Home across borders: The meaning and making of home experience for Grenadian transnational families

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Abstract

Navigating the multifaceted and temporal transnationalism experience is a daily element of life for many Grenadian families. With its communication and remittance processes, the transnationalism experience is as much a function of individual perception and behaviours as it is a function of recognition, adherence and interpretation of collective social and cultural structural norms. The meaning of home, a similarly multilayered and dynamic phenomenon, is deeply personal. Arguably, irrespective of whether meanings are physical or social in nature perceptions of home influence decision making, sociocultural relationships, and economic wellbeing.

Using a qualitative Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) framework, this research finds that for pairs of transnational family members the meaning of home and the transnationalism experience are interconnected. The resulting transnational home system, both a state of being and a process, is a balance of individual and collective influences and decisions, and is in the process an exercise in familial resilience in the face of a range of positive and negative circumstances. This research also finds that although significant in its ability to unify the players experiencing the phenomenon, the experiences of the making of the transnational home are also subjective, depending on variable levels of exposure to a number of social, economic, cultural, political and environmental factors.

Only with the acknowledgement of this systematic complexity, beyond any fragmented or highly specified notions of transnationalism and the home, can the wide reaching personal and policy implications of the transnational home be fully realised.

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Preface

The transnational family is an important part of the Grenadian experience, with many Grenadians having made the choice to migrate to pursue opportunities for their families and themselves. A difficult journey that can also be rewarding, it often requires the collaborative effort of all family members, both in Grenada and outside of Grenada. This is to ensure that the benefits of transnationalism are realised, all while making a home that reflects their ideals, goals and dreams and offers a place of refuge, comfort and collaboration, despite occurring across multiple geographic locations.

The notion of the "Grenadian home" is expanding due to transnationalism, and as a Grenadian who has personally experienced Grenadian transnationalism, it is important that research sensitively and respectfully capture this significant aspect of the Grenadian lived experience. A further reason for my research is to critically assess preconceived notions of the transnational home and Grenadian experience.

This research journey brings both challenges and rewards. The very limited Grenadian research on the personal, social and cultural elements of the transnational home means that there are no previous theorisations, within a specifically Grenadian context, to draw from. Any examples of research on this area are older, or generalised, economically focused, and do not capture the essence of the truly Grenadian experience, as spoken by Grenadians.

Additionally, the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic and other personal challenges during my data collection and analysis phases meant that there were unexpected delays and additional difficulties to navigate. Travelling to Grenada was not possible due to Covid-19 restrictions. Face-to-face data collection, which provides the richness of data and acts as a visual representation of the nuances and variations of the daily experience, was not possible. Multiple lockdowns also meant that the writing process was at times isolating. However, the personal lessons, professional triumphs and the interviewing of the Grenadian transnational families has been rewarding. Moreover, the research community within my PhD department has been invaluable. Despite the challenges, I persevered and was able to produce a thesis that presents the experiences around the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Grenada and its history

Grenada is an independent tri-island state comprised of mainland Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique. Situated in the Eastern Caribbean (latitude 12° 07' N and 61° longitude 40' W) near to Trinidad and Tobago and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Mainland Grenada is 12 miles (18km) wide and 21 miles (34km) long, and covers a land area of 120 sq. miles (440 sq. km). Carriacou is 13 sq. miles (34 sq. km) and Petite Martinique is 486 acres (194 hectares). The island has seven parishes (See Table 1), and the capital is St Georges.

Table 1: The Parishes of Grenada

Parish	Main town
Saint Patrick	Sauteurs
Saint Mark	Victoria
Saint John	Gouyave
Saint Andrew	Grenville
St George	St. George's
St David	St. David's
Carriacou	Hillsborough

Grenada has a rich cultural and social history. Before discussing the contemporary issues affecting the transnational home, identified in subsequent chapters, there must be an understanding of the historical journey of the island. The historical happenings, from the first settlement to its colonial history and the development of social policies, have contributed to and provided helpful context about the social, cultural, economic and environmental space where the Grenadian transnational families included in this research function.

The Arawaks and the Caribs originally settled Grenada, prior to its discovery by Christopher Columbus in 1498. A period of European colonisation followed. The French colonised in 1674, followed by the British in 1763.This was followed by a second period of French colonisation beginning in 1779 and a second period of British colonisation beginning in

1783. During the European colonisation in the 18th century, sugar plantations were established, and slaves were brought from Africa to work on the plantations (Steele, 1974; Steele, 2003, Government of Grenada, 2013).

After slavery was abolished on the island in 1834, the years that followed brought about the development of the labour movement and political parties on the island. Eventually, Grenada joined the Federation of the West Indies in 1958 (Lewis, 2010; Nelson, 2020). After the Federation of the West Indies was dissolved in 1962 (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2018), Grenada became "an associated state with an internal self-government" in 1967 (Government of Grenada, 2013). Independence followed on February 7th 1974 after which Grenada became a constitutional monarchy (Steele, 2003; Steele, 1974, Government of Grenada, 2022).

1.2 Social Policy in Grenada

During colonisation, social welfare systems were absent because social needs were ignored in favour of the prioritization of the economic benefits of slave labour (Hart, 2002). Grenadian post-colonial social policy was marked by low human development investments, low social spending, limited social protection and an educational system that largely focused on providing the minimum education required to join the labour force. Education as a means of transformational change was not a priority. (Lewis, 2010, p. 6).

In the early 1960s, much of Grenada's post-colonial economic challenges centred on the dependence on agricultural exports which amounted to 30% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Lewis, 2010, p.5). Therefore, a specific policy goal became ensuring that there was expansion of the existing economy and the inclusion of a tourism and domestic manufacturing sector. This was facilitated through tax breaks, import duty waivers and limits placed on the returns of profits from investments to countries of origin outside of Grenada (Lewis, 2010). By the 1980s, the economic sectors had grown to include the construction sector.

However, similarly to the trend seen across the Caribbean, Grenada's growth experienced during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s was not enough to mitigate the present social and economic challenges. One result was a dependence on financial institutions such as the

World Bank and the IMF, which provided funds but in doing so placed conditions. Consequently, the ability of Grenada as the borrowing country to address their own social and economic needs was severely limited (Brown, 2002; Lewis, 2010).

Therefore, the legacy of economic dependence means that despite some educational, development and economic and policy advancements, the mitigation of Grenadian education, living standards, employment, health and risk management remains a challenge. Approximately 35% of the Grenadian population is under the age of 18 and 57 % is over the age of 35 (Government of Grenada, 2017, p. 27). Additionally, women head approximately 47 per cent of Grenadian households, with more than 20 per cent located in the more rural areas of the island (Government of Grenada, 2017, p. 27).

The total number of Grenadians, who are deprived of any of the multidimensional factors of education, living standards, employment, health and risk management, but not monetarily poor, is 23,645 (19%). The number of Grenadians who are both monetarily poor and deprived of one or more of these multidimensional factors is 13,300 (10%). The populations of Grenadians who are monetary poor but not multidimensional poor is 13,162 (11%) (World Bank, 2021, p.36). These figures show that wellbeing is complex and deprivation affects Grenadians in any number of ways.

The social challenges in Grenada require multifaceted mitigation approaches. In light of the economic challenges faced by Grenada and the limited resources available to social policy, a growing contemporary form of social protection implemented to fill the social policy gaps is that of transnationalism and the proceeds of remittances.

In contemporary Grenada, family members make the decision to migrate leaving the family geographically separated and form new family structures that comprise of family members who reside in Grenada and family members who reside outside of Grenada. The result is the navigation of familial processes that occur in the backdrop of differing geographic, social, political, cultural and economic environments.

The navigation of these circumstances is complex. The ongoing separation experience serves as a positive and negative reminder of the transnational existence, and either hinders or motivates the drive to make the best of their current circumstances. The results are

economic and social transnational processes facilitated by multilevel communication between family members and their wider communities. Processes that are also conceptualised based on life before migration and life after migration.

At the same time, the families have to navigate and reconcile their meanings of home, a construct that is as personal and multifaceted as the transnational families, who experience it. However, the meaning of home is temporal, influenced by changing circumstances, and it is also personal, nuanced and subject to varying interpretations, depending on the prevailing positive or negative circumstances faced by any individual or collective group (Gurney, 2020; Lancione, 2019; Meers, 2021). Therefore, the transnational family has to navigate the shifting meanings of home as they occur at multiple stages of their life experience, including prior to migration and while belonging to a transnational family.

1.3 Research aims

The experiences of home and transnationalism do not exist in isolation. Accounting for the fact, that transnationalism and the meaning of home exist within the same prevailing economic, social and cultural constructs there is intersection of the two phenomena. The result is the transnational home. This research finds that the transnational home is a balance between individual and collective notions of home, the temporal balance between the past and the present, and an active process. Rather than comprising of a number of isolated experiences is an intricate and dynamic system encompassing emotions, practicality, and wider social, political, cultural and economic factors.

This thesis aims to:

  1) explore the perceptions of the meaning of home for Grenadian transnationals

  2) explore the social, economic and political transnationalism experiences for Grenadian families

  3) explore the making of home experiences for Grenadian transnational families

4) identify the differences and similarities in the transnational experience that exists between family members who reside in Grenada and transnational families who reside outside of Grenada

5) provide a contextual analysis of how the Grenadian transnational experience contributes to a dynamic system of home

In addition to achieving these aims, the research answers the following questions:

1) How is the meaning and making of home experienced by Grenadian transnational families?

2) How does Grenadian transnational experience of home contribute to our understanding of the multifaceted and interconnected social, cultural and economic system of 'home' and what are the implications for existing conceptualisations of the making of home?

Given that this research focuses on the transnational home, a critical pathway for social protection in the Caribbean, this research targets a social policy and development audience.

However, the international experiences and the associated meaning of home is multidisciplinary, with a range of social, political, economic and cultural influences. Therefore, to support the argument for an interdisciplinary approach to solve issues affecting the Global South, an arguably limited discourse to a specific audience will not be the primary motive.

This research also speaks to a more expanded audience not limited to housing studies, sociology, phenomenology, or geography; in short, anyone to whom any of the multifaceted issues raised may be of interest.

Chapter Two is a scoping review of economic transnationalism in the Caribbean. It discusses the economic challenges faced in the Caribbean and the ways in which remittances may improve or hinder standards of living at the micro-, meso- and macro level.

Chapter Three reviews the social, economic and political transnationalism theory. Adopting a largely Caribbean focus, connections are made between these three channels of transnationalism. A critical review of gaps and weaknesses in the prevailing literature lays the groundwork for the theorisation within the context of an expanded and interconnected system of transnationalism affected by social, cultural, political, economic and environmental factors.

Chapter Four provides a critical review of housing and home literature. The critical assessment of of home identifies gaps in existing conceptualisations and argues that the notion of home is a comprehensive, multidimensional and interconnected system of parts. This chapter also begins to lay the foundations of a transnational home framework that introduces the potential linkages between transnationalism in the wider Caribbean and the meaning and making of home.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis framework and its applicability to investigate the experiences around the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families. This chapter also provides an overview of the methodological framework and process used for this thesis.

Chapter Six is the first of three findings chapters and presents the nuanced and complex meaning of home for Grenadian transnational family members who reside in Grenada and transnational family members who reside outside of Grenada. Comparisons based on the location of the family member are also made.

Chapter Seven is the second findings chapter and presents the multidimensional social and economic transnationalism experiences. The first part of the chapter presents the experiences of the geographical transnational separation of family members from the perspective of both family members who reside in Grenada and family members who reside outside of Grenada. The second part of the chapter presents the findings on how the overarching geographical context of close proximity and distanced proximity relationships affect the transnational experience for family members inside and outside of Grenada. The third part of the chapter explores how social media and travel affect communication, the self-assessed frequency of communication and how the various self-assessed classifications of need affect the remitting processes for family members in both transnational locations.

Finally, the last part of the chapter presents how Covid-19 as a life changing unforeseen circumstances affects the transnational process for all involved.

Chapter Eight provides analysis of the individual vs collective and temporal notions of experience affect complexities around the meaning of home for family members in both transnational locations. The chapter also provides a detailed analysis of the ways in which the social transnationalism processes intersect with the economic transnationalism processes to produce a system of transnationalism based on the communication of varying degrees of need. Finally, the chapter presents the transnational home and details how the meaning of home combines with the functioning system of economic and social transnationalism to produce a transnational making or unmaking of home system based on emotional attachments and the practicality of actions. The wider influence of unforeseen life changing circumstances and the social, political and economic backdrop are also discussed.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by providing an overview of the findings and analysis. It also presents the theoretical contributions of this empirical research to wider meaning of home and transnationalism discourse.

Chapter 2: Caribbean economic transnationalism

2.1 Introduction

In developing countries, migration, and the resulting remittances, are a useful means to achieve development goals (Feeny et al., 2014). According to the World Bank Group (2022), Global remittances grew seven per cent to $613 billion in 2017, an increase from $573 billion in 2016. By 2020, they were $658.06 billion, a drop from $660.94 billion in 2019 (World Bank Group, 2022).

Post-World War II, as the result of skilled worker shortages, there was a wave of skilled migration from the Caribbean to countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada (Nurse, 2004; Olwig, 2015; Thomas Hope, 2002). It was following these waves of immigration that research, beginning from the 1960s, focussed on the effects of migration on the skilled labour force and brain drain. It also signalled the beginning of discussions about the benefits and risks of labour moving from the Caribbean at the household, community and national levels (Nurse, 2004; Rubenstein, 1983).

During the 1970s to 1990s, the Caribbean region experienced additional periods of migration, because of "global economic restructuring and economic and social decline in Caribbean countries" (Nurse, 2004. p4). Therefore, up until the 1980s, researchers addressed Caribbean migration and development by exploring the decisions leading up to migration and the issues faced upon arrival to the destination country (Thomas-Hope, 1988). It was not until the 1990s, in the face of political, economic and technological advances, that migration discourse began to take a more systematic approach (Nurse, 2004), wherein the transnational relationship was explored as part of a more extensive interconnected system (Thomas- Hope, 1988). Within this system of flows, connections and pathways, there was also the need for the migrant to balance any changing identities, relationships, connections and familial networks with the possibility of an eventual return to their home country (Chamberlain, 2017).

Consequently, migration has become an embedded part of Caribbean society and culture (Thomas-Hope, 2002). In 2017, personal remittances to the region, as a percentage of GDP,

ranged from 0.6 to 16.6% (World Bank 2018). These figures are important. First, the economic significance lies in the fact that despite elements of increased expansion, segments of the population live in poverty. Households living in poverty depend on the proceeds of remittances to improve their standard of living, access better housing outcomes and fulfil healthcare and education needs (Connell and Conway, 2000; Joseph, 2012; Lim and Simmons 2015; Nurse 2004). Second, in the Caribbean region where social and cultural structures play an essential role, remittances are a form of ongoing connection and investment (Byron 1999; Potter, 2005; Thomas-Hope 1999). Third, due to the region's developing status, remittances, to a degree, compensate for limited public social policy budgets by providing an additional financial means for household-level social protection (Barrientos, 2004; Barrientos, 2010). Therefore, the broad scope of remittances from the household level to the macro level points to the idea that the sending and receiving of remittances, warrants a high level of significance. Accounting for these figures, one can argue that remittances are transnationalism's measurable and tangible element. Therefore, it is a means of survival and a present fabric of the Caribbean social, political and cultural environment. With an understanding of the historical, current, and overarching framework of remittances, there can be a greater understanding of the microcosm of personal and emotional elements, such as making the home that functions within this larger framework.

Remittances function within the bounds of social and cultural norms and are a means to affirm social standing, maintain family dynamics and express cultural norms and identity. The process of developing a meaning of home and then making the home, even if it expands across multiple geographical locations, is also largely dependent on the building, development and maintenance of similar familial transnational routines, social networks and cultural norms and identities. Therefore, the remittance process is a conduit for the interpersonal economic and cultural dimensions of the transnational home, and its impacts are an important foundational piece of the research for this thesis, which will investigate the comprehensive transnational experience of home. A scoping review was a necessary first step to gain new insight into the available evidence highlighting the scope and functionality of the most tangible parts of the Caribbean transnational process, an essential phenomenon under consideration.This chapter comprises five sections. First, the methods section provides a detailed description of the search strategy. The second section provides a summary of the findings. This is followed by the third section, which presents definitions of remittances and the theoretical assumptions, framing the motivations and determinants

of migration and remittances. The third section also highlights the micro-meso- and macro impacts of remittances on development, the intersections between migration, remittances and policy, the intersections between remittances and welfare, and the intersections between remittances and return migration. The fourth section of the review consolidates knowledge and highlights research gaps, primarily the ones that stem from the predominance of economic evidence as opposed to social or cultural evidence. Finally, the fifth section of the scoping review concludes with a discussion of potential avenues for future research.

2.2 Methodological approach to the scoping review

The scoping review centred on answering the following questions:

1) What is the nature of the Anglophone Caribbean remittance experience?

2) What are the micro-meso and macro impacts of remittances on development in the Anglophone Caribbean?

3) What are the current gaps in knowledge?

After the research questions were determined, a search of electronic databases followed.

Considering the subject areas of migration, remittances, social welfare and housing policy outlined in the research questions, and in an effort to ensure that the research scope remained within a social science and social policy theme, the following databases were used: Web of Science, Scopus; ASSIA; Sage Journals Online and Social Policy and Practice. Further Google and Google Scholar searches enabled the sourcing of additional articles and grey literature.

Concepts such as remittances, migration, housing policy, social welfare, development and transnational relationships, which adequately capture the overarching relationships between remittances and social policy in the Anglophone Caribbean context, were identified.

Next, to delve deeper into potential relationships, key search terms related to each of the concepts were determined. To ensure that the ideas captured the most relevant research,

synonyms and similar terminology were also included. The search terms are presented in Table 2.

Database searching and hand searching used the terms detailed in Table 2, guided by the inclusion criteria.

The five electronic database searches produced five hundred and twenty-two articles. Of these articles, forty-seven were from Social Policy and Practice, one hundred and fifty-four from Web of Science, one hundred and ninety-four from SCOPUS, fifty-six from Sage Journals Online and one hundred and twelve from ASSIA. Following the initial search results and the removal of one hundred and seventy-six duplicates, three hundred and forty-six papers remained. Additional removal of another two hundred and fifty-one research items due to irrelevancy of the title and abstract resulted in one hundred and thirty-one full-text articles. A more thorough screening, this time factoring in exclusion criteria in addition to the previously developed exclusion criteria followed. The final number of articles included from the electronic database searches came to forty-two articles. Table 4 shows the inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Further google scholar searches, hand searches and reference list searches led to the inclusion of an additional thirty articles. Once added to the database searches, the final count of the literature included in this scoping review was seventy-one peer reviewed journal articles, books, grey literature and unpublished research. The reasons for the incorporation of this additional step are as follows: First, limited peer-reviewed journal articles, which address remittances from an Anglophone Caribbean perspective, made relying on this source difficult. Second, preliminary readings from initial database searches pointed to other sources of literature. Third, a significant source of data on the Caribbean came from published and unpublished governmental and non-governmental organisation (NGO) research reports. Omissions of such sources of data would have resulted in a review, which lacked depth and adequate scope. Figure 1 details the search strategy.

Table 2: The concepts and search terms used during the scoping review process

Concepts	Search terms
Anglophone Caribbean	"West Indies" OR "West Indian" OR Caribbean, Commonwealth Caribbean OR Antigua and Barbuda OR Bahamas OR Barbados OR Dominica OR Grenada OR Jamaica OR St Kitts and Nevis OR St Lucia OR St Vincent and the Grenadines OR Trinidad and Tobago OR Belize OR Guyana OR Montserrat OR "Caribbean Community and Common Market" OR CARICOM OR "small island developing state*" OR SIDS OR developing country OR island OR "Eastern Caribbean" OR OECS
Remittances	migration OR "return migration" OR transnational OR relationship OR remittance definition OR "personal remittances" OR "workers remittances" OR "social remittances" OR "motivations to remit" OR "determinants of remittances" OR "reasons for remittances" OR motivat* OR reason* OR incentiv* OR driv* OR "remittance uses" OR "remittance allocation" OR diaspora
Policy	"public policy" OR "housing policy" OR "social policy"
Development	"economic development" OR "micro development" OR "meso development" OR, "macro development" "social development"

Initial inclusion criteria were then developed, and the results were screened a second time, using this intial criteria, shown in Table 3, as a guide. Following this development of criteria, and in order to futher refine the parameters and ensure that the most first hand, up-to-date and geographically relevant data was sourced, specific exclusion criteria were also determined. Table 4 shows the specific exclusion and inclusion criteria.

Table 3: Initial inclusion criteria of scoping review

Criteria	Description
Time period	All years
Language	English
Document type	Peer reviewed journal articles, reports,
Type of study	books, grey literature
Methods	Empirical
Type of data	Qualitative and quantitative
	Primary and secondary data
Geographic location	Anglophone Caribbean

Table 4: Inclusion and exclusion criteria of scoping review

	Inclusion	Exclusion
Geographical location	Anglophone Caribbean (Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos	Non English Speaking Caribbean,
Policy Area	Social welfare, health, housing education	Tourism, agriculture, information technology,
Theoretical vs Empirical	Empirical	Theoretical
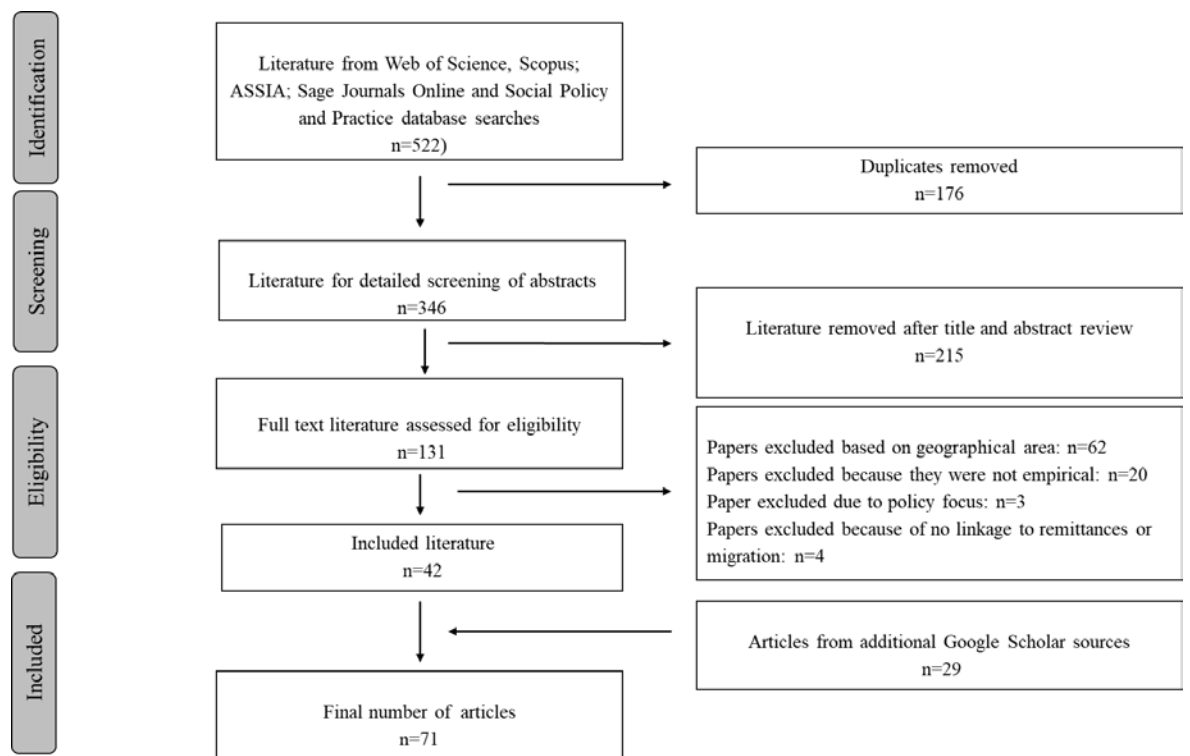
Figure 1: PRISMA flow diagram for the scoping review

2.3 Summary of findings

The review included seventy-one papers ranging from 1968 to 2018, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: The distribution, by decade, of the literature included in the scoping review

Decade	Number of papers
1960s	1
1970s	0
1980s	5
1990s	8
2000s	28
2010s	29

Twenty papers used a qualitative research design such as ethnographies, historical accounts, focus groups, or interviews. Forty-four were quantitative and used surveys and questionnaires to gather primary data. Some of the papers that used quantitative

methodologies also used secondary data. Seven papers used a mixed methodology research design.

The papers presented evidence from the following Caribbean countries; Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago and the Turks and Caicos. The literature also presented the evidence in geographical groupings, which did not focus solely on individual countries, but instead presented findings as an amalgamation of a group of nations. These grouping included; Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Commonwealth Caribbean, the Caribbean, the English Speaking Caribbean, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and many small islands. However, when classifying based on individual countries, Jamaica had the highest number with 12 papers, followed by Guyana with five, Trinidad and Tobago with four, Grenada with four, Nevis with three, Barbados with two and St Lucia with one. Table 6 contains a detailed count of the geographical scope of the literature.

The literature contained a mix of migration and remittance terminology. Even though one can argue that both terms fall under the broad migration and development nexus, migration and remittances terminology occur interchangeably in the literature. In the Caribbean context, this difference in language was a reflection of the disciplinary emphasis of the research. Where the remittance literature adopted an economic focus and quantitative methodologies, the discussions of migration, return-migration and the resulting contributions adopted a social science and qualitative perspective, concentrating on the cultural and social expressions of the migration-development nexus. Thirty of the articles predominantly used remittances terminology, while fifty-three of the papers used primarily migration terminology.

The majority of the papers focused on the impacts of monetary remittances. A small number of the papers discussed the interplays of migration and development with in-kind remittances, social remittances (Conway et. al., 2012; Conway et. al., 2008), social networks (Mullings, 2011; Potter et. al., 2009) Reynolds, 2010) family ties (Best, 2014; Chamberlain, 1999; Olwig, 2012) and kinship support (Forsythe-Brown et. al., 2017).

Table 6: The geographical scope of the literature included in the review

Geographic location	Number of papers
Anguilla	1
Antigua and Barbuda	8
Aruba	1
Bahamas	4
Barbados	21
Belize	6
Bermuda	1
British Virgin Islands	2
Cayman Islands	1
Dominica	12
Grenada	16
Guyana	15
Jamaica	38
Montserrat	5
St Kitts and Nevis	18
St Lucia	13
St Vincent and the Grenadines	15
Trinidad and Tobago	24
Turks and Caicos	3
Caribbean	3
CARICOM	1
Commonwealth Caribbean	1
English Speaking Caribbean	1
Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC)	1
Many other small islands	1

All of the articles alluded to definitions of remittances. However, only a limited number of papers presented clear explanations of remittances. Only four papers explicitly classified and defined monetary remittances (Peters and Kamau 2015; Alleyne et. al., 2008; Kirton, 2005), in-kind remittances (Peters and Kamau, 2015) and social remittances (Conway et. al., 2012).

The literature also mentioned the channels used to remit and the implications of their use. Formal channels such as commercial banks, cash transfer institutions or shipping companies facilitate cash and in-kind remittances. Additionally, transfers also incorporate more informal, and therefore less recorded, methods. (Alleyne et al., 2008; Forte, 2016; Peters and Kamau, 2015; Thomas-Hope, 1999).

Seven articles explicitly discussed the theoretical assumptions framing the motivations to migrate and remit at the micro, meso and macro level (Agarwal, 2002; Alleyne et al., 2008; Depoo, 2014; Forte, 2016; Peters and Kamau, 2015; Prashad, 2016, Thomas- Hope, 2002).

All of the literature highlighted the economic and social development impacts of migration and remittances. While the majority of the research discussed the micro and macro level impacts, only four articles addressed the meso or community level impacts (Conway and Potter, 2012; Chevannes and Ricketts, 1997; Kirton, 2005; Taylor et al. 1996).

Eleven articles discussed social protection and the intersections of migration, remittances and policy (Attz, 2008; Barrientos 2004; Barrientos 2010; Clarke et al., 2003; Dawson 2007; Forte, 2016; Kumar, 2003; Lim and Simmons, 2015; Mains, 2007; Minto-Coy, 2016; Stephenson and Wilsker, 2016).

Seven articles discussed remittances and housing. Among the associations made between housing and remittances were micro-level short-term consumption (Dawson, 2007; Forte 2016; Itzigsohn, 1995; Potter, 2005), investment and return migration (Byron, 1999; Joseph, 2012; Thomas- Hope, 1999) and housing tenure (Byron, 1999; Joseph, 2012).

Seven articles discussed migration and remittances based on gender. Of the seven articles, three predominantly focused on the motivations to migrate and remit from the female perspective (Best, 2014; Forsythe-Brown et al., 2017; Prashad, 2016). Four took a comparative and statistical approach, discussing migration and remittances based on gender. (Depoo, 2014; Thomas-Hope, 1999; Thomas- Hope, 2000; Thomas- Hope, 2002).

2.4 Review findings

2.4.1 The conceptualisation of economic transnationalism

According to Ban (2012), economic transnationalism contains two key features: the transfer of money and goods, and the transfer of workers across borders. Similarly, Landolt (2001) conceptualises economic transnationalism as a multidimensional entity with monetary, in-kind and labour components. However, in a departure from the solely economic dual process described by Ban (2012), the conceptualisation proposed by Landolt (2001) integrates the element of social networks in the functioning of economic transnationalism. Therefore, the main premise of this conceptualisation centres on the fact that in order for the economics of transnationalism to occur, namely the monetary and in-kind aspects, strong foundational social networks must be in place. Additionally, the differing ways whereby these personal and social networks are utilised play a role in contributing to differences in individual, household and community as it relates to the act of remitting.

However, this does not negate the role of national level factors. Landolt (2001) highlights arguments proposed by (Granovetter, 1985) that the various societal and economic structures, which are culturally and geographically specific, play an important role in economic transnationalism.

This theoretical argument around the economic aspects of transnationalism, particularly as it relates to location and societal, economic and cultural context has particular significance for small island nations such as those of the Anglophone Caribbean. When individuals migrate to another country, they become part of a transnational family unit. The home is geographically separated and requires the upkeep of crucial relations between the origin and destination country. These relationships fostered through remitting are complex, multidimensional, and are influenced by a number of different factors. The multiple dimensions and factors are discussed in subsequent sections.

2.4.2 The impacts of remittances on the Anglophone Caribbean

Remittances to the Anglophone Caribbean are often from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom (Thomas- Hope, 2002; Thomas- Hope 1999, Thomas-Hope 2009; Prashad,

2016; Forte, 2016; Orozco et al. 2005; Roberts, 2009). They are defined as "transfers made from earnings and or accumulated stock of individuals who are residents in a foreign country on a permanent basis, to their countries of origin for dependent support, investment or any other reason" (Peters and Kamau, 2015; Alleyne et. al., 2008).

Remittances have positive, national or macroeconomic impacts on the Caribbean region due to their function as an important factor in assessing growth potential (Roberts, 2009). The positive influences of remittances at this level are as follows:

- Various investment and savings pathways, offered through commercial banks and other financial institutions, provide avenues for investing remittances. In turn, collective remittance investments contribute to economic growth. Additionally, the increased flow of remittances means increased financial capital for banking institutions. In turn, with the increased financial capital, banks are able to purchase public debt and provide government loans (Kirton, 2005; and Kumar, 2013). Governments, through this lack of debt, have increased spending potential, stimulating economic growth (Williams, 2018).

- The tax revenue brought about by the consumption practices because of remittances at the micro level can increase national spending capabilities (Williams, 2018), stimulating development.

- Remittances are a source of foreign exchange (Alleyne et al. 2008; Alleyne et al., 2008; Amuedo- Dorantes and Pozo, 2004; Nurse, 2004; Rubenstein, 1983). In support of this, empirical evidence from Eastern Caribbean states such as Grenada, Antigua and Barbuda, and Montserrat, which have high remittance to export ratios point to the significance of remittances as a source of vital foreign exchange (Alleyne, 2006; Alleyne et al., 2008).

- At the meso economic or community organisational level, to cement their standing in the community, the remitter or the receiving household may donate to, or invest in community initiatives (Connell and Conway, 2000). In support of this view, research from Jamaica in the 1990s found that Caribbean governments realise the

charitable value of the contributions to health, education and social welfare made possible by remittances (Goulbourne, 1999).

- There is also the view that remittances at this level are not just beneficial for community outreach but are also for small business development. Chavannes and Ricketts (1997) and Kirton (2005) argue that remittances received at the micro level are not solely for short-term luxury consumptions, but also contribute to longer-term investment initiatives. The authors go on to state that the saved financial capital serves as a critical contributor to the start-up and development of small businesses. The development potential at this level is not just limited to financial capital but also social capital in the form of knowledge transfer (Thomas- Hope, 2002). Specific evidence from Grenada, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago detailed the positive impacts of the transfer of knowledge at the small business level, where the migrants, who have acquired skills while abroad, return and set up businesses for further personal development and in an effort to give back to their home countries (Conway and Potter, 2012). However, these findings were in contrast to earlier reviews, which found inconclusive evidence of the impact of remittances at the community level (Taylor et al. 1996).

- At the micro level, also known as the individual or household level, are as a result of short-term consumption behaviours aimed at both improving the standard of living and poverty reduction (Connell and Conway, 2000; Lim and Simmons 2015; Nurse 2004). Both monetary and in-kind remittances positively contribute to the improved standard of living and the reduction of poverty, by channelling resources into luxury purchases or healthcare and education costs (Stephenson and Wilsker, 2016). Additionally, research from smaller Caribbean islands, such as Grenada, St Lucia and Nevis, concluded that remittances allow for the purchase of land, construction of homes, payment for household repairs and access otherwise unavailable formal lines of financial credit (Dawson, 2007; Forte 2016; Taylor et. al., 1996). Furthermore, according to Roberts (2009), without the additional source of income provided by the receipt of remittances, the vulnerable populations of the already struggling economies of smaller Caribbean states would have much less favourable living standards.

However, remittances can also exert a negative influence in several ways. First, at the macro-economic level. While there is some consensus among scholars that increased remittance flows and their short-term poverty reducing (Connell and Conway, 2000; Lim and Simmons 2015; Nurse 2004) or education and skill development effects are beneficial, there is also the potential for economic migration to impact negatively on the social capital of a country. Brain drain is the primary cause (Lim and Simmons 2015). Described as the widespread migration of skilled labour from the Caribbean, brain drain severely limits the economic growth potential by undermining the strength of domestic labour markets (Dawson, 2007). Evidence from across the Anglophone Caribbean has found that this negative impact most commonly occurs within the health and education sectors (Nurse, 2004).

Second, at the macroeconomic level, remittances can have negative impacts on a country by "appreciating the real exchange rate" and causing losses in "export competitiveness" (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2004, p.1415). Furthermore, remittances cause increased demand for tradeable goods, exceeding the country's ability to supply producible products. The result is increased imports to meet the excess demand (Alleyne et al., 2008). As the demand for tradeable goods increases, so do import ratios causing higher prices for the consumer, and adding further financial strain to households (Alleyne et al., 2008). In turn, the resulting financial strain increases the need for remittances. However, the impacts of remittances on the real effective exchange rate are also important. Evidence from eight English-speaking Caribbean Community (CARICOM) member countries found that there was no link between remittances, real effective exchange rate and a decrease in the competitiveness of the export sector (Alleyne et al., 2008).

Third, at the micro level, this review found evidence that brings to the forefront questions about the ability of remittances, at this level, to contribute to long-term poverty reduction and economic growth (Dawson, 2007). Dawson (2007) argues that remittances at this level are potentially damaging and a source of long-term economic disadvantage. Lim and Simmons (2015), in a study of CARICOM households, found that the receipt of remittances accompanied a reluctance to seek and maintain additional sources of income. Findings from a study conducted on the Caribbean basin, similarly found that the receipt of remittances had the potential to de-incentivise intentions and initiative to seek employment (Itzigsohn, 1995).

Moreover, Rubenstein (1983), in research on the Eastern Caribbean, concluded that the receipt of remittances, while beneficial to a household, increases income and standard of living disparities. For lower-income households not in receipt of remittances, the inability to keep with the standard of living and spending power afforded to the beneficiaries of remittances may leave economically vulnerable households even more so. Conversely, the increased access to higher levels of education funded by remittances may result in an oversaturation of already limited labour markets, and skilled professionals unable to find employment. Migration levels increase as a result, which further depletes the local labour force, crippling an economy (Rubenstein, 1983).

Despite the empirical evidence of the advantages and disadvantages of remittances at all economic levels, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the need to analyse the remittance experience in the Anglophone Caribbean. In doing so, the focus has shifted to the nature of remittances at the household level. The reason for this lies in the fact that the first point of contact of remittances is the household. Although, as previously stated, remittances have community and national level implications, findings suggest that the act of remitting is a mostly private endeavour between family and the migrant to improve social and economic mobility. Adding to the discussion are additional socioeconomic and demographic factors, which influence the household-migrant remittance experience. The discussion of these factors is below.

2.4.3 Nature of remittances: Demographic trends

2.4.3.1 Remittances and education level

The relationship between remittances and education level is twofold. First, the higher the education level of the migrant, the more job prospects become available, increasing the ability of the migrant not only to remit more frequently but in higher amounts. Second, research has found that higher education levels of the migrant also accompany the obligation for the migrant to use their employment opportunities to produce the most investment returns for the receiving household in the Caribbean (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998).

2.4.3.2 Remittances and age

Migrants between the ages of twenty-five to forty-four predominantly send remittances because the remitter is more likely to be well educated and employed at this stage (Thomas-Hope, 2009). Moreover, at this stage, the remitter is motivated by an optimism about the impact of their remittances on the economic and social development of the receiver (Depoo, 2014). The remitter is also motivated by any obligation to repay the familial debt incurred in order to provide them with the opportunity to migrate (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998).

Moreover, age plays a significant role in the decisions around return migration. Empirical evidence from Jamaica found that the majority of return migrants were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five (Thomas-Hope, 1999). Studies involving return migrants from Barbados support these claims, with the majority of migrants being in their twenties and thirties (Potter, 2005). However, studies on return migrants to Trinidad and Tobago find the average age to be forty years (Potter. 2008). Other studies conclude that return migration falls predominantly among migrants in the sixty and above age bracket (Byron, 2000). However, the return migration and age relationship becomes more complex when discussing the ways in which the age differences are significant to the overall remittance experience. Whereas migrants who fall among the sixty and above age group are more likely to view their return as permanent, essentially ending the potential for further remittance contributions, younger return migrants are more likely to see their return to the Caribbean as temporary, being more likely to opt to return to their international country of residence. Consequently, the remittance flows for this group of migrants are likely to resume once they return abroad (Forte, 2006; Thomas- Hope, 2012).

Another noteworthy factor centres on the relationship between the migrant destination and their age at return. Evidence of the return migration patterns to the Eastern Caribbean islands of Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis shows when returnees come from the United States (US), the US Virgin Islands (USVI), and Canada, the highest proportion of returnees are in the fifteen to forty-four age bracket. However, if the returnees come from the UK, the highest percentage fall in the over sixty-age group (Byron, 2000).

2.4.3.3 Remittances and gender

After the Second World War, there was an increase in migration to the UK and the USA from the Caribbean to fill industrial and transportation jobs (Olwig, 2015). During this time, there was also a wave of female migration to gain employment in healthcare professions such as nursing. Specific evidence from the tri-island state of Grenada has shown that even though the 1950s brought movement for both male and female Grenadians, the period marked a significant increase in female migration (Mills, 2005)

In recent years, the discussion of the gender role of the migrant has persisted. Research from the early 2000s to the current decade, across islands such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados has consistently found slightly higher female migration patterns to major destination countries such as the USA, Canada and the UK (Prashad, 2016; Thomas- Hope, 2009).

Orozco et al. (2006), which investigated the gender construct among Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) remitting migrants in the USA, found that although females remitted more than males, the remittance behaviours showed other marked gender differences. Women are more likely to remit to immediate family and extended family. Male remittance trends, on the other hand, centre on the immediate familial relationships (Orozco et al., 2006). Additionally, women are more likely to remit items such as food or clothing, while men are more likely to send more expense related remittances (Orozco et al., 2006) or send remittances to secure inheritance (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998).

However, conclusions on the gender characteristics of the return migrant are mixed. One paper stated that the gender of migrants to and from Jamaica showed no pattern, but instead depended on the employment prospects available to the migrant, with some employment sectors, such as farming or hospitality, attracting a higher proportion of male to female migrants (Thomas- Hope, 1999). Another paper, which provided evidence from 25 return migrants to Barbados, shows a higher ratio of females (84%) to males (16%) (Potter, 2005, p.220). The article goes on to state that even though there was no specific analysis of the relationship of the employment sector to the gender of the return migrant, the female return migrants most often hold jobs such as secretary, personnel officer, solicitor, psychologist,

restaurant manager, graphic designer, housewife, pharmacist, airline marketing manager, accounts manager and psychiatric nurse (Potter, 2005).

From the perspective of the Caribbean household in receipt of remittances, there was evidence that remittance recipients are most likely females under forty-five years of age (Orozco et al., 2005; Roberts, 2009) and have at least a secondary education (Orozco et al., 2005). Lacking from the discussion, however, is an analysis of whether there exist underlying contextual factors, which account for these results.

2.4.4 Remittances and the family unit

From the migrant perspective, the process of leaving the Caribbean to go abroad often involves several influences, each doing its part to ensure the economic prosperity and stability of the household as a unit. Family members may collectively take a loan, mortgage a home or use existing savings to educate one or more family members abroad. The hope is that the migrant will gain employment and eventually settle. The resulting remittances do not serve as an act of selflessness, but function as an obligatory return on the investment made at the beginning of the migration process (Forte, 2016; United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998). Additionally, remittances sent not only act to provide the family with a means of income, but it acts as a contribution towards the migration process of additional family members, thus opening other avenues for household risk reduction and economic stability (Forte, 2016).

Moreover, the sending of remittances precedes the eventual return to the Caribbean. Prior to the return migration process, the migrant makes an effort to invest. However, there is also the desire to send remittances to foster relationships, ensure favourable social and community standing, fulfil familial agreements (Thomas- Hope, 1999), secure inheritance and contribute to the economic development of the Caribbean country prior to return (Depoo, 2014).

Furthermore, within this remittance and return context, findings suggest that the purpose of remittances, whether personal or investment, is dependent on the life stage at the time of the return migration. Research on Guyanese migrants living in the United States indicated that the majority of migrants stated the desire to return to Guyana after retirement (Depoo, 2014).

The hope for post-retirement return suggests that the intention is not to contribute to development, but to improve personal wellbeing and standard of living (Depoo, 2014).

From the receiving household perspective, the majority of remittances fulfil consumption needs. Across the Anglophone Caribbean, remittance spending satisfies housing, healthcare and education needs. Concerning housing, the literature primarily discussed the housing and remittances connection based on the means and process of housing improvements. Remittances allow a household to make housing repairs, make mortgage payments, access otherwise unavailable formal channels of credit, and purchase land or luxury housing (Dawson, 2007; Forte 2016; Itzigsohn, 1995; Potter, 2005).

In the case of education, despite the fact that free public education is available across the region, the receipt of remittances allows households to invest in otherwise unavailable supplementary educational resources or pay for private schooling at the primary, tertiary and secondary level (Forte, 2016; United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998).

Additionally, remittances serve as an insurance policy to mitigate external shocks, which may affect household income and wellbeing (Clarke et al., 2003). Research across the region has shown the relationship between remittances and natural disasters suggesting a link to the potential for the household response after natural disasters, a common occurrence in the Caribbean region. At the household level, the impacts of these disasters occur mainly on housing stock. One of the options available to mitigate these damages is housing insurance. However, Caribbean households make little use of this option due to high costs or a lack of trust in the insurance companies. Consequently, household reliance shifts from the conventional means of protecting assets to the more unconventional method of using remittances to safeguard assets, access vital resources such as food and water and rebuild after damage (Clarke et al., 2003).

After the occurrence of a natural disaster, increases in remittance flows are comparable to or surpass those of foreign aid (Dawson 2007; Kumar, 2003). Other research in support of this argument found that remittances to the island of Grenada in 2004, the year of the passage Hurricane Ivan, increased approximately 53% from the previous year (World Bank, 2022). Moreover, Attzs (2008) highlights that after the passage of Hurricane Gilbert in 1989,

remittances to Jamaica increased, further supporting the responsiveness and significance of remittances to the Caribbean after a disaster.

However, despite this evidence that remittances provide a degree of insurance after natural disasters, there is research that points to variances in its capacity. According to Clarke et al. (2003), remittances sent after natural disasters do not fully cover household costs. The author goes on to state that the reasons include an unwillingness of the migrant to cover the full costs or the inability of the migrant's contribution to fully cover the high costs associated with rebuilding lives and reconstructing damaged properties.

Remittances also act as a means of insurance to protect against other occurrences such as loss of income. The insurance capability of remittances in this context, in a similar fashion to insurance after natural disasters, has limitations. The main reason for these limitations centres primarily on the idea of moral hazard. Arguably, a disincentive to employment, moral hazard occurs when an individual or household lacks the motivation to seek additional sources of income. In the remittances context, a receiving household, due to the anticipation and expectation of cash transfers, will not find employment as an additional source of income. The burden then falls on the migrant to assess whether the reliance on remittances is due to the avoidable moral hazard or other unavoidable circumstances (Clarke et al., 2003). If the cause of unemployment is due to the unforeseen circumstances beyond the control of the household, the migrant is likely to ensure that the remittance flow continues, to mitigate external shocks, maximising their insurance capabilities. Alternatively, if the cause is due to the avoidable moral hazard, one can argue that the migrant may show reluctance to continue to facilitate the use of remittances as a means to cover income loss, further limiting the insurance capabilities.

In this context, remittances therefore also have an impact on welfare spending. Remittances received at the household level have links to government welfare spending. Household financial stability, made possible through the receipt of remittances, renders some forms of public assistance unnecessary. This degree of financial independence will, in turn, reduce the burden on public resources and marked by "decreased levels of social security and welfare spending" (Deonanan and Williams 2017; Doyle, 2015). Additionally, remittances may increase the capabilities of public spending, by attracting additional government revenue in the form of taxes, and in some cases by encouraging governments to "match each

dollar sent by migrants for public works in their hometowns" (Ambrosius and Cuecuecha, 2016). Furthermore, the level of public spending in the face of remittances directly relates to quality and stability of the government, where decreased spending may be a clear indication of political problems (Ahmed, 2013; Easton and Montiola, 2017).

These discussions regarding the linkages between remittances and social welfare can be challenging for a few reasons. First, adapting these findings to all developing countries can be problematic. Personal and policy responses are guided by the cultural, economic, social and democratic structures present within any state. The reluctance to account for these contextual factors, in favour of grouped analysis runs the risk of research painting an unrepresentative picture. Second, much of the literature investigates impacts from the viewpoint of the measurement of the reduction of poverty. While this is an important marker of remittance flows, there are equally important, but often overlooked, alternative measures of remittances.

In the Anglophone Caribbean, genuine social challenges exist, and there is a recognition of the need for focussed measures, which account for the role remittances play in development (Barrientos, 2004; Barrientos, 2005). However, there is limited empirical evidence of how remittance payments at the household level directly affects government welfare spending. There is also limited evidence the highly variable personal effects of remittances and its influence on the individual or familial perceptions of wellbeing and welfare. Consequently, this gap in the literature brings unanswered questions that centre on the measures in place for the assessment of vulnerability, and the logistics of implementation and monitoring.

2.4.5 The nature of remittances: Transfers

The transfer of payments, monetary or in-kind (Peters and Kamau, 2015; Alleyne et al., 2008; Kirton 2005; Conway et al., 2012), most often occurs through formal channels such as Western Union, hometown associations and commercial banks (Mishra, 2007). However, the transfer also occurs through informal channels such as frequent travel to the Caribbean, allowing for direct person-person transfer (Thomas-Hope, 2009).

2.4.5.1 Monetary remittances

Monetary remittances are also known as migrant transfers, workers remittances, employee compensation, potential remittances, fixed remittances and discretionary remittances:

- Migrant transfers are "contra entries to the flow of goods and changes in financial entries arise as a result of migrants changing their residence from their home country to their new country of residence" (Peters and Musheer, 2015, p. 129).

- Workers' remittances are transfers made "by migrants who are employed in and are residents of a foreign country" (Peters and Musheer, 2015, p. 129). Similarly, Mishra (2007) defines workers' remittances as money sent home by migrants. However, unlike other definitions of workers' remittances, this definition places significance on the fact that the migrant has to be abroad for one year.

- Employee compensations are "wages and salaries, and other benefits earned by foreign workers or individuals, who are working in countries that they are not residents of, doing work performed for and paid by residents of those countries" (Peters and Kamau, 2015, p. 129). Even though this and similar definitions do not include a time component, there are other definitions of employee compensations that state that the migrant must be abroad for less than a year. The compensations include housing levies (Mishra, 2007).

- Potential remittances are the total portion of the migrant's income dedicated to remittance transfers, after meeting all of their financial obligations to their country of residence (Alleyne et al., 2008, p.139).

- Fixed remittances refer to the lowest quantity of remittances, sent back to the country of origin (Alleyne et al., 2008, p.139).

- Saved remittances occurs because of savings and an accumulation of wealth by the migrant. It is from this accumulated wealth that the migrant remits (Alleyne et al., 2008, p.139).

- Discretionary remittances "are the funds transferred which are in excess of fixed remittances" (Alleyne et al., 2008 p139). The primary distinction of this type of remittance is whether the migrant makes use of their accumulated savings in their country of residence or uses it to remit to their country of origin (Alleyne et al., 2008, p139; Kirton 2005, p. 264).

The use of these classifications and measures faces criticism. According to Peters and Musheer (2005), there are questions about the ability of employee compensations to act as a measure of remittances. The main critiques of employee compensations lie in its very nature as money received because of employment services provided. As such, it is not an international remittance payment, but assists with living and other expenses by the migrant. Likewise, migrant transfers are the movement of resources used primarily for the returning migrant's personal use. Like employee compensation, the transfer of funds is not international. For that reason, the authors argue that workers remittances are the most feasible measure of remittance flows (Peters and Musheer, 2005).

2.4.5.2 In-kind remittances

Even though monetary remittances provide the broadest evidence base, there is emerging debate on the significance of in-kind transfers to Caribbean development. In-kind transfers take the form of "shipping barrels containing goods such as clothing, and other vital supplies". Therefore, they are an essential component of the Caribbean remitting experience due to their ability to improve household wellbeing and contribute to development at all economic levels (Peters and Kamau, 2015; Thomas- Hope, 2002).

Another form of in-kind remittances is the altruistic or self-interested transfer of knowledge, services or ideas. Referred to as social remittances, even though this form of payment does not involve the transfer of physical goods, the aim is to contribute to the improved wellbeing of recipients through social, political and community change. (Conway et al., 2012; Thomas-Hope, 2002). Due to this unquantifiable nature, this form of remittance can be potentially challenging to measure. Moreover, there is a fine and often undefinable line between their role as solely a means of knowledge transfer and whether or not this is enough to fulfil the role of remittances by directly impacting the household's standard of living.

2.4.6 The nature of remittances: Motivations

The discussions around the nature of household remittances extend beyond the impacts, demographic trends, functions and transfer methods. Instead, there is an extension to the debates around the motivations to remit. The neoclassical theoretical discussions about the motivations to remit, mainly address motivations from the economic perspectives of supply and demand (Prashad, 2016; Thomas-Hope, 2002).

2.4.6.1 The New Economics of Labour Migration

Within the neoclassical discourse is a functionalist theory, which "interprets migration as the cumulative result of individuals based on the rational evaluation of the costs and benefits of moving from points of negative to positive attractions under forces articulated as push and pull" (Thomas- Hope, 2002, p.16).

However, there are alternatives to neoclassical and functionalist theories. The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) suggests that, in what can be referred to as a form of risk sharing and insurance, households as a unit come together to make migration decisions, which reduce economic risk and promote the economic prosperity of the household (Forte, 2016). The decisions are collective and socially driven, rather than the result of an individual cause and effect. Consequently, for the migrant, the primary motivation to remit, in this case, is out of a sense of obligation and the desire to produce returns on familial investments or repay the financial sacrifices made by the household to allow them to migrate (Forte, 2016). Similar to insurance and risk sharing, the theory of cumulative causation, which describes the choices to remit as the result of a number of systematic and interconnected events, posits that such activities may include household migration decisions, which collectively allow for the improvement of the standard of living, financial gain, skill development and access to educational prospects (Forte, 2016).

2.4.6.2 Altruistic, risk sharing and self-interested motivations

Other theories frame the motivations to remit in the context of altruism, risk sharing and insurance, self-interest in connection to the desire to return to the Caribbean.

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First, altruism theories argue that the primary motivation of the migrant to remit is to help relatives in need and maintain family connections (Lowell, 2006). According to Potter (2005), in a study of return migrants to Barbados, the desire to be closer to family, the sense of belonging and the view that the Caribbean is home was the main reason for the maintenance of transnational linkages. Interestingly, the strength of this altruistic connection and the resulting motivation to remit has generational implications. Research by Reynolds (2010), on British- Caribbean young people supports the notion that the link to the Caribbean can remain strong among the offspring of migrants. This may be due to travel to the Caribbean and the fostering of cultural and social ties by the Caribbean diaspora.

Second, remitting also has self-serving motives, which centre on the desire to return to the Caribbean (Reynolds, 2010). Remittances, in these instances, centre on the desire to cement favourable standing among friends and family. From the migrant's perspective, this underlying motivation may take the form of remitting to secure the inheritance, pay bills, repay debt from formal financial institutions, improve social standing or secure financial capital for personal use (Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002).

It is worth mentioning, especially in the Anglophone Caribbean, that risk sharing, altruistic, and self-interest theoretical interpretations of remitting do not exist or function in isolation. Instead, various factors mediated by households, act as additional drivers to remit. These include the financial security of the receiving household, the size of the family, the strength of the familial transnational relationship, and time spent abroad (Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002).

If the motivation is altruistic, the financial security of the receiving household shapes the type and the quantity of remittances sent. If the receiving household is financially disadvantaged, there will be an increased need for assistance from the migrant in the form of a much-needed alternative source of income (Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002).. Conversely, if the household is financially secure, there will be less of a need for the migrant to send supplementary income. However, if the motivations to remit follow contractual obligation or self-interest, the financial standing of the family has no bearing on the quantity of transfer (Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002). Instead, the desire to remain in good standing, invest and fulfil risk-sharing obligations dictates the frequency and amount of remittances.

If altruistic intentions guide behaviour, the presence of multiple migrants from one family unit distributes the burden of care, thus reducing the amount of assistance provided by each migrant. However, if contractual obligations and self-interested motivations guide transfers, multiple migrants from a household would have no impact on remittance behaviours (Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002).

2.4.6.3 Family networks as a motivation to remit

There is a relationship between the motivation to remit and transnational familial networks. When an individual migrates to another country, they become part of a transnational nexus, which involves the upkeep of crucial relations between the origin and destination country, made possible by sending remittances to the immediate and extended family who remain in the Caribbean. Therefore, a significant factor influencing the motivation to remit is the maintenance of transnational familial networks. The more direct the connection, often maintained by frequent travel and telephone communication (Orozco et al., 2005), the more likely the remittance behaviours are guided by familial contractual obligations as well as altruistic motivations. However, the inclusion of more distant relatives, who are not directly involved in the risk-sharing benefits of the remittances, signifies more altruistic motives (Orozco et al., 2006).

