

“Half-Place, Half-Consciousness”: The (re)construction of Home and identity among migrants

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Abstract

This paper investigates the changing relationship with Home and the development of transnational identities among migrants in Japan. A qualitative approach involving in-depth semi-structured interviews was implemented with 12 graduate students at a Japanese university. The research reveals that maintenance of significant relationships and family traditions through virtual spaces and the migrant’s concept of Home are in a dynamic relationship. Home becomes a deterritorialized space, and the physical location of it becomes less relevant. As a result, the deterritorialized sense of Home creates space for the development of transnational identities.

Keywords: Transnational Identities, Transnationalism, Home, Mobility, Identity

1. Introduction

In an era of globalization and unprecedented migration, “Home” can easily become a fuzzy concept; as we become attached to multiple localities, our families become dispersed, and our notions of belonging expand (Bier & Amoo-Adare 2016). Discussing Home and belonging in the post-digital revolution era is particularly important, as clear-cut categories, such as us/them and here/there are getting blurred. Simultaneously, loyalties, values, social capital, and identities become multifaceted. Migrants’ identities and senses of belonging are being constantly reconstructed through their involvement in different social realities of multiple geographical locations (Vertovec 2001). Such synchronous involvement has been further enhanced by virtual spaces, such as the Internet, social media websites, direct messaging, and video conference applications, allowing an alternative for traditional social interactions.

In this paper, I will examine the changing concept of Home through everyday communication with family and other significant relationships and the development of transnational identities among migrants. First, I will situate this paper within the existing literature on Home and transnational identities. Second, I will address the research questions and methodology. Then I turn to the analysis of interviews with international students to answer the posed research questions, and, ultimately, finalize the paper with concluding remarks.

2. Home, family, and transnational identities

What is Home? In migration studies, Home is often used interchangeably with “country of origin,” emphasizing the state of belonging to one’s nation, country or culture. Another way

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to define Home is to collate it with the term "house." However, such interpretations of Home might be conceptually problematic. The former definition falls under "methodological nationalism," examining Home and belonging through the implication that nation is the most important ingredient in the mixture (Metykova 2010; Nowicka 2007). The latter, on the other hand, has mostly been maintained as a means of selling real estate and therefore fails to acknowledge the complex, multi-layered nature of the concept (Mallett 2004). Modern scholarship agrees that Home is not easy to define (Ralph & Staeheli 2011; Lucas & Purkayastha 2007; Wiles 2007). Home could be attached to a particular geographical location, it could be a metaphorical place (Silva 2014), a "constellation of relationships" (Mallett 2004), or a "fuzzy" and ever-changing concept (Bier & Amoo-Adare 2016). It can also be a place of security and comfort that people crave and seek (Taylor 2014), or it might be an unsafe place filled with fear and abuse (Mallett 2004). Essentially, Home is an intricate structure of ideas, spaces, identities, feelings, practices, relationships, and states of being (Ralph & Staeheli 2011; Wiles 2007; Mallett 2004).

In this paper, I adopt Nowicka's (2007) understanding of Home as a set of relationships, encompassing bonds with people, daily routines, customary interactions, memories, myths, and so on. Ralph & Staeheli (2011) see such sets of relationships as primary elements of Home and specific locales as secondary. In other words, Home is not necessarily tied to a particular location, but instead is constructed through relationships, and then consolidated through the repetition of localized social practices. As transnational lifestyles become widespread, Home acquires a transnational dimension as well. People live in the social worlds of multiple countries, develop attachments to different localities, and feel a sense of belonging in more than one place (Lucas & Purkayastha 2007). Transnational migrants simultaneously live in more than one place through regular communication, financial and bureaucratic obligations, building their daily activities and constructing identities through a constant dynamic relationship with Home (Wiles 2007). At its core, transnationalism is a type of consciousness that transcends one truth: belonging to more than one place, identifying as more than one ethnicity or nationality, living simultaneously in more than one location (Nedelcu 2012; Čiubrinskas 2006; Vertovec 1999). It transcends national/international, internal/external binaries, and allows people to participate simultaneously in more than one locality (Nedelcu 2012). "Being here and there," and "neither here, nor there" is one of the key features of transnational lifestyle (Vertovec 1999).

