged by the Algerian consulate in England hmm in the sense that they wouldn't accept us putting our adverts when we had an event or something. We haven't been allowed to put our posters at the consulate when we were organizing something. They were saying things like why you called your association Amazigh association? why didn't you call it Algerian?! They wanted to interfere in the way we operated […] It was something that they didn't like very much […] because they have no authority, no word, no decision to make in the association. They wanted to be in control even here! […] I think they did what they could to make sure that it doesn't last.

This quotation shows the lack of collaboration between the Algerian authorities in the UK with the former Amazigh cultural association. According to Tutor, the Algerian authorities deliberately did not want to help the association because it was named Amazigh rather than Algerian cultural association. In other words, possibly because it was designated to Algerians who claim to be Amazigh and non-Arabs. In the penultimate sentence of the above quotation '*they wanted to be in control even here!*' Tutor implies that the Kabyles have never had the power even in Algeria. Tutor's narrative is reinforced by Dahiya who experienced the same lack of support with her current association:

> Although we have a different language, we are all Algerians. Normally when I ask for help [from the Algerian consulate] to show my culture, I should get equal opportunity, but I didn't see that. I had meetings in which my argument was I am Amazigh for my language and culture, but I come with no support, with no help from our consulate. Then a week later, they [the Algerian authorities in the UK] brought a group of singers from Algiers and they advertised their concert hmm they supported it.

From the testimonies provided by Tutor and Dahiya, it seems that the Algerian consulate does not provide help on the basis that the association is named 'Amazigh', which aims to work for the sake of Berber language and culture promotion.

9. 2. Activities Bridging Cultural Maintenance in Diasporic Space

In this theme, findings are discussed in the light of the sub-question of the fourth research question (4-B) that seeks to examine the extent to which their cultural maintenance is considered to be important. The categories that I identified in relation to this theme included six subthemes:

1. Diasporic community contact
2. Cultural activities in diaspora
3. The role of Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association in cultural maintenance
4. The importance of Tamazight language among Kabyle diasporic group
5. Changing identities in diaspora: identification and disidentification

   A- National and cultural identity: Algerian-Berber

   B- Colonial and national identity: French Algerian
6. Attribution of the discovery of Berber identity and cultural preservation to Matoub

9. 2. 1. Diasporic Community Contact

The findings indicate that community contact contributes to cultural maintenance and development. Thiziri and Louiza, however, expressed the lack of contact with their in-group members because of their locations in the host society. This reinforces Collyer's argument (2004) that the Algerian community in the UK is mainly concentrated in London. Thiziri, who lives in Aberdeen, said the following:

> In Scotland, there are almost no Algerians, it's rare to meet an Algerian at the university or in a company […] I know some Algerians living here on Facebook […] I feel a bit disoriented because there is almost neither Kabyles nor [other] Algerians.

Thiziri expresses the feeling of disorientation, a feeling that a migrant experiences when he/she relocates into a society with fewer in-group members. It has been argued that migrants might have a feeling of disorientation and may confound their definition of self because of the loss of their stable 'sense of self' Bhabha (2012), which may lead to a 'crisis of identity' (Hall, 2006). In addition, Thiziri indicated that she maintains contact with other Kabyle migrants mainly through online social networks such as Facebook.

Similarly, Louiza, who lives in Portsmouth, explained in French the lack of Kabyle community. This gives an idea of the influence of the French language even on migrants who are fluent in English, she said:

> I think that there are not many [Kabyles], it's nice to have a few! Personally, I know neither Algerian nor Kabyle here [...] I miss the contact with the Kabyles […] because it is a component of our identity […] when I talk to a Kabyle she will understand directly, I do not know you mention something it's done, she understands everything, you can't have such conversation with an English or a European, so I really miss the contact […] is like a family, is like a big family.

Louiza's words '*it's nice to have a few'*, demonstrates that she is interested to be in contact with a small number of Kabyles. This is similar to Thiziri, who showed a desire to have an Algerian community, but it should consist of open-minded Algerians. Thiziri was sharing her thought about having a community by saying:

> At some points, we want to have a community, a small community I won't say all Algerians because when we are here, we flee the Algerian community but when we meet open-minded Algerians, I would say yes, I am interested to have some Algerians in Scotland but when I see that they are narrow-minded and become like a prisoner in that community, then I would like to free myself and not having a community but when you have children you would like to have a community where you can take them as a family to see another family that would be very very nice. I would say that I feel happy when there is no community […] I feel happy because I don't have to justify my gestures of being a free woman […] I cannot integrate at 100% in an enclosed community.

This quotation demonstrates a different perception between Thiziri's private life and cultural life, as an emancipated woman and as a Kabyle woman. She explains that having a community that she perceives as a 'family' would be helpful for her children to acquire her culture and mother tongue. However, she contradicts herself when she was saying that she is happy about not having a community. Thiziri's desire of not having a community is explained by the fact that as an emancipated woman, she is fleeing the Algerians who tend to criticise free women and who subsequently would make her feel like a prisoner. However, she is more interested to be in contact with a community that consists of open-minded Algerians. For Thiziri not having an Algerian community may have both positives and negatives outcomes: the positive side of not being in a community would enable her to practise her emancipation status without any prejudice, however not being in a community would make her feel disoriented and her children would have less opportunity to be exposed to her culture.

The results of this study also show that seeking proximity to in-group members is not limited to first-generation Kabyle migrants. During our final interview, Tamazight said she does not only seek proximity from other Kabyle migrants, but she also seeks proximity from outgroups who may have the same experience as hers in terms of identity formation.

> I have a friend who is Kurdish […] I am more attached to him than others because for me the Kurdish are like Kabyles. Kurdish group is denied, and they are living among other giants like Turkish, Iranian, Syrian and Iraqi […] Today, this guy is one of my best friends because we created this link to talk about our identity and explain to others our identity.

Tamazight explains that she seeks proximity to other groups such as Kurdish as stated above because they are considered as a 'minority'. From this, we can understand that Tamazight negotiates her Berber identity with individuals, who are not necessarily from her community, but who share a similar experience and who are receptive to her experience as French-born

with Algerian and Lebanese origins. This is similar to the 'community of practice' where individuals share their knowledge and understanding about a given domain. As Hoeve et al. (2014) suggest, nurse educators need to interact and share their work experiences with individuals from the same domain of practice to learn and construct their identity. Similarly, the current study suggests that in migration studies there is a possible existence of a 'community of shared experiences' where individual migrants share their experiences such as identity negotiation and challenges with other migrants either from the same or different ethnic backgrounds.

Regarding the Kabyle diasporic community contact, Kabyle participants pointed out the important role that in-group attachment may have in migrants' lives. Although Bowlby (1969) focused on the attachment relationship between the parents and child, Bowlby (1997) did not exclude the possible influence of other groups and environment, in which the individuals seek proximity from other individual groups who are more familiar to them. According to attachment theory, the absence of the attachment figure would increase the feeling of insecurity and anxiety (Bowlby, 1998; Fox and Card, 1999; Main, 1999). The findings of the current study reveal that the Kabyle migrants who live in a larger Kabyle community (i. e., in London) may have more opportunities to participate in their inherited culture and show a more secure attachment to their culture than the Kabyles of Scotland and Wales who have no familial cultural attachment figure available in their environment. In addition, their attachment to in-group members provides some migrants with a feeling of security and emotional support. Indeed, these findings reinforce Bowlby's argument that attachment is not only limited to parents and child but also extends to other figures such as 'in-group members' and also to more abstract figures such as 'environment' and 'culture'.

Concerning the concept of diaspora, the dispersion of Kabyles in different parts in the UK, as illustrated by Thiziri, Louiza and Fleur de Sable, appears to be the main cause in not establishing a Kabyle network. The findings reveal that seeking proximity to their diasporic community is now negotiated in more virtual diasporic space because of their settlement in different locations. Social network sites such as Facebook are used to exchange ideas of cultural resistance and other information. As Fleur de Sable points out during the interview: "*I Follow on Facebook the Berber mythology and I read what's going on in Algeria*". Further, on the Amazigh/Kabyle Cultural Association Facebook page, the Kabyles share updates about Algeria in general and Kabylia in particular. Levitt and Jaworsky (2007), who have examined the changes in studies related to migration, reported that recent migrants tend to maintain contact with their compatriots by using social networking websites. Thus, despite the physical separation from their diasporic community and a feeling of dislocation, as seen in Thiziri and Louiza, the study showed that the participants are not completely separated from the diaspora. This is evidenced by their contact with their transnational peers using online social networking (Portes,1996; Cohen, 2002; Tölölyan, 2007; Zhou and Lee, 2015).

9. 2. 2. Cultural Activities in Diaspora

Being in a foreign environment distanced from family and lack of regular in-group contact may result in a cultural loss. Thus, some Kabyle participants tend to engage in activities either simple or complex to maintain their cultural heritage. Dahiya describes transmitting her culture to her children by using simple means when she said:

> All my means, I contribute them to my language, even my kids, I gave them Berber names even they are more exposed to the British community. Through their names, they are recognised as being not British. Even my children when they see their names would be curious to look for its origin and meaning […] At least, one should preserve his origins by the little means that he got.

In the above quotation, Dahiya demonstrates the importance of maintaining Berber culture among second-generation migrants. In her case, she adopted a strategy that involves giving her children Berber names to tease their curiosity to seek the meaning of their names, which subsequently enable them to learn about the Berber ancestors. In addition, Dahiya cleverly chooses a Berber name not only to enable her children to remember their culture but also to enable them to disseminate their inherited culture to others when they question their origins. Dahiya continued to explain that the necessity to retain one's culture is reinforced by migration:

> we shouldn't forget our culture you understand. We should protect it especially when we are abroad, the more you live abroad, the more you attach to your culture […] When we live far from our country, we have this need to display our culture and customs.

Added to what Dahiya said above, I share a similar experience. When I was in Algeria, although my Berberness was present inside me, it was not always on display. I believe this is because my region is predominately Kabyle, which gave me this sense of similarity with others, security and power. Early in my migration, when I meet with Arabo-Algerians and other colleagues from the Middle East, I found that the Arabo-Algerians understand the Arabic dialect of the Middle Eastern colleagues better than me. My lack of language proficiency in Arabic led the Middle Eastern colleagues to question my national identity, assuming that all Algerians speak Arabic. Therefore, I needed to display my Berberness to others, because I felt out of the group, especially when they talk in Arabic. In addition, each time when someone asks me where I am from, I answer 'I am from Algeria, I am Kabyle' because they would think that I am an Arab.

Similarly, Thiziri attempts to practise her culture by the few means she has; when I asked about the kind of activities she does to remind about her culture, she said:

> I prepare couscous like the one we made in Bejaia and I sing the best Kabyle songs that could exist and the songs that I love […] Actually,

> the first cradle song that I sang to my children was the song of Idir 'Avava Inouva' […] but we don't practise the language at home.

The reason why Thiziri does not use Kabyle with her children may be because she is married to a non-Kabyle husband, which makes Kabyle language practise difficult if not impossible. Although she attempted to make them aware of Kabyle language since their childhood through Kabyle songs and preparing local meals such as 'Couscous', her attempt may not be enough if someone wants to transplant his/her cultural heritage in his/her mixed-children. During the interview, Thiziri explained her cultural difficulties:

> For cultural problems, I would say the practice of the language in itself […] I find it difficult to maintain the language and to talk in Kabyle at home here […] they are more Anglophone […] if there is a community it would be easier […] So, the environment where the children are grown up is a problem.