In the Caribbean context, these familial connections present in several different ways. For example, to make a better life for themselves and their families, a migrant may move to another country, leaving their spouse and children at home, or a young adult may migrate while their siblings and parents remain. Other transnational relationships involve a parent leaving one or more children (Olwig, 2012), or a parent sending children back to the Caribbean to be cared for by relatives (Mills, 2005). Evidence from the island of Carriacou, part of the tri-island state of Grenada, has shown that during periods of deteriorating economic conditions, migrants sent their children back to the island to be raised by grandparents (Mills, 2005). Whether the relationships are spousal, parent-child, sibling or extended family, the maintenance of this connection acts as a driving force for the migrant to send remittances (Orozco et al., 2006). Supporting this notion, Roberts (2009, p.8), in a study of Guyanese households who receive remittances, also found that familial relationships have some bearing on the receipt of remittances. Of those transnational relationships found in the study, 21% were offspring to parent transfers, 16% were parent

to child transfers, 22% were spousal transfers, and 41% were extended family transfers. It is worth noting that significant findings pointed to the reciprocal nature of the remittance pathway as an essential motivator for the migrant. To ensure continued assistance, the recipient invests in sending culturally significant and Caribbean produced goods to the migrant while they reside abroad (Orozco et al., 2005).

2.4.6.4 Time spent abroad as a motivation to remit

The longer a migrant resides abroad, the more likely they are to remit back to the Caribbean. This increase, however, has a threshold, after which the quantity of transfers decreases with increases in the duration of stay, the reason for which lies in the fact that established migrants face expenses and obligations, which reduce their ability and desire to send remittances (Orozco et al., 2005). However, although the motivations to remit vary with time abroad, it is worth noting that maintaining good standing for an inheritance ensures that the flow of remittances does not end (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998).

The desire to return to the Caribbean also influences the motivation to remit. As such, one of the critical factors determining a migrant decision to return to the Caribbean is the prospect of "upward social mobility". According to Byron (1999), another essential motivating factor within this context is an expressed desire to use remittance payments to invest in and purchase a home or land in the country of origin. A vital component of this investment is ensuring that the homes and neighbourhoods obtained by the returning migrant allow for some continuation of the lifestyle they grew accustomed to while abroad, and display the luxurious markings of success (Goulbourne, 1999). Whether the motivations are altruistic and take the form of the migrant wanting to be closer to the family and make a contribution, or whether the migrant capitalises on the economic benefits of inheritance (Joseph, 2012), the migrant actively takes steps to invest in property while still residing abroad (Byron, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1999). According to Joseph (2012), the rationale for this lies in the Single Asset Network Theoretical Framework, where the migrant makes use of several systems and means to make the most of the options available to them.

The housing tenure of the migrant, while abroad, also plays a role in the likelihood of investment-focused remittances, with the option to return. Research conducted on Caribbean

migrants living in the United Kingdom by Byron (1999) and Joseph (2012) provided mixed results. On the one hand, the study found that home ownership in the United Kingdom was more likely to precede remittances with the purpose of housing investment. In such situations, the financial assets accumulated because of home ownership provide the necessary capital for Caribbean investment (Byron 1999; Joseph, 2012). On the other hand, home-ownership causes some reluctance among the potential returnees. According to Joseph (2012), the initial desire of the migrant to sell their property in the UK and return to the Caribbean is replaced by the fear that if there were ever a desire to return to the UK, it would be difficult to regain a place in the housing markets.

In addition to the research describing the linkage between home ownership and housing investments, there were also findings that drew a connection between the lack of home ownership in the UK and an increased desire to channel available financial resources towards return migration and home-ownership in the Caribbean (Byron, 1999). These individual circumstances exist alongside national-level policies, which both positively and negatively affect investment remittances and the purchase of homes upon return. On the island of St Lucia, for example, these policies include; duties and taxes on housing materials for construction or renovations, property taxes, and stamp duties for the first-time sale and purchase of property (World Bank Group, 2016).

2.4.6.5 The remitting channel as a motivation to remit

The costs incurred by the migrant and the receiving household when using formal channels, such as Western Union, serve as a deterrent to remit (Peter and Kamau, 2015). It can therefore be deduced that to compensate for the high transactional costs at both ends, the sender may increase the amount sent or limit the frequency of remittances.

2.4.6.6 Macroeconomic factors as a motivation to remit

Evidence from a number of CARICOM countries shows that macroeconomic factors positively and negatively influence the migrant's motivation to remit. These include employment and income levels, remittance costs, interest rate policy, and the real effective exchange rate (Alleyne et al. 2008; Peters and Kamau, 2015). Examples are as follows:

- Employment and income levels at both the sending and receiving end influence motivation. Lower national income or unemployment levels signal a higher likelihood of lower household income or unemployment levels. Accordingly, the higher the income of the remitter, the more likely they are to remit and invest in the recipient country (Peters and Kamau, 2015). If the national income level of the country of origin country were low, then at the household level, the lower income thresholds would create a dependence on remittances that will encourage the migrant to remit, if motivated by altruistic intentions (Alleyne et al., 2008; Peters and Kamau, 2015).

- When the interest rate in the receiving country is favourable, the evidence points to assurance in the markets and investment rather than altruistic motivations driving remittances (Alleyne, 2006; Alleyne et al. 2008).

- Exchange rates guide investment driven remittances. Unfavourable exchange rates decrease remittance flows and increase the use of informal channels. However, favourable exchange rates have the opposite effect. Evidence suggests that the outcome with more favourable exchange rates is increased remittances and a higher likelihood that the migrant will seek profitable investment opportunities (Alleyne, 2006; Alleyne et al., 2008). Nonetheless, there is also evidence that remittances have no measurable effect on the real exchange rate and, by extension, the tradeable sector (Alleyne et al., 2008).

- High taxation or import duties can incentivise or dis-incentivise investment through remittances to the Caribbean. Consequently, this affects the development potential of investment remittances (World Bank Group, 2016). Additionally, anecdotal evidence indicates that high taxation may also influence the likelihood to send in-kind remittances. In addition to the costs to send goods to the Caribbean, the duties placed on the products once they arrive in the Caribbean can significantly limit the motivation to remit frequently, return or invest (Potter, 2005).

2.5 Discussion of scoping review

The findings from this review show that remittances are essential for development, so much so that they have become a part of the economic, social, and cultural fabric of many Caribbean households, therefore providing a form of economic survival. The review found that the impacts of remittances are mostly beneficial, and the significant effects of remittance flows include access to increased finances, access to luxury goods, improved housing options and access to healthcare and education opportunities (Stephenson and Wilsker, 2016; Dawson, 2007; Forte 2016; Taylor et al., 1996).

The review also finds that there are negative impacts of the receipt of remittances. These negative impacts include an ongoing dependence on remittances with a lack of incentive for the receiving household to seek alternative sources of income (Itzigsohn, 1995; Lim and Simmons, 2015). In addition, brain drain and increased disparities in standard of living among receiving households compared to households that do not receive remittances (Nurse, 2004; Rubenstein, 1983), also occur.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that there is an emphasis on the remittance experience as part of the transnationalism process, the impacts of in-kind remittances are underrepresented in the literature. This review finds that there is a tendency to focus on the classification, measurement and analysis of the impacts of various forms of monetary remittances. However, it is imperative that discourse around the subject of payments incorporates detailed evidence of the contributions of in-kind transfers. In-kind transfers are comparable to monetary remittances concerning their effects on economic stability. The provision of food, clothing or other materials not only fulfils needs directly but also allows for the diversion of household funds towards the fulfilment of other household needs, or allows for the household accumulation of savings, both of which increase household economic stability in the process reducing poverty.

One of the potential challenges to the theorisation of in-kind remittances centres on the difficulty in measuring this form of remittances, which, for the most part, utilises informal channels. Nonetheless, distinctly recognisable barrels enable the measurement of such in-kind remittances. Therefore, there is a potential avenue for the statistical representation of in-kind transfers and their contribution to the Anglophone Caribbean remittance experience.

2.5.1 Remittances, housing and home

The effects of transnationalism and remittances on housing have the most significant gap in Caribbean transnationalism literature. The majority of the studies included in this review discussed housing and remittances in the context of the purchase of homes as a form of investment capital before an eventual return to the Caribbean after living abroad. Findings also suggest that the housing tenure of the migrant while abroad has both positive and negative impacts on the likelihood to remit (Byron, 1999; Joseph, 2012; Thomas- Hope, 1999). The remainder of the studies highlight the fact that a significant portion of household remittances are used to make housing repairs, make mortgage payments or purchase luxury housing (Dawson, 2007; Forte 2016; Taylor et al., 1996).

Research on OECD countries (Andrews et al., 2011) has shown that with an increase in household financial capital comes an increase in the demand for housing. In turn, the rise in demand relates directly to increases in housing prices, and providing that the economic conditions are stable, a corresponding increase in housing investment. Other effects include increased residential mobility, changes in housing tenure trends favouring home ownership, changes to housing quality and structure, gentrification and decreased housing affordability (Andrews et al., 2011).

There is minimal evidence, from the studies included in this review, of how remittances and the resulting increase in financial capital affects housing markets and housing aesthetics. This adds a degree of difficulty in systematically assessing the impact of remittances on housing because both housing markets and the desire for improved housing play a significant role in the household decision-making process. There is also minimal evidence of how remittances function within a transnational societal context, affected by underlying issues such as assimilation, placement attachment and social identity. Finally, there is scope for greater inclusion of research on the ways in which transnationalism and remittances affect other aspects of housing, which extend beyond the physical manifestations such as the meaning and making of home.

2.6 Conclusion

Economic transnationalism, with its in-kind and monetary remittance transfers, is an important part of the familial, community and national economic fabric throughout the Caribbean. Its wide reaching effects provide a source of familial income, provide avenues for community empowerment and through taxation and spending, provide national benefits in the areas of health, education, housing and disaster mitigation. Driven by the motivation to either maintain family relations, or maintain social standing in both the country of origin and host country, the process of economic transnationalism represents a balance between individual and collective concerns. It is also sensitive to wider demographics and societal norms, such as age, gender and the economic standing of both the origin and host country. Consequently, it is an economic process influenced by interconnected cultural, social, economic and political factors. This suggests that economic transnationalism contributes to a larger and more encompassing system reflective of the multifaceted nature of the transnational families and their wider communities. That larger system incorporates the making of the transnational home. Yet, within a Caribbean transnational space, much of the conceptualisations centre on the physical and structural housing benefits derived from the proceeds of remittances. Beyond the generalised notions of the motivations to engage in the remitting processes, there is little empirical evidence of the deeper and often intangible ways in which both positive and negative sociocultural circumstances influence transnational decisions and any making of the home behaviours.

Furthermore, despite varying definitions of housing in some developing country contexts, there is a lack of empirical research, which addresses this issue from a uniquely Caribbean or Grenadian transnational experience. This warrants consideration on two fronts.

First, adopting a view from one country's perspective and applying it to another without considering the impacts of the underlying social and cultural forces can be misleading, or negate the necessary context required to analyse the social phenomenon of housing within a transnational space. Therefore, in a similar manner to the broad adaptation of welfare research across developing nations discussed in the previous section, caution is necessary when assessing housing issues. In the face of the receipt of remittances, housing issues are not only sensitive to the economic climate, which varies across regions, but also to the unique environmental, political, social and cultural systems which shape household level

decisions and determine outcomes. Second, the lack of definition and the degree of interplay between housing and home terminology within a transnational space leaves much up to interpretation without capturing the necessary context and perceptions.

Instead, a feasible first step to fill the gap would be a further discussion of the transnational social, cultural and political dimensions that promote and contribute to the environment whereby the remittances transfers discussed in this chapter can exist. Only from that starting point, can a comprehensive conceptualisation of the transnational experiences that contribute to the meaning and making of home for Grenadian families can begin.

Chapter 3: Critical review of transnationalism

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the most prominent and visible parts of the transnational processes at the macro-, meso- and micro levels. Specific themes and theoretical gaps pertaining to transnationalism's social processes were also identified. Due to time limits, this chapter is not a formal scoping review. Instead, detailed literature searches using research databases, the University of York Library and Google Scholar gather evidence to fill the discussion gaps identified in the previous chapter. This review also presents additional empirical and theoretical conceptualisations of transnational social processes.

A globally connected world increases the development of the transnational family structure. There is the argument that the development of this extended family structure is merely an unavoidable consequence of the physical separation that commences with a decision for a family member to migrate. However, at the deeper level, the development of the transnational family is a means of preserving the family structure and connection, while providing an additional means of familial prosperity capitalising on the benefits provided by multiple geographic locations.

Research tends to focus on measurements and representations of the transnational benefits by looking at remittance transfers. However, it is important that these economic forms of transnationalism are not the sole determinants of experience. There is also a need for acknowledgement of transnationalism as a complex and dynamic system influenced by wider social, cultural and political factors, which exist both within the Caribbean and outside of the Caribbean.

For each transnational family, arriving at a comprehensive understanding of the transnational process means understanding a continuous, shifting balance between individual, familial, economic and societal influences that compete with each other and can shift over time. It is also a matter of understanding the balance of the existing differences or similarities between two geographies and any past and present perceptions, which occurred prior to migration and after migration. The social factors, which dictate familial traditions,

cultural norms and societal expectations, play a role in the way that these balances represent any transnational individual and their family. The political factors, which exist in all of the geographical locations important to a transnational family, while fostering citizenship and community connectedness for both individual and collective transnationals, influence the social and economic environments in any given location, which in itself is a key driver of any number of transnational processes, actions and decisions. Together with the more tangible economic elements of transnationalism, these interconnected and balancing factors play a role in the decisions made, and actions taken by, different families to make a transnational experience that is best suited to their lifestyle and familial circumstances. Consequently, theorisations of transnationalism are best described within the contexts of these social and political dimensions (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999).

Social transnationalism facilitated by varying forms of social networking, fosters the social relationships that span across geographical locations. These social relationships, in turn, facilitate a "push and pull" sharing of information, which contributes to familial and community level economic decisions, through the sending of remittances. The sharing of information through transnational social networks also contributes to wider political mobilisation, the maintenance of civic responsibility through dual citizenship, and eventual policy change. Transnational individuals or families drive this process of political transnationalism.

Even though each factor makes a different contribution to the phenomenon of transnationalism, multiple potential and varying influences may shape the lives of migrants and their families who remain in the Caribbean, necessitating understanding of their combined influence. This chapter, through a critical review of transnationalism literature will provide the necessary starting context for the deeper discussion of the transnational processes, which plays a role in the development of the experiences around the meaning and making of the transnational home.

This chapter lays the necessary groundwork by discussing the more generalised definitions and conceptualisations of transnationalism. It then narrows conceptualisations by specifically discussing the concepts of social transnationalism, economic transnationalism and political transnationalism. Finally, the chapter concludes by commenting on the limits of current conceptualisations of transnationalism within a discussion, making a case for the

inclusion of additional elements of the transnational experience, particularly around how the transnationalism experience interconnects conceptualisations of home.

3.2 General conceptualisations of transnationalism

Transnationalism, first conceptualised at the end of the 19th century following mass migration to the United States, has its early conceptualisations rooted in an emphasis on the experience of transnationalism within the bounds of assimilation from the perspective of the host country environment (Bradatan, 2010). However, in a departure from such conceptualisations, there are descriptions of transnationalism that expand the notions of assimilation to include discussions of the pre-existing and influential cultures of the migrants, which also play an important role in the ease of integration (Bourne, 1916; Bradatan, 2010). In this light, a more comprehensive theorisation of transnationalism shifted towards the increased significance of the transnational (Bradatan et al., 2010), and subsequent conceptualisations of transnationalism have gone through periods of change; post the 1970s, after additional waves of migration and the resulting increased global connection. With changing societies, and the global communities within these changing societies, came the shifting perceptions and ideas of transnationalism, which no longer associated migration with full assimilation and limited overseas contact for the migrant. Instead, post 1970s theorisations of transnationalism focused on the process of movement across borders, and any new and existing cultural and social factors, which provide the avenues for the migrant to facilitate sustained networks (Bradatan et al., 2010).

In keeping with conceptual shifts towards greater social and cultural understandings of the transnational experience, Verdery (1994) argues for the adoption of discourse, which considers the applicability of transnationalism across a wider array of geographical and cultural contexts, and as such, places emphasis on the collective, societal structural factors, which influence the transnational process. This approach replaces theory that views transnationalism as simply a one-dimensional move across sovereign state or country borders. Veredy (1994) argues that an idea of nation or nationhood, which centres on common citizenship and shared language, history, or culture, is difficult in theory because multiple ethnic groups can potentially exist within any given state, each with its own unifying factors. Second, ethnicity and its unifying and defining factors do not neatly conform within borders. Veredy (1994) argues that the application of transnationalism under

a framework that stringently views nation within the confines of this idea of uniformed citizenship, does not paint a representative picture of the complexities of transnationalism. The result is a transnational definition, which is comprised of two parts. The first, involves the movement across borders and the second, although less clear due to difficulties in placing borders around the concepts of culture and ethnicity, captures movement influenced by factors such as assimilation, acculturation and cultural identity (Mahler, 1998; Veredy, 1994).

Similarly, Basch et al. (1994), accounting for ethnographical, social and cultural transnational contexts that transcend national boundaries, defines transnationalism as

> "The process by which transmigrants, through their daily life activities forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settle and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national boundaries" (p.7, 27).

Other conceptualisations have expand these ideas to incorporate situational contexts whereby transnationalism, and the processes that result, are in direct relation to the existing circumstances and patterns of behaviour. According to Levitt (2001, p.198):

> "Guarnizo (2000) defines 'core transnationalism' as those activities that: (a) form an integral part of the individual's habitual life; (b) are undertaken on a regular basis; and (c) are patterned and therefore somewhat predictable. 'Expanded transnationalism, in contrast, includes migrants who engage in occasional transnational practices, such as responses to political crises or natural disasters."

Itzigsohn et al. (1999 p. 323) also contextualise transnationalism based on the level of personal involvement, traditions, behavioural patterns and movement between two countries.

> "Transnationality in a 'narrow' sense refers to those people involved in economic, political, social, or cultural practices that involve a regular movement within the geographic transnational field, a high level of institutionalization, or constant personal involvement. Transnationality in a 'broad' sense refers to a series of

material and symbolic practices in which people engage that involve only sporadic physical movement between the two countries, a low level of institutionalization, or just occasional personal involvement, but nevertheless includes both countries as reference points."

Despite the limited distinctions between the activities and individual experiences of transmigrants, immigrants and transnationals, Conceptualisations that emphasise social, cultural economic and political dimensions provide a necessary step in capturing the complexities of the transnational experience, as a process (Portes, 2003; Mahler 1998). The importance of the recognition of the process of transnationalism lies with the idea that it is highly situational, likely to follow patterns, and subject to change depending on circumstance. Furthermore, incorporating wider societal structures and dimensions brings to the transnationalism discussion the notion of shared experience and, by extension, points to the collective nature of influences affecting multiple elements of the transnational experience, including the ones around the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families.

However, these structural representations, although key to the determination of an interconnected transnational experience, do not represent the full picture. They present a conceptualisation of a transnationalism environment, which is a function of the wider societal, economic, political and cultural structures. Yet, these structures follow the top-down influences of government, political or multinational organisations (Portes, 2003; Mahler, 1998). The previously discussed conceptualisations do not capture the relationships between the wider structures and the multiple microcosms of bottom-up processes, which simultaneously occur at meso and micro levels. Driven primarily by the needs and desires of the private individuals embedded in the transnationalism system, these bottom-up approaches promote individual level agency, familial agency and grassroots community mobilisation, which facilitates decision making and strategic utilisation of the transnationalism process at the individual level, the familial level and the community level (Portes, 2003; Mahler,1998).

Conceptualisations that incorporate bottom-up discussions, bear significance within transnationalism discourse. However, wider political and economic factors, which are a function of a top-down process, drive and influence bottom-up processes. Thus, viewing

bottom-up and top-down processes as isolated and separate dimensions increases the risk of overlooking any areas of intersection. Transnationalism has an influence on already present social structures, which in turn have impacts on the variable ways that both the transnational migrant, and the family unit that remains in the country of origin, formulate worldviews, maintain their identities, make sense of their collective histories and navigate their daily lives (Mahler, 1998). Additionally, there needs to be continued dialogue around the important role that supplementary players, such as the wider social community, and meso level organisations, play in influencing the outcomes of bottom-up transnationalism (Mahler, 1998). There is scope in current transnationalism discourse for the acknowledgement of the transnational within an interconnected system. Within an interconnected framework, both top-down and bottom-up processes are able to function and can draw from each other to produce processes of transnationalism.

Gender is an example of a dimension, which although influenced by top-down processes is also a key driver of more personalised bottom-up processes. Irrespective of the reasons for migration, which include employment, education, marriage or caregiving, current theorisations argue that the transnational process follows social and political expectations and responsibilities. The responsibilities differ based on the gender of the transnationals and the culture they identify with (Erel and Lutz, 2012; Goldring, 2001; Itzigsohn and Giorguli Saucedo, 2002; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Salih, 2001; Yeoh and Ramdis. 2014). In the Caribbean context, where there are large numbers of female migrants (Foner, 2009), this gendered role is dependent on multiple socioeconomic, familial and cultural factors. According to Ho (1999) and Foner (2008), with higher socioeconomic status, there is an increased likelihood that the social and economic means becomes available for the migration of more members of a family unit. With lower socioeconomic status, there is an inability to migrate entire family units, which especially affects female-headed households with children. Any children in the family remain in the country of origin in the care of other relatives or guardians. The result is a family structure where the female is both responsible for transnationally maintaining and navigating the economic and social functioning of the family. However, irrespective of the socioeconomic status and any resulting changes in family structure, cultural and social expectations dictate the matriarchal responsibility to maintain family relationships and caregiving responsibilities even if women cross-geographical boundaries (Ho, 1999; Foner, 2008; Olwig 2012; Mills 2005)

These generalised conceptualisations are important, because they set a framework for the comprehensive understanding of the transnationalism experience, where lingering multiple social and cultural norms remain important, despite the movement across geographical locations. From these broader conceptualisations of societal and cultural transnationalism, stem an understanding of the intersecting individual and collective elements of the transnational process.

3.3 Specific dimensions of transnationalism

Despite conceptualisations of transnationalism spanning decades, the typologies and characteristics that categorise this phenomenon are constantly evolving. As new technologies, practices, and cultural norms appear in society, the way in which we understand transnationalism and how it functions will shift, becoming more complex and encompassing of a number of factors (Portes, 2003; Mahler 1998). Consequently, there is debate around the broad scope of transnationalism and the potential for more clearly defined conceptualisations of transnationalism that, while still acknowledging the broad scope of the phenomenon, utilise definitional boundaries, which align with the different social and political streams of transnational activities (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999).

The remainder of this chapter moves beyond the more generalised notions of transnationalism and specifically reviews conceptualisations of social and political transnationalism. It highlights critiques and gaps. The chapter concludes by making the argument that any comprehensive conceptualisations of transnationalism need to include factors such as the meaning of home, which exists both within and outside of the migration space, and has far-reaching implications within the transnational space.

3.3.1 Social Transnationalism

Transnationalism utilises social connections between people who reside in multiple geographies and cultures. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) captures the importance of these multi-local social ties:

> "The activities and occupations that in order to take root require regular and
> sustained social contact over time and national borders" (p.219)

Regular and sustained social contact forms potentially influential networks, which are a key part of the transnationals existence, and thus become influential. According to Bilecen et al. (2018), much of this influence is through the shaping of the decisions and worldviews of the transnational individuals and households.

While socially driven worldviews have implications on all stages of the transnationalism process, deeper processes and dimensions influence the degree to which these worldviews are developed and expressed and thus their impacts on transnationalism. These processes and dimensions include:

1) family, professional and community networks

2) social identity, place attachments and assimilation

3.3.1.1 First dimension: Family, professional and community networks

Social networks take a number of forms and may present as professional, community, and family networks. Yet, of these, one of the most significant is that of the family. Influenced by family connections and existing cultural structures, every individual or family experiences, navigates, and benefits from transnationalism in different ways (Portes, 2003). The transnationalism family presents in a number of ways and according to Orozco et al. (2006), the relationship may be spousal, sibling, parent-offspring or extended family.

Across the Caribbean literary space, these transnational family structures, widely discussed in both fictional and non-fictional literary explorations, describe how the intricate family, community and professional relationships play a role in shaping the experiences of migration and transnationalism (Kincaid, 1990; Dandicat, 2004; Phillips, 2018). In the non-fiction theoretical discourse, these underlying ideas persist. The transnational family relationship structure is conceptualised by incorporating geographical, social and cultural aspects. According to Conway (2007), in his analysis of transnationalism in the Caribbean, the process links to the varied family connections and centres on the belief that the maintenance and communication designed to strengthen family relationships influence the everyday decisions made by migrants, by virtue of the sustained familial presence in the everyday activities process of the transnational.

3.3.1.2 Second Dimension: Social identity, place attachments and assimilation

Decisions in transnational homes, shaped by family relationships, affect social identity and its resulting influence on the degree of attachment to place. These identities and attachments draw from concepts within the psychological discipline and stem from a sense of belonging, which derives from membership in an emotionally or culturally significant social group.

Tajifel (1974) conceptualises social identity as:

> "Part of the individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of social group/groups together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.69)

The major tenets of this social identity theory proposed by Tajifel (1974), along with the self-categorisation theory proposed by Turner et al. (1987), are the categorisation of both self and others into social groups that allows for the formation of identity, based on the characteristics of these groups. Even though this concept has roots in the psychological discipline, the broad applicability of this conceptualisation to explain any social science phenomena that functions within the context of groups associated with identity, makes it applicable to transnationalism. An example of this applicability comes in its potential linkage to family networks that form a group and a source of social identity and categorisation. From this form of social identity comes a motivation to remit and keep the visible and tangible elements of the transnationalism process going (Lowell, 2006; Potter, 2005; Reynolds, 2010; Orozco et al., 2006). Therefore, there is a link between social processes and economic transnationalism. Further linkages between these linked social and economic processes exist with the social identity and emotions that contribute to the meaning and making of home and the resilience of these processes. Chapter 8 describes these ideas in more detail.

Other conceptualisations by Bradatan et al. (2010), Funder (2001), and Vertovec (2001) also place the importance of the interactions of the members of the group. An individual's desire to assume memberships in any given number of groups and adopt a social identity is associated with the self-perception, belonging and self-preservation (Funder, 2001;

Bradatan, 2010). However, other conceptualisations diverge from the Tajifel and Turner (1974) and Turner et al. (1987) theorisations on a number of fronts.

First, Bradatan et al. (2010) and Vertovec (2001) theorise that the social connectedness framing identity extends beyond the individual family units within any given country. It also incorporates larger scale cross-country group membership and belonging. When multiple geographies become a significant part of the context, feelings of self-identity and belonging take on an additional dimension, requiring the navigation between the individuals, the country of origin, and the host country. Second, Bradatan et al. (2010), based on the Funder (2001) personality triad, argues that social identity as a function of belonging is as much related to the personality traits of the individuals, the situations which surround individuals and any behaviours of individuals. These factors are interconnected, and changes in one or more result in predictable and corresponding changes in the others.

Diverging conceptualisations within the social transnationalism sphere are significant because they provide additional support for the contextual nature of transnationalism in relation to surrounding circumstances. They also provide supporting evidence for the importance of individual perceptions and circumstances when experiencing any collective processes that span geographies.

Also linked to the notion of self-identity are place attachments that describe the collective ways that familial relationships interplay within a broader environment (Conway 2007). Therefore, as a concept, place attachment through the social and emotional processes that result from the familial and environmental interplay, provides explanations of why people form connections to a particular location. Within this concept of place attachment, however, there are a number of factors, which play a role in the degree of attachment experienced by the migrant. These, according to Conway (2007, p.422), include the "realm of unconscious drives", "the realm of discursive consciousness", and the "realm of pragmatic and or learned responses to everyday activities". Conway further argues that the relationships, which occur within the placement attachment realm, are not linear or stable. Instead, the degree to which these relationships and dimensions impact attachment to place is subject to change depending on the situations and circumstances faced by the migrant and the different strategies employed to respond to their various situations.

Chapman and Prothero (1985) propose similar conceptualisations of placement attachment and posit that within the transnationalism system there exists a central base, usually in the country of origin, to which the migrant has cultural, familial, social and economic ties. The home base is central to the formation of social identities and therefore becomes the focal point of the decision-making processes. It is also the point from which the transnationalism cycle begins and eventually ends.

However, the feelings of attachment to a particular location function because of processes that, specifically assimilation, are multidimensional and involve the intricate social and cultural balancing between multiple geographies.

According to Park and Burgess (1921), assimilation is defined as:

> "The process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (p. 736).

This idea represents an important early conceptualisation of assimilation that has subsequently expanded to include cultural dimensions, such as cultural unification through the merging of different cultures (Berry, 1965; Gordon, 1964).

Notwithstanding these conceptualisations of place attachment and assimilation capturing necessary social and cultural dimensions across geographies, the conceptualisation by Alba and Nee (1997) calls into question its applicability in societies that are more contemporary. According to Alba and Nee (1997), in many post-modern societies structured on the tenets of multiculturalism, the persistence of any social and cultural identities held prior to the movement to the host country, plays an important role. This idea opposes previous conceptualisations, which suggest complete unification. In this case, the assimilation experience, through redefinition, allows for the persistence and incorporation of previously held identities, worldviews and belief systems. They go on to argue that in all of the preceding definitions and corresponding conceptualisations of assimilation, there is the overwhelming conceptualisation of assimilation using a dual approach comprising of a minority (migrant) group and a majority (host society) group.

For conceptualisations within this framework, the underlying assumption is that complete assimilation is solely dependent on the migrant's interaction with social, racial and cultural barriers present within the host society. As such, it is theorised that these barriers place limitations on assimilation, irrespective of the level of desire for assimilation held by the migrant. Furthermore, much of the discussion around transnationalism places emphasis on the strong relational ties to the country of origin (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995; Bradatan et al., 2010; Faist, 2010; Baubock and Faist, 2010). These are important components of the transnational experience. However, any one-sided analysis negates the ties to the host country and the ongoing role this plays in the transnational experience where the migrant no longer attaches to one country or place, but is free to maintain these relationships and loyalties with and to multiple locations (Portes et al., 1999).

Instead, Alba and Nee (1997) suggest greater emphasis on assimilation as a process, with variable meanings and perceptions depending on both the stage of migration and the external circumstances and worldviews and barriers affecting the migrant. Some may prescribe to the notion of the necessary and complete adoption of the social and cultural norms of the host country; others may hold the belief that balance is preferable and the complete adoption of social and cultural norms is not necessary.

3.3.2 Political Transnationalism

Political transnationalism places primary emphasis on the activities that increase the political visibility, political involvement and the political agency of the migrant, with the country of origin (Baubock, 2003; Itzigsohn, 2000; Martinello and Lafleur, 2008; Guarnizo et al 2003; Vertovec, 2001; Kivisto, 2001). Political involvement allows individuals and collective groups to effect change on the issues that matter to them. Even though this element does not directly factor into the expressed meaning and making of the home for Grenadian transnationals and does not feature in the analysis in Chapter 8, it is still a significant element of transnationalism identified in the literature and thus warrants review

Roberts et al. (1999) posit that being part of a transnational family, and therefore having exposure to multiple geographies, affords the migrant a political and economic voice previously unavailable to them. These political influences may be widespread and essentially involve continued involvement in the election process, whether it is through

donations or voting in elections. Scholars such as Guarnizo et al. (2003) argue that enabling this type of political involvement promotes feelings of attachment, often through dual citizenship and its promotion of sustained connection to the original homeland.

Similarly, Kivisto (2001) describes the role of homeland governments in forging an increasingly significant role in political transnationalism. The fostering of relationships with the diaspora at all stages of their migration journey fosters beneficial relationships (Kivisto, 2011). However, accounting for the potentially volatile nature of economic, cultural and diplomatic environments between states, this is not always the case. Instead, predictable and unpredictable circumstances arise when environments or the relationships between the host and destination states are strained (Kivisto, 2011). The results are negative and positive effects on the transnational process for all stakeholders.

Situating the discussion within a Caribbean and Latin American context, Itzigsohn (2000) argues that the government systems in the host country, the government systems in the country of origin and the other migration stakeholder organisations make political transnationalism possible. It is further theorised by Itzigsohn (2000) that the primary aim of the political institutions in the country of origin is ensuring economic visibility and the implementation of initiatives, which ensure the continued flow of remittances from the migrant back to the country of origin**.**

Other migration stakeholder organisations function within the host country and aim to ensure the continued economic and social connection of the migrant to their country of origin (Itzigsohn, 2000). While this theorisation promotes the significance of the migrant stakeholder organisations within the host country, there is little mention of the equally vital role of origin country migrant stakeholder organisations in ensuring the promotion and effective channelling of the proceeds of remittances.

Civil society and other grassroots organisations at both ends of the migration chain play an important role in fostering highly variable degrees of social identity, which contributes to degrees of attachment and loyalty that, in turn, affect the manifestations of the transnationalism process for all of the players involved (Mahler, 1998). Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), who argue that the process of transnationalism is not one that happens because of the sole efforts and abilities of the migrant, support these ideas of a broader

political transnationalism nexus. Instead, it is the result of a number of structures and processes, namely those of the state and political organisations, which as an intricate part of the transnationalism process, influences migrant actions, and decisions.

Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) go on to state that this interconnection happens in the following ways:

First, state laws and border processes control limit the degree of movement or travel that can occur across borders, a process overlooked in the conceptualisations of transnationalism by Portes et al. (1999).

Second, within any state are both internal and external regulations. These shape the activities of those embedded within and travel in and out of the state. Consequently, depending on the variability to which these regulations present, they affect the actions of those who live within a state, thus indirectly affecting activities of any connected people in other regions. These conceptualisations are particularly significant because in a constantly evolving post-modern societal and political environment, the acknowledgement of the possibility for the incorporation of social and cultural variabilities, which have the potential to influence the political landscapes, is beneficial (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004) .

3.4 Discussion

The previous sections have highlighted both generalised and highly specified political, economic, social and cultural dimensions. However, a number of conceptual gaps arise from these previously discussed theorisations of transnationalism.

First, there is a focus on the macroeconomic effects of both social and political transnationalism processes. As such, even though there is a deeper discussion of the social and political processes, theorisations are largely in the context of their eventual contribution to the macroeconomic wellbeing of the remittance-receiving state. The increased focus on larger scale analysis leaves gaps in the micro-level processes, which calls into question whether enquiries around the transnationalism processes are truly comprehensive. Any assessment of the transnational process needs to explore and present the highly intricate and variable contexts that influence worldview and resulting decisions for the individual players

and smaller scale familial groups and communities. Additionally, the subjective familial perspective warrants full exploration of either positive or negative experiences without cover or broad and generalised statistical representations. Therefore, it is important that investigations of the transnationalism process adopt a conceptual framework that incorporates the highly specific, heterogeneous; bottom-up and top-down transnationalism processes (Mahler, 1998).

Second, Levitt (2001; 2004) argues that classification of transnationalism is not solely reserved for the migrant. Yet, discourse centres on the migrant decisions to enter into the transnational relationship, the migrant decisions to remit and familial interactions and decisions initiated by the migrant, even though theoretically and empirically, there is overwhelming acknowledgement of the family relationship and connection to home from the origin country. Transnationalism is a process where the activities of the migrant and the activities of their familial and community networks that remain in their country of origin either are separate entities. The ways that the perspectives potentially interact with and influence each other as part of a functioning system of transnationalism, is not widely explored in the current literature. Furthermore, any mention of influences and motivations on the part of the family who remains in the country of origin, are predominantly theorised in the context of the migrant's decisions and views of the transnationalism process. Consequently, the transnational perspectives of the family members who remain in the country of origin remain largely undiscussed and they become supporting characters in any transnational story. Little emphasis is placed on the thoughts, behavioural patterns, feelings and meanings associated with their interactions with the transnationalism process. Adopting this very one-sided approach presents issues because there is an ignorance of the idea that the family unit as a whole on both ends of the transnational nexus plays a significant role. Instead, discussion should incorporate the perspectives, decisions and interactions with transnationalism, which occurs with all of the transnational players on both ends of the relationship. Moreover, the theoretical discourse around place attachments, social identity and assimilation means that this is an important consideration, and is dependent on an ongoing interaction between the migrant and the family who reside in the country of origin.

Third, the macroeconomic effects of both the social and political transnationalism process takes precedence. As such, even though there is a deeper discussion of the social and political processes, theorisations are largely in the context of the eventual contribution to

the macroeconomic wellbeing of the remittance-receiving state. The increased focus on larger scale analysis leaves gaps in the micro level processes, which call into question whether enquiries around the transnationalism processes are truly comprehensive. Any assessment of the transnational process needs to explore and present the highly intricate and variable contexts that influence worldview and resulting decisions for the individual players and smaller scale familial groups and communities. Additionally, the subjective familial perspective warrants full qualitative exploration of either positive and negative experiences rather than broad and generalised statistical representations. Hence, it is important that investigations of the transnationalism process adopt a conceptual framework that incorporates the highly specific, heterogeneous; bottom-up transnationalism processes (Mahler, 1998).

Fourth, despite the importance of economic stability, familial networks, culture and assimilation, as separate factors, they do not function in isolation. Instead, any number of social, political, cultural and environmental experiences combine to produce encompassing and variable transnationalism processes, which vary by the individual or the embedded family structure or cultural community. Therefore, greater focus needs not be on the different boundaries of the transnationalism process as theorised by Portes, et al., (1999), but on transnationalism as a whole complex of interconnected economic, social and political systems.

3.5 Conclusion

Transnationalism is an interconnected process with social, political, cultural and economic elements. Also influenced by societal constructs such as gender, it is as much influenced by individual factors as it is influenced by broader collective norms present at any given time.

Social transnationalism utilises a number of social networks that occur at multiple levels and requires the navigation of communication and emotional connections across geographies and the social and cultural expectation that surrounds this communication. First, the family, community and professional networks, which vary in their composition and makeup, simultaneously drive and influence the decisions and worldview of the transnational. This influence is primarily dependent on the degree of familial and community presence, which in itself is proportional to the level of communication between

the transnational and their networks. Second, the communication between the transnational individual and their familial, community and professional networks fosters a sense of belonging by way of the expression of common goals, interpretations and origins. The social identity, resulting from the formation and social groups, occurs in both the country of origin and the host country, and is subject to multiple social, cultural and political influences. Social identity also manifests as an attachment to place. Notwithstanding any variations in individual circumstances, attachment to place has links to the degree of loyalty to country of origin, loyalties to host country and the degree of assimilation driving any balances between the two loyalties.

Political transnationalism describes the political involvement and agency of the transnational that is directly linked to an exposure to the political environments of multiple geographies. However, transnationalism cannot be understood from the level of individual experience. Political transnationalism is equally important and is itself a function of changing political environments, diplomatic allowances and grassroots community activism in both the country of origin and the host country.

There are merits to placing social, political and economic boundaries of transnationalism. However, given that communication among family, community, political and professional networks factors into decisions about political involvement and remitting, the transnational process seems inherently multidimensional. The transnationalism processes are part of a larger system, which accounts for the interconnected experiences of the transnational family members in both the country of origin and the host country. Analysis of transnationalism should also incorporate the negative and positive experiences, and the systematic ways wider circumstances influence decision-making. Further, transnationalism is not an isolated social phenomenon occurring in a space of its own. It is part of a comprehensive system of existence. The system comprises the contributions of transnationalism and the contributions of other facets of daily living. One such facet of daily living is the experiences around the meaning and making of home, which on its own is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with its own social, cultural and economic, emotional and political influences. Only when the social phenomenon of transnationalism is open to the intersecting influences of the other experiences, can the incorporation of the meaning and making of home within the transnational space begin.

Chapter 4: From housing to home

4.1 Introduction

Home is a complex idea that is not easily definable. It is both positive and negative (Gurney, 2020; Lancione, 2019), sensitive to changing circumstances, dependent on societal constructs and influenced by personal and academic worldview (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Depres, 1991). The meaning of home is as much of a nuanced idea as it is a contestable one (Meers, 2021). The limited availability of specifically Caribbean literature around the meaning of home, a critical criterion that warrants any potential scoping review for this PhD, meant that plans for any formal scoping review processes with a Caribbean-specific geographical focus were abandoned. Instead, detailed literature searches incorporating housing and home-related research databases and journals, the University of York Library and Google Scholar, were used to review the meaning of home conceptualisations irrespective of geographic location.

In an increasingly globalised world, marked by increases in migration and the transnational family units, there is emerging literature that conflates, and confuses, home with housing, focusing solely on the investigation of physical structures, with remittances filling household consumption needs or beautifying and improving physical structures (Dawson, 2007; Forte 2016; Itzigsohn, 1995; Potter, 2005). Little mention is made of the deeper functioning and understanding of home, and the associated interactions that occur within a family unit.

The transnational family, in both the country of origin and the host country, navigates wider cultural, political and social circumstances to make a home that extends *beyond* physical housing elements (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Bilecen et al., 2018; Orozco et al., 2006; Bradatan et al., 2010; Mahler, 1998; Guarnizo et al 2003; Itzigsohn, 2000).

The meaning of home as a function of the transnational process is highly nuanced. It therefore requires deeper exploration. This chapter, by reviewing housing and home theory, will serve as an important step in shifting the transnational conceptualisations of home from purely physical housing dimensions linked to economic transnationalism, to the

conceptualisations of home that incorporate interconnected psychological, social, cultural and environmental elements (Clapham, 2002; Kemeny, 1992). However, so as not to negate the importance of the physical house in conceptualisations of home, this chapter will not represent a complete shift away from housing theory and terminology. Instead, it will represent an argument for the importance of the expansion to include transnational conceptualisations of home. Only from these arguments, can comprehensive conceptualisations of the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families occur. Instead of a detailed exploration and review of the history and etymology of the home as discussed by Gurney (1995), Gurney (1996), Mallet (2004), and Moore (2000), there is a more contemporary focus and scope. The reason for this is to gain insight into the most recent conceptualisations of home relevant to this specifically contemporary Grenadian research. Therefore, rehearsing older debates of the home is not the focus.

The first part critically analyses the interdisciplinary nature of home. The second part reviews the transnational home literature and, in doing so, provides the rationale for the expansion of the meaning of home theory to include the Grenadian transnational experience. Shifting the predominant focus away from disciplinary-based theorisations of home that capture the worldview and circumstances of the Global North can help to present more encompassing and truly representative understandings of varying perspectives, deeper mechanisms and contexts that frame conceptualisations of the home be effectively realised.

Thus, in its literature review, this chapter makes the overarching point that the current meaning of home literature needs to paint a complete enough picture.

4.2 The shifting priorities

The discussion must begin from somewhere, and there is no better way to start than with a brief review of the critiques framing housing studies and the resulting new approaches to housing studies.

Housing as a concept, due to its function as a social determinant of health and human rights, plays a vital role in the post-modern era of individual and societal awareness (O'Mahoney, 2013). However, these essentially legalistic representations of housing, although arguably beneficial in their ability to provide important markers for change or the prevention of harm,

are limited in their ability to effectively capture the subjective and comprehensive social and cultural story of 'home' and therefore require expansion.

Several housing studies viewpoints have arisen over the years, supporting a shift towards more socially and culturally constructed theories and frameworks. Of particular interest are those of Clapham (2005), Saunders and Williams (1988) and Blunt and Dowling (2006) because of their wider theoretical and critical contributions to the conceptualisation of home and their broad applicability to this research on the Grenadian transnational home experience.

Clapham (2005, p. 9-10) proposes a pathways approach as an alternative to housing studies approaches that attempt to understand the policy element and, in doing so, focus on economic and geographic contexts of housing costs and distribution. He argues that although achieving some policy benefits, housing studies have become largely positivist, singular in the expected outcome, legalistic and too stringently focused on operating within the confines of government institutional practices or priorities.

The pathways approach, utilised by (Clapham, 2005), is inspired by a social constructionism approach that posits the primary place of communication in the understanding of the social life of any individual or group.

Clapham (2002) defines the pathways framework as follows:

1) "patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space" (p.63)

2) "The concept of a pathway is offered as a way of ordering the housing is offered as a way of ordering the housing field in a way which foregrounds the meanings held by households and the interactions which shape housing practices as well as emphasising the dynamic nature of housing experience and its inter-relatedness with other aspects of household life" (p.64)

The emphasis is on the subjective individual or household story, which is lost in housing studies that instead attempt to understand housing decisions in the context of singular

rational choices and objective realities. The central premise of such a pathways framework lies with individual or household decisions and their central role in determining outcomes. The pathways approach sees housing decisions as needing to be less linear and less approached with blinders. Housing decisions and homemaking occur as multiple simultaneous experiences co-occur as potential housing issues or circumstances are considered. Hence, the influence of these factors is significant.

However, despite its attention to the importance of social life and interactions, critiques of this approach centre on the extent to which the individual or household experiences play a central role and the limited role of the influences of external societal structures. In response to this, the argument arises that there is difficulty in separating the individual from the broader society in which they reside. Furthermore, it is also challenging to separate the individual from the experiences and worldviews which arise because of this link to overarching societal influences (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000). This critique is warranted and can even be taken a step further to include the notion that it is difficult to separate the individual and their link to wider societal influences from the communicated interpretations individual- societal links of other individuals and households within a collective group that they are connected to.   Additionally, although individual or household factors are significant, the prevailing sociocultural and structural factors that are present in any particular geography prove to be the influencing determinant of housing experiences. Therefore, the same homemaking processes cannot be blindly applied to multiple circumstances. There must be an acknowledgement of varying contexts (Bramley and Fitzpatrick, 2018).

Another critique that this review gives of Clapham (2005) is that despite the relevant discussion of the importance the international influences, changing family structures, and the importance of individual and collective identities, much of the Clapham (2005) pathways approach, uses examples such as the physical layout of a home, and issues around tenancy. These issues potentially occur within particular locations and in the context of singular individuals or households. If there is movement or multiple locations mentioned, they are still, for the most part, locally oriented.

The discussion of the pathways approach is from the geographical, social and cultural perspectives of the United Kingdom. All households do not find these issues pertinent,

function within similar contexts to the UK, or function within just one geographic context. For many in the Global South, such as the Caribbean, developing and forming culturally specific housing or households across multiple countries is an established and continuing norm. As such, the meanings developed by individuals and households can face multiple and often competing contexts, and the roles of any social interaction and decisions hold varying outcomes. Home also exists in a transnational form; it is held in a tension between two or more social, emotional, cultural and physical components in the homeland and overseas (Bradatan, 2010; Veredy, 1994; Basch et al., 1994). For that reason, expanding the pathways approach to housing literature needs to include a more significant number of specific and culturally broader perspectives.

In addition to this view of housing studies from a social constructionist, post-modernist and pathways angle, Blunt and Dowling (2006) have identified the need to expand the ideas around housing. In doing so, they theorise that housing studies currently have several key areas on which emphasis is placed:

First, there is a focus on policy, this as a result of the involvement of post-modern governments in developing and implementing housing policies and various housing initiatives. In areas with a strong need for various forms of social housing, such government involvement has even greater significance.

Second, there is an emphasis on public and private housing economics.

Third, design and architectural features play an important role in housing discourse. Notwithstanding the accounting of cultural and social elements and geographical variations, it is importance to build houses that are both structurally sound and aesthetically satisfactory.

Fourth, the meaning of home is the final connecting element in the nexus of housing studies. This fourth area of housing studies is a crucial element worth considering. Home is as much an emotional construct as it is a physical one. Feelings of security, safety and identity also factor into experiences. This adds complexity and even limitations to the measurability of the home. However, despite these complexities and resulting variabilities, the full housing story can be realised only through incorporating the multidimensional and emotional

concept of home into housing studies (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Somerville, 1992; Dovey, 1985; Young, 1997).

Furthermore, the contributions of Saunders and Williams (1988) to the housing discussion place emphasis on an understanding of housing as more than a structure, instead considering the sociological factors and social relationships such as "household structures and relationships, gender relations, property rights, questions of status, privacy and autonomy" (p.81). They present the "shift from housing to home" by analysing the concepts of home, house and household. The mode of social organisation, which is distinctive to the home, is the household, irrespective of size (Saunders and Williams, 1988). As such, it is the foundation through which most major activities around housing arise. Breaking down further the idea of the household, Saunders and Williams (1988) posit that family relationships also play an essential role in the household as a concept, and they are that this represents the nuclear family. However, they also concede that given that not every household is nuclear and instead comprises many different makeups that may deviate from the traditional, the idea of the household rather than the family proves more pertinent. In turn, the household, irrespective of size, is a function of the wider societal makeup.

Moreover, they also argue that home is a function of the physical or structural, which accounts for living in, and therefore the relationship , any number of varying types and sizes of physical dwelling spaces. Consequently, accounting for incorporating the household factors and the physical elements, the authors describe home as a "socio-spatial system". These conceptualisations are significant because through their introduction into the discussion, they support a shift towards theorisations that embrace greater involvement of home as a concept, which incorporates multiple elements and circumstances.

Also of interest is Saunders and Williams (1988) belief that home incorporates house and household and has a range of culturally specific meanings, which centre mainly on age, gender and, to some degree, housing tenure and the quest for the physical ideal. They posit that depending on which category the individual falls under, the meaning of home is representative of varying attitudes and experiences with feelings of comfort, power dynamics and household roles.

While this brings to light relevant and essential views about the subjectivity of the meaning of home, even for people within the same household, basing conceptualisations of home primarily on gender, age, or even housing tenure is also problematic because of their narrowed focus and scope. Such constructs may not necessarily prove pertinent to the experience of individuals and households in the Caribbean, where attitudes to age, gender and housing tenure may not exist or, if they exist, may exist with varying significance.

For the Grenadian remitting transnational family, where the household exists in two geographical locations, age and gender may prove less critical towards the meaning of home dynamics than the community standing, economic standing or geographic location of the family's different household members (Forte, 2016; Prashad, 2016; Thomas-Hope, 2002; Lowell, 2006; Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002). So, primarily basing the meaning of home on a predetermined number of limited factors, drawing on experiences largely or wholly confined in the Global North, risks the exclusion of important dynamics that prove essential to an expanded and encompassing body of literature around the home.

While there is space for culturally and socially specific meanings of home, individuals within a society are not a monolith. Exposure to different experiences and, in the case of the transnational, different geographies means that the potential for variations and deviations from categorical explorations at least needs to be considered regardless of how small the potential for these deviations may appear to be.

Despite these critiques, the conceptual contribution of research and debates on the meaning of home is significant in its ability to capture the deeper unseen aspects of any housing experience and its integral role in broadening the scope of both the positive and negative understandings of housing as a social phenomenon.

These multifaceted characterisations of the housing studies by Blunt and Dowling (2006) and Clapham (2005), and Saunders and Williams (1988) rightfully highlight that, despite any potential temptation to focus on the more aesthetical, physical or policy-focused elements of housing, there is scope for a pathways approach in moving towards an understanding of home. Only from addressing such deviations from the overarching housing narrative can the review of the multifaceted notions of a home which will frame the remainder of this chapter.

4.3 The meaning of home

4.3.1 Should the meaning of home be loyal to theoretical position?

The meaning of home is diverse. It is legal, architectural, geographical, psychological, phenomenological, sociological, and cultural (Rybczynski, 1986; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Waghorn, 2009; Fox, 2003; Fox, 2007; Dovey, 1985; Gurney, 1996; Moore, 2000). It is also a place, an assertion of one's identity, privacy and security, a place of family and community, and it is territorial (Porteous, 1976). Furthermore, home is highly emotional, conflicting, positive, negative, individual yet collective, a balancing of opposing ideas and circumstances, and a navigation of the memories and the present (Easthorpe, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Somerville, 1992; Somerville, 1997; Dovey, 1985. Cristoforetti et al., 2011; Clapham, 2005; Lovatt, 2018; Findlay, 2009). Therefore, the meaning of home is a dynamic, changeable and contextual process.

Scholars such as Depres (1991) theorise home based on various theoretical models. These include the territorial, socio-psychological, phenomenological and developmental models.

The territorial model posits that the placing of boundaries, and the ownerships and controls that consequently arise, play a vital role in formulating the meaning of home (Depres, 1991). Furthermore, within this theoretical conceptualisation, territorial behaviours such as attachments, the need to repeat activities associated with the home, and the desire and ability to make changes to the home play a significant role. A degree of control can now occur through this act of forming a territory (Depres, 1991). This conceptualisation defies the limits of personal space and spans multiple spaces.

According to Depres (1991, p.100):

"The marking of the neighbourhood territory, of the boundary of house, of the family territory and of individual territories within the home, respectively communicate information about the identity of the family in the neighbourhood, about the family in its home as well as about individual members of the household".

The phenomenological and developmental interpretations, as detailed by Depres, posit that individuals and their life events heavily influence home as a process. The human experience plays a crucial role in these ideas of home, and therefore central to an understanding of home is the knowledge of how everyday life factors in the transformation of a living environment into a home. Furthermore, this conceptualisation strongly emphasises the interplay between the present and past: how people's "residential history" plays a role in their current worldview and any resulting behaviours and the ideas of home that arise. The socio-psychological understandings of home suggest that the home represents a vehicle for self-expression, identity, and belonging. Identity in this context presents numerous modifications and efforts to ensure that a home is a place of personal expression. While Depres (1991) alludes to the fact that this unconscious expression of home along social identity lines is often less noticeable, the external elements of the home serve as a key marker.

Despres (1991), also highlights that the psychoanalytical perspective and the personality theory explain the psychological interpretations of home in the following ways:

First, as it pertains to the psychoanalytical branch of this conceptualisation, i.e. the home is where worldview development lays its roots, any actions that relate to the home are expressions of the internal self.

Second, as it relates to personality theory, the home is central to personal and psychological welfare. Many of the meanings of home, which centre on safety, privacy, well-being and empowerment, have psychological origins.

However, critiques suggested by Somerville (1997) postulate that the theoretical understandings of home by Depres (1991) are problematic due to overlap between the categories, particularly those of the psychological, socio-psychological and territorial conceptualisations. He states that there is a limited discourse around the "theory of need". Therefore, in adopting the theoretical discourse of Depres (1991), there is the unanswered question of whether or not descriptions of these categories as separate conceptual entities make sense.

Instead, Somerville (1997) argues that a more relevant approach would allow for the inclusion of phenomenology through the lens of social and cultural relationships. The

rationale for this is that adopting either purely phenomenological conceptualisations or purely sociological conceptualisations exposes the researcher to gaps not covered entirely by applying either conceptualisation in isolation.

Somerville (1997) also describes an approach classified as "heterophenomenology", which as a theoretical approach, differs from the traditional phenomenology stream. The significant difference is that rather than analyses or conclusions driven by the subject of inquiry, "a third person approach" incorporating observer worldviews takes precedence. However, Somerville (1997) also outlines the limitations of the application and utilisation of this theoretical approach in the meaning of home discourse, the first being that application of this approach risks bias towards cultural discourse and a "neglect" of discourse around the "economic or material". The second limitation centres on the fact that hetero-phenomenological approaches have the potential for incompatibility with a sociologically driven approach, which plays an essential role in the conceptualisations of home.