The ability to be "here and there" is further facilitated by the advancement of the means of communication. While transnational families and relationships are not new phenomena and have been previously sustained through an exchange of letters and phone calls, the spread of information and communication technology (ICT) allowed migrants to connect with Home instantly. Some studies have been conducted focusing on the impact of ICTs in developing transnational identities and maintaining the sense of everydayness with Home and family. Ahlin (2020) and Alinejad (2019), for instance, covered relationships between adult migrant children and their parents. Share, Williams & Kerns (2017) presented intergenerational relationships between parents, children, and grandparents, Nedelcu (2017) researched ICT-mediated grand-parenting, and Pham & Lim (2016) examined migrant students' relationships with their families. What is common among these studies is that for transnational migrants, "family" becomes a verb which encompasses the plethora of proactive practices and activities that are shared through, but not limited to, the ICTs, and turns into, as Share et al. (2017) refer to it, "doing and displaying" family.

To sum it up, Home is a complex, multi-layered structure built from relationships, routines, memories, identities, and spaces. As transnational lifestyles become more normalized in society because of the increasing availability of inexpensive means of transportation and

advancement of ICTs, Home becomes deterritorialized as well. As a result, the maintenance of relationships with people associated with Home, “doing and displaying” family, becomes one of the essential elements of re-constructing the subjective concept of Home and Home-related identity.

3. Research questions

Based on the observations presented in the previous section, the goal of the current inquiry is to investigate, first, the relationship between migrant students’ processes of “doing family,” and its influence on the concept of Home. Focusing on the maintenance of migrants’ close relationships is instrumental in understanding which elements of communication make them feel mutual co-presence, and monitor the shifts in perception of what Home is. The second research question addresses whether such practices contribute to the development of transnational identities among migrant students.

4. Methods

Empirical data was gathered during March-April of 2018 by conducting qualitative interviews with 12 full-time graduate students at a university in Japan. The initial respondents were selected through mutual connections, and the others were invited to participate through snowball sampling. Eight respondents were women, and four were men. All respondents arrived in Japan between 2011 and 2015, having spent at least three years in the country at the time of the interviews. At the time of conducting the interviews, the majority was planning to remain in Japan for an uncertain period, and eventually, leave to a third country. Each interview was conducted in English or Russian, with occasional Japanese words and phrases used by the participants, and took approximately one hour to complete.

5. Being together at a distance

Home is regularly linked to family and personal relationships both in academic literature and in popular discourse. For the majority of the migrant students participating in this research, the notion of family was strongly attached to their concept of Home. The presence of family was named as “the main determinant” of calling a place Home by several respondents. Relationships with family and Home are maintained through several communication tools, such as video conferences, instant messaging applications, and WhatsApp calls. The choice of a specific tool depends on a variety of factors, such as the level of digital literacy of the family members (Share et al. 2017, Pham & Lim 2016), availability of applications depending on geo-political localities (Ahlin 2020), and relationship closeness (Alinejad 2019; Bucholtz 2019; Pham & Lim 2016). Being able to contact family and friends at any time is a crucial element of maintaining close relationships and building a sense of everydayness.

Ilektra, a 28-year-old Ph.D. student from Greece, shared her experience:

No matter what you use, the fact that you have the means of being in the immediate contact with your family and friends is very important. Like, I think, that the times when people were going away, and all people had were pay-phones that were super expensive, I don’t know how they did that. In, like, I may not talk as much as I would like to, which is bad, but the fact that you have the possibility to do that is very important. It makes you feel safe. Like, if I want to talk to them, I can.

The instantaneous connection, made available by contemporary ICTs as opposed to more “traditional” modes of communication such as pay-phones, provided Ilektra with a sense of safety. The sense of gratitude towards modern technology was unanimously shared by all respondents, including Anna-Linda:

I can't imagine the times when we only had snail mail to be honest. No one can. No one can. And that's usually like, in any conversation, that thing pops up. At least once. Like, can you imagine, when we only had letters, like... I think I wouldn't have let you leave, or I wouldn't know you anymore or in anyway... <...> I guess it's because like the distance relationships existed also before all the Skype and Facebook whatever, and they still worked, it seems, I don't know how, I live in a different time, but yeah, it is helpful. (Anna-Linda, 26, Estonia)