Thiziri reveals clearly that she is facing a cultural barrier in maintaining and transmitting her culture to her children due to the lack of language practice. Children of mixed marriages may show one predominant language and/or culture. This could depend on the environment and to what extent the children are being exposed to their parent's culture. Clearly, Thiziri's culture is not the predominant culture in her children because they are more exposed to British culture. Again, the quotation reminds us of the important role that the Kabyle community may have in the mixed-children second generation. Thus, this reinforces the previous argument that the lack of family and community contact and the predominant exposure to the British environment may make it difficult to engender the Kabyle culture in children of mixed marriages.

Axel also reported that he feels at home through preparing Kabyle meals and listening to Kabyle music:

> Even at home, we feel that we are in Kabylia, we cook Kabyle meals. Also, every day I listen to Kabyle songs at home like Matoub, Ait Mengualelt hmm Khali Lounes.

Tamazight also reports simple activities, in which the first-generation Kabyle migrants are involved to retain their culture. In her diary, Tamazight describes these activities to maintain her Berber culture:

> I do try to maintain my culture by doing simple things; I wear Kabylian [Kabyle] jewellery, listen to Kabylian [Kabyle] music (every day I make sure I listen to Lounès Matoub for at least 30mn).

Similar to the first-generation migrants, Tamazight also attempts to maintain the Kabyle culture through wearing Kabyle dress and jewellery and also listening to Matoub, to whom she attributes the emergence of her hidden Berber identity. From the findings, it became apparent that participants' cultural identity is influenced by the singer Matoub Lounes (this is further discussed in section 9. 2. 6 within this chapter).

9. 2. 3. The Role of Amazigh/Kabyle Cultural Association in Cultural Maintenance

Like other international Amazigh associations in other western countries like Canada and France, the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association in the UK is a self-funded association, in which its members look for creative inspiration and cultural articulation. The association aims to promote the Berber culture and language for both the first and second generations. It organises Berber cultural events such as *Yennayer* [Amazigh New Year], an event that Berbers celebrate in mid-January, and *Tafsut Imazighen* [Berber Spring]. During these events, they often take the opportunity to provide a passionate debate about their origins and how they fit into the Maghreb and across the borders. I have been a member of the association for a short period, we meet periodically to discuss relevant issues, to organise concerts and sometimes conferences and poetry reading. The meetings are usually held in the evening via Skype when all members are expected to be home. The organization membership is predominately male,

who tend to be literate individuals such as educators, students and musicians who are originally Kabyles or at least have an awareness of Berber culture. The future hope for the association is to create a school to teach Tamazight to the second generation, a hope that could not be achieved so far due to its expense and lack of donations. Recently, some members have been discouraged from attending meetings because it has become more difficult to find funding.

Throughout the final interviews, my participants invoked the interplay between the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association and the cultural maintenance. While Thiziri and Fleur de Sable revealed that they never had the opportunity to attend a Berber cultural event due to their locations, Mazigh tries to attend cultural events even if they are organised abroad.

> I used to attend cultural events since my childhood […] I attended some events, but we don't have many events in this country. In France yes […] Also, I listen only to Matoub at home, I speak with my parents only in Kabyle. Kabyle, it's in my blood, it appears automatically […] There are more important events and associations in France and Canada than in England.

This suggests that Mazigh maintains his culture through three means: (1) attending cultural events, (2) listening to Kabyle songs and (3) using Kabyle language when communicating with his family. However, he highlighted the lack of Kabyle cultural associations in England compared to France, a view that is shared by the majority of participants. This reinforces the arguments that Kabyle diaspora is larger in France (Direche-Slimani, 1997; Collyer, 2004; Lacroix, 2013). By participating in the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association as a musician, Musician reveals the role that the association plays in his life as a migrant by saying:

> To take part in the cultural association is very important. The thing is we have to know how many of us are in the UK and to prove to the people we are few, but we still exist [pause] hmm another point is to give to ourselves a chance to express ourselves and say who we are.

Generally speaking, cultural associations aim to offer cultural, leisure and social activities. However, the Kabyle cultural association of the UK appears to widen its scope to a more activist form, which doesn not only aim to promote the Kabyle culture among the first and second generation. It aims also to make the Kabyle group known on the international scale and claim their ethnic identity through the songs they perform in the cultural events, in which Tutor reveals the following:

> Most of the songs I sing are related to protest songs. I used to have my band in Algeria but since I came to this country and because we organise the events, I always choose to sing songs that are related to identity hmm history some songs about the heroes of our long history.

The Kabyles who participated in the current research study did not only point out the role of their community contact in their transnational space, but they also reveal the importance that the cultural association might play in promoting cultural maintenance. For example, in her diary, Tamazight commented on the role of cultural association: "*When I attend events organised by the Berber Cultural Association, it does make me feel closer to home, to my culture, to my family. That helps me to keep a part of me alive, my culture",* Axel added: '*Every time [when] there is a cultural event I attend, and I ask if there will be an upcoming event. This proves that I strongly maintain my culture*'. All participants revealed that despite living abroad, the Kabyle culture is still present in their new home, either in the songs they listen to, the books they read, the meals they prepare, the language they use and the outfit they wear. Two general orientations to integration and cultural maintenance strategies emerged from the current study; individualistic and collective. In the former, the Kabyle migrants individually attempt to maintain their culture with simple activities that they do on their own, in their own space and on a daily basis while they desire to adapt to the host society way of life, such as the case of Thiziri quoted in section 9. 2. 2 within this chapter. It is important to remember that the individualistic strategy adopted by Fleur de Sable could be interpreted as assimilation because

she has less interest in maintaining contact with her in-group members and/or joining the cultural associations, while she desires to adopt the British way of life (this is further discussed in section 9. 3. 2 within this chapter). In the latter, the Kabyle group work together collectively to improve their status and maintain their culture by joining the Amazigh/Kabyle Cultural Association to maintain their cultural heritage while they adapt to the host society culture. The behavioural strategies of integration and cultural heritage maintenance revealed in this study seem not to match with Moghaddam et al. (1987)'s findings, which reveal that the Iranian Canadians adopted a collective orientation to retain their cultural heritage and adopted an individualistic orientation to adopt the Canadian way of life. However, they did not rule out the possibility that both individualistic and collective orientations may be present within the same individuals, a behavioural strategy that is found among the majority of the participants of this research such as the case of Mazigh, Axel, Musician, Tamazight, Painter, Dahiya and Tutor. In addition, the current research suggests that although the Kabyle migrants in the UK showed a weak collective community, they can be classified as a diasporic group because of their willingness to become 'visible' by bringing individually and/or collectively their cultural attachment out, their attachment to some extent to their co-ethnic groups and a strong attachment to their culture (Cohen, 2002; Tölölyan, 2007). Further, they can be considered as a diasporic group based on the fact that they have been through the process of negotiating their selves between their host society and homeland, because their native culture is different from their host society culture (Bhatia and Ram, 2009).

9. 2. 4. The Importance of Tamazight Language among Kabyle Diasporic Group

The findings addressed in this subordinate theme discuss the language used among Kabyle participants. The narratives of the current study demonstrate that the Kabyle diaspora still seeks to preserve the Berber language of pre-colonial and pre-Islamic Arab Algerian identity.

As stated in the literature review, studies on identity should consider the role of language, a tool that enables individuals to access social networks and demonstrate affiliation to a specific cultural group (Edwards, 2009). This requires questioning which language the participants use to communicate with their family and their Algerian friends. All of the participants responded that they are likely to switch between the three languages; Kabyle, French and English. The majority responded that they use Kabyle with their Kabyle peers and family. Only two participants, Mazigh and Musician who lived in Algiers responded that they use Darija[15] with their Arabo-Algerian friends. Axel and Dahiya, however, responded that they use either French and/or English with the Arabo-Algerians. For example, based on Matoub's influence, Axel said:

> When I talk to my family back home and my Kabyle friends, I use Kabyle. However, when I talk to the Arabo-Algerians, I use French […] It's because he's Algerian and I am Algerian. He has his mother tongue and I have mine, right? Why do I have to speak in his language? Why doesn't he speak mine? As Matoub said, we are obliged to borrow a foreign language [pause] to better communicate. So, I either borrow English or French.

Here Axel refers to one of Matoub's famous songs entitled *'Monsieur le President'* (Mr President) released in 1984, in which he ended the song with a letter addressed in French to the president[16]. In this regard, we may suggest that Matoub has a great influence on his followers' cultural identity. Further, the fact Axel uses either French or English when he talks to an Algerian non-Kabyle speaker, despite his mastery of Darija, may be interpreted that Axel demonstrates the equality of power in both languages; Kabyle and Darija. Thus, not to weaken

[15] Darija is a vernacular Arabic dialect spoken in Maghreb countries.
[16] Mr President, it is with a heavy heart that I am addressing to you. These few sentences of a condemned may quench the thirst of some oppressed individuals. I am addressing to you with a borrowed language, to tell you, simply and clearly, that the state has never been the homeland (Matoub, in *Monsieur le President*, 1984).

his language, Axel borrows a foreign language as Matoub did to communicate with his non-Kabyle peers. In my case, on many occasions, I use English with Middle Eastern people because of my inability to understand their dialect. So, to communicate with them, although we are assumed to be part of one unified language community of Arab speakers, the difference between Maghrebian and Middle Eastern forms results in using a foreign language − English − that is mutually understood by both groups.

Regarding code-switching in the Algerian context, it common that some Kabyle speakers switch from Kabyle to Darija when they interact with an Arabo-Algerian, because the Tamazight language only introduced into the educational system nationally in 2016. Tutor, for example, described code-switching among Kabyles when conversing with non-Kabyle Algerians as a 'common rule':

> The common rule back home is that when I am in conversation with someone else in our mother tongue as soon as there is a third person who doesn't understand that language, we feel obliged instantly to change it as a sort of politeness. I don't think that's right, it's a very common thing, unfortunately. But it doesn't make sense because I am in my country that is Berber, so, if I am comfortable to speak in my language, I just carry on speaking in my language […] Again, it's something that has been nourished by the system.

Here Tutor blames the educational system because they did not introduce Tamazight in schools. The lack of proficiency in the Tamazight language among non-Kabyle speakers led the Kabyle speakers to use Darija with Arabo-Algerians to better communicate.

Thiziri and Fleur de Sable, however, revealed that they use more French and English. It is important to stress that, although Arabic is the official language and recently Tamazight became the second official language of Algeria, most Algerians can speak French. Thus, the language that Algerians use is assumed to be influenced by geopolitical factors. Thiziri related her experience to her intercultural marriage:

> We are born Muslims without being bond to others. So, we consider ourselves more Francophone than anything else because my father was also Francophone. We have been exposed to other cultures since our childhood. So, I have never had a problem. I have also cousins who married foreigners.

Fleur de Sable reinforced the argument by saying:

> When people ask me about my identity, I describe myself as Berber, French Algerian I hate to mention so-called Algerian Arabs because I am not an Arab […] I am a Kabyle in Algeria, British here, and have also French blood as my great grandmother was of French ancestor. My personality is still the same in this country. I have always been westernised.

These quotes may explain why participants of this study have a higher degree of adaptation to their new society, because they have been exposed to the French language and culture. For example, participants such as Painter, Tutor and Fleur de Sable were educated in French since elementary education. Other participants such as Thiziri, Louiza, Axel, Musician, Mazigh and Dahiya were educated in French in their higher education. For example, Painter revealed that he adapted easily to the UK society because he used to have a more or less similar lifestyle.