As an alternative, through an exploration of the domestic constructs of privacy, identity and familiarity, Somerville (1997) has provided a means to overcome this limitation while at the same time encouraging the expansion of theoretical inquiry and discourse. The nature of privacy, identity and familiarity means that a full explanation is attainable by both sociological and phenomenological conceptualisations. Furthermore, the intersecting sociological and phenomenological boundaries warrant a fusion of hetero-phenomenological and sociological theoretical approaches, described in the literature as social phenomenology. Although this approach does not represent or claim total compatibility between sociology and phenomenology, it provides a key starting point for conceptual integration.

Nevertheless, in the presence of conceptualisations of home framed within the ideological lens of academic discipline or theoretical stance, and in the vein of critical positions by Somerville (1997), there is also an academic movement towards conceptualisations of home that even though rooted in a particular academic discipline may, in fact, lean towards more of an interdisciplinary approach incorporating a more comprehensive range of "cross boundary" understandings of home. In doing so, the concept of home encapsulates the relationship between the physical or structural aspects and the relationship between the emotional and social aspects.

For example, Blunt and Dowling (2006) argue that depending on the academic discipline from which one attempts to understand the meaning of home, a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the interplay of this duality of the physical vs emotional nature of home is necessary.

According to Blunt and Dowling (2006):

"Home is hence a complex and multilayered geographical concept. Put most simply, home is: a place/site, a set of feelings/cultural meanings, and the relations between the two" (pages 2-3)

While this definition shows some support for discipline-based enquiry, a more profound issue brought to the forefront is the need for a deeper understanding of multiple approaches and perspectives and ones, which at times may cross-disciplinary boundaries.

Despite this overarching definition, there is also acknowledgment on their part that home is more than the physical (often captured by house/household). The home captures the physical and the "complex socio-spatial relations and emotions that define home (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.3). This idea of home is significant because there is the acknowledgement of the expandable notion of home and a movement away from viewing the home as a singular objective notion.

A similar geographically rooted conceptualisation of home comes from Massey (1992; 2001; 2005), who theorises that home is an important function of place identity. However, this identity of a place is not a static concept in itself and one that incorporates influences from a range of social factors that blurs the lines of the meaning of home being purely from within any one geographic perspective. Some contrasting and complementary social relationships, which interplay with each other, influence it, thus producing wide-ranging effects all linked to the degree of identity of placed experience and subsequently affecting one's idea of home. Confining its focus to a particular geographical location can prove problematic. Moreover, Massey (1992) highlights the home as the identity of the place, which derives meaning from not just the positive relationships within a single boundary. Instead, relationships across multiple locations factor into the meaning of home.

Others, such as Pallasmaa (1995), approach the meaning of home in the context of the interactions between the house, dwelling and home. Also referred to as the house, the dwelling forms part of what Pallasmaa describes as the "architectural" classification of housing. In this conceptualisation, dwelling refers to the structure that facilitates the household, whereas home represents the everyday life processes within this dwelling. As such, there is some debate regarding the degree of interplay between this architectural component of housing and home as a concept.

According to Pallasmaa (1995, p. 133):

"Home is not merely an object or building but is instead a diffuse and complex condition which integrates memories and images, desires and fears, the past and the present. A home is also a set of rituals, personal rhythms and routines of everyday life. And a home cannot be produced at once; it has its time dimension and continuum, and it is a gradual product of the dweller's adaptation to the world. Thus a home cannot be a marketable product."

Therefore, instead of being a purely physical or tangible representation, the meaning of home encapsulates the emblematic and emotional. Moreover, Pallasmaa (1995) highlights that this perspective of the home has three key elements. The first centres on aspects of home, which "have their foundation at the deep unconscious bio-cultural level". The second aspect describes the factors that play an interconnected role in the inhabitants' worldview. The third element discusses the social emblems and structures that relay varying forms of social identity. However, in the face of the interplay between the house, home and dwelling, which has dominated modern discourse, there is also the argument that there is a further conceptualisation of interconnected notions of home through the subjective lens of academic discipline.

In light of these disputes and alternative understandings of home by Depres (1991), Somerville (1997), Blunt and Dowling (2006), Massey (1992; 2001; 2005), and Pallassma (1995), one can make the argument for an expanded notion of home that captures its varied, multidisciplinary and complex nature.

The remainder of this section critically discusses the meaning of home themes in the existing literature. These discussions are not based on or intended to demonstrate any categorisations

of the academic discipline under which their enquiry or conceptualisation falls. They are instead structured to represent the broad and nuanced theorisations of the home present in the literature. Critical analysis in the subsequent sections of this chapter also takes the form of a discussion of the degree to which the various themes of home found in existing literature potentially contribute to an understanding of the range of circumstances influencing the integrative nature of the home, within a specifically Caribbean context.

4.3.2 Home is an interplay of terminology

Accounting for the argument that theory must acknowledge the central importance of an ever-changing human situation and society, another discussion point in multidisciplinary literature is the question of the merging of terminology. Arguably one of the side effects of the need to increase the theoretical boundaries of the home has come to be an interplay between the terms, "home", "house" and "dwelling", where they are often used interchangeably or have different or similar meanings (Coolen and Meesters, 2012; Mallett, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

Blunt and Dowling (2006) rightly critique this occurrence in the literature and highlight that using these terms interchangeably to fit any particular primary singular notion limits the multidimensionality of the concept. Home and house are not just one thing; interchangeable use of the terms depending on context and circumstances confines the concept within stricter boundaries.

Blunt and Dowling also argue that the interchangeable nature of representations of home and home found in the literature limits its ability to expand through the connection of ideas and concepts. As previously highlighted in section 4.2, Blunt and Dowling (2006), Clapham (2005) and Saunders and Williams (1988) highlight the need for the meaning of home to complement, support and elevate other policy, economic or legalistic representations of house or housing theorisations. The conflation of terms in the word does not complement and expand understanding but instead promotes further conflict through continued ambiguity and lack of clarity.

In examples of much-needed empirical Caribbean research, home and the ideas of home, housing or physical dwelling are used interchangeably to represent the contributions of

remittances to improving physical dwellings or building retirement homes (Byron, 1999; Chevannes and Ricketts, 1997). Other times terminology remains ambiguous as to whether the word home incorporates the physical, economic, emotional or social (Fog-Olwig 2007). As such, the Caribbean transnational home and housing literature, already limited in scope and specificity, is not immune to this interchangeable and ambiguous use of home as a concept.

4.3.3 Home can be made and unmade

The "construction", "making", or the "assemblage" of a home is an interplay between the more physical elements that dictate the use of the dwelling and the more emotional processes that contribute to any associated feelings (Easthorpe, 2014; Cristoforetti et al., 2011; Heywood, 2005; Lovatt, 2018; Rolfe et al., 2018; McNamara and Connell, 2007). The more physical elements of this relationship represent the physical living conditions and any modifications, renovations, routines or physical possessions used to bring the physical dwellings as close to a desired state as possible. (Heywood, 2005; Lovatt, 2018).

There is also an emotional element to this 'making of' or construction of the home. Cristoforetti et al. (2011) outline this emotional element as attachments, which connect to geographic settings and how these attachments relate to any given life phase. Strongly linked to this emotional construction of attachment is the definition or redefinition of the meaning of home and the aesthetic and symbolic significance of any architecture, tangible items and associated routines (Cristoforetti et al., 2011).

Easthorpe (2014) also highlights identity derived from the home process's construction and identifies a relationship whereby a sense of self develops from the surroundings. This idea is different from the theorisation of home and identity as put forward by Dovey (1985), who also maintains the strong relationship between the dwelling and the dweller where one needs the other.

The scope of these physical and emotional processes are varied across the literature and has expanded to some degree from a solely and endeavour afforded through home ownership to the inclusion of rented accommodation, shared rented accommodation, and residential care (McNamara and Connell, 2007; Easthorpe, 2014; Lovatt, 2018; Soaita and McKee, 2019).

Despite the diverse nature of the discourse, the unifying thread is the shift towards an encompassing experience of home, as initially discussed in Section 4.2.

The initial conceptualisations, notwithstanding key variations, fall within the confines of the physical structures, surrounding environments, family relationships, belief systems and practices, which are all critical components of the homemaking processes. Nevertheless, some argue that attempting to view the concept of home from this one-sided positive perspective risks omitting key existing issues and social relationships. Instead, scholars argue for including alternative processes, which revolve around the home-unmaking process. Home unmaking is not a novel notion, and according to Baxter and Brickell (2014, p. 134) is:

"The precarious process by which material and/or imaginary components of home are unintentionally or deliberately or permanently divested/damaged or ever destroyed."

This critique of the apparent lack of inclusion of home unmaking is noteworthy because homemaking and home un-making cannot be conceptualised or practised in isolation but must be synergistically presented (Lancione, 2019). Specifically, the unmaking of a home is significant to the meaning of home conceptualisations because it argues the changeable nature of a home after experiencing any harmful effects of potentially life-altering circumstances such as Covid-19 or becoming widowed (Gurney, 2020; Cristoforetti et al., 2011). According to this literature, the meaning of home changes or deconstructs. The identity and attachments to the dwelling shift are either lost or contribute to new memories and experiences of home. It also contributes to the evolutionary process of destroying and rebuilding the highly variable and often unattainable idea of home (Miller 2001; Brickell 2012; Baxter and Brickell 2014; Lancione, 2019).

Other theorisations centre on home destruction or, more specifically, domicide. Not a concept that denotes the death of the dweller but instead their trauma, domicide, as theorised by Porteous and Smith (2001), is a function of the centrality of home in the human experience. More specifically, its loss and the associated emotions, life experiences, status and worldviews.

Porteous and Smith (2001) categorise domicide as extreme or every day:

Extreme domicide "involves major planned operations that occur rather sporadically in time but often affect large areas and change the lives of a considerable amount of people" (p.64).

Everyday domicide "occurs continuously all over the world and can affect everyone except the wealthy and those who are perpetrators." (p.106)

According to the authors, these everyday events are arguably inequalities resulting from social and economic change, political processes, urban redevelopment and infrastructural development. Victims with socioeconomic or political vulnerabilities result from futile resistance and options for remediation or compensation limited (Porteous and Smith, 2001).

The use of international examples by the authors to demonstrate the implications of domicide demonstrates the usefulness and applicability of the implications of home unmaking within a range of different cultures. This property has relevance within a Caribbean transnational home research space. However, the transnational space signifies the crossing of borders, and the constructions and potential destruction of homes across multiple locations, a factor not adequately discussed in the theorisations by Porteous and Smith (2001). Furthermore, Domicide intertwines with an attachment to place and is often associated with the destruction of home spaces, which accompanies emotional attachment that, due to its intangibility, poses potential challenges in identifying and adequately representing its scope (Porteous, 1995; Porteous et al., 2001).

Furthermore, similar to the home's construction, any issue around the destruction or unmaking of a home is complex, widely varied and subject to personal interpretations of personal circumstances and motivations. It is rarely black and white and factors various issues, personal circumstances, and worldviews that extend beyond the binary notions of perpetrated loss, trauma and suffering. Critiques of the Porteous and Smith (2001) conceptualisations of domicide by Norwiki (2014) address some of these broader issues, thus providing a more expanded view of the potential mechanics framing the concept. Of interest are the issues surrounding the destruction of the social elements of housing that are essential to households and the loss of which can contribute to trauma, rather than just the visible or tangible elements of a home.

Also worth consideration, in addition to the plight of the victim of displacement outlined by Porteous and Smith, is the agency of the displaced. The family structures and behaviours that are in themselves resistance against any injustice and the potentially positive outcomes of consultations should also bear importance in understanding the experiences and circumstances of domicide (Norwiki, 2014).

Still, despite these expanded considerations, what needs to be added to the discussion is the acknowledgement that in a connected world, home can potentially exist across borders. The ways that the differing social, political and economic structures affect any domicide experiences for different members of the households depending on their geographic locations warrant inclusion and will provide a comprehensive understanding that includes some different household types and cultures.

4.3.4 Home and ontological security

Characterised by a state of "normalcy", "constancy", or stability, ontological security provides an environment for the self-realisation of one's potential.

According to Giddens (1991):

"The notion of ontological security ties in closely to the tacit character of practical consciousness or in phenomenological terms, to the bracketing presumed by the natural attitude in everyday life". (p.36)

"To answer even the simplest everyday query, or respond to the most cursory remark, demands the bracketing of a potentially almost infinite range of possibilities open to the individual. What makes a given response 'appropriate' or 'acceptable' necessitates a shared – but unproven and unprovable – framework of reality. A sense of the shared reality of people and things is simultaneously sturdy and fragile." (p.36)

"What creates a sense of ontological security that will carry the individual through transitions, crises and circumstances of high risk? Trust in the existential anchorings of reality in an emotional, and to some degree in a cognitive, sense rests on confidence in the reliability of persons, acquired in the early experiences of the infant" (p.38).

From Giddens arguments, one can deduce that there is stability and a sense of self in the in everyday routine, in the face of any number of external influences and circumstances. This idea is not entirely stable, neither is it entirely individual, a dialectic principle also present in conceptualisations of home (Dovey, 1985; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Clapham, 2005). Routine is also a potentially fragile and destructible shared experience of trust built upon the relationships between the individual and collective understandings, norms and behaviours.

Theorisations put forth by Dupuis and Thorns (2001) highlight that ontological security as it relates to home has four elements. These include; constancy within the social and physical home environments, the enactment of routine behaviours, control of one's environment through privacy and a space where the sense of self establishes. Therefore, there are common threads of constancy, privacy, and self-identity between Dupuis and Thorns' theorisations, Giddens (1991) and conceptualisations by Gurney (1996), Padget (2007), Saunders (1989), Hiscock (2001) and Easthorpe (2014). However, deviations are also present. Where Giddens (1991) surmises that ontological security is primarily subconscious and at times developed from infancy, from the perspective of Dupuis and Thorns, the quest towards ontological security is a more considered endeavour derived from the meanings derived from the environment in which an individual or group exists. This meaning is irrespective of how they create the environment or how long it persists.

Differing perspectives in the literature are a potential reason for the difficulty in adequately defining the term (Saunders, 1989; Gurney, 1995; Dupuis and Thorns, 1998). Despite this, the limited definability of ontological security provides a beneficial segue to discussions regarding its approaches and contexts.

In a testament to the arguments regarding the elusive nature of the concept, ontological security is often discussed based on the presenting social and economic inequalities with modern society and the psychosocial and health implications (Hiscock et al., 2001; Padget, 2007; Kearns et al., 2000). It is also researched based on the journey towards making a built structure home in the face of life changes such as offspring leaving the family home (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998; Easthorpe. 2014) and the rental vs home ownership debate (Gurney, 1995; Gurney 1999a; Gurney, 1999b; Saunders, 1989).

From a Global North perspective, research into feelings and normalcy and security based on an ideal standard of home ownership is both pertinent and valuable given the economic, geographical, political and cultural makeup. However, within a Grenadian transnational context, one can argue that the focus on the metrics of owning, renting and social housing may only sometimes apply to the culture and economy of the country. Additionally, much of the literature neglects the issues of ontological security as they may occur for a transnational family. As mentioned in previous sections, the home belongs in multiple locations. As a result, the processes and nature of ontological security are no longer in one environment but in more than one.

Additionally, one family member resides in the Global North and others, still belonging to one self-identified home, live in the Global South. Consequently, the patterns of external environmental influences, routine, trust, and control of one's environment all take on additional significance. They now operate in the context of often-competing norms and structures in the form of behaviours to homeownership and economic resources towards home ownership. As such, steps towards a more comprehensive literature base should reflect similar expanded notions.

In keeping with an empirical and theoretical direction that investigates the emotional, cultural, and social elements of the meaning of home, a few additional points of discussion, such as the social and cultural constructs affecting home, are mentioned below.

4.3.5 Home is sensitive to social and cultural constructs

Home, irrespective of whether the perceptions arise from a predominantly physical or social space connects to an individual's or family's personal experiences. The gender and age dimensions that frame or influence many of these experiences warrant discussion within the home space. Additionally, the degree to which gender and age play a role in the experience of home diverges and interacts with the specific goals and perceptions of what the home should be. Factors such as age and gender also influence the meaning of home (Mallett, 2004; Gurney, 1997; Madigan et al., 1990; Darke, 1994). These age and gender dimensions of home parallel the gender dimensions of transnationalism as described in section 3.2 of Chapter 3. The parallels relate to the particular roles and expectations that dictate transnational decisions and behaviours (Erel and Lutz, 2012; Goldring, 2001; Itzigsohn and

Giorguli Saucedo, 2002; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Salih, 2001; Yeoh and Ramdis. 2014; Ho, 1999; Foner, 2008). Within the home space, similar roles and expectations are present, irrespective of whether it relates more to the physical elements, such as gender-assigned rooms, or the more social and domestic elements of the home, such as child care or breadwinner roles (Mallet, 2004; Ahrentzen et al., 1989).

Madigan and Munro (1991) highlight that gender influences the socioeconomic status of the home, the domestic and familial roles within the home and the home in relation to surrounding neighbourhood design. Gender dimensions are also significant to the organisation, decoration and presentation of home in keeping with externally driven symbolic notions or expectations of home. (Madigan and Munro, 1991; Findlay, 2009). This idea goes a step further, and the dualistic nature of the home within a gender-specific context is highlighted by exploring the balancing of the public and private aspects and roles of the home (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). This idea is of particular importance and should expand to include other dualities, both positive and negative, such as the interplay between the individual and collective elements of a home or the balances between the social and cultural loyalties that exist as a result of members of the household living in multiple locations.

Moreover, the gender dynamics influencing perceptions of the home extend to incorporate harmful experiences. Helman and Ratele (2016) and Mallett (2004) highlight that various gender norms contribute to potentially harmful environments and behaviours that disproportionately affect female home members instead of male members. This inequality also extends to exclusionary practices that may cause homelessness in women (Watson, 2000). Exclusion presents women with negative experiences that hinder feelings of structure and security, both vital elements of positive conceptualisations and experiences of home.

These conceptualisations, while providing insight into the gender influences on the perceptions and organisations of home, do not present a complete picture. They do not capture the changing social and cultural dimensions, which can affect gender dimensions and their interpretation. Furthermore, they do not fully capture the potentially intersecting influence of the different cultural and social notions of age and gender, which exist in the multiple geographies that are a key part of the environment in which the Caribbean, or more specifically, a Grenadian transnational family, functions. The theory needs to mention how perceptions of home across geographies intersect with economic and social transnational

decisions. Instead, the theory focuses on how multiple economic environments across geographies influence remitting decisions.

Additionally, with the limited emphasis on the impacts of the changing social constructions of age and gender, there is little discussion of the temporal and changing notion of home, which is also important in any meaning of home discussion. The processes around developing the meaning and making of a home are primarily systematic. And so, its conceptualisation requires integrating how the changing nature of all architectural, economic, societal, cultural and political factors contribute to a comprehensive understanding of home.

4.4 The transnational home

In the post-modern societies in which transnationalism continues to play a significant role, the concepts of home and transnationalism interplay and in doing so widen the conceptualisations of home discussed in previous sections of this chapter.

First, on a physical level, the transnational home is located across multiple geographical locations, and the idea of home now functions within multiple societal structures (Cheran, 2006). At an emotional, the separation of the home across geographical locations introduces the need to consider the social networks and associated emotions that result from the navigations between the aspects of home that function in the origin country and the aspects of home that function in the home country (Cheran, 2006). The transnational notions of homeland, attachment and identity discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 influence these processes and provide a necessary link between the conceptualisations of home and transnationalism. According to Blunt and Dowling (2006), these elements are significant as it pertains to an understanding of the meaning of home in a transnational context because the associations placed on home also feed into the functioning of the transnational process. Blunt and Dowling (2006) state that:

 "The changing relationship between migrants and their homes is held to be an almost quintessential characteristic of transnational migration" (p.199)

This changing relationship manifests in the formation of additional notions of homeland, sometimes linked to an eventual return by the migrant (Fog-Olwig 2007). The debate now becomes whether the transnational home is a function of attachments, roots and connectedness to a central place of origin, or whether the meaning of the transnational home lies with balances of loyalties that may present because of the changing focus and scope of home, as it exists across multiple geographical locations.

Blunt and Dowling (2006) argue for alternative conceptualisations, which highlight shifting allegiances and changes to home. Significant in the shift towards this conceptualisation is the recognition that an eventual return to an "origin home" is not also an option for some transnational migrants.

From a Caribbean perspective, the transnational experience as it relates to housing studies is largely theorised in the context of migrants who desire to set up a home on an eventual return to the Caribbean (Byron, 1999; Chevannes and Ricketts 1997). For the returning migrant with plans to set up a home, more emphasis tends to be placed on the physical aspects of home, including remittances, rather than any other dimensions (Byron, 1999; Chevannes and Ricketts 1997). The implications of the meaning and making of a home are less discussed. Previous conceptualisations of both transnationalism and home as a concept (Verdery, 1994; Itzigsohn et al.,1999; Pallassma, 1995;) support the notion that in order to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the experiences of the Grenadian transnational family, an understanding of the less visible daily, social and traditional elements of home, within a transnational backdrop, is necessary.

On the path to this understanding, there are gaps and assumptions that act as a barrier to a thorough conceptualisation of the idea of the meaning of home within a transnational environment.

First, when addressing the home and transnationalism, there is a focus on the separate emotional or physical aspects of the conceptualisations of home, instead of a fair integration of the physical, social and emotional aspects of both transnationalism and the meaning of home.

Second, as it relates to the Caribbean, despite the fact that there is a recognition of the social structures, which exist in transnational situations, much of the conceptualisations of the meaning of home for transnational migrants are from the perspective of the transnational migrant. There is limited discourse around the perspectives of the meaning of home for those in the transnational home who remain in the origin country. Transnationalism is deeply rooted in familial and social relationships. Therefore, it is not a one-way process. As a result, understandings of any social phenomenon within an overarching transnational context warrant an investigative approach from the perspective of all of the players embedded within the transnational process. In the same light, in the conceptualisation of the meaning of home within this wider context, important also is an understanding of the underlying power dynamic and situational factors, such as assimilation and social identity. These factors affect not only the meaning of the home worldview for the migrant, but may also have the potential to affect the transnationalism potentially impacting the meaning of the home worldview of the remaining family unit in the country of origin.

The complex and interconnected meaning of home, within a transnational system, should incorporate a wide range of social interactions, within a person's environment. One conceptual framework, which captures these ideas, is by Coolen and Meesters (2012), who have developed a conceptual framework that captures people-environment relations. In their proposed framework, there is a relationship between an individual, various objects located within their operating environment and the affordances, which arise. However, far from simplistic in nature, the relationship is highly variable and demonstrates a further degree of systematic interconnectedness affected by a number of societal, cultural, political and economic factors, as shown in Figure 2.

The Coolen and Meesters (2012) conceptualisation of home is significant because of its applicability to the investigation of the meaning of home for Grenadian transnational families. The transnational process is part of a political and economic system. Yet, it is also a function of culture, emotions, societal norms and a balance between individual and collective worldviews and experiences. These factors affect both ends of the transnational relationship in different ways. Therefore, the development of an encompassing framework ensures exploration of the comprehensive perspectives about the meaning of home, from both ends of the transnationalism nexus, while also accounting for wider influencing factors, namely place attachments, social identity and assimilation. The rationale for their inclusion

lies with their impact on both transnationalism and the meaning of home, along with their potential to affect both ends of the transnational relationship in different ways.
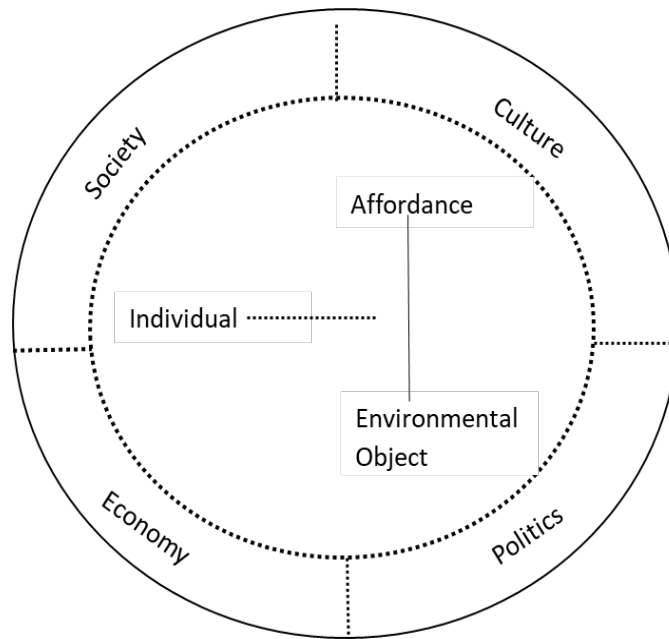
Figure 2: Conceptual framework for studying people-environment relations (Coolen and Meesters, 2012, p.6, fig 1)

4.5 Conclusion

Home is a social phenomenon, which is an interplay of multiple terminologies such as home, house or dwelling. It is also sensitive to gender; age, context and academic discipline. Therefore, home is not an isolated phenomenon. It has social, physical, cultural and political dimensions and its associated meanings are as broad as they are contestable.

Like transnationalism, which also comprises social, cultural, economic and political elements, the meaning and making of a home is part of a more comprehensive system, influenced by different areas that frame an individual or family experience; it is for this reason that transnationalism and the home, with their similar and intersecting elements, combine and form linkages, particularly as it relates to the intersection of the daily home environment and meanings, economic transnationalism practices such as remitting money or goods, and the transnational social processes that propel and facilitate them.

There is potential for these intersecting processes within Grenadian families, where home and transnationalism play a key role in their daily existence. The transnational home must incorporate a combination of economic transnationalism, social transnationalism and political transnational. There also needs to be an acknowledgement of how these transnationalism processes work together to create an international environment where the social, political, cultural and economic environments of both the country of origin and host country factor into decisions about the home's functioning.

Furthermore, the balances between any individual and collective expectations of this process warrant attention. Instead, the similar and differing definitions, emotions and perceptions associated with the meaning and making of home for both the family members in both the host country and the country of origin warrant consideration when discussing the practicality of any transnational meaning and making of home actions.

Finally, any transnational meaning and making of home framework should incorporate the impacts of unforeseen circumstances, both positive and negative. Both the productive and harmful effects on transnationalism and the meaning and making of home are also important in the comprehensive conceptualisation of experience.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

Transnationalism and the associated and interconnected meaning and making of home is a complex mix of human experiences. It is multifaceted and is a mix of varied social, economic, cultural and political elements and therefore subject to varied individual or collective interpretation. Research methods used to explore these issues often remain inherently limited, and this is because even though transnationalism is frequently explored within a Caribbean context, any exploration of housing, dwellings or home, are a by-product of research methodologies designed to explore the economic or social aspects of transnationalism. The use of baseline surveys, semi-structured interviews and economic and statistical modelling support objective identification of the household and country-level impacts of remittances during times of economic downturn or in the aftermath of natural disasters (Attzs, 2008; Mishra, 2007; Savage and Harvey, 2007).

There is less use of research methods guided by interpretivist or constructivist paradigms, where the varied human perspectives of their circumstances shape multiple realities. Further supporting the need for more subjective qualitative exploration, any methodological approaches that can effectively address the uniquely Grenadian experience, should support the shift from a highly generalised statistical and economic lens, to one that captures the transnationalism experience from a uniquely Grenadian social, cultural and economic lens.

This research diverges from the predominantly economic inquiries and, add to an existing pool of qualitative Caribbean transnationalism evidence (Olwig, 2015; Prashad, 2016; Conway and Potter, 2012; Olwig, 1999) and requires a methodological approach that can explore the experiences of the transnational family that are multifaceted, complex, and warrant inquiry that extends beyond the generalised and migrant focused explorations. The experiences of the Grenadian transnational family in relation to their meaning and making of home are an expression of perceived social, economic and cultural ideologies that result from an individual or family existing in relation to two geographical locations. Therefore, despite the predominance of quantitative methodologies in the Caribbean transnational space, qualitative and subjective approaches are important. They allow for the

comprehensive exploration of multiple elements of the human story, enabling the exploration of nuances and intricacies associated with meaning and interpretation. This approach moves beyond the rigidity or generalisations sometimes associated with quantitative processes.

The chapter justifies and outlines the process of using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as a methodological guide to explore the comprehensive and multifaceted meaning and making of home experiences of Grenadian transnational families.

5.2 Developing a research methodology

Accounting for the predominant use of quantitative methodologies to explore experiences as they occur within a transnationalism framework, several key elements prove important towards the justification of the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method chosen for this research. These are discussed below.

5.2.1 Qualitative or Quantitative Research?

As previously highlighted, the principal aims of the research centre on exploring the meanings and interpretations of making a home within the contexts of social, political, cultural and economic transnationalism. Thus, these two significant elements prove vital and warrant methodological discussion. They are both complex and multifaceted phenomena in their own right and come with various existing methodologies used to investigate them.

The ways that transnationalism influences Caribbean society is often explored using predominantly objectivist quantitative methodologies. Time-varying-parameter approaches, panel co-integration tests, questionnaire surveys, and cross-sectional data analysis determine various factors affecting remittances. Among these include; the motivations to remit (Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002; Alleyne, 2006), the flow of workers' remittances (Williams, 2018); the effects of migrant remittances on the labour markets (Itzigsohn, 1995); the economic growth potential of remittances (Lim and Simmons, 2015) and the macroeconomic determinants of remittances (Alleyne, 2008).

Other quantitative research methodologies use similar economic modelling and household surveys. In these instances, they are used to explore the impacts of remittances on the exchange rate (Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo, 2004), return migration (Chevannes and Ricketts, 1997) and small business development (Chevannes and Ricketts, 1997), and the impacts of remittances on development (Nurse, 2004; Taylor et al. 1996; Dawson, 2007; Kumar 2013; Lim and Simmons 2016; Orozco et al. 2005). The common thread among these approaches lies with their use of quantitative methodologies and the focus on transnationalism's economic and development aspects. Furthermore, much of the research falls within an economic focus, predominantly drawing on post-positivist paradigms guided heavily by existing theory.

Despite the predominance of quantitative methodologies in enquiring about transnationalism-related issues, qualitative methodologies have a place, albeit significantly smaller. They use interviews and subjective, constructionist and interpretivist frameworks to conceptualise the lived Caribbean transnational experience and provide useful context into the changing contemporary transnational experience. Examples include:

1) the historical analysis of the issues around migration as part of the nursing professional Post World war Britain (Olwig, 2015)

2) contemporary investigations of the labour migration patterns of Women in Trinidad and Tobago (Prashad, 2016)

3) first-hand qualitative accounts of return migration behaviours (Conway and Potter, 2012), the narratives around identity in globalised Caribbean families (Olwig, 1999)

There must be more methodological inspiration regarding the meaning of home within a Caribbean transnational context. However, despite this gap in published methodologies used to explore the meaning of home in a Caribbean context, there are qualitative methodologies that prove helpful in conceptualising the lived experience of home, such as ethnography, narrative research, grounded theory, phenomenology, interpretive phenomenological analysis, and case studies.

Many of these methods do not prioritise generalisability and by the use of observation, interviews and gathering life stories, they delve into the human story within varying geographic and socio-economic contexts. These methods prove helpful for in-depth investigations and explorations of the experiences of home. Examples include:

1) phenomenological explorations around the environmental experience of home (Sixsmith, 1986)

2) ethnographies into homelessness and the meaning of home (Hill, 1990; Hill, 1991; Parsell, 2012; Lancione, 2019)

3) concept analysis into the meaning of home for older adults (Gillsjo et al., 2011)

4) narrative research into the meaning of home for Cypriot refugees (Taylor, 2015)

5) explorations of the meaning of home for Karen and Chin refugees in Burma using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010)

6) case studies into the meaning of home for older homeowners (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996)

7) narrative research into the meaning of home for urban owner-occupiers in Romania (Soaita, 2015)

8) episodic ethnographies to explore the experiences of home for women in Bristol in the United Kingdom (Gurney, 1997)

The differences in the research focus and resulting scholarly interpretations of the positivist vs constructivist paradigms bring to light the age-old methodological debate around the use of associated quantitative (most often adopted under the positivist and post positivists paradigms) vs qualitative methodologies (most often adopted under interpretivism and constructivists' paradigms).

Quantitative methodologies are often associated with higher degrees of validity due to their replicability (Golafshani, 2003). Consequently, there is a tendency to support quantitative

superiority over qualitative methods, which emphasise the attempt to understand and acknowledge multiple possibilities and realities. The focus on highly replicable and geographically expansive remittance data in the Caribbean transnational space fosters a transnational research environment that needs more nuance and context.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), increased and continued incorporation of qualitative methods that seek to foster a deeper understanding of the individual story in the context in which they are occurring; places less emphasis on the generalisability of findings; acknowledges the creative and iterative research process, and acknowledges theoretical underpinnings of data. For this reason, the use of the quantitative methodologies, which allow for in-depth expression and satisfy the research aims to capture varied interpretations of the meaning and making of home within a Grenadian transnational lived experience, is valid.

This research aims to explore the lived home experiences of the transnational family on both ends. Therefore the individual perspectives of family members, who reside in different social, political, economic and cultural backdrops, and how their individual experiences factor into collective experiences are also important. Any choice of methodology must account for this range. Furthermore, the meanings and interpretations around the home, another key research aim, are already contestable (Meers, 2021). The contestability of any concept, notwithstanding one as contestable as home, indicates a degree of subjectivity across its various interpretations. Given the potential for varied expression, it is imperative that the methodology chosen falls within a constructivist/interpretivist research paradigm.

The research method must account for a research environment with budget limitations, time restrictions, Covid-19 pandemic travel, and social distancing restrictions. Face-to-face interviewing, as a result, was not possible, and immersion and observation of the research participants were not entirely possible beyond video interviewing.

Finally, the research methodology needs to facilitate prior cultural and theoretical knowledge and the effects that will have on data collection and iterative analysis. Upon further analysis of standard qualitative methodologies, the advantages and disadvantages of each as they relate to the specific context of this research were established. These are in Table 7.

Table 7: Comparisons of multiple qualitative methods

Methodology	Advantages	Disadvantages
Ethnography	• Detailed iterative, thematic analysis (Jones and Smith, 2007).	• requires immersion in the environment of interviewees (Jones and Smith, 2017). • data saturation is difficult (Jones and Smith, 2007).
Phenomenology	• analysis of experiences (McNamara,2004; Moran, 2000)	• bracketing is difficult due to prior knowledge (Noon, 2018)
Narrative Research	• constructivist human stories, with a wide scope of enquiry (Squire et al., 2014)	• multiple stories makes data analysis is time consuming (Squire et al., 2014) • editing stories can prove difficult (Squire et al., 2014)
Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)	• investigates experiences (Alase, 2017), • smaller sample sizes (Smith at al., 2019) • iterative thematic analysis (Smith et al., 2019),	• Bracketing may prove difficult because of prior knowledge (Noon, 2018) • Smaller samples limit generalisability (Noon, 2018).

In light of the preceding research considerations and the pros and cons of the various methodologies, Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was the chosen methodology for its focus on the analysis of experience, its use of smaller sample sizes, its hermeneutic principle and its iterative research process.

The remainder of this chapter expands on these justifications for using IPA. This justification begins with a brief overview of the IPA, its methods and a deeper discussion of its theoretical basis beyond the advantages introduced in the preceding table. Next, there is a discussion of the critiques of IPA and its applicability to investigate the experience of the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families. The chapter ends with a presentation of the design for this research, guided by the IPA methodology.

5.3 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) gathers information about the experiences of daily life. It follows an interpretive epistemology, and by allowing for the subjective expression of the varied experience in context, it allows for a contextual and comprehensive exploration of the individual human experience (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008; Love et al., 2000). As a participant centred methodology, IPA, allows for the detailed expression of the more and less obvious elements of their experience in the subject of inquiry's own words (Alase, 2017).

5.3.1 The process of IPA

With roots in psychology, IPA has evolved to become a method where the main goal remains describing the human story through the eyes of those experiencing it and utilises the following process of methods:

- Sampling

Purposive sampling, guided by the research aims and questions, allows the researcher to find a homogenous sample of participants (Smith and Osborn, 2003). Smaller sample sizes are encouraged to allow the reader to glean much about the participant's lived experience. While sample sizes of IPA research can be as low as one participant, the determination of the sample size in actuality depends on the research question, the time constraints of the research and the ability to commit to analysing higher numbers of participant transcripts (Smith et al., 2009; Brocki and Weardon, 2006). Across IPA research that investigates the meaning of home for refugees (Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010), the experiences of career disruption resulting from incapacity, the embodiment of artificial limbs (Murray, 2004), and experiences around musical learning (Davidson, 1999), sampling varies. Sample sizes include; 9 participants (Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010); 156 participants (Davidson, 1999), 35 participants (Murray, 2004) and 1 case study (Oakland et al., 2014). Therefore, the sample size of 20 for this research is feasible.

- Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview, using researcher prompts and boundaries, facilitates the collection of data on the comprehensive lived experience. Therefore, the flexibility provided by the semi-structured approach allows the interviewee to make sense of their own experiences and further explore pertinent themes (Smith and Osborne, 2003). The common use of face-to-face interviews supports the similar data collection method of this research because among existing IPA research, face-to-face interviews are a standard means of achieving the semi-structured interview (Davidson, 1999; Murray, 2004; Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010). However, other qualitative data collection sources, such as focus groups, are also used (Brocki and Weardon, 2006).

- Familiarisation with data collected from interviews

A high degree of familiarisation with participant transcripts allows the researcher to prioritise the participant's perspective rather than the influence of any researcher-preconceived notions (Smith and Osborne, 2003; Oakland et al., 2014; Murray, 2004' Davidson, 1999; Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010).). The iterative note taking process increases familiarity with the data and enables a greater understanding of the perceptions of the social phenomenon under inquiry. (Smith and Osborne, 2003).

- Emergent themes

The development of emerging themes follows initial familiarisations and note taking. At this stage, the emerging themes, and the principles of the hermeneutic circle are the starting points towards the comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under enquiry. (Smith and Osborne, 2003; Oakland et al., 2014; Murray, 2004; Davidson, 1999; Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010). The determination of emergent themes occurs based on the interpretation of only interview text (Oakland et al., 2014; Murray, 2004) or the analysis of interview texts based on their relatedness to existing theory (Brocki and Weardon, 2006). As such, analysis of research that utilised the IPA method, shows that there is scope for variation. Additionally, a willingness to re-evaluate and revisit

prior emergent themes proves crucial to establishing priorities and describing the most pertinent themes and connections (Smith and Osborne, 2003).

- The further incorporation of additional cases

If additional cases factor into the analytical process, the analysis gathered from the first case must not influence the analysis of any subsequent case analysis. Therefore, a degree of bracketing can ensure the unfettered emergence of new themes. The result is an increased range, depth, and richness of analysis (Smith and Osborne, 2003).

- Connecting cases

The identification of further multilevel or alternative connections, as part of the iterative IPA process, proves helpful to capture the lived experience of the interviewee (Smith and Osborne, 2003; Oakland et al., 2014; Murray, 2004' Davidson, 1999; Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010).

5.3.2 Theoretical basis of IPA

Phenomenology, hermeneutics and ideography underpin IPA and provide the basis for the process of methods. It also explains its emphasis on the interpretive and individual determination of meaning as a part of the lived experience.

Phenomenology is the investigation of experience (Smith et al., 2009). Experiences are complex and have a number of different theoretical approaches underpinning their exploration that includes the following:

1) Experience is largely reductive, transcendental, and reflective. Primary to this experience is an understanding that experience presents as a function of internal perceptions rather than a reliance on the external influences (Moran, 2000; Moran, 2016).

2) An individual's experience, and any associated emotions, perceptions and meanings require embracing the "dasein" which acknowledges the individual's place in the world and their temporal interactions with the various other actors and elements

(Heidegger et al., 1962). This serves as the basis for communication between individuals and how individual experiences function in the context of the cultural, social and political experiences of others (Smith et al., 2009).

3) The interactions between the individual and the wider world play a role in the individual's attempts to communicate through the lens of their perceptions and understandings, which will inevitably differ from the perceptions and understandings of others. Accordingly, experience is personal because an individual's experience is primarily a function of place and perception of the world (Merleu-Ponty, 1962; Smith et al., 2009).

4) The human experience is evolving, and meaning about the surrounding world is regularly sought (Satre, 1956; Smith et al., 2009). However, any emotional reactions to the world can result from the realisation by the individual that someone else is forming a perception about them. In this light, the development of perception is bi-directional and is not just a function of how an individual interprets the world around them (Smith et al., 2009).

Hermeneutics is the philosophical approach to interpretation and associated meaning, an essential and valuable component in gathering the experiences of individuals as it relates to a particular social phenomenon. This interpretation and associated meaning:

1) is an integrative process with consideration for the interviewee and researcher, and their potentially differing perspectives of the presenting social phenomenon (Schleiermacher, 1998; Smith et al., 2009).

2) contains both obvious and hidden meanings. An important element of interpretation of meaning is looking beyond the more visible surface-level meanings and discerning the hidden meanings and their significance to understanding experiences (Heidegger, 1927; Smith et al., 2009).

The meaning of home is also a function of language, history and tradition (Gadamer, 2004; Smith at al., 2009). The quest toward greater understanding is a dialogue between the past and the present, using the past to provide insights into how current events can be interpreted (Smith et al., 2009). Thus, comprehensive understanding becomes an exercise in appreciating the historical and present significance of the social phenomena and

acknowledging the potentially influential nature of any existing presuppositions (Smith et al., 2009; Moran, 2000). It is inevitable that prior beliefs influence interpretation. In these instances, care is necessary to ensure that any influence of any preconceived notions remains limited. Instead, emphasis should remain on interpreting any social phenomenon in the context of their presentation/occurrence (Smith et al., 2009).

Ideography, as a philosophical foundation, focuses on the particular, through in-depth analysis, attention to detail and investigation of the phenomena within a particular context. Rather than embarking on the investigation with the sole intent of producing population-level generalisations and applying theories, ideography as a philosophical foundation emphasises the significant role of the individual experience (Smith et al., 2009).

5.4 Applicability of IPA to the Grenadian context

IPA has expanded into use in several academic disciplines such as music education (Crawford, 2019), health psychology (Brocki and Weardon, 2006), healthcare (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008) and migration (Rosbrook and Schweitzer, 2010). IPA has a place in any discipline where telling the human story plays an important role (Smith et al., 2009). The uniting factor of IPA research, irrespective of academic discipline, is the iterative, detailed exploration of experiences using smaller sample sizes.

As briefly introduced in Table 7 in Section 5.2.1, despite its broad applicability, there are a number of critiques of IPA as an appropriate social science methodology. These methodological and theoretical critiques centre on fore-perception, bracketing, and the use of smaller samples.

Pertaining to the issues of fore perception and bracketing, there is a question of the ability of the researcher to ensure that any pre-knowledge they possess does not present bias in the research process. It is also of particular concern given that despite the potential impacts of bias, the complete distancing of pre-knowledge or personal experience proves challenging in a research capacity/environment (Brocki and Weardon, 2006). In response to these critiques, the researcher is encouraged to remain keenly aware of this potential for researcher bias while ensuring that the participant perspective always remains the central focus of any methodological approach (Brocki and Wearden, 2006).

Concerning sample sizes, there is the critique that the use of smaller sample sizes is insufficient to produce generalizable research that is representative of larger segments of the population (Tsoukas, 1989; Noon, 2018). However, there is the alternative argument that highlights the benefits of smaller sample sizes based on their emphasis on the detailed, first person account of the individual lived experiences (Smith et al., 2009; Smith and Osborn, 2003).

Beyond the critiques of the mechanics of the IPA, there is potential for its applicability within the context of the lived experience of the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families.

Home and the transnational processes are temporal due to changeable circumstances or social and cultural constructs (Mallet, 2004; Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Erel and Lutz, 2012; Goldring, 2001; Itzigsohn and Giorguli Saucedo, 2002; Pessar and Mahler, 2003;; Salih, 2001; Yeoh and Ramdis. 2014) as discussed in Chapters, 3 and 4. This means that IPA methods, which also draw upon the capturing of the ongoing quest for meaning, as detailed by Sartre (1956), prove particularly relevant.

The Grenadian transnational individual is also part of a broader world. Understandably subjective, their experiences also function in the context of their perceptions of their other family members, their family's perception of them and their cultural and societal environments (Lowell, 2006; Potter, 2005; Forte, 2016). The use of the paired individual stories, along with the iterative analytical process of IPA, allows for broader connections between the individual and collective experience, which would not necessarily be possible with narrative research and its focus on individual narratives. Connections between the collective families, communities and the individual are of particular interest because they occur in the face of differences and similarities in perception, which result from family members living under different social, economic, political and cultural contexts. This connection between the individual and the collective circumstances is in keeping with the philosophies of Merleau-Ponty (1962), framed on the basis that the individual can potentially only fully embrace and understand their own experiences around their meaning and making of home due to their unique embodied position in the world.

Furthermore, prior evidence suggests that the conceptualisations of housing or home are drawn from geographical, social, cultural or economic branches (Blunt and Dowling, 2006) that are also contextual and subject to various meanings and interpretations (Coolen and Meesters, 2012; Pallasmaa, 1995: Mallett, 2004; Meers, 2021). Discourse around the meaning of home for Grenadians experiencing transnationalism, requires an understanding of the ongoing balance between the historical significance, the present significance and the preconceived notions (fore-perceptions) of the phenomena, all within the backdrop of the traditions and cultures of multiple geographic locations.

The ideographic emphasis of IPA, through in-depth analysis of smaller sample sizes, attention to detail and investigation of the phenomena within a particular context, allows for the drawing of both obvious and hidden meanings and interpretations of home. This is both in context for the transnational family member who resides in Grenada and in context for the migrated transnational family member who resides outside of Grenada. In addition, by allowing for the detailed and contextual individual story, there is space for the realisation of any deviations from socially and culturally accepted notions of home. A detailed and in-depth understanding of the dynamic individual case overcomes the over generalisation consistent with nomothetic research (Betz et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2009). Exploration to find a generalised trend or cause runs the risk of oversight of potential individual and unique experiences. A detailed investigation of the individual transnational case, by capturing often-overlooked elements of the individual experience, potentially shines a more critical light on any widely accepted and generalised notions (Smith et al., 2009). The smaller sample sizes also allow for detailed data collection in keeping with the budget, social distancing and time restrictions of collecting data during the Covid-19 pandemic.

In summary, the subjectivity of human interpretation means that experiences around the meaning and making of home are subject to differ depending on the different perceptions of certain events and circumstances. Therefore, acknowledgement of the individual story accounts for this subjectivity by providing avenues for the in-depth exploration of the specific and particular ways in which individual experience is both influenced by and influences wider factors and relationships. When the social phenomenon lies in the background of multiple geographic locations and competing traditions, a shifting level of understanding is needed to reflect the communication and language occurring at multiple levels and account for the changing traditional and social contexts and presuppositions.

5.5 Research Design

5.5.1 Planning Phase

Guided by the theoretical philosophies of subjectivism, constructionism and symbolic interactionism (Crotty, 1998), it was decided that the most feasible way to allow for the research participants to relay the full scope of their subjective perceptions of their meaning and making of the home experience was to allow them to relay this experience in depth and in their own words. Taking this a step further, it was determined that the methods should reflect IPA philosophies of comprehensive research in context of the surrounding world (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, the geographic location of this research inquiry, the cultural and social norms in this geographical region and the overall research aims of the research project played a significant role in the choice of method. This allowed for ease of participant involvement, increased research recruitment and capture of both hidden and visible understandings of the transnational meaning and making of home.

First, as it pertains to the geographic location and the prevailing cultural and social norms, prior experience of Grenadian cultural and social norms provided a level of understanding that any form of data collection that involves direct communication, is the most effective way to peak participant interest, encourage free flowing conversation, foster researcher-participant trust and increase research recruitment. Moreover, qualitative methodologies allowed for two-way communication and discernment of nuances of speech and body language, which are important tools for relaying experiences and perceptions, a critical element of double hermeneutics and the IPA process (Smith et al., 2009). Consequently, face-to-face interviews were the most efficient means to collect data rather than the use of postal surveys.

Second, this research is an exploration of the social, cultural, economic and psychological factors, which influence the meanings and perceptions of home. Therefore, it was felt that the use of qualitative methods, which allow for a more in-depth expression of the subjective and interpretative human experience, would allow for rich data collection and facilitate the necessary systematic connections. The methodological plan also included the minor use of quantitative methods, specifically the use of Microsoft Excel to carry out tabulations (counts and percentages) of demographic data.

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Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the resulting travel restrictions, face-to-face interviews were not possible. All data was collected remotely using WhatsApp video, and voice calls. An additional reason for the use of this form of communication was its widespread accessibility to research participants and its low cost. The video element also provided a feasible substitute for face-to-face interaction in the absence of interviews.

5.5.2 The determination of the sample

To allow for the more in-depth analysis emphasised by IPA research process, a sample size of ten transnational households was most feasible given the time and resource constraints available for the research. The use of ten families provided a small enough sample to capture the detailed individual story and a large enough sample to allow the exploration of connections and variations between different families. Purposive sampling of Grenadian transnational families was used to increase efficiency and ease of recruitment and to ensure that the participants included in the research were in line with the necessary Grenadian transnational context outlined in the research aims.

The inclusion criteria used were:

- Aged 18 and above

AND

- Grenadian citizens

AND

- Part of a transnational household

- For the family member based outside of Grenada, they must be in contact with their relative based in Grenada and provide some form of monetary or in-kind assistance in the form of remittances.

- For the family member who resides in Grenada, they must be in contact with their relative who resides outside of Grenada. They must also receive some form of monetary or in-kind assistance in the form of remittances.

To achieve the outlined research aims, and to satisfy the main objective that the project participants belong to Grenadian transnational families, the data was paired. Each of the ten transnational families would comprise of two interviewed family members, with a total sample size twenty participants. This recruitment guideline meant that families were only included if both members agreed to an interview. One family member who at the time of data collection resided in Grenada and one family member who resided outside of Grenada. The definition of what constitutes a family member was left to the discretion of the participants.

However, because of the widespread emotional, health and social challenges brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic, additional planning became necessary. There was increased sensitivity to ensure the health and safety of the participants and the researcher. A vital component of this sensitivity was maintaining strict adherence to ethics protocols and proactively addressing any methodological challenges and biases, which included the following:

- The researcher is Grenadian; therefore, there was the possibility that the research participants may be familiar with the researcher or members of the researcher's family. This knowledge could have affected, positively or negatively, the willingness of participants to divulge sensitive information. To address this potential limitation assurances were made that all information divulged by participants remained confidential in keeping with the strict ethical guidelines of the University of York.

- Interviews with a family member who resided in Grenada and a family member who resided outside of Grenada presented potential ethical challenges, particularly as it relates to the confidentiality of the information divulged by participants within the same family. This provided also proved challenging because of potential impacts on existing family dynamics. To mitigate this challenge, confidentiality was emphasised in the Participant Information Sheet and by the researcher prior to the

interview. Disclosed information remained confidential and not shared with other family members. The dissemination of data also reduced the likelihood of the identification of any participant.

- There was the potential for negative economic impacts and social repercussions of the Covid-19 pandemic. To address any potential economic challenges, there was monetary compensation for participation. However, due to limited research funds, compensation was only available to the family member who resides in Grenada. The decision followed consultation with gatekeepers. the greater likelihood of greater financial needs by the relatives in Grenada, in relation to their remitting family member was the justification of this choice. This monetary clause was outlined in the Participant Information Sheet (See Appendix 1.1 and 1.2) to ensure that transnational families were aware of compensation prior to the interview. Moreover, to address any Covid-19 related fears and challenges of the participants, the planning process was flexible and accommodated the needs and schedules of the participants. This flexibility was to ensure that participants did not feel rushed and had all of their concerns addressed.Finally, participants were able to decline or withdraw, at any point, without the need for an explanation.

5.5.3 The research contact

A necessary element of the recruitment process involved the use of a gatekeeper, found as a result of their involment with community groups in Grenada. The gatekeeper was awell-respected member of the community and possessed significant working knowledge of the social, cultural and economic elements of the Grenadian communities in which they reside. They provided useful background information about communities, and helped to promote the research to known Grenadian transnational families. The justification for the use of the gatekeeper centred on the likelihood of an increase of recruitment numbers with the use of a trusted source.

A telephone call was the initial means of formal communication with the gatekeeper research contact. During this phone call, the gatekeeper received detailed information about the research project and research aims. After this initial conversation, and as a precursor to any subsequent conversations, the researcher emailed the research contact a copy of the

research invitation letter, the participant information sheet and the consent form. The gatekeeper forwarded the recruitment information to potential participants to generate additional interest in the research. The efforts of the gatekeeper supplemented the recruitment efforts of the researcher. Covid-19 travel and social distancing restrictions meant that all communication with any gatekeepers was via WhatsApp and email.

The original plan involved the use of two gatekeepers who reside in Grenada and two gatekeepers who reside in Grenadian communities outside of Grenada. However, because the two gatekeepers who reside in Grenada had extensive knowledge of transnational communities both inside and outside of Grenada, there was no need to engage with additional gatekeepers.

However, even though the use of the research contact was an effective way to build trust with participants, potential biases also warranted consideration. Gatekeepers provided background information based on their perceived positive or negative experiences within their communities. Additionally, there was the potential that gatekeepers, because of personal preference, would recruit selected transnational families, leaving others uninformed about the research. The use of more than one gatekeeper to fill in any recruitment gaps was a means to mitigate this potential challenge.

Potential breaches of confidentiality by the research contacts, intended or unintended, were a also research risk. Gatekeepers could become aware of the families who participated in the research. To mitigate this potential challenge, research contacts had no knowledge of family participation beyond the initial invitation.

5.5.4 The interview questions

The interview schedule covered the following subject areas:

1) the frequency of the sending and receiving of remittances

2) the frequency of communication

3) the perceptions of the meaning of home

4) the perceptions of the making of the transnational home process

The interview schedule was an important way to maintain structure and preserve research focus. It also ensured that the researcher operated within the framework of IPA and and gathered the necessary accounts of the detailed lived experience of the Grenadian transnational participant. Accordingly, it provided the necessary prompts and ensured prior familiarisation with the questions, making flexibility and follow-up possible during the interview.

5.5.5 Ethical considerations

The Participant Invitation Letter, Participant Information Sheets, and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) form were drafted (See Appendix 1.1 and 1.2), and full ethics approval for this research was obtained from the University of York Social Policy and Social Work Departmental Ethics Committee.

5.5.6 The recruitment phase

Initial contact with potential participants for the recruitment phase was either facilitated by the gatekeeper or the researcher. Recruitment comprised of two members per family, one who lives in Grenada and one who lives outside of Grenada. There was no individual recruitment. The Covid-19 social distancing restrictions meant that face-to-face recruitment in Grenada was not possible. Therefore, the already established relationships between the research contact and the Grenadian communities were particularly poignant proved a powerful research tool.

Interested participants contacted the researcher by either email or telephone. The researcher then introduced herself and provided additional information about the research topic, the research process and the process of involvement. When the participants expressed comfort with the process, a scheduled interview date and time followed.

The researcher also emailed copies of the Participant Information Sheets and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) forms to each participant 24-48 hours prior to the interview. The researcher also ensured that there was full understanding of the conditions

of participation and provided assistance in this regard if needed. The researcher informed participants of the confidentiality of the process. Family members only had direct knowledge of their own interview.