As young adults who grew up at the time of rapid technological advancement, the participants struggle to imagine maintaining close relationships with Home without the advantages of the Internet: "I wouldn't be able to do it otherwise, writing letters is so much worse" (Ra'no, 27, Uzbekistan). The ability to effortlessly connect provides a sense of casualness, mutual co-presence, and safety. Moreover, it allows the students to maintain existing traditions despite national borders. Lesia, a 33-year-old Ph.D., recollected hosting a virtual Christmas celebration:

Obviously, it is better [to have online communication tools]. If Skype didn't exist, it would be much sadder, like, last time we had a Christmas party in our house, and we actually turned on the Skype, and we like showed family, and showed how we are celebrating, and they showed us the way they were having their Christmas party, so, if no Skype, no... there is no, yeah, chance to do it like that.

Similarly to Lesia, Anna-Linda annually joins her family on Skype during the Christmas dinner, and Waldir joins his family for Easter lunch:

With my family, especially during Christmas, I am with them on screen, eating Japanese food, while they are feasting on all the [Christmas] goodies.

No, I don't celebrate [Easter], but my family in Brazil – they do. So I just make myself coffee and I drink coffee with them. Every year they do the traditional lunch, Easter lunch. (Waldir, 27, Brazil)

For Anna-Linda and Waldir, physical distance does not prevent them from participating in annual traditions celebrated by their families. Doing things together at a distance allows the participants to keep a sense of "normality" and continuity. Migrants tend to find Home in routine practices, stories, memories, familiar interactions, familiar food, and customary ways of doing things (Nowicka 2007; Wiles 2007). Virtual participation in family traditions allows migrants to feel a sense of Home despite the physical distance, eventually expanding the subjective notion of Home.

Online co-presence is not merely a means of maintaining relationships. It allows migrants to foster, nurture, and strengthen connections through sharing new experiences via ICTs. Trisha, 29, a graduate student from India, describes her experience of going on virtual dates with her boyfriend:

But we did some shared activities, like we had a Skype date, we went for a dinner together on Skype one day. Quite a few times we watched movies together, or watched a series together, like me and him watching at the same time, and it felt like we're doing the activity together.

Eventually, Trisha and her boyfriend got married. She attributes the success of their long-distance relationship to messaging and video conference applications, such as Skype and WhatsApp:

We got married while being on distance pretty much all the time. Our relationship never really suffered because of it, touch wood. But it actually became, it actually grew and evolved through Skype, I would say. And whatever, WhatsApp. Ours could be like an online relationship. I don't know if we met 10 years, 20 years back when those things were not that advanced, I don't know if this thing survived and ended in marriage, I don't think it would be possible. I think it's a big... Today, ours is, I would say, touch wood, a successful relationship, because of modern technology and nothing else. And to first world countries that have good Internet. Like, also I really don't know what would happen if I was in India and he was, because, you know, it's not that good yet, services and all of that, if we would be able to do that many shared activities.

For a long time in migration studies, physical presence was considered to be the “gold standard,” implying a lesser involvement and emotional intimacy among transnational family members. However, digital co-presence is not any less significant than spending time together physically simply because of its virtual essence (Alinejad 2019). While there are things that could only be experienced when being physically together, such as touch and engaging in particular activities together, the absence does not necessarily mean emotional alienation.

To sum it up, the majority of respondents have initially defined Home as a place wherever their families are, while geographical location was secondary. One of the most efficient ways of preserving a sense of Home is through regular communication with family members left behind. In a transnational family context, sharing intimacy and strengthening relationships rely on the ways families create an ambient co-presence together at a distance (Alinejad 2019). Technological advancement and the availability of ICTs make it much easier for migrants to create a sense of mutual co-presence, feel connected with Home, feel safe, maintain family traditions, and even foster new relationships through virtual spaces.

6. Re-defining Home

Migration changes the concept of Home (Nowicka 2007). While settler populations experience Home as a complex, multi-layered structure as well, migrants tend to be more aware of changes in perceptions of Home, and therefore serve as a figure through which researchers can examine the meanings of Home and identifications related to it. Particularly, the everyday maintenance of relationships across national borders tends to undermine the importance of a solitary, unrivaled Home and allows migrants to re-configure their identification with Home in more than one place (Ralph & Staeheli 2011). Trisha, for example, initially identified her Home as India:

Home for me is India. Any day. Any time. Like, I don't feel as complete, like I feel when I'm in India. And now that I'm just back from India, I feel like my whole is still together.