> I adapted easily, and I had a more or less a modern life we because we were born under French colonisation […] from an early age we mixed with the French, we had French teachers, so they were teaching us their way of life. We had our parents who migrated to France, so again we still have that way of life.

It has been argued that the Algerian recent generations are users of French as a foreign language; however, the generation following independence are real bilinguals (Berger, 2002), or trilingual in the case of Berber speakers (Valentin, 2002). Yet Algerians who display an affinity to the French culture and language are labelled as *Hizb Franza* [the side of France], which implies being a traitor to the country (Saadi-Mokrane, 2002). This is reinforced by Axel describing the

attitude of an Arabo-Algerian landlord, who considers Axel as alienated from other Algerians because he uses French:

> I remember when I moved to Algiers, I wanted to rent a flat […] When I was talking to him [the landlord], he said why you speak only French? Don't you speak Arabic?! Here he puts me more on the French side than Algerian.

Franz Fanon (1967), a supporter of the Algerian revolution, declared that during the colonialism the French transplanted in Algerians' minds the idea that French was the language of civilisation and superior to the indigenous language. Thus, French employed a 'Linguicide' strategy (death of indigenous languages) to reshape the Algerians' identity and separate them from their point of reference (Saadi-Mokrane, 2002). Although French is not the official language, it is widely used in the educational system, administration and governmental organisations making it a de facto official language (Valentic, 2002; Rebai-Maamri, 2009). French is being replaced by English at school, a move that was paradoxically approved by the Islamism supporters (Berger, 2002) because they perceive secular Francophones as enemies to their political ideology. The use of the French language was increased as a result of the literacy, and status as Algeria's primary 'second education language of education' and also the broadcasting of French television in Algerian homes (Berger, 2002). Saadi-Mokrane (2002) added that the Algerian émigrés of France also contribute to the influence of the French through familial and economic attachment to their home country. The same can be applied to the Kabyle participants, who hold on to their native language as a result of their in-group and familial attachment, and also as a result of the oppression that the Tamazight language had undergone. As explained in section two within chapter two, the state's violence against the Berber activists in October 1988 resulted from the claim that Tamazight should be recognised as an official language (Roberts, 2003). Mazigh, for example, showed his rebellious character regarding the status of Tamazight in

Algeria and expressed the importance of maintaining his mother tongue as a response to the oppression that the Tamazight language had experienced:

> It's very important [to maintain our language] the language is born inside us [...] The reason why I am still using my language because it has been abandoned, it has been oppressed.

For Mazigh maintaining Kabyle is not only a symbol that demonstrates his origins and identity, but also is a symbol of cultural activism as a response to the cultural oppression that the Kabyle language and culture received back home.

In the same vein, Fleur de Sable describes herself not only as an Algerian Berber but also a cultural activist, who uses Kabyle with her Kabyle friends not only for communication but also to demonstrate her opposition to Arabisation. In her diary, Fleur de Sable wrote: "*I love speaking in Berber with my Berber friends because I know, that the Arabs want to wipe it from the world. To me, it is a matter of challenging Arabs*". From this, we may understand that the diasporic Kabyle community of the UK tend to use their language not only to retain their cultural identity but also to resist the Arab regime. However, Fleur de Sable said that during her first trip to Algeria after a long stay in the UK, she discovered that her native language started to be abandoned:

> I haven't been to Algeria for ten years […] So, when I went back to Algeria, it was painful to see old [Kabyle] women talking to me in Arabic, and I respond to them in Kabyle. This means that stop talking to me in Arabic!

When Fleur de Sable responded to the women in Kabyle, it shows that maintaining the mother tongue is an important aspect for her identification and cultural reference. It may be common that other migrants who maintain their cultural heritage remind their peers back home about the importance of maintaining Berber culture. Similarly, Dahiya expresses disappointment and anger regarding those Kabyles back home who speak Darija by saying:

> *Taqbaylit* [Kabyle] starts to be abandoned, in Tizi-Ouazou for example they speak in Arabic, it is not racism but why? […] Only us Kabyle, we are influenced by others. We have been colonised by Turkish, Romans and French, they all left but Arabs stayed and have the greatest influence!

It is beyond the scope of this research to explore the language use among the Kabyles living in Algeria but looking at the phenomenon of ancestral language abandonment among the Algerian diaspora and the Algerians back home might be a topic of future research. Fleur de Sable and Dahiya quoted above, demonstrate that some of their Kabyle peers back home start to give up on their native language and use Algerian colloquial Arabic. From my own experience, many Kabyle acquaintances back home encourage their children to use either French and/or Darija and sometimes they even give them foreign names. This study suggests that the reason behind such ancestral language abandonment may be the fact that the Kabyles consider French as a language of modernisation and link Algerian colloquial Arabic to Islam, while they may consider the Berber language as uncultivated and backwards language. For example, Musician expressed his anger towards those who do not show a willingness to accept Tamazight by saying:

> What makes me angry, to be honest, is that they [Arabo-Algerians] cannot accept a Kabyle because they got this complex […] they say oh what's this language? It makes us late about a hundred years […] for me they are just racist and complexés. They find excuses that Arabic is the language of the Quran, we know that but their language that they call 'Arabic' is completely different from the Arabic of the Quran.

This quote reinforces Dorian's (1998: 3) claim that: "it is fairly common for a language to become so exclusively associated with low-prestige people and their socially disfavoured identities that its own potential speakers prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language".

9. 2. 5. Changing Identities in Diaspora: Identification and Disidentification

The findings related to this subtheme discuss the identity and/or identities which Kabyle participants identify with in their diasporic space. The elements that I identified related to this subtheme included two aspects:

1. National and cultural identity: Algerian-Berber
2. National and colonial identity: Algerian-French

9. 2. 5. 1. National and Cultural Identity: Algerian-Berber

The findings of this aspect discuss how the Tamazight language and Berber culture display participants belonging to a specific community. As Saadi-Mokrane (2002) commented, post-colonial Algeria resulted in cultural and linguistic conflicts through which people display their sense of belonging to a community. When it comes to self-identification among the Kabyle diasporic group of the current research, all the participants demonstrated a hyphenated identity by identifying themselves with their national identity alongside their cultural identity, i.e., Algerian-Berber. Mazigh, for example, said:

> I am Algerian-Berber, I am an Amazigh. Even with the Arabisation, I don't feel Arab […] It's not me, it's not my family, it's not my origins, it's not my identity. The only thing we have in common is religion.

This type of identification may act as a strategy to show their cultural affiliation to Berber culture and also to disidentify themselves from the Arabo-Algerian culture. Further, the study suggests that participants' identification with their ethnic identity, and speaking Kabyle with their Kabyle peers, is a cultural act of resistance to discourage the Arabisation regime.

During the final interview when Fleur de Sable was describing her identity, she showed her concern about the Algeria of today by criticising the new social behaviour that negatively impacts the ancestral culture:

> In Algeria, the worst phenomenon I noticed is a lot of Salafism. Salafism is not my culture […] I grow up in a time when French left Algeria […] it's hard for me to see that they want to build an Islamist [state] […] I always say that I am a Berber […] I hate people who are saying that Algeria is an Arabic country because it's NOT! It's a Berber country, all North African is a Berber country. So, don't make me Arab by force.

Here, Fleur de Sable provides a vivid example of how the Algerian society has changed compared to the post-colonial period. The Arabisation of the country resulted in redefining Algeria as an Arab country during the Boumediene and Chadli presidencies. Fleur de Sable who grew up in the post-colonial period, and who had adopted secularism; rejects the strict radical religious practices and showed concern about the emergence of the new version of Islam known as Salafism, which she perceives as 'the worst phenomenon'. Regarding the Arabisation of the country, Tutor who also belongs to the post-colonial period, provided an interesting testimony about how the presidencies of Boumediene and Chadli − (see sections 6. 1. 1. 5 and 6. 1. 1. 5. 1 within chapter six) − showed a strong affiliation to the Arab language and culture and altered the Algerians' identity through the assimilation:

> After the independence, the authorities have done everything they could to break the real identity for example by bringing teachers from Syria and Egypt to teach us. Obviously, we all remember when we were young, we had these teachers who had nothing to do with our culture, without understanding. They were forcing us to adopt their own culture. So, there was a desire to change the real identity of people. It's something that did happen for many years, even today we can see the effect of that when you listen to some comments by some people.

Tutor explains how the Arab culture was introduced into Algerian society. Clearly, the use of force in adopting the Arab culture and language reminds us of the assimilation theory that

focuses on imposing common culture (Kivisto, 2001). This reinforces the argument that after the independence, the Algerian leadership such as Boumediene and Chadli Ben Jadid showed an ideological intransigence to redefine the identity of Algeria, in which Algeria was perceived as "the most vociferous in proclaiming its Arab Muslim identity" (Gordon, 1978: 151, quoted in Benrabah, 2007: 25).

9. 2. 5. 2. Colonial and National Identity: French-Algerian

The documented participants such as Tutor, Painter, Dahiya, Fleur de Sable, Thiziri and Louiza and Mazigh revealed that they identify themselves with their national and cultural identity to show their inclusion to a specific cultural group. On the other hand, self-identification is experienced differently by those undocumented Kabyle participants who borrowed an imagined identity related to their colonial heritage. This is the case of Musician and Axel who identified themselves as French citizens when they were undocumented. In his interview Axel said:

> I forgot that I was Algerian, I was French for four years […] our Algerian jacket we left it in Algeria […] I didn't want to be French, but I did this to be able to work and earn my money with my own work […] It means that I was wearing a jacket, which wasn't mine.

Clearly for Axel, employment was an asset for his integration; however, his irregular status was an obstacle. Axel knew that without a valid visa and/or work permit he would not have the right to stay and work in the UK if he identified himself as Algerian. Thus, to integrate in the workplace, Axel opted for the strategy of not being recognised as 'other' and he identified himself with colonial identity 'French', an identity that provided him with more opportunities to stay in the UK and have access to the workplace. Axel's use of the plural pronoun 'we' may indicate that he was not the only Algerian who pretended to be French but also other Algerians who migrated at the same period as him and/or even before. At some point in his

narrative, Axel tried to explain that his action does not mean that he denied his Algerianness. However, he was obliged to be shadowed under the French identity to have easy access to employment. Axel also explains how a migrant with a borrowed identity became a different person. To use Axel's words, '*I was wearing a jacket, which wasn't mine*'. In this regard, we may understand that Axel was involved in a role-play, where he played the character of a French citizen with a French mother and an Algerian father. His fluency in the French language played a key role in introducing himself as a French Algerian. Again, this shows how language is important in self-identification. Further, Axel added that his French identity was not only used in the workplace, but he also carried the colonial identity in his daily life. This is shown when he said:

> It happens to me to meet girls during nights out. Every time, when we arrive at the famous question, where are you from? I am from France. You cannot tell them Algerian […] who says Algerian says terrorist or says, pickpockets.

From the above quotation, we can readily understand that Axel identified himself as French to avoid prejudice and the negative stereotypes that resulted from the black decade. Thus, Licata et al. (2011) reinforced Axel's behaviour; disidentifying from national identity within the international boundaries, the migrants are less likely to experience prejudice and discrimination. As Frankenberg and Mani (1993) claim, individuals' position in society depends largely on their ethnicity and gender. Later in his migration process, when he regulated his status, he did not deny his real identity, rather he identifies with his national and ethnic identity with pride.