It should be noted that because the research involved two relatives per transnational household, initial contact was with one member of the family, either in Grenada or abroad. This relative then discussed the research project with their family member.The recruitment process described above then proceeded for each family member. . This process ensured that the family had ownership and agency with the process. Recruiting separately would have been time consuming, an inefficient use of resources and risked double recruitment. More importantly, since the family decided who took part in the research, they felt secure in their decision, knowing they had the support of relatives.

Participants were able to withdraw from research participation up to fourteen days after the completion of the interview. Once a participant withdrew from the research, they were no longer included in the research, and their interview recordings were promptly deleted. However, since the recruitment process was on a per family basis, a withdrawal of any family member meant that the data of the entire family would not be included in the final research findings. The reason for this was that the inclusion of both ends of the transnational family allowed for rich, comparative and in-depth analysis.

Since recruitment involved family decisions, the likelihood existed that family members would be aware of any withdrawals. To protect the privacy of withdrawn participant, the interviews with the other family member in the same family proceeded as scheduled without the researcher informing the other family member of the withdrawal.

The recruitment phase proceeded to the interview stage only after consent. At the time of data collection, there was additional verbal confirmation of consent.

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5.5.7 Data collection

Recorded, in-depth, telephone interviews ranged from 40 minutes to two hours. The recording process utilised an external recording device. To ensure the safety and comfort of the participants, interview recordings were paused if a break was needed or if the participant expressed the desire to speak off the record.

The difficulties associated with the Covid-19 pandemic, meant that despite the Participant Information Sheet indicating detailing the need for only one interview, the participants had the option of multiple interviews. This was to ensure that the interviewee proceeded at their pace, thus ensuring their safety and comfort. At the interview, the researcher verbally explained the interview process and provided the interviewee with the opportunity to ask questions or raise concerns. Withdrawal was also presented as an option.

Covid-19 social distancing and stay-at-home orders, meant that verbal consent was an option if was difficult for the participant to email the researcher a signed copy of the consent form. Verbal consent was obtained at the start of the recording. Email consent was obtained at any point prior to the interview.

The final sample size for this research was ten transnational families with links to the United States and Canada.

5.5.8 Data management

In keeping with the University of York Data Management Policy, the researcher transferred all interview recordings to password-protected folders within the University of York servers, and deleted them from the external recording device. Additionally, the researcher anonymised all data and stored the anonymised data in password-protected folders on the University of York servers. Both folders were accessible only to the researcher. The archiving of data was with the consent of the research participant.

5.5.9 Data analysis

Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel were used to collate anonymous participant information. After the transcription of the first two participant interviews, data collection was paused and initial analysis was conducted. In keeping with the iterative IPA process, analysis of the first case consisted of reading the transcript twice to become familiar with the participant's overarching experiences. Further scrutiny of the transcripts and the use of written notes to identify any emerging themes and points of interest followed. Upon completion of this initial data analysis, data collection recommenced.

After data collection from a further three respondents, more analysis was conducted using the same analysis procedures of anonymisation, familiarisation, note taking and the identification of emergent themes. This stage also represented the beginning of the establishment of inter-case connections. NVivo software was used to aid in the identification of emergent themes across multiple cases. A separate Microsoft Word document and Excel spreadsheets also contained initial connections and emerging complexities among family data.

Table 8: Participant information

Number of participants	20 (10 families with, 2 participants)				
Gender	**Male**		**Female**		
	6		14		
Location	**Grenada**	**United States**	**Canada**		
	10	8	2		
Time as transnational family (years)	**<10**	**10-20**	**>20**	**Unknown**	
	0	1	8	1	
Age (years)	**20-30**	**31-39**	**40-50**	**51-59**	**60-70**
	2	2	4	11	1

Data collection resumed, the remaining participants were interviewed, and the interviews transcribed. The remaining transcripts were analysed separately using the same format used

to analyse the initial four transcripts. Once all of the transcripts were analysed, there was revisiting and re-evaluation of transcripts.

A crucial element of this iterative process was the acknowledgement of researcher fore-perceptions, personal experiences as a Grenadian and exposure to existing transnationalism and meaning of home discourse. However, there was also acknowledgement that the human experience from the uniquely subjective voice of the participant, may contrast or prove different to existing discourse. Hence, some bracketing was utilised to ensure that the richness and originality of the research was preserved.

Finally, it was also important to analyse the data through the lens of the Covid-19 pandemic, while acknowledging any expressed transnational experiences, which existed prior to Covid-19. These considerations facilitated the development of broader connections at the individual level, at the familial level and between transnational family members who remain in Grenada and transnational family members who reside outside of Grenada.

Chapter 6: The Grenadian meaning of home

6.1 Introduction

Within existing literature, home is conceptualised along the lines of physical space, architectural space and deeper social, cultural and emotional connections (Peters and Saunders, 1988; Mallet, 2004; Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Home is also based on the surrounding circumstances, either positive or negative (Gurney, 2020; Lancione, 2019). However, despite these clear definitional boundaries in the literature and the general acceptance of home as the social and emotional element of housing studies, home is in fact a concept for which the boundaries are not always clear or understood (Meers, 2021). Therefore, it is important that meanings, which encapsulate any lived experience, are in line with the perspective of the person experiencing the phenomena, in the context of their circumstances and worldview.

For the group of respondents included in this research sample, the perceptions and meanings of home are complex. Perceptions are deeply personal, are largely dependent on the interpretation of the person experiencing the phenomenon of home, and encompasses multiple concurrent ideas, multiple interactions and multiple worldviews. They are highly variable, temporal and multifaceted. Whether positive or negative, for some respondents home took a predominantly social meaning, focusing on the varying social relationships. Some perceived home as a function of the built physical space, and others framed the meaning of home as an attachment to the unique natural environment of Grenada. However, there were also instances where the mark of delineation between the social and physical elements was less discernible. Connections between their social relationships, personal emotions and their surrounding physical environments all factored heavily into their definitions of home.

Additionally, the meanings of home provided by respondents are significant because members of each transnational family are located in different geographical locations. Therefore, the definitions of home are in the context of their similar shared histories in relation to their currently differing environmental, social and cultural backdrops. As a

result, the meanings of home and the associated experiences show marked similarities and differences based on location in Grenada or location abroad.

Drawing upon the words of the respondents and in keeping with the idiographic IPA framework described in Section 5.3, this chapter presents the varying definitions of home within a Grenadian transnational context, of family members who reside in Grenada and those who reside outside of Grenada. The detailed perceptions of all family members also allow for the identification of overarching differences and similarities in perceptions of home based on geographical location and influencing cultural, social and environmental backdrop. Finally, the chapter provides a summary of the key findings.

This chapter is short and focused but plays an integral role in capturing the meaning of home entirely from the perspective of the Grenadian transnational family. Meanings form the foundational basis for the theorisations of the transnational home, discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. To maintain confidentiality, all names used in this chapter are pseudonyms, as highlighted in Table 8. The information placement is random and is not reflective of family pairings.

Table 9: Participant pseudonyms

Respondents based in Grenada	Respondents based outside of Grenada
Eva: female in her 30s	David: male in his 60s
Michael: male in his 50s	Arthur: male in his 50s
Monica: female in her 40s	Aria: female in her 70s
Brenda: female in her 20s	Olivia: female in her 50s
Lindy: female in her 20s	Trinity: female in her 40s)
Amaya: female in her 30s	Angelica: female in her 40s
Jacob: male in his 50s	Leo: male in his 50s
Lily: female her 70s	Susie: female in her 50s
Robert: is a male in his 50s	Maya: female in her 40s
Evelyn: is a female in her 50s	Andrea: female in her 50s

6.2 Home is Grenadian kinship and community

Home to half of the family members based outside of Grenada and half of the family members based in Grenada, was associated with Grenadian kinship and community. For some, home as kinship and community was an appreciation of the social relationships fostered by the feelings of belonging within a community.

6.2.1 Family members in Grenada

Michael, Lily, Evelyn and Robert, who all reside in Grenada, indicated that positive relationships with family, friends and neighbours in their communities are just as important to their meaning of home as the physical housing structures in which they reside:

"Well, I always consider my home to be [name of village removed] generally, but where I live is my house. That is where I reside. To me that is where I feel most comfortable [….] Actually, I was born in […..], and I grew up in [….], not totally, but in terms of my childhood days my remembrances of [….] My relationship with the people in the area is good, so that is where I feel most comfortable. I have lived in other parts of the island. During my lifetime and there's hardly any day that I don't come to [….]" (*Michael*)

"Home is the friendship I have with family and my neighbours, the friendship. I have with friends around the neighbourhood. Yeah." (*Lily*)

"I mean where I live is home but home is also like my village". (*Robert*)

"I was born and raised in Grenada, I love home. I do not want to be anywhere else besides home. I went to the United States. It has been over 15 years, I spent one month there, and I did not like it. I went to Trinidad when I was pretty young, that time I was in high school. I liked it. I've been to Barbados just for one week, I love Barbados, but anywhere I go, I just love home, any part, I love home." (*Evelyn*)

However, for the respondents based outside of Grenada, this kinship and community represented feelings of Grenadian patriotism and culture. Home was a

comparison of the attitudes to kinship and community that exist in Grenada and the attitudes to kinship and community that existed outside of Grenada.

6.2.2 Family members outside of Grenada

Maya, Aria, Arthur and David, who all reside outside of Grenada, associated home with their place of birth. Even if attachments formed with the host country, Grenadian citizenship, the cultural traditions, and community relationships provided a source of happiness and comfort.

> "When I hear the word home, Grenada came to my mind; because that is the country I was born in. that is where I spent most of my young age until the age of thirteen so that is my roots. That is where my head went back. So my younger days where I was, the country I came from, that's home. I mean [name of location removed] is my home too but I do not know…. it is different. Home is where you were born." (*Maya*)

> "Home to me means happiness. [...] I love Grenada. I love going and see my family. I always feel, good when I have to go home. When I know I book a passage to go home. I am on top of the world. I am just excited to go back home, see my family, you know... Even as I mentioned, home will always be home. It does not matter where, you immigrated to… which country... for how many years. For me, I always feel there [Grenada] was where I was born. [….], I grew up there. I was happy at home. I am not saying I am not happy in [location abroad removed], but I was happy home. I always look forward to wanting to go home whenever the opportunity arises." (*Aria*)

> "No place sweeter than home. Everybody, well maybe not everybody, mostly everybody would say, they rather home where they were born, where they came from because their culture, their upbringing is embedded in there. So your you know, being brought up in a certain way and in certain conditions, that is what you know even though you come here and your being adopted to a different condition, but you still yearn for what you know when you were young" (*Arthur*)

"Well a home is not a house. A home is the people who live there and dwell there. It takes a strong person in order to control a home, especially in Grenada in the days we were growing up and even now. There must be somebody at the forefront with good leadership so that you can learn the correct and proper things. I would speak in general, and growing up we were straight like an arrow. The arrow was straight, we were straight, but now you would see the kids running around and you would try to really give them a form of correction, but, they don't have time for you, they have their different agenda[…..]I think somewhere along the way probably family values have not been up to standard like it used to be in years gone by and I think that is very important." (*David*)

6.2.3 Summary

Geographical location is linked to Grenadian kinship and community. In Grenada, home was Grenadian kinship and community as a function of individual experiences in relation to the relationships with others who live in close proximity. Outside of Grenada, home as Grenadian kinship and community incorporated expressions of patriotism, and a sustained connection to a past-lived experience. Where culturally significant social interactions defined home, individual perceptions were based on the wider family and cultural environment. This was irrespective of the respondents' geographic location.

6.3 Home is the Grenadian natural environment.

For a minority of family members' Grenada was 'home' because of the natural environment. Specifically, the meaning of home was the positive interaction with the natural physical environment found on the island of Grenada. Interacting with fresh Grenadian produce, walking through nature, gardening and going to the beach were some examples of important elements central to the meaning of home.

6.3.1 Family members outside outside of Grenada

Andrea indicated that going to the beach and being able to relax plays a role in her perception of home.

"I don't get to go to the beach […] when I go home the first thing I have to do is go on the beach because this makes me so happy being on the beach. It's relaxing, the saltwater, looking at the waves, the quietness I don't have to think about working when I go home."

Angelica detailed the association between the comforts of home and access to the raw, healthy and processed fruits and vegetables in Grenada. She also mentioned that being able to be involved with gardening activities was an important element in her meaning of home.

"It is just being comfortable when you think about home. You think about all the fresh fruits and you know the fresh vegetables, the good food, not all these crazy add ons, just the raw that you can get from home. It is not a whole set of diseases and all this kind of craziness it is fresher. You could go in the garden. You can plant your own stuff. That is how I feel when I think about home. I mean home means, everything to me. It is just everything. Yes, I am here to make a life but I always think about Grenada as my home."

Aria remembered playing outside around when growing up in Grenada. To her, these memories still factored as important to her meaning of home, despite living outside of Grenada for many years.

"I just like going home and then we will sit there and reminisce from going back when we were young children and jumping off the jetty, you know things like that. I said, oh, you remember when we climbed a mango tree and our parents caught us and we got the belt after that and, you know, stealing mangoes? It's just nice reminiscing about home."

6.3.2 Family members in Grenada

Lily, who resides in Grenada, indicated that despite changing social norms and expectations, cultural and traditionally motivated desires to engage with the natural environment were significant in her definition of home.

"It's not all about modern technology [...], especially actually in these times where everybody is at home because of the [Covid-19] virus. You try to entertain in a way that you were brought up […] it is not all of us sitting down with laptop or one of those little gadgets. It is all about interacting with people. [.....] Yeah mom taught us how to sit down in the moonlight and play stuff with stones, how to listen to stories of long ago it's like a tradition."

6.3.3 Summary

When the interaction with the natural environment of Grenada played a significant role in the meaning of home, a balance between their past and present became significant. Positive childhood memories of playing outside, or sitting in the moonlight and sharing culturally specific stories were also important to the meaning of home. When the family member resided outside of Grenada, this comparison between the past and present centred on the inability to access the natural environment in the ways they did when they were in Grenada. For the family members based in Grenada, there was still access to the same natural environment of their past. However, shifting attitudes to the natural environment because of changing societal norms and priorities meant a shift in their interaction with the natural environment. Consequently, even for the family member in Grenada, home as the natural environment is temporal and marked by a desire to incorporate the past-lived experience of the natural environment into their present circumstances.

6.4 Home is social

More than half of family members based in Grenada and more than half of family members based outside of Grenada, defined home as family. In this context, home was the main avenue for the fostering of familial bonds, irrespective of the makeup of the family.

It is also important to note that familial bonds, as central to the meaning of home, were driven by shared cultural and social values. This stemmed from the shared experience of growing up on the island of Grenada. As a result, there was sustained exposure to the societal norms and practices. There was also an acknowledgement that in order for this idea of home to flourish, it is important that other family members hold the same view of home.

6.4.1 Family members in Grenada

Jacob, Evelyn, Lindy, Robert and Amaya detailed how the strength of family bonds and the comfort, love and security derived from these bonds are important to their meaning of home. These themes were highlighted in the following quotations:

"For you to really build a home you have to have love, you have to have family and you have to make sure your home is clean[…..]To me, family is everything. You have a nuclear family, you have the single parent and then you have the extended. We are the extended family because we have ourselves, plus brothers in-law plus sisters in-law so home is all about the family and we are the extended family" (*Amaya*)

"Home is where the heart lies. Home to me does not necessarily have to be a physical building. Home could be, in my opinion, it can be a gathering where you have... maybe under a roof but you are there with your family. It could also include your extended family. OK, you know your extended relatives and so forth. I believe in family and I believe in having a close relationship with your siblings... And letting them be a part of for example, your problems, your joys your sorrows and so forth, sharing it with them, so you know communicating with them and so forth...it's like that you know it's like that in terms of that old African proverb which talks about it takes a village to raise a child... So I believe this is where I am kind of coming from*" (Jacob)*

"I just love to be home, love to be home, everything about home is nice to me. I cannot explain, […..] I love to be with my family. I love to be with my family most importantly. I feel really comfortable when I am home [….] my family, which would be my children and grandchildren and my siblings, who are here, those overseas when they come, we come together, and we are good until they have to go again... and I just love being home for that. I like when they travel they come home and I see them [……] Whenever they come regardless of where they stay or they have their home [in Grenada], either I go...we meet somewhere in one of the homes" (*Evelyn*)

"To me, home means originality. You know, somewhere you can be comfortable without limits. Somewhere, let's say where you can be shall I say, like I as I say without limit be yourself be comfortable, you know where or you would be supported regardless. That place of love, that place of family. When you think about home, you think of family you think about loved ones you think about happiness. I don't think you should call somewhere home where you're not comfortable or you don't feel like going." (*Lindy*)

"Home is a place, well I don't only want to say it's what you own... it's like a place of retreat, it's a place of being with your family and your friends at the end of the day....well not so much friends, your family actually, your immediate family. Well for me it is those who can help you carry whatever extra little burden you may have or people that you care for. You can interact with them […] (*Robert*)

6.4.2 Family members outside of Grenada

Trinity, Olivia, Aria, David, Susie and Leo indicated that the home was more than the physical structure. Home was the positive social bonds of respect, love and social interaction. Home was also defined as a place of refuge during difficulties faced while living outside of Grenada.

"Home means family... my home is where my family is because we can make it, as long as we're together. If you want to do things right do it by yourself, but if you want to do things with people, you do it with your family. You know home is where my family is anytime we are together, I feel like we are home. It makes it all better. When[name removed] comes up here she brings a piece of Grenada, you know the cooking, I have a couple of friends and friends will come and they are all looking at me to make the stew chicken and everything but [Name removed] she brings a piece of Grenada and we do it together." (*Trinity*)

"To me home is family, and family, you could break it down to all different things, you could break it down to security, love, everything. I think that because like family, you know, when you talk about home you talk about a family. You talk about

the love you have for your family. You talk about security because you know to yourself, you are there for them and they will be there for you, you know?" (*Olivia*)

"Home to me is associated with my family back there [Grenada] because at the end of the day family is everything. In all family there are difficult ones, but it does not matter, the good ones the difficult one it does not really matter at the end of the day it's still family."*(Aria)*

"Well a home is not a house. A home is the people who live there and dwell there."

(*David*)

"The first thing that comes to mind is security. So you should feel secure in your home. The second thing that comes to mind is family, because a home with no family to me is cold, there is nothing here. There is no one there. If you do not have family in your home. I do not think it is a home. You are supposed to feel love, you are supposed to feel secure, and you are supposed to feel happy. (*Susie*)

"You could call anything a home if you want to, but I think the definition of home defines itself. It is a place where you can live comfortably, you could learn comfortably, you could laugh comfortably and you will be respected as well. It is made up of several things. A home also could be a place where you have your family, you respect your family, and your family respects you the same way. You put values to certain things as well in there [...] it's a place of refuge." (*Leo*)

6.4.3 Summary

Irrespective of the geographic location, socially driven themes of security, comfort, appreciation and love were central to the meaning of home. In instances where there were similar cultural notions, there were little or no competing influences on the Grenadian cultural or social worldview. These findings pointed to the idea that sustained social connection, fostered a meaning of home able to withstand any unfavourable or alternative influences.

6.5 Home is physical

For a couple of family members both based in Grenada, the meaning of home was associated with their physical dwelling and the tangible items contained in these dwellings. For these family members, the architectural design and condition of the home played a key role in the comfort of home. Additionally, in support of the intersectionality of the physical and social meanings of home, family members indicated that a comfortable physical dwelling if necessary for the fostering of familial relationships. Brenda and Monica captured these ideas.

> "For me, it's like a safe place, because even if I travel I would come back here because everyone inside the house, that's who I grew up with, that's who I know, that's who I'm comfortable around…. I mean, that is just for me, that is how I view it, my comfort place. My comfort place has Wi-Fi, my bed, my teddy bear, my pink surroundings. Sometimes I have my pink invasion. That is what I call the theme of my room. So I would basically pink up the room, the room is already painted in pink, so I would have my bed matching in pink, my towel pink, my covers pink, my[mosquito] net is pink, my curtains, so I have my pink mood . I have everything that I love around me." (*Brenda*)

> "Home, no place sweeter than home. Home is my place where I usually am. Home as home, I like to be home, you know. I guess when you and you have a home to make sure that the home is in order, when you say in order you have to make sure that everything is done properly, done properly, in the sense that you pay your bills, you prepare food, the kids and them should be well disciplined. Anything about home, because I am one person who always wants my home to be one of the best. No children giving back answers, no children being disobedient and that kind of thing." (*Monica*)

The idea of home as simply physical space resonated much less with this sample of transnational family members. In addition, where the physical surroundings factored into the meaning of home, these were not the sole influence on perception. Instead, the physical structure is important to the meaning of home because of its ability to enhance any social bonds and feelings of comfort.

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6.6 Home is contextual

All of the transnational family members had multiple definitions of home that crossed definitional boundaries that pointed to the idea that home is contextual and subject to shift depending on priorities and circumstances. This idea resonated in a quotation by Eva, who detailed that her meaning of home changes depending on her physical environment, perspective, circumstances or life stage. This contributed to her highly variable nature of home and highlighted the temporal nature in response to change.

"To me...well it depends on what context I hear the word home in. If I'm speaking to you, home would be Grenada but if I'm speaking to somebody here [Grenada]...Home would be you know where I live, it's basically where my family is at. So for example when I am at work. When I say home. I mean at my Moms because that is where I am from, basically that is where all of my mail goes, that is my address, that is where I refer to as home, that is where I am from. So I would say in [location removed] but I am from [location removed] because that is where I am from, that is home. That is where I would say my home is because that is basically where my family is although I have my own [family] here"

6.7 Conclusion

Home is dependent on the social bonds of family and friendship, it is a safe and comfortable dwelling space, a function of Grenadian kinship and dependent on direct interaction with the natural environment.

There were a number of similarities between the perspectives of the respondents based in Grenada and the respondents based abroad. The most significant similarity centres on the idea that home is *social*. In these instances, the meaning of home encompasses strong social relationships and bonds. The physical manifestations of home carry a lower degree of significance.

However, despite the predominance of the social elements of home, the meaning of home rarely comprised of singular and easily classifiable elements. Instead, the meanings contained interconnections between numerous factors and priorities. The most significant

interconnection being between the social relationships and the overarching cultural norms and practices that shape the lives of Grenadians. Together, the strong social bonds and the cultural influences resulted in a meaning of home, which persisted despite locational differences. Culturally relevant social bonds also allowed the meanings of home to shift from a purely individual perception to a perception shaped by the perceptions of others. Additionally, families had to navigate relationships and experiences across multiple locations. Meanings of home developed within the social and cultural backdrop of Grenada and the cultural and social backdrops outside of Grenada. The result reflected differences based on the level of exposure to different environments and the degree to which memories or circumstances influenced worldviews.

Finally, the meaning of home was variable and complex. It was temporal, contextual, and dependent on the social and economic circumstances of family members.

The conclusions drawn from this chapter link to the previous theorisations of the highly personal, social, geographical and contextual nature of home (Pallasmaa, 1995: Mallett, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Depres, 1991; Coolen and Meesters, 2012). However, the transnational backdrop of the home problematizes common understandings of home. There is a need to unpack the nature of the Grenadian transnational experience and the ways that the multifaceted transnational experiences combine with the personal meanings of home to create a comprehensive transnational home. This journey begins in Chapter 7 with the presentation of the transnational experiences of Grenadian family members and continues into Chapter 8 with the theorisation of the meaning of home within the transnational backdrop.

Chapter 7: The transnational experience

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has provided the foundations for the analysis of the experience of home, by providing the detailed descriptions by respondents of what the term "home" meant to them and as a result the thoughts, feelings and beliefs which not only contributed to, but also arose from ideas around home. However, for Grenadian transnational families, the experiences extended beyond the meanings of home.

Migration, which is central to the transnationalism experience, results in the physically separated household. This separation is a significant and necessary part of the experiences around the transnational home because it serves as a key foundational element. This is a physical and emotional separation of the family. It also represents a cultural, environmental and economic separation from Grenada. Therefore, separation serves as a distinguishable marker between the lived experiences prior to transnationalism and the current transnational lived experience of the family. Understanding how a family views and functions in the face of separation, which for the participants in this research is a life altering and long term event, paves the way for an understanding of how life, more specifically around the home, is shaped and understood after migration has taken place.

Accounts from families suggested that being part of the transnational space created familial gaps, and the absence of missing relatives factored heavily into their thoughts and daily activities across the transnational family. All family members, despite migration status, contributed to the decision-making processes. For the family member who resided in Grenada, compensation focused primarily on coming to terms with the fact that their relative no longer lived in Grenada, and on strengthening the long distance bonds. For the family member who resided outside of Grenada, this experience took on a different perspective. They had to navigate daily experiences, which occurred outside of the unique cultural and environmental Grenadian context. Different built environments, employment experiences, social structures, social norms, financial circumstances and climates are examples of daily experiences. The navigation of these experiences, as well as maintaining previous familial bonds, made for a multifaceted and complex separation experience. Furthermore,

connections were found between the transnational separation and times of unavoidable crisis, specifically that of Covid-19. A number of respondents indicated that the worldwide occurrence of Covid-19, and the resulting quarantine, affected how their experiences of separation were manifested. The social, economic and transnational processes associated with this geographic separation played a continuing and significant part in the life of the Grenadian transnational family.

The idea exists that transnationalism is the direct result of several individual/familial motivations, decisions and actions (Forte, 2016; Lowell, 2006; Agarwal and Horowitz, 2002). Findings from this research suggest that transnationalism is also the effect of external cultural, economic and environmental circumstances and pressures. These pressures are beyond individual or familial control, and result from the decision to become a transnational family. The process of transnationalism extends beyond sending remittances, and incorporates social and cultural elements that function through the direct communication efforts of transnational family members inside and outside of Grenada.

This chapter presents the Grenadian transnationalism process beginning from the migratory separation of the family. The first part describes how living in different geographic locations affect the family members who reside in Grenada and those who reside outside of Grenada. The second part details the relationships affect the transnational process. The third and final part details the social and economicexperiences that factor into belonging to a Grenadian transnational family. Detailed accounts of how these economic and social experiences contribute to communication and remitting behaviours are also presented.

7.2 The separation experience

The findings from this study suggest that separation influences the daily experiences of home. However, there are key foundations that require mention, before exploring the experiences of transnational separation:

- First, given that all respondents were born and raised in Grenada, Grenadian culture is the predominant cultural template.

- Second, the concept of one overarching familial home plays a crucial role in interpretations of separation and the daily and fundamental experiences around the making of the home.

Feelings of separation occurred in all of the families interviewed.. For some, the impact of the separation factored into the current daily activities around creating a sense of home; for others, it factored into descriptions of their memories of the home prior to the separation.

7.2.1 Family members in Grenada

Eva explained that there were continuing efforts to navigate this separation even though it has been a part of her experience since early childhood. She not only spoke about her own experiences, but she also based her perceptions on the feelings and perceptions of her relatives.Despite any physical separation brought on by transnationalism, the family, which is emotionally connected and involved, remains a vital part of her contextual meaning of home and her home experience (Section 6.6). The following quote describes this.

> "She [the family member who lives abroad] still feels like although she is not here, she is still a part of us because we still make mention to her sometimes when we are talking. Everybody sits down and talks and we still make mention of her in terms of what is going and so forth. [...] when you make a decision you kind of keep her in mind because she is always in the loop you know she is always going to have an opinion and all that stuff . She is still included in the family".

Michael indicated that despite the fact that the absence of the relative was significant, he held the belief that this change in his home experience, by the movement of the relative outside of Grenada, was a necessary means for economic progress. His separation experience, a standalone element of his transnationalism experience, occurs alongside his meaning of home, which is linked to his community (Section 6.2.1). Additionally, his experiences of the physical separation shifted from his individual interpretations of the separation to the incorporation of the goals, feelings and circumstances of others, which in a cyclical fashion heavily influenced his interpretations and feelings. The following quote captures this idea:

"It does not make sense that we are all in one place and they do not have opportunities. Where they are at the moment, they have opportunities so their life is more comfortable. My main objective is to see that they are comfortable and they could make a living of their own. Being in Grenada and you can't make a living on your own, it will be more stressful. If they are here and they have meaningful employment then yeah I would feel comfortable, but the basic thing is where they can feel more independent and make life on their own. That is the most important thing for me. Where they are happier, where they feel most happy, that is important for me. Once they are happy, I am happy. If they are not happy, I am not happy, so if they are here and they are not happy. I am not happy. It is not just them being around that makes me happy. They have to feel comfortable and be able to live happily."

Monica, whose meaning of home is linked to her family, explained that belonging to a transnational family for more than a decade, gave way to her acceptance that separation from her sister plays a sustained role in her life. Therefore, from her perspective, the responsibility lies with her, who remained in Grenada, to find comfort and alternative means to fill the familial gap. Her feelings are described in the following quote:

"The thing about it is she is not there and I get used to her not being there already so you still have to make yourself comfortable even if she is not there...."

Lindy acknowledged that the current separation created the desire to fill the emotional gap by travelling to visit her mother, where she can communicate with her in person. As a result, there was continued hope for reunion, while simultaneously strengthening the family connections while separated. Her meaning of home, which values family relationships (Section 6.4.1), persists despite the separation and is fostered by travel and visiting with her relative. The following description captures her separation experience:

"Of course, you want your family; you would miss them at times. You know, it would according to what you are doing. It would feel like you know I wish Mom were here, because it was all of us and then this separation came. In certain things that we do, we might say, "Oh I wish that person was here [...] Even going to the States when we're together it feels sort of complete even if it's not in Grenada. Just

knowing that we're together in person and we're able to hug and talk and sit, but believe it or not even though my mom is over there they still have some input to do with what home here is like."

Lily had mixed reactions to the transnational separation from her family member. On the one hand, she interpreted her relative's inability to enjoy the current benefits of Grenadian living as a disadvantage. This bears weight given that her meaning of home is strongly linked to her functioning within a Grenadian natural cultural environment (Section 6.3.2). However, on the other hand, she perceived her sister's migration opportunities as being advantageous.

"It might make you kind of feel a little empty. I would not say I am sad, because I am happy for them. Happy for them, because everybody has to go out and make their own life. But sometimes you feel a little a little…, for instance, the thing is people are used to coming home for Christmas and the anticipation, the preparation and everything to know that they are coming and you want to make everything so good for them that when they get here they can just enjoy their time. Then, then you know you cannot do it. I kind of feel a little...you know that they cannot enjoy what I have here. They are looking forward to something totally different because of the weather, because they have four seasons and we only have two and what we can do throughout the year they cannot. I feel "Oh, you guys missing so much". I watch the sea, and I am like "Oh they can't even come and have a sea bath and I'm in the beach every day. I kind of feel sad that they don't have the ability to enjoy that."

Robert's transnational separation experience has a number of elements. First, the longer his relative remained outside of Grenada, the more it became an accepted part of the familial situation. Second, the degree to which the feelings of separation presented was in direct relation to the degree of communication with his brother and his brother's connection to Grenada. Third, perceptions and experiences of others in similar situations influenced his own feelings about his transnational separation. Fourth, satisfaction with his decisions about his own transnational experiences has factored into the way he approached the geographical separation from this brother. Opportunities presented for this respondent to migrate, but remaining in Grenada took precedence. Therefore, there was a degree of contentment with his circumstances. He approached his brother's experiences through this lens even though

his own meaning of home is linked strongly to his family relationships (Section 6.4.1). The following account captured these ideas:

"All of my brothers who are away would have travelled very long ago. Since maybe the late 1970s to the mid-80s, they all left so the thing is that they have never really turned their backs, they keep in touch and they have all tried to come mostly within three, four years. Some come when they can every year. So that contact is there, you always never felt that they have deserted the family in any sense."

"It has not been a case where they have gone, and you have not heard from them in 10 years. It has happened to some families where people have travelled and for whatever reason they did not return for fifteen to twenty years. You are longing to see them and you wonder what happened. With my brothers, they call regularly or they are in Grenada regularly. Maybe some time in their lives they had times that they could not come for immigration issues, but they have all gotten past that so, they pop in and pop out".

"For me at one point in my life I could have decided to leave too. I did not. At that time, it was probably the opportune time. I was not working for a year and a half, out of college, out of university and it would have been the perfect time jump out there and see what is happening and I did not do it. It is like something just kept me rooted here. I never really saw myself being out there in that environment. There has to be something much more to really push me out there."

However, differences in attitudes to separation existed.

Jacob detailed how the separation from his relative who resides outside of Grenada, while acknowledged, did not greatly affect the functions and daily activity of the home because there was a degree of independence, which extended beyond the collective functioning of a familial home. This belief is despite his meaning of home prioritising his relationships with his family members (Section 6.4.1). In this instance, the separation experience focused entirely on the functional, practical elements rather than incorporating emotional elements.

"Everybody is sort of independent and it's not like we are living in a familial home, [if you were living in a familial home], where everybody had a right to say so."

7.2.2 Family members outside of Grenada

Andrea felt strongly about the separation from Grenada and her friends and family when she first arrived in the host country and had to face the prospect of limited job opportunities. These feelings are in keeping with her meaning of home, which emphasises her proximity to the Grenadian natural environment (Section 6.3.1). However, the negative experience of separation had been replaced by the realisation that despite the challenges, the advantages of moving abroad outweighed the disadvantages. The acknowledgement of the positive outcomes served as a coping mechanism:

"Oh yeah they were sometimes, when I just came here, the job wasn't here the jobs weren't there at all. So yeah, that created a problem for me. [....] It could be puzzling sometimes because when I am in Grenada there are things that I might need and I am not able to get it. It might be so expensive and I say "oh my god I wish I was back in [host country outside of Grenada] to stay". We do not pay that much in the US. It may create kind of a difference with home and [the host country outside of Grenada]' with this stuff especially"

Maya believed that the geographic separation from her brother and extended family was difficult because she has not returned to Grenada since she migrated. There is mirroring of her separation experience and a meaning of home that focuses on the relationship to Grenada and all that Grenada contains (Section 6.2.2). The following quote reflected this:

"I don't know it's kind of hard because I have not seen them in like twenty years. I have not been to Grenada in 20 years. The last time I was, there was when my father passed away. I went to bury him, came back, and never went back. I talk to them on the phone, video chat sometimes occasionally, but I kind of miss them but I have not seen them in a very long time."

Monica's perceptions of the separation from her family and Grenada, in the context of the influential nature of the memories of her life in Grenada, contrasted to her current

experiences living outside of Grenada. Such experiences centred on racism, and living in an apartment complex, a stark contrast to the memories of the Grenadian experience where families lived in tight-knit communities, which were close to nature.

> "I had my influence before I came here. I mean it [being outside of Grenada] exposes you to a lot of stuff that you never knew before but it does not influence me. For example, you live in a building and you do not even know your neighbours yet. Some of it depends on where you are. I mean, in my building everyone knows each other, on my block everybody knows each other, but if you go probably a mile or two from here and you go to the big building where you have probably a hundred apartments, one person doesn't know their next door neighbour. We did not grow that way, we know everybody in the village, we know everybody in the neighbourhood. America did not influence me. I knew nothing about, about racism back in my country. We all live as one [...]. My family is back home. For example, you know, you will have a problem here and you might need a little advice. You call them, they will give you advice. You might talk to somebody here and they'll give you advice, but their advice here might be different from the one you get back home."

Angelica indicated missing family back home because of separation. This feeling stems from the realisation that unlike her experiences accessing Grenadian natural products, from which her meanings of home are derived (Section 6.3.1), the occasional sharing of goods and services among families and communities is not a common practice in her current location. Not only did this increase her longing for the life she once had in Grenada, but it also served to remind and motivate her to achieve her initial goal of economic stability.

> "Here you always have to buy something... home, you could get anything from a neighbour you could get some bananas you could get some fruits or anything from your neighbour. Here you have to buy everything, you know. So it stills reminds me of how life in Grenada is so good. You know, you come to make yourself better, but it is hard, but you are still fighting to make it, but you know Grenada is the best. I mean I know we're biased because we're Grenadian so…"

Olivia's separation from relatives in Grenada did not present an entirely negative experience because it provided financial independence with job opportunities not available before she

moved abroad. Despite these positive feelings of independence, they did not appear to affect the emotions derived from her meaning of home and the importance of relationships with family members in Grenada (Section 6.4.2). Therefore, her separation experience incorporated doing better for herself, so that she is not a burden to her family, which factors heavily in her meaning of home.

> "I'm here and I'm financially much better than when I was in Grenada, I could go buy what I want. I could do whatever I want because I am working. I am independent. Back home, let us not forget my childhood and when I had my kids, I was not working, so you have to be dependent on somebody. So I think once you travel it's just different, you become more independent because you don't depend on people".

For Aria, missing her relatives back in Grenada was further compounded by the fact that upon arrival in [the host country], her focus was on her education and settlement. Competing interests produced an emotional conflict between the desire to make her own life and missing her family back in Grenada, an essential part of her meaning of home (Section 6.4.2).

> "When I first arrived in [the host country], you know, it was very hard. I was missing my mom and dad, more so than my siblings, because my mom and dad were still alive. They have since then passed on. After that, I think we [my siblings] have gotten a lot closer over the years than when I first arrived in [host country], because when I first arrived in [host country] I was a young person. I was more focusing on school, focusing on, you know, doing my own stuff."

In an example of the complexity of Aria's separation experience, she also highlighted that the experience presented the challenge of making "new or temporary home" to function in her new environment despite her emotional loyalty an idea of home in Grenada. Her statement also gave initial insight into her transnational making-of-home process.

> "I have to make it my home because I live here".

Arthur's geographical distance from his large, close-knit family, and the intersection of memories. His current meaning of home, which values his Grenadian family (Section 6.4.2) and his existing circumstances, influenced his separation experience.

"Well it has been quite a transition because of the way of life that I am used to in the Caribbean coming to America it has been quite different in terms of family. Back in the Caribbean I grew up with a close-knit family where everyone helps one another, they are there for one another. Over in America it is totally different. Over here, it is each its own […] Growing up in Grenada in a family or household of fourteen and transitioning to America it's totally different".

Furthermore, in reference to separation experiences, mention was also made of the impact of employment experiences. In Grenada, he was worked in the family business. However, life outside of Grenada temporarily came with limited job opportunities, limited pay and the adjustment to working for non-relatives.

"When I was living in Grenada I used to be doing work on my father's farm. I never worked for anybody in Grenada. After I left school, I was just basically taking care of my father's land and whatsoever on the farm. When I came to America there was a difference because not working for somebody all of your young life and then you come over here and then immediately, as soon as you land with the plane, you have to go to work. It's not that I was not accustomed working but just not accustomed working for anybody because basically when I was home I was more independent[…]".

Finally, in another reference to the past, negative perceptions of the separation from Grenada and his family were intensified because of the marked environmental differences between Grenada and his host country. Moving from a tropical to a cold climate contributed to a keen awareness of the environment left behind. However, this factor subsided with acclimatisation.

"And then the other thing was when I arrived here it was in the beginning of winter. That was another problem because in the Caribbean the weather there averages about eighty degrees, seventy-eight to-eighty degrees (Fahrenheit) every

day. Coming to America into a cold climatic condition it is a totally different experience because I was never accustomed to that coldness. Being honest with you, at that point that I arrived here in America I just wanted to take the next plane back to Grenada. I just wanted to jump on the next plane back home but I said "You know what I came here let me see how it is and see if I would like it". Then month after month I started meeting friends, meeting other family members and socialising with people and then you realise it is just adapting to a new situation and getting accustomed and comfortable with it. Things just started falling into place."

7.2.3 Covid-19 and the evolving separation experience

Covid-19 quickly became a global pandemic, which affected the daily home lives of both ends of the transnational relationship, as opposed to just relatives Grenada or relatives abroad. This new experience of a separated home, already introduced by transnationalism, now incorporated experiences related to living during a global health crisis, where much of the restrictions imposed affect daily functioning.

The fieldwork centred on the experience of the transnational home rather than focusing on Covid-19. However, COVID-19 arose frequently in detailed accounts of their transnational experiences. While family members outside of Grenada, expressed concern about their relatives' economic wellbeing during Covid-19 (discussed in more detail in section 7.7), it was family members who reside in Grenada who expressed their feelings about the separation from their loved ones.

The reasons for this trend were not directly stated by respondents. The low Covid-19 infections in Grenada compared to other countries could have been a contributing factor to this seemingly "one-sided" expression of concern. Given that the meanings of home for the respondents persisted, one can deduce that the emotions, from their meanings of home, act as resistance against negative influences on their routines as a separated transnational household. Chapter 8 describes this relationship between the meaning of home, emotions and transnational processes.

Lindy detailed that the impacts of the Covid-19 health crisis made the separation feel more prominent in her daily experience. While for some, this may have a positive element due to

increased time indoors and more time for family communication, for Lindy, the limited knowledge about the virus during its early stages, the high case numbers in regions close to her mother, and the inability of her mother to travel meant that the experience of Covid-19 brought fear.

"It's definitely scary. You know, knowing that she is over there and I am here. It is scary knowing the things that are going over there now. There are certain days where I have to tell her do not go outside. You know the possibility. Even if I know life has to go on and she still has to do what she has to do I wouldn't say it's not frightening to me."

Jacob expressed concern for his relative who lived and worked in a location with high incidences of the virus.

"Well I have been concerned about her safety because she is a [job description removed]. She works with [location of employment removed] and you know these people would be exposed. I would say that there on the front line, I was always concerned and saying to her that she should wear her mask and so on and so forth[....]. You call and find out what is going on, how the kids are and so on and so forth. Especially as the Covid-19 started to find out if everything is fine and these things like that".

Lily also expressed concern about the safety of her sister abroad. In her case, however, the separation was both felt in the context of her sister being away during the pandemic, and the realisation that her relative was far away from Grenada and its environmental benefits.

"Well, it's a little bit of concern because, you know, like here in Grenada. We had, I think, 21 or 22 cases, but no deaths so we are lucky. Over there, every day you hear how many hundreds dying, so you are somewhat really concerned. You always, make sure you put on your mask, and make sure you do what you have to do. It is a big concern because they are there and I am here. We are here [in Grenada] at least there is like certain things...the sun is out we can do things, but over there I am concerned for them, because even close to where my sister lives so many people died. So I was like, oh, I don't want you to go down that street."

7.2.4 Summary

Transnationalseparation played a significant role in both positive and negative experiences irrespective of location. Experiences were as individual as they were varied. However, detailed accounts also indicated that perceptions of separation were affected by the cultural perceptions of others, particularly other family members in both the country of origin and the host country.

Economic and environmental circumstances also affected the separation experience. Unfavourable limited economic opportunities in the country of origin, the limited financial opportunities upon arrival in the host country and a colder climate in the host country, fuelled the desire to accept the geographic separation as a necessary means to increase opportunities to ensure continuing financial stability.

The separation experience presented differently based on location. For family members who resided in Grenada, the separation experience was primarily linked to the absence of their family members who migrated and the resulting changes to their daily routines. However, for family members who resided outside of Grenada, the separation experience was a combination of facing challenges within the host country, missing the traditional and cultural norms of their country of origin and the geographical distance from their family members. Therefore, whereas the separation experience for the family members who reside in Grenada was a function of people, the separation experience for the family members outside of Grenada was a function of people and places.

The findings also suggest that meanings of home, an arguably emotional process, mirrored separation experiences. The acknowledgement of these similarities are a necessary gateway towards an understanding of an expanded notion of home that incorporates transnational processes.

Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic increased feelings of concern and expressions of fearfulness. Unpredictable circumstances provided new perspectives of the separation experience, which did not exist prior to the event, while further adding to the strength of emotions already felt before the unforeseen circumstance. However, the meaning of home,

and its associated emotions for the Grenadian transnationals, were not affected by these occurrences and negative influences.

7.3 The geographical context

The separation experience gives way to the realisation of the daily transnational processes that serve as both a means to compensate for the feeling of separation, and as a means of contributing to the long-term evolution and refinement of the overall experience of living in a transnational home. This section of the chapter begins by presenting the experiences of the respondents in the context of the overall geographical and social boundaries of transnationalism. The second part of this section presents the experiences of social and economic transnationalism in the context of the everyday experiences of the home, while highlighting various factors that positively and negative influence the experience.

In order to present the social and economic transnationalism processes that occur in relation to the separation experiences, it is important to acknowledge that the transnational individual or family, despite geographic separation, maintains a closeness to other remaining family and the separated member(s). The primary way that this closeness is achieved is through regular communication.

7.3.1 Geographically close relationships

Geographically close proximity in the context of this researchrefers to interaction between remaining family members and the communities who reside in their current location..

7.3.1.1 Close proximity relationships in Grenada

Most of the respondents based in Grenada indicated positive relationships with their wider communities. These relationships were significant because they factor into their meanings of home (Section 6.2) and the ways in which they made use of their remittances (Section 7.8). The following quotations, some of which also highlight meanings of home demonstrate relationships and communication as they exist within a uniquely Grenadian backdrop.

Lily indicated that the relationship with her family and neighbours was an essential part of her transnationalism experience and one in keeping with her meaning of home that places Grenadian kinship and culture at the forefront (Section 6.2.1)

> "Home is the friendship I have with family and my neighbours. The friendship I have with friends around the neighbourhood. Yeah." (*Lily*)

Monica highlighted that her life as a transnational family member links to both her family and the wider community, mirroring her Grenada and family based meaning of home. By sharing the groceries she receives from her sister with her neighbours, she builds close proximity relationships that strengthen social bonds, and allow her to give back to a community that has helped her in the past. Additionally, the sharing of her proceeds of transnationalism allows for the sharing of goodwill so that any successes garnered as transnational family members become collective.

> "Yeah, well we usually get groceries as well, and then getting groceries sometimes I distribute to family members, not even family members you see neighbours because the thing is keeping the groceries alone sometimes we alone cannot eat all. Secondly, we distribute because some of the family members or persons in the area were good to us growing up. Instead of keeping all to ourselves, we choose to just distribute some to the neighbours so that eventually they could feel happy as well. Not every neighbour is presently employed, they don't really earn a living, and they don't really earn a salary so we do assist in the neighbourhood generally"

7.3.1.2 Close proximity relationships outside of Grenada

For respondents based outside of Grenada, the degree of close proximity relationships varied. These included relationships with the Grenadian diaspora, the host community and other communities of other nationalities, or limited interaction with any wider community in close proximity to them. Of the family members who mentioned relationships outside of their family, the majority were positive accounts, only two accounts were negative experiences. Examples of both positive and negative accounts are below:

Arthur detailed how his relationship with the Grenadian/Caribbean diaspora was important in his positive transnational experience. While living outside of Grenada can never fully be seen as home to Arthur, the transition to his host country would have been more difficult without the support of his wider Grenadian community.

"I'm getting to do some of the things that I used to be doing when I was home so it made my life a little bit easier and more adaptable to the US conditions. If you don't have a network of people with your same culture and similar upbringing it would have been much harder to adapt but since I'm meeting friends and family who were Caribbean who know the culture it was much easier for me to transition"

Maya's relationships with the Grenadian diaspora were not always positive, mirroring her complex relationship with Grenada, a key element of her meaning of home. She preferred to maintain limited Grenadian contacts due to past negative experiences. Instead, she maintained closer relationships with the diaspora of other Caribbean countries.

"I do not know much. I do not associate...a lot of people call me selfish but I do not associate too much with the Grenadian culture here. I have a couple of friends that I keep close and that is it. It is not too much. I can count them on one hand. […] I do not participate; I do not go in any functions that they hold or anything. I did a couple of times but I am not on it at all [….].Well my whole thing is they always look down on people sometimes when you go. Sometimes you feel like they are talking about you or they are always staring or gossipy or whatever. I just do not want to be involved in that type of stuff so I just stay away. […]I have friends from Jamaica, people born here, people born in Guyana, St Lucia and other cultures but I am just saying like as I said I do talk to people from Grenada but not as much."

7.3.2 Geographically distanced relationships

The concept of geographically distanced proximity accounts for communication with immediate family members and Grenadian diaspora who reside across borders. The communication with immediate family members across borders was significant and sustained for all respondents. There were variations in the types of relationships, such as sibling, parental-offspring, in-laws and niece-aunt.

The social network with the geographically distant Grenadian disapora although significant, was less prominent relative to the relationship with family members..

7.3.2.1 Geographically distanced relationships for family members in Grenada

For respondents based in Grenada, geographically distanced relationships with communities outside of their families were mentioned infrequently, with respondents making mention of the role of the wider Grenadian community residing abroad. However, for all of these family members there was a less direct relationship. It was an acknowledgment that the wider community interacts with their family members and the transfer of information that occurs as a result.

Eva indicated that telephone calls sustain the geographically distanced relationship with her family member. Social media communication with the wider Grenadaian communities who reside close to her relative also proved vital for sharing information and preserving the home's contextual and cultural meaning (Section 6.6).

> "We always keep chatting so she always knows what's going on in the island as well as we always know what's going on with her as well because she has a little Grenadian community"

Lindy used Facebook to communicate with members of the Grenadian diaspora who reside in close proximity to her mother. Facebook also served as a means of communication between her mother and her community back in Grenada. This cross relationship allows for the sharing of information and provides a means of sustained connection.

Furthermore, in a testament to its efficiency, her mother, who is outside of Grenada, often made Lindy aware of news in Grenada..

> "You know right now with Facebook, everything is there so sometimes things are happening and I am here and she calls and says, "You know what's going on there?" And I'm like "What you talking about I don't know about that, you are in the States and you call me and tell me something that happened here and I am here and I don't know about it?" Around Labour Day that is the time, they get to celebrate their

nationality. She would cook and invite family members over to eat Oil Down [the national dish of Grenada]. Maybe send up two bottles of rum because I do not know maybe something about them up there. They always want rum [....]."

Leo was aware of the information-sharing role of the diaspora.

"It so happens there are instances when she calls me from out there and says, "You didn't hear that person died?""

7.3.2.2 Geographically distanced relationships outside of Grenada

For respondents based outside of Grenada, the influence of the geographically distanced relationships with Grenadian communities was more significant. With reasons varying from a wanting to contribute to the less fortunate who remained in their former communities, to needing to ensure that they remain connected to Grenadian culture, all the respondents mentioned the importance of sustained connection with the Grenadian community that remain in Grenada. The following quotes represent select examples.

Andrea explained that maintaining connections and helping the Grenadian community in Grenada was important to her, even while she was located in the host country.

"There are people on a whole that I still need to assist them and I do treat them as family. I met this girl she has three children she was right on the beach, she lives near the beach, and they are like my family and they call when I send things for them. I assist her as much as I can because they really, really need and I will say that's like my family."

Maya said that she still wants to maintain relationships and assist Grenadian communities in Grenada despite her complicated separation experience (Section 7.2.1) meaning of home (Section 6.3.1). Moreover, the desire for a Grenadian connection is despite her limited contact with fellow members of the Grenadian diaspora (Section 7.5.1.2). However, she described the difficulties with this endeavour due to the lack of appropriate assistance channels.

"Earlier today I was watching this thing. It was a Jamaican lady and she helps other people in Jamaica. I cannot believe how they are living and how poor they are and they are struggling financially and stuff. I was thinking of donating. I was having a conversation with my mom and she was saying, "Oh there's people in Grenada like that too", but nobody in Grenada does programs like that, where they are helping people who do not have proper housing and stuff like that. Charity work. [.....] When I think about childhood and where I come from and how hard it was sometimes growing up, and how you have it and you can help, I think it is good to help. That kind of motivates me to help."

Susie attempted to ensure that the wider Grenadian community in Grenada thrives as a way of fostering Grenadian connections and showing gratitude for the continuing sense of community belonging she experiences .

"The thing about me is whenever I send stuff [barrels], as small as it is I always send something for the neighbours in my community. I always do that. And [for] the older heads who didn't have many family members to look after them during holiday times. I usually send them an envelope with a little cash." [....] You know it's not everyone in the community but there are a lot of people in the community who were part of my life growing up and even after I travelled and came here they were part of my son's life [back in Grenada], so I mean, you have to appreciate this stuff."

Arthur's provision of gifts to children in Grenada serves as a means to practically navigate the emotional elements of his meaning of home (Section 6.2.2) and separation experience (Section 7.2.2).

"Every year we send down toys for the kids. We send down toys every December or November. This is part of it."

7.3.3 Summary

The parallel, continuous and concurrent communication that happened in close proximity and across borders was a significant source of multi-level information sharing. Whether positive or negative, by involving cross communication between family members and

neighbours in close proximity, and family members and communities at further proximities encouraged multi-level information sharing. This information sharing provided access to additional worldviews and perceptions of others in both locations, thus expanding the worldview and transnational perceptions of the individual family member. Therefore, the overarching geographical context had the potential to introduce balances between the individual perceptions and collective perceptions of home held by family members residing in different geographic locations. The result was potentially variable impacts on the level of support felt, influences on perceptions of the separation experiences, conceptualisations of the meaning of home and even potential remitting behaviours.

7.4 Social transnationalism

7.4.1 Social media

Most of the respondents based inside and outside of Grenada indicated that WhatsApp was the primary means of communication with family members, thus making this the most overwhelmingly significant means of communication. Furthermore, for the respondents, the desire to see their relatives through video, easily keep their family abreast of family developments and have their relatives still feel like they were still in the home despite the changing family circumstances were significant contributing factors to its widespread use among respondents.

7.4.1.1 Family members in Grenada

Michael, Monica, Jacob, Eva and Lindy detailed WhatsApp as their preferred means of social media. The reason for this preferred means of social media was its ability to facilitate both voice and video calls and its low costs.

"Normally both video and phone, like WhatsApp calls, both voice and video." (*Michael*)

"We usually make contact on WhatsApp." (*Monica*)

"Our main form of communication is telephone. We would text each other on WhatsApp [....] so the days for emails, those days are gone long ago. [....] I can recall in the beginning, when she just moved to the [name of country removed] in the 90s, my phone bill used to be high because most of the time you would make long-distance phone calls, but now that technology has become part of our daily lives. It is much cheaper and is much more economical for a lot of people not necessarily just me." (*Jacob*)

"Mainly WhatsApp, video calling or WhatsApp calling or texting. [...] (*Eva*)

"Well, my family, I speak to them mostly daily via WhatsApp of course, the phone mostly. The video calling you know messages, regular calls...that's how I basically contact them, (*Lindy*)

7.4.1.2 Family members outside of Grenada:

Maya, Andrea, Susie and Angelica were examples of family members outside of Grenada who preferred WhatsApp and its voice and video calling capabilities.

"I talk to them on the phone, video chat sometimes occasionally but I kind of miss them but I have not seen them in a very long time." (*Maya*)

"Since we have this WhatsApp we have Messenger which is free I don't have to pay for those." (*Andrea*)

"We do WhatsApp, sometimes video, with WhatsApp or sometimes just a quick phone call [...] it depends on the conversation. If it is something quick, I make a phone call. If you know, it has been a long time you have not seen a person, you do a video chat. So for me, it's not really, which one I prefer. It depends on what I am doing. I do a phone call or a video chat." [...] at least they could see you and you know you see each other. Basically, face to face as best as we possibly can. I mean, it's not like human touch but at least you could see the person, the person could see you." (*Susie*)

"We use WhatsApp most of the time. It makes me feel more comfortable." (*Angelica*)

7.4.2 Travel

Travelling to visit relatives was a significant form of social communication within the transnational space. Half of the respondents based in Grenada, and all of the respondents based outside of Grenada, mentioned this to varying degrees. While some respondents mentioned their appreciation for the fact that they were fortunate to have the resources to visit or accommodate visiting relatives, others mentioned the familial hospitality that accompanies travelling to see relatives and the resulting strengthening of social ties.

