Understanding women in mobility and their adjustment using a dialogical approach

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Par
Vrinda Gupta Ewering

Sous la direction:
De la Professeure Tania Zittoun, directrice du mémoire
Du Docteur Oliver Pedersen, expert.

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Introduction

In today's world, it is becoming increasingly uncommon for people to reside in a single country throughout their life. Various factors such as economic, political, sociocultural and environmental influences have collectively contributed to increased human mobility across borders (Levitan, 2019). The movement of people internationally is characterised by their desire for new opportunities such as work or education; it could also be to escape circumstances such as poverty, conflict, or persecution (Why we need a Global Understanding of Migration, 2022). In addition, many people also follow or accompany their partners who work as internationally mobile professionals. They are often referred to as 'tied or secondary migrants' or as 'trailing spouses', i.e., an individual who decides to move due to the employment status of their partner but who, if single, would have stayed in their home country (Wanner, 2019). Certain scholars have acknowledged that in addition to inquiring about the reasons for mobility, "it is also important to ask how people experience, understand, and negotiate" (Easthope, 2009, p.62) their mobility. Therefore, this research project aims to understand the adjustment mechanisms mobilised by women in a new sociocultural environment and the extent to which employment plays a role in affecting their process of transitioning. It does so by examining the experiences, perceptions, and negotiations of women in mobility, in essence, by considering individual aspects to broaden the scope beyond just studying the connection between employment and mobility. Furthermore, it contributes to a deeper understanding of the concept of adjustment by examining different perspectives, namely, the multiple voices within the self.

The research employs three distinct theoretical frameworks. The first framework discusses the terminology associated with human movement across borders distinguishing between migration and mobility. Additionally, it seeks to understand the dynamics of moving to and working in Switzerland – the country in which the research is conducted. This is because examining the labour market situation within the research setting is important to gain a comprehensive understanding of its influence on the process of adjustment. The second framework discusses the psychological aspects of human mobility, namely, mobility as a rupture which forms the fundamental underpinning of this study, and the process of transitioning through this rupture which is presented as adjustment in this study. Furthermore, the framework explains established theories and existing research in the field of cultural and sociocultural psychology such as social support and cross-cultural adjustment, symbolic resources, and spheres of experience to understand the process of transitioning through the rupture of mobility. It also discusses the significance of establishing a home for mobile individuals, and the influence of natural environments on them. The third framework is introduced as the analytical framework because it explores theories associated with dialogue used to analyse the qualitative data. It includes discussions about three levels of dialogical dynamics, Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory, and Bakhtin's concept of multivoicedness. The integration of these three theoretical frameworks seeks to foster a holistic understanding of women's adjustment mechanisms in mobility.

This study employs a visual method to qualitative research. It involves conducting seven in-depth interviews where the dialogue is guided by photographs that represent participants' lives before and after moving to a new sociocultural environment, specifically, the canton of Neuchâtel. These discussions or detailed interviews were complemented and supplemented by diary data in certain instances. The interviews present the adjustment mechanisms employed by three women who initiated their own moves, referred to as primary movers by Tissot (Tissot, 2020), as well as four women who accompanied their spouses referred to as secondary movers (Tissot, 2020).

Using a qualitative approach to dialogical analysis, this study examines the diverse voices captured within individual narratives through interviews and diary data, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of their experiences and perspectives to understand adjustment. In other words, it explores how the disruption of moving to a new sociocultural setting affects

women and how it connects with other disruptions linked to moving or that occur after moving. It aims to understand their adjustment process by taking into account several personal factors such as civil status, age, motherhood, previous mobility experience, and employment. Additionally, the research aims to find shared ways that both employed and unemployed women adopt to adjust to their new circumstances. While the research findings reaffirm the ideas discussed in earlier studies that employment assumes an important role by offering financial independence, social networks, and increased self-worth, the findings also reveal how employment affects several other adjustment mechanisms. Employment aids the process of home-making, it fosters a space for hope and imagination in envisioning one's future prospects, and provides resources and opportunities to establish a social support system. Simultaneously, the findings of this research also highlight other adjustment mechanisms that are not reliant on employment, yet hold equal significance. Although the mechanisms related to recreation of spheres of experience; the establishment of a sense of home; and drawing from past experiences in handling disruptions to navigate new challenges are consistent with prior literature, novel patterns and correlations have also surfaced. These could potentially serve as a foundation for future researches. Among these, there is an opportunity to investigate how nature affects the well-being of mobile individuals; and how intersection of ruptures like the separation from a partner and mobility, or the intersection of motherhood and mobility affects adjustment in a new sociocultural environment. Additionally, the effect of the pandemic on dealing with ruptures, and how family relationships can act as catalysts for mobility could also be explored.

Given the extensive focus on women in mobility, mobility as a rupture, adjustment mechanisms, and sociocultural psychology, it is imperative to establish the theoretical framework prior to delving into the research context. This allows for a systematic presentation of the theoretical underpinnings before exploring the reasons behind the research's specific emphasis on women and the rationale for selecting the canton of Neuchâtel as the study's setting. In contrast to conventional practice of referring to participant data exclusively in the analysis section, this research takes a different approach. The intensive interviews (guided by photographs) conducted for this study provided participants with an opportunity to discuss their life trajectories extensively, both before and after their relocation to the canton of Neuchâtel. These interviews evoked the recognition of mobility as a rupture which manifested differently for each participant. Since ‘mobility as a rupture’ is one of the foundational blocks of this research, participants’ quotes have been used not only to support theoretical concepts, but also to establish a strong connection between theory and the lived realities of the participants. Thus, just as the theoretical framework delves into the concept of mobility as a rupture followed by the theory of adjustment, the participants’ dialogue surrounding this rupture is shared to provide a contextual backdrop for the subsequent adjustment mechanisms in the analysis section. Participant names have been anonymized, and the utilization of the data has been carried out with their consent as elaborated in the methodology section.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is organised through three main sections. The first part encompasses a comprehensive exploration of the broader theme of human mobility drawing from existing literature in migration and mobility studies. This section is followed by a specific discussion focussing on the context of moving to and working in Switzerland considering the unique aspects and factors associated with this setting, and lastly the concept of employment status has been discussed in detail within the specific context of Switzerland. The second part of the theoretical framework employs insights from cultural and sociocultural psychology to highlight the fundamental premise of this study, i.e., mobility as a disruptive event or a rupture and the subsequent need for transitioning or adjustment. Within this section, the terminology and concepts of adjustment, social support, spheres of experience and symbolic resources are discussed. Furthermore, the significance of creating a sense of home and engaging with nature

in relation to mobility have also been addressed. Given the adoption of a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis in this research, the third part of the framework discusses the theories related to dialogism, including the three levels of dialogical dynamics, the dialogical self, and multivoicedness. These theoretical underpinnings serve to enrich the understanding of the dynamic interplay between individuals, their experiences, and the sociocultural contexts in which they navigate their mobility journeys.

I. Mobility and migration

I come from India and according to one of the reports published by the World Economic Forum (Global migration, by the numbers, 2022) most people who migrate are from India. Like me, there are an estimated 272 million international migrants across different countries which makes 3.5% of the world's population (2022). Then why is it that when these international migrants try to connect with each other on social media they form groups such as 'Expats in Neuchâtel' instead of 'Migrants in Neuchâtel' and why do people want to identify as expats, but not as migrants?

To answer these questions, it is imperative to review the various terms that are associated with movement. Therefore, in this section, I will discuss some important terms based on my literature review related to mobility and migration as they form one of the pillars of my research.

"I think like when you're an expat, it's kind of you decided to move and when you migrate you were forced to move and it's a bit humiliating" – Sara (research participant)

a) <u>The terminology</u>

a1. <u>Expats</u>

Expatriates are often referred to as expats and this is a term used for highly-skilled workers living abroad, either independently or because they have been sent there by their employers, for professional purposes. Their professional situation and the advantages that come with it play a fundamental role in creating this category of migrants called 'expats' – the desired migrants (Steiner & Wanner, 2019). In terms of time, often they do not intend to live in the country they move to (or are sent to) on a permanent basis; they are mobile. According to Sterle et al., a common characteristic of expatriates is also that "they take on a global mindset and become part of an international, cross-cultural social environment" (2018, p. 298). The elements which categorise them as unproblematic for the receiving society compared to migrants are that they are legally admitted in the receiving society; their stay is temporary; and they move due to professional reasons (Tissot, 2020), and as a result they do not disturb the "national order of things" (Tissot, 2020, p. 44). Tissot, however, rightly argues that the difference between migrants and expats is "based more on hierarchies of social classification than on questions of the intention to stay or leave" (2020. p. 49). This difference refers to belonging to a place (somewhere else, other than the receiving country) and having the possibility to return to this place (Tissot, 2020).

a2. <u>Migration and migrants</u>

According to Al Ariss, when expats come from less developed countries, they are very often referred to as 'migrants' or 'immigrants' (Tissot, 2020). Migration can be defined as one-time or permanent movement or a long-term movement from one place to another. In migration studies, human migration is contrasted with mobility which is desirable, and migration is seen as undesired and problematic from the perspective of the 'receiving' society (Steiner & Wanner, 2019). According to the UN Migration Agency, IOM, a migrant is someone who has moved from their habitual place of residence, whether within a single country or across an international border. This definition applies regardless of the person's legal status, the reasons for their movement, whether it was voluntary or not, or the duration of their stay in their new location

(United Nations, n.d.). Essentially, a migrant is an individual who has relocated from their typical place of residence. It is important to recognize that there is currently no universally accepted definition of the term "migrant" at the international level. The definition provided by the IOM was developed for the specific purposes of the organization and the IOM clearly states that it should not be interpreted as creating a new legal category or implying any particular meaning beyond the scope of their work (About Migration | International Organization for Migration, 2022).

a3. Mobility

Mobility refers to the movement of people, objects, and ideas. Human mobility is defined as "moving in physical space" (Cangia, 2020, p.698) and it involves changes, new experiences and meaning making. It could be work or education related. Contrary to the connotation of permanence associated with migration, mobility is understood as "(a series of) multiple, temporary movements between different places" (D'Amato et al., 2019, p. 9). Mobility is often set against migration within migration studies; in the context of the European Union, mobility of highly skilled individuals from their place of origin to a destination within the EU is considered desirable whereas migration is considered as undesirable (Dahinden, 2016). Since the epistemology of mobility embodies the notion of free and unrestricted movement, mobility in the EU is often associated with Europeans, expats and retired people (Wyss & Dahinden, 2022). Yet still, with the increase of mobility and its diversification, in mobility studies it is studied as a phenomenon that "connects the movement of people more systematically with the global circulation of ideas, goods and objects" (D'Amato et al., 2019, p.5). The reason for using the terms 'mobility' and 'people in mobility' in this research is to avoid associating participants with terms such as 'refugees' or 'expats' as these terms have connotations of being 'undesirable' and 'desirable' for the host society.

b) Understanding existing mobility trends in Switzerland

b1. Moving to Switzerland

The Swiss economy is heavily dependent on migrant workers to sustain its growth despite being a leading Western economy. Currently, approximately a quarter of Switzerland's population is comprised of foreigners, and nearly one-third of the population was born outside of the country. Switzerland's liberal labour market policies have attracted migrants for over a century leading to a high demand for foreign labour. According to the Migration-Mobility Survey of 2016 around 60% of migrants cited professional reasons as their primary motivation for moving to Switzerland with only 8% citing education or study-related reasons. Interestingly, men were more likely than women to mention professional reasons for migration highlighting a gendered dimension of migration. Other commonly cited reasons for moving to Switzerland included gaining new experiences, seeking a different lifestyle, and starting or accompanying families, particularly among women migrants. Despite professional migration being the primary driver of migration to Switzerland, the diversity of motivations mentioned by migrants underscores the complexity of mobility patterns and the various factors that shape them (D'Amato et al., 2019).