Like other migrants, the narratives of my participants revealed that they endured the 'where are you from' question? As Axel quoted above said: '*the famous question, where are you from*?' However, compared to their transnational peers in France, the Kabyles of the UK are

misidentified by English people who believe that Algerians are Arabs. In the following interview extract Thiziri explains:

> Most people say that Algeria is originally Arabic, I explain to them that Algeria is originally Berber […] I explain to them because they don't know […] In the UK, people are not aware of Berber culture […] French are aware of the Berber culture due to the colonial relationship.

Similarly, Mazigh revealed the necessity to tell the history of North Africa to explain the real identity of Algeria.

> The first question when you talk to someone […] where are you from? Then, I tell them I am from Algeria. Nigeria? No! No! Algeria. Where is Algeria? Then, you describe where is Algeria. Then the second one, so you're Arabs? No! we're not. We're not Arabs, we're Berbers, Amazigh. What? They don't know it. Then, you start to tell them the history of the native people of North Africa.

The fact that Mazigh identifies himself with his ethnic identity 'Berber' and disidentifies himself from the Arab culture, shows his cultural affiliation to indicate his inclusion in a specific cultural group. The findings of this study reveal that the Kabyle migrants of the UK are believed to be Arabs. This study suggests that the misidentification of Algerians is mainly due to the political ideology and the media, which identify North Africa as Arab countries. In addition, the misidentification of Algeria may be reinforced by the Arabo-Algerian assimilationists who identify themselves as Arabs. Thus, the Kabyles of this study saw the necessity to redefine the Algerian identity by explaining that the Algerians are originally Berbers, but they have been Arabised in the 7th century.

9. 2. 6. Attribution of Discovery of Berber identity and Cultural Preservation to Matoub

This subtheme discusses the influence that Matoub Lounes has on Kabyles' cultural attachment. To understand the reason why he gained such popularity, it is important to consider his short life and career. Matoub was a great Kabyle singer, who showed explicitly his

opposition to Islamism, Arabisation and all other forms of injustice through his protest songs and TV shows. His artistic career lasted for 20 years until he was killed by the Armed Islamic Group in June 1998. Although he spent all his childhood in the high mountains of Kabylia, he travelled to many countries, where he sang about his culture and homeland. Matoub's courage in opposing and criticising the Algerian governance made him legendary. Thus, today he represents the symbol for Berbers. His portrait is published in all North African countries, from Morocco to the Oasis of Siwa in Egypt. Even a street in the 19th arrondissement in Paris is named after him (Zirem, 2018).

Interestingly, in her diary, Tamazight recounted an interesting story about the emergence of her Berber identity that she described as a "*hidden part*", which she attributes to Matoub:

> It all started in July 2015; this sounds like the beginning of a thrilling story. After we had gone to his house [Matoub's house], a turning point in my life, I extensively started reading about Kabylia and Matoub, and Algerian history, that really fascinated me […] Ever since that day, I have listened to him every day […] I owe the discovery of my hidden part of my identity to him.

From this narrative, we can readily understand that Matoub has an influential role in making Tamazight discover her Berberness and making her attached to Berber culture. During our final interview, Tamazight continued her "*thrilling story*" by explaining how she considers Matoub:

> Actually, for me, he was the sun of Kabylia, the leader of Berberness and Kabyles. It was him who said hey guys! we need to get on track, our culture, it's something important. Then the Kabyles followed him because they have seen in him his sincerity and determination.

Matoub did not only cause her identity to emerge but also raised her awareness about the value of Berber culture and the struggle that the Berbers went through. Like Tamazight, Mazigh also considers Matoub as the leader of Kabylia and attributes the survival of Berber culture to

Matoub who transplanted the urgent need to preserve the culture by all means. Moreover, Mazigh attributes a more important quality to Matoub:

> Lounes hmm if you say Lounes you would say Kabylia. Lounes is the Che Guevara of Kabylia [laugh] since he left this world, Kabylia became weak.

While Che Guevara was the major figure of the Cuban revolution, in the same vein, Mazigh perceives Matoub as the symbol of Kabyle culture. Matoub is considered by some as an important figure for the Berber protests and he became the widespread symbol as the countercultural rebellion. Tamazight and Mazigh's narratives regarding the influential role that Matoub has on his followers, seem to reinforce Zirem's (2018) argument that Matoub became the 'symbol' for Berbers. Further, Mazigh evaluated Kabylia after Matoub's death, which he perceived as becoming weak. In other words, for Mazigh, Matoub was the man who succeeded in holding the thread between the Kabyles and Berber culture.

While Tamazight attributed the discovery of her hidden Berber identity to Matoub and Mazigh perceives him as the 'Che Guevara' of Kabylia, Thiziri commented on Matoub's death, in which she showed her empathy by recounting:

> When you hear that a Berber like Matoub was killed by hmm we don't know who? If they were terrorists or those working for the government? We don't know who killed him! Of course, you revolt! You revolt! You cannot accept such a crime, especially if it is a cultural crime.

Although Matoub's death was a concern for all Algerians, Kabyles were more concerned about the unresolved explanation of his death. The death of Matoub raised the question of 'who killed who?' While the government declared that he was murdered by terrorists,

Matoub's supporters believe that his death was manipulated by the government[17] because of his opposition to the Algerian state. Thiziri perceives Matoub's death as a cultural crime because he was killed for his culture and his ideas. Even though Tamazight did not live through the period when Matoub died, she felt his death when she visited Matoub's tomb and learnt about him through her extensive reading about Matoub's life and death through books and newspapers. Thus, in her diary she expressed her feeling of injustice:

> I looked a bit around, read everything there was about the car and the accident, and a strong feeling got hold of me and did not let me go since. A kind of feeling of injustice, anger, sadness, lack of understanding, but even more strongly, I felt I had unfailingly linked my fate with the fate of these people who had lost their guide.

In this quotation, Tamazight shows a concern about Matoub's death for whom she expressed mixed feelings of injustice and empathy. Further, she showed a sense of emotional ties with other Kabyle groups, who lost their cultural guide. During our final interview, Tamazight expanded her narrative about the circumstances of Matoub's death that she described as "*almost written"*, by referring to Aimé Cesaire's quotation[18] used in Yalla Seddik's translated book of Matoub's songs entitled '*Mon Nom est Combat: Chants Amazighs d'Algerie*'[My Name is Fight: Amazigh Songs of Algeria].

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[17] The Kabyle group did not exclude the possibility that Matoub was assassinated by the armed Islamic group, however they claim that his murder was manipulated by the authorities. It has been claimed that on the day of his assassination, the travellers were not allowed to take the route where Matoub's ambush occurred because of the presence of the armed Islamic group in the area. Therefore, the gendarmes diverted the traffic; however, the only car that was allowed to take that road was Matoub's car on which he was strafed few minutes later (Whitney, 1998).

[18] Of course, he is going to die the fighter, the best reason of that there is nothing to do in this useless universe: strengthened in his belief and imprisoned ... Game of mortuary, it is not tears that are appropriate, they are hawks of my ideas and my thoughts of flint, it is my silent invocation to the gods of disaster ... Of course, he will leave the world the fighter […] (Aimé Cesaire quoted in Yalla Seddik translated book of Matoub's songs entitled 'Mon Nom est Combat: Chants Amazighs d'Algerie', 2003).

> His death is a huge loss for the Kabyles and for the Berber culture in general […] Yes, for me it's a huge loss! For me, he was a landmark, a landmark for the Kabyles […] the fascinating feature of his story is almost written, it means that when we read about his life there will be no other way! We tell ourselves that he won't die in his bed! He won't die happy! He won't die old surrounded by his family! It's impossible! I was most fascinated by how his death hmm contributed to his followers!

The above quotation explains that Matoub's death was not a shock for his followers and even for himself because they knew that he was targeted. In the riots of October 1988, Matoub had been shot five times by gendarmes and left for dead. It took him five years to heal. When he was captured and held by the GIA for sixteen days, there was a Kabyle mobilisation in solidarity, calling for his liberation. In one of his French TV shows, Matoub declared publicly that he is an Algerian Berber without the obligation to be a Muslim. While some people have faith in a certain religion, Matoub showed strong faith in his Berber identity. Matoub was targeted and killed for being against the Algerian assimilationists and fighting for his ideas. Although Matoub's death case is closed, his murder remains questioned among Kabyles. Yet, Matoub's death reinforced the claims of RCD and FFS regarding the issue of Arabisation and the recognition of the Tamazight as a co-official language (Rebai-Maamri, 2009).

9. 3. Transnationalism and Homeland Contact

In this theme, the findings are discussed in relation to the sub-question of the fourth research question of this study (4-C) that seeks to examine the extent to which their homeland contact is considered to be important. Within this theme, I identified two subthemes:

1. Maintaining linkage with the homeland
2. Cutting linkage with the homeland

9. 3. 1. Maintaining Linkage with the Homeland

Regarding the mobility between the new society and the homeland, all Kabyle participants of this study except Fleur de Sable revealed the necessity to visit their homeland regularly, not only to maintain contact with their peers back home but also to have the nostalgia of the past. Tutor reported:

> As I became able to travel, I went to Algeria to visit my family and made it a regular thing […] Nowadays, I visit the country more often […] For me, it is a must to go there because the attachment is still there.

Similarly, Mazigh showed a strong attachment to his family, and revealed that his regular visits to Algeria aim to catch up the time he spent away from his loved ones: "*I travel quite a lot to Algeria because of my family, I go three times a year […] So, when I go there, I try to catch up the time I missed by their side*". In addition, it is important to mention that the Kabyle participants who were born in Kabylia and grew up in Algiers still maintain contact with their native land. Thus, it is important to examine the homeland attachment of the diasporic who experienced internal migration (Hangen-Zanker, 2008) prior to experience international migration (Kingma, 2001). This is the case of Mazigh who revealed that even though he grew up in Algiers, he maintained contact with great Kabylia: '*I grew up in Algiers, but we always keep the contact with Kabylia […] That's how I learnt to speak Kabyle*'. Here, Mazigh states that his contact with Kabylia enabled him to learn his mother tongue. This demonstrates that the native land contact helps the children born outside their parents' native land to learn the language and to be exposed to the culture. My study revealed that those Kabyles who migrated to Algiers and subsequently migrated to the UK maintain triple contact; their host society, the society where they grew up (Algiers), and their native society (Kabylia). This suggests that Mazigh has triple lives, speaks four languages (including the colonial language 'French') and

has three homes. These findings may criticise Portes et al's (1999) definition of transnationalism as being not complete, in which they define transnational migrants as those who have dual lives, speak two languages and have two homes (see section 3. 6 within chapter three). Thus, the current study suggests one should consider those diasporic groups, who constitute the minority in their homeland and who experienced internal migration prior to experience international migration; they might have a triple attachment compared to those diasporic groups who belong to the mainstream group.

The findings of the current research reveal that some participants of intercultural and intracultural marriage expressed the necessity to visit Algeria for their children's cultural maintenance. For example, Louiza showed an ambition to transmit the Berber culture and Kabyle language to her Italian-Kabyle children, who are born in the UK, through homeland contact. Due to the lack of Kabyle community in Portsmouth, Louiza tries to keep contact with her homeland so that her children would be exposed to the culture and to have contact with the family.

> We usually go [to Algeria] every year, it is for the culture, for the language. It is the best way for them [her children] to absorb the culture, to have a relationship with the family […] In addition, it is very important that they know where they come from. Despite they're mixed, I want them to know that 50% of their genes are Kabyle.