Furthermore, while the preferred means of communication was travel, due to the ability to see relatives in person, the financial costs and limitations of travel meant that respondents sparingly used this form of communication. Various combinations of these factors were in the following select family member quotations.

7.4.2.1 Family members in Grenada

Michael stated that even though travel was a welcomed means for him to visit multiple family members who resided outside of Grenada, visa restrictions made this process challenging at times. However, in instances where travel was not possible his video chats with family members acted as a substitute.

> "I have been to [name of country removed] that is where my daughter is and all of my other cousin's that we grew up with. Actually, I went for the visa to [name of country removed] and I did not get it, but I got the one for [name of country removed], but I did not try back for [name of country removed]. That is major hindrance, at least to see them in person because all of my nieces and nephews, some of them I haven't seen in person, we may see in video chat, but I have not actually been there and person to touch them, to actually know them."

Monica had a visa for the country where her sister lived. This made regular travel possible.

"OK, well my experience first of all, I live here, I have a visa, so my experience is that their being over there gives me the opportunity to visit them on a regular basis."

7.4.2.2 Family members outside of Grenada

When Andrea travelled to Grenada, she was able to stay in her own accommodation and enjoyed the freedom of movement afforded to her. She did not have to worry about staying with friends, which she perceived as restrictive.

"I love to go home to Grenada. When I go home, I have a place to stay. I don't want to be living with people I want to do whatever I want in my place."

Susie stated that the ability of her family to visit her, rather than being the only one to visit them, was an important means of sustained communication for her family.

"Well, my family, I'm very fortunate that they could travel. So most of them usually come to visit. It is just a few who haven't been here yet. And you know, they are always welcome in my house as they know everybody is welcome to my house."

7.4.3 The frequency of transnational communication

The nature of social media contact was an important determinant of the frequency of contact. Some families made mention of speaking "often", "regularly" or "frequent" while other family members indicated specific times of daily or weekly. Communication was not for any specific purpose. Instead, communication primarily functioned as a means to allow for regular involvement in each other's lives. There was also inference of belonging to a central family unit, where the central family unit referred to families who, despite geographical distance, made all decisions collectively.

For families that were less frequent communicators, there was acknowledgement of their limited communication without providing information on the specific time lapses between communications. This differed from the frequent communicators who provided exact information about the time lapses between communications without any prompts. Communication occurred for reasons that were more specific or on special occasions.

Most family members inside and outside of Grenada described the importance of frequent communication, as a significant portion of their daily activities. A small number of family members in Grenada and outside of Grenada described instances of periods where there was less frequent communication. They were less frequent because in-person communication was the preferred means of communication instead of social media.

The frequency of family communication, which was a collaborative effort between family members in both geographic locations, took into account factors such as personalities, family circumstances, and preferred means of communication.

Although gender analysis was not the empirical focus of this research, families with males showed lower frequencies of communication. However, these findings carry limited validity because of the higher recruitment of females in comparison to males.

Sections 7.4.3.1, 7.4.3.2, and 7.4.3.3 provide select examples of family experiences with the frequency of transnational communication.

7.4.3.1 Frequent communication by family members in Grenada

Eva described how the recent birth of her first child meant that the frequent social communication ensured that her relative based outside of Grenada could still play an active role in the growth and development of the newest member of the home. Her perceptions of the frequent communication with her family member was also a result of her perceptions of the negative communication experiences of others. These perceptions manifested as her desire to ensure that the same negative experiences do not occur with her communication behaviours.

> "I think that all comes back to why we speak to her so often. She still feels like although she is not here, she is still a part of us, because we still make mention to her sometimes when we are talking. Everybody sits down and talks and we still make mention of her in terms of what is going and so forth. I mean there are a lot of people that left and you know you don't think of them [their family members] in that light. If I should say it like that. You know she is always in the back of your mind, you always know that whenever you think of anything going on in the house, although

you know she is not there physically. [...] When you make a decision, you kind of keep her in mind because she is always in the loop. You know she is always going to have an opinion and all that stuff...She is still included in the family" [....]. I think I have grown accustomed to talking to her voice to voice, but now especially since I have had the baby, I prefer to have the video call, to talk to her by video because she usually has more interaction with the baby now, to keep her abreast of what is going on with the baby. It's just easier for her to see the child growing and doing that stuff."

Michael's close relationship with his sister was the reason for his weekly communication with this family member. The communication provided a source of comfort because it provided him with information about the wellbeinig of his family.

"We are extremely close we communicate on a weekly basis [...] You know sometime you might be missing them so at least you feel good to know that they are ok and everything is fine with them because you want to always ensure that everything is ok with them. At least that is mainly why you keep in touch with them to ensure that everything is OK."

Monica stated that communication was regular to ensure that she was able to stay updated about her family and maintain a close relationship. Her experience was not just based on her individual or familial experience. It also depended on how she perceived the communication behaviours of other families, particularly the instances where other families' experienced limited communication. It was important to her that this did not happen to her family

"Yes well that's right because we keep more abreast on a regular basis, so we keep communication more on a regular basis so maybe that helps because you know it have some people where they only talk to their family once a year, well even if they're good, but I guess frequent communication brings a closer relationship."

Lindy indicated that frequent WhatsApp and video calls were used to keep abreast of family occurrences and cultural events such as Grenadian Carnival or the Caribbean Labour Day celebrations.

"Well, my family, I speak to them mostly daily via WhatsApp of course, the phone mostly. The video calling you know messages, regular calls...that is how I basically contact them [....] I definitely keep her up to date on what is going on. Let's say around Carnival time if I go to events once I have data I will call her or video call her for her to see what's going on, you know try to keep her in it. Then you know she for herself practices our culture over there still. Like cooking our national dishes, making stuff like pudding and stuff. She is a good baker so people over there look forward to eating her pudding. Around labour day that is the time they get to celebrate their nationality."

Nightly communication was Lily's way of staying aware of the occurrences in her sister's life and maintaining their close relationship.

"We speak to each other every night. As I say, we are very close we communicate with each other every night with each other. We have to before we go to bed just to make sure that...just to check up on how your day was, what did you do.... little things like that. So it hasn't really changed."

Frequent communication with her family member had become routine for Brenda. Any changes in communication frequency were treated with concern.

"We talk whenever he has time. So sometimes, he would call me while he is at work or while he is on his way home. You know, we try to talk mostly every day. Sometimes like if he goes three days without calling me then I know something is wrong. I call him, you know."

7.4.3.2 Frequent communication by family members outside of Grenada

For Susie, familial communication occurred mostly on the weekends. However, communication also occurred on weekdays and frequent communication fostered a closer family relationship. Additionally, the frequent communication represented a conscious effort to keep the family intact while avoiding the communication difficulties that other families faced.

"We usually talk at least once a week. I always get in contact with my family, at least on the weekends, sometimes during the week. If something comes up, I'll call and find out, or they will call and tell me, "well you know, this happened". […] But at least once a week we contact each other, at least [....]

Angelica's daily communication with her family meant that the conversations became a daily report of activities and resolution of disputes. This allowed her to remain involved in the decision-making process and cultural activities. It also allowed her family member in Grenada to have first-hand knowledge of her daily home and other experiences while living abroad. The frequent communication provided comfort, strengthened the family bonds, and provided a forum to settle disputes.

"When I speak to my mother every day, sometimes two, three times a day, as well as my daughter, [....] we use WhatsApp most of the time. It makes me feel more comfortable. You know that we can speak every day. We can know what each other's doing every day, that we know one another's whereabouts [...]It makes me feel comfortable, meaning that we don't have to stay days from talking to one another. Right. You know, we can discuss everyday life with one another. So, you know, you feel comfortable knowing what's going on with each other during our communication.[....] I mean, it helps us grow from day to day, like even though we have an argument, you know we can always discuss it and move on."

Leo's daily communication with his family members and the fostering of a loving relationship with his children was an important part of his transnational communication experience.

"Well we speak every day. I've got [number of kids removed] kids and we in communication every day [...] Well, they call me. I call them. We've got a kind of loving relationship in the true sense."

Aria said that daily communication was a necessary way to talk to her immediate family member. Additionally, it was through this daily communication that she remained updated about any family occurrences.

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"Most importantly, we talk every night. She brings me up to date with the rest of the family, down there and what is going on, and when I say family, I am talking about Uncles and Aunts and you know, those who are still living. Yeah. So I keep abreast with those."

7.4.3.3 Less frequent communication among family members

Personality and social media preferences meant that Robert preferred not to use WhatsApp. Telephone calls, although less frequent and arguably more expensive were his preferred means of communicating with this family.

"I am not a very communicative person. I am not the person that would be on WhatsApp. I would not be on WhatsApp sending them something every day. For a couple times in the month, even though I am not on WhatsApp sometimes when I visit my [other relative who lives in close proximity] sometimes they call so we will chat."

Arthur indicated that despite infrequent communication, he maintained a close relationship with his family.

"Well we have a close relationship. Maybe we do not speak as often or as regularly as we should have, but we communicate and we unite. As a matter of fact, [we] would never have any problems in terms of any big arguments. No. Anything that [his family member in Grenada] wants and he calls and if I have it and I could give it, I do."

7.4.4 Summary

WhatsApp and personal travel were the main forms of communication for both family members based in Grenada and family members based outside of Grenada.

Despite similarities in self-assessed frequency, perceptions were subjective and depended on the relationships between family members, the personality traits of the family members and the availability of preferred means of communication. It was also a function of wider

collective notions and based on the individual and familial perceptions of the communication habits of other families who were in similar transnational families.

7.5 Economic transnationalism

Remittances, the primary component of economic transnationalism, played an important role in the transnational experience. For all of the respondents, remittances referred to any combination of financial contributions, clothing, food, and household goods.

The motivation for remittance transfers varied throughout the year for each of the respondents, with respondents indicating that the frequency of the transfer of finances and goods depended on varying needs and special occasions such as birthdays, anniversaries, Christmas, Easter or the Grenada Carnival season among others.

The majority of the family members outside of Grenada used Western Union and MoneyGram to send financial transfers.Additionally, all of the family members who resided outside of Grenada indicated that the sending of other tangible goods such as groceries, decorative household items, clothing and electronics required shipment in cylindrical containers referred to as barrels. However, some indicated that given the costs associated with the transferral of funds, informal means, where the goods were given to a trusted fellow Grenadian returning home, who then passed it along to the relative in Grenada, was an alternative. The use of cost saving initiatives highlighted the adaptable nature of the sending of remittances. and was a feature in the following examples:

The money saved on remitting was the motivation for Susie to capitalise on the transnational travel behaviours, of the Grenadian community in close proximity to her.

> "If you see somebody going home that extra ten or fifteen dollars could do a lot for the person back home. That is how I see it. Instead of going and do Western Union. I put the extra ten or fifteen dollars with that and give it to somebody to bring home."

Angelica also capitalised on the wider Grenadian community in close proximity to her, to lower remitting costs.

"Or if somebody is going home, I could give them the money to bring. ...if at the time of need somebody is going home. I would send it with the person because at least I don't have to pay to send it."

. The remitting process was based on personal and nuanced interpretations of need, linked to individual goals, and the level of satisfaction with personal circumstances.

The following perceptions about the remittance process emerged:

1. Economic support was expressly needed as a supplemental resource
2. Economic support, while not specifically needed, was still welcomed.

7.5.1 Economic support needed

All respondents based inside and outside of Grenada indicated that remittances played a role in the economic functioning of the home. In such circumstances, the relatives based in Grenada dictated the need. However, beyond this generalised acknowledgement of its purpose, half of the family members who lived in Grenada and half of the family members who resided outside of Grenada indicated that the financial support received from remittances played a key role in the daily functioning of their lives. For those family members, need also represented an acknowledgement that despite efforts towards self-sufficiency, currently challenging financial obligations made the economic management of the home difficult.

Furthermore, any fulfilment of need, relied on the agreement and collaboration by all family members in both geographical locations. Therefore, remittances were perceived as a collective family investment, where the acknowledgement and fulfilment of the expressed needs on the Grenadian end was to the advantage of the entire family on both ends of the transnational experience. Each relative was doing their required part to ensure the economic functioning of the home.

7.5.1.1 Expression of need by family members in Grenada

The following descriptions provided examples of expressed need by family members in Grenada.

Economic self-sufficiency was a goal for Eva. However, when progressing to this self-sufficiency, there were times when she needed some financial help from her relative.

> "Yes I need to be self-sufficient and it is something that I am trying to do now that I am getting my own family, but you know there are still months when basically the salary does not meet all of the bills, and you need that little extra help. You know to be honest without her [the aunt who resides outside of Grenada] at the end of the month I might have the juggle the bills or cut back on something, that sort of stuff."

Jacob explained that difficult circumstances meant that even though he did not always need financial assistance, the help sent from his sister was useful to help to supplement any expenses. Additionally, even though there was an appreciation for any financial help in response to his need, he did not expect it or become upset if, for any reason, his sister was not able to remit.

> "It wasn't something that I would depend on. I am fairly self-sufficient but I've fallen on some hard times lately. What she would have sent would have augmented what I had [....] if she sends something I would not necessarily refuse it. I would not necessarily go out of my way and I would expect something there she has to give me something and if she does not send it, I will be upset. No."

Michael's need to juggle multiple economic commitments related to a family home, which all family members benefited from, was the reason for financial assistance from his sister.

> "The assistance with a lot of what needs to be done while I have other commitments, brings an ease in terms of being able to achieve what I need to achieve" [....]"Well, in terms of cash, that is being sent periodically throughout the year, in terms of renovations and things of the extensions of the home. They will send money to help. I play a major role but they will also send money to help because

the home I am living in, it seems more like a family type home. For my immediate family that is the only dwelling place they actually have in Grenada. It becomes a family home in the sense that if anyone wants to come to Grenada that is where they will be".

Employment insecurity meant that providing for all members of Brenda's family was difficult. Therefore, despite her reluctance to ask, she needed financial assistance from her father to help to fund her college education.

"Sometimes I would need [financial assistance] for school [college level courses]. I would not ask but when he [her father] talks to my mother, she is going to tell him I need this. She does not have [resources] to get it at the moment, so he tells me don't bother he's going to get it for me and stuff. He would send the cash and I would just go and get the stuff [....]. My mom is not getting that much pay because obviously she has to take out a loan to pay for school for my sister. So while she is paying that and still trying to take care of her, it's like adding on top of that burden. I don't think I would have coped well without the help."

7.5.1.2 Acknowledgement of need by family members outside of Grenada

Angelica's acknowledgement and mitigation of the needs of her family members in Grenada was a collaborative effort by all family members. Her family members in Grenada guided the process.

"Sometimes for the barrels…. sometimes I will ask them what they need because they know their needs. So I really don't do it by myself we always do it together."

Leo felt responsible for the fulfilment of his daughters and ensuring that she was comfortable. These responsibilities drove his remitting behaviours.

"I mean, you support them by... for example, my daughter, I would send money every two weeks. You know, to keep her afloat, so she could do things, she could travel, buy food."

The strong bond between Olivia and her family meant that there was not only acknowledgement of need, but there was an effort to ensure that she did all she could to remit. This was either in the form of her sending urgently needed money or purchasing the needed items and her family member in Grenada paying her back at a later time.

> " I think we have a bond like if he needs something even though it's the last dollar I have, I will give it to him and vice versa[....] There are times, they might need something, if it's urgently [name removed] would normally send the money or if I buy it she would give me back the money. Like when his kids were graduating he was not working and I bought the clothes but he repaid me."

Maya's acknowledgement of need took on a different form. Rather than send items based on specific need, she sent money on special occasions and allowed her brother used it as he saw fit. Her methods were to facilitate ease of remitting and lowered costs.

> "Barrels I do not send. My mom does but I do not. I send money. I would send money occasionally. I always send for birthdays or holidays like Christmas or something special. Father's Day, Mother's Day. Also, if they needed money for anything [if] they wanted to buy something I wouldn't purchase it here. I would send the money and they will purchase it there. I think it is too much of a hassle to purchase stuff here and then you have to mail it and then pay extra money. I would rather send the money to you and you purchase it. [....] My mom, she goes for four months and six months at a time and she packs barrels and sends when she is going so she has food stuff to use."

7.5.2 Economic support not needed.

According to half of the respondents based in Grenada, and half based outside of Grenada, there was an appreciation for financial support even though there was no need for it. The quantity, frequency and contents of remittances were at the discretion of the sending relative, and its function was to supplement quality of life rather than sustain it. The following quotations describe this.

7.5.2.1 Expression of no need by family members in Grenada

Financial management and self-sufficiency were an important part of Monica's transnational experience. Consistent employment and having a monthly salary meant that she did not depend on remittances from her sister.

> "Maybe if I was not employed, it might have been a little more difficult for me. But as we are working on a daily basis, a monthly basis, it's not really a problem or an issue when it comes to our daily living. [....] I know how to manage myself in the event that I am not getting assistance from anybody else. I could control myself, with what I have and what I get [....] whatever you have, you have to make it do. My mother does always say whatever you have little as it is, be content with it, because you never know exactly where that other meal is coming from. But as long as you make provision for the next meal you know exactly that you have something to eat. You do not really have to depend on persons. [....]"

Remittances had an additive effect for Lindy. Even though she could financially take care of herself, receiving remittances improved her quality of life and allowed her to access additional luxuries.

> "I won't say I desperately need it. It is good to have it. It is a great experience to have it. But I think, you know, things will be fine without it. I think [in Grenada] there's a lot of people that make it work regardless. It is good to have people over there to give you a lot more. The level of living might not be the same without it. But I don't think there is a desperate need for it."

Remittances were not required but appreciated by Robert.

> "I think from the beginning it is not like being totally dependent on, but we appreciate it […] we don't sit back and depend on it […] you may probably get a barrel twice or so for the year, sometimes once. So it is not like every two-three months somebody is sending a barrel that you really need to keep you going...so I don't think it really has that big of an influence on what we do otherwise and how we go forward."

7.5.2.2 Acknowledgement of no need by family members outside of Grenada

Susie mentioned that her family members never requested remittances. Instead, anything she sent was appreciated. In her case, remittances were for gift giving purposes rather than economic sustenance.

> "My family never complains. They never complain about what I send, whatever I send they appreciate."

Arthur detailed that he remits infrequently. It was sometimes the result of his reaching out to ask if his family members needed anything, rather than his family reaching out to him with their needs.

> "Well it depends on the need. [....] I might contact and ask if everything is OK. They may not feel to ask so if I call and say is everything OK. And they might say well no but I didn't want to bother you all or something like that and so on."

7.5.3 Grenadian motivations to remit

Family members indicate that there were both rewarding and challenging aspects to the process of economic transnationalism. The rewarding aspects act as motivations to propel and sustain the routine of the transnational home, even during significant events such as Covid-19. They provide insight into the notion that even though challenges present in a process, they become accepted and are part of the regular transnational routine that needs a sustained and significant threat in order to affect the long-term sustainability or functionality of the home. While not directly affecting the meaning of home, challenges, such as difficulty receiving the "barrels" that contain remittances, offer helpful insight into the "ups and downs" experienced by a transnational family in their everyday lives. These challenges while not significant are exercises in resilience which, is an essential for the making and meaning of home process discussed in Chapter 8.

For all of the family members based in Grenada, the rewarding aspects centred on knowing that there were family members who sufficiently cared for them to send them economic assistance and gifts. Other respondents based in Grenada indicated that rewarding elements

of the process were associated with the fact that the receipt of remittances meant that they were now in a position to share some of their good fortune with others. For the respondents based outside of Grenada, the ability to provide economic support and gifts for their family and knowing that their family appreciated the help was particularly rewarding.

7.5.3.1 The benefits of transnationalism for family members in Grenada

The ability to easily fulfil his economic commitments was a rewarding for Michael.

> "The help assist me in meeting a lot of what needs to be done while I have other commitments, so it brings an ease in terms of being able to achieve what I need to achieve."

Monica's receiving groceries from her sister, although beneficial, was not the only reward.. The ability to share her groceries with less priviledged members of her community played an important role in her positive transnationalism experience.

> "Yeah, well we usually get groceries as well, and then getting groceries sometimes I distribute to family members, not even family members you see neighbours because the thing is keeping the groceries alone sometimes we alone cannot eat all. Secondly, we distribute to some of the family members or persons in the area who were good to us growing up so instead of keeping all to ourselves. We choose to just distribute some to the neighbours so that eventually they could feel happy as well, because not every neighbour is presently employed, they don't really earn a living, they don't really earn a salary so we do assist in the neighbourhood generally."

Receiving items not available in Grenada was a positive experience for Lindy. Additionally, her family member sending items in bulk meant that there were economic savings from not having to make frequent purchases of items.

> "Well it's always enjoyable to receive from abroad when, you know there are a lot of things that you may not be able to get here that you will get over there is easier. Stuff that she may send in bulk, you know, you do not have to buy it for a long period of time so it does help you financially to keep some funds in your pocket. There is

sometimes when she may send a barrel and we do not have to buy any major groceries because we have things from the barrel. That's some of the great things."

The unexpected gifts from her sister brought excitement to Lily's transnationalism experience.

"The most exciting part is maybe there is a surprise in there. I mean, something that they put in there but did not tell me about. So I'm looking forward to getting something that maybe in a conversation I might mention to my sister, not to ask but just a mention and then here it is and then it's like "Aye I did not even remember asking for that and there it is. The excitement of opening it and seeing what's in there for you know…"

7.5.3.2 The benefits of transnationalism for family members outside of Grenada

Maya and Angelica described how the ability to help their family members was a positive experience.

"I feel good that I can help my family if they need it so that is my reward. If I can help, I help...." (*Maya*)

"You know, its knowing that they get what they want or what they need and be happy about it and they use it. And, you know, appreciate it. Just know that you can help, you can send them [remittances] and they get it and they can use it and appreciate it. It makes me happy." (*Angelica*)

Susie and Leo spoke of the desire to help their family members in the backdrop of the financial difficulties in Grenada. It was important that they sent assistance so that their family members could pay their bills and live comfortably. Their awareness of economic and environmental circumstances, gained through communication factored into their experiences.

"As we know, I mean, life in Grenada is hard. A lot of people retire. Their retirement is not...I mean...maybe some of them would but not everybody who lives happily on

their retirement. So my thing is, you may not have much, but whatever you have as small as it is, you appreciate them and you send something for them." (*Susie*)

"You have to support them in whatever way you can. Because remember in Grenada, the value of money and stuff is low. The poverty level is more, I should say. To really support your family in whatever way you can, it is much easier to send them the food stuff, the money, whatever you have here in order for them to survive. I mean, [by being here and remitting] you could afford to send your child to school in Grenada, college in whatever it is. Grenada is still on what you call the minimum wage. It is like you're living from pay check to pay check every day. [....] people get paid once a month, which is kind of hard. You have to survive the whole month without a paycheck. Because for the minimum wage or the little like you are working for, when you get your pay check by the time you have to pay rent, you don't have nothing much to survive. By the time, you pay your bills then you have to buy food for the month. It is going to be too hard. You cannot survive on that. So it makes you feel good that you're out here working and you could support your family back there, by food, by clothes, by education, by any means [....] it makes you feel that way." (*Leo*)

The challenging aspects of the transnationalism experience centred on any difficulties receiving the remittances and the inconveniences associated with sending the remittances. For family members in Grenada, while there were varying degrees of difficulty, the main challenges centred on difficulties clearing and transporting the barrels from the Grenada Port Authority or navigating the long lines at MoneyGram or Western Union. Furthermore, respondents indicated the potential for economic inequality and resulting jealousy and community politics.. The remittance receiving families were exposed to a higher standard of living while the non- remittance receiving families struggled.

For family members outside of Grenada, challenges centred on budgeting remittances into their overall household expenses, taking time to do the shopping, filling and taking the barrels to the shipping company and completing the required documents for the shipment of the barrels to Grenada. Additionally, there was also mention that the processes involved with sending money were challenging and affected the remitting process. According to some family members, these challenges proved more pertinent when navigating employment and

difficult weather conditions during the colder months. The following sections provide detailed accounts of the transnationalism challenges.

7.5.3.3 Challenges of transnationalism for family members in Grenada

Brenda highlighted that the detailed process of receiving money meant that if there were any errors in spelling, this could cause delays in her receiving the money, which was an inconvenience to her.

> "Sometimes I would need it for class [remittances], but sometimes my name is spelled wrong so then I have to do the exam till the following week. So it's like one expense upon the next because obviously I didn't get to do it this week, so I have to wait until the name is spelled correctly to collect it."

Jacob indicated that receiving barrels from the Grenada Ports Authority was time consuming because of the long lines and the detailed processing. However, despite these challenges, he showed optimism that the process was becoming easier in comparison to years passed.

> "The most hassle you would have is going to the port to get it cleared because when you go to the port there are throngs of people, there are long lines and it is a hassle. But the situation now has become a little more fluid because the Government has eased it up, so it is easier to clear a barrel now than a long time ago."

Robert indicated that the process of receiving remittances could be difficult during the busy Christmas season when many families were receiving barrels. The detailed process of clearing the barrels compounded the challenges during the Christmas season.

> "The only challenge for me is sometimes the time of the year. If it is always coming through the busiest times. I don't like the lining up process. If it is Christmas and it is coming within the last two weeks of Christmas then everyone is receiving barrels from wherever, mostly the US and Canada. Based on the clearance system, you have to go to two and three areas, around three lines. If you are there at the time of the day when a lot of people are out then it is almost like my death to go through that. I am kind of familiar with the setting because my job takes me to the port sometimes

periodically. I am familiar with the setting and sometimes with some of the actual faces in there."

7.5.3.4 Challenges of transnationalism for family members outside of Grenada

Maya stated that her other expenses conflicted with how much she is able to remit to her family in Grenada. She also mentioned that the intrusive nature of money transfer protocols deterred her from using certain methods to send money. Finally, she spoke about the time consuming nature of sending barrels, which although the choice of remitting channel for other family members, did not align with her preferred means.

"If it is like a large sum than I may not be able to but if it's a small amount within my budget then yes I am ok. As long as it is within my budget and it is not excessive that I can't afford it then yeah, but it never happened before"

"Well the challenging part is that one time I went to send money and then they asked for ID which they never did in the past but I think it is a recent thing over the past year it depends on the amount of money you send. They also ask questions of where you work and all that, so it is kind of intrusive that is kind of hard. I think it is too intrusive."

Susie described how jealousies and family/community politics proved challenging when deciding whom to remit to and how much each recipient should receive. Additionally, knowing how to remit effectively in order to meet the needs of her family and her community was also challenging.

"Well you see the thing about it now is that people think that, "Oh me and you are friends and you giving this person and you giving that person". Sometimes the person who I give is less fortunate than others, so I prefer to give the less fortunate than people that have because they already have. Why should they have more and then the less fortunate needs some? People will come out and say "me and you are friends, I see you distributing this and distributing that and you don't give me". It is like you can't get all the time, other persons need to get as well. So that is a kind of a challenge in a sense."

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Susie also spoke of the costs associated with sending money. As a result, her preferred means of remitting was to give money to a fellow Grenadian travelling to Grenada, who would then give the money to her relative in Grenada on her behalf. This is achieved through communication, with the Grenadian diaspora in close proximity to her (Section 7.5.1).

> "No, I don't do Western Union. I will probably do a check or cash. You know if you see somebody going home you will give it to them in the envelope and they bring it down. I do not do Western Union. I have been in this country for twenty-four years and I never used Western Union [....] my thinking is Western Union, or whatever. I think it's either ten or fifteen dollars to send the money down".

Olivia spoke of the high cost to send items because of her location. She also spoke of the high costs incurred by her family members in Grenada to clear the items at the port. This experience caused her stress, noticed by her immediate family. However, despite the challenges, she was motivated to send the items because she knew of the high costs of items in Grenada and the inconvenience caused to her family if they were to purchase the items themselves.

> "Where I live it is harder to send stuff because it costs more money. In New York, if you send a container around Christmas time it would cost you maybe sixty-five [US dollars]. Over here it would cost me about [exact amount removed] because I live in the [location removed] area and the people up here they are not honest. The last time I sent remittances [her relative in Grenada] had to pay, to clear the stuff, [exact amount removed] because I sent like two containers" [....] my husband always makes fun of me and says, "Oh you really like to stress yourself, it is a lot of stuff." "Why are you doing that to yourself?" I always tell him, you know like you go to the store and you see toothpaste like buy one get one free. I am going to buy it once I have an extra dollar in my pocket. I am going to buy it because I know [that] to myself it is expensive back home. Because whenever I go anywhere and I see things, I always think about my family. I always do that."

Arthur indicated that shopping for items to remit was difficult when navigating the cold December weather.

"In particular, when we send in November or December because the weather conditions might be treacherous and you have to go out there in the cold, in the snow and sometimes shop. At that point there is no big set of joy."

7.5.4 Summary

As it relates to economic transnationalism, the motivating factors were the acknowledgement and fulfilment of need. The family members in Grenada expressed the need, and the remitting family members outside of Grenada acknowledged and fulfilled the need. However, the processes did not function in isolation. It was an interconnected collaboration with all family members, which at times extended to the wider community. Furthermore, similar to the frequency of communication, the determination of need was self-assessed and was also subjective, factoring in the familial circumstances, social and economic circumstances , the perceptions of need and the remitting behaviours of others. Evidence of this collaborative or collective effort was supported by the detailed accounts, which highlighted that the remitting family member was willing to budget, or physically go out of their way, to ensure that family needs were met. It was also evident by accounts detailing that the receiving family member was determined to ensure that they were as self-sufficient as possible and appreciative of any remittances, irrespective of size.

In all locations, the transnationalism process was both rewarding and challenging. The rewards centred on the potential economic improvements to the lives of Grenadian families, while the challenges centred on the difficulties with the mechanics, social norms and community politics of the process.

7.6 Covid-19 and transnationalism

There were mixed responses to the economic effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. For some family members in Grenada, at the time of interview, the pandemic did not have major changes on the economic effects on their daily lives because there were no changes to their employment status. Others indicated that pandemic related closures and restrictions made it more difficult and time consuming to receive their remittances. Furthermore, some respondents in Grenada indicated a decreased desire to receive remittances. This limited want was to ensure their safety and the safety of their relatives during the sending and

receiving of remittances.

For all respondents based outside of Grenada, despite the pandemic, there remained a desire to send remittances to Grenada. However, the restrictions were a significant challenge to the sending of remittances. Additionally, given that the Covid-19 virus affected Grenada and other countries, such as the United States, at the time of the interview, another unforeseen circumstance was the loss of employment and the resulting financial constraints. This reduced the frequency and quantity of remittances sent.

The Covid-19 pandemic border closures significantly affected the frequency of communication as it relates to in-person travel. Family members inside and outside of Grenada also mentioned that the increased time at home due to quarantine meant that the usual forms of online communication persisted but with additional levels of urgency, and more coversations about the pandemic. The global nature of stay-at-home orders meant that this changing communication trend did not show marked differences based on location. Instead, variations were potentially attributed to differing personalities or specific individual and familial circumstances.

7.6.1 Covid-19 and family members in Grenada

Eva stated that the Covid-19 pandemic did not affect her employment prospects or her family-based meaning of home (Section 6.6). However, even while navigating a separation experience where she missed her family member, there was an acknowledgment that she could not work and, therefore, needed more assistance from her remitting family member.

> "At the rate it is going now I don't think it would impact the amount of help that we may need because now it is not that much of a strain. The only thing is that I work in a hotel and in the hospitality industry for example, the hoteliers close down as of the end of March. So I am not out of work because our department is still basically open. Other workers are home with just a percentage of their salary. Although most banks I think have a moratorium on loans and stuff so you basically don't have to worry about mortgages and loans but basic stuff that we need not being able to have your entire salary. It would be a bit strenuous but for me it has not affected me because I told you I am still working and a few of us in our department are still there.

If I were one of the persons who would have been home, it would have been a really big hit for me. She definitely would have had to help me out. It happened for most of the hotels because we don't have flights coming in and we have no guests."

Michael detailed that because of the Covid-19 pandemic, he had requested a pause in remittances. The pause in remittances ensured that he was not exposed to Covid-19 when attempting to collect money or goods. His request was expressed despite the willingness of his family members to continue to remit despite the pandemic. While affecting his transnational economic processes, the underlying threat of Covid-19 to his health and functioning did not affect his social processes or his meaning of home.

"Actually based on the present situation [quarantine due to Covid- 19] I had asked them not to send anything for me because of the fact of the number of people that is lining up, to receive the cash and I see it as a sort of risk factor. So I'd ask them to hold off on sending anything until we get the line to die down. We have less people going to collect and so forth. I am surviving on what I have available. At the moment I asked them not to send anything. As a matter of fact, they had wanted to send because my birthday was April and normally when it is my birthday, I normally receive cash from them. I asked them not to send [remittances] until this whole thing gets off. They will send it at a later date."

Jacob detailed how the reluctance of businesses to accept cash, citing Covid-19 health and safety precautions, meant that alternative payment methods were required. Even though the limited ability to use cash threatened his transnational functioning, he did not indicate any changes to his meaning of home.

"Well I have not received anything for a while but at the beginning of the shutdown she would have sent me some medical supplies and it wasn't hard because it came via FedEx. There was not a long line and I just went and picked it up to pay the duties and customs. When I went to customs, I went with cash but customs did not want to take cash so I had to provide them with my card. It would have been a situation. That is at the beginning of the pandemic. So imagine if someone did not have a card they would not have been able to clear that stuff."

Robert's communication, or coincidentally his meaning of home, was not affected by the Covid-19 pandemic.

"The communication has not slowed down basically."

Lily had increased concern for her sister who was residing in a country with high rates of Covid-19 related deaths. Therefore, communication had expanded to include the sharing of these concerns with her relative.

"We here at least we...there are like certain things...the sun is out, we can do things, but over there I am concerned for them, because as I say, even close to where my sister lives there is a [name of institution removed] where so many people died. So I was like, "oh, I do not want you to go down that street" You know, like that."

Brenda detailed how the stressors in her life and her relative's new schedule affected the communication frequency. There was no indication of any changes to her idea of home.

"The last time I spoke to him was the day before my cousin's funeral I have not heard from him since [....] Well he told me he is busy [reason for being busy removed to protect privacy], plus his work schedule changed so whereas he used to work in the night it is like he is working during the day."

Lindy's communication patterns with her relative had increased because of the stay-at-home orders during the pandemic. It decreased her capacity for in-person travel but increased verbal communication facilitating an environment whereby her family centred meaning of home can persist.

"We still have communication daily through phones and stuff. The only thing it may hinder in the future would be my visit there because I usually go to visit her every year. Given the situation, I am not able to right now so that is the only thing that has hindered the communication. [...] The physical part it would affect but not the mobile part because right now I don't think it's safe to travel. I would not be doing any of that in a hurry. I wanted to but due to the situation, I cannot. Hopefully, next year I

can [....] well of course when we all were at home the calling or communication might have increased but it did not decrease the communication in anyway."

7.6.2 Covid-19 and family members outside of Grenada

Andrea did not lose her ability to provide for herself and her family because she still had employment during the pandemic.

> "Well for me right now it really does not impact me that much because I still have my job. Thank God I still have my job so it really does not have any impact on me."

Andrea also detailed how the Covid-19 related border closures disrupted her ability to travel to Grenada, an important part of her connection to Grenada. However, while her ability to travel to Grenada decreased, her sustained desire to visit home indicated that her meaning of home did not change.

> [....] I am waiting for this thing to be over with to visit home…"

Susie detailed the difficulty sending remittances due to her limited employment and her other financial commitments. The usual schedule of remittances had decreased.

> "Right now I'm not working because I'm inside and then you still have the bills to pay because even if they say you have a three months grace period at the end of three months you still have to pay it, so it's not worth leaving it to build up...but I mean, not that much. I do not think so. I don't think it's going to be that much but yeah it will, it will in a small way, it will" [....] "Like if you send money three times a year. I should have sent my first set down already and I did not."

The border closures made it difficult for Olivia to ship items to Grenada. The inability to remit brought negative emotions because a significant part of her routine was missing, and her desire to remit remained despite these unforeseen circumstances. Therefore, her meaning and making of home processes persisted despite any disruptions.

> "I think nothing can come through the port. You know, you especially when you go to the grocery and you could buy something. The first thing you think about is ``I

wish I could send that for my family and they will appreciate it because you see a lot of sales."

Angelica's communication and perceptions of the home remained unaffected. She also expressed gratitude that the communication could withstand this unforeseen and challenging global circumstance. However, despite these changes, she also mentioned that her shopping habits in relation to her family's need still existed despite border restrictions.

"Well basically the same thing because we speak almost every day so it's basically the same thing or more. It depends because like recently I was getting things to send home so we speak more often because if I go to the store I go to get whatever they ask for I would call them just to make sure I am getting the right thing and all of that. Sometimes it is a little more often [....]The most important thing is that we are thankful for being alive and we can still communicate as usual even though Covid-19 is there but our communication is not lost."

Aria's concern for her family's and community's well-being in Grenada factored heavily into her experiences during the pandemic. However, the awareness that her relatives and community were coping well helped to alleviate some of her initial concerns. The result is an environment where her Grenadian-centred meaning of home persisted and sustained her emotionally.

"I think about, some of the people, how are they making ends meet? How are they surviving? Just to put food on the table and so on, and so that part was really hard on me when the Covid just started and everything started to close down. My sister assured me that they are doing well. They are doing OK financially. My sister and I we tried to support them as much as we could. Whatever is needed, and so basically that's about it. We try our best to support them and keep abreast of how things are going with them and, you know, stuff like that."

Maya described how the pandemic caused several inconveniences. In keeping with her meaning of home, which values sustained connection to her country of birth, she purchased tickets for her children to travel to Grenada, a trip that was in limbo. The emotional inconvenience of coming to terms with the restrictions and the need for safety after the

excitement of planning a trip also factored into the negative Covid-19 transnationalism experience. The worry shifted to how to recoup some of the travel costs.

> "The funny part is that I just bought tickets for my kids to go to Grenada for summer. They were going to go with my mom for six weeks now I do not know what is going to happen. So that is on standby right now. We are playing it month by month. We are supposed to go in July. [....] Well that is a little upsetting but then safety is first. Their safety is number one so it is just working with the travel agency to see if they are going to give me back… I don't really want the money back I just want a voucher or something or open for the next year or two so whenever they are ready they can use that money to purchase a ticket to go."

7.7 Conclusion

The transnationalism experience for Grenadians comprised of the separation experience followed by intersecting social and transnationalism processes.

The separation experience was highly variable respondents and captured the emotions felt because of the decision of a family member to migrate. However, there was acknowledgement that it would improve their economic opportunities. The separation experience for both sets of family members is also presented as ongoing feelings and emotions that evolved as the transnationalism process progressed. For family members outside of Grenada, the separation experience had additional elements that encompassed the necessary cultural, social and climate adjustments in their host country, and the ways that this adjustment potentially affected the separation experience of their family members who remained in Grenada.

The transnationalism processes that occurred in association with the separation experiences were in line with the navigation of close proximity and geographically distanced social networks. These geographically close and distanced networks comprised of various combinations of family members in both Grenada and outside of Grenada, surrounding communities in both Grenada and outside of Grenada and the Grenadian diaspora that navigated between the two locations.

It was within this context that the social and economic transnationalism processes occurred. Social media and travel facilitated social transnationalism. Social media provided a cheap and accessible way to communicate with family and friends. Travel, although more expensive and arguably less accessible, provided the in-person communication needed to strengthen relationships.The frequency of these forms of communication was self-assessed and varied among families. "Frequent" and "less frequent" communication were the categorisations most used by the Grenadian sample. Irrespective of geographic location, communication allowed family members to remain aware of family news, family events, and keep abreast of community happenings.

The economic transnationalism experience was a reflection of self-assessed need and attitudes about the sending and receiving of remittances. The self-assessed needs were either described as the expression and acknowledgement, by all involved family members, of the need for financial assistance or the acknowledgement that the sending and receiving of remittances, while appreciated, do not affect daily functioning. Where financial assistance was not needed, remittances were perceived as gifts or given to surrounding members of the community in need. The attitudes to the sending and receiving of remittances were both positive and negative. The rewarding elements centred on the strengthening of family bonds and the meeting of familial economic goals. The challenges centred on the time consuming nature of the sending and receiving of remittances and the unspoken family and community politics associated with the process.

Covid-19 affected the remitting, separation experience, and the social and economic transnationalism process. The concern felt about the separation from their family members during the pandemic, and the border restrictions and stay at home orders, resulted in social media and other remote forms of communication filling the resulting communication gaps of in-person travel. Furthermore, border controls and restricted freight channels also greatly reduced the sending and receiving of remittances. The reduced job prospects and the resulting economic challenging faced by the remitting family member affected the quantity and quality of remittances. The family accounts of the transnational process were subjective, evolving and contributed to a deeper understanding of the making of the transnational home discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Analysis of findings

8.1 Introduction

Home is an interconnected construct of individual, social, cultural, political and economic variables, which are contextual, temporal and a function of highly variable interplays between bottom-up decisions and top-down social, political and cultural structures (Peters and Saunders, 1988; Pallasmaa, 1995). Irrespective of the various combinations of the political, social, economic and cultural factors which frame the experience of home for any given individual or family, the process of understanding or identifying home is changeable.

Furthermore, the meaning and making of home is vulnerable to shocks and dependent on the ways that families resist or adapt to globally life-altering circumstances, such as the Covid-19 pandemic. It is also vulnerable to individual, familial or community circumstances such as births, marriages and deaths. The positive and negative life-altering experiences that are embedded within the meaning and (un) making of the home process bring both a degree of practicality and emotionality. Practicality presents as the necessary evaluation of the meaning and making of home to accommodate shifting circumstances. Emotionality presents as the acknowledgement of any feelings that present at any given stage of the meaning and making of the home process, and influence any practical actions.

Consequently, the continuous practical and emotional re-evaluations of home are arguably a part of human existence, irrespective of the varied experiences and phenomena faced by individuals along their life course (Clapham, 2002).

Similarly, the transnational experience is also an interconnected construct with social, cultural, economic and political variables. The changeable and multifaceted transnational experiences are the result of an interplay of bottom-up and top-down social, cultural, economic and political factors, which can affect any individual or family in any given number of unique and highly variable ways (Veredy, 1994; Bradatan, 2010; Mahler, 1998; Itzigsohn et al., 1999; Basch et al. (1994); Levitt, 2001). The social, cultural, economic and political transnational factors are also sensitive to unforeseen positive and negative circumstances that affect individuals, families and communities in varying ways, and

contributes to the range of subjective emotions attached to the transnational process and the range practical actions taken in relation to these emotions.

When combined with the continuous re-evaluations of the home, the multifaceted and highly personal interpretations of the transnational experience result in the development of processes or pathways (Clapham, 2002) which lead to the eventual making of the transnational home and which incorporates the following elements.

First, the transnational process comprises of integrated social and economic experiences, which depend on each other for effective functioning. The social interactions, made possible through social networks, facilitate and drive the economic motivations and processes, which result in remitting behaviours. However, even though their functioning is dependent on each other, the preferred balance between the economic and social transnational processes is highly variable and depends on additional positive and negative familial and societal circumstances.

Second, in support of previous theorisations of the transnational home, for the Grenadians sampled for this research, the meaning of home is complex and highly subjective. The expressed meanings meaning of home are the result of balances between collective interpretations and social norms and the individual interpretations of these norms, combined with the effects of individual experience. The meaning of home is also dependent on the temporal factors, which present as the balance between past and present notions of home in line with the multiple cultural, economic and social influences because of the navigation of multiple geographies consistent with the transnational experience. Consequently, home is both a state of being and a process, where the making of the transnational home is an interaction between the meanings and perceptions of home and social, economic and political transnational processes.

Third, both the family members who remain in the country of origin and the family members who migrated take on multiple roles and make their own contributions. These contributions extend beyond the defined and widely accepted roles of remitter and recipient of remittances. Instead, within any overarching existing social, political and cultural structures, they include more nuanced and shifting bidirectional roles of emotional support,

preservation of traditions, political mobilisation and enforcement of social norms and the preservation of social and cultural identity.

Fourth, the making of the transnational home not easily definable, and its functioning, as both a positive and negative experience, is kept in balance by the range of emotions and practical decisions made throughout the transnational home experience.

These findings are significant because experiences rarely function in isolation, and the circumstances, emotions and decisions made in one area of an individual's or family's life often intersect with other areas of their lives. The acknowledgement of the intersectionality of the meaning of home and transnational experience is necessary to counteract the generalisation of social policy that overlooks the personal interpretations of individual and collective experiences, which in themselves are highly variable and influence decision-making.

Rather than following any particular academic or theoretical framework, this chapter provides additional multidisciplinary discussion of the words and experiences of the Grenadian transnational households.

8.2 The dynamic transnational experience

Without the full appreciation of the wider experiences of the surrounding world - specifically transnationalism - understanding of the making of the transnational home experience will lack depth, realism and adaptability. Within the context of Grenadian transnational families, a key component of the meaning of home is its interaction with economic and social transnationalism.

8.2.1 Social transnationalism

The actions around the social elements of transnationalism for Grenadian families take up a large part of their home life and responsibilities. Findings, as described in Section 7.4, suggest that as a standalone aspect of the transnationalism experience, social media, telephone calls, travel, in-person interactions, and emails facilitate communication. Additionally, the engagement with wider social networks, which span multiple geographical spaces, provides the transnational with an indirect awareness of the environment and
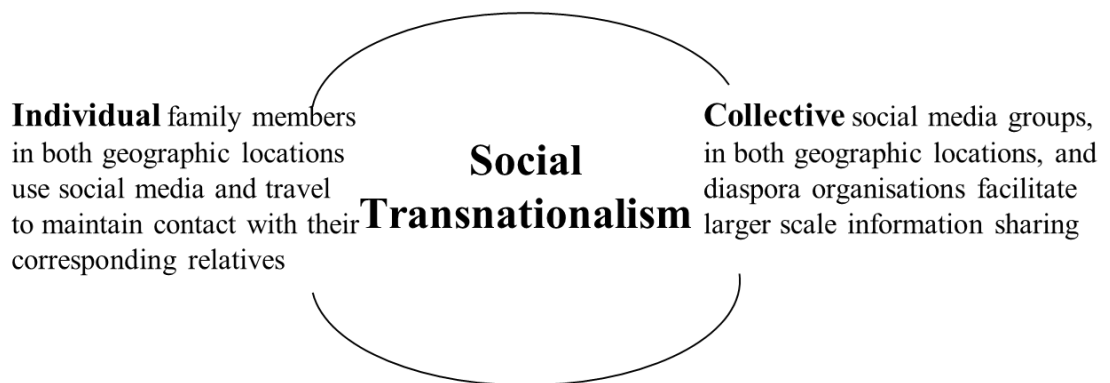
significant occurrences, which take place where their relatives reside. This knowledge provides a deeper understanding of their relatives' experiences, strengthening bonds and the ability for collaboration. Therefore, the findings from this research complement previous theorisations that social networks are a required element of the family and community-centred transnational interaction (Orozco et al., 2005).

The significance of this social element to the transnational cycle lies with the fact that it provides a key source of connections through the fostering of social connections and a sense of belonging with both collective and individual benefits (Portes, 2003; Orozco et al., 2006; Conway, 2007; Bradatan et al., 2010). Additionally, on an individual basis, as highlighted by individual transnational experiences of family members in Section 7.4, social transnationalism provides the reassurances of belonging, love and acceptance, thus fostering a sense of Grenadian and familial-based self-identity. These are foundational to how the individual interprets and navigates the transnational space. They are also in keeping with much of the prevailing transnational literature, highlighting the foundational and central nature of self-identity and belonging to a group in the transnational experience (Bradatan et al., 2010; Tajifel, 1974; Funder, 2001; Vertovec, 2001).

Sharing traditions is vital for ensuring the social and cultural survival of any group with shared history or experiences. (Bradatan et al., 2010; Tajifel, 1974; Funder, 2001; Vertovec, 2001) Therefore, one can deduce that when larger groups of these individuals, in any location, come together to form collective diaspora, community or social media groups, communication is necessary to ensure that these groups remain connected to each other, exchange ideas and share ideas about cultural and social traditions. Evidence of the importance of these groups came in the form of mentions of involvement with the wider Grenadian communities in their respective locations. These findings support research theorising the motivation to engage with transnationalism processes to maintain social standing and strengthen social connections to people and places (Lowell, 2006; Potter, 2005). However, the fact that these depictions of an engagement with transnationalism processes draw from the individual account brings to light the argument that although collectivism is an integral part of communication and identity, despite prevailing cultural and societal expectations, there is potential for variations across individuals and by extension, the families to which they belong (Bradatan et al., 2010; Tajifel, 1974; Funder, 2001; Vertovec, 2001).

Additionally, the discussion by the individual, of the thoughts and perceptions of others brings to the forefront the self-acknowledged balance between their communication actions and the communication environment and avenues provided by the membership to the collective. This process is a seemingly straightforward give and take whereby the individual chooses to make their own decisions or engage in group-mandated actions. However, as the individuals bringing up the behaviours of the collective demonstrates, engagement with both individual and collective environments also serves as an ongoing self-assessment of collective vs individual expectations.

Figure 3 captures this balance.

Individual family members in both geographic locations use social media and travel to maintain contact with their corresponding relatives

Social Transnationalism

Collective social media groups, in both geographic locations, and diaspora organisations facilitate larger scale information sharing

Figure 3: Collective and individual social transnationalism

This mix of individual and collective influence, both spoken and unspoken, occurs in the face of an overarching and unwavering social and cultural expectation to stay connected to their homeland.

One area that shows this balance between the individual and the collective influence is the frequency of communication. Communication is, by its name, a two-way process, thus making its functioning depends on the perceptions, expectations and behaviours of others. Given that the transnational social process relies on discourse, communication as a precursor and driver of transnationalism is, therefore, a perfect example to show the impact of balances.

In support of previous theorisations, discussed in Section 3.2 of Chapter 3, that outline the core and extended aspects of transnationalism, subject to traditions, and patterns of behaviours (Levitt, 2001), the findings of this research suggest that for transnationals, both inside and outside of the country of origin, a vital measure of this self-assessment is the frequency of communication. Frequency is an indicator of the degree to which the social aspects of transnationalism become a part of normal behaviour or tradition. The level of frequency of communication for each transnational family varied. For some, there were higher levels of frequency, while for others; there were lower levels of frequency. For the families included in this research that indicated lower frequencies of communication, the key observable trend was that they occur fortnightly or less. Interestingly, for the families for which there were "lower" levels of communication, there was an expressed need to explain the reasons for their communication levels. This was unlike the families that self-identified as frequent communicators. For some, the lower in-person or distance communication frequency was because of occasional familial disagreements, busy periods in the lives of family members, difficulties with finances, or Covid-19 restrictions that limited travel, making communication difficult. In these instances, the effects were temporary, and communication increased once there was a resolution of these factors. For others, a lower frequency was a normal and accepted pattern of behaviour.

Irrespective of the varying frequencies detailed by households, the underlying motivator for their actions and preferences appeared to be a desire to maintain or elevate collective familial expectations. Moreover, comparisons made by family members of instances of limited communication between other households also point to this familial, individual and collective balance within the culturally motivated wider community collective frameworks, communication and expectations around what "good and acceptable" communication should look like, even while exposed to different cultural expectations of communication outside of Grenada.

Additional contributing factors that provide insight into the mechanics of the collective and individual balances around the social transnationalism process, and expand on previous theorisations of the processes around social transnationalism, were also observed.

First, the social processes and networks involved in transnationalism do not solely produce positive outcomes. The indication of disagreements causing limits in communication and

the need for respondents to explain the reasons for lower self-assessed communication frequency indicates a necessary acknowledgement of the potential areas of negative experiences that deviate from the ideal, largely positive experiences, presented in much of the prevailing transnationalism literature (Forte, 2016; Lowell, 2006; Thomas- Hope, 1999).

Second, it brings to light the notion that the assessment of their own observed patterns of frequency is because of a mix of individual perceptions and the observed patterns of frequency exhibited by others around them, with respondents bringing to the forefront the self-acknowledged balance between individual elements and the collectively influenced elements. This mix of influence occurs in the face of an overarching and unwavering social and cultural expectation to maintain a solid connection to their original homeland, social processes that are contributing factors to varying feelings of self-identity and meaning, a process also widely discussed in other literature (Tajifel, 1974; Turner et al.,1987; Vertovec, 2001). Respondents also mentioned how their communication practices affected themselves and their family members, thus bringing to the forefront their own acknowledged balance between the individual and collective (see Section 7.4.3). Furthermore, there are motivations to stay connected to their original homeland. As empirical evidence from other Caribbean islands shows, this is often nuanced and dependent on whether or not the individual migrant or their wider family, both in the country of origin and the host country, choose to, or can adhere to the cultural expectations of staying in touch (Potter, 2005).

Third, instead of frequency of communication being a reflection of the strength of the familial relationship or life changes, it is either a reflection of the self-described introverted personality traits of one or more family members or a lack of desire of one or more family members to use social media platforms. When there is a lack of desire to use social media platforms, the primary form of communication is the use of telephone calls, which comes at a financial cost to the family. Therefore, the frequency of communication is limited in an effort to reduce household costs. This is another example of communication factors, which extend beyond cultural groupthink presented in much of the Caribbean transnational literature (Conway, 2007; Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Bilecen et al., 2018). Individual personalities and familial responses to these personalities, whether they are positive or negative, can potentially outweigh cultural expectations and explain variations in any self-assessment of communication behaviours (Portes, 2003; Reynolds, 2006; Goulbourne, 2002). They also indicate transnational familial decisions that extend beyond

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solely the migrant perspective showing that there is an incorporation of members of the family in both the host country and the country of origin.

Fourth, even though the reasons for low frequency communication were explained, accepted or justified among families, there is acknowledgement among this sub-group of participants that increases in communication are possible. The acknowledgement of the potential room for improvement, calls into question the overall satisfaction of their levels of communication or their desire for more communication. It also indicates the changeable and potentially idealistic nature of social transnationalism as a journey rather than a destination.

Previous theorisations also suggest a gender component to transnationalism roles and expectations, particularly regarding female responsibility while navigating familial relationships (Ho, 1999; Foner, 2008; Olwig-Fog, 2012; Mills, 2005). A practice in which communication functions to navigate, preserve, and maintain. The findings of this research show similar trends. Respondents, of whom both household members were interviewed, were female, indicating higher levels of self-assessed frequency, with acknowledgement of how this communication responsibility occurs in the context of their other family members. However, accounting for the choice not to recruit based on gender meant there was not enough balance to make conclusions based on gender. It is more feasible to attribute the findings to nuances based on varying ideals of communication.

8.2.2 Economic transnationalism

Similar to the processes of social transnationalism, findings, as described in Section 7.5, suggest that the actions around the economic elements of transnationalism also represent a significant part of the daily lives and decision-making processes of transnational family members.

Economic transnationalism as a standalone experience involves the transfer of goods and money through money transfers or the shipping of barrels. This endeavour involves careful planning, time allocation, and collaborative input from members of the family both in Grenada and outside of Grenada. The careful planning and collaboration ensure efficiency. Additionally, where remittances involve the transfer of lower amounts of money or the sending of items of lower monetary value, informal remitting processes are used. In these

instances, the remitting family member uses the travel of other members of the Grenadian diaspora in close proximity to them, as a cost-effective way to send items. The transnational family member who resides outside of Grenada will purchase items for their family in Grenada, once becoming aware that a fellow Grenadian in their social network is travelling to Grenada. They will then ask this fellow Grenadian migrant to take the items to their family members on their behalf.