Yet, Trisha acknowledges how her perception of Home has changed since her experience of living abroad. Before, Home was in India, “any day, any time.” Now, her Home is “everywhere”:

I liked it when I did not know any better. When I was there, I didn't see the world. That was my Home, that was my world. Now my Home is everywhere. Now I will never be fully happy anywhere. You know? Because, because my world is scattered now. But I still do feel that major parts of my world are [my husband], my family, some of my close friends. And if this part is still together, I will still feel together. (Trisha, 28, India)

Trisha reveals the inner conflict she has been experiencing since moving abroad. As globalization and transnational practices take away specific, unitary homelands and Homes that people used to have, it might bring up many negative feelings, such as loss, confusion, and angst (Bier & Amoo-Adare 2016). For Ra'no, a 27-year-old Ph.D. student from Uzbekistan, Home became "half-place and half-consciousness," which she defines as "more of a psychological relationship with a place." Particularly for migrants, Home becomes a symbolic space which embodies subjective feelings of safety, love, and belonging (Lucas & Purkayastha 2007). For transnational migrants, Home can be "everywhere" and "nowhere," as they live their social lives across nation-states, being "half here" and "half there." Anna-Linda shares a sentiment similar to Trisha and Ra'no's:

I would say that my Home is where my heart is, but my heart is everywhere, so... I don't know. I need... Probably, wherever you feel cozy and happy, that's where your Home is. And you can have many Homes at the same time <...> But I feel, that I lost... I lost my national identity and place, to which I belong 100%. <...> I feel like I belong, and like I don't.

In contrast to their settler friends and family, migrants develop a much broader understanding of what Home means to them (Bier & Amoo-Adare 2016). Alternatively, they can identify as having several distinct Homes instead of one, similarly to what Anna-Linda was talking about in the quote. Ilektra sees her Home divided between three places: her hometown in Greece, Athens, and Japan. Feelings of safety, happiness, freedom, and community are what makes place a Home for her:

Home is a place where you feel safe and happy, and surrounded by people, who make you feel safe and happy. Doesn't matter, where it is. I think, I could call Japan one of my Homes. <...> In Greece it's my town and Athens, but two countries, Greece and Japan. It's people, whom you love, it's a safe place and the ability to do what you want. (Ilektra, 28, Greece)

Not for everybody having more than one Home brings up a sense of loss and confusion, as described by Bier & Amoo-Adare (2016). Waldir, originally from Brazil, feels good about having two Homes simultaneously. For him, this means two places to feel belonging and safety: "I feel good, I leave one Home and I come back to the other Home."

Home can be divided into a *home* Home and a professional Home:

There are several different Homes. For example, Japan would be mine, how do I say it, specific Home, where I can do whatever I want, my "professional Home" is here. But as a person, my Home is Estonia. It is a very complicated feeling. I can't say that one Home is more "Home" than the other. It's just two completely different Homes. (Anna-Linda, 26, Estonia)

Anna-Linda's experience is consistent with a study conducted by Lucas & Purkayastha (2007) regarding the Home identities of Canadians working in the United States. Many of the interviewees described both Canada and the U.S. as their Home, associating each

country with different aspects of their lives. Just like for Anna-Linda, their “work” Home was in the United States, and their “family” Home was in Canada. None of these “homes” was more important than the other; they merely co-exist simultaneously, in the spirit of transnationalism, “transcending one truth.” Alternatively, Home might be constructed from several places where the members of the extended family live (Mallett 2004):

For me, Home might be in more than one place. So like, family, people... It has to be people that are my family. But it doesn't have to be in my home country. (Lesia, 33, Ukraine)

For Lesia, among others, the presence of her family is the main determinant of why she would call a place one of her Homes. As she explains, it does not necessarily have to be tied with her home country. At the same time, another Home exists: the Home that she remembers from her childhood. After Lesia's family moved, the Home to which she still feels an emotional attachment does not exist anymore, and only remains in memories. Ra'no shares a similar sentiment:

Yes, I remember my childhood Home – that is also my Home, but it doesn't exist anymore. In that sense, I can't say that where my parents live now is Home, because I can't come back to my childhood Home.

Since she does not have any family-related memories in the place where her parents currently live, she does not perceive that place as Home. For her, it has no emotional or sentimental value.