Louiza's diasporic space made it difficult if not impossible for her children to acquire the Kabyle language and to be exposed to Berber culture. Therefore, she considers her trips back to Algeria as a means for her children to acquire and learn her culture and also to reinforce family ties. Based on their attachment to and their regular contact with their homeland, and their dual sense of belonging 'here' and 'there' (Portes et al: 1999, Tölölyan: 2007), the current study suggests that Kabyle migrants of the UK can be classified as transnationals.

Interestingly, the findings of the current research also reveal that attachment to parents' land is also found in Tamazight − the second-generation participant of this study. The question 'whether Kabyle second-generation migrants wish to maintain ties with their parents' land, cannot be answered fully in this thesis. Tamazight's case, however, can give us an idea about how some mixed children second-generation respond to such a question. As a mixed child second-generation migrant − Kabyle-Lebanese, born in France and living in the UK− she had a unique experience in terms of identity formation and identification (Parker and Song, 2001). Tamazight, who discovered her Berber identity through Matoub as illustrated in section 9. 2. 6 within this chapter, showed a high degree of attachment to her mother's land when she said:

> One of the things that I also miss, is feeling close to Algeria, and more specifically Kabylia. I know this is very hard to understand for the Algerians who are still there, as they just think about getting the hell out of that place […] this feeling I have about going back, visiting my family and seeing the mountains and learning about their history is just constant pulses I cannot fight […] I feel intensely attached to the lands and cultures of my parents.

Tamazight explains that she needs to visit her family in Kabylia and learn more about her Berberness, a need that she describes as "*constant pulses*". Tamazight paid attention to the possible attitude that the Kabyles back home may hold on her attachment to Algeria. According to Tamazight, the Kabyles back home might not understand her attachment because they view Algeria as a poor county. Tamazight's assumption may be based on the fact that despite Algeria being a relatively oil-rich country, many young Algerians, known as '*harragas*'[19], seem determined to cross the Mediterranean, risking their lives to reach Europe using little fishing boats, but many of them never reach the promised land. According to the IOM (2018), 18 out

[19] *Harragas*, from the Arabic word, literally it refers to those who burn their documents before they illegally migrate to avoid being identified and/or repatriated. It also refers to metaphorical burning of boundaries.

of the 96 Algerian harragas were reported dead on the Mediterranean route between Algeria and Spain in January 2018.

9. 3. 2. Cutting Linkage with the Homeland

Among all my participants, Fleur de Sable is the only participant who reported that she does not have the desire to keep the contact with her homeland by revealing: "*To me, it is hard to maintain the culture because I always ask myself what for? My plan is to never go back to Algeria after my parents will die, so what is the point*?". During our final interview, Fleur de Sable added that she does not have the desire that her daughters keep contact with the Algerian community and Algeria by saying:

> I will tell you; I don't see them [her daughters] live in Algeria or they will be in contact with Algerians. As they say, they would never drink from my water! But I know my daughters. I took them three times to Algeria, the last time when I took them, I said it would be the last time and I told them you need to say goodbye to my family there but now it's their choice. I will tell you something, my husband is right, he said I don't want them to go to Algeria hmm there they kidnap children, everyone can assault you there and took your daughters what can you do after?

The use of Fleur de Sable the French metaphorical expression "*they would never drink from my water*!", tries to make us understand that she does not want her daughters to be part of the Algerian community and/or seek proximity from Algerians with whom Fleur de Sable had a bad experience. Further, her decision is reinforced by her husband, who was concerned about their daughters' safety when they go to Algeria. For example, the possible kidnapping of their daughters.

I asked Thiziri whether she maintains contact with Algeria. In her answer, even though she did not explicitly show that she is not willing to visit Algeria, she provided three reasons which

made her not keep contact with her homeland: (1) her health issues, (2) the fact that her children do not have an Algerian passport and (3) the lack of safety.

> I didn't go back as often as I used to due to my health issues and as my children don't have Algerian nationality […] I limit the number of days in Bejaia because my children have foreign names […] I would like to stay as long as possible but knowing that my husband and children are English it's a big problem.

Similar to Fleur de Sable, Thiziri's reason for limiting her visits to Algeria is mainly expressed in her concern about the safety of her children who could be easily recognised as foreigners. This clearly points out the concern of safety in the aftermath of the black decade.

9. 4. Transnational Activities and Cross-Commitment

The findings of the current theme are discussed in relation to the sub-question of the fourth research question (4-D) that seeks to examine how transnational activities contribute to their transnational peers and their peers back home. The elements that I identified related to this theme included two sub-themes:

1. Cross-cultural commitment and emotional ties
2. Transnational financial support

Each of the subthemes above is interpreted in relation to whether their cross-commitment aims to provide their peers back home emotional ties and financial help.

9. 4. 1. Cross-Cultural Commitment and Emotional Ties

The findings of this subtheme show that the Kabyle diaspora of the UK attempt to develop links between themselves by creating and joining the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association to maintain and preserve their culture, to support their cultural ties and to create a homeland atmosphere. As Dahiya said: "*I am doing this association to remember our origins, to speak in*

our language and to gather our community". The association also aims to establish a bridge and create sustainable emotional ties between Kabyle diasporic groups and their peers back home. Dahiya is the manager of the current Amazigh/Kabyle association, and she said:

> when we celebrate the Berber Spring, I always start the event with a commemoration. I do my speech about people who suffered and lost their lives for our culture […] we always put our hands together for the families who lost their loved ones. We mention the names of the people who died during the significant riots especially in 2001. We always have a minute silence for them [...] Each anniversary of their death, I put their pictures on my Facebook page along with our Amazigh flag as a symbol of my language.

The violent confrontation that occurred in April 2001 led to emotional mobilisation between the diasporic group and those left behind. Further, Dahiya also expresses her emotional ties on social media such as Facebook, a site that enables the diasporic group to comment and share their thoughts about a specific event. This commemoration and solidarity between the Kabyle diasporic group and their peers back home are indicative of transnationalism practised through emotional ties and mobilising support. This reinforces Lacroix (2013) argument that the relationship between migrants and non-migrants is not only based on the economic relationship, but it is also based on emotional solidarity.

Tutor commented on the former association, which was also a self-funded association. The only difference between the former and the current association is that the former used to send some of the money collected by its members back home. Tutor carried on the interview by revealing the transnational activities practised as a form of emotional ties during the significant events that happened back home. Among the events, Tutor mentioned the demonstration that the Kabyle diaspora carried out in front of the Algerian consulate when Matoub was killed in 1997.

> When Matoub Lounes was killed, we did have action because our [former] association was still active, and I remember that we did have

> a protest demonstration near the Algerian consulate because we felt that his death wasn't accidental […] We didn't believe a moment that Matoub was killed by Islamists. He was killed because he was a protest singer hmm he was a rebellion and he became a threat for some mediums.

Like other participants, Tutor does not believe that the death of Matoub was committed only by the Islamists; however, he is persuaded that his death was due to Matoub's protest songs and his opposition to the Algerian political regime, as discussed in section 9. 2. 6 within this chapter. Further, he talked about his participation in the demonstration of 2001 in London regarding the Kabyles' riots of 2001 by saying:

> We even had a demonstration in front of Downing Street that was in 2001 when there were some events in Kabylia when a gendarme has shot a teenager […] It wasn't just an attachment because we were very concerned about what was happening over there. We did what we could to do to help in the financial term by organizing events and also, we did this demonstration which had its political weight.

This shows that the protests of Kabyles in the UK were coordinated by a transnational diasporic network. The results of this study reinforce Collyer's (2008) argument that the 2001 riots in Kabylia provoked diasporic mobilisation and protests, which were held in Paris, Brussels, London, Washington and different towns in Morocco. Even though Musician did not participate in the demonstration, he deplored the violence that occurred back home and expressed his feelings towards the event by saying:

> I was here when they shot that boy Massinissa in 2001 […] It's very sad […] How can you shoot someone who's very young and you work for the government?! […] That guy who shot him, I am sure they didn't do anything to him […] You know, they sweep it under the carpet […] You kill someone who's defending our identity, you killed me as well, you are shooting me as well!

Despite living abroad, Musician expressed his disapproval of how the government responded to the riots of 2001, which resulted in the death of Massinissa Guermah [20]. In addition, he mentioned that the Algerian state is managed as a bureaucracy, which ranks the gendarmery at the top of the hierarchy by referring to the light two-year sentence for murder that the gendarme received. Musician expressed empathy to the death of the young boy who lost his life for his identity, an event that affected the whole Kabyle community including the Kabyle diaspora of the UK. Similarly, Dahiya showed her militant character when she commented on Massinissa' death by reflecting on her status as a mother:

> When we remember many youngsters were killed and most of them were in their 20s like Massinissa Guermah, we ask ourselves why is it always like that? We don't need to lose blood for our language, we are not asking for something which doesn't belong to us. They only wanted to do marching; they didn't do anything else. They were only asking for their language [pause] and it is heartbroken for many mothers who lost their kids, it's devastating. You put yourself in their place, you would think if it's my child.

This quotation illustrates a balanced feeling between Dahiya's cultural and private perspectives. As a Kabyle militant, she expressed her disagreement about the hostility that the Kabyles back home faced when they claimed their cultural identity and language. In addition, being a mother has undoubtedly reinforced her feeling of empathy towards those killed in the riots and their mothers. This might be an example of gender emotional mobilisation between the Algerian women of the diaspora and those back home. The Kabyle involvement in co-ethnic solidarity and emotional ties during the cultural conflicts reinforce the idea that the Kabyle migrants can be categorised as a diasporic group, which according to Tölölyan (2007), maintain their ties with their homeland in different ways including travel, remittances, cultural

[20] Massinissa Guermah was an 18-year old Kabyle high school student, who received gunshot inside the gendarmerie after he was arrested. His murder created a cycle of Berber protests, which received violent confrontation by government forces known as 'Black Spring', in which at least 100 Berber demonstrators were killed (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011).

exchange and political solidarity during the conflicts. The findings also corroborate with Sheffer (2003) cited in Brubaker (2005), who argued that Algerian migrants are classified as diasporas because of their engagement in emotional and social ties with their native country.

9. 4. 2. Transnational Financial Support

The findings reveal three categories of financial remittances are practised by some Kabyle participants: Thiziri, Mazigh, Painter, Axel and Musician. The first category is based on investment in projects, i.e., the remittances are spent on something that contributes to the wider community. This is the case of Thiziri, who is the only participant involved in the economic transnational activities. Her project involved investing the money that she raised in her host society through organising charities aiming to protect animals' and children's rights in Algeria. The following quotation illustrated the objectives of Thiziri's transnational financial support.

> I act for the safety of the environment in Algeria and the animals' rights. […] I am trying to achieve this on my charity account, I am trying to find a solution for the animals in Algeria and children who have suffered from a trauma in their lives but with the financial help of here […] I am more concerned about the mistreatment of animals and the traumatised children than the culture […] There are organisations for the culture but there is no organisation that aims to protect the environment, animals and children in Algeria.

In this quotation, Thiziri shows more concerns about the mistreated animals and traumatised children than the Berber culture due to the lack of organisations that aim to protect animals and children's rights. It seems that several organisations claim the rights of Berber culture such as *le Movement Culturel Berbère* (MCB) [Berber Cultural Movement]. In addition, there are political organisations representing Berbers, which advocate for democratic reforms such as *le Rassemblement Culturel Démocratique* (RCD) [Rally for Culture and Democracy] and *le Front des Forces Socialist* (FFS) [Front of Socialist Forces] and more recently *le Movement d'Autonomie de la Kabylie* (MAK) [Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylia]. From this

quotation, we may understand that Algeria is more likely to invest in something that benefits its population such as housing, education and health sector than investing in associations for the sake of animals' rights. As an Algerian citizen, I believe that Thiziri's transnational financial support may be a good start for the Kabyle diaspora living in the UK. It will be more interesting if the Algerian diaspora in general and the Kabyles in particular, start thinking about other projects that may contribute to the Algerian economy such as investing in a business, housing and education. Business investment may provide services such as creating employment for people and generating income, housing investment may also create employment in the construction sector, and education investment may increase human capital in Algeria.