So, the mechanics of ensuring the smooth flow of the economic transnational process for any transnational family, also involves the wider community that falls outside of the family unit. It also requires coordinated communication between both the close proximity and geographically distanced social networks of family members in both locations. The absence of any of these required elements results in a delayed and costly process.

8.2.2.1 Economic transnationalism and individually and self-assessed need

Multiple systems are at work. As the experiences of both the family members in Grenada and the family members outside of Grenada suggested, one of the determinants of the remittance process was the self-determination of the economic need of the transnational who resides in Grenada. The self-assessment of need varies for families and centres on the determination of economic goals based on personal choices, familial circumstances; macro-economic employment factors and cultural and social perceptions of need (see Sections 7.5.1and 7.5.2).

The accounts from family members inside and outside of Grenada suggest that while there are similarities in the overarching goal to ensure the economic stability of the family as a unit, there are differences depending on location. Family members who were in Grenada, particularly the ones who experience economic challenges had goals of long-term economic self-sufficiency. The goals of the family members, who reside outside of Grenada, centred on ensuring financial stability while also ensuring that they remained in a position to assist their family members and the wider community. These were generally aspirations, which evoked positive emotions, and served as positive motivations to sustain the remitting process, as detailed in Section 7.5.3.

However, there are downsides worth analysing. Previous theorisations of the transnational process detail economic dependency as a downside of remitting (Itzigsohn, 1995). For some transnational individuals or households in Grenada, the receipt of remittances from their relatives was in response to their expressed needs. This means that their economic decision-making directly links to the economic circumstances of their remitting relative, who often have to make their own economic sacrifices in order to remit. As long as the economic need of the family member or household in Grenada persists, there is a degree of dependence on remittances. Even though these findings also contribute to an understanding of the economic dependency because of remitting, they more importantly, suggest that the issue of dependency is more complex and depends on family circumstances. Where previous theorisations suggest an unwillingness to seek alternative economic resources when receiving remittances (Itzigsohn, 1995), this research suggests that "dependency" on remittances is a means to an end, an avenue to open up other streams of income and their eventual economic self-sufficiency. The dependence is therefore temporary and fluctuates with changing circumstances. Exceptions to this dependency relationship occur in circumstances where remitting is to take care of an elderly relative, a child or an incapacitated family member. Under these circumstances, the cultural and societal obligation to remit in order to take care of more vulnerable family members' means that long-term dependence on remittances is acknowledged and accepted.

For family members outside of Grenada, goals of economic prosperity for themselves, their family in Grenada and their community in Grenada came with sacrifice. The accounts detailed in Section 7.2.2 and Section 7.5.3 describe the sacrifices of living in less preferable areas, navigating harsh weather, eating foods they do not enjoy, being separated from their families, being separated from Grenada, working difficult jobs, or attending to their own needs after those of their family. These findings represent empirical evidence of the negative element of the Grenadian transnational experience, an experience that is underrepresented in the literature in favour of the representations in the context of the obligatory nature of remitting based on economic stability of the remitting family member in comparison to their receiving family member (Forte, 2006).

Further expansion of this concept highlights an economic transnationalism process where the continued self-sufficiency of the family member in Grenada is linked to sacrifices made by family members outside of Grenada. This is another source of conflict underrepresented

in current transnationalism discourse. Even though the family members in this research sample describe remitting as rewarding in Section 7.5.3, the shifting nature of the transnational experience means that corresponding modifications of perspective exists. Subsequently, there is the increased likelihood of shifts in family dynamics, communication and remitting behaviours, all of which affect the transnational lived experience in both positive and negative ways.

8.2.2.2 Economic transnationalism and the collective influence on individual need

Collective trends and expectations also influence the role of self-assessed need, based on the realisations of economic goals. These trends and their resulting expectations are twofold and centre on the influences of the fiscal economic environments in Grenada and outside of Grenada. These collective influences interact with the individual, self-assessed economic goals of transnational family members in both locations and produces a remitting process that is a balance between the individual and the collective. Additionally, there are differences between these balancing experiences for transnational family members based on location.

For family members who live outside of Grenada, the economic goals to ensure their sustained economic stability in order to be able to remit or send gifts to their family is offset by exposure to a more developed economic environment. This developed environment differs from the one they knew prior to migration and the ones still experienced by their family members in Grenada. There is more economic opportunity, and their individual economic goals shift more in line with these economic opportunities and reflect the prevailing economic standards of their host country. However, accounting for the fact the transnational family member is functioning within the backdrops of two geographic locations, these balances between the individual and collective in their host country is further offset by influences from Grenada. The awareness of the economic goals of their family members in Grenada, serves as another collective influence, which can potentially push or pull their own individual economic goals.

Moreover, the individual economic goals of the remitting family members have an influencing nature on the goals of the receiving family member. An awareness of each
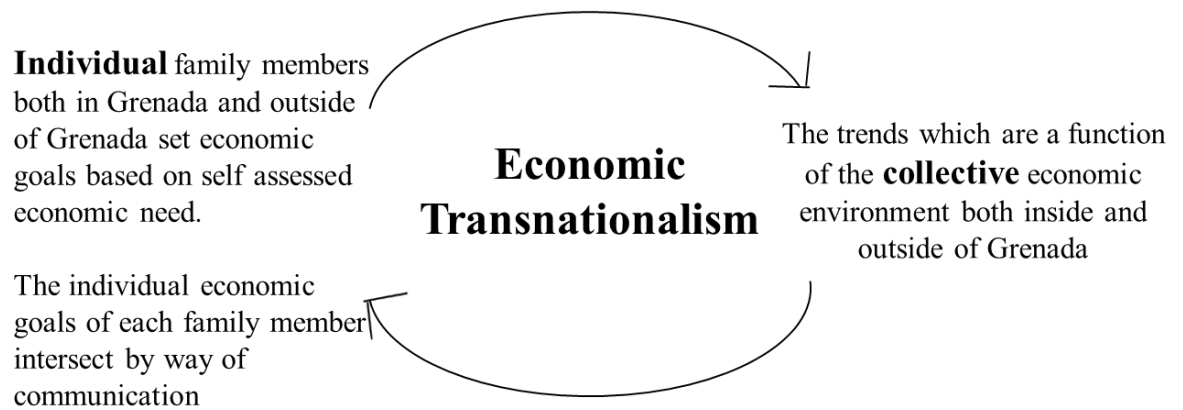
other's goals allows family members to shift their own goals to either accommodate the needs of other family members or ensure that their goals are in unison.

This balance between the individual and collective is represented by family members assessing the Grenadian situation, while exposed to the trends in their host country, and remitting items that they think their family might need or appreciate (see Section 7.5.3). It also manifests as remitting family members sending items that are not in accordance with the trends in their own environment but are in accordance with the environment in which their relative lives.

For family members who reside in Grenada, the individual goals to achieve or maintain self-sufficiency are offset by exposure to a less developed economic environment (see Section 7.5.1 and Section 7.5.2). Because of their consistent exposure to this economic environment, a possible effect is that their individual economic goals fall in line with the available economic opportunities and the wider economic standards of the country.

Like their counterparts outside of Grenada, they also operate based on exposure to multiple geographic locations. Unlike their migrated family member, who experiences direct and sustained exposure to two geographies, for the family member who resides in Grenada, the exposure to the fiscal economic environment outside of Grenada is more removed. It is either through indirect exposure by way of remittances that reflect outside trends, through exposure to news media from both locations or through short-term exposure during travel. Despite the seemingly indirect exposure to the economic expectations outside of Grenada that remittances bring, they play an important role in the meeting of economic need. Therefore, their effect on individual goals is as powerful as direct exposure. Additionally, the economic goals of their remitting family members has an influencing nature on the goals of the receiving family member. An awareness of the goals of each other allows family members to shift their goals to either accommodate for the needs of other family members or shift their goals to ensure that their goals are comparable. The receipt of remittances that are not available in Grenada and not reflective of the economic backdrop of the island is the tangible outcome and representation of these exposures. Although based on economic standards outside of Grenada, these remittances elevate the standard of living and subsequent goals (see Section 7.5.3).

Figure 4 illustrates the balances between the individual self-assessed need and the collective fiscal economic dimensions.

Individual family members both in Grenada and outside of Grenada set economic goals based on self assessed economic need.

Economic Transnationalism

The trends which are a function of the **collective** economic environment both inside and outside of Grenada

The individual economic goals of each family member intersect by way of communication

Figure 4: Individual self-assessed need and collective economic dimensions

Another dimension of the individual and collective balance centres on the collective expectations and attitudes about remitting processes.

As described in Section 7.3, close proximity relationships for family members outside of Grenada are with the Grenadian diaspora, the residents of the host country and other cultural groups that reside in the host country. The close proximity relationships for family members in Grenada are with the wider community of neighbours and friends. The distanced relationships for family members outside of Grenada occur with family members and friends who reside in Grenada. The distanced relationships for family members in Grenada occur with the family members outside of Grenada and any wider interactions with any friends and former neighbours who live outside of Grenada. Social media use, and travel facilitates all of the relationships among family members, as, outlined in Sections 7.4.1, 7.4.2 and 7.4.3.

Each individual involved with any of these geographic networks has their own remitting perspectives based on their individual and familial circumstances, which are generally in line with any prevailing standard of living trends or habits. These habits and living trends may centre on how they spend money or even the behaviours and etiquettes within family structures (described in Sections 7.5, 6. 2 and 6.4). When shared heritage, or shared cultural attitudes to family, gender and age (Ho, 1999; Foner 2008; Itzigsohn and Giorguli Saucedo, 2002; Pessar and Mahler, 2003) factor into the experience, the similarities among

individuals combines to form a collective group influence that feedbacks onto the individual perceptions. Therefore, the exposure to collective influences have the potential to shift individual perceptions about any self-assessed economic goals, and remitting, or communication behaviours. A balancing act between the collective and the individual notions of economic transnationalism now occurs.

For the family member who resides outside of Grenada the influences on the individual economic goals by collective social and cultural norms present as an individual desire to maintain a degree of economic stability in line with the economic trends and expectations of their host country. There is also a balance between their individual economic stability the ways in which it allows them to maintain their culturally expected role as the transnational breadwinner in keeping with social and cultural expectations, as described in Section 7.5.3.2. However, for the migrant family member, balances between the individual and collective may also produce negative outcomes in the form of the social and community politics among receiving family members. A potential shift of their overall economic goals and remitting behaviours to accommodate the collective social environment is the result, as captured in Section 7.5.3.4.

For the family member who lives in Grenada, economic goals drive the collective and individual balances of economic transnationalism. This is because of their familial knowledge of the collective economic opportunities outside of Grenada through remittances and communication. This expansion of economic goals, in itself the result of a balance between the individual and collective, occurs in the backdrop of prevailing Grenadian collective economic expectations and norms, as described in Section 7.5.3.1. Balances between the individual and collective may also produce negative outcomes because of exposure to the higher economic standards outside of Grenada, contributing to the social and economic inequalities among community members, highlighted in Section 7.5.3.3.

The mechanics of these individual and collective balances are captured in Figure 5.

Economic Transnationalism

Individual family members both in Grenada and outside of Grenada set economic goals based on self assessed economic need.

The individual economic goals of each family member intersect by way of communication

The trends which are a function of the **collective** economic environment both inside and outside of Grenada

Shared cultural heritage or shared cultural attitudes to various aspects of the economic transnational process

Figure 5: Individual and collective social transnationalism

These individual and collective balances have a number of potential downsides:

First, expectations evolve, and the degree of balance between individual and collective notions is subject to variability from individual to individual. Despite the findings, showing overwhelming alignment between individual goals and the resulting remittances, the repeated acknowledgement and gratitude for remittances by family members at both locations, indicates that there is awareness of the potential for the opposite. Familial tensions can result from any lack of alignment. When the capabilities of one family member do not fall in line with the expectations of another, potential breakdowns in the remitting process and family relationships arise.

Second, the transnational process is sensitive to changing cultural, social, economic, political and environmental factors. The findings from this research suggest that changing circumstances result in changing perceptions and experiences. Specifically, evidence from Section 7.5.3 supports the notion that in the case of remitting, changing expectations and attitudes to remittances follows the positive exposure to new economic standards. However, in the face of evidence affirming the positive impacts of these expectations, there is still the question of whether increasing expectations fosters an environment of increasing sacrifice, particularly for the remitting family members. In these instances, the remitting family member, who experiences opportunities beyond what are available in their country of origin, wants to ensure that their family members who still reside there also benefit.

Consequently, there is a shift in favour of collective influences, and there is a willingness and eagerness of the remitting family member to assist family members at the expense of

their own economic goals and wellbeing. This argument is in line with existing research that similarly presents evidence of the links between migration and homelessness, in the face of no local support network, limited access to welfare systems and employment opportunities (Pleace, 2010; Aramov, 2002; Hermans et al., 2020). Therefore, rather than a source of collaborative economic improvement, the economic transnationalism process becomes one of resentment, conflict and competing goals.

Third, despite the individual goal making processes that are occurring among each family member, circumstances are important. For some family members, particularly the ones who expressly need remittances, the functionality of the remitting process is highly dependent on whether the sending transnational relative is able to remit funds or purchase and send the goods within the desired timeframe, producing an imbalance in positive or negative lived experiences, across the two geographic locations (see Section. 7.5.1). Furthermore, under circumstances where there is an imbalance in positive and negative lived experience across the geographic locations, there is also the possibility that understanding and respect for the varying economic goals and capabilities of overseas family members might be reduced if the quality, quantity and frequency of remittances is unable to mitigate any negative lived experiences.

Therefore, present and future individual goals, and the positive and negative dimensions of their individual and collective balances, represent significant findings because they provide evidence that all family members play a key role in the development of a unique transnational process that accounts for the circumstances of all family members. They also provide theoretical discourse into the complexity, subjectivity, and multidimensionality of the economic transnationalism process as it exists as a lived experience for transnational family members in all locations.

This is in support of bottom-up theorisations of transnationalism (Mahler, 1998) that describe the importance and centrality of the micro-level circumstances and decisions in the remitting process. By highlighting the importance of the bottom-up approaches that are highly adaptable to any number of circumstances, this research, in favour of presenting a more comprehensive picture of the transnationalism process, moves away from theorisations that discusses remittances based on the fulfilment of an unspoken need from the perspective of the remitting family member. It also moves away from theorisations that

primarily focus on the economic impacts on the economy of the receiving country (Peters and Kamau, 2015; Alleyne et. al., 2008; Kirton, 2005; and Kumar, 2013; Williams, 2018).

8.2.3 Social and economic transnationalism: A connected system

The previous sections of this chapter have discussed the balance between individual and collective influences, separately for social transnational and economic transnationalism. Social transnationalism processes and economic transnationalism processes do not operate in isolation. The communication and strengthening of bonds found with the social transnational elements, and the meeting of economic needs that occurs with the economic transnational elements, intersect with each other and form a system that affects the transnationalism experience for family members.

For the transnational family member who is in Grenada, and the transnational family member who is outside of Grenada, frequent communication strengthens family bonds. However, when it concerns economic transnationalism, the scope of functioning differs slightly. Both the transnational family member who is in Grenada, and the family member, who is outside of Grenada, rely on the use of social media or in-person travel as the means for the expression and acknowledgement of need by family members. The sending and receipt of the required economic assistance to their loved ones follows. Therefore, while the social elements can function in the absence of the economic elements of transnationalism, the economic functioning of transnationalism is dependent on the social communication elements. Figure 6 illustrates the combination of social and economic transnationalism.

For each family, the individual goals become collaborative through social media communication and produce output that drives the transnational process that spans geographies. The drivers have the following classifications.

1)   Remittances are needed and there is frequent communication

For this transnational family, the economic and social elements are highly dependent on the other. The transnational who is based in the country of origin uses social communication as a means of strengthening familial bonds and relaying specific economic needs to the transnational family member who resides outside of the Grenada. From the family member

accounts of the frequency of communication and the economic needs it can be deduced that the high frequency provides greater opportunity for economic needs to be relayed and subsequently met (refer to Sections 7.4.3, 7.5.1 and 7.5.2). This potentially occurs even if situations where the relaying of need was not the main purpose for the communication.

2)   Remittances are needed and there is less frequent communication

For the transnational family that falls under this classification, there is a need, for economic assistance. As it relates to the social elements of the system, even though there is less frequent communication, there is communication nonetheless, which allows for the strengthening of social connections and the familial bond. However, the lowered communication levels mean that the relationship between the social and economic elements, although still dependent on each other, can present in a number of ways:

First, less frequent communication means that there are reduced opportunities for the expression of need. For some Grenadian transnational families, lower communication frequency is because of occasional familial disagreements or busy periods in the lives of family members where communication is not possible. In these instances, it is temporary, and communication increases once there is a resolution of these factors. For others, it is the result of personality or communication preferences. Self-described introverted personality traits of one or more family members or a lack of desire of one or more family members to use social media platforms can be contributing factors. When there is a lack of desire to use social media platforms, the primary form of communication is the use of telephone calls, which comes at a financial cost to the family. Therefore, the frequency of communication is limited in an effort to reduce household costs, which is an accepted pattern of behaviour and not an indicator of the strength of the familial relationship. Communication becomes strategic to ensure that the limited opportunities to discuss need are effectively utilised (see Section 7.4.3.3). To compensate for the lower quantity of correspondence, the length of communication may increase to allow for large amounts of information sharing, which covers a wider spectrum of topics. Findings from this sample suggest that for this group of families, this is the predominant scenario.
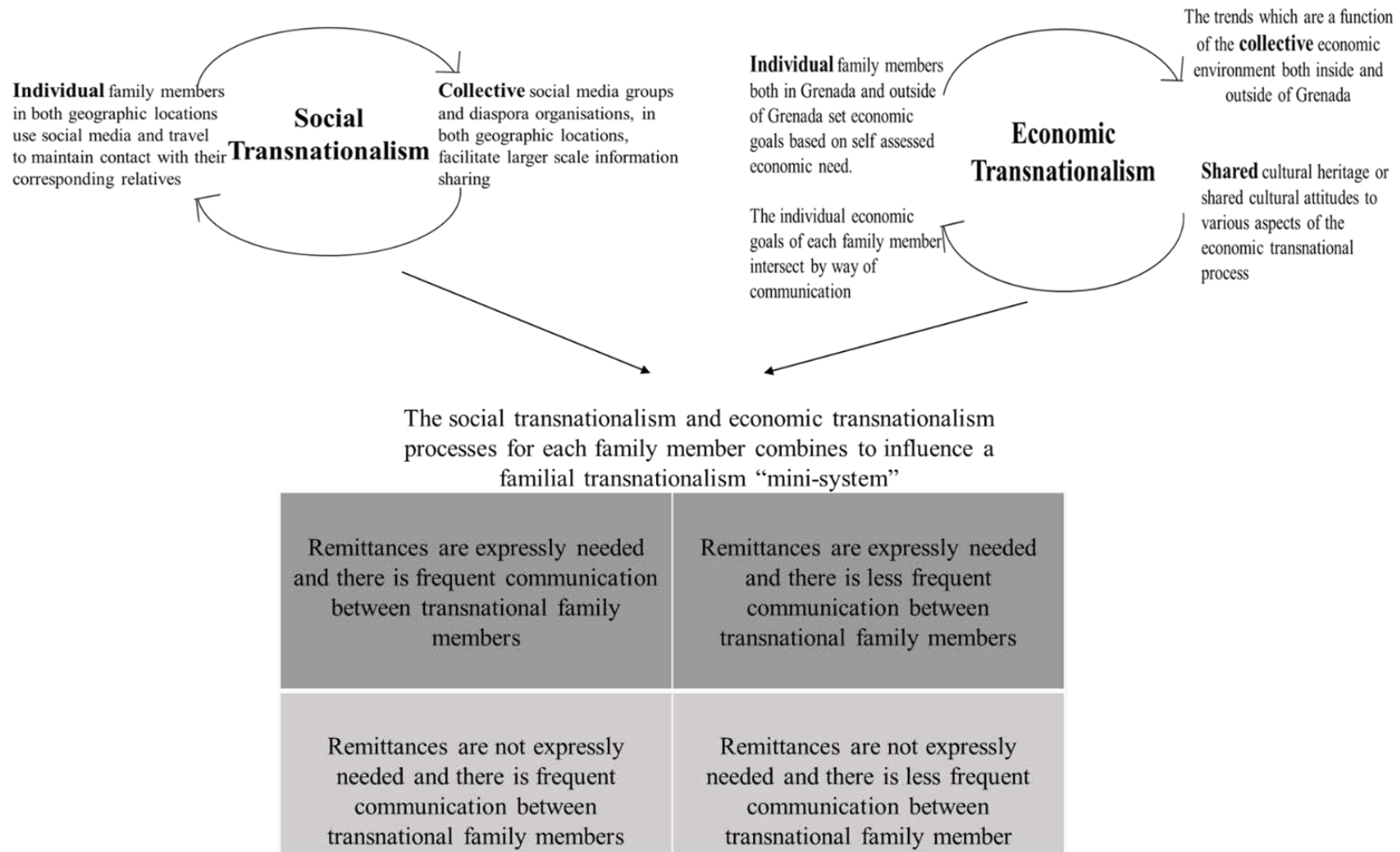
Figure 6: Intersecting social and economic transnationalism

Second, because of lower communication frequencies, social function takes precedence. All communication is reserved for ensuring the social needs of the transnational family are met. Because there is limited discussion of economic matters, a larger portion of the economic responsibility to determine and provide assistance based on any prior knowledge of family preferences falls on the transnational based outside of Grenada. All social and economic needs are still met in this instance, but less collaboratively than in other scenarios.

Third, in a less frequently observed scenario, the lower frequency of communication is because of a reluctance on the part of any number of transnational family members to communicate with each other. Communication is limited, social bonds are strained, and the resulting likelihood of any request for economic assistance, however needful, is significantly reduced. Consequently, the limited interaction can also result in a significant reduction of remitted economic assistance.

3) No need for remittances and there is frequent communication

For the transnational family that fits this classification, communication is central to ensuring that relationships are strengthened, culture is preserved, and traditions are upheld. Additionally, for this family, there is a degree of financial security for both the family member who has migrated and the family member in Grenada. As a result, there is a perception by both family members of economic self-sufficiency. This limited need, however, does not indicate the complete absence of the economic transfer. The sending of gifts still has a place in their transnationalism process. Gifts, in the form of money and goods, are sent on special occasions such as birthdays, Easter, Christmas or during the Grenada carnival season. However, gift giving is a two-way endeavour. On occasion, the family members who reside in Grenada send culturally specific gifts to the family members outside of Grenada. These gifts allow the transnational family members outside of Grenada to experience the culture and traditions of Grenada, even if they are geographically far away.

4) No need for remittances and there is less frequent communication.

This category of transnational family is both financially stable and socially independent. The nature of the familial relationship, because of a degree of independence of the family members, either stays strong or deteriorates. In the instances where there is a sustained social

relationship, the favourable memories of their family compensate for any perceived gaps in communication. However, in instances where there is a deteriorated relationship, traumatic memories of the homeland drive the feelings of separation from their transnational relatives and the wider Grenadian community (see Section 7.2).

As a result, the social and economic components interact with each other in the following ways:

1) There is a complete intersection of social and economic processes. In this case, the communication only occurs when there is receipt of a gift and vice versa.

2) There is limited intersection of the economic and social elements. Infrequent communication happens without any economic transfers. Additionally, even though there was some level of communication for all family members, the changeable nature of relationships, motivations, choices and circumstances means that there is also the possibility that economic transfers can occur without any communication.

In all potential scenarios, economic gifts and transfers are at the discretion of the sender. Additionally, any communication fulfils the purpose of ensuring that familial bonds are not completely broken. They are also for fulfilling any social or cultural obligations of the family and the wider community.

Even though this is arguably the most detached of the transnational systems, it is subject to changes with changing circumstances and life events. Examples of such events include the concern and desire to reconnect with loved ones during the Covid-19 pandemic and any losses to economic stability at the personal, familial, community, country and international levels. Other significant life events such as births, ill health, deaths and marriages also act as significant factors, which precipitate changes to either the social or the economic drivers of this particular category.

It is important to note that these are the functional drivers of the transnationalism system and only outline the environments under which the action of remitting can potentially occur. The action of remitting, although often in response to need and communication, is not solely in response to these drivers. Instead, negative unforeseen circumstances such as Covid-19

and any wider economic and environmental factors outside the household's control play a role in how remitting behaviours manifest, as described in Sections (7.5.3.3), (7.5.3.4) and (7.6).

The lived human experience of transnationalism, and its multiple aspects, can be thought of as part of an overarching system of existence. The component parts have functionality and significance on their own, but together they interact with each other to explain the comprehensive story. These findings present an integrated transnational system of processes that depend on influences from a mix of collective structures, patterns of behaviour and existing social and economic circumstances discussed in previous theorisations (Levitt, 2001; Veredy, 1994; Itzigsohn, 1999). This comprehensive description of the transnationalism system is an extension of conceptualisations, which frame transnationalism within a segmented, defined and specified context (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999).

There are, however, a number of key assumptions, which affect the potential representations of this transnational system.

First, most of the scenarios discussed above are based on the assumption that the migrating transitional, once they have left Grenada, becomes the most financially stable, taking on the economic support, in contrast to the receiving role of their counterparts who remain in Grenada. This is the case for this sample used for this research and much of the existing transnationalism literature described in Chapters 2 and 3. However, there are also instances where, although not mentioned in the confines of this research, the migrating individual faces social and economic challenges in their host country (Pleace, 2010). In the absence of access to social and economic welfare, their economic and social situations deteriorate, thus greatly diminishing their ability to remit (Pleace, 2010; Aramov, 2002; Hermans et al., 2020). In such occurrences, there is potential for the system of social and economic transnationalism to shift in the opposite direction and produce effects that may not necessarily mirror any former processes.

Second, there is the assumption that the systematic transnational processes predominantly follow and function within the backdrop of influences from Grenadian cultural and social norms. While the findings among family members suggest this wider functioning, there is the potential that alternative cultural influences can also play a predominant role in the

functioning of transnational processes (see Sections 6.2, 6.3 and 7.2). This potential alternative influence arises because one family member is embedded in a different host culture and has sustained exposure to other perceptions. Additionally, there is scope for greater incorporation of the varying impacts of different degrees of migrant assimilation and resilience of cultural identity (Bradatan et al., 2010; Funder, 2001; and Vertovec, 2001).

8.3 The meaning of home

The meaning of home with its cultural, social, and physical elements is a key part of the human experience. As such, it is a complex concept for which there are multiple interpretations and no clear definitions, making the concept of home highly debatable and the subject of ongoing academic discourse (Gurney, 2019; Lancione, 2019; Mallett, 2004; Meers, 2021; Somerville, 1997). As previously discussed in Chapter 4, one such area of discourse pertains to the concepts of home, house, dwelling and habitus. It is assumed that their meanings are similar and their use interchangeable. Consequently, there is a shift between the more physical and social iterations of the concept, irrespective of whether it is truly fitting for the context in which it is applied (Coolen and Meesters, 2012; Pallasmaa, 1995; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Fog-Olwig, 2007). This practice is potentially misleading because even though their meanings fall within a generally similar framework, there are slight nuances and variations that suggest differences in meaning. By using the terms interchangeably across contexts, there is a risk of ambiguity and over generalisation. Without specific context and enquiry into the deeper meaning of expressed words, a meaning of home, which should capture the specific cultural and social context of the phenomena under investigation, relies on the interpretation and social and cultural perceptions of the observer. The meanings of home are highly nuanced and deeply personal to the individual. Chapter 6 provides thematically highlighted detailed excerpts of the home's meanings directly as perceived by Grenadian transnational individuals and households. Overclassification of the specific definitions of home risks oversight of the contextual meanings of the home, which capture the nuances of participants from the Global South yet need to be more represented in housing/home literature and debates.

Accounting for the limited research on the experiences around the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnational families, generalisations or comparisons based on the

experiences of different populations needs to be revised. It risks devaluing and deprioritising the experiences of the specific subset in question.

Instead, an analytical summary of the meaning of home findings from Chapter 6 and their analysis in the context of their support for existing literature are below.

The findings from this research suggest that within a transnational context, interchangeable classifications and definitions also exist. When functioning within a transnational context, the multiple geographies means that there are contextual differences based on location. Consequently, there is the potential that meanings of home are applied differently in line with the contextual differences. Additionally, within a transnational space, and the navigation between the origin country and the host country, the meaning of home shifts to incorporate meanings that account for various emotional connections to the country of origin and the host country. However, in existing fictional and non-fictional Caribbean literature, it is implicit that most of these elements of the meaning of home are presented from the perspective of the migrant who has left their country of origin (Kincaid, 1990; Dandicat, 1996; Phillips, 2018; Olwig, 2007). There is limited attention given to the meanings of home from the perspective of the family who remains in the country of origin and the similarities and differences between these meanings and the migrant's perceptions of home.

While existing theorisations highlight the centrality of family relationships to the meaning of home (Depres, 1991; Dovey, 1985; Gurney, 1996), much of the theorisations occur within a primarily Global North geographic scope. This research, by categorising the various meanings of home based on the location of various family members (see Chapter 6), expands on these existing theorisations by providing empirical evidence that there are processes involved in the development of the meaning of home that involves multiple family members.

Additionally, the inclusion of detailed excerpts of multiple familial and individual perspectives throughout Chapter 6 provides evidence that the meaning of home is a mix of personal values, identities, current circumstances, individual interpretations and the interpretations of others—this, instead of being static and bound within the contexts of highly categorical and overarching definitions. By incorporating the meaning of home held by individuals on both ends of the transnational family, rather than placing emphasis on the perceptions of the migrating transnational, there is an acknowledgement of the significance

of both ends of a transnational process. Consequently, there are similarities and differences in meanings, which exist between different transnational families and the individual family members in the country of origin and the host country.

For Grenadian family members who reside in Grenada and family members who reside outside of Grenada, home is a reflection of the bonds among the members of the family unit and the external relationships between its members and the wider community, as described in (Sections 6.4 and 6.6). There are interactions, hierarchies, and personal dynamics at play.

There is also constancy, security, routine and comfort derived from the home, where social practices are central. Family and friends, and the ontological security, expectations and emotions derived from them, hold a prominent place in their lives. Without these relationships, there is no home or a risk of the destruction of any existing notion of home. These findings contribute to existing theorisations of the home as an ontological, situational, experiential, encompassing and dynamic process (Dovey, 1985; Gurney, 1996; Padget, 2007; Saunders, 1989; Hiscock, 2001; Easthorpe, 2014).

Furthermore, for some family members in both locations, the meaning of home reflects the emotional bonds to Grenada as the place where the ability to interact with Grenadian people and the natural environment foster feelings of belonging and appreciation, (as described in Sections 6.2 and 6.3). The artefacts and behaviours, which are unique to, and representative of this particular location, such as how families operate and the respect for communities, are key elements of the perceived home. Even though there is the argument that among individuals, families, and communities, there are varying and subjective expressions or perceptions (Clapham, 2002; Clapham, 2005), this research, in support of theorisations that outline the power of societal influence (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000), finds that there is a palpable overarching influence of Grenadian culture in the meanings of a home expressed. It is an underlying thematic presence in the meaning of home. In the context of home, it serves as a means of self-identifying and territorial membership (Depres, 1991; Porteous, 1976) that collectively contributes to the unifying and unique Grenadian experience for Grenadians who reside both inside and outside of Grenada. Therefore, due to its prominence in the life of an individual or household, it factors significantly into the transnational meaning of home. This supports and expands previous transnational theorisations of home that theorise the self-identity derived from the notion of a homeland.

For family members, home is also physical (refer to Section 6.5). It is a measure of economic standing; provides a blueprint of the acceptable and nurturing family. A key part of the physical elements of home centres on ensuring that the home is both internally and externally sound. Structurally, this incorporates physical artefacts and possessions, beautifying the home. Emotionally, the physical elements, potentially having a cultural basis, serve as tangible representations of Grenadian comfort and nostalgia. The findings from this research, therefore, through the specifically Grenadian meaning of home, support previous conceptualisations that place an essential function of the physical structure and the embedded emotional, sometimes cultural responses to the physical elements that surround the individuals within the household (Rybczynski, 1986; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Clapham, 2002; Clapham, 2005; Saunders and Williams, 1988).

Therefore, one can conclude that despite the geographic separation classic to the separation experience, as described in Section 7.2, Home is physical. Home is structural. Home is comfortable. Home is patriotic. Home is social. Home is unity. In essence, home is contextual and dependent on circumstance and environment, while remaining a source of consistent and enduring feelings of belonging.

Whether the meanings of home centre on home as culturally representative of Grenada, home as a physical structure, or home as the socially constructed family, there are complexities that extend beyond these definitions of home and incorporates additional underlying processes that play a role in its conceptualisation. The home, separated across multiple geographical locations, is exposed to different internal and external influences. The perceptions, experiences and meanings of home are subject to inconsistencies and divergences. The idea of home is also under constant pressure due to different cultural social and physical influences across the different geographical locations. Therefore, much of the experience around home for the transnational individual or household is the constant balancing of the dualistic or competing ideas of home to achieve a preferred sense of equilibrium.

In the face of the argument for presenting the definitions of the meaning of home, there is scope for a deeper analysis of the meanings of the home given by the Grenadian transnational families. A deeper context lingers beneath the surface of the anecdotal and generalised meanings. It draws from both the direct and definitional meanings of home. The

transnational experience is an example of the richness of the Grenadian experience and demonstrates the considerations that go into developing their understanding of home. As with the subjectivity of any facet of human experience, these considerations and mechanisms may or may not be widely generalisable. However, they are a critical step in understanding the all-too-important circumstances they present for this sample.

The following section discusses these competing individual and collective mechanisms and considerations of home, the temporal shifts in the conceptualisations of home, and the drivers contributing to both. It then discusses how the cultural, social, environmental and economic experiences intersect with these shifting perceptions in the pursuit of a balanced meaning and representation of home.

8.3.1 Individual and collective meanings of home

The experience of developing a meaning of home is a function of the perceptions of the individual, and the perceptions of the community of people that surround the individual. In keeping with previously discussed existing literature, that theorises the unifying role of transnational belonging and cultural identity (Bradatan et al., 2010; Funder, 2001; Vertovec, 2001), one can therefore conclude that this type of influence on any individual perceptions is strongest when derived from the opinions or experiences of the people closest to the individual. However, given that individuals and groups function with and develop a home in the context of their environments (Dovey, 1985), these relationships arguably function in line with any prevailing psychosocial, social, geographic and cultural environments (Gurney, 1996; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Massey, 1992; Massey, 2001; Massey, 2005; Depres, 1991; Pallasmaa, 1995).

Therefore, the Grenadian transnational individuals, who communicate with their transnational family members and communities through social media and remitting (Section 7.8), have a perception of home, which is a mix of their perceptions, the experiences of their family members and friends and existing cultural and social behavioural norms inside and outside of Grenada, thus adding a specifically Grenadian and multi-geographical dimension to the ideas expressed in previous theorisations (Gurney, 1996; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Massey, 1992; Massey, 2001; Massey, 2005; Depres, 1991).

The result is a meaning of home, which presents varying degrees of balance between their entirely individual perception of home, based on an individual's processing, observation, and perceptions of their wider family, community and natural environment. The collective influences present the expectations, behaviours and cultural traditions that operate externally from the individual, whether other individuals or groups.

Figure 7 illustrates this balance.

Figure 7: The balance between the individual and collective meaning of home

For transnational family members for which the meaning of home was primarily social, this multidimensional construction and reconstruction of the home is an ongoing process of seeking balance. Many interviewees highlighted that their perceptions of the home centred on upholding a standard held by their family members or the Grenadian communities (Sections 6.2 and 6.4). There are also instances where individuals describe their meaning of home and how their meaning of home fits with the meanings of home held by their family members or loved ones (Section 6.4). Therefore, external influence (or the collective) is a vital part of the perception of the home. These points to the influence of others on how the meaning of home is developed and expressed.

Additionally, many of the individuals interviewed held definitions of the home, which primarily focused on the significant role of the family. There are also definitions of home, which describe the home as an important and necessary place for sharing Grenadian culture and traditional values between generations. Given that none of the families/households interviewed is directly involved in the lives of other interviewed families, the strong similarities in fundamental conceptualisations of the meaning of home suggest that wider

accepted societal and cultural factors influence the individual's definition or meaning of home. The findings of cultural and societal factors support conceptualisations that stress the importance of the individual's role within societal structures (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000). These similar meanings of home across Grenadian families suggest that collective balances occur within transnational families. It also suggests that the influences of wider Grenadian social and cultural constructs that promote the family as central to the home are at play.

To demonstrate this argument, one can use the example of Aria, outside of Grenada, whose meaning of home, although arguably individual, heavily depends on other family members, which is a collective or external influence. Therefore, in this instance, the collective has a more "overpowering" influence:

"Home to me is associated with my family back there [Grenada] because at the end of the day family is everything. In all family there are difficult ones, but it does not matter, the good ones the difficult one it does not really matter at the end of the day it's still family." (Aria)

Additionally, even though the direct influences of the family and the indirect influences of cultural and societal norms significantly impact the meaning and perceptions of home, there is further variation and dissonance in perceptions. The presence of these influences supports theorisations that stress that personal understanding of what home means, outside of any collective/community/societal similarities, is an important way for the individual to navigate their interpretations of home as a part of their own experience (Clapham, 2005).

The meanings of home within a Grenadian context were both societal/cultural and individual; one can therefore conclude that the meaning of home is not a debate between the primary role of individual influence or societal influence. It is instead a changeable phenomenon, dependent on any range of circumstances, which may lean towards both the individual and the societal. The degree to which individual and personal understandings compete with their family or community understanding is not easily measured or generalisable. It is instead in flux, depending on which of those two elements plays a more critical role in their lives at any given time.

An example is Andrea, who resides outside Grenada, and Eva, her relative in Grenada. Their meanings of home, although both influenced by a collective influence, reflect their own experiences separate from each other. Andrea is away from the Grenadian environment and desires to experience it again. Therefore, Andrea's meaning of home is more a reflection of the collective wider Grenadian environment. Eva's meaning is contextual and covers her changing circumstances.

"I don't get to go to the beach […] when I go home the first thing I have to do is go on the beach because this makes me so happy being on the beach. It's relaxing, the saltwater, looking at the waves, the quietness I don't have to think about working when I go home." (Andrea)

"To me...well it depends on what context I hear the word home in. If I'm speaking to you, home would be Grenada but if I'm speaking to somebody here [Grenada]...Home would be you know where I live, it's basically where my family is at. So for example when I am at work. When I say home. I mean at my Mom's because that is where I am from, basically that is where all of my mail goes, that is my address, that is where I refer to as home, that is where I am from. So I would say in [location removed] but I am from [location removed] because that is where I am from, that is home. That is where I would say my home is because that is basically where my family is although I have my own [family] here" (*Eva*)

For the family members whose meaning of home centres on physical priorities (Section 6.5), this balance still presents but to an arguably lesser degree. Examples from this research indicate balance still occurs because, for the families where the physical was important, remittances play an important role in achieving the physical objects required to evoke the emotional connections and meaning to the physical.

This additional economic dimension presents when the remitting family member transfers goods that reflect prevailing economic trends and norms, thereby exposing their family members in Grenada to these trends. The perception of economic circumstances and the communication that results in the transfer of these goods is a collective effort. As a result, an improved standard of living, modelled on the cultural and economic norms of the host country, causes a shift in economic and cultural expectations in the country of origin. This

benefit of remitting exists in much of the Caribbean transnational literature (Connell and Conway, 2000; Lim and Simmons, 2015; Nurse, 2004).

The research findings go a step further and incorporate the meaning of home into this argument, particularly as it relates to balances between the individual and collective. This relationship is of particular significance in instances where the meaning of home for the family member, either in Grenada or outside of Grenada, is economic.

Driven by communication, the meaning of home that an individual develops is influenced by the meaning of the home of other family members, prevailing economic standards and remitting behaviours. The collective influence of the perceptions of home from other families, economic standards, remitting processes and behaviours and the meaning of home of others individuals or groups balances with the individual notions of the transnational process and home. The findings from this research suggest that the meaning of home and any resulting actions to achieve this is in keeping with Caribbean aesthetics and remittances, which are collective and societal influence. However, in a step away from the notion of ontological security in the context of rental versus home ownership (Gurney, 1995; Gurney 1999a; Gurney, 1999b; Saunders, 1989), in the Grenadian transnational context, there is also routine and constancy but it is irrespective of housing tenure and more so because of the regular communication and remittances that occur across geographies.

In her descriptions of her ideal space, Brenda provides insight into the role her individual expression plays despite any external collective influences.

"For me, it's like a safe place, because even if I travel I would come back here because everyone inside the house, that's who I grew up with, that's who I know, that's who I'm comfortable around…. *(Brenda)*

I mean, that is just for me, that is how I view it, my comfort place. My comfort place has Wi-Fi, my bed, my teddy bear, my pink surroundings. Sometimes I have my pink invasion. That is what I call the theme of my room. So I would basically pink up the room, the room is already painted in pink, so I would have my bed matching in pink, my towel pink, my covers pink, my[mosquito] net is pink, my curtains, so I have my pink mood . I have everything that I love around me." (*Brenda*)

An interlinked relationship exists between the physical space and the physical processes and actions taken to improve, maintain or model the dwellings towards an ideal (Heywood, 2005; Lovatt, 2018). There are also deeper, often conflicting, contextual, environmental, emotional and social processes that also factor into the home (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Easthorpe, 2014; Cristoforetti et al., 2011; Heywood, 2005; Lovatt, 2018; Rolfe et al., 2018; McNamara and Connell, 2007; Dovey, 1985).

It should also be noted that whereas these findings showed a shift towards the positive, there is potential for an alternative scenario. Even though access to more significant economic resources is a relevant part of the shifts in individual perceptions of home, the lack of access to such resources can result in similar shifts in individual perceptions. In this case, the change in perception, whether positive, negative, more social or less physical, arises through second-hand observation of the economic success of others or the general awareness of economic expectations or standards of the environment in which they live. Consequently, the awareness of economic standards translates to an economic ideal that remains in the background, becoming a more significant part of the perception of home as the transnational individual or household gains access to economic resources. In these instances, findings such as this would be more in line with the meaning of home literature that addresses potential circumstances affecting the home circumstances of deprived, vulnerable or oppressed individuals or groups (Gurney, 1999a; Heywood, 2003; Somerville, 1992)

Irrespective of whether the meaning of home centres on the social or physical or as the result of economics or communication, the collective versus individual influences on the meaning of home are factors of sustained influence through membership. Through this process, there is the sharing of ideas and perceptions from which meanings, emotions, self-identity and routine around the home are derived, internalised or rejected (Depres, 1991; Tajifel, 1974; Vertovec, 2001; Moore, 2000; Dovey, 1985; Saunders and Williams, 1998).

The preceding discussion points to "personal vs family/community balance". However, the transnational experience goes deeper and must factor into the discussion and analysis of the geographic influences and their impacts on the assimilation of migrants and their family members who reside in the country of origin. Under these circumstances, the influences of the communities in which they reside in their host country become key factors in the individual and community perceptions of home.

8.3.2 Geography, assimilation and the meaning of home

The meaning of home is also a function of one's geographic location and assimilation factors. For the specific Grenadian families interviewed, the social transnationalism processes described in Section 8.2.1 of this chapter pre-empt the development of the meaning of home along these geographic lines. For the migrant individual or family, the introduction of a new geographical location brings additional community and societal influence from the residents of the host country. Through communication, shared experiences occur among members of these evolving communities and meanings of home developed.

 If the migrant primarily lives and works among fellow immigrants from similar social and cultural backgrounds, as was the case for some of the migrants who resided outside of Grenada, evidenced by their description of social activities with other Grenadians nearby, their social and cultural environment becomes an extension of their country of origin, with one significant difference being the different geographic backdrop.

Therefore, in this context, the social and cultural backdrop of the host country, while an essential element with arguably significant potential influence, may not influence the migrant in the ways it would have without this reinforcing influence of the social and cultural practices of their country of origin.

Alternatively, for the migrant who primarily interacts with the social and cultural groups of the host country, the meaning of home may shift to reflect the meaning of home within that society. However, the prominent social and cultural influences of the origin country often override the host country's increased social and cultural prominence. As this research suggests, from the Grenadian perspective, migrant views of home are more likely to be shaped by Grenadian memories, the Grenadian environment, familial and social ties (including remitting) and societal norms. If the migrant interacts with social and cultural groups from both the country of origin and the country of residence, the prominent collective influences on him/her come from both locations.

However, multiple locations and groups of people shape the transnational and, consequently, the development of the meaning of home. By way of the communication

between the family members in Grenada and their loved ones who reside outside of Grenada, there is the sharing of experiences, including the ones that occur within an overseas backdrop. The result is a keen awareness of each other's perceptions of the meanings of home, which potentially influence their own, with each family member representing the "collective" of the other.

In the wider Grenadian community, the prevailing societal and cultural perceptions of the home also factor into the balance. The migrant knows their prior experiences living in Grenada. Social media communication with individuals who are part of the diaspora outside of Grenada and the wider Grenadian communities outside of Grenada provides a channel for this influence, as highlighted by families in Section 7.3. These additional collective influences compete with the collective influence of their family member outside of Grenada and interact with individual perceptions to produce a meaning of home that reflects their individual experiences or shared experiences.

These varying circumstances and societal and cultural interactions potentially produce varying balances between the individual and collective perceptions of home, which factor in the development of meanings of home that account for:

1) an entirely new representation of home that incorporates the collective social and cultural influences from Grenada and social and cultural influences outside of Grenada.

2) an individual or household meaning of home, which leans more heavily on the collective influences outside Grenada.

3) an individual or household meaning of home, which rejects any new social and cultural influences and maintains the already existing balance between the individual perceptions and collective social and cultural influences of Grenada. The individual meaning of home was the most pertinent, evidenced by the more significant number of family members who included meanings of home that reminisced on the Grenadian natural environment and elements of the Grenadian culture (For detailed accounts, refer to sections 6.2 and 6.3 of Chapter Six).

4) a new individual or household meaning of home containing little to no collective social and cultural influence from Grenada or outside of Grenada. Meanings containing no Grenadian influence did not present in any of the families interviewed.

Authur's account demonstrates maintains strong connections with his culture of origin (See section 7.3.1):

"I'm getting to do some of the things that I used to be doing when I was home so it made my life a little bit easier and more adaptable to the US conditions. If you don't have a network of people with your same culture and similar upbringing it would have been much harder to adapt but since I'm meeting friends and family who were Caribbean who know the culture it was much easier for me to transition" (*Arthur*)

Therefore, he remains connected to the Grenadian and Caribbean cultures. As such, it provides a sustained influence on his experiences and points him towards a meaning of home that leans more heavily into the collective influences in relation to his individual notions. Despite him not being a frequent remitter or in frequent communication with this brother (as previously described in Section 7.4.3.3), the influence of his direct contact with the wider Caribbean community is enough for his meaning of home, which is reflective of option three in the preceding list to still heavily incorporate the collective as demonstrated below:

"No place sweeter than home. Everybody, well maybe not everybody, mostly everybody would say, they rather home where they were born, where they came from because their culture, their upbringing is embedded in there. So your you know, being brought up in a certain way and in certain conditions, that is what you know even though you come here and your being adopted to a different condition, but you still yearn for what you know when you were young" (*Arthur*)

Geography, assimilation and the meaning of home also affect family members who reside in Grenada. Although this relationship is more of a direct and embedded experience for family members who reside outside Grenada, for the family in the country of origin, the relationship is less direct and primarily achieved through awareness or engagement with social media channels or their direct knowledge of the environment living outside of Grenada. In these instances, this particular geographical influence takes the form of

knowledge of the assimilation behaviours of their family members and others in their family members' community abroad. This knowledge is used primarily to justify their balance between their individual and Grenadian influences of home rather than directly shaping it.

An example of this comes in the form of Arthur's relative Robert, who lives in Grenada and uses the knowledge gained through communication regarding other families' assimilation experiences to justify his meanings of home, which, like his relative, are strongly influenced by the collective influences in Grenada (As detailed in Sections 7.2.1 and 6.4.1 respectively).

> "It has not been a case where they have gone, and you have not heard from them in 10 years. It has happened to some families where people have travelled and for whatever reason they did not return for fifteen to twenty years. You are longing to see them and you wonder what happened…" (*Robert*)

> "Home is a place, well I don't only want to say it's what you own... it's like a place of retreat, it's a place of being with your family and your friends at the end of the day....well not so much friends, your family actually, your immediate family. Well for me it is those who can help you carry whatever extra little burden you may have or people that you care for. You can interact with them […] (*Robert*).

The meanings of home for the transnational individuals or households who remain in Grenada are rarely the result of solely individual influence. Instead, the findings suggest that the meaning of home is a collective experience, and factors in the contributions of others (see the meanings of home described in Sections 6.2 and 6.4).

These multiple conceptualisations of balances between the individual and the collective provide further support for the argument that the ways in which any dualities or perceptions of home persist are not easily generalizable and depend on any given number of social and emotional circumstances and responses. It also supports the arguments of Mallett (2004) and Somerville (1997) that the meaning and value placed on experiences, such as those related to the home, require deeper exploration outside of the bounds of highly generalised theoretical discourse on the meaning of 'home'. It also supports the argument that the

meaning of home is subject to influence by too many contextual factors to be easily definable or allow for easily generalizable conceptualisations (Meers, 2021).

There are also negative elements to these conceptualisations of home, which within a geographic context relates to disconnect from various groupings, which play a role in the transnational experience. These are all components of the close proximity and further proximity relationships, the overarching geographic context of the transnational experiences and processes.

Negative responses to traumatic events that have occurred in the country of origin, or varying degrees of social exclusion in the host country, are potential drivers of these feelings of disconnection (Reynolds, 2006). The resulting lived experience either encourages or discourages assimilation by shaping ethnic and cultural identity and the acceptance or rejection of any wider social and cultural notions that fall in line with the group from which they are disconnected (Reynolds, 2006).

Consequently, the disconnect plays an important role in the degree to which the transnational family incorporates collective influences into their perceptions of home, which provides support for existing literature outlining the negative and circumstantial factors affecting feelings of home (Gurney, 2021).

For the migrant family member who lives outside of Grenada and the one who lives in Grenada, this can present as a disconnect between family members, diaspora groups and members of the wider Grenadian community. Following this disconnect is a potential belief that either their country of origin or host country will never be home. However, in a departure from existing literature, which addresses traumatic circumstances around the home within one geographical context (Gurney, 2021; Somerville, 1992), the negative meaning of home across geographies is more complex.

As previously discussed in this chapter, the meaning of home is a balance between individual and collective processes and influence. Consequently, while the processing of trauma might be individual, the collective family and community influences that play heavily into the development of the meaning of home may still have a connection to the location of the trauma. If, for example, the migrant resides outside of Grenada, there remains

a competing influence between the cultural and societal influences of Grenada, expressed through their loved ones, the negative memories of the country or origin, and the societal and cultural influences from their host country. The result is a meaning of home that, although developed in the face of the trauma-associated country of origin, still factors in Grenadian elements such as memories, societal expectations or traditions.

Maya, despite having a physical disconnect from Grenada, still maintains an emotional connection. The persistent emotions indicate a sustained connection to Grenada and communication with relatives despite the processing of her negative experience.

> "I don't know it's kind of hard because I have not seen them in like twenty years. I have not been to Grenada in 20 years. The last time I was, there was when my father passed away. I went to bury him, came back, and never went back. I talk to them on the phone, video chat sometimes occasionally, but I kind of miss them but I have not seen them in a very long time." (*Maya*)

> "When I hear the word home, Grenada came to my mind; because that is the country I was born in. that is where I spent most of my young age until the age of thirteen so that is my roots. That is where my head went back. So my younger days where I was, the country I came from, that's home. I mean [name of location removed] is my home too but I do not know…. it is different. Home is where you were born." (*Maya*)

It is worth noting that these relationships, as they pertain to the meaning of home, although primarily influenced by the geographic space, are also sensitive to other transnationalism factors, such as the nature of the relationship, strength of the relationship and societal constructs such as age or gender (Thomas- Hope, 1999; Olwig-Fog, 2012; Orozco et al., 2006; Mallett, 2004). Given their potential to affect an individual's lived experiences and, therefore, their perceptions of home, the limited discussion within the scope of this research presents a research gap.

8.3.3 The temporal nature of home

The previous section discusses how the shifting balances between individual and collective perceptions shape the overarching meaning of home for any given transnational family

member, whether they reside inside or outside of Grenada. There are also temporal factors that shape the transnational meaning of home.

Specifically, the changing social sensitivities to housing and home (Dovey, 1985; Vanhoutte et al., 2007; Gurney, 1996; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Olwig-Fog, 2007; Moore, 2000; Lovatt, 2018) also play a significant role within the Grenadian transnational space, although be it in slightly different ways.

For the migrating Grenadian transnational, time introduces a division of the transnational experience into an exercise in memories. Existing theorisations of Caribbean transnationalism, suggests that the amount of time spent away from the original homeland impacts transnational behaviours, particularly communication and the sending of remittances, but the effects are not constant (Orozco et al., 2005). The argument by these scholars is that when migration occurs for the purposes of the improvement of economic circumstances, with age and a longer time away from the country of origin, comes a higher likelihood of greater financial security. This, in combination with varying motivations to remit and varying expectations and degrees of responsibility, equates to increased remitting behaviours (Orozco et al., 2005). The result, as argued by the authors, is the fostering of greater attachment and commitment to the homeland of origin. Conversely, irrespective of the level of financial security, factors such as high levels of assimilation, the additive effect of increasing personal and financial responsibilities and the development of new significant relationships, results in a shift in motivations and subsequent decreased remitting behaviours. The outcome under these circumstances is a wavering of any attachments to the original homeland (Orozco et al., 2005).

While these findings provide necessary insight into the continuous balance between past and the present transnational experiences, they do not fully represent the scope of this research. Other dimensions of temporality exist. They extend beyond the number of years spent as a transnational and instead incorporate notions of familiarity and routine, repeatedness, predictability and childhood memories as theorised by Dovey (1985) and Olwig-Fog (2007). However, unlike these existing theorisations that address the temporal nature of home from a single location or from the migrant perspective, this research finds that the temporal nature of home functions across multiple countries and factors the perspectives of a range of family members. These dimensions of interest are as follows:

1) the past vs the present, where the past represents the memories of home prior to entering the transnational space and the present represents ongoing transnational experiences and routines

2) the perceptions of home present for transnational individuals or households at varying life stages.

8.3.3.1 The past and present

Prior to migration, the meaning of home is a balance between individual and collective notions. Collective notions represent those of family members and their wider community. To varying degrees, the collective also includes viewpoints of the Grenadian diaspora, and any perspectives gathered from both local and international media. Irrespective of the sources of influence, their functioning is within an overarching Grenadian backdrop.