To sum it up, the definition of Home is remarkably flexible and subjective, and at the same time quite universal. It might mean a childhood family Home, hometown, place of birth, place of residence, nation-state, or planet Earth (Bier & Amoo-Adare 2016). Home constitutes many things and is individual to each person: it might be a particular house, one's country of birth, a significant relationship, or a set of feelings associated with Home. Moreover, Home is in a dynamic relationship with migrants' life experiences and ways of “doing family.” The accessibility of ICTs allows maintaining intimacy with family members, while information on the Internet, like current news and real-time pictures, normalize deterritorialization and pluralization of Home. As a result, the majority of the student migrants participating in this study have developed attachments and loyalties to more than one place through their life experiences and transnational practices.

7. Developing transnational identities

Mallett (2004) writes that Home is not only a place of origin, it is also a point of destination. The construction of Home can become a quest for The Promised Land, based on lived or imagined, nostalgic, romanticized, and/or idealized images of memories, places, relationships, and activities we associate with Home (Taylor 2014; Mallett 2004). Both Jason and Lesia have an image of a Home they would like to build for themselves in the future. Jason describes Home as a mystical destination he has not reached yet, but intends to build one day:

Home is like this mystical place that I haven't reached. It's a small house with a big kitchen, there's a lot of board games, a lot of vegetables in the garden, kids are running outside, and friends are living nearby. Yes, for me Home is a physical place, something, towards which I am working. For me Home is something that one day I will create myself.

In Jason's mental picture, Home is an embodiment of the things that are important to him: a small house, space for his hobbies, cooking, board games, children, and friends living nearby. Lesia also feels that she has not yet reached a place she would be able to call Home:

I think, one day I will have a place, which I will be able to call my Home, you know, a place where I plan to live for a long time, perhaps, my own place, and I will definitely invest my time and energy into that place, which I will call my Home. But now [where I live] it's not that place. And I don't have a feeling that my Home is somewhere else right now, no... But you start to develop a relationship with a place. You find the best hairdresser in the world, because it will be the hairdresser which you'll be visiting for the rest of your life, you know? That's the thing. That would be Home.

For her, it is less about the physical properties and attributes of the house, and more about building long-term relationships with the place, people, and surroundings. Neither Jason's nor Lesia's description of their ideal Home had any references to a particular geographical location, which highlights the idea that an ideal Home could be created anywhere in the world. Their experiences are consistent with Ralph & Staeheli's (2011) argument that initially, and particularly for migrants, Home arises from relationships with both humans and non-humans, and only later can it be localized in a fixed location. The relative insignificance of place and migrants' confidence in the ability to create Home anywhere in the world demonstrates the migrants' shift towards a transnational mindset:

Well, I think that you can belong to any country you want, basically. I'm not saying culturally, but you can move to any country you want and feel at home there. And relate to it. Any country you want. And it got stronger... The feeling that you can, that you can have a life in any country, not just where you were born. <...> I understood that the world isn't as big as I thought it was. And you don't have to live only in Ukraine, where you were born, but you can live anywhere. In any country, and still relate to Ukraine, and come back Home to Ukraine. I mean that sense of mobility, I think. It became much stronger. (Yuliya, 25, Ukraine)

That's also something that, uhm, I... kind of felt more strongly about in the beginning, when I moved here and everything. But now I'm like kind of getting tired of all nationalities to begin with, like... It shouldn't be something you define yourself by, like, you should define yourself by you. Your experiences, not like, I'm from this group, or like, I like these things, it's basically something like because I like pink, I'm pink or something. It doesn't really matter, yeah.... Not anymore. Used to. Not anymore. (Anna-Linda, 26, Estonia)

Anna-Linda shares how over time, national identity became less important to her. Instead of describing herself in terms of nationality, she views herself as a global person:

I do have to say, like, aiming for more transnational, like, global kind of message, yeah, that has become quite a big part. Like I said, I kind of grew apart from the nationalism of Estonia or any other European country, and, like, I don't get it anymore really. Yeah, just more of this universal, universal topics, universal humanity, kinda like that, yeah. Trans-border, without any borders kind of mentality has become stronger because I'm away, that's true. (Anna-Linda, 26, Estonia)

Echoing Anna-Linda's experiences, Waldir prefers to think of himself as a citizen of the world:

Yeah, I would go, like, for a more general term, like, a citizen of the world. I mean, there's, like, I've been to US, then I've been in Japan, then I lived in Brazil. <...> I think I'm stuck in a limbo. There's no, like, my place, I'm a citizen of the world, I could be anywhere. (Waldir, 26, Brazil)

Yuliya, Anna-Linda, and Waldir share a common sentiment of being able to find Home anywhere in the world. They reveal that after living abroad their self-image expanded to include multiple national borders (Ramie 2006). In other words, through their journey as migrants, they managed to reconfigure their sense of identity to merge old and new meanings, which eventually led to the transformation of their concept of Home (Ralph & Staeheli 2011). The increasing interconnectedness across borders, virtual co-presence with family and other significant relationships, as well as belonging to social groups of other transnational migrants contributes to a smoother transition to identifying as a "citizen of the world." Lena emphasizes the impact of her social network, mostly comprising of other international students, on diversification and globalization of her identity:

I mean, I live in one country, I take courses in another country, I work for a third country, I mean, judging just by that I am super transnational. I keep in touch with people from other countries, I mean, either my home country, or I also have several friends with whom I constantly keep in touch with, from other countries. And also, here, <...> I hang out with foreigners, and that also, like, affects the way I, like, see myself, it affected my habits. Like, affects how I see myself. <...> It all rubs on you. And I feel like I'm a cultural chameleon, I adopt certain things, gestures, words, concepts, and yeah, that's why, like, what works for me I keep, and what doesn't, I throw away. (Lena, 25, Lithuania)

To sum it up, Home is a complex structure, a virtual place, inhabited by memories, experiences, spaces, and relationships (Mallett 2004). For migrants, in contrast with their settler family and friends, the notion of Home becomes a significant life anchor and a space for contemplation. After experiencing living far away from a family Home, migrant students develop transnational identities, which result in belongings, loyalties, and attachments to multiple places. Not everyone maintains the same levels of transnational integration, as it varies depending on individual characteristics and circumstances. However, the general trend reveals that migrants tend to fuse their old and new values and re-shape their identities towards a more transnational vector (Ralph & Staeheli 2011). The shift to a transnational mindset alters the students' orientations towards their future Home(s): Home becomes a deterritorialized idea, tied neither to a family Home in the country of origin nor to their current place of residence. In other words, after having a positive experience in establishing their own Home, and maintaining intimate relationships with their significant relationships across the international borders, migrants do not feel limited geographically in their "quest for Home." Rather, the main point of reference becomes rooted in their subjective judgment about how they feel in a particular locale.

8. Conclusion

This paper pursued two goals. First, it described how migrants maintain their close relationships with people back at Home, and how this affects their concept of Home. And second, it investigated whether virtual co-presence and a shifting sense of Home contribute to the development of transnational identities. I conclude that the shift to the transnational type of consciousness is facilitated by the maintenance of intimate co-

presence with migrants' significant relationships and the consequent deterritorialization of the meaning of Home among migrant students.

Despite missing small things, such as physical affection, the smell of cooking, and taking trips together, through ICTs migrants are able to share everyday moments freely through instantaneous connection and creating a sense of mutual co-presence. The students reported feeling involved in the everyday lives of their families. Not only did they successfully maintain already established relationships, but they were also able to deepen them, and even foster new ones. This was achieved through regular online communication and virtual participation in existing family traditions, such as joining family gatherings for celebrations or establishing new shared practices online. The relationships, then, become deterritorialized, as virtual co-presence and involvement in the loved ones' lives through ICTs provide a sense of comfort, security, and belonging, something migrants associated with Home.

I argue that the migrant students' transnational experiences and the practices of "doing family" have transformed the way they feel and think about Home. The migrants described Home as "half-place, half-consciousness," a set of relationships, or the feelings of happiness, security, and love, associated with a place. Due to contemporary hyper-connectivity, the understanding of Home becomes more flexible and context-dependent. Feeling actively involved in the lives of significant people despite physical distance facilitates the transition to a deterritorialized, transnational perception of Home. It translates into being able to feel at Home in more than one place in the present. In terms of the future, it detaches migrant students from deciding between their future Homes based on geography and family proximity alone, thus creating space for the development of transnational lifestyles, mindsets, and identities.

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