The second category of remittances indicated by Axel, Musician and Dahiya is based on family remittances. The findings of this study reveal that family remittances are spent on items such as paying health bills and thus contribute to their family back home. During our interview, Axel was constantly invoking 'saving money', this raised my curiosity to know his reason behind saving money. Axel explains explicitly that the money he was earning was not for himself only, but he was helping his family back home.

> We send it to our family in Algeria because you know we are not a rich family but our family they said don't send us money keep it for yourself because you are in a foreign country without papers. Even I am living here but half of my mind is in Algeria. I have a sister who is ill, which means that I have to cover her expenses every two or three months.

This shows that Axel's remittances are used to provide financial support to his extended family in Algeria to ensure their livelihood. In addition, he sends money to help his sister to buy necessities such as medicines and paying health bills. Further, the quotation indicates that the money sent is not made upon the request of his parents, but rather his parents asked him not to send money and are more concerned about the future of their son. Axel did not give details

about the method that he used in sending money to his family. Based on his irregular status, it is reasonable to assume that Axel either sent money through Western Union or he sent them with another migrant on his/her trip back home. Axel's use of the plural pronoun 'we' instead of the personal pronoun 'I', demonstrates that this action is shared with other migrants in general and Kabyle in particular.

Similarly, Musician who is engaged in family remittances describes his act of giving up his career for work as a 'sacrifice' and indicates that helping financially his parents is in a certain way as a 'duty' when he said:

> For certain people maybe, they get the chance to be graduated here, which enabled them to get a better life and better job but for some like me who hasn't got hmm qualifications here is very hard, that's the challenge. The thing is when you came here to work you have to feed other people back, it means that you're sacrificing your own life for others.

The quotation above reminds us about Musician's professional career that he describes as "*not successful*". Despite Musician's desire to resume his studies to have a better career, he chose to integrate the world of work so that he could provide financial help to his family back home. It is not surprising that families with a dependent migrant overseas are reputed for being helped by the international labour migrant (ILM). Yet, we might suggest that remittances in this study are not only a moral act but also cultural and ritual activities.

Remittances among Kabyles are not only limited to sending money to their families but taking gifts to their families such as sweets, clothing and mobile phones on their trips back home, is another cultural behaviour practised by almost all Algerian migrants including myself. In addition, they may also send money during the periods when their families are in need, such as during the construction of a house, preparing a wedding, and during religious occasions such as Eid and Ramadhan. For example, Axel said: "*I had a brother who got married when I*

haven't had my papers. I tell you the truth, I would love to attend his wedding. But what can I do? I sent him money and the wedding went well". Dahiya also invoked the sense of 'here' and 'there', i.e., the double life of a migrant (Portes et al., 1999), when she explained her involvement in remittances.

> As migrants, our life is not limited to this country, that why we are a bit stressed because we have to invest in our country. For example, I am building a house that I have to finish. Our life is divided into two, is not just we have our home here and that's it. As if our body is here and our thinking is back there.

The third category of remittances revealed by Mazigh is based on funeral remittances. In this study, funeral remittances refer to the remittances spent on funerals that contribute to the diasporic Kabyle community. Although Mazigh revealed that he has no ambition to invest in Algeria and this is indicated when he said: "*I have never thought to run a business there, I have never thought to invest there, no! Never*!", he indicated that he is involved in remittances, in which he donates monthly to an association based in France that aims to fund funerals among the diasporic Kabyle community.

> I am a member of an association in France, we donate every month. The association aims to help other Kabyles to organise funerals, hmm we try to help those who are not able to cover the expenses of the transfer of the body from abroad to Algeria.

Funeral remittances is another way that migrants remain engaged with their native communities. The importance of this category of remittances is that a funeral is an important cultural event in Algerian society, and it is also an important cultural event for the entire family. Burying a migrant in his native land is perceived as a good deed, however, burying a migrant in his host society is perceived as a shame on the family of the deceased. Thus, it is important for the family of migrants (for some) to have a funeral and bury the deceased migrant in his/her

homeland next to his next of kin such as grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, sister and/or brother. While some migrants (especially the second-generation migrants) may wish to be buried in their host society, rather than in their parent's home country, the first-generation migrants, on the other hand, are the most likely to wish to be buried in their native land. As indicated by Mazigh, who informed his son that he wishes to be buried in Kabylia, although he vowed never to return principally because of the lack of stability. The following extract, shows Mazigh's desired place to be buried:

> When I go back to Algeria, the first thing I do is to visit my grandparents' grave and I take my son with me and I told him when I die, here is the place where I will be buried, I told him your mother is buried in England but your father here in Kabylia.

The transnational perspective of this study shows that Kabyle migrants participate in their receiving country (as illustrated in section 7. 1 within chapter seven), while they are actively engaged in their home societies through different remittances, wherein they contribute to their native community, their extended families and their co-ethnic diasporic community. One of the main reasons for them to remain engaged might be due to their attachment to their homeland, culture and in-group members. Thus, this study suggests that transnational activities depend on migrants' behaviour, their contribution to their native communities and/or extended families. In other words, they may aim to promote the social capital of their community back home, contribute to the well-being of their extended families, and provide respect to their culture and help to their diasporic group. Regarding the characteristics of transnational migrants, the results of this section show clearly that the Kabyle diaspora has a double engagement, a characteristic that enables them to be considered as transnational migrants. Thus, the characteristics of the participants of the current research regarding transnationalism, reinforce Van Amersfoort's (2001) argument that transnational migrants are those who engage simultaneously in social and

economic activities in both the receiving and sending countries. Further, the study suggests that the Kabyle migrants are engaged in two types of transnational activities: 'socio-cultural transnationalism' and they engage to some extent in 'economic transnationalism' (Portes et al., 1999). In the former, the Kabyle diaspora engages in cultural activities through celebrating collectively cultural events organised by the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association to reinforce their cultural identity. In the latter, the Kabyle migrants engage in business activities to supply their community back home. The findings of the current research corroborate Mazzucato's (2008) findings, who found that the Ghanian migrants of the Netherlands are doubly engaged and contribute to their native country by investing in housing, business, education and also by donating at funerals. Yet, transnational diasporic activities involve maintaining social networks between the migrants and those left behind (Goldring, 2002; Iskander, 2010; Zhou and Lee, 2015).

9. 5. The idea of Staying, Returning or Looking for a New Home

The findings related to this final theme are discussed in relation to the sub-question of the fourth research question (4-E) that seeks to examine whether the participants of this research have the ambition to return to their homeland. The results of this study show that all participants except Fleur de Sable and Thiziri have regular visits to Algeria and they use the Internet to maintain contact with those left behind and keep informed about Algerian news. However, their narratives show explicitly the 'myth to return', in which they articulated clearly their decision not to return because of the dramatic deterioration in health, employment and educational system, for example, Dahiya said:

> In Algeria even if you work hard, you don't see your achievement and your wages don't take you anywhere […] this country gives us a better life because we got facilities, we got a better education for our children, we got the rights that we don't have back home.

Similarly, Axel has a well-established idea of not returning since he decided to migrate: "*In my head, I came here but I will never come back to Algeria. This was my decision on my first day*". Unlike Axel, Tutor stated in his diary that he came to the UK with the idea to return. However, as months progressed Tutor changed his mind because of the influence of Professor X who motivated him to undertake a PhD course and also his friends who motivated him to look for a job.

> I came here with the intention to go back but I ended up staying […] if I didn't meet professor X maybe I wouldn't have had the motivation to do a PhD […] people around were trying to convince me to stay because we were a band of friends […] Obviously, we spent some time together and they started working and earning money and that did obviously influence me in the sense I became encouraged to make money as well.

Tamazight is the only participant who invoked the possibility to return if she would not have an outstanding job related to her master's when she said: "*After I finish my studies if I don't get an outstanding opportunity as an engineer in London, I will be heading back to France*". In contrast to other participants who came from Algeria, Tamazight's return to France would not affect her social well-being because her homeland is a politically, economically and socially stable country. In addition, returning to France, she would have the same lifestyle and more or less the same cultural value, the only change that she would face is the language. However, the Kabyle first-generation's return to Algeria may result in acculturative stressors such as clashes between the migrants and their peers in terms of behaviour, cultural values and religion and other issues such as the lack of employment, low-paid jobs and the patriarchal rules, particularly to women. For example, Fleur de Sable reveals that she does not fit in the Algerian environment: "*I don't see the point of going back hmm I don't fit very well in Algeria. I feel a stranger in my country more than in here*".

Similarly, when I asked Mazigh whether he wants to return to Algeria, he responded promptly: "*My country, my country is for holidays, it's not for going back there forever!*". I felt obliged to follow up on the question by asking him the reason behind his definitive decision. Mazigh explained his decision is due to the instability of the country, which subsequently affected the health and educational sectors. He went on to say:

> Because it is a country which is not stable […] It's not a country, where I would feel comfortable. You know Algerians are submissive people, we have never governed Algeria […] we are warriors, not citizens […] Until now, we are submissive people with the current governance, which ruins us [pause] there are four important things in a country; identity, education, justice, medical system, we have none of these!

The fact that Mazigh describes Algeria as an unstable country, may result from the aftermath of the black decade that deteriorated the country. In addition, from his answer, we may depict different expressions: a feeling of anger, loss of hope and dissatisfaction. He expressed anger at the Algerian political regime, which ruined the country instead of bringing back the political stability of the pre-black decade period. Thus, he lost hope that Algerians would revolt for their rights and achieve real power. In addition, he complained bitterly about the lack of the four pillars that a country should have; identity, education, justice and medical system. In addition to my participants' thinking of migration as being without return, I would emphasise that all participants of the current study would not go back home despite the family separation and dislocation.

While other participants stated clearly that the UK is their new home, Thiziri, stated in a few words that she might leave the UK due to the weather, which makes her feel depressed. Nevertheless, she said that she would under no circumstance return to Algeria, rather she implied the possibility to look for another foreign country that provides her similar lifestyle but with better weather.

> here [in the UK] we have more winter. It isn't a country that encouraged people to stay for a long time. I mean for years and years. I don't think that I will be staying here due to this […] My motivation was to do my studies and to settle for a few years not forever.

Similar to Thiziri, although Mazigh indicated that he will not return to Algeria as previously discussed in this section, he revealed that he is determined to leave the UK within a few years for another destination country.

> It remains to me five years or six years to go back to France, I won't stay here. We need a familial atmosphere; we need a family. I don't know maybe is due to the age, I start to get older, I become more sensitive, I prefer to be surrounded by family rather than being surrounded by friends […] because we may feel more secure, I guess.

From this, we can readily understand that Mazigh's decision to return to France results mainly from the lack of family in the UK. It is common among some Algerian first-generation migrants to perceive the host society as a suitable refuge for young migrants who are still working and/or studying. However, as soon as they reconstruct their career and secure the future of their children, they tend to have regular visits and stay for a long time, if not they settle in their homeland. In addition, at a certain age, some migrants think that their best home is the one that offers them a familial atmosphere, as exemplified by Mazigh. According to attachment theory, parent-child attachment does not only develop during childhood (Bowlby, 1969; Fox and Card, 1999; Holmes, 2014), but it can be also developed during the lifespan (Bowlby, 2005). By applying attachment theory in the migration context, this study suggests that at a later age the adult migrants may still need the attachment to familial figures who may provide a sense of security and lessen the feeling of loneliness.