After migration, the shifting balance incorporates individual and collective influences, as described in section 8.3.1, that function within an entirely different social and cultural environment (as described in Section 8.3.2). The balance between individual and collective ideas of home prior to migration becomes the past, and the balance between the individual and collective ideas after migration becomes the present. The past perceptions of home predominantly take place within the social, cultural and environmental backdrop of Grenada. The present conceptualisations of home extend to include experiences within a backdrop outside of Grenada. As such, the memories of a time prior to geographic separation provide a link between the two time periods. While existing literature argues that the temporal aspects of the home also incorporate the future (Dovey, 1985), for this sample of Grenadian family members, the balances resulted in a meaning of home that either predominantly focuses on the past, one that predominantly focuses on their current circumstances, or one that incorporates both past and present circumstances.

Using the example of Trinity, this balance between the individual and collective, and the past and present, shows an interesting process. First, meaning of homes place importance on the collective Grenadian cultural and familial structures, one can conclude that collective influences play a significant role. As it relates to the past vs the present, there is a recollection of past home experiences that involve a great deal of socialising with friends

and family. However, instead of a meaning of home where the past predominates, her meaning of home has shifted to an equilibrium where both the memories and current actions contribute to a home primarily based on the present but moulded after the past.

> "Home means family... my home is where my family is because we can make it, as long as we're together. If you want to do things right do it by yourself, but if you want to do things with people, you do it with your family. You know home is where my family is anytime we are together, I feel like we are home. It makes it all better. When[name removed] comes up here she brings a piece of Grenada, you know the cooking, I have a couple of friends and friends will come and they are all looking at me to make the stew chicken and everything but [Name removed] she brings a piece of Grenada and we do it together." (*Trinity*).

For the transnational individual or family in Grenada, there is also navigation between the "past" and "present". Their "past" perceptions of home manifested within the social, cultural, political and environmental backdrop of Grenada. However, the "present" manifestations of the meaning of home remain within the similar cultural, political and environmental backdrop of Grenada. The primary difference being that their family member has moved away and is no longer part of their community in Grenada. Therefore, their "present" perception of home incorporates the continued separation experience from their family members. The findings for this subset of the sample showed an exciting trend. Where family members who resided outside of Grenada expressed meanings of the home largely reminiscent of their Grenadian family and experiences, the meanings of home for Grenadians who remain in the country of origin are emphasise present circumstances in the face of separations from family (Sections 6.2.1; 6.4.1; 6.5, 6.6). Exceptions exist where the meaning of home is a mix of memories and present circumstances (section 6.3.2). A potential reasons for these exceptions is that proximity to Grenadian norms, cultures and practices has yet to be removed so focus remains on other more pertinent issues. Other reasons may centre on the presence of personality traits that encourage a focus on the present.

One can also conclude that even though there is communication, international influences by their family members appear to be indirect in nature and not a significant factor in their balancing of individual vs collective and past vs present.

Evelyn's account describes a home-based in the present. However, by demonstrating solid collective influences and acknowledging her family members who reside outside of Grenada, her meaning centres on the present home environment and the actions taken to ensure it is comfortable.

> "I just love to be home, love to be home, everything about home is nice to me. I cannot explain, […..] I love to be with my family. I love to be with my family most importantly. I feel really comfortable when I am home [….] my family, which would be my children and grandchildren and my siblings, who are here, those overseas when they come, we come together, and we are good until they have to go again... and I just love being home for that. I like when they travel they come home and I see them [……] Whenever they come regardless of where they stay or they have their home [in Grenada], either I go...we meet somewhere in one of the homes" (*Evelyn*)

Figure 8 illustrates these "past" and "present" balances for family members inside and outside Grenada.

It should be noted that below the surface, experiences from the past challenge the present individual and collective experiences. Accordingly, changes to perceptions and expectations of what home could and should mean depend on the absence or presence of an internal resolve to maintain any previously held perceptions, i.e. actively seeking to maintain a Grenadian conception of home founded on memory. This internal resolve also plays a role in the eventual making of the home process. It is further discussed in Section 8.4.3.

Moreover, this seemingly presents a one-dimensional process, but the functioning of time also works 'horizontally'. Given the communication between family members, there is also the argument that the temporal balance between the individual and the collective is moveable. A transnational family member can function outside of the bounds of a particular "lived" location. For the migrant family member, despite living outside of Grenada, travel allows a shift in location for any given period. While they are permanently residing in the host country, during specific periods, they temporarily relocate to Grenada.

In those circumstances, the perceptions of "present" become the "past", and the "past" becomes the "present". This undergoes another shift once movement happens again. For that reason, it is beneficial to understand the temporal nature of home on the basis that it is the function of the balancing act of constantly shifting iterations of the "past" and "present", each providing additive or deleterious effects on the perceptions of home. The result is shifting perceptions of home, which can change at any given time.

8.3.3.2 The life stage

The temporality of home also links to the life stage of the transnational individual. If an individual, because of personal introspection and collective collaboration, perceives that they are at a life stage where further development is necessary, their meaning of home reflects any corresponding economic, cultural and social development goals. Under these circumstances, the meaning of home shifts with and corresponding perceptions about their life stage, as literature on housing pathways has long suggested (Clapham, 2002). Even though there is, the argument that age is a key driver of these actions, with older people less likely to drop imaginaries of home, and younger people are more likely to adapt to the changing perceptions, this research suggests that age is not the sole dimension of the relationship between life stage and the meaning of home. Instead, the perceptions of home as a function of the life stage link closely to the perceived expectations, irrespective of whether or not it is in line with societal expectations of where an individual should be based on their age. In this regard, the similarities in the responses of transnational family members both in Grenada and outside of Grenada, suggest that this idea holds true irrespective of geographical location and influences.

Therefore, instead of moving towards the past, the image of the home reflects a movement towards a level of aspiration in keeping with personal, economic and social goals. These movements support theorisations that stress the environmental and contextual nature of home (Dovey, 1985; Moore, 2000).
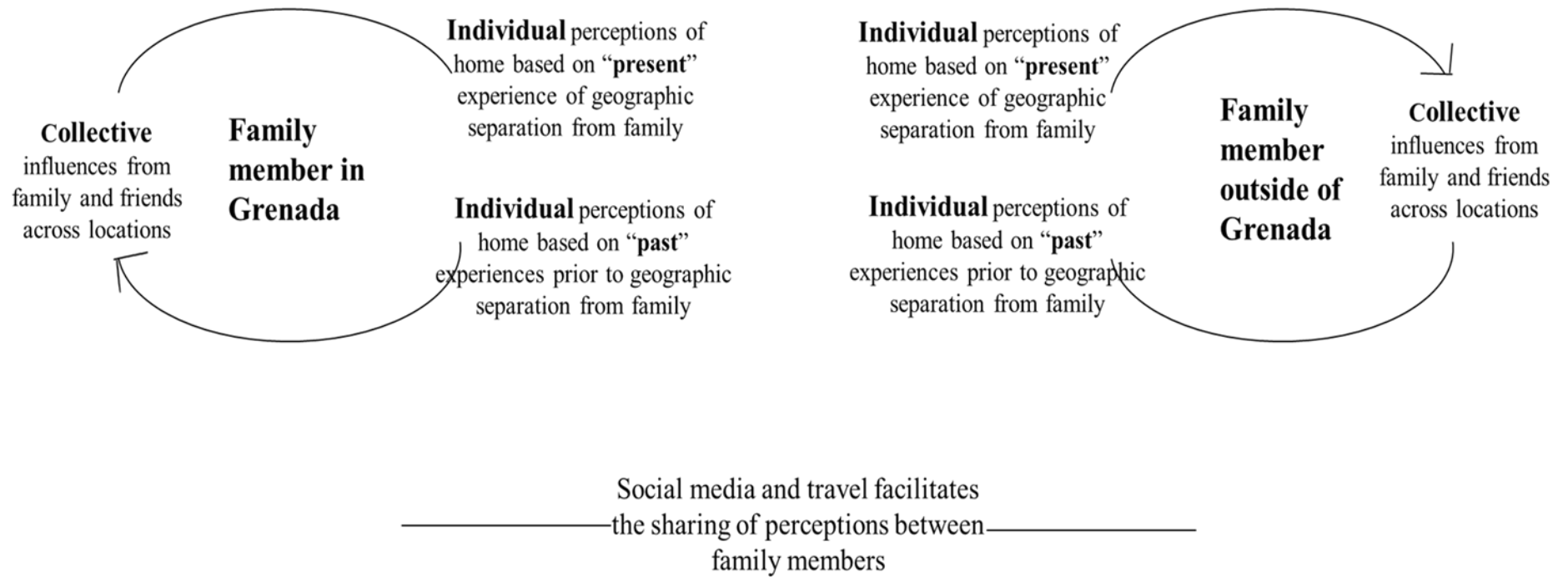
Figure 8: The balances between past and present meanings of home

Once again, using Eva's definition of home, the various circumstances, locations and priorities that strongly influence her life at any given point play a significant role in her meaning at that time. When her life circumstances shift, so do her meanings.

> "To me...well it depends on what context I hear the word home in. If I'm speaking to you, home would be Grenada but if I'm speaking to somebody here [Grenada]...Home would be you know where I live, it's basically where my family is at. So for example when I am at work. When I say home. I mean at my Moms because that is where I am from, basically that is where all of my mail goes, that is my address, that is where I refer to as home, that is where I am from. So I would say in [location removed] but I am from [location removed] because that is where I am from, that is home. That is where I would say my home is because that is basically where my family is although I have my own [family] here." *(Eva)*

In a direct link to the individualistic and collective duality of home, this movement between past and present perceptions of the home is influenced by the individual aspiration for development in competition with the cultural and community expectations surrounding the individual. Conversely, if the individual is at a life stage closer to meeting or has already met their perceived and expected economic and social goals, the need to assimilate with contemporary expectations dissipates. In its place, there is an affirmation of their perceptions of home, which may be rooted in their social and cultural past.

8.4 The making of the transnational home

The findings detailed in the previous sections of this chapter, suggest that there are a number of parallels between transnationalism and the meaning of home. The balance of individual and collective behaviours, decisions and processes affects them both. They are also both temporal in nature and are subject to change based on positive or negative circumstances. In addition, a mix of social, economic, and cultural factors affect their functioning. Finally, they both foster cultural identity and belonging.

Where the processes of communication and remitting, combine with the purpose and meaning of a home, the making of a transnational home emerges. The solidification of the familial bonds, builds the emotional structure of the home and remittances enable the

acquisition of the necessary services or decorative components of the home environment. Simultaneously, these actions act as an overarching standard for the meaning and purpose of the home environment. Families described this as a tidy place where they can socialise, feel happy and comfortable, while utilising the various luxury items in their homes (see Sections 6.2, 6.4 and 6.5).

The making of the transnational home is not a one-size fits all approach. Its functioning relies on the acknowledgement of the intersecting dimensions of the transnationalism processes and the ways these processes produce outputs that are in line with the meaning of home. The experience of the transnational home is not simply a matter of having a meaning of home and engaging in transnational activities. There is intersection and the shaping of processes over time.

Similar, to the processes of transnationalism and the development of a meaning of home, the making of the transnational home is also a balance between individual and collective elements. Figure 9 shows these balances.

The **"individual"** components capture the personal and emotional elements of the transnationalism and meaning of home experiences for families

The transnational making of home

The **"collective"** components capture the wider cultural, societal and economic circumstances that provide an overarching shared experience
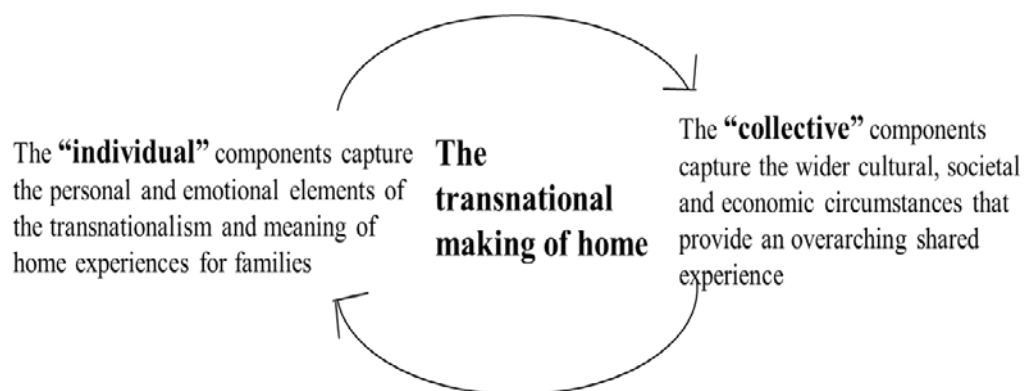
Figure 9: The balance between the individual and collective transnational home

In the making of the home context, the "individual" elements encapsulate all of the transnationalism and meaning of home processes and balances described in the previous sections of this chapter. The "individual" describes the personal features that drive the experience for individual family members and the family unit. Specifically, they are the features that drive the family and explain their behaviours, thus supporting previous theorisations that argue the role of personal behaviours and traditions in the transnational space (Itzigsohn et al., 1999). These individual and personal components occur at various stages of the transnational process and incorporate the emotions felt because of separation

from family members (see Section 7.2) and the behaviours and decisions associated with the rewarding and challenging aspects of transnationalism (see Section 7.8.5). It also incorporates the highly personal meanings of home and the actions resulting from these perceptions, as described in Chapter 6. Therefore, the individual elements of the making of the home process provide the foundations that foster the constancy, familiarity, security, comfort and routine against any external threats, risks or processes threatening the home processes, described in previous ontological security literature (Giddens, 1991; Dupuis and Thorns, 2001; Gurney, 1996; Padget, 2007; Saunders, 1989; Hiscock, 2001; Easthorpe, 2014).

The "collective" circumstances refer to the broader shared circumstances, such as the risks, and influences to any established routines and expectations. They include pandemics, natural disasters, housing tenure, and positive or negative economic and societal environments. They also incorporate the more expansive societal reactions to said positive or harmful circumstances. These collective influences then feed into the individual elements affecting the experiences of the family members or family units (Alleyne, 2006; Alleyne et al., 2008; Gurney, 2021, Lancione, 2019; Mallett, 2004; Ho, 1999; Gurney, 1996). In a departure from the literature that discusses these external influences from a single location, within a transnational space, the issues and risks arise within a framework of differing interpretations and influences based on the social, economic and political structures of different countries (Peters and Kamau, 2015; Cheran, 2006).

Subsequently, in the Grenadian context, to preserve the making of the transnational home, closely modelled after their meaning of home, there is the establishment of a system of balance between the family member or family unit's emotions and the practical realities of the wider circumstances. This balance facilitates the continued preservation of a preferred lived experience and their degree of "transnational ontological security". Under these circumstances, for the transnational, this most often presents as the acknowledgement of the positive emotions in response to a home experience closely associated with prior memories of Grenada. The realities of the transnational distance make way for practical use of communication and remittances to ensure that the home, is culturally, economically and socially reminiscent of their prior circumstances, which is also their currently preferred idea of home.

However, this balance between practicality and emotionality does not only preserve or restore the favourable circumstances for the Grenadian family member. Findings suggest it is also a coping strategy when the family member or unit faces the prospect of making a transnational home under largely unfavourable circumstances, until more favourable circumstances return.

The effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on the transnational provides a relevant example to demonstrate the functioning of this home-making balance. Maya, who resides abroad and Michael, who resides in Grenada provide specific examples. They both have meanings of home, which, despite slight variations, place the preservation of Grenadian culture at the forefront.

> "Well, I always consider my home to be [name of village removed] generally, but where I live is my house. That is where I reside…." (*Michael*)

> "When I hear the word home, Grenada came to my mind; because that is the country I was born in. that is where I spent most of my young age until the age of thirteen so that is my roots. That is where my head went back….(*Maya*)

At the same time, both family members navigate their home experiences acknowledging emotions associated with being separated from their family members. The emotions drive, their need to ensure a sustained connection to Grenada.

> "Once they are happy, I am happy. If they are not happy, I am not happy, so if they are here and they are not happy. I am not happy. It is not just them being around that makes me happy. They have to feel comfortable and be able to live happily." (*Michael*).

> "I don't know it's kind of hard because I have not seen them in like twenty years. I have not been to Grenada in 20 years. The last time I was, there was when my father passed away. I went to bury him, came back, and never went back. I talk to them on the phone, video chat sometimes occasionally, but I kind of miss them but I have not seen them in a very long time." (*Maya*)

However, the fear and concern about pandemic gives way to further acknowledgement that the continued existence of a home environment is necessary. Thus, "individual" practical making of home actions, which deviate from the "norm", are utilised to balance the collective influence of the health and travel risks associated with the pandemic. These may include increases in digital communications or reductions in travel and remittances due to restrictions.
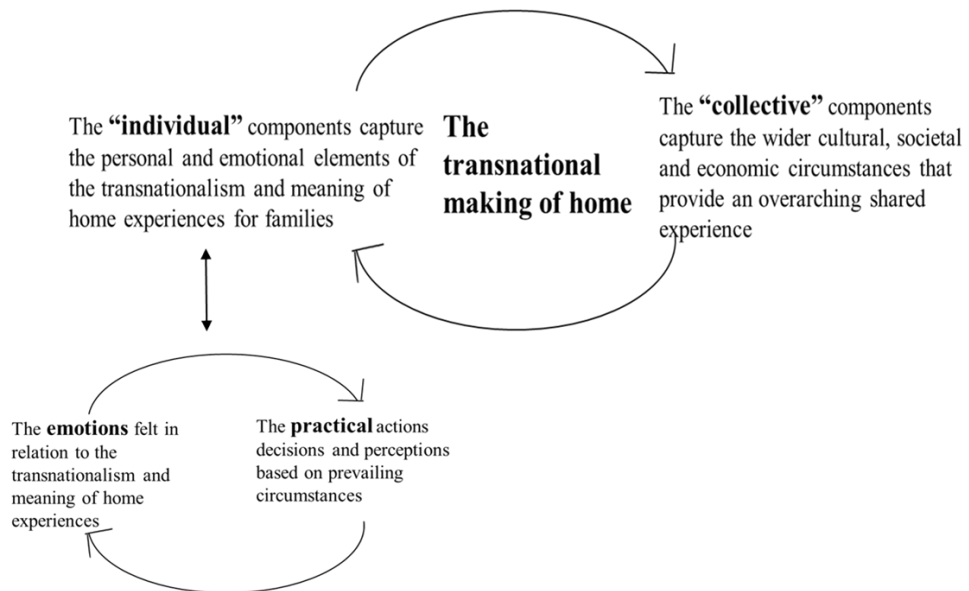
> "Actually based on the present situation [quarantine due to Covid- 19] I had asked them not to send anything for me because of the fact of the number of people that is lining up, to receive the cash and I see it as a sort of risk factor (*Michael*)

> "The funny part is that I just bought tickets for my kids to go to Grenada for summer. They were going to go with my mom for six weeks now I do not know what is going to happen. So that is on standby right now. We are playing it month by month. We are supposed to go in July. [....] Well that is a little upsetting but then safety is first….. (*Maya*).

These processes actively seek to maintain the ideal home environment. The meaning of home prioritises the preservation of the comfortable Grenadian experience, and remains an overarching standard to the making of the home. Yet, there is the potential that the circumstances can cause temporary or permanent changes to any original meanings of home and any trigger corresponding temporary or permanent changes to any usual making of the home actions. Figure 10 captures this interconnected process.

8.4.1 A transnational resilience model

The previously discussed individual and collective balances, the interplay with emotions, the practicality of transnationalism and the meaning of home are resilient. This resilience is not constant; it is subject to change and is a function of the scale of the external influences affecting the experiences of the transnational individual and their family members. It is also important to note that there is a time factor where resilience is a function of the amount of time the positive or negative experiences persist.

The "individual" components capture the personal and emotional elements of the transnationalism and meaning of home experiences for families

The transnational making of home

The "collective" components capture the wider cultural, societal and economic circumstances that provide an overarching shared experience

The **emotions** felt in relation to the transnationalism and meaning of home experiences

The **practical** actions decisions and perceptions based on prevailing circumstances

Figure 10: The emotionality and practicality of the making of the transnational home

This research, like research by Garabiles et al. (2017), finds that resilience also relates to family perspectives and the navigation of familial roles in multiple geographic locations. These similarities support the case for the adaptation of resilience models to satisfy a range of specific developing country contexts.

However, there are also a number of differences between this research and the existing research (Garabiles et al., 2017) that demonstrates the need to acknowledge and investigate the nuanced and specific circumstances before adaptation and application:

First, this research addresses the foundational elements of the transnational experience, often overlooked because of their relative implicit nature. The additional dimension specifically centres on the role of the meaning of home in shaping and maintaining the transnational experience. By including detailed and personal accounts of the meaning of home, a foundation is built whereby any experiences are based on the family member's or the family unit's expectations of what home should be. These individual and collective expectations and perceptions of home differ, even though there are overarching cultural structures, and should therefore factor heavily into the degree to which a family member or family unit exhibits resilience.

Second, this research, by outlining the subjective effects of collective large-scale events contributes to an expanded theoretical understanding of resilience. Specifically, this

research provides a potential avenue for an understanding of the role of the home in regulating resilience under difficult external circumstances.

Third, in this Grenadian context resilience is not addressed from the backdrop of specific ages, gender or job roles, as is the case with existing research. Instead, it presents the experiences of a range of families of different gender, employment, education and familial makeups.

Fourth, previous studies highlight potential changes to resilience over the long term and address the complexities of resilience from the beginning of the transnational journey to return migration. However, in this context there is a focus on the impacts of resilience in the backdrop of Covid-19, which at the time of the data collection was a novel pandemic and was the prevailing traumatic global circumstance affecting all families.The longterm effects of resilience are unknown.

8.4.2 The Grenadian transnational resilience model.

In line with existing ideas and theories, the findings of this research suggest that the highly personal nature of the meaning of home provides a definitional and emotional foundation that acts as a form of emotional security, comfort and a framework by which individuals and family units live their daily lives (Depres, 1991; Saunders, 1989; Annison, 2000).

Along with their perceptions, experiences and decision around the transnationalism process, the meaning of home contributes to the varying ways that an individual or a family unit adapts to a crisis. Without the introduction of change, resilience is not realised.

Despite the findings revealing the highly collaborative nature of resilience, there is also the possibility of unresolvable differences in the perception of the need for resilience among family members. Even within households with similar environments and experiences, the perceptions of one member can differ from another in personal and individual ways, much in the same way that differing perceptions of home occur among family members. As such, if there are differences in the perception of the external influence, then the interpretations by the individual about the degree of resolve needed in the face of these influences can also differ in unresolvable ways. The likely result is the development of a smaller-scale familial

conflict that requires additional levels of resilience. Therefore, resilience is a moveable factor and is influenced by the degree of internal drive and the communication that occurs between family members:

 1) The degree of resolve or internal drive

Influencing the highly variable and personal elements of any transnational experience is an "internal driving force" which strongly affects any resulting interactions and decisions around the transnational process. The internal drive of a transnational potentially overrides any changing external influences to ensure the longevity of any favourable or preferred experience. It also gives insight into why despite any progression of time and any associated changes to the external social, cultural and physical environments, the preferred balance between the past and present is maintained. Incorporating the individual and collective balances of the meaning of home, the past and present temporal balances of home and acknowledging the emotions associated with the transnationalism experience in the face of external challenges becomes essential.

For most transnationals participating in this research, there was a solid resolve to reject any new cultural and social ideals in favour of maintaining strong social and cultural connections to their original homeland, even when faced with considerable challenges such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

Within the specific context of the meaning and making of a home, despite the sustained exposure to different cultural, social and political norms, the meaning of home for all members of the transnational family continued to predominantly reflect memories and imaginaries of their original homeland. This finding resonates with research by Lancione (2019), which discusses the idea that homemaking and associated perceptions are an act of resistance, which results in the making of a home that reflects personal preferences and a rejection of surrounding expectations and norms.

2) Communication and the resulting nature of family relationships

Communication is a vehicle for resilience of the transnational home, through social media, travelling and remitting. By promoting the shared experience, the use of any of these outlets

affects the individual or collective attitudes. A potential outcome is changing perceptions that make allowances for new experiences (Asis et al., 2004). Furthermore, communication is an act of negotiation and strengthening. According to previous research on Filipino transnational families where unskilled females have migrated, the (re)negotiation of family roles, values and positions in response to changing circumstances is commonplace (Asis et al., 2004). As it relates to the Grenadian experience, the resulting collaborative relationships sustain the meaning of home in line with expectations and act as a fortress against potential threats or negative influences. The maintenance and sustenance of the home, despite changing circumstances, is an act of resilience.

The findings from this research also suggest that strong relationships, as a driver of resilience, occur across the age spectrum and migration circumstances. Nonetheless, some factors increase the drivability of the family relationship as a resilience response.

First, suppose the migrating transnational has young dependents who remain in Grenada. In that case, the social and economic needs of the dependent translates to an increasing resolve by the parent or guardian to maintain communication (Olwig-Fog, 2012). The resolve, in turn, fosters a collective meaning of home most closely associated with experiences in the original homeland when the family was together. This type of relationship determines the increased resilience and the mitigating actions taken in response to any unfavourable circumstances that threaten the transnational home and its social and remitting processes. (Olwig-Fog, 2012; Mills, 2005; Orozco et al., 2006). Despite this research suggesting that relationships of this nature remain strong, there is nevertheless the potential for fluctuations in relationships and priorities to influence this balance in ways not observed in this research. Consequently, the degree to which the imaginaries of home are a function of individual or collective and past or present imaginations, and the degree to which they support resilience is grounded in the level of familial connection prior to transnationalism and the degree of communication during the transnational experience.

Second, the levels of communication, the strength of the family relationship and resilience are connected to the duration of time spent as a transnational family. Other scholars of Caribbean transnationalism have discussed this idea of deteriorating transnational relationships over time (Orozco et al., 2005). However, this research provides alternative findings, which suggests that time spent as a transnational family is also positive.

When "collective" external circumstances that can potentially deteriorate or sever existing bonds arise, the individual family members' internal resolve, in both locations, combine to form a collaborative environment. This collaborative environment ensures that the transnational meaning of home, developed from their experiences over the years spent as a transnational family, remains intact and is a guide to maintaining the transnational home. For the families included in this research, the frequency or infrequency of communication is not a direct function of the strength or weakness of their familial bonds, irrespective of time spent as a transnational family; therefore, the communal bonds remain intact. Figure 11 illustrates these ideas.

However, in addition to these overarching points, the following considerations, as they arise in the Grenadian transnational context, also warrant discussion.

First, the interpretations of the magnitude and scope of external events and their impacts on the transnational home are subjective. The magnitude of the external influences affecting the making of the home process can be smaller scale and, while an annoyance at best, is not enough to affect the routine and functioning of the transnational home on either side (Sections 7.5.3.3 and Sections 7.5.3.4).
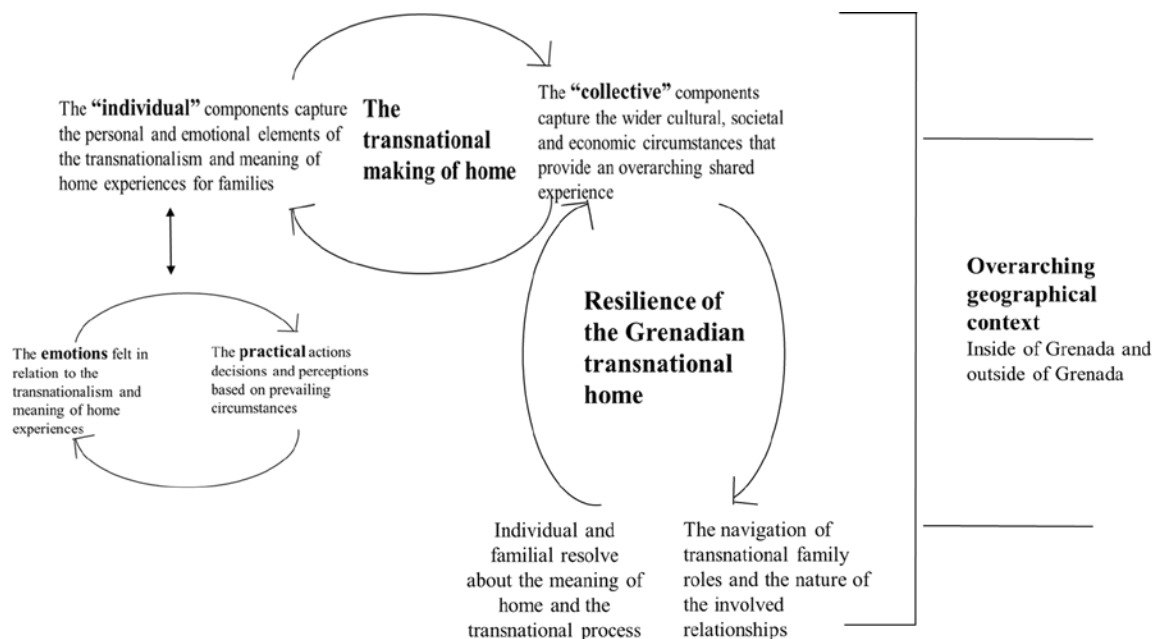
Figure 11: A resilience model of the Grenadian transnational home

If the impact is extensive, the assessment of scope, significance and subjectivity relates to personality and whether the family member lives outside or inside of Grenada. This idea featured in family perceptions of the severity of the Covid-19 pandemic (Sections 7.6.1 and 7.6.2). If the family members resided in Grenada, where Covid-19 cases were low, and there were lower mortality rates, there is the perception that the threat is low. On the other hand, if the family members lived outside of Grenada, where at the time, cases were high, with high mortality rates; the perception of the threat was high. Interestingly, a familial perception of threat was established, and its effects on the functioning of the transnational home were assessed. If at least one family member perceived a great threat, the entire transnational home was under threat. The result was transnational decisions to mitigate the threat and preserve the transnational home that were in line with either family members' meaning of home, social stability; security and comfort (refer to Sections 7.2.3 and 7.6).

Second, the perceptions of the wider community and others experiencing the "collective" circumstances also factor into the resilience of the transnational home. If the wider society collectively perceived a lower threat to an event, the transnational members' reactions generally followed the collective perceptions. If the wider society perceived a more significant threat of an event or influence and implemented restrictive actions such as closing borders or social distancing, the individual or household's perceptions potentially follow suited (Sections 7.4.2; 7.6.1 and 7.6.2). The opposite is also potentially true. This determination of societal threat levels was primarily from media representations and transnational social media communication (Section 7.4.1).

The Grenadian transnational families indicated that keeping abreast of news and public responses in Grenada and outside of Grenada, contributed to their assessment of the threat levels facing their families (see Sections 7.2.3 and 7.6). The importance of maintaining the social, safety, and health function of home increased for family members outside of Grenada. As a result, remitting ensured that their relatives had everything needed to keep the home intact and safe and to ensured that their families did not suffer from the issues facing others.

Third, the responsibilities of members of the transnational family, and how this relates to their responsibility to be resilient to external events, also differed depending on their geographic location, in line with familial or cultural expectations. When faced with the

Covid-19 pandemic, the remitting family members outside of Grenada resolved to ensure that the family members remained safe and thus, the social and physical fabric of the home remained intact (Section 7.6.2). Accordingly, the perceptions of home remained focused on Grenada (Sections 6.2; 6.3; 6.4). However, the response was different for family members in Grenada, where the resolve for family members outside of Grenada was preventative, resolve for family members in Grenada was protective and ensured that the social functioning of home was preserved. For example, in an effort to contribute the ideals of home family members in Grenada requested, that remitting family members, remit less during the pandemic to preserve health and safety(refer to Sections 7.2.3 and 7.6).

Fourth, the resilience to change and "collective" external circumstances is an important part of the survival of the transnational home. This importance centred on the ability of the meaning of home to strengthen relationships, feelings of belonging and Grenadian identity. These feelings provided the transnational family with an anchor that, kept them grounded to their transnational home. The subjective meanings of home contributed to a collaborative blueprint for the efficient functioning of the home and ensured its longevity.

Under challenging circumstances, such as Covid-19, which was the constant backdrop of the interview process, there was a tendency to lean on meanings of home that provided the most comfort and stability in otherwise unsure circumstances (Sections 6.2; 6.3; 6.4).

Once the exposure is no longer a threat, or if it evolves into a newer evolving threat, as was the case with the Covid-19 pandemic, it is possible that there could have been long term or permanent changes that required a redefinition of home. However, given that the data collection for this research was at the same time as the pandemic, an accurate measure of long-term or permanent changes was not possible. Follow-up research post-pandemic could fill this gap. Nonetheless, that families accepted the "new normal" of the pandemic and openly expressed how the pandemic would change their family communication and practices in the near future (Sections 7.6.1 and 7.6.2).

For other families with similar transnational experiences, constancy can be antithetical to the survival of the home. Under such circumstances, change is necessary and significantly adapting to unforeseen pressures while re-evaluating the very idea of what home is a key element of the survival of home and its robustness. Under these circumstances, there are

challenges to familial relationships and feelings of belonging and identity, but any new perceptions of home play a key role in the re-strengthening of existing relationships or the building of new relationships and personal and cultural identities (Lancione, 2019).

Even if the perceptions and responses to change of the family members differ, the overall goals in relation to the home are a unifying factor. If the goals differ, the home deteriorates. If the overall goals are similar then the home is resilient and remains intact.

8.5 Conclusion

Functioning as a system of interconnected parts, the transnational home is a reflection of the transnational processes in association with the meaning of home. With a balance between individual perceptions and the collective influences of a range of social, economic and environmental factors, the transnational home is as dynamic as it is descriptive. In essence, it is both the continuous process and result of the cycle of separation and resulting compensation measures designed to restore a degree of cultural, environmental, personal and familial balance.

Starting with the perceptions of the meaning of home for family members inside and outside of Grenada, this aspect of the lived experience serves as a foundational framework for the realisation and subsequent acknowledgement of preferences and goals. From this foundation, the social and economic processes arise, making way for the "individual vs. collective" balancing act, which results in various levels of communication and remitting based on variable combinations of access to social media, travel ability, personality traits and self-assessed frequency of communication based on familial need. All the while, the meaning of home continues to act as an evolving guide whereby the family assesses and ensures the efficiency of transnational process. The findings call into question the infallibility of the transnational home. Its very nature as a system of lived experience exposes it to various positive and negative elements with both large-scale and small-scale effects.

Depending on the individual or familial perceptions of the scale of the threat and the individual or familial awareness of the wider societal perceptions of the threat, the making of the home becomes a process of resilience. The various degrees of internal resolve and the

nature of familial relationships drive the decisions made and the actions taken in the face of the external circumstance. The desired outcome of these actions and drivers is the preservation of the foundational framework of the meaning of the transnational home, its processes, and associated goals.

The alternative is also true. There are instances where additional conflicts arise because of the differences in resilience among family members. Since the transnational experience requires collaboration between multiple family members across geographies, the making of the home, in the face of any sized conflict, becomes a series of uncoordinated events that either improve the standing of the transnational home in the face of external threats or makes it more susceptible to them. Additionally, where there is resilience to preserve and maintain the transnational home, the external shocks and circumstantial influences serve as catalysts for the evolution of the transnational home and its associated meaning. Irrespective of the nuances of any positive and negative processes, the making of the transnational home remains a set of complex, interconnected, variable patterns. This complexity and variation is not inexplicable. It can be understood and interpreted, and this research has been able to explain a significant portion of the lived experience for Grenadian transnational families.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 The big picture conclusion

The perceived economic and social benefits of transnationalism mean that increasing numbers of Grenadian households consider the navigation of relationships across geographical boundaries an important part of their everyday experiences. This initial and continuing separation provides the overarching social and emotional catalyst for the meaning of home story for transnationals.

However, despite this 'unifying' separation experience, and the similar cultural and environmental exposures shared by Grenadians in this research by virtue of their familiarity with Grenada, the experiences around the meaning and making of home are not always characterised by uniform expression and understanding. Instead, despite the unifying element of the physical separation from their loved ones, there is significant potential for the experiences to differ at the individual and household levels. Therefore, the research centred on developing an understanding of the experiences around the meaning and making of home, which extend beyond a purely collective notion and one which extends to investigations in the context of wider social, cultural, environmental and emotional factors.

There is the overarching conclusion that the transnational home is influenced by varying responses to any number of circumstances faced at all points of the transnational experience. The result is a highly subjective home experience that reflects and accounts for an array of priorities, desires and interpretations.

For some, home is a reflection of the in-person and online social interactions among their loved ones who reside with them and the loved ones who reside in a different country. For some, it is a reflection of the satisfaction and acknowledgement of the hard work that goes into the building and decoration of the physical dwelling space. For others, home is associated with the nurturing of the Grenadian values and cultural practices, which persist throughout the years.

9.2 The different parts of the story

It is important that there is a deeper exploration of the elements that constitute the meanings and experiences of home. This research provides a more intricate and detailed explanation of the nature of the transnational home than earlier examinations that centre on studying the migrant experience, or seek to understand patterns through macro level statistical analysis.

9.2.1 The Grenadian transnational home

The meaning of home is not simply "one size fits all". Instead, it is a function of multiple ideas and understanding of home, which arise from multiple sources actively working either in tandem to reinforce beliefs or in competition to challenge widely held norms, and conventions.

9.2.1.1 Home is both individual and collective

The meaning of home is as much an individualistic concept as it is collective.. The development of the ideas of home, for the most part, occurs because of individual observation and interpretation. For the Grenadian transnational there is an overwhelming desire and expectation to align these individual experiences with the collective experiences of their families, friends and their wider communities. Within this context, the individual and the collective elements of home interact with each other producing a meaning of home.. In addition, playing an important role in the manifestation of this balance is the degree of social inclusion or exclusion in the host country that may or may not create counter-pressures on meanings of home built on Grenadian memories and societal norms.

Transnational family members who reside in Grenada navigate this balance within a singular Grenadian cultural backdrop that results in an increased likelihood of the adoption of a balance. However, it is still a function of individual or collective interpretations of primarily Grenadian cultural ideals and norms. For the transnational member who has migrated from Grenada and resides abroad, there now needs to be consideration of the direct interaction with a natural and cultural environment that differs from the ones existing in Grenada. Therefore, there is potential for a type of balance, which incorporates multiple geographies and presents a different experience from that of the transnational family members who

remain in Grenada. When this occurs, the migrating transnational has to navigate their individual perceptions of home, which now incorporate individual and collective geographical and cultural experiences in both their host country and country of origin.

9.2.1.2 Home is the past and the present

The meaning of home for the transnational family is also a balance between traditional memories and changing societal ideologies of home. In this case, there is either a shift towards meanings of home, which are more global in nature or meanings of home that are more traditionally and culturally Grenadian. Even though younger transnationals are more likely to move towards more globalised meanings of home, the balance between culturally traditional and contemporary notions of home are more reflective of the time spent as a transnational family, the relationships between the transnational family members and the social, cultural and emotional connection to Grenada. Similar to the balance between the individual and collective perceptions of home, the experience is different for the migrants who no longer reside in Grenada and who immerse themselves in the additional geographical, social and cultural backdrop of the host country.

The transnational who resides in Grenada has exposure to "past" and "present" perceptions of home largely rooted in Grenadian culture. Any contemporary influences incorporate the progressions within Grenadian society and culture, with any international influences being secondary and judged in relation to Grenadian culture. However, for the transnational family member who resides outside of Grenada, the meaning of home is defined by past place and by national and cultural identity. Family and social connections also prove important. This makes the full replication of home outside of Grenada itself impossible, because in order to be home, a home has to be in Grenada, which for the migrant transnational whose current experience is within a different country, is largely reflective of the past.

Consequently, the meaning and making of home for the Grenadian transnational is a push and pull of these multiple ideas, which ultimately contributes to highly variable meanings of home. This construction of home is significant, not just, because it shows the conflicting and changeable nature of home, but it also points to the balanceable nature, which plays an influential role during shifting or unpredictable circumstances.

Personal and familial experiences during the Covid-19 pandemic, resulted in shifts to the meaning of home to compensate for the challenges that arose because of these events. These shifts, instead of changing the meaning of home, strengthened the definitions of home already held. There was an effort to restore balance and a sense of normalcy, while providing a sense of comfort during economic and social insecurity.

9.2.2 The Grenadian transnational home is active

Heavily influenced by the individual, collective and temporal processing of the meanings of home, the making of home is the visual and tangible representation of these perceptions. The making of home also encompasses the actions deemed necessary by members of the transnational family to navigate the transnational experience. Thus, a function of social and economic transnationalism is to build and strengthen the transnational familial bonds while strengthening the economic viability of transnational family members.

For social transnationalism that has both individual and collective implications, the frequency of communication is different among transnational families and is an important determinant of the degree to which the social experience is involved in the home-making process. Any communications upwards of weekly contact for this sample of respondents point to high-intensity social transnationalism actions in the making of a home. However, despite the relationship between frequency of communication and social transnationalism as a home-making action, differing attitudes to social media use, different personality traits, the financial ability of the family to use the preferred means of communication and unforeseen circumstances such as Covid-19 means that frequency of communication is not a social indicator of the strength of family bonds. Instead, the family dynamics and agreed-upon arrangements around communication can also ensure that the necessary maintenance of familial bonds still occurs in the face of limited communication.

For economic transnationalism, the determination of economic need and the frequency and size of remittances that result is an important part of the home-making process across transnational spaces. This determination of need is a balance between the expectations of the transnational family member who resides in Grenada, and what they perceive their remitting family member should be sending. The remitter's expectations in relation to their available resources also factors into the determination of need. These balances are also a

function of the individual perceptions and the collective trends and norms within the wider communities and environments in both geographical locations. Together, social and economic transnationalism forms a connected system of transnational home-making decisions based on whether remittances are needed and there is frequent communication, remittances are needed and there is less frequent communication, remittances are not needed and there is frequent communication, or remittances are not needed and there is less frequent communication.

9.2.3 The making of home is systematic

The experiences around the meaning and making of home are multiple systems in balance, which are key in the determination of the perceptions of home and the actions taken towards the making of home. Additionally, the multiple systems and processes are highly dependent on the location of the family member, family dynamics and the surrounding social and cultural environment.

Nonetheless, beyond their individual capabilities, these multiple smaller systems are part of a whole. While their standalone capabilities impacting the Grenadian transnational experience is not negligible, there is potential for them to interact with each other, wider societal and social protection issues, and organisational systems and constructs, to create a dynamic and comprehensive transnational Grenadian experience.

The meaning of home for the transnational family member who resides in Grenada is a function of the individual perceptions of home. These individual perceptions are the result of individual perceptions of their own experiences and memories, as well as their interpretations and observations of the broader societal and economic backdrop under which the experiences are occurring. The individual interpretations also balance the collective feelings and perceptions of home held by the members of the social and cultural groups surrounding the transnational individual. The collective perceptions can occur in parallel to the individual perceptions, or they can intersect with the individual perceptions, and in so doing, act as a critical influence on the individual meanings of home. Even though these influences are mainly from groups within a similar social and cultural Grenadian environment, there is the potential that, to a lesser degree, international social and cultural

influences can present in the form of a community comprising of members who have moved to Grenada from other countries.

The balance between the transnational individual and collective meanings of the home also has a temporal component that adds another simultaneously occurring dimension. Within this additional dimension, the current balances between the individual and collective understandings of the home occur within the context of past perceptions of the home prior to becoming part of a transnational family. Driving the navigation between past and present is the personal resolve to reject or accept any past or present influences on the perceptions of home. In addition, driving the balances between the individual and collective influences in the past and present are life-changing events that test the degree of resolve and can shift the various balances in any number of positive and negative ways. It should be noted that these shifting balances are mainly subjective and vary from individual to individual. Yet, there is unity among individuals in their ability to play a vital role in conceptualising the best meaning of home irrespective of their differing circumstances. These processes are described in Figure 12.

At the same time, the transnational family member who resides outside of Grenada is going through a similar balancing of their perceptions of home and the influences from any collective social and cultural groups. However, unlike the experiences of their family members who reside in Grenada, the transnational family member who resides outside of Grenada faces direct and sustained collective social and cultural influences in the host country from similar groups of immigrants from their country of origin. Consequently, their collective influences reflect perceptions that are both similar and different to those present in their country of origin.

There is also a temporal meaning of home for the family member outside of Grenada, which is a combined reflection of the relationship between the meanings of home held prior to migration, the meanings held after migration, the degree of personal resolve and life-changing events. The degree of personal resolve plays a role in moderating shifts in the balances between the individual and collective, or the past and present. Life-changing events add dimensions to the perceptions of home and test the personal resolve of the transnational who resides outside Grenada.
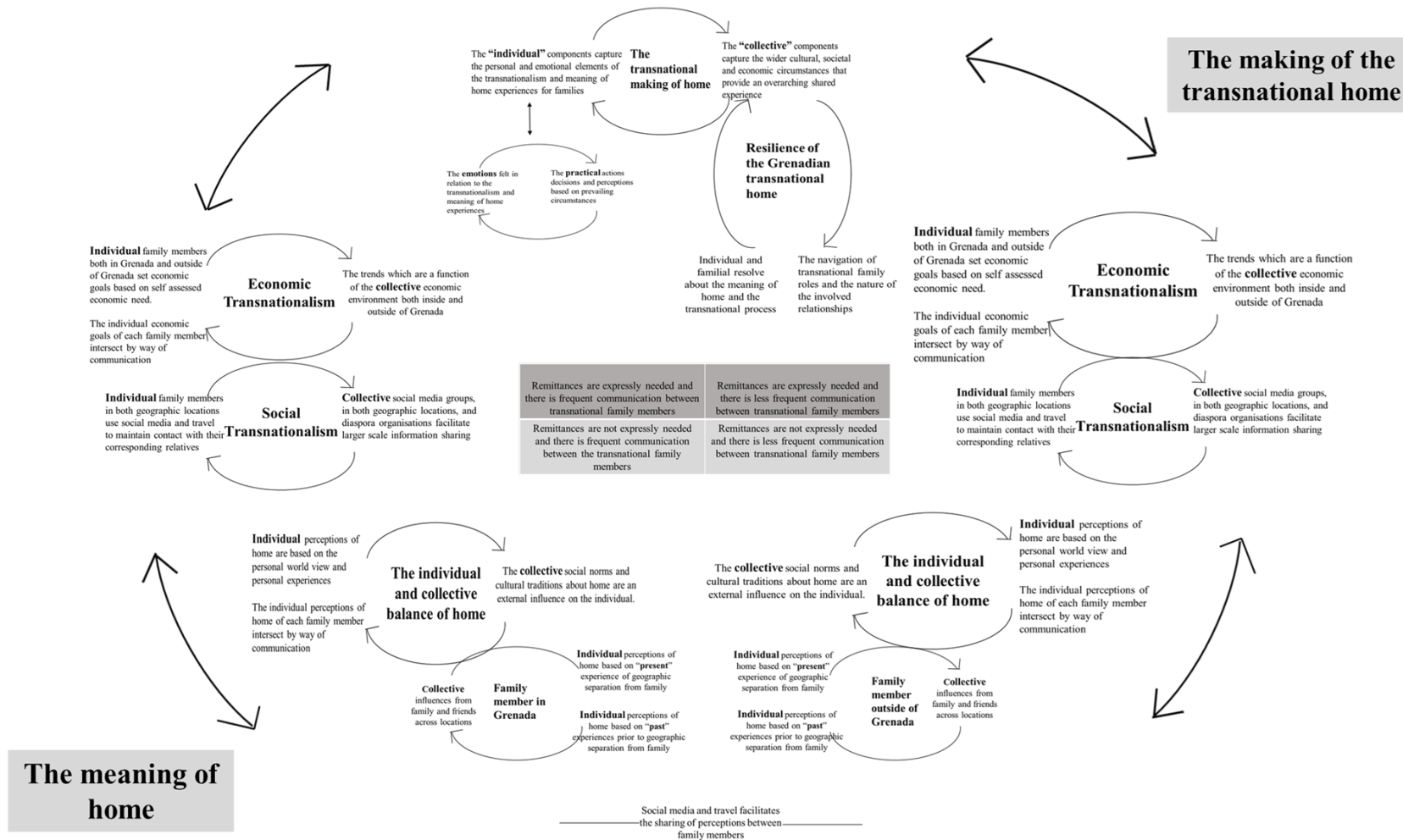
Figure 12: The Grenadian transnational home system

Driven by communication, the combination of the meaning of home for both ends of the transnational family allows for further interconnection and the development of a cohesive "familial meaning of home". This communication process facilitates the further unification of the global home system by providing a mechanism for the family members to strengthen and share ideas about home despite geographical or cultural differences. Through each transnational family member, communication also serves as a vehicle for the family member outside of Grenada to get second-hand access to current collective influences from Grenada and for the family member in Grenada to receive indirect exposure to collective influences from outside of Grenada.

The meaning of home acts as an emotional and cultural foundation for making a home. Through the same communication channels used to share and develop familial meanings of home, both ends of the transnational home no longer function as two separate ends of the transnational space. Instead, they become two-component parts of one transnational making of the home system. A system facilitated by the social and economic transnationalism process and one for which the absence of the contributions of either end of the family makes it ineffectual.

On both ends of the transnationalism cycle, social transnationalism incorporating communication and travel across geographical locations also presents a balance between collective and individual experiences. The individual experiences capture actions that contribute to and result from one-on-one communication through social media, telephone calls and travel. The collective influences capture the collective sharing through larger social media groups and networks, which span both inside and outside of Grenada. The balances manifest as the frequency with which communication occurs. The frequency and means of communication become virtual channels through which needs can be determined, and practices around the home can be discussed and agreed. It also plays an essential role by providing a means for norms and expectations to be shared, which contribute to the development of either positive or negative attitudes to various elements of the transnationalism process.

Economic transnationalism, which primarily functions as the sending and receiving of remittances, is affected by balances between individual and collective influences. Individual influences are the direct actions taken among each transnational family member at each

geographic location that predominantly occur without the influence of collective social or cultural norms and expectations. Collective influences, on the other hand, set economic trends and goals among groups of people, including transnational groups. The transnational groups, by sending remittances to family members in Grenada on behalf of each other, have created an informal network for sending remittances that is a more personal and cost-effective than the formal channels.

Social and economic transnationalism combines to form a system where the following scenarios heavily guide the making of transnationalism home:

- there is frequent communication, and remittances are needed

- there is frequent communication, and remittances are not needed

- there is less frequent communication, and remittances are needed

- there is less frequent communication, and remittances are not needed.

Depending on which classification the family falls under at any point in their international experience, the economic and social transnationalism is either increased or decreased to strike the most feasible balance between communication and remitting, which proves most beneficial for the best functioning of the home.

Driven by the practicality of actions and emotionality behind the meanings of home, the transnational making of home becomes an exercise in navigating both negative and positive life-changing events. Making of the home process is also propelled by the maintenance of personal and familial resolve and the nature of family relationships so that the economic and social transnationalism actions will ensure a resilient home process.

9.3 Theoretical contributions

This research, within the context of the Grenadian transnationalism story, captures the experience from both ends of the transnationalism relationship. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, much of the existing research addresses the experiences from the perspective of the migrating transnational and their associated experiences navigating life outside of their country of origin. The simultaneous investigations of the perceptions of home for family

members on both ends of the transnational divide, makes a new contribution to the theoretical understanding of the complex and systematic processes that occur when individuals who are exposed to different circumstances and environments have to also navigate a shared experience. It also brings to light the differences and the interconnecting similarities in the experiences of the players within the system.

Furthermore, the findings from this research show the complexities that surround the meaning and making of home for transnationals and their families. Therefore, a contribution is made to existing conceptualisations of home, particularly as it relates to an understanding of the adaptable nature of home depending on varying social, cultural, political, economic and environmental contexts. This research also theoretically makes a contribution support of the notion that home is a largely subjective and therefore undefinable concept (Meers, 2021). Still, this research by its very presentation of the home as a subjective and complex concept, contributes to the ongoing discussions around home.

Moreover, this research, by investigating the experiences of the meaning and making of home for Grenadian transnationals makes significant contributions to a wider understanding of the lived experience of people from a region, which is largely underrepresented in the literature.

Finally, the findings show that the meaning and making of home need not be conceptualised as a segmented process of multiple experiences. Instead, it is part of a larger system, which captures any individual's or family's existence. The complexities and interconnected nature of this theorisation of the transnational home provide a conceptual template that has the necessary adaptability and replicability to allow for the incorporation of any number of more specific or long-term research goals. It can also be adapted to allow for the presentation of the lived experiences within any range of contexts.

First, this conceptual framework identifies the processes, attitudes and perceptions of the transnational home, which can be adapted to refect the specific attitudes of any given group.

Second, the findings from this research provide valuable insight into the influential nature of the separation experience on the transnational process for the Grenadian family at a specific point in their lives (the time of data collection). These findings provide avenues for

investigations of the additional dimension of the effects of the time spent as a transnational family on the changing transnational process and the meaning of home.

Third, the findings that the experiences around the meaning and making of home are affected by emotions and cultural, political and societal constructs, also provides a necessary springboard for other multidimensional investigations. Particularly, the ways in which the cultural, political and social constructs of age and gender affect the meaning and making of home for transnational family members in any location.

Fourth, this research provides much needed insight into the individual and collective experience of the family members who reside in the host and origin country. This conceptual framework can be adapted to incorporate further insight into the contributions of additional family members who reside in both locations. It can also serve as the foundation for research that incorporates how the systematic process of making the transnational home follows the comprehensive social, economic, and political decisions/choices made in the daily lives of all family members.

Fifth, the research findings are from the perspective that the family member who resides outside of Grenada is the remitting family member and therefore, more economically stable. However, the findings suggesting that there are families in Grenada who do not expressly need remittances and family members outside of Grenada who face challenging economic circumstances means that reverse remittance circumstances are also possible. There is the potential that remitting transfers could occur from family members in Grenada to family members outside of Grenada. There is scope for further investigation into this dimension of the transnational lived experience.

9.4 Limitations and research gaps

As with any social research, this research has limitations that are summarised below:

- The smaller sample size consistent with IPA research, although allowing for detailed accounts of experience, provides limited scope for any generalisations to explain the transnational experience for Grenadian families.

- Much of the conclusions from the findings of this research follow the Covid-19 pandemic that affected the functioning of the respondents. The methods reflect this unforeseen circumstance.

- Much of the recruitment and methodology had to take place in keeping with Covid-19 restrictions. This meant that face-to-face interviews were not possible. The very valuable insights from observable body language and other unspoken cues were not possible. Therefore, it is difficult to predict the impacts on the data had restrictions not been in place. However, because of the use of video communication in some instances, the observation of facial expressions was still possible.

- Family dynamics bring complexities, hierarchies and personal issues unknown to researchers during the interview process. It is difficult to assess the ways in which these factors affected the family member's accounts of their experiences.

- The conclusions drawn from this research are drawn from the accounts of two family members from each family. Even though there is scope for the investigation of the experiences and perceptions of the meaning and making of home for additional family members within a family, the time and budget constraints of this research did not allow for this further investigation.

- Much of the information presented captures a cross-section of time, marked by the Covid-19 pandemic, an evolving phenomenon. It is therefore unknown whether the effects on the transnational home are transitory or permanent.

- Covid-19 was the prevailing circumstance, affecting the lives of all family members interviewed. Consequently, this life changing circumstance cast experiences through this highly specific and negative lens. Further research outside of the context of Covid-19 could provide avenues for detailed accounts of various types of unforeseen circumstances and the effects that these have on the separation and transnational experience. The magnitude of the event is also a potential research gap. Covid-19 was a large-scale event. Measures of the impacts of different sized events and circumstances could add to the comprehensiveness of data around the transnational experience

- The research focused on the ways in which the transnational processes affect the experiences of the meaning and making of home. It was impossible to capture all elements of family life within the time and resource constraints of this endeavour.