The survey data (Migration Mobility Survey, 2016) demonstrates that the dominant model in Switzerland is that of the woman following her partner (Sandoz & Santi., 2019) which is also what Tissot explains in his research titled 'Doing Family'. He discusses how women are often 'partner-initiated movers' and the 'breadwinner' is the man as "the partners prioritise one career over the other" (2020, p. 246) causing the woman to quit the labour force and take care of the household while the male partner continues to be professionally active (Tissot, 2020). The statistical data of the Migration Mobility Survey (2016) supports this finding as "men more often migrated for professional reasons (70.4% vs 50.4%) whereas women more often migrated

to accompany family (29.3% vs 7.5%)" (Sandoz & Santi, 2019, p. 67). Though, contrary to the statistics, respondents – both men and women – stated professional reasons as their main motivation for moving to Switzerland. "Moreover, 62.9% of the men had already found a job in Switzerland before migrating against only 38.5% of the women" (Sandoz & Santi, 2019, p. 67). Due to their main reason for moving, "women more often reported having been supported by relatives in Switzerland than did men (13.7% vs 10.2%) whereas men more often reported having been supported by their employer than did women (37% vs 26.4%)" (Sandoz & Santi, 2019, p. 67). This data, thus, becomes the starting point for my qualitative research as it clearly indicates that women (or the couple) often prioritize the career of their male partners (or of the male family member) over their own and do not receive the same relocation support as their male partners, or other employed women. In such a situation, they have to find other ways of making sense of the rupture of mobility that they experience. Tissot calls this the 'motile family-strategy' (Tissot, 2020).

b2. Working in Switzerland

Sandoz identifies four migration channels[1] that are used by an individual to migrate. As discussed above, in the context of Switzerland, the 'family-oriented channel' is more often used by the female partner than the male partner who enters through the 'company-oriented channel' by securing a position in the labour market before moving. The other two channels being 'protection-oriented channel' used by people with a difficult political situation in their home country and 'study-oriented channel' used by individuals who decide to pursue further studies (Tissot, 2020).

Zooming into the company-oriented channel, Switzerland is a country that has established a connection between visa issuance and labour market permits promoting the recruitment of skilled individuals to contribute to national development. Furthermore, the country has adopted a practice of offering shorter-term employment contracts which in turn facilitates the movement of people, capital, and knowledge (Levitan, 2019). That being said, people who relocate to Switzerland using the other three channels with the idea that they will also find a position in the labour market which matches their skills and qualifications easily, often find it difficult as the reality they face is that there are less work opportunities than expected because locals and younger people are preferred (Cangià, 2018). At times, even the work permit poses a problem to finding work, especially short-term permits, as they are often linked by local employers to the perception that the permit holders are likely to relocate again in the future (Cangià, 2018). Additionally, difficulties in finding employment can also arise due to language barriers or perceived discrimination against certain nationalities such as those from Latin America who may be stereotypically associated with low-skilled or menial jobs (Cangià et al., n.d.). Lastly, foreign educational certificates and diplomas, too, do not secure access to related jobs in Switzerland (Pecoraro & Wanner, 2019). Though, according to the Migration-Mobility Survey of 2016

> overall migrants consider themselves relatively well integrated in the labour market: in particular, three-quarters of the men and almost two-thirds of the women declare an improvement in their work conditions after migration, their unemployment rate is low, fewer than 20% of migrants have short-term contract or work without a contract, and approximately 60% use their skills at work (Wanner, 2019, p.119)

Though this might seem positive, compared to men, women accompanying their spouses without a job contract have a lower probability of enhancing their position in the labour market and a higher probability of underutilizing their skills; they also obtain limited contracts (Wanner, 2019).

c) Employment Status in Switzerland

c1. Employment status in terms of quantity – based on sufficient number of working hours (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019)

- Employed: The Federal Statistical Office (FSO, Confédération Suisse) defines an employed person as someone who is 15 years of age or above and who during the reference week

> worked at least one hour for payment; or who, although temporarily absent from their work (due to illness, holidays, maternity leave, military service, etc.) had a job in an employed or self-employed capacity; or who worked in the family business without payment. This definition covers the following, irrespective of the place where this work is done (in a company/business, at home or in another private household): employees, self-employed persons, family workers in family businesses, apprentices, recruits, junior officers and officers who, while undergoing basic or further military training, retain their jobs and employment contracts, school pupils and students who work in parallel with their studies, and retired persons who continue working. People who only do housework in their own households, assist others free of charge, or carry out other voluntary activities are not regarded as employed persons. (Office, 2018b).

- Unemployed: According to the International Labour Organization a person is referred to as unemployed

> if they are in the age group of 15-74 years and were not employed in the reference week; were available for work; were actively looking for work during the previous four weeks (reference being the interview day) (Office, 2018 a).

- Self-employed: The legal definition of self-employed states that a self-employed person is

> the owner or co-owner of the unincorporated business in which they work (i.e., not a legal entity). They are self-employed and assume the financial risk. An employee in the family business who indicates that they are a member of the board of directors or senior management of the company is also considered to be self-employed (Office, 2023b)

c2. Employment status based on content – This is related to an employee's skills matching job requirements (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019)

- Adequate employment: When a job meets certain standards in terms of income, working conditions, job benefits and job security, it is recognized as adequate employment. An individual who is adequately employed also has opportunities to grow and develop in their career, and access to a safe and healthy working environment with appropriate number of working hours. The other accompanying benefits of this type of employment are health insurances, retirement benefits, social protections and legal rights and protections in the workplace (Open AI, 2023).

- Inadequate employment: Inadequate employment is different from underemployment. The FSO defines underemployment as

> employed people who usually work less than 90% of the normal full-time workweek in companies (cf. definition of normal hours of work[2]) and wish to work more and are available to take on a job with a higher occupancy rate within the next three months (Office, 2022)

An individual is considered to be inadequately employed when the job involves low wages in relation to the work; when the employment arrangements are unstable/unclear; when the working conditions are not necessarily safe with limited or no access to benefits and protections. In addition, there are limited opportunities for advancement or learning new skills. In some cases, individuals do not have enough number of working hours in relation to what they can offer including involuntary part-time work. Another indication is when individuals work in jobs that do not match their skills because they are overqualified for the job (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019).

Often the occupational position of an individual is inadequate because of the prevailing gender dynamics. For example, in a situation where men and women have the same educational level, men are more likely to be chosen for a supervisory role or as members of board of directors. "Women are generally employed in lower positions than men: they are more often in non-management positions." (Office, 2023a). Thus, the employment status plays an important role in one's adjustment in terms of promoting financial independence, well-being and dignity.

II. The Psychological Framework

a) Mobility as a rupture

This research project uses a sociocultural approach in psychology to understand the process of transitioning through the rupture of mobility. It views mobility as a "fundamentally complex and ambivalent experience of disruption within continuity, of loss in favour of discovery, change and novelty against the backdrop of everydayness" (Levitan et al., 2018, p. 2). When people move to a new country, they experience a break in their 'regular flow of being' as the "patterns sustaining their life are no longer functional and the taken for granted meanings are put into question" (Levitan, 2019, pp 262-263). Ruptures are what life course researchers, such as Zittoun, call "turning points" or "critical moments" (Zittoun, 2012, p. 517). She further adds that "ruptures experienced by a person demand substantial, intransitive changes — processes of adjustment, or adaptation, between him/her and his/her environment" (Zittoun, 2012, p. 517). In fact, it could be argued that mobility as a rupture can induce other ruptures such as unemployment, and/or rupturing of social relationships. Another way of understanding ruptures is to see them as an enormous change in a person's sphere of experience. People in mobility move "from the familiarity of their physical surroundings and the communities in which they were immersed to a sphere of experience that in many cases is totally unfamiliar. This movement, or this point in their lives, is a rupture" (Hale & De Abreu, 2010, p. 402).

The examples below illustrate three different forms of ruptures:

1. Rupture as a slow process: The decision to move is typically made after taking into account various factors and potential consequences that the decision can have, not only for the person who initiates the move, but also for their family (Wanner, 2019).

"And so we have we choose three countries, which was Canada, London and Switzerland but the only option option, the easiest one for us was Switzerland, because it was cheaper and the meaning of in the meaning of the the Master. It was really cheap compared to London or to Canada." "in London it was like 20,000 pounds, in Canada too so we decided to come to Switzerland because it will be cheaper for us and I will get a a job. It doesn't matter in what but we saw we do a lot of research about it and we saw that we can live together only with my salary" – Monica, Research participant

2. Rupture through a repetitive situation: This means that the person experiences similar (or related) events or obstacles during their multiple moves leading to a sense of discontinuity or disruption in their daily life.

"we together moved to Amsterdam for two years when my son was first born. <Okay> And then moved back to Munich and then he, his, the division of his company closed and he was looking for jobs and I was, I found Munich boring already. I don't know how I ended up in Switzerland <laugh>, but yeah. So I, I said, yeah, no, find a job somewhere else, like, let's move" – Rachel, Research participant

3. Sudden rupture: When there is an unexpected disruption or break in a person's life leading to a sudden change which can be disorienting and challenging.