The findings of this study reveal that despite the challenges that the Kabyle participants faced, they negotiated a new identity in their receiving society, and they have achieved a sense of belonging to a transnational space where they currently live. In her diary, Fleur de Sable wrote:

"*I don't feel like an immigrant at all, I have my own family here and I am living a normal life as anyone who is from this country*". This lack of feeling 'otherness' perhaps resulted from her partial assimilation into her new society and also the host society's acceptance of her cultural heritage. In his interview, Mazigh expressed the idea of belonging:

> I feel that I am at home. It's my home. I think it [the UK] is my first home and Algeria is my second home […] My son was born here, and I lived here for 22 years hmm that's my home. I don't feel a stranger here because I have things in this country […] I have my house, I have my business, I pay taxes.

Here Mazigh indicates that many facts make him feel that he belongs to his new society: having a child born in the UK, his long stay, having a home, having his business and contributing to his new society by paying taxes. For this reason, I suggest that the sense of belonging to a new society cannot be separated from migrants' reconstruction of new life during migration. My participants certainly seem to be satisfied with their new life, they found jobs, they built new self-perception, they have better income and most important of all is that they feel accepted by their host society, which facilitated their integration (Richmond 1993, cited in Richmond, 2001). In addition, the feeling of belonging in the host society is not only achieved by their host society's acceptance but also, on their abilities to adapt themselves to different cultures and values. With the lack of such adaptation, it would be difficult to achieve a sense of belonging, a feeling that results in a more satisfying life. Thus, integration is a process that involves learning and adapting to new cultures, traditions and values. I believe that they are more satisfied and enjoy secular England rather than the lack of civil liberty in Algeria. Although some participants revealed that they were perceived as 'terrorists' a stereotype resulted from the black decade period, their intellectual identity and tolerance helped them to change others' views and ease their adaptation to their host society culture.

Conclusion

It has been noted that the participants showed some degree of attachment to their in-group members, which provided them with a sense of support, fraternity and home. Although most participants showed a strong attachment to their homeland, it was mainly considered as nostalgia for their childhood but not a place where they wish to return. The participants of this study showed a strong attachment to their culture and language, which they describe as an asset for their cultural identity and group affiliation. Giving such importance to their cultural identity, the Kabyle diaspora of the UK carried their cultural and linguistic heritage to their new environment. Fleur de Sable is reluctant to transmit her cultural and linguistic heritage to her daughters. Thiziri, however, finds it difficult to transmit her linguistic heritage to her children because of the lack of in-group community and contact. Others, on the other hand, made efforts to maintain their performance and proficiency in their mother tongue, which they could transmit to their children, such as the case of Dahiya and Painter. Despite being transplanted in an English environment, the French language and culture are still present among the Algerian Kabyle diaspora. However, the Arabo-Algerian culture and Darija, which was already disregarded and not adopted, is vanishing from the Kabyle migrants' repertoire. In maintaining continuity with the Berber culture heritage, it strengthens their co-ethnic bond among the Kabyle diaspora and those left behind. Yet, to integrate into their host society, the Kabyle migrants found themselves obliged to adapt to the host culture and language. It is clear that the Kabyle Algerians who participated in this study were able to reconstruct their personal and professional selves because of their host society that facilitated their social and economic integration and encouraged the development of their agency. The process of negotiating their Algerian Berber origins and their transnational identity facilitated their integration process into their new society. Transnational cultural activities are evident in the Kabyle diaspora of the UK, they showed a desire to transplant their cultural heritage abroad and aim to attract the

second generations. The economic and political transnational activities, however, are ambiguous and difficult to discern among the Kabyle diaspora of the UK. Nevertheless, some engage in remittances, and they send money to their parents. All in all, although there is a sign of diaspora and transnationalism among the Kabyle migrants, their hope to have a strong collective community is not yet achieved.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Introduction

The current chapter presents an overall discussion of the analysis of the themes that emerged from the research as evidenced by the narratives of the participants in reference to the findings of each research question as presented in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. The chapter also discusses the implication of the attachment theory and the role of IPA in exploring the lived experiences of the Kabyle Diaspora of the UK. The limitations of the project and the contribution to knowledge are also discussed along with the recommended areas for further research. It is important at this stage to review the research questions presented in the introduction which are as follows:

1) What are the determinants that motivated Kabyles to take the initiative to migrate?

This study has given support to the literature that the decision to migrate does not occur in a vacuum. However, there are different reasons, which either push or pull individuals to migrate as described in Chapter 2. The spread of the Kabyle diaspora to the UK and the shift in choices of destination country, drew my attention to explore the circumstances under which Kabyles were living in Algeria and their reasons for choosing the UK as their new home.

2) What are the coping strategies they adopt to be part of the host society?

When studying a group of migrants, it is important to look at acculturation as suggested by Berry (1996) as discussed in section 3. 2. 1 within chapter three. It is also important to look at migrants' role in the host society and their relationship with the mainstream group. Therefore, the current exploratory research seeks to examine the strategies that the Kabyle participants adopt to be part of their new home and whether they developed a sense of belonging to their new environment.

3) What are the challenges that they encountered during their pre-migration and post-migration periods?

In exploring migrants' lived experiences, one should explore the determinants of migration and whether the migrant integrated or assimilated to the host society. This project goes beyond this by trying to look at the Kabyle participants' well-being and the challenges they encountered in their pre-and post-migration periods. The project also explored their transnational space; this was done not only to add new knowledge and/or to reinforce an argument in the existing literature but also to understand participants' responses to the challenges, their ambitions and achievements.

4) Do they have a sense of attachment to their community, culture, and homeland?

4- A) What is their relationship with their in-group members?

4- B) To what extent their cultural identity and cultural maintenance is considered to be important?

4- C) To what extent is their homeland contact considered to be important?

4-D) How do their transnational activities contribute to their transnational peers and their peers back home?

4- E) Do they have the ambition to return to their homeland?

When studying a minority ethnic group who experienced cultural oppression in their country of origin, it is important to look at their culture as well as at their relationship with their peers in the transnational space and back home. For this reason, this project explores Kabyles' cultural dimensions using attachment theory, to look at the importance of Berber culture and

the role of their in-group contact in exile. As such, it is possible to expand the attachment theory to more abstract features 'culture' and 'community', which subsequently enabled me to explore whether Kabyles of the UK could be described as a transnational diasporic group.

10. 1. Discussion of Implication Regarding Emergent Themes

This research study produced specific themes as evidenced by the data drawn from the interview-diary-interview method with 10 Kabyle migrants living in the UK (this is further discussed in section 10.3 within this chapter). As such, these themes are unique to this research and the above research questions have been discussed in relation to the implications of key findings.

10. 1. 1. Kabyles' Decision Making in Migrating to the UK

The study revealed that the reasons that pushed these Kabyles to migrate are not limited to fleeing the cultural oppression of the 1980s and the violence of the 1990s. However, the consequences of violence of the 1990s increased the rate of migration among both skilled and less skilled Kabyles. Their reasons for migration range from a feeling of insecurity, social restrictions – specifically directed to women - and lack of employment. Both men and women without good connections are likely to face barriers in employment.

The current research revealed interesting findings in regard to the themes; the family and/ or next of kin influence on host society choice, and what attracts Algerian Kabyles to the UK. Many researchers have assumed that France is the main destination country for Kabyles because of the presence of at least one family member in France. This assumption still can be applied in the current research as seen in Mazigh and Axel, who initially wanted to migrate to France because of the language, culture and the help they may receive from their family members who already reside in France. Besides this, the current research revealed that the

movement of Kabyles to the UK resulted from the multicultural aspect of the country and also the employment availability. Thus, the Kabyle community in the UK may be considered as new and could have an impact on their peers back home who may think to choose Britain over France. The study may argue that the development of communication technologies, and the spread of the Kabyle diaspora to the UK, have both encouraged and facilitated the Kabyle movement to the UK. This shows that migrants no longer necessarily migrate to countries in which they have postcolonial ties and/or familial attachment. For this reason, it is necessary to study the lived experiences of Kabyle migrants in countries other than France.

10. 1. 2. Kabyles' Acculturation Process

In relation to this theme, the current study revealed that although these Kabyle research participants have faced some barriers in the employment sector, such as the non-recognition of their Algerian qualifications, they successfully integrated their new environment. This was achieved through participating in the world of work, respecting the rules and adapting to the host society's culture. The only change that may appear in their personality trait is the adjustments to certain behaviours that may be considered inappropriate in their host society. Their acculturation strategy is mainly adaptation, as revealed by the majority of the participants who show dual engagement in both the culture of the host society and their cultural heritage. However, the assimilation strategy was found in Fleur de Sable, who showed a high degree of attachment to the host society culture and a low degree of attachment to Berber culture and her in-group members.

10. 1. 3. Challenges and Acculturative Stressors

The literature review identified other migrants' acculturative stressors such as the lack of language, the difficulty to adapt to the host society culture, and the discrimination they receive

due to their skin colour. This research, however, revealed that the main psychological distress that has a significant impact on their well-being is family separation, as seen in the narratives of many participants. Their post-migration period is categorized by the feeling of loneliness that is felt especially during the periods of loss and illness. The psychological distress of some participants was shaped by the persistent memories of the violent conflicts that impeded the progress of their professional career, which subsequently affected their professional status in their host society, as illustrated by Musician and Mazigh. The undocumented status was another source of psychological distress for the participants during the early years of their migration, as exemplified by Musician and Axel who appeared to live ongoing uncertainty and anxiety.

10. 1. 4. In-group and cultural attachment

The current research revealed that although Kabyle participants of this study showed some degree of attachment to their in-group members, their community contact provides some participants with a sense of support, brotherhood and home. These migrants showed a high degree of attachment to their culture and language which they consider as an asset for their cultural identity and group affiliation. Throughout the analysis of participants' narratives, it became apparent that the participants have carried their cultural and linguistic heritage to their new home, as seen in the narratives of Tutor, Musician, Mazigh, Painter, Axel, Dahiya, Louiza and Tamazight.

By creating the Amazigh/Kabyle association and positioning their culture and language as an asset, they are able to position themselves as a transnational network. The participants who are also association members are keen to promote the Berber culture not only to the first-generation migrants but also to the second-generation especially the offspring of intercultural marriage. In addition, they hope to attract a non-Algerian audience to present their culture as part of North African origin. Through their participation in cultural events such as performing music and

cooking Kabyle meals, the participants negotiate their individual and collective identities and reinforce their in-group ties. As such, performing cultural activities do not simply aim to maintain their cultural heritage, but also to make a vibrant culture. The project revealed that their ethnicity/culture is undoubtedly important to these Kabyles, however, they are never reluctant to identify themselves as Algerians. Due to the lack of awareness about the origin of Algerians in the UK, the participants − rather than identifying themselves with national identity − often identify themselves with compound identity 'Algerian-Berber' to highlight the importance of their culture and their ongoing ethnonationalism. Regarding the idea of return, all participants feel at home in their host society and decided not to return to their homeland mainly due to the lack of security and democracy. One example of the latter appeared to be the re-election of President Bouteflika for the fourth term in 2014 despite his disability. Bouteflika succeeded to head the country, although his re-election was widely boycotted. His attempt at the re-election for the fifth term in 2019 led to massive peaceful protests that were organised all over Algeria as well as in Paris, London and Montreal. The Algerian population seemed to tell the world that although during the early years of his presidency Bouteflika succeeded in bringing back stability in politics, he did not provide economic, social, and cultural development (as explained in chapter two). For example, participants such as Thiziri and Fleur de Sable who moved to the UK to pursue further education decided not to return due to the difference in wages and also due to the radicalisation of the country respectively.