Consequently, there are unmentioned experiences, worth investigation that could also significantly affect the individual and collective transnational home experience in ways not fully captured by this research.

9.5 Potential future research

This research has highlighted that home is arguably the foundation from which experiences are built, interpreted and nurtured. Home as a concept is deeply personal. Its perception maintains a predominant and lingering place in the life of the transnational, beginning from birth, and progressing through childhood into adulthood. Additionally, home as a concept plays a significant role in an individual's perceived notions of wellbeing, responses to vulnerabilities and economic stability. Moreover, social and economic transnationalism, which has economic and social benefits at the individual, household and community levels, is an important component of the contemporary home space. The very notion of transnationalism, for economic reasons, provides a clear example of the function of the transnational home as a focal point where families ensure the wellbeing of themselves and others around them. It is for that reason that future research of focus on a better understanding of the working of the transnational home and its contributions to social protection. However, any future research in this regard requires comprehensive discussion, which acknowledges all of the players at the micro-meso and macro levels, and the interconnected nature of the challenges faced and the responses implemented.

9.5.1 Social protection at the micro level

The transnational home centres on experiences from the perspectives of the transnational family members inside and outside of Grenada. Accordingly, each end of the transnational family is exposed to political environments, economic trends and social norms.

However, communication and remitting behaviours, which classify the transnational home, facilitate the exchange of information, which shifts Grenadian economic expectations and contributes to shifting expectations of wellbeing. Additionally, increased awareness of the strengths or inadequacies of their own economic circumstances a potential result of communication. This can cause increases or decreases in the level of contentment and resolve, which in turn has implications on the degree of perceived and expressed need.

Remittances are a tangible response to these needs. For some, remittances are a necessity for the daily function of the household, without which the daily economic functioning of the receiving household will be severely impaired. For others, remittances are simply a means of improving the quality of life. Its effects, while additive, are not necessary for the daily economic functioning of the home. Its removal will decrease the quality of life of the members of the receiving household but will not severely impair economic functioning.

Whether it is through the receipt of money used to pay for a range of different goods and services, or whether it is the receipt of goods, remittances allow families control over their well-being. The degree to which remittances, as a means of social protection, is predicated on the economic contentment of the receiving household, the confidence in one's ability to secure their own financial security and the resolve to meet their financial needs. Various manifestations of household level social protection are follows:

1) There are high levels of economic contentment, a low perceived need for remittances and a strong resolve to remain gainfully employed. Remittance transfers are less frequent and reserved for the sending of gifts on special occasions as a means to improve their overall quality of life.

2) There are high levels of economic contentment, a low perceived need for remittances and a strong resolve to remain gainfully employed. Remittances may be frequent but entirely at the discretion of the sender. Any "extra" remittances become community outreach to help meet the social and economic needs of the wider community.

3) There is low economic contentment and therefore a perceived and expressed need for remittances. However, there is still a strong resolve to remain gainfully employed. Remittances are necessary for the economic and social functioning of the household, to reduce the need for government assistance.

4) There is low economic contentment and expressed need. Gainful employment is not possible so remittances become necessary for economic functioning. Nonetheless, since much of the economic responsibility transfers to the family member outside of Grenada, the frequency of remittances and the resulting levels of social protection are entirely dependent on the circumstances of the remitting family member.

There are potential downsides. Depending on the needs of their corresponding family members, the remitting family member may forgo their own wellbeing to ensure that their corresponding family member has all, or the majority of their needs met. The findings of this research suggest that remitting is a managed and accepted part of the transnationalism process, but it can potentially limit the financial security of the remitting family member and leave them with very little personal social protection of their own.

9.5.2 Social protection at the meso and macro level

Social protection as a macro-level policy response is the combined responsibility of the Ministry of Social and Community Development, Housing and Gender Affairs, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education. The safety net measures offered by these government organisations are multidisciplinary, means-tested, cash or in-kind and are designed to assist the most socially or financially deprived in the population. An example of a safety net program is the means-tested Support for Education, Empowerment and Development (SEED) program. The result of the combination of the Ministry of Education's school transportation programme, The Ministry of Education's necessitous fund and the Ministry of Social Development's public assistance programme, its primary objectives are the improvement of education, health and poverty outcomes for vulnerable Grenadian families (World Bank, 2019).

Despite the proposed wide reach of such programmes, there are a number of vulnerabilities, which limit their effective implementation. The vulnerability of Grenada to natural disasters, economic downturns, and standard of living fluctuations decreases the economic and social mitigation capacity of the government (Barrientos, 2010; World Bank, 2019). At the same time, the wide prevalence of single parent households, chronic diseases, and crime, increases the vulnerability of households. This puts further strain on a system which already has inadequate reach, poorly defined parameters, limited implementation, and a heavy reliance on international aid (The World Bank, 2019; The World Bank, 2021).

Running in parallel to state social protection initiatives, are community development contributions made by remitting households. Some transnational individuals or households in Grenada, support members of their communities who are in social, health or economic need. These acts of personal charity, made possible through the proceeds of remittances, are

small-scale and targeted to the specific needs of the recipient. This form of charity is not just significant in its ability to strengthen community bonds but also because of its ability to mitigate, standard of living inequalities between the individuals in receipt of remittances and ones who are not.

Community social protection, funded by remittances is highly dependent on the discretion and changing circumstances of the remitting and receiving family. Unforeseen circumstances and changing practicalities mean that the transnational home is a fluctuating and unstable form of financial social protection. Consequently, there is a risk that reliance on remittances as a community-level form of social protection will be insufficient to meet needs. Additionally, it creates increased dependence on the proceeds of remittances and increased inequality due to standard of living disparities among households in receipt of remittances compared to households not in receipt (Itzigsohn, 1995; Lim and Simmons, 2015; Rubenstein, 1983). Equally, although transnationalism is a choice taken by some families to allow for greater economic security, for every family member who migrates, there are members who do not choose to migrate or who are not able to migrate. There is a risk that the receipt of remittances would act as a disincentive to seek employment within the domestic labour market (Itzigsohn, 1995; Lim and Simmons, 2015). However, the non-bureaucratic nature of these informal community development initiatives by people who have intimate knowledge of their own communities also mean that needs are directly and efficiently met through highly targeted and personalised responses.

9.5.3 The missing link: The transnational home

Previous research on Caribbean diaspora networks suggests that transnationals remain connected to their homeland through social and economic contributions (Mains, 2007 Alleyne, 2006; Minto-Coy, 2011; Todoroki et al., 2009). Grenadian governments have capitalised on this collective transnational development potential, albeit not to the levels which support maximum social policy scope and efficiency.

The Office of Diaspora Affairs (ODS), a branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fosters relationships with individuals and organisations in the Grenadian diaspora. Philanthropic donations, investments, innovation, and skills transfers facilitate direct engagement with a number of development projects. Most notable is the Grenadian Diaspora for Development

(GD4D), which through its Grenada National Diaspora Engagement Policy addresses number of themes that are specifically targeted by the Grenadian 2020-2035 sustainable development goals(Ying, 2019; Ying, 2020), such as:

1) Diaspora Engagement: The main policy objective of this theme is the development of a global Grenadian diaspora with the strategic goals of ensuring sustained connection to and engagement with Grenada.

2) Remittances: Working with other CARICOM countries to reduce the associated costs for the transfer of remittances, while facilitating the use of alternative banking arrangements is the desired policy and strategic response to increase the flow of remittances into Grenada.

3) Diaspora philanthropy for social development: The use of specialised skill sets in high priority areas towards health and education development is a key policy aim. Providing related customs duties exemptions for any contributions of equipment and supplies is also a suggested policy response.

However, gaps exists, which can limit the scope and efficiency of any development initiatives and therefore need to be remedied.

First, engagement by way of these programmes is primarily with the members of the diaspora who have left Grenada. The findings of this research demonstrate that transnationalism, centred on the transnational home, is a comprehensive process. It incorporates both ends of the transnational relationship. The connections to Grenada, established by a remitting Grenadian, are as much a function of the relationships and connections they maintain with their family members, as it is a function of their own citizenship and sense of patriotic loyalty. Consequently, the transnational process and any resulting remittances become sustainable through the recognition of and actions related to the interconnected mix of practicalities and emotionality. Therefore, it is pertinent that policy recognises the full significance of these processes and engages with all of its players.

Second, despite the social development policy goals of diaspora organisations, there is limited engagement with the Ministry of Social and Community Development, Housing and

Gender Affairs. Further engagement and collaboration is needed to ensure that the diaspora can be used as a vehicle to more comprehensively address the social and economic needs of the most vulnerable in Grenada.

Nonetheless, the transnational family provides a useful avenue for strategic collaboration. Before implementing any diaspora social policy-related initiatives that bridge the social protection measures at a micro-, meso- and macro level, an awareness of the emotions, challenges and rewards that come into play when developing and making a home is necessary. As Chapters 6, 7 and 8 suggest, the meanings associated with home and the personal transnational process are essential to form favourable or adverse home environments. Rather than modelling Grenadian need from the Global North perspective, culturally specific meanings, day-to-day experiences, and the expectations of all ends of a transnational home warrant attention. It is only from a culturally and social specific knowledge of the bottom up meanings of the Grenadian home that diaspora behaviours, such as remitting, can be strategically channelled to satisfy social protection goals. Additionally, a transnaitonal family's first-hand knowledge of their home and community plays an essential role in the distribution of economic capital required to support community development.

Therefore, the familial and transnational home process of remitting aligns with the social protection functions of the Ministry of Social and Community Development, Housing and Gender Affairs. The result is the collaborative potential between the state-funded social protection and the remitting transnational home and diaspora initiatives, as shown in Figure 13. Social and economic wellbeing is complex and highly nuanced. It is dependent on individual or familial decisions, and extenuating circumstances. The generalisable nature of social or diaspora policy is not always appropriate to support the range of differing needs across individuals, families or even communities. Discourse about the collaborative and inclusive personalisation of social protection is warranted and overdue.
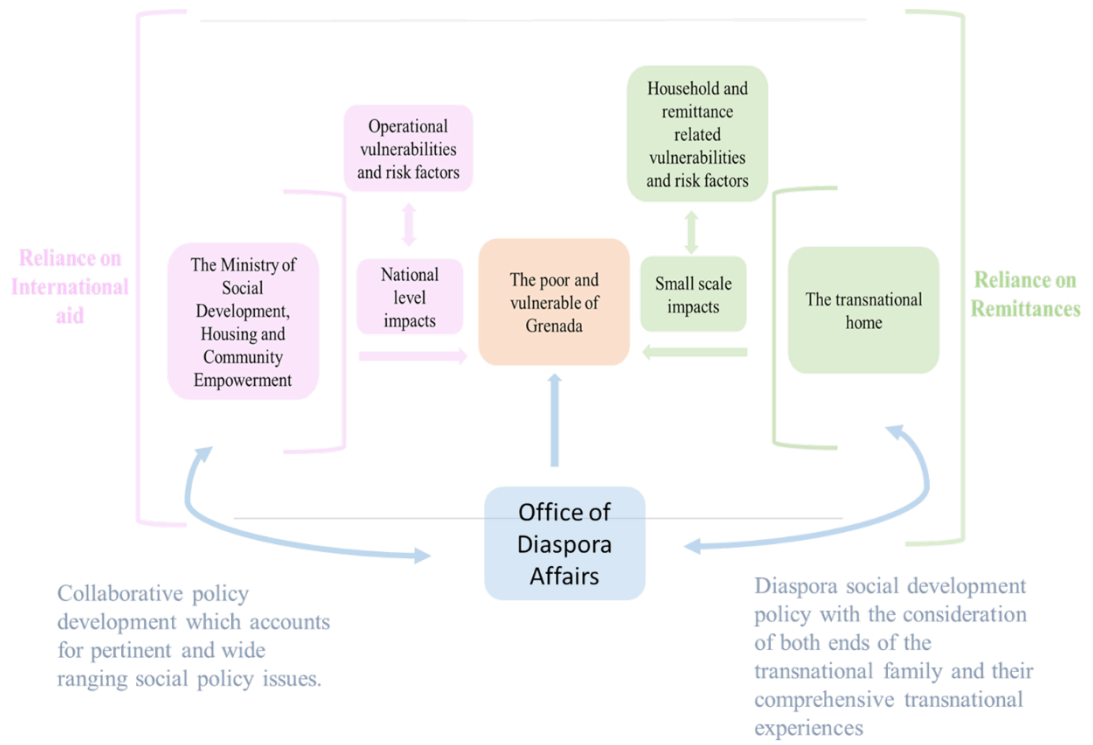
Figure 13: Collaborative social policy development in Grenada

Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent form

Project title: The transnational home: The experiences around the meaning and the making of home for Grenadian transnational families

		Please initial box
1	I have been told what this research is about and what it involves. I have been given an information sheet and have had opportunity to ask questions.	
2	I understand that I do not have to take part in the research. I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason	
3	I will not be named in any research reports, and my personal information will remain confidential.	
4	I understand that if the researcher thinks that I or someone else might be at risk of harm, they may have to contact the relevant authorities. But they will try and talk to me first about the best thing to do.	
5	I agree to be audio-recorded. I understand that I can still take part without being recorded if I wish.	
6	I understand that my words, but not my name, may be used in research reports.	
7	I understand that I will not be able to amend or withdraw information I provide 14 days after doing the interview.	
8	I agree for my anonymous data to be archived at the University of York, and to be used by other researchers, or in future research studies.	
9	I agree to take part in the research	

Participant signature: _____   Date: _____

Researcher signature: _____   Date: _____

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet

The transnational home: The experiences around the meaning and the making of home for Grenadian transnational families

Who is undertaking the study?

Karemah Francois, will be the sole person involved in this research project, which will go towards the completion of a PhD in Social Policy.

What is the purpose of the study?

This project hopes to understand the views of Grenadians, who have a relative who lives abroad and/or either sends or receives support in the form of money or other goods, about what it means to make a home. This research project is part of my PhD in Social Policy.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part in this research because you are currently part of a transnational household meaning that you have and are in contact with a relative who lives abroad and sends assistance or gifts to you in the form of money or goods. You may also be part of a transnational family and be living abroad but with relatives back home whom you send assistance in the form of money or goods. Also, you have been invited to take part in this research because, you are over the age of 18 and you are a Grenadian citizen.

What does taking part involve?

You will be asked to take part in a recorded face to face or telephone interview with me, the PhD researcher. After you provide your consent, the interview will last anywhere between 30 minutes to 90 minutes at the location of your choosing. All you need to do is be in attendance at the interview. You will not be required to prepare for the interview. During the interview, you will be asked to answer questions about:

- What the word home means to you;
- How you go about making a home;
- What you think about having a relative that lives abroad;
- How your relatives play a role in your meaning of home;

- How the assistance or gifts you send or receive from your relative plays a role in your meaning of home;
- Any other situations, which may play a role in your meaning of home

It is expected that you will only be needed for one interview, where you will only asked about the topics stated above. However, it may be possible that for unplanned reasons the interview may end early, I may need some additional information or you may decide that there is more that you will like to share with me after the first interview has finished. If this happens then I may ask for a second interview (also at the time and place of your choosing) which will last the same amount of time as the first interview and will cover the additional information about the topics covered in the first interview.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you whether you want to take part. If you decide to take part, you will be given a consent form to sign. At any point, even after you sign the consent form, you can decide not to take part and you do not need to explain why.

What are the benefits and risks of participating?

The benefits of taking part are that the information collected from this research will allow me to understand the experiences of Grenadian transnational households. It is the hope that this research will inform policy-making decisions. The findings from this research will be shared with all participants.

I will only ask questions about how your family communicates, how you share money and how that works towards you making a home. The risks of taking part will be very small because I will not ask you to talk about anything that you tell me you do not want to talk about. If by any chance, any unexpected risks come up where you or someone else might be at risk of harm, I may have to contact the necessary authorities but I will try to talk to you first about the best thing to do.

If you are the relative/household member who lives in Grenada, you will receive 75 ECD for taking part in this research.

Will I be identified in any research outputs?

You and your family's participation in this project will be kept private. Any names, addresses and other information, which can be used to identify you or your family, will be destroyed after I use them and nothing personal about you or your family will be included in my research project. However, if you provide any information that may compromise the safety of yourself and others, I will have to follow research protocol and disclose this information to the relevant authorities.

All information you give will be kept in a folder, which only I can see and is protected by a password. The University of York will keep the information from your interview for 10 years. The University of York will hold the consent forms for 3 years after the research project has finished. The recordings from the interview will be deleted right after the research project has finished. More information about this will be provided in the Data Information Sheet.

Who is funding the research?

I am funding this research project in full.

Who has given approval to conduct the research?

Approval to conduct this research has been given by the University of York Social Policy and Social Work Departmental Ethics Committee.

How do I find out more information?

For any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me. I am the only researcher on the project. My contact details are as follows:

<u>Karemah Francois</u>

Mobile number (UK): +44 7444204481   Email address: kkf507@york.ac.uk

How do I make a complaint?

In the first instance, complaints can be made to either Professor Nicholas Pleace at Nicholas.Pleace@york.ac.uk or Professor John Hudson at John.Hudson@york.ac.uk

If you are still not satisfied, with how your complaint has been handled you may take your complaint to the University of York's Social Work and Social Policy Departmental Ethics Committee using the email address: spsw-ethics@york.ac.uk.

Appendix 3: Data Information Sheet

The transnational home: The experiences around the meaning and the making of home for Grenadian transnational families

The purpose of this information sheet is to explain how your data will be used and protected, in line with GDPR.

On what basis will you process my data?

Under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), the University must identify a legal basis for processing personal data and, where appropriate, an additional condition for processing special category data.

In line with our charter which states that we advance learning and knowledge by teaching and research, the University processes personal data for research purposes under Article 6 (1) (e) of the GDPR:

"Processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest"

Research will only be undertaken where ethical approval has been obtained, where there is a clear public interest and where appropriate safeguards have been put in place to protect data.

In line with ethical expectations and to comply with common law duty of confidentiality, we will seek your consent to participate where appropriate. This consent will not, however, be our legal basis for processing your data under the GDPR.

How will you use my data?

Data will be processed for the purposes outlined in this notice and in the main information sheet. With your consent, the interview will be audio-recorded. The recording device used to audio record the interview will be password protected. The audio recording from the interview will be transferred to the secure University of York encrypted fileserver, at the earliest opportunity, and then permanently deleted from the recording device. You will be

required to provide informed consent for participation. This will include your signature. These consent forms will be kept in a locked cabinet that only the researcher and her academic supervisors has access to. The anonymised findings will be analysed and the findings included in a PhD thesis as part of the requirements to receive a PhD in Social Policy and Social Work. A summary of the findings will also be given to all of the participants of this research project.

How will you keep my data secure?

The University will put in place appropriate technical and organisational measures to protect your personal data and/or special category data. For the purposes of this project, all of the recordings and the interview transcripts are stored in the password protected secure University of York fileserver. Information will be treated with privacy and shared on a need-to-know basis only. The University is committed to the principle of data protection by design and default and will collect the minimum amount of data necessary for the project.

Will you share my data with 3rd parties?

Data will be available and visible to Karemah Francois, who is the principal researcher on this PhD project. In addition, the academic supervisors of the principal researcher (Karemah Francois) will be the only other people with access to your data.

We will request that other researchers have access to the anonymised transcript for future research, but you will have the opportunity to opt out of this at the consent stage.

Will I be identified in any research outputs?

You will not be identified in any research output. Names will not be used. Consent will be required for us to use direct quotes in publications, but these will be untraceable back to participants. Participants do not have to consent to this.

How long will you keep my data?

Data will be held in line with legal requirements or where there is a business need. Timeframes for holding information will be decided in line with the University's Records Retention Schedule. Anonymised transcripts will be kept for ten years from the end of the study; consent forms will be kept for three years from the end of the study; audio recordings will be deleted at the end of the study.

What rights do I have in relation to my data?

Under the GDPR, you have a general right of access to your data, a right to rectification, erasure, restriction, objection or portability. You also have a right to withdrawal. Please note, not all rights apply where data is processed purely for research purposes. For further information see, https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/generaldataprotectionregulation/ individualsrights/.

For this research project, you have the right to withdraw your data up to fourteen days after the date of your interview. No explanation for your withdrawal will be needed.

Questions

If you have any questions about this participant information sheet or concerns about how your data is being processed, please contact Karemah Francois at kkf507@york.ac.uk. If you are still dissatisfied, please contact the University's Acting Data Protection Officer at dataprotection@york.ac.uk.

If you are unhappy with the way in which the University has handled your personal data, you have a right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office. For information on reporting a concern to the Information Commissioner's Office, see www.ico.org.uk/concerns.

Appendix 4: Ethics application

Social Policy and Social Work

Departmental Ethics Committee

Application for Ethical Review of Research

Instructions

The Social Policy and Social Work Departmental Ethics Committee (DEC) oversees all research studies undertaken in the Department. This form must be used for all submissions for ethical approval, including student research. Please note that research activity (including contacting prospective participants) cannot begin until a letter of approval has been issued by the DEC.

Please complete all sections as applicable and sign the undertaking (electronically). Once completed, email it - with all required attachments - to spsw-ethics@york.ac.uk for review by the DEC.

Do I need to apply?

If an equivalent ethical review body will review your study then you do not need to apply separately to the DEC. For example, submissions to an NHS Research Ethics Committee, or an ethics committee from another UK university, does NOT need further ethical approval from the DEC. However, you are required to notify the DEC that such a review has taken place (see the Documents Library). Research using only archived secondary data is also outside the DEC review process.

If you are unsure if you need to apply to the DEC please contact us for advice: spsw-ethics@york.ac.uk.

Checklist (click on the box to enter a cross)

☒ I have answered all relevant questions of the application form.

☒ I have attached a data management plan (an SPSW requirement).

X I have attached a risk assessment form (an SPSW requirement).

☒ I have attached all additional documents that will be used to recruit participants, such as information sheets, consent forms, recruitment materials (e.g. posters or flyers).

☐ I have attached any quantitative data collection instruments (e.g. questionnaires) the research will use.

X *For student applicants:* My supervisor has reviewed and signed my application (using an electronic signature)?

Part 1: Overview of the research

1. Please provide details about the Principal Investigator (lead staff researcher or student).

Name	Karemah Francois
Course (students only)	PhD Social Policy and Social Work
Supervisor (students only)	Professor Nicholas Pleace and Professor
Job title (staff only)	N/A
Email address	kkf507@york.ac.uk
Telephone	07444204481

2. When do you expect the fieldwork to start and end?

Expected start: April 2020   Expected End: July 2020

3. *For staff:* List any SPSW DEC member who might have a conflict of interest so should not act as reviewers for the project, such as those consulted in the development of the

project, or close colleagues. *A list of members can be found in the Ethics for Research section of the Yorkshare VLE.*

> N/A

4. What is the full title of the research project?

> The transnational home: The experiences around the meaning and the making of home for Grenadian transnational families

5. Is the research funded? If so, please name the funding body(ies)

> The research is self-funded

6. If the research is funded, does the funding source create any ethical concerns and/or actual or perceived conflicts of interest?
   See section 4 "Funding" of the University's Code of practice and principles for good ethical governance

> N/A

7. What are the research aims?

> The primary aim of this project is to explore how Grenadian households interpret and view the experiences around the meaning and construction of home while belonging to a transnational household. A transnational household, in this context means a Grenadian household that extends across multiple geographic locations. Specifically, households that have one or more family members who have migrated to either the United Kingdom, the United States or Canada and the migrant relative currently resides abroad. A key component of the transnational household is the presence of a sustained connection between the members of the household who reside in the origin country of Grenada and the members of the household that reside abroad. This connection primarily takes the form of remittances (financial and in-kind support) sent by the migrant relatives abroad.

Within this main overarching aim, other supplementary aims include :

- The exploration of how the underlying factors associated with belonging to a transnational household such as social identity, cultural identity, place attachment, social networks and assimilation play a role in the evolution of the meaning and making of home.
- The exploration of any relationships that exist within the transnational household and whether these relationships affect the meaning of home.
- An exploration of the connections between Grenadian housing policy and the experiences of meaning of home for Grenadian transnational families

8. Please summarise the research methods, listing **each** research activity (e.g. focus groups, telephone interviews, online questionnaire etc.)

The study will primarily use semi-structured, qualitative, face-to-face, telephone or social media facilitated interviews. There will only be minor use of quantitative methods, specifically the use of Microsoft Excel to carry out tabulations (counts and percentages) of demographic data. . The choice of primarily qualitative interviews is for a number of reasons:

1) The community and/or social aspects of Grenadian culture means that interviews (face-to-face, telephone or skype) which involve direct communication is the most effective way to not only gain trust and greater participant involvement, but is also a more efficient means to collect data than the use of postal surveys.

2) Accounting for the fact that this project is an exploration of home and any associated concepts, there are social, cultural, economic and psychological aspects, which are best-explored using qualitative methods.

3) The methods used in this project is guided by Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis which promotes the use of smaller and more in-depth samples, which is best achieved by using qualitative methods.

In order to achieve the outlined research aims, this research project will be divided into two phases.

Phase 1: This phase involves interviews with members of transnational households who must still be Grenadian citizens, and for the family members who reside abroad, still in regular contact with Grenada.

This phase will have a "linked component". Each transnational household recruited will comprise of a face-face or telephone interview (1-2 hours) with a representative of the transnational household based in Grenada, as well as a telephone or Skype interview (1-2 hours) with the representative for the family member based abroad. All participants will be asked about how their experiences living in a transnational household affects their perspectives around the meaning and making of "home".

The face-to-face or telephone interviews with the household representatives based in Grenada will be conducted at a location most convenient to the participant and best suited to their physical and emotional requirements. I will also ensure the safety of both the participant and myself as the PhD researcher by following recommended University of York researcher safety guidelines and research protocols. It is anticipated that, given the fact that the home is central to Grenadian culture and the welcoming and social nature of Grenadians, the home will be the most comfortable place for participants to conduct an interview, which can translate to richer and more in-depth data.

The telephone, skype or social media interviews with the household representatives based abroad will be conducted at a time most convenient to the participant irrespective of any time differences. In the event that any of the representatives based abroad happen to be in Grenada during the time of the interview, the interview structure will follow that used for any household representative based in Grenada**.**

Phase 2: To understand the wider policy context, this phase will involve the use of one-hour semi structured interviews with policy decision makers within the Grenadian Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment. The reason why interviews instead of focus groups are used is to ensure complete confidentiality for the participants. Additionally, the use of interviews reduces the potential scheduling issues, which may occur with planning a focus group around multiple busy schedules.

Policy makers and organisation leaders will be asked about the various factors that go into the housing assistance decisions. They will also be asked about the role of transnationalism in addressing any housing issues, which exist on the island of Grenada.

All of the interviews will be carried our solely by the PhD researcher using the interview topic guides detailed in the (Question 4). However, additional questions may also be used to gather information. These additional questions will vary depending on the context and circumstances at the time of the interview. All interviews will be recorded and written notes will be taken. The PhD researcher will transfer the interview recordings from the recording device to a secure folder on the University of York's secure file server, immediately after which the original recording will be permanently deleted from the recording devise. The secure interview recordings will be transcribed solely by the PhD researcher and anonymised using Microsoft Word where they will be also be securely stored using the University of York's secure file server.

The data collected will be analysed thematically using NVivo. Microsoft word and Microsoft Excel will be used for the visual display of data into tables and/or charts.

9. Please briefly summarise the key ethical issues or risks that you have identified in this research.

I will be using gatekeepers to aid with proving information about my project to the communities of interest.

The use of a gatekeeper will entail enlisting an individual who has significant working knowledge of the various communities in Grenada. This working knowledge will include a knowledge of which households within the communities are transnational, receive remittances (which due to the close-knot nature or many Grenadian communities is community knowledge) and therefore fit potential selection criteria.

This gatekeeper will only assist with providing information (via the participant information sheets) as a trusted member of the community. To ensure confidentiality for

participants gatekeepers will have no knowledge of who has contacted the PhD researcher and who takes part in the research.

However, while this is the most effective way to build trust and encourage participants within various communities in Grenada, this can also result in in a degree of bias. There is the potential that gatekeepers will only inform selected community members about the research, based on personal preference. In order to work around this ethical issue I will use multiple gatekeepers to ensure that my sample size has broader scope and supports inclusion rather than exclusion.

Furthermore, because I will be conducting research in areas in Grenada where I have lived, gone to school and worked, there is a possibility that some participants may know me. This may in turn affect (both positively and negatively) their willingness to divulge particularly sensitive information. In order to address this I will ensure that I emphasise, both in the participant information sheet and in person, that everything divulged will remain confidential. I will also assure participants that I will be operating as a researcher working under the strict ethical guideline as outlined by the University of York.

Moreover, interviews a family member who resides in Grenada and a family member who resides abroad, may cause ethical challenges as it relates to the confidentiality of information within the households and how this may affect family relationships within the transnational household. In order to address this I will emphasise in the Participant Information Sheet and in person prior to interviews that everything that is disclosed in the interviews will remain confidential and information disclosed to me in the interviews under no circumstances will not be disclosed to other family members.

Finally, my research will potentially involve the participation of participants who are classified as vulnerable due to their socioeconomic status (i.e. live in poverty). The ways in which these will be addressed are discussed further in Question 12(a).

Part 2: Research participants and activities

10. Please describe the research participants taking part in each activity listed in Q8.
    If your study has explicit inclusion / exclusion criteria, please list them.

The inclusion criteria for this research project is as follows:

<u>Participants for Phase 1 must be:</u>

- Aged 18 and above

AND

- Grenadian citizens

AND

- Part of a transnational household

For the relative based abroad (who is part of the transnational household) they must be in contact with their relative based in Grenada and provide some form of monetary or in kind assistance in the form of remittances

For the relative based abroad (who is part of the transnational household) they must be in contact with their relative abroad and must receive some form of monetary or in-kind assistance in the form of remittances.

Participants will take part in one qualitative semi-structured interview anywhere from 60-90 minutes

Both of the participants (both the participant/household member based in Grenada and the participant based abroad) will be required to meet these criteria.

> **Participants for Phase 2 must be:**
>
> - Aged 18 and above
>
> AND
>
> - Grenadian citizens
>
> AND
>
> - A policy official employed with Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment
>
> Participants will take part in one qualitative semi-structured interview lasting up to 60 minutes.

11. Approximately how many participants will take part in each activity listed in Q8.

> **Phase 1:** I aim to recruit 10 transnational families (one member of the household based in Grenada and one member of the household abroad= a total of 20 participants total).
>
> **Phase 2:** I aim to recruit 2-6 policy makers.
>
> This number will be heavily dependent on who I am able to talk to. In some cases the more senior, the policy maker the more information they can provide.

12. a) If the research may involve 'vulnerable' populations or children, please describe the ethical challenges that arise and how these will be managed.

    By 'vulnerable' we mean anyone disempowered and potentially susceptible to coercion or persuasion. This may include people vulnerable through social context (e.g. homelessness, poverty); through experiences (e.g. of trauma or abuse); through learning difficulties, dementia or mental health needs; or through other factors. Please also

provide details of the *relevant DBS checks and/or ISA registration that have been undertaken.*

Grenada is a Caribbean island with significant poverty levels. Therefore, it is anticipated there may be a subset of the research participants who will fall below the poverty line. This may result in feelings of disempowerment and feelings of limited agency.

In order to overcome any arising ethical challenges:

- I will follow University of York Social Policy and Social Work ethical protocols, which require me to provide clearly described Project Information Forms, provide clearly described Data Information Sheets, get informed consent from all research participants and ensure participant safety, and confidentiality.
- I will also follow the University of York Data Management Policy and the guidelines for securely storing data, anonymising data, archiving data and getting consent from the research participants to share and archive any data

I will draw on my knowledge of Grenadian society and culture, having lived there for much of my life.

- I will be sure to clearly introduce myself and be very clear about the intentions of the research.
- I will clearly explain that the research is to gain there perspective and I am not there to judge or take advantage of their situation.
- I will also be mindful not to ask any questions that may cause embarrassment
- I will give them the option to divulge as much or as little information as they choose
- I will provide a 'thank you' of 20 Eastern Caribbean Dollars (approximately £5.70) to the members of the transnational household based in Grenada as a sign of gratitude for them taking the time to talk to provide participants with the feeling that this research is not taking from them without giving something back. It is felt that this amount fits within my budget as a self-funded student. The fact that I am a self-funded student will not have any bearing on the willingness of the participants to accept the money. My PhD is already entirely funded by

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myself and any activities undertaken as part of the project will have to come from my own funds. Taking account the Grenadian culture instead of the money coming from myself, being a source of distress it will in fact be welcomed. It will be perceived by the participants as my attempt to give back to the citizens of my country.

12. b) If you are involving 'vulnerable' populations or children, please describe the experience that you / others in the research have in working with this group.

I have previous experience working with vulnerable groups in particular interviewing bereaved relatives while conducting research within a palliative care facility located in Canberra, Australia. As part of this previous experience, I conducted face to face interviews with bereaved family members about their opinions of the healthcare received by their deceased relative while the deceased relative was a patient at the hospice. A large number of these interviews were conducted by myself (As a sole researcher) at the homes (located at various locations across Canberra Australia) of the relatives who were taking part in the research. To enable me carry out my research duties I was debriefed by my supervisor at the time about safety requirements when conducting interviews alone in the residence of participants, the issues around interviewee power given that the interview is conducted in their home. We also established a plan of action should it arise that the interviewee or I becomes distressed. During my employment, I was also given research training (by my former research supervisor) about the ways to spot a distressed participant, the ways to sport my own distress and the steps I need to take once this occurs. I was able to complete the interviews and the results were published at the conclusion of the study.

13. Please describe how will research participants be identified, and who will be involved in the process?

During **<u>Phase 1</u>** of the research, gatekeepers will aid the identification of research participants.

My initial contact with the gatekeeper will be via a telephone call. I will provide information about the research and provide the gatekeeper with a copy of the research invitation pack. This will be via email (prior to my arrival in Grenada for field work), and a hard copy during our first face to face meeting once

This research invitation pack will contain an invitation letter, the participant information sheet and the consent form. Gatekeepers will be sourced from a combination of my own knowledge as well determining who the community leaders are by attending community meetings etc.

Since the gatekeeper will be assisting with their knowledge of who belongs to transnational households and meets the selection criteria, the initial contact with the potential participant can be either with the relative who is based Grenada or the relative who is based abroad . This will all depend on the gatekeeper knowledge of who has the established and accepted leadership role within the household. Therefore, the use of the gatekeeper will also help me to navigate any potentially underlying household dynamics.

Additionally, gatekeepers will be leaders in their communities and in addition to having strong links with members of their communities based in Grenada; they also still maintain strong links with members of the communities after they move abroad. Recruitment will be 'household recruitment' meaning that the decision to take part will be made as a household. Therefore, the gatekeeper will provide one member of the transnational household with the research invitation pack. This household member will then agree to talk to their corresponding relative (either living in Grenada or abroad) and the decision to take part will then be made after which I will be contacted. This however will not be the only process used. During this phase, I will also be actively recruiting and providing additional participants with information about the research. The use of a

gatekeeper is to make this process easier and more efficient and increase my recruitment numbers.

I will aim to use multiple gatekeepers to ensure that there is limited bias. It is felt that the use of gatekeepers will be the best approach if potential participants become aware of the research through a trusted member of their community they are more likely to trust the research process.

Phase 2 of the research will use a similar gatekeeper. However, in this case it will be a policymaker within the Grenadian Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment who will provide me with the names of potential employees who fit the selection criteria that I can interview. Given the guidelines and restrictions as it relates to access to employees, the identification of and any contact with participants will have to be solely via the assistance and approval of the gatekeeper. Initial contact with the potential policymaker gatekeeper (identified via a Ministry directory) will be through a telephone call. I will introduce myself, state my affiliation, and I will discuss my interest in finding research participants within the ministry. If this phone call proves successful, it will be followed up by an email providing additional information about the research project. This information will be an emailed and hard copy of the research information pack, comprising of an invitation letter, the participant information sheet and the consent form. The policymaker gatekeeper will then forward the research information to their departments where potential participants will be invited to contact me if they wish to take part in the research. If the initial phone call has not been successful, I will repeat the process to find another potential gatekeeper policymaker within the Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment.

In Grenada, it is best to have initial telephone or face-to-face meetings with potential gatekeepers because if an email in sent without initial interaction, it is very likely that the email will deemed junk email and be deleted without being read.

It should also be stated that any gatekeepers used (in both Phase 1 and Phase 2) would only assist with providing the initial information about the research to potential

participants in the form of the research invitation pack. They would have no knowledge research participation.

Below are drafts of the invitation letter for both families and policymakers:

<u>Letter for families</u>

Dear Household member,

I am a Social Policy doctoral student within the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the

University of York, in the United Kingdom. As part of my degree I am conducting research on the following topic:

The transnational home: The experiences around the meaning and the making of home for Grenadian transnational families

I am therefore looking to interview members of a transnational household like yourself about:

- What the word home means to you;
- How you go about making a home;
- What you think about having a relative that lives abroad;
- How your relatives play a role in your meaning of home;
- How the assistance you send or receive from your relative plays a role in your meaning of
- home;
- Any other situations, which may play a role in your meaning of home

The interview should last anywhere between 60-90 minutes at a private, confidential and convenient location, at a time which best suits you. If you are interested in taking part

please contact me at XXXX or by email at kkf507@york.ac.uk. You participation will be very much appreciated.

If you have any additional, questions please do not hesitate to contact me. I have also included a copy of the Participant Information Sheet, the consent form and a GPSR compliance form.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter,

Kind regards,

Karemah Francois

Letter for Policymakers

Dear Policymaker,

I am a Social Policy doctoral student within the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York in the United Kingdom. As part of my degree I am conducting research on the following topic:

The transnational home: The experiences around the meaning and the making of home for Grenadian

transnational families

I am therefore looking to interview policymakers like yourself within the Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment about:

- Housing policy in Grenada
- The current distribution of housing assistance across Grenada,
- The policy process involved in the provision of housing assistance to Grenadians,
- The ways in which the eligibility for housing assistance is assessed,

- The degree to which belonging to a transnational family(and receiving remittances) may
- factor into the eligibility for housing assistance,
- The potential avenues for the incorporation of transnationalism into housing support initiatives.

The interview should last up to 60 minutes at a private, confidential office within the Ministry at a time, which best suits, you. If you are interested in taking part, please contact me at XXXX or by email at kkf507@york.ac.uk. You participation will be very much appreciated.

If you have any additional, questions please do not hesitate to contact me. I have also included a copy of the Participant Information Sheet, the consent form and a GPSR compliance form.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter,

Kind regards,

Karemah Francois

Part 3: Choosing whether to participate

14. Please describe the process by which prospective participants will receive information about the research, including who will provide information, when and how.
    If a different process will be used for different participants or different activities, please describe each separately.

Phase 1: Prospective Participants will receive information in a number of stages:

First, they will have initial contact with either a gatekeeper or myself. Either this initial contact will involve a face-to-face interaction where a printed copy of the Participant Information Sheet will be provided, or via a telephone call, or an email where an email copy of the Participant information sheet will be provided. Given that the research will be involving two relatives per transnational household (one who is based in Grenada,

and one who has migrated and resides abroad), initial contact will be with one member of the family(either in Grenada or abroad) who will then discuss with their other relatives and then they will decide to take part as a household. The research will not proceed unless all parties have signed their consent forms, which will be taken by the researcher that they have not been pressured and agreed to take part. However, at the time of the interview I as the researcher will ask the participant whether they would like to proceed with their participation.

The reason for this approach lies with the fact that recruiting separately will be difficult, time consuming and use up already limited self-funded resources. Additionally, if the family decides to take part after family discussions, they are more likely to feel more secure in their decision to participate knowing that they have the full support of their relatives. However, once recruitment has taken place and the interviews begin, it will be emphasized that the content of the interviews are individual and therefore strictly confidential. Family members will not be told what other family members said in the interviews. If a household contacts me to take part in the research then that will be used as an indication that all household members agreed to take part and they did not feel pressured.

Second, once potential participants have contacted me with an interest in taking part (by either email or telephone), I will introduce myself, and provide additional information about the research topic, the research process and what their involvement will entail. I will then proceed to set up an interview date, time and location (the location will be for interviewees based in Grenada).

Third, at the time of the interview, I will reiterate (verbally) about what participation entails, and provide a brief overview of the topics covered in the interview. Additional physical copies of the PIS and GDPR forms will be given to the participant prior to the interview commencing. For interviewees based abroad the Participant Information Sheets and consent forms will be emailed 24-48 hours prior to the beginning of the interview. For interviewed based in Grenada, they will be provided on the day of the interview.

In addition, at this stage, the interview process will be described and it will be made clear to the participant that they can pause the interview, speak off the record or withdraw from the study at any point without any necessary explanation. Information about confidentiality will also be emphasized

Phase 2: Prospective participants will receive information in the following stages:

First, prospective participants will receive initial information about the research from a policymaker at the Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment in Grenada. They information they will be provided will either be in the form of emailed or printed copies of the Participant Information Sheets. I will provide the policymaker gatekeeper with the Participant Information Sheets (which are attached to this ethical application).

Second, once potential participants have contacted me with an interest in taking part (by either email or telephone), I will introduce myself, and provide additional information about the research topic, the research process and what their involvement will entail. I will then proceed to set up an interview date, time and location.

Third, at the time of the interview, I will reiterate (verbally) about what participation entails, and provide a brief overview of the topics covered in the interview. Additional physical copies of the PIS and GDPR forms will be given to the participant prior to the interview commencing.

In addition, at this stage, the interview process will be described and it will be made clear to the participant that they can pause the interview, speak off the record or withdraw from the study at any point without any necessary explanation. Information about confidentiality will also be emphasized.

15. Please describe how prospective participants will give their consent to the research.
    If a different process will be used for different participants or different research activities, please describe each separately.

The consent form will be given to participant to sign at the beginning of the interview and must be signed in order for the interview to commence. However, prior to the participant signing the form any questions or concerns as they arise by the participant will be addressed. At various points during the interview verbal consent will be received again, particularly is the unforeseeable event that any distressing topic areas arise, or after any pauses or breaks to the interview process.

Any telephone , skype or social media interviews consent will be received via email where the consent form will be emailed to the participant 24-48 hours prior to the interview. They will then sign the form and email or post it back to me prior to the interview. If it is not possible for the participant to provide the interview form via email or post. Verbal consent will be given on record at the beginning of the interview.

16. If you do *not* envisage providing an information sheet and/or obtaining a signed (or audio recorded) record of consent, please justify and explain the measures taken to compliance with data protection legislation.

N/A

17. If research participants are to receive any payments, reimbursement of expenses or other incentives for taking part in the research, please give details.

Vulnerable participants based in Grenada will be given 20 ECD (£5.70) after the interview has taken place.

Part 4: Research activities

18. Please describe what participation in each research activity involves (e.g. what activities, how often / for how long, with whom, in what setting)?

Phase 1: Interviews with selected Grenadians who are members of a transnational household will take part in one one-to one interview lasting anywhere from 60 to 90

minutes. Even through it is anticipated that participants will only take part in one interview, the unpredictable nature of the circumstances facing participants means that an interview may have to be paused or rescheduled resulting in a need for more than one interview.

<u>Interviews with participants based in Grenada</u> will be held in public spaces such as community centres or community libraries. These venues are best because borrowed offices and hotel lobbies are centrally located in the city centres and many rural residents do not live close to these options. They may have to travel nearly an hour just to get to some of them; community centres are closer and more widely dispersed across the island. However, it has also been considered that to conduct research which is most convenient for the participant and in order to avoid any travel expense to the participant, it is anticipated that safety permitting, the interviews will take place at the residence of the participant (family member) based in Grenada. The reason for this lies with the fact that travelling within costs money as the transportation system is largely private in Grenada. While the use of remote locations will be considered in the first instance, for some particularly participants living in poverty travelling to and from their homes is something which takes planning and budgeting. Home based interviews will only be considered where a community centre is not nearby, or travelling may be difficult due to circumstances.

To ensure my safety should the need arise for me to conduct an in-home interview, I will do the following (by having a safety protocol in place).

- I will always make another person aware of my interview timelines while doing fieldwork (particularly before and after conducting fieldwork where I will need to enter a participant's home alone).
- I will be sure to check in with a safety contact immediately after conducting any interviews to make sure they are ok.
- I will always ensure that I walk with a fully functioning mobile device during fieldwork, which will enable me to have quick access to local emergency services in the event that they are needed.

- I will familiarise myself with the locations of the closest emergency services locations during all of my fieldwork activities.

- I will not under any circumstanced enter any premises or situation if I feel uncomfortable or that my safety is at risk.

- I will not enter into any fieldwork situation if I feel that the research participant's safety is at risk. I will also end an interview if participant safety is at risk.

- I will immediately call local emergency services if any accidents or health incidents occur with myself or if any accidents or health incidents happen with research participants.

- I will end any interviews and quickly leave if I feel that any participants have compromise my safety.

- I will conduct a follow-up call with any participants that may have been distressed during an interview. More importantly, I will walk with some resources with the contact details for local organisations that are trained to help with any particularly discouraging emotions or events that the participant may be dealing with. I will encourage participants to make use of those services should the need arise.

- I will engage in regular self-care

- I will ensure that I make a detailed record of all of my fieldwork visits on the Off Campus Activity Log on Google Drive.

- I will raise any person concerns about personal safety with my academic supervisor throughout the duration of my fieldwork.

- I will keep the contact details of my supervisors with me while doing fieldwork so that if the need arises (where I need to speak to them about any issues) I can speak with them after an interview.

- I will report any incidents or concerns using the appropriate channels (within 24 hours of them happening). This includes all accidents, incidents or near misses; this includes using the University's Online Accident/Incident Reporting System.

- I will contact the Health, Safety & Security Department before my fieldwork commences to ask them to set up a virtual zone for the duration of my fieldwork. I will let them know the region of my fieldwork and my fieldwork timelines.

I have previously conducted face to face interviews with bereaved family members about their opinions of the healthcare received by their deceased relative while the deceased relative was a patient at the hospice. This fieldwork occurred while I was employed at the Calvary Centre for Palliative Care Research in Canberra Australia. A large number of these interviews were conducted by myself (as a sole fieldworker) at the homes (located at various locations across Canberra Australia) of the relatives who were taking part in the research. To enable me carry out my research duties I was debriefed/trained by my supervisor at the time about safety requirements when conducting interviews alone in the residence of participants and the issues around interviewee power given that the interview is conducted in their home. We also established a plan of action should it arise that I or the interviewee becomes distressed. During my employment, I was also given research training (by my former research supervisor) about the ways to spot a distressed participant, the ways to sport my own distress and the steps I need to take once this occurs. Additionally, I was able to be aware for any signs of distress, particularly paying attention to the words they used (even if disguised as a joke) and any body language cues (irrespective of how subtle). There were situations in which I became aware of these cues and took the necessary steps.

Interviews with participants (family members) based abroad will occur and via skype or the telephone. The time and date agreed upon accommodate the needs of the participant).

Phase 2: Interviews with policy makers within the Grenada Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment will take part in one interview lasting up to 60 minutes. The agreed upon time and date will be at the convenience of the policymaker participant. All interviews will be conducted at the Grenada Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment. However, the room chosen to conduct the interviews within the Ministry offices will ensure confidentiality for participants. While conducting the interviews I will ensure the participants and my researcher safety by ensuring that I follow all guidelines, restrictions and protocols put in place by the Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment. I will also follow the ethical protocols outlined by the University of York SPSW Ethics Committee.

19. Please provide a summary of the headings you will use in any research instruments eg topic guide / questionnaires.
You should ensure that these headings are included within the Participant Information Sheet

The following are the general topics which will be included in the research instruments:

<u>Phase 1: Interviews with the members of a transnational household</u>

- The household members perspectives on the meaning of home
- The household members perspectives around what it takes to build a home
- The households members opinion of the experiences as it relates to living as part of a transnational household (family dynamics and issues around remittances will be discussed here)
- The households members perspective of whether or not living as part of a transnational household factors into the meaning and making of the home and if yes, the ways in which it plays a role
- The external factors which can potentially affect the degree to which being part of a transnational home factors into the meaning and making of home

<u>Phase 2: Interviews with Policy makers at the Grenadian Ministry of Social Development, Housing and Community Empowerment</u>

- The current distribution of housing assistance across the island of Grenada (for example which regions of the island need and/or receive the most assistance)
- The policy processes involved in the provision of housing assistance to Grenadians
- The ways in which eligibility for housing assistance is assessed
- The degree to which belonging to a transnational households may factor into eligibility for housing assistance
- Potential avenues for the incorporation of transnationalism into housing issues and support

It should be noted however, that these topic guides are under development and are subject to minor changes during the research process.

20. Do you think research participants may be distressed by their involvement in the research? If so, what action will you take to mitigate these?

The anticipated risk to participants is minimal. Therefore, it is not anticipated that participants will be distressed because of any involvement in this research project. Participants in Phase 1 will be only asked about their perspectives and opinions around their day-to-day household and familial experiences as part of a transnational family. Even though the research project seeks information about the sending of or use of remittances, and family dynamics, the disclosure of exact financial or otherwise sensitive information will not be requested. Furthermore, sheet providing the details of local support services would be provided at the conclusion of the interview thus limiting any severe impacts of the research process on participants.

21. Is any element of the fieldwork taking place outside the UK? If so, you should refer to the University of York 'Guidance on conducting research outside the UK' and paragraph 2.13 of the Code of practice and principles for good ethical governance and explain how you will take account of political, social and cultural sensitivities.

The research will be conducted in Grenada and on Grenadian citizens. While there are no anticipated major political, social or cultural sensitivities, which may hinder my research process, I am very much aware of any cultural norms, which play a significant role in the day-to-day lives of Grenadians. I myself am a Grenadian citizen. I have resided in Grenada for much of my life and I am still connected to Grenada. As a result, I will be able to navigate certain cultural expectations, for example those required when approaching and potentially entering a research participant's home, and any nuances in local dialects, which will present during the interviews.

Part 5: Data processing and protection

Please note: all applications include a completed Data Management Plan. You should refer to the University's guidance on Research Data Management

22. State any promise you will make to participants about how their data will be used, including in publications and dissemination, for example whether names, job titles, or direct quotations will be used, and state what protection of anonymity you are offering.

   Please be aware of your Funder's requirements for data to be made available for reuse. If your funder does not have a policy, the <u>University Research Data Management Policy</u> should be followed. This states: 'Where possible, relevant elements of research data must be deposited in an appropriate national or international subject-based repository, according to their policies. Data should be kept by the researcher in an appropriate manner when suitable subject repositories are not available.'

All personal participant information (such as names, addresses, email addresses and telephone numbers) will be kept in a separate password protected folder held on a password protected University of York drive. Only the PhD researcher will have access to this information. However the academic supervisors of the PhD researcher will have access to the information should the need arise.

Even though demographic information will be collected, all information (such as names, addresses, job titles, years of experience and ages) of transnational household members in Phase 1 and policy makers in Phase 2 will be anonymised to avoid identification.

To ensure anonymity of all participants, the PhD researcher will be the only one with access to the password protected original interview recordings stored on the University of York server. More specifically, the original recordings will be stored in password protected electronic folders only accessible to the PhD researcher, and the original recording immediately deleted from the encrypted recording device used.

During the transcription process, all identifying information (i.e. names and addresses) will be removed prior to being saved in password-protected folders within the University of York server.

While direct quotes will be used in the final PhD thesis, to avoid the identification of a participant, they will be paraphrased and any identifying contexts or information removed.

Participants will have the right to withdraw from the study up to 14 days after the completion of their interview. Once a participant withdraws, from the study, they will no longer be involved and any data collected as part of their interview process promptly destroyed and not included in the final research findings. It should be noted however, that since the recruitment process is per household if any member of the household (either in Grenada or based abroad) decides to withdraw then the entire household will be withdrawn from the study and a new household recruited. The reason for this stems from the fact that it is important that both ends of the transnational household is represented per household in order to capture all of the required data needed for rich, comparative and in-depth analysis. Considering that recruitment will happen on a household basis, and participating household members will therefore have discussed involvement with their corresponding household family member, there is a likelihood that any decision not to take part will be known by the family members.

It has also been considered that there is the possibility that to protect the privacy of withdrawal (and to ensure that this occurs without the knowledge of any other household members), the interviews with the other family members will still go ahead as scheduled, or the data kept if the interview with the family member who has not withdrawn has already been conducted.

However, the data collected (due to the lack of both perspectives from both ends of the transnational household) will still be treated as valuable data to supplement other data collected. To remedy this situation another household will be recruited to fill the data gap left by the withdrawal).

Anonymised data will be archived. Consent forms will be archived for 3 years and anonymised transcripts will be retained for 10 years after completion of the research project. All archived data will be stored within the University of York's file server where the University of York will manage it.

23. What will you do if information is disclosed to you that legally requires further action or where further action is advisable?

Even though all information disclosed will be handed with complete confidentiality, if the participant discloses any information, which may prove harmful to themselves, or others, confidentiality will be broken to allow reporting to the necessary authorities. This is to ensure the safety of everyone involved. This will be clearly outlined in the Participant Information Sheet and the consent form.

24. GDPR Declarations (please check box to confirm)

☒   I have considered whether any personal or special category data being collected is the minimum necessary to answer the research question(s)

☒   I have considered anonymising or 'pseudonymising' data to mitigate data protection risks.

☒   I have considered whether I need to consult with the Information Governance Office (e.g. where sharing data with third parties outside the university)

☒   I have considered whether the study requires a Data Protection Impact Assessment (see here)

☒   *Students only*: I have read and will comply *with guidance document for students using own mobile devices in research* (see VLE ethics library)

25. Are there any other specific ethical problems likely to arise with the proposed study? If so, what steps have you taken or will you take to address them?

N/A

Part 6: Signatures

I have checked this form carefully and I am satisfied that the project meets the required ethical standards.

Signature of Principal Investigator or student	
Date of submission	11/02/2020

For student applications

Signature of supervisor	

Appendix 5: Interview topic guides

Interview Schedule For Relatives Based Outside of Grenada

1. Tell me about yourself and your background

2. Tell me about your experiences being part of a family where you live in [name of country inserted] and your family lives in Grenada.

3. How do you stay connected to Grenada?

4. Tell me more about your experiences sending help back to Grenada

5. When you hear the word home what comes to mind?

6. Describe your experience of home in relation to your meaning of home.

7. Are you thinking of staying abroad permanently? Describe the reasons for your feelings about this.

8. Do you think that this process of how you go about making home impacts the frequency and type of help you send home to your relatives? If yes, in what ways? If no, why is that?

9. Describe what your home experience would be if all of your family members lived in the same country?

Interview Schedule For_Relatives Based in Grenada

1. Tell me about yourself

2. Tell me about your experiences being part of a family where you live in Grenada and you have a relative living abroad.

3. How do you stay connected to your relatives abroad?

4. Tell me more about your experiences receiving help from abroad

5. When you hear the word home what comes to mind?

6. Describe your experience of home in relation to your meaning of home.

7. Do you think that this process of how you go about making home is impacted by the frequency and type of help sent by your relatives? If yes, in what ways? If no why is this the case?

8. Describe what your home experience would be if all of your family members lived in the same country.

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