"She said I'm leaving tomorrow with my children and her husband is gonna was gonna take her to the border and she said there is a place in the car if you wanna leave come." "She said, if you wanna go, it's tomorrow. So so I packed my bags (starts crying)" – Sara, Research participant

In other words, when a person loses "that which enables them to maintain their identity" (Hale & De Abreu, 2010, p. 405), they experience a rupture. This experience may be different for different individuals in terms of intensity and duration leading to the mobilisation of different resources to make sense of it.

b) Adjustment as different from acculturation and adaptation

While several published works associate adjustment with either acculturation or adaptation, I argue that adjustment is the path to adaptation using Zittoun's interpretation of transitions. To unpack this further, I will first present the various definitions of acculturation and adaptation and then elaborate on how they are different from adjustment.

1. Acculturation: Berry proposed that acculturation or cultural adaptation of 'migrants' can be examined from two distinct perspectives, i.e., the 'cultural learning and cultural shedding' model and the 'stress, coping, and adaptation' model. While the first model places emphasis on equipping people in mobility who are new with the necessary knowledge, language and intercultural skills to enable them to negotiate their way in the new cultural environment, the second model offers a more flexible framework for understanding acculturation as it takes into account how individuals respond to conflicts and challenges that arise from intercultural interactions (Kuo, 2014).

2. Adaptation: Adaptation is frequently conceptualized as the extent to which an individual is flexible and able to change their functioning (Sterle et al., 2018). According to Ward and Kennedy (1994), "the adaptation of migrants (and other sojourners) in the host country environment" (Miocevic et al., 2022, p.192) takes place through acculturation behaviours and as per Berry, too, adaptation signifies the changes that take place in an individual or group in response to acculturation or environmental demands (Berry, 2021; Berry, 1997). Adaptation is multi-dimensional and Berry explains it in terms of psychological and sociocultural adaptation whereas other works also add socio-psychological and economic adaptation (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver (2004), on the other hand, propose the concept of a domain-specific perspective on adaptation (Miocevic et al., 2022).

Psychological adaptation is concerned with the psychological well-being of an individual, and socio-cultural adaptation relates to an individual's ability to manage their day-to-day life in a new intercultural context (Berry, 2021). Socio-psychological adaptation has been explained as the changes in an individual's perception about themselves and about members of other groups, and economic adaptation as "the degree to which work is obtained, is satisfying and is effective in the new culture" (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019, p. 317). The domain specific view of adaptation puts forth the idea that there are distinct differences between how adaptation occurs in an individual's public and private spheres. The public domain refers to an individual's social life and activities whereas the private domain is concerned with emotional development. In the public domain, individuals may prioritize functional goals such as social recognition, but in the private domain, adaptation focuses on fulfilling personal and psychological needs (Miocevic et al., 2022).

3. Adjustment: In light of the available scholarly sources, cross-cultural adjustment is described as "a person's psychological comfort and familiarity with various aspects of the foreign environment" (Ravasi et al., 2015, p.1339). Haslberger and Brewster are of the view that individuals can be considered adjusted to a particular aspect in mobility if they demonstrate effectiveness in their interactions within the new environment (both in their own perception and

in the eyes of the locals); possess sufficient knowledge about the local environment; and experience neutral or positive emotions overall. For them, adjustment is a "process that involves managing change, new experiences, and new challenges" (Sterle, Fontaine, et al., 2018, p. 2). A comprehensive definition of adjustment was suggested by Black et al. as they emphasised the multiple dimensions of adjustment – general, work, and interaction adjustment where general adjustment refers to the level of comfort experienced by individuals in various aspects of the host culture such as food, living conditions etc.; work adjustment refers to the comfort associated with work requirements; and interaction adjustment refers to the level of comfort one experiences in socializing with locals — within and outside the work context (Ravasi et al., 2015).

4. Acculturation, adaptation and adjustment: The above definitions of acculturation and adaptation do not use the term adjustment directly but point towards it. For example, when Berry talks about cultural shedding and learning, he mentions that this process is often termed as adjustment because the "adaptive changes all take place in the acculturating individual" (Berry,1997, p. 18). It is the dictionary of the American Psychological Association which clearly presents the link between acculturation, adaption, and adjustment. Adaptation, also called social adaptation is defined as "adjustments to the demands, restrictions, and mores of society, including the ability to live and work harmoniously with others and to engage in satisfying social interactions and relationships" (APA Dictionary of Psychology, n.d.) and acculturation is defined as the processes which help an individual (or a group) to adjust their "social and cultural values, ideas, beliefs and behavioural patterns of their culture of origin to those of a different culture" (APA Dictionary of Psychology, n.d.-b). All these definitions have a commonality which is their emphasis on culture – notably host culture and culture of the country of origin. They ignore the idea that an individual is a part of several cultural communities and that "cultural identities include discontinuities and development" (Morasso & Zittoun, 2014, p. 29). Secondly, they depict acculturation and adaptation as processes that solely rely on the endeavours of the mobile people overlooking the role of the support systems, policies, institutions provided by the host country. Lastly, they consider culture, practices, and beliefs as elements that can be donned or shed like garments. The definitions do not take into account the unique ways that individuals and groups might use to adapt and integrate into a new culture. Moreover, the intersection of the type of mobility with other categories such as gender, employment, nationality has an influence on an individual's acculturation and adaptation. These power dynamics and structural inequalities are not taken into account in the definitions mentioned above, and in order to do so we have to look at mobility as a rupture and adjustment as a process of transition.

5. With this extensive body of work on acculturation, adaptation, and adjustment, I will now attempt to define adjustment using the views presented above and by drawing from Zittoun's work on transitions and ruptures. Zittoun states that ruptures experienced by people demand substantial and non-linear changes, i.e., processes of adjustment and adaptation between them and their environment, and it is these processes that she explains as transitions (Zittoun, 2012). Hence processes linked to transitions or what I call adjustment are "processes of elaboration related to the construction of meaning following a rupture in the 'taken for granted' or the emergence of something otherwise unexpected" (Zittoun et al., 2003, p.3). In Zittoun's perspective, a transition can be seen as an opportunity for personal growth and development. It involves the creation of new symbolic structures that facilitate a more effective adaptation to a specific social and material context while preserving one's individual identity (Zittoun et al., 2003). Shaffer and Harrison's definition of adjustment also supports Zittoun's proposition as they argue that when attachment and routines established in one's home countries are broken (rupture), identity reformation takes place where personal roles are redefined (emergence of something unexpected) thereby "adding a link between culture and personality changes" (Sterle, Fontaine, et al., 2018, p.2).

For the purpose of this research, I define adjustment as follows:

When mobility acts as a rupture by challenging an individual's sense of continuity and integrity (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019), it is followed by a process of mental or symbolic adjustment that leads to some form of resolution, allowing for continued action (Zittoun et al., 2003) This process of elaboration related to the (re)construction of meaning is referred to as adjustment. Thus, adjustment is an occasion for development as it constitutes a new symbolic formation leading to better understanding of the new socio-cultural world while protecting one's sense of self (Hale et Abreu, 2010).

c) Social networks and social support in mobility

As explained by Van Bakel et al.(2016) social network in a new country includes co-nationals, host-country nationals (locals), and people in mobility from other countries (internationals). In the context of a host country, 'locals' typically refer to individuals who are native or long-term residents of that particular country. They are the people who are part of the local community with a deep understanding of the culture, customs, and norms of the host country. Locals can include citizens, permanent residents, and individuals who have been living in the country for a significant period of time (OpenAI,2023). As pointed out by Van Bakel et al.(2016) social support of the host-country nationals or locals includes informational support, social companionship, emotional, and instrumental support. According to Bayraktar (2019), social support of locals can be classified under five themes: change, learning, support and friendship, acceptance and fitting in. People from other countries, as per Bayraktar (2019), are those comparable others for an individual in mobility who provide social support in the form of: togetherness, i.e., "exploring and learning together, collaborating as a cohesive group" (Bayraktar, 2019, p. 58); cultural diversity, in essence, understanding of different cultures which increases their acceptance of diversity; sociability or meeting other internationals by joining different activity and hobby groups is a way of making new friends and connections; and accessibility which relates to the ease with which one can become a part of the in-group since internationals are already a diverse group, and embrace and welcome numerous cultures. Being a part of this group also helps in learning about the new sociocultural environment.

Shumaker and Brownell define social support as "an exchange of resources between at least two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well-being of the recipient" (Van Bakel et al., 2016, p. 218). Further, this social support includes emotional support which makes an individual feel accepted and respected; informational support which helps one to define, understand and transition through problematic events or ruptures; social companionship, i.e., spending time with others in leisure and recreational activities; and instrumental support which refers to aid with material and financial resources as well as other services required by an individual (Van Bakel et al., 2016). According to another research by Bayraktar (2019), social support also includes feedback support which helps an individual to evaluate themselves in the new environment.

d) Sociocultural psychology of mobility

A sociocultural psychological perspective places emphasis on the person as 'an embodied self' taking part in various social practices where a person shapes and is shaped by their thoughts, emotions, and actions. Also, the sociocultural perspective recognises the dynamic interdependent relationship between "the changing sociocultural environment and the person moving" (Levitan, 2019, p. 262). In other words, a person's physical self and their subjective experiences influence one another and are closely intertwined. Sociocultural psychology explores the interconnected relationship between developing individuals and their changing social and cultural world. It studies how people interact with others and objects, and investigates their discourses in specific social contexts while taking into account the evolving sociocultural

environment (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019). Interestingly, instead of boxing an individual in one national culture, it takes into account a person's "unique way of feeling, acting and experiencing, which shapes and is shaped by the sociocultural world" (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019, p.80). Put differently, it gives equal importance to understanding the perspective of people and sociocultural dynamics. Furthermore, instead of examining the individual only in isolation, it studies interrelated lives (Zittoun et al., 2018).

In sociocultural psychology of the life course, mobility is designated as a transition because it marks a moment of change either from the perspective of the person experiencing mobility or from the perspective of the people observing this mobility (Zittoun, 2012). Transitions can be defined as processes resulting from a rupture (in this case mobility) experienced by a person which lead them to a progressive, new adaptation between themselves (the person) and their environment (Zittoun, 2012). In fact, sociocultural approaches in psychology consider mobility to be a complicated experience generating conflicting emotions – it causes disruption within continuity, results in loss even though it provides opportunities for discovery, and brings about change and newness in the familiarity of everyday life, thus making it a rupture (Levitan et al., 2018). Lastly, these moments of transitions make the individual question their sense of integrity and self-continuity leading to three interconnected changes discussed below:

1. Processes of learning – This includes all formal and informal codes of conduct and knowledge demanded by the new situation – learning new skills such as the local language , ways of interacting, etc. It is, however, significant to mention that since learning cannot take place in isolation, it is linked to the identity making processes (Zittoun, 2014b).
2. Processes of identity making – This refers to developing a sense of being recognized and valued by others, and the sense of feeling complete as a person thus linking it to the third transformation, i.e., sense making (Zittoun, 2014b).
3. Processes of sense making – This involves interpreting one's current situation by relating it to other situations, elaborating emotions connected to transformations, creating continuity within one's past and possible futures. In alternative terms, it is the process of making sense of the situation within one's biography (Levitan, 2019).

e) Spheres of experience

In a research conducted by Déborah Levitan to understand the strategies of families in repeated geographical mobility (2019), one of the discoveries was the recreation of spheres of experiences while moving since it allows people to 'stick to a rhythm' amongst other changes. "A sphere of experience includes certain ways of doing, routines, aspects of identity, emotional qualities, and personal sense and orientation" (Zittoun et al., 2018, p.3). Levitan pointed out three ways of recreating these spheres (in the context of families): "reinforcement of routines, the preservation of same activities everywhere , and the making of overlapping spheres of experiences among different family members" (2019, p. 268). These spheres of experience are created when one faces a rupture and associated transitions, and can disappear when one experiences a new stability. Zittoun distinguishes between proximal and distal spheres of experience.

- Proximal spheres of experience: They refer to "people's situated experience of being engaged in one activity, in one frame, in a given place" (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2014, p.3), i.e., the here and now of a given social and material reality (Zittoun et al., 2018).
- Distal spheres of experience: These refer to all aspects of human experience which are not directly influenced by the immediate context or activity but instead interfere with one's proximal experience (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2014). An individual leaves a proximal sphere to explore the distal spheres through imagination (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019). The five types of distal spheres of experience identified by Zittoun and Gillespie are briefly discussed below:

1. Past distal experiences: This includes remembering a former proximal experience. Remembering is a dynamic and creative process mediated by many cultural processes.

2. Future distal experiences: This includes imagination of possible courses of action in the future – future experiences, places, and activities
3. Alternative experiences: The 'what if' experiences where an individual thinks about what could or what would have happened if something was changed about the reality to create a hypothetical reality.
4. The voices of others: This draws from Hermans' dialogical self theory' according to which there are voices of others in the human mind and when the individual becomes psychologically aware of the presence of the voices of others, they are disconnected from the proximal sphere and connected to the distal.
5. Cultural experiences: When one enters the world of fiction and arts (such as watching a movie), this cultural experience provides the individual with an experience outside the immediate activity causing them to be distant from the proximal sphere of watching a movie and instead connecting with the distal world of the movie through imagination (2014).
Therefore, by moving between distal spheres which interact with the proximal spheres, the human mind engages in dialogicality. Additionally, by bringing distal knowledge, experiences and ideas from other situations into the immediate context or the context in which one physically is, people in mobility are able to reconfigure their experiences, activities, and feelings to create a regular and stabilized pattern of experience (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2014; Levitan, 2019).

f) The significance of establishing a home for mobile individuals

Home making is one such example of bringing the distal into the immediate context to create stability. Ralph and Staeheli conclude their research on home and migration by suggesting "a conceptualisation of home as being accordion-like, in that it stretches to expand migrants outwards to distant and remote places while also squeezing to embed them in their proximate and immediate locales" (2011, p.518). According to Fathi, when people move to a new place, they often experience mixed feelings because they are connected to both their old (distal) and new (proximal) surroundings. This can lead to emotional confusion regarding the places, people, objects, and relationships in their lives (2021). Therefore, the concept of home transforms from a mere yearning for one's homeland to a process of forming emotional connections and a sense of belonging. The concept of home surpasses mere notions of belonging based on one's origins; it is rather "sentimentalized as a space of belonging ('home is where the heart is')" (Ahmed, 1999, p.341). The exploration of home and the sensation of being at home necessitate delving into the realm of emotions. Being at home then becomes a "matter of how one feels or how one might fail to feel" (Ahmed, 1999, p.341). The feeling of belonging arises from emotional bonds with individuals, locations, and connections, and the sense of recognition is what one needs to feel a part of the home-making process(Fathi, 2021).

Lam and Yeoh, further add the importance of time in home-making. For mobile people, creating a sense of home depends on time, not only how long they have been in the new sociocultural environment, but also how they build connections that can continue through generations, like family roots. Having important people like a spouse, kids, or relatives, makes a place feel like home (Fathi, 2021). Research indicates that a sense of home often develops gradually over time and entails significant personal involvement in the new place where one lives. Alternatively, it can be nurtured by maintaining and reviving connections with previous places of residence through activities like recalling memories, sharing stories, continuing customs, and even physically revisiting those places (Ley-Cervantes & Duyvendak, 2015). Nieto supports this view by stating that "past home-related experiences inform and shape current home-making practices. Habitual dispositions, meanings, use of artefacts and development of skills become inscribed in our bodies, just as much as into the materiality of our domestic spaces" (Fathi, 2021, p.988).

Furthermore, whether a place can make an individual feel at home also depends on their ability to make it their own, to have a degree of influence over the space, and to infuse it with significance. In other words, it involves adding elements that cater to the individual's needs and preferences at a particular moment (Ley-Cervantes & Duyvendak, 2015). This act of personalizing the space can encompass a variety of actions such as changing the ambience of a place and maintaining order and cleanliness (Ley-Cervantes & Duyvendak, 2015).

Boccagni outlines three key aspects of the concept of home: security, familiarity, and control. Security pertains to the feeling of personal safety and integrity that arises from being in a place that is private and exclusive and where one's identity is unquestioned by others. Familiarity encompasses both emotional and cognitive elements, encompassing notions of stability, routine, continuity, and even a sense of lasting presence. These elements can be challenging to reconcile with the dynamics of movement and migration. Familiarity also extends to the link between one's domestic space and broader contexts like the neighbourhood. Lastly, control relates to the sense of independence individuals have in using and shaping their surroundings. This encompasses their capacity to express themselves and engage in activities within their space and beyond public scrutiny and judgement (Fathi, 2021).

Several studies, on the other hand, propose an alternative perspective on the concept of home, portraying it not as a limited physical space, but as the capability of individuals on the move to transform the entire world into their home. This is achieved by deliberately avoiding a strong attachment to any specific location. Such an approach empowers mobile individuals to navigate the world as if it were a familiar and comprehensible terrain (Ahmed, 1999). Put differently, "the very detachment from a particular home grants the nomadic subject the ability to see the world: an ability that becomes the basis for a new global identity and community" (Ahmed, 1999, p. 338). Mobile people try to maintain contacts across international borders so that their identity is not connected to just one home. This means people in mobility are always working out who they are between their 'old' and 'new' worlds, creating new ways of feeling connected to both places. Instead of moving from one place to another 'uprooting or deterritorialising' their identity, as some might think, what researchers are seeing among today's migrants is actually a strengthening and deepening of connections to many places (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011).

Thus, the literature summarised above takes into account the conventional and traditional ideas of home and feeling at home as place-based, and the contemporary notion of home and home-making as it takes shape in the context of globalization (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011).

g) <u>The effect of natural environments on people in mobility</u>

Nature provides a place for the body and mind to rest in and influences the two in a favourable way (Sonntag-Öström et al., 2015). The contribution of nature to enhancing and sustaining individuals' health and well-being can be characterized as 'eco-healing'. Interactions with nature have the potential to positively impact various aspects of a person's being, encompassing physical, mental, emotional, and even spiritual dimensions (Steele, 2019). While numerous studies have demonstrated a favourable connection between human well-being and nature, there is a limited body of research examining the influence of nature on the lives, health, and adaptation of immigrants. One particular study undertaken by Rodriguez et al.(2022) (which summarizes previous researches done in this field) focuses on the relationship between nature and well-being, physical activity, and integration of immigrants. It indicates that exposure to nature has positive effects on one's mental and physical health and immune function. Some of the findings from this research are discussed below:

- Exposure to natural settings facilitates the feeling of belonging by acting as a bridge between the past and the present. Green spaces were found to bring back memories of home and identity which shape belonging (Rodriguez et al., 2022). Moreover, natural environments offer a setting

conducive to self-reflection. Engaging with nature acts as an opportunity for introspection and contemplation, allowing individuals to ponder unresolved matters. In a similar vein, Hendee and Barown documented that forest experiences provide a platform "to evaluate individual qualities as a first step toward personal growth and increases awareness of individuals" (Kim & Shin, 202, p.10). Kaplan further expounded that moments of solitude within natural landscapes enable individuals to engage in contemplation concerning their self-identity, aspirations, and intrinsic values (Kim & Shin, 2021).

- Natural environments were found to be inducing relaxation and stress reduction and enabling feelings of "peace, safety, and hominess" (2022, p. 197). In addition, a correlation was found between the "the frequency of outdoor leisure activities and life satisfaction" (Rodriguez et al., 2022, p. 197). Moreover, natural settings can serve as significant spaces for connecting with friends and family. Being in nature can enhance an individual's overall well-being and provide settings for community interactions. Engaging in recreational activities in the nature also provides chances for socializing, whether with peers or within mainstream society (Rodriguez et al., 2022).

- While natural settings can encourage physical activity, immigrants' use of natural spaces and their involvement in outdoor activities vary in terms of type and frequency. These differences might be linked to factors such as socioeconomic status; where an individual lives; if they have land; their past experience with gardening or spending time in nature; and even their history of being forced to move due to war. Also, one of the studies (focussing on Chinese people in Vancouver) noted that immigrants tend to prefer green spaces in urban areas and city centres, rather than faraway suburban parks (Rodriguez et al., 2022).

On the other hand, among the collection of sixty-six articles examined by Rodriguez et al., eight of them addressed adverse associations between exposure to natural settings and the process of integration. These studies highlighted instances where interactions with natural environments evoked emotions such as a sense of detachment from the familiar natural realm, experiences of nostalgia, dislocation, alienation, and uprootedness along with a perceived cultural disconnection (2022). In contrast, research by Korpela (2003) and Hammitt (2000) has shown that "solitude in natural places can regulate negative mood" (Sonntag-Öström et al., 2015) in healthy individuals.

h) <u>The dialogicality of symbolic resources</u>

To begin discussing the dialogical nature of symbolic resources, it is essential to delve into the topic of symbolic resources and their role in transitions, especially in mobility as a transition.

<u>Symbolic Resources</u>: Sociocultural psychology is of the view that a person's cultural identity is not directly linked to a specific culture, but to the cultural practices one participates in. Hence, culture constitutes the self not by labelling the person as belonging to one specific culture, but by acting as a mediator for the individual to make sense of their regular 'taken for granted' actions. So, when an individual moves into a new sociocultural environment, they experience a cultural rupture as the 'taken for granted' is shaken (Hale & De Abreu, 2010) , and in such a situation the individual turns to cultural elements "to make sense of their experiences and manage their interactions with others" (Hale & De Abreu, 2010, p. 398). Zittoun distinguishes between two main types of cultural elements – cultural elements bounded by material support such as books, movies, pieces of art and pictures, and symbolic systems such as religion, political or ethnic systems including "texts or rules of reference, objects and places for rituals" (Zittoun, 2018, p.183) and authorities that maintain and fix the system's boundaries (2018). When these cultural elements are used by an individual with some intention, and they relate it to something outside of the intended meaning of the cultural element, the cultural element is considered as a symbolic resource (Zittoun, 2018). For example when a person watches a movie

not to entertain themselves by watching fiction but to use that fiction to escape the worries they are facing in their real world. In simple terms, when a cultural element is used by someone for something, and when the purpose of this cultural element is recontextualized to address the problems caused by the rupture in order to resolve them, it becomes a symbolic resource (Zittoun et al., 2003).

Use of symbolic resources in transitions such as mobility: When people move geographically, they experience a disruption in their spheres of experience. Along with changes in their physical familiar surroundings, the social groups or communities they identify with also undergo a change (Hale & De Abreu, 2010) causing them to create new meaning in order to find continuity, i.e., to transition or to adjust, and for this they turn to cultural elements. It is, however, imperative to reiterate that culture[3] does not refer to fixed and closed groups with boundaries, but as that in which people are situated. People can move across the porous cultural boundaries, can identify with multiple cultures at the same time, and can transform their own culture (Morasso & Zittoun, 2014). People in mobility make use of cultural elements – from their personal culture or from their environment – as symbolic resources to maintain a sense of continuity and to support themselves by making sense of the changes they experience. Several researches have praised the positive effects of symbolic resources for people in mobility. Firstly, they facilitate people's adjustment and reduction of uncertainty when they move to a new place and go through major life changes in different spheres of their lives. Secondly, they help people learn new ways of doing things by guiding them; this leads to the opening of new possibilities. Lastly, they help individuals explore alternatives through imagination (Zittoun, 2018). Zittoun has also discussed the internal and external effects of using symbolic resources in transitions. Externally, use of symbolic resources "can reposition one in the webs of social relations; it can augment or diminish one's agency and 'power' upon the world, through the acquisition of skills, enabling social interactions or concrete actions" (Zittoun et al., 2003, p.419). Whereas internally, they help manage the individual's emotions, change their understanding of situations, things, and experiences, and facilitate the construction of meaning. Hence, using symbolic resources has a reciprocal effect as through their use, a person could create new symbolic elements or modify existing cultural elements to use them as symbolic resources (Zittoun et al., 2003).

The dialogical nature of symbolic resources: Building on Bakhtin's and Hermans' perspective of multivoicedness (discussed later in the analytical framework) that "humans live in the worlds of others' words" (Zittoun, 2014a, p.100), Zittoun states that every individual makes sense of the world by engaging in dialogue with the self and other, and through this they construct and reconstruct their social world continually. This social world is characterised by different voices and perspectives situated in one's personal culture (Zittoun, 2014a). Since cultural elements and symbolic systems (discussed in symbolic resources above) present in an individual's sociocultural world are expressions of "socially shared dialogical cognition and communicative actions" (Zittoun, 2014a, p.100), they have dialogical properties. Zittoun (2007) is of the view that the dialogicality of the uses of symbolic resources is a three way process:

- People can engage in a dialogue to have a discussion about a cultural element such as a book, song, film or piece of art

- People can engage in an interaction with the cultural element itself which is enriched with echoes of other voices and discourses reflecting its inherent dialogical nature
- All interactions "take place in a dialogical social and cultural field (Zittoun, 2007)

Through this three-way process, symbolic resources lead an individual to develop a different perspective on reality by modifying their possible actions and communication. By modifying the individual's communication, it further influences and reshapes the perspective of other

people , thus reconstituting social reality (Zittoun, 2007). Additionally, among the five forms of dialogue[4] identified by Zittoun and Grossen, one is the dialogue between human and non-human actants, i.e., cultural elements. They play an important role in the "construction, transformation, and management of the self" (Zittoun, 2014a, p.101) as they have specific ways of intervening in dialogue.

To summarise, the second theoretical framework of this research provides a sociocultural definition of adjustment, and mobility as a rupture in order to understand the adjustment processes of women in mobility. It discusses the literature on social networks and support, home-making, interaction with nature and symbolic resources, and takes into account the importance of considering every trajectory of mobility, adjustment, change and adaptation as an individual's unique experience, and not as a member of an ethnic group or nationality where culture is seen as a singular element. Sociocultural psychology lays importance on individual variability and personalized experiences to understand adjustment.

III. The Analytical Framework

a) Dialogicality

a1. Three levels of dialogical dynamics

Since sociocultural psychology is process oriented (processes of change and spheres of experience discussed above), it considers the individual in "time, in a changing social world, where people, environments and interactions, all occur as dynamics – at different speeds with different temporal implications" (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019, p.80). These dynamics are dialogical because in the process of learning new skills, building their identity and making sense of their surroundings, people relate to, and interact with the others around them – the abstract and general others in their social and cultural surroundings, and even with themselves (as discussed in the distal spheres of experiences). Thus, they enter into an inner dialogue within a specific sociocultural environment, and to be able to follow these dialogical dynamics Zittoun and Levitan propose three levels of dynamics:

- Sociogenesis: At this level, the dialogue is said to be taking place with the social and cultural environment , values, social imaginaries and social representations
- Microgenesis: At the micro genetic level, people engage with others by interacting with them in various social settings. As a result, they also encounter and interact with a wide variety of cultural objects
- Ontogenesis: This refers to the development of a person through their life course and the dialogical dynamics at this level can be comprehended through the spheres of experience (refer to spheres of experience above) (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019).

These processes and dynamics complement Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory (discussed in the following part of the analytical framework) because they study adjustment as transitioning progressively instead of seeing people in separate cultural containers in need of acculturation. The process of adjustment proposed by sociocultural psychology focuses on how the transition takes place rather than seeing it as the end product. It does so by acknowledging "the dynamic interdependency between the changing sociocultural environment and the person in mobility" (Levitan, 2019, p. 262). When an individual moves from one place to another, nationally or internationally, they carry with them their individual culture, and their unique trajectory which is constructed through multiple encounters with others, and with different situations. Therefore, their way of making sense of any situation according to their past experiences and imagined futures is not only creative, but specific to them (Levitan, 2019). For the individual in mobility, the changing social and cultural environment provides all kinds of historical, cultural, material and institutional conditions to help their personal development. However, this is not a one way

process as the individuals in mobility reciprocate by contributing to the transformation of these conditions (Levitan, 2019). As Valsiner aptly puts it, when people in mobility encounter a new sociocultural environment, they not only react but act upon it "purposefully" to focus on goals oriented towards the future; "meaningfully" by intentionally constructing meaning out of it for themselves; and "flexibly" by adjusting to the new environment and by allowing the environment to adjust to them (Levitan, 2019, p.262).

b) Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory

Given that this study adopts a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis (discussed in the ensuing section on methodology) it is important to delve into the exploration of Herbert's Dialogical Self Theory and Bakhtin's concept of multivoicedness as these theories constitute the foundational framework for conducting dialogical analysis. The core concept of the dialogical self is inspired by William James and Mikhail Bakhtin; however, I will discuss them briefly and then focus on Hubert Herman's 'dialogical self' - born from James' and Bakhtin's ideas. James divided the self into two entities – the 'I' and the 'Me' where the former represents the self as the knower and the latter represents the self as the known (Hermans, 2001)

- Self as the knower: This self is characterised by – continuity, a sense of personal identity and being the same through the passage of time; distinctness, the feeling of being separate from others focussing on one's individuality, one's personal choices, emotions and thoughts; and volition, active engagement in thoughts and experiences in order to accept or reject them autonomously (Hermans, 2001)

- Self as the known: This self does not only include one's physical self, but also other "empirical elements considered as belonging to oneself" (Hermans, 2001, p. 244). It consists of one's belongings and relations such as family, friends, and even enemies. This is because, all these elements influence and shape the self (2001).

Thus James was of the view that the self is not separate from the body and the external world; instead, the self is interconnected with the environment, and that "contrasts, oppositions, and negotiations are part of a distributed, multivoiced self" (Hermans, 2001, p. 245).

Bakhtin used the metaphor of a 'polyphonic novel' to explain that the self contains several characters and each of them have their own voice, and these voices engage in a dialogue to put forth their viewpoint (Hermans, 2001). Through this, Bakhtin shows that human thoughts are complex and can only be understood through the dialogue created by the multiple voices (which coexist, contradict and interact) and the context in which the dialogue takes place (Maine & Wegerif, 2021). In other words, "the meaning of what is said in a dialogue is a response to things that have been said before and an anticipation of things that will be said in response" (Maine & Wegerif, 2021, p.1). Hence, meaning making indicates the presence of more than one voice, and a continuing dialogue.

Inspired by the ideas of James and Bakhtin, Hermans along with others came up with the theory that the self is composed of multiple relatively autonomous positions or perspectives called I-positions representing different aspects of an individual's identity. These I-positions can change according to the situation and time. When these different positions or voices interact with each other to present their respective perspectives, it leads to the creation of a "complex, narratively structured self"(Hermans, 2001, p. 248). However, the paradox is that the self demonstrates continuity and discontinuity at the same time. The continuity stems from James' idea of viewing the I-positions as extensions of the self and discontinuity is rooted in Bakhtin's assertion that the characters in the self, at times, have different or even opposing voices. This gives rise to a self that is characterised by unity and multiplicity (Hermans, 2001). The 'dialogical self' is, further, a combination of temporal and spatial characteristics as time is essential in understanding when and in what context the narrative, and experiences unfold. The spatial

dimension is addressed by the use of the term 'position' (I-positions) to replace the different roles or characters mentioned by Bakhtin. This is because the term 'role' gives the impression of fixed identity whereas 'position' connotes that identity is flexible and dynamic as it can adapt to different situations based on the need of the hour.

In summary, Hermans' dialogical self claims that the self is dynamic with its several I- positions (or perspectives) and these positions or voices "can agree, disagree, understand, misunderstand, oppose, contradict, question, challenge and even ridicule the I in another position" (Hermans, 2001, p. 249). These interactions between the positions generate dialogue which can be understood by situating the I-position in space and time as it is the specific context[5] that guides the perspective of the self. This also indicates the social nature of the dialogical self as it engages in external and internal interactions, and even uses imagination to understand the point of view of the other within the self by temporarily taking on their perspective. This helps the self to recognise alternative perceptions.

Zittoun enriches the understanding of dialogical self by explaining the temporal dimension of dialogical movement (the movement or exchange of ideas within the self and between individuals). She explains it as that aspect of the dialogical mind which helps individuals make sense of a rupture by reflecting on their personal continuity through time and change, helping them learn and develop at the same time. By comparing their past and present selves, people engage in the temporal dimension of dialogicality (Zittoun, 2014) (refer to Ontogensis above).

c) Multivoicedness

At the beginning, it was Bakhtin who approached inner dialogue from a communicative point of view as he came up with the concepts of dialogicality and multivoicedness of "all inner processes of thinking and decision-making" (Greco Morasso, in press, p. 3). For him, words were a reflection of the multiple voices of "a given culture, people, and epoch" (Greco Morasso, in press, p.3). Bakhtin believed that each utterance was meant to address a voice or different voices; these voices could be situated in time, space, or could even be socially distant and through this theory of addressivity he posited that the voice of the other is present in inner dialogue (Greco Morasso, in press).

Multivoicedness was later developed in Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory where the self is composed of multiple voices or I-positions (discussed above). Additionally, it is also used as an analytic tool to focus on the individual's interaction with others and with cultural, historical, and institutional settings (Aveling et al., 2015). It is considered to be a useful instrument to analyse hybrid or hyphenated identities when studying intercultural contact. Akkerman and Niessen pointed out that a dialogical analysis cannot be efficient just by gathering interaction data, and another risk was the reduction and individualisation of the Self and the Other instead of treating the interdependence between them as the basic and irreducible unit of analysis (Aveling et al., 2015).

Some methodologies which exist to study multivoicedness include psychological tools such as self-reflection and self-report questionnaire. The only drawbacks of these reliable and rigorous tools are that they can often present the voice of the participants differently, in essence, 'a position that they speak from' could be understood as 'a position that they speak about'. Secondly, "data collection using these methods is usually done outside a natural context" (Aveling et al., 2015, p. 672). Looking at the limitations of these tools Aveling, Gillespie, and Cornish came up with an explicit, methodological, step-wise process to analyse multivoicedness in qualitative data. This has been discussed in detail in the methodology section. In a nutshell, since the research uses a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis, referring to theories such as the dialogical dynamics, dialogical self, and multivoicedness will help decode the "relational, social and cultural nature of the person" (Zittoun, 2014a, p. 99) in

the context of ruptures. Due to these ruptures, the process of transitioning or adjustment becomes essential and therefore sociocultural psychology sees adjustment as an opportunity for development.

Problematisation

This research aims to critically examine and question the assumptions that underlie numerous existing studies suggesting that unemployed women face greater challenges and encounter more significant obstacles in comparison to employed women due to their lack of employment. In light of the existing literature on mobility and migration in Switzerland, economic adaptation plays a vital role in the overall adjustment of an individual in a new sociocultural environment. This is because all sorts of employment including underemployment or inadequate employment, and temporary employment help the individual acquire work experience which adds to their possibilities of future employment, thus promoting long term economic adaptation in mobility (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Secondly, a working atmosphere provides multiple opportunities to build a social network through trainings, offsites for employees and day-to-day work interactions. The likelihood of meeting someone with the same worldview increases (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Thirdly, employment also has psychological benefits as the individual does not have to worry about their economic dependence, and can look for ways to use their monetary sources for self-development. Next, employment increases the self-worth of a person as it creates the feeling of giving back to the society, the feeling of being needed by others; and that of being useful to others. In the rupture created by mobility, employment can provide a sense of purpose in the new environment (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Lastly, being employed could also provide institutional support as the Human Resources might help the individual familiarise themselves with the new sociocultural environment. In addition to providing cross-cultural training, they might also "communicate information about important practical issues before the employee arrives in an unfamiliar, often unknown, environment" (Ravasi et al., 2015). Taking into account all these privileges and benefits that one receives as an employed person, their adjustment process appears to be way smoother than that of someone who is dealing with a second rupture of finding a job. It is also conjectured that unemployed women are required to exert significantly greater efforts to adjust. In addition to finding employment, they have to work on local language acquisition because women who speak French or German in Switzerland are more likely to find employment compared to others in mobility who use another foreign language as their primary language (Vidal-Coso, 2019). It is also pertinent to note that majority of existing researches predominantly encompass employed and unemployed women, thus inadvertently omitting self-employed, underemployed, inadequately employed, and partially-employed women from comprehensive consideration.

According to other qualitative research studies in sociocultural psychology, in addition to employment and language acquisition, there are several other resources that facilitate adjustment. Women often adjust by accepting the change in their professional status as an accompanying or trailing spouse because, sometimes, it requires them to give up their profession in the country from where they depart. They start ensuring that the other family members – partner, children, and parents feel comfortable. They redirect their focus from themselves and their employment to secure the well-being and happiness of their families. On the contrary, this change in professional and domestic responsibilities can impact their sense of purpose and cause uncertainty and frustration (Cangià, 2018). Additionally, for some mobile women, their previous experience of mobility familiarises them with various means of connecting with other people and establishing a social network . Often, when mobile women are well qualified and independent, their cosmopolitan personality significantly contributes to their adjustment (Kemp & Rickett, 2018). Other factors that considerably influence the process of adjustment are home-making, nature as a resource, using previous experience to deal with new ruptures, and social support. However, the availability of these resources may vary

depending on employment status. For example, women who are employed may have more access to symbolic and institutional resources, such as programs and services to support women in the workforce, including training, mentoring, and networking opportunities, but they may also have less time to spend on activities that promote adjustment, such as connecting with nature or building social support networks. Similarly, while unemployed women might benefit from spending time in nature and other volunteer activities that promote adjustment, they may have less financial resources and may be more likely to experience discrimination and marginalization.

Thus, employment is neither the only factor influencing adjustment in a new sociocultural environment nor does it affect adjustment in a singular manner. In addition to providing financial autonomy and social networks, employment fosters a space for hope and imagination in envisioning one's future prospects. It also enhances self-reliance and helps in finding a sense of purpose. Also, the assumption that adjustment is necessarily linked to financial independence and employment might overlook other influential factors shaping women's decisions before and after moving. The intersection of the rupture of mobility with other transitions such as separation from a partner, marriage, having a child may cause changes in familial responsibilities and personal aspirations making the process of moving more complex. In such a scenario, understanding adjustment only through employment will lead to an incomplete portrayal of the challenges involved. It is also important to mention that because of the dynamic nature of society, economy and technology, the adjustment mechanisms evolve. This is facilitated by the increased accessibility individuals have to their pre-existing global social connections alongside the abundance of readily available and reliable sources that enable them to acquire knowledge about their new sociocultural milieu. Furthermore, the interplay between employment and adjustment mechanisms may differ among different cultural groups, necessitating an in-depth exploration of one's individual culture to avoid oversimplification based on collective culture.

Based on the literature review, broadening and deepening the scope of this research required a reformulation of the initial research question which assumed that the adjustment mechanisms used by employed and unemployed women in mobility are different. The review raised several others questions, listed below, which help in finding answers to the main research question discussed in the next section.

- What are the diverse resources that can facilitate adjustment of mobile women to a new environment, regardless of employment status?
- Is the relationship between resources and adjustment the same for all unemployed mobile women, and all employed women in mobility, or does it vary depending on individual factors such as age, civil status, past professional background and previous experience in mobility?
- Do adjustment mechanisms exhibit commonalities between employed and unemployed women?
- In what way does analyzing multivoicedness through a dialogical approach enhance the understanding of adjustment?

Research Question and Context

Research Question

Thus, in theoretical terms, this research project delves deeper into the question 'What are the adjustment mechanisms used by women in mobility and to what extent does their employment status affect these mechanisms considering individual factors. How can a dialogical approach enhance this understanding?' The choice of the umbrella term mobility is to include women

who moved to Switzerland to work, to pursue further studies, due to the political situation in their country of origin, and to accompany their spouses. Even though their reasons to move to Switzerland were different, the commonality is that they all chose to move to Switzerland out of their own free will, i.e., after weighing other options or after having discussed their move to Switzerland with their spouses/families. Moreso, based on the results of the Migration-Mobility Survey (2016), when women move as accompanying spouses, they do not receive the same support as their employed spouses from the employer. Also, if their mobility is due to a political situation or in order to pursue further studies, they lose out on the possibility of employer support. In such a situation, they have to find their own ways to adjust to the new environment in order to ensure new learning and sense making.

Context

a) Why situate the research in the canton of Neuchâtel and choose different nationalities?

Switzerland is known to have the highest wage levels internationally, and its GDP is the third highest in the world. Cities like Zurich and Geneva have the highest salary levels worldwide and offer several job opportunities as numerous multinational, international and financial organisations are situated there. What makes Switzerland all the more attractive is its quality of life and stable political environment and infrastructure. Being a multilingual country with four national languages, it rests on the foundational ideals of diversity and multiculturalism (Ravasi et al., 2015). On running a google search to find out about the 'most international Swiss cities' the common names that appear are Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne, Bern and Basel (Expatica, 2023; Chirumamilla, 2023). This is because of the presence of various international and cultural centres, and a large international population. As a result, these cities become the hub of global happenings, provide more international cuisines and demonstrate a greater acceptance for different cultural norms and practices. Also, they are well connected internally and internationally promoting exchanges and interactions across cities, cantons, and countries. In these cities English is commonly spoken in work and nonwork contexts which enables the people who move there to communicate easily and saves them the hassle of learning a new language (Ravasi et al., 2015) as soon as they arrive (or ever).

One of the less discussed Swiss cantons, in the context of mobility, is the canton of Neuchâtel which has "a guest-receiving tradition and whose economic, social and cultural history was often influenced by frequent immigrations" (Charte De La Citoyenneté - République Et Canton De Neuchâtel, n.d.). This French-speaking canton has "a total population of nearly 176,000, including about 45,000 foreigners (~25%) from more than 150 different countries" (Charte De La Citoyenneté - République Et Canton De Neuchâtel, n.d.). People from other countries often choose to move to Neuchâtel because of the presence of an international university or because of work engagements in international enterprises such as Phillip Morris. The canton of Neuchâtel is also an interesting choice because it is well connected to bigger cities and at the same time helps people find cheaper accommodation compared to these bigger cities. Plus, in accordance with Wyss and Dahinden, using a specific place to study mobilities, especially entangled mobilities[6] is a useful way to explore the interdependence between different mobilities and localities. They further suggest concentrating on smaller localities, such as cantons or regions, instead of nation-states or ethnic groups as the starting point of analysis (Wyss & Dahinden, 2022). This is based on the idea that a person in mobility could be (or not be) seen as an 'undesired migrant' and racialized, but by focussing on smaller regions such as the canton of Neuchâtel, the analysis examines human movement in a particular place – where place is seen as "a fluid and dynamic rather than as a static entity" (Wyss & Dahinden, 2022, p. 8) – instead of following it. Tissot supports this idea by suggesting that the entry point of researches related to migration should not be ethnic or national groups, but rather processes that take place in a given city or canton (2020). In Salzbrunn's words, "focusing on localities rather than on specific groups based on national, ethnic, or religious criteria allow[s] us to go beyond

methodological nationalism and to follow the actor's social practices, which extend beyond national frameworks" (Tissot, 2020, p. 83). This also permits the researcher to assess the adjustment mechanisms used by people in mobility according to the resources available in that specific city or canton (Tissot, 2020).

It is of utmost significance to emphasize that mobility is not just about transitioning from one's so called culture of origin to 'one' culture of the host country as each individual is a part of "different cultural communities, and cultural identities include discontinuities and development" (Morasso & Zittoun, 2014). Therefore, choosing a homogeneous group of participants on the basis of their nationality or ethnic group would mean ignoring their personal and unique trajectories in new social settings (Morasso & Zittoun, 2014). Wyss and Dahinden also argue that it is important to shift the focus from a particular group of mobile people such as refugees, particular nationalities, to the study of entangled mobilities in a specific locality because their mobilities are not necessarily interdependent, but they become locally entangled when they are placed in, and are constitutive of a specific locality (2022).

b)Why focus on women and their employment?

Clearly, my move to the canton of Neuchâtel from Delhi (India) is an important personal reason for focussing on women and employment. My decision was based on the assumption that integration in the labour market would be easy based on my previous international work experience which did not turn out as expected. Secondly, having visited Switzerland as a tourist, notably bigger cities where most people spoke English made me believe that learning the local language was important only for social integration and it would be uncomplicated to find an English-speaking job. In the absence of the anticipated, and the emergence of the pandemic which started a few months after my move, it was indeed difficult to find ways to transition through the rupture of mobility.

Secondly, even though, roughly equal number of men and women move from their country of origin to another country, their conditions, reasons, decisions and paths differ (Swissinfo.Ch, 2019). In 2007, the United Nations used the term 'feminization of migration' referring to a shift in the perspective of researchers and policy makers to focus on women in mobility (Swissinfo.Ch, 2019). Most importantly, since mobile women in Switzerland are a part of everyday life and come from diverse countries, understanding their journey of adjustment is not only interesting, but thoughtful. Enriching the existing research with their experiences could have a positive impact on their social recognition and participation, and bring about further change and development in the Swiss society.

Additionally, the results of the Swiss Migration-Mobility Survey (2016) show that in comparison to men, there is a lower level of improvement for women in mobility when it comes to integration in the labour market. Statistical evidence further suggests a higher level of unemployment, a slightly higher level of short-term contracts and a lower use of skills among women in mobility compared to men (Wanner, 2019). However, it is also important to mention that the same survey's findings illustrate that irrespective of gender, when people move to Switzerland for professional reasons their labour market outcomes are better compared to those who arrive for family or other reasons (Wanner, 2019). Participation in the labour market or the presence of employment is explained by literature as a form of economic adaptation, i.e., the degree of work that one engages in, the satisfaction it provides, and how effective it proves to be in the new culture (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Employment is seen as the fourth pillar of adaptation with the others being psychological, socio-cultural and socio-psychological (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Existing research in this field further indicates that employment, in addition to providing financial stability through an income, has several latent benefits such as having a positive impact on the creation of social networks; creating a routine or structure for the day; and promoting a positive sense of identity and status in the community (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019).

The absence of employment, on the other hand, can generate anxiety and frustration, and the sense of having little to do (Cangià, 2020). Hence, when someone moves to another country and in the process has to give up their existing job to either be unemployed or to start a new job in a lew location, the person experiences a double rupture – of moving and of being unemployed/starting a new job. It is thus worthwhile to explore and understand the extent to which employment status affects the adjustment of women in mobility.

Methodology

I. Participant Background

Before talking about the methodology used for collection and analysis of data, it is important to discuss the background of the participants since sociocultural psychology upholds the idea that while participating in social practices, individuals influence, and are influenced by their thoughts, emotions, and actions. This could be helpful to contextualise their dialogue. Since this research aims to understand the effect of individual factors, in addition to employment status, on adjustment mechanisms, information related to age, previous mobility experience, education, and civil status are equally important in understanding participants' perspectives, beliefs, and behaviours. Also, patterns and themes emerge in data when this background is taken into consideration as it could have an influence on the similarities and differences in experiences and ideas. By avoiding focus on a specific national or ethnic group, the research strives to represent the different sociocultural characteristics and experiences. This will allow readers to consider how the research findings can be applied to their own contexts, thus making it more relevant.

The participants in this research, women who moved to Switzerland, and eventually to the canton of Neuchâtel, from another country, were in the age range of 26 to 46 years with previous experience in mobility. Except one participant who had moved cities within her country, all other participants had the experience of living in a country other than their country of birth. All participants moved to the canton of Neuchâtel with work experience in their previous locations. Based on the definition of who is considered to be employed (discussed above) the research project took account of self-employed workers, PhD students, people working in a private household and people who retained their jobs in their country of origin/country of departure as employed, and those carrying out voluntary activities as not-employed. However, contrary to the definition, participants who were working 10 percent or less were considered as not employed. This is because as per the International Labour Organisation's definition of unemployment all three participants who were considered as unemployed in this research were actively looking for work and were available for work. Only one out of these three participants was employed for three hours in the reference week. Also, the participants considered themselves unemployed if they worked for three to four hours per week. This could be due to their full-time professional experience before moving to Switzerland, or not receiving enough monetary remuneration, or due to the temporary nature of the job they were engaged in. The employment status of three participants did not undergo a significant change as one was self-employed and continued to run her company online whereas the second one took permission to continue working online. The third participant moved to Switzerland with a job contract in her field of specialisation and interest. One participant was inadequately employed as she started working as a nanny whereas previously (in her home country) she worked in art restoration.

Regarding their civil status, with the exception of one participant who was married before moving, and remained married after moving, and another one who remained single before and after moving to Neuchâtel, the others either got married after moving, or faced a separation/divorce after moving, adding a second rupture to their life course. Among the participants, two were mothers at the time of conducting interviews while one was expecting a baby in the following months. Lastly, their reasons for moving to Neuchâtel were as follows:

to accompany their working spouses/partners, to study , to work, and due to the political situation in their country of birth. However, all participants chose to move to Switzerland after having considered other possible options, either individually or after engaging in a discussion with their immediate families. Below is a table (Table 1) which summarizes participants' background and the factors which exist and can affect adjustment alongside employment. In line with respecting and protecting participants' privacy and confidentiality, the names of participants used in the table below have been changed.

Table 1 – Participant Background

Participants (name changed)	Age	Birth place	Employment status	Reason for moving to Neuchâtel	Partner co-habiting	Children	Previous mobility experience	Diary data available
Flavia	26	Italy	Employed	Work	No	No	Yes	Yes
Stacy	41	Canada	Unemployed	Accompanying spouse	Yes	Yes (born after the interview)	Yes	No
Sara	41	Ukraine	Unemployed	Political situation in home country	No	No	Yes	Yes
Rachel	46	Germany	Self-employed	Self-initiated with partner	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Liz	35	China	Employed in home country	Accompanying spouse	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Dorothy	31	France	Less than 8 hours a week - unemployed	Education	Yes	No	Yes	No
Monica	34	Chile	Inadequately employed	Self initiated with husband due to political situation in home country	No	No	Only within home country	Yes

I will now discuss the methodology in two different parts. In the first part, I will extensively talk about visual qualitative research which was used to conduct the interviews. Following this, use of diaries in qualitative research will be discussed as they were used post the interviews to collect longitudinal data. Maintaining a diary for a period of two months was optional for the participants and while six out of seven participants agreed to maintain a diary, only four were consistent in recording their thoughts and sharing it after two months. In the second part, I will explain the methodology of analysis, namely, the dialogical approach to qualitative analysis.

II. From qualitative to visual qualitative research

"Qualitative research is an umbrella term for a wide variety of approaches and methods for the study of natural social life" (Saldaña, 2011, p.3). It relies on a primarily non-quantitative way to collect and analyse data such as interview transcripts, photographs, documents, diaries that document human experiences of others or self, etc (Saldaña, 2011). While some qualitative researches use only one method of data collection such as interviews, others use a mix of different methods "to enhance the credibility or trustworthiness of analysis" (Saldaña, 2011, p. 31). Even though interviews are a popular go-to tool in general, and semi-structured interviews in particular, to collect comprehensive data with ease and flexibility by "conforming to a style of social interaction"(Bates et al., 2017, p. 460) that is considered to be culturally familiar, it remains a process which is, to a large extent, controlled by the researcher. This qualitative research used a mix – interviews guided by images and open-ended questions, and diaries. Though, maintaining diaries was optional for the participants. The reason for using diaries and making them optional will be discussed in the following section.

Since sociocultural psychology is more interested in understanding processes than finding statistical results, a qualitative approach was adopted for this research to get an in-depth understanding of participants' multifaceted and changing perspectives with detailed descriptions of the context in which they were shaped. Moreover, it allowed the participants to describe their process of meaning making in the past and the present which also helped them make connections. As a researcher, it helped me see each participant with their own unique trajectory (of experiences and challenges) in mobility and their descriptive accounts supported the understanding of meanings that participants associated with adjustment (Rouvoet et al., 2017). The interviews conducted in this research were neither structured, nor semi-structured; they were accompanied with visual data presented by the participants. The idea was to encourage openness in dialogue without directly talking about adjustment. Direct questions about adjustment were avoided as it could limit the research "due to a variety of personal interpretations and narrow interpretations" of the term and concept of 'adjustment' (Rouvoet et al., 2017, p.107). Instead participants were asked to talk about their lives before and after moving to Neuchâtel with the help of photographs they were asked to bring for the interview.

Photographs are one form of visual data, others being paintings, documentaries, visual technology etc. All these images are a crucial part of the sociocultural world in which we live and of our overall lived experience. They are visual signs which carry meaning; images can be used to relate to the world and to communicate with others (Reavey & Brown, 2021). The images that an individual is exposed to in their personal culture shapes their perceptions and how they feel; it constitutes the normal for them (Reavey & Brown, 2021). The need for an analytical approach which focuses on how "individuals make meaning, reflect and interpret their behaviour, actions and lives" (Reavey & Brown, 2021, p.102) gave rise to multi-modality which Reavey and Brown define as " a complex interplay between various meaning-making resources that are part of our experience and a key way in which we communicate those experiences to others" (202, p.102-3). One such form of multi modal communication is images as they help individuals remember other people and events, and describe their experience. In addition, images help individuals locate their experiences as they can capture the spaces where their experiences took place (Reavey & Brown, 2021). They "connect with a deeper sense of the human consciousness than words" (Bates et al., 2017, p. 461). Photos have the extraordinary quality of capturing a person who is no longer there, or a past event; they help retrieve something that has disappeared leading to a deep and interesting dialogue (Harper, 2002).

Advantages of visual qualitative research – a mix of theory and practice

Images possess the power to evoke emotions which one does not want to, or cannot bring themselves to talk about (Johnson & Reavey, 2022). As Kunimoto describes it,

> the image is not a container of emotion. Rather it is the mutual bonding of the visual and verbal narrative that serves as an aperture, enabling the participant and the researcher to explore the often contradictory and taut movement of emotions as they flow through autobiographical and collective memory (Johnson & Reavey, 2022, p. 735)

In this research, pre-existing visual material was used, i.e., photographs taken by participants independent of the research context. By introducing photographs in the interview, the psychological became visual, measurable and more scientific (Johnson & Reavey, 2022). Participants were asked to choose and bring along twenty pictures from their already existing photographs – ten from before moving to the canton of Neuchâtel, and ten from after moving – when they came for the interview. They were also asked to choose these images thoughtfully, i.e., images which they considered important, that meant something to them or they liked to look at. Sufficient amount of time was given to the participants, between 7 to 10 days, to choose and compile the photos.

Photographs also helped in steering the participants away from a well-rehearsed narrative, and provided access to specific moments and their feelings about it. This is because only five leading questions (all open-ended listed in Table 2) were used to help the participants think about the photographs and they were the same for all images. Once the conversation was flowing, a variety of spontaneous questions were used to get insights into their experiences, and thoughts about moving. In a way, this largely unstructured format of the interview allowed the "story and experience of the participants to emerge without influence or contamination by the researcher's pre-existing beliefs" (Bates et al., 2017, p. 468). An example to explain this is presented below; it is a snippet from one of the interviews where the researcher clarifies that she is not looking for something in particular.

Stacy - *Does this make sense what I'm saying though?*

Interviewer - *Yeah yeah, obviously <participant sighs, ok> because you see, I'm not looking for something particular.*

In the following extract the same participant expresses her views on this methodology of research:

Stacy - *OK. It's a lot of talking and tiring thinking about all these things. It's like therapy, no?*

Interviewer - *I hope it's good therapy.*

Stacy - *Yeah, you're making me think about things that I don't think about.*

Table 2

Leading questions for each photograph

1.Could you describe this photograph to me and explain why you chose it 2.How do you think this captures your life before/after moving to the canton of Neuchâtel? 3.Does this photograph remind you of other people/places/objects? 4.Why is X (depicting something in a photo) an important aspect for you as a mobile person? 5. Is there anything else you want to discuss about your moving experience which is not depicted here?

By allowing the participants to choose the photographs they wanted to bring for the interview, and by letting them decide the order in which they wanted to present the photographs during the interview, this method ensured active participant involvement. During the process of photo-elicitation, i.e., when participants were talking about the photographs they brought, one of the participants went on to appreciate this exercise and what it did for her personally.

> *"that I was looking for the pictures because it makes me <sorry> No, I know but it was a good exercise to to see myself, you know, it's like to put a mirror and to see how things are going on"* – Monica, research participant

Harper defines photo elicitation as "a postmodern dialogue based on the authority of the subject rather than the researcher" (2002, p.15). Since the interviews were longer and more comprehensive with the use of photo elicitation, the participants also had new insights about their social existence that they had not realised previously. At the same time, this method avoids "the fatigue and repetition of conventional interviews" (Harper, 2002, p.14). Additionally, when participants get the opportunity to walk the researcher through their world instead of answering semi-structured questions formulated by the researcher, they are more likely to explain what they have chosen and how it relates to their experience (Reavey & Brown, 2021). Visual research with photographs not only leads the researcher, but also the participant towards

common understandings. The researcher (I) meticulously observed for a range of emotional reactions, encompassing feelings of happiness, anger, sadness, and other nuanced expressions, as participants discussed the significance of the photographs during the photo-elicitation process. Therefore, this method supported the triangulation of data from different sources of information, and enriched the research. In other words, it added validity and depth to the data and provided new viewpoints to both – the researcher and the participant (Glaw et al., 2017).

It is also important to mention that while some participants were comfortable to talk about their lives right away, others were a bit hesitant at the beginning even though they volunteered to participate in the research, and in such a scenario, photographs helped the participants establish a rapport with the researcher and ease into the interview. Another noteworthy feature is that since this research uses a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis, images aided the process of dialogicality as there is never a singular, straightforward and correct way of reading them. Images are polysemous which means they are open to multiple readings and interpretations. Hence, photographs are "part of culturally available signs, interdependent with language conventions and cultural practice" (Reavey & Brown, 2021, p.103). Reavey and Brown also clarify that an image or a photograph alone cannot speak for a person, but when a person's account accompanies it, the multimodality creates a new comprehensive picture of "how the person is making sense of it in the context of their own personal/public experience" (Reavey & Brown, 202, p.104).

Additionally, it is crucial to clarify that in this research, neither were the photographs analysed nor were they used to ground the analysis; it was the associated narrative which served as the data set. Thus, the method was the interview in which photographs were used to promote dialogue and create a comfortable space for discussion (Bates et al., 2017). Images got participants to think and discuss how they felt about different experiences and events before and after moving to the canton of Neuchâtel. Participants talked at length about their likes and dislikes, their affiliation with the place, people or objects in the photo and made several temporal connections while talking. The conversations certainly went beyond what was literally visible in the photograph and what the participants immediately said after looking at it, to explore the social and cultural meaning of the image (Reavey & Brown, 2021). As a result, misalignments between what was shown in the picture and what was narrated were directly addressed by either the participants themselves or by the questions of the researcher. An example of the same from the research is presented here:

> *"it's supposed to be like a very good journey and that's how the photo looks like but it really wasn't so it it it continues with this like false uh image that you should show to everybody - the happy family"* – Monica, research participant

This research methodology, by treating the participants as collaborators, helped the researcher establish a rapport with the participants as five out of seven participants kept in touch with the researcher by sending pictures of their new born child, or by inviting the researcher over for tea or coffee. This made the study a participatory research as it laid emphasis on researching with the participant instead of researching about them (Reavey, 2021).

Lastly, as mentioned by Reavey, the distinction between "consenting to take part in visual research and consenting for an image to be published" (2021, p.17) was made, and taken into account while seeking participants' consent. When the participants posed questions related to the reproduction or display of their photographs, i.e., who would/could see them and in which context, they were informed that it was for a master's dissertation and that it would be read by the supervisor, but it was also a possibility that the work with the images would remain in the university's database and could be accessed by other academicians and students. Since, in the age of digitisation of data and with the increasing use of internet to store, display and exchange visual data, it is not possible to assure participants that their "visual data will be used

appropriately once it is disseminated in the academic domain and therefore potentially made public" (Reavey, 2021, p.18), I have decided to include photographs without people, or where people's faces are not visible as disguising the faces of the people is equivalent to not including the data (Reavey & Brown, 2021). These photos (Table 3) give the reader a glimpse of the kind of images guiding the participants' narratives.

Table 3 : Participant Photographs

Photographs about likes, preferences and celebrations such as food

Photographs related to what gives them happiness and peace such as nature

Photographs of self - alone as well as in different social groups

Photographs related to previous or current employment

III. Diaries

This research has a dialogical orientation and as discussed in the section on dialogical self theory and symbolic resources, "thinking is developed through interaction with the social, material, and symbolic environment, and all this takes place in contexts structured by larger streams of social meaning" (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2017, p.2) and a diary is a medium through which the author externalises[7] their thoughts; perhaps also interacts with them, and reacts to them. By comparing diary entries of the same person over time, one can see how the author develops temporally as they continue to interact with their environment (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2021). Diaries are a rich source of data as they are a record of one's ongoing experiences and changes while moving between different contexts and making contact with new social groups. As articulated by Zittoun & Gillespie (2021, p. 2), "diaries are a technology of the self. A sociocultural tool for mediating one's relationship to oneself and thus participating in, or constituting the dynamics of identity". These identity dynamics can be understood at two levels:

microgenesis – at the level of the stream of thought, and ontogenesis – at the level of the individual life course (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2021). This research has used diaries at the level of microgenesis, i.e., to study the change processes at the level of 'stream of thoughts'. Since the data collected through visual research was rich, and