10. 2. The Implication of Using Attachment Theory

In this study, I sought to determine whether Kabyle migrants living in the UK could be considered as a diasporic group. Since attachment to the cultural identity, co-ethnicity and homeland are the core theme of diaspora (Cohen, 2002; Tölölyan, 2007), it seems well suited to use attachment theory as a tool to examine how Kabyles' in-group, cultural and homeland

attachment may lead to the creation of a Kabyle collective community in transnational space whilst trying to integrate the host society. The findings of this study demonstrated that the experience of family separation activated the Kabyle participants' attachment system leading to in-group attachment behaviour. Thus, we may argue that the phenomenon of migration does not completely separate transnational individuals from their cultural heritage as long as they are confident of the possibility of a return to their secure base, that is in-group closeness, which provided them with emotional security that strengthened their cultural ties and cultural maintenance, leading them to create an imagined collective community. A collective community refers to a group of people, who share some common sociocultural features and are engaged in social interactions in various ways. A diaspora in this sense constitutes a community, albeit one which has transnational dimensions, whose members are concerned with building social networks and engaging in cultural activities to maintain continuity of and reordering their cultural heritage in the transnational space.

In this study, attachment theory is found to be linked initially to family ties that is found in my participants since their childhood, later during their lifespan (both in Algeria − as they constitute a minority group − and in their diasporic space) has expanded to their culture, which is articulated in a number of ways such as the use of Tamazight, cooking Berber meals, listening to Kabyle songs, attending and/or celebrating cultural events and wearing Kabyle dress and/or jewellery. This research expands attachment theory – that had been focused on the relationship between infant-parent and/or parent-adolescent in child's development (Ainsworth, 1989; Sroufe and Water, 1977; Ketterson and Blustein, 1997; Kracke, 1997) – by exploring how attachment to a traditional identity, grounded in a culture of participative decision making over millennia, provided respondents with the ability to integrate a new culture on different terms. This is seen to be very different to previous Algerian migration of the 1960s and 1970s which had been framed by hard labour and difficult life conditions for those undertaking it.

The rationale of using attachment theory to explore the cultural dimensions of these Kabyle participants is threefold. The first reason, the Kabyle participants, including other acquaintances who are living in transnational space, often express the urgent need to preserve the Amazigh culture. It appears for most of them that Amazigh culture may be endangered especially among those who assimilate to other cultures. Thus, they suggested a cultural mobilisation that should be achieved through cultural organisations, which they believe is a space where they can practise their culture, and also it may provide help to new migrants by sharing their diasporic experiences and helping them to integrate into their new home. Secondly, Kabyle participants wanted to show other Algerian assimilationists that their culture and language is important to them even though they are living abroad. This has been noticed by their cultural activities that they use not only to maintain their culture but also to disseminate their culture and origins to other cultural groups. Finally, the participants revealed their complex relationship with their peers back home, who often appear to believe that the Kabyles living abroad given up on their traditions and language. It seems that the participants wanted to assert their Berber identity through mobilising with their peers in the transnational space and those living in Algeria.

10. 3. The Role of IPA in Exploring the Lived Experiences of Kabyle Diaspora

Exploring Kabyles' lives in a migration setting and examining their identity reconstruction in their new homes while they maintain their culture and maintain linkage to the homeland, can help our understanding of the concept of integration and shed light on how migrants deal with dual lives to contribute to both their host society and homeland. My research is framed by the IPA approach to allow the use of in-depth analysis to explore the lived experiences of the

participants during both their pre-and post-migration periods. Thus, the current research used the interview-diary-interview method with Kabyle participants, who were recruited through purposive snowball sampling. My own cultural and historical background and my status as a migrant sojourner make me part of the research. The narratives presented in this thesis can be argued as 'shared' stories; Kabyles who experienced cultural marginalization.

The key themes that emerged from the data resulted from my participants' shared cultural background and experiences. Similarly, my cultural affiliation and empathy helped me to conduct the interviews. Therefore, during their interviews, I was fully engaged by their narratives. Their stories speak of different experiences of Kabyle men and women who first experienced and/or witnessed cultural oppression and then lived the consequences of the black decade, which pushed some to migrate during the violence and some others during its aftermath. Moreover, on their arrival into their receiving country, some of these Kabyles faced barriers to integrate in the workplace due to their irregular status and foreign qualifications. Those who fled the country during the black decade, as seen in the stories of Musician and Mazigh, decided not to claim asylum due to the restrictive policies. In addition, the stereotypes attached to Algerian newcomers at that time meant that they were often perceived as potential terrorists, therefore it was difficult for Algerians to obtain visas, as exemplified by Musician who had been refused his visa application. The migrant status, however, was not the sole challenge that other participants have faced. Family separation is another psychological distress that impacted some participants' well-being, as seen in the narratives of Thiziri and Mazigh. Although they showed a high degree of resilience when reconstructing their lives, some participants deplored the acts of discrimination faced in their professional lives. Despite the anti-discrimination policy in the workplace, some participants faced a glass ceiling when attempting to access managerial positions, as exemplified by Fleur de Sable. Finally, their narratives invoked their responses to the challenges and the adjustments they made to fit within

their new environment to improve other Kabyles' lives and to ameliorate their well-being. The Kabyles of this study all agreed that they now enjoy their diasporic lives and have enlarged their knowledge, either in the field they qualified in Algeria, or gained later in the UK. In addition, the network of solidarity between some Kabyles is based on a sense of continuity with their cultural identity while they integrated into their host society and developed a sense of belonging to their new environment. In addition, it appears that Kabyles' transnational activities are mainly practised on social network platforms such as Facebook that enables them to create a group page to exchange information about Berber culture, Kabyle music and cultural events, as well as information on the social and political situation in Algeria. However, this group page is not limited to the Kabyle diaspora of the UK, but it also enables connection with other diasporic groups in exile, for example France and Canada, and with their peers in Algeria.

10. 4. Research Limitations

This research noted several limitations. The first concerns the feasibility of the fieldwork. The first proposed research method, which consisted of workplace observation, was not accepted by the research ethics committee due to the inaccessibility of the workplace of my participants. They believed that being in the workplace and observing my participants would raise many ethical issues towards the non-Kabyle employees, as well as the employer. However, this issue was solved by substituting the fieldwork with solicited diaries, which enabled me to collect rich and deep data. The second constraint that I faced during my research journey was reaching the target group. During the early stage of participants' recruitment, I found difficulty in locating and finding Kabyles. As the months progressed and I did not find participants, my supervisor suggested me to change the sampling criteria. This constraint, however, had been solved thanks to the help of some acquaintances who helped me to find Kabyles, and also thanks to the Kabyles who accepted to participate in my research study. Although I reached the

target group, they were not a random sample as required for the generalisation of the findings to other contexts and groups, however, the findings do allow suggestions for future research. This limitation, however, was addressed by providing a deep and rich analysis of the experiences of the group being studied to permit the readers to apply the findings to other groups in a similar context.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The research is based on the narratives of ten participants who migrated and have lived in the UK for more than two years. It discussed their reasons for migration, their reasons for choosing the UK as their new home, and to what extent their cultural attachment and in-group contact are important to them, and whether they intend to return to Algeria or not. In addition, it explores the potential 'Kabyle diaspora' through exploring the participants' relationships with their peers in their transnational space, as well as their relationships with their homeland. This demonstrated the complexity of identity reconstruction abroad and their dual sense of belonging to both their host society and homeland. The rationale for focusing on Kabyle migrants of the UK is due to the lack of scholarship on Kabyle Algerians in the UK and also to shift the focus from the established relationship between Algerians and France, which has gained the attention of many scholars. The newly established Kabyle diaspora in the UK is negotiated through maintaining Berber culture and language while reconstructing new identities to be part of their host society.

The study argues that although the cultural conflicts and civil war forced the movement of Kabyles, as seen in Painter, Mazigh and Musician, other ongoing push factors such as the lack of cultural tolerance, lack of employment and low paid jobs still force the Algerian population to migrate. As seen in Fleur de Sable and Axel, the reason for these participants to migrate was mainly due to the lack of secularism coupled with the feeling of insecurity. The research

revealed that the participants were discouraged from claiming political asylum because of more extreme forms of stereotypes, often associated with the assumption that they support terrorism, as seen in Musician and Mazigh. Musician and Axel were among the foremost who faced obstacles in integrating into the workplace in their new societies due to their irregular status. Thus, there is still much work to do in asylum claims in the UK to recognise the international asylum seekers from conflict-affected countries. The research also revealed further challenges such as the non-recognition of the Algerian qualifications which made their early years of migration difficult. Despite these challenges, participants showed a successful integration.

The research revealed that the Kabyle diaspora of the UK showed a weakness in establishing an organised and cohesive community, which may be the result of the former colonial rule that weakened the existing solidarity amongst Algerians. Thus, further research into what might consolidate their network to develop a sense of solidarity and cohesion would be beneficial for the Kabyle diaspora. In addition, participants' resilience requires supportive policies from the Algerian Consulate to help them fully engage with their diasporic space and their homeland. Despite the lack of strong solidarity, their participation and their help in recruiting other participants through snowball sampling demonstrated the existence of networks and a shared interest in the topic. Again, the attachment to their culture was the key factor in maintaining their in-group contact giving credibility to the argument that Kabyles may be classified as a diasporic group. Whether or not such a cultural group could be classified as a 'real' diaspora needs further exploration. As this research is the first to establish the narratives of Kabyle Algerians of the UK viewed from a cultural perspective, it would be useful to compare their degree of cultural attachment to their diasporic peers in Canada and France to determine whether a high degree of cultural attachment is influenced by the characteristics of the host society, personality, and the type of migrants (first or second generation).

As with other diasporic groups, transnational activities; such as investing in their home country, and sending money to help their peers back home, may contribute to their country of origin. This research, however, revealed that Kabyles' transnational activities are mainly limited to cultural activities and it found that Kabyles send money to help their family rather than the wider community. Indeed, the lack of financial engagement and remittances need to be addressed through the collaboration of the diasporic group and policymakers. For this to be achieved successfully, not only the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association could provide space where Kabyles can collect funds to help their peers living in Algeria but also the Algerian Consulate could help and support the Algerians living abroad who show a willingness to contribute to the country. As far as this research is concerned, the principal requirement is that the Algerian consulate should assist financially the Amazigh/Kabyle cultural association to ensure the promotion of Kabyle culture and language among the second generation. Finally, regarding the idea of the myth to return, all participants do not intend to return not only because of the bureaucracy and economic problems such as lack of employment and corruption, but also some participants invoked the social problems such as the radical Islamisation and the Arabisation of Algerian society, which impose the Islamic religion and Arab culture on both men and women. Therefore, the majority of the participants called for cultural tolerance and secularism to restore cohesion among Algerians and to create a bicultural country. The contribution that I believe my research offers to the wider body of knowledge is to widen the attachment theory to more abstract features 'culture' and 'community' that are in this research as the focal feature of the concept of the diaspora and transnationalism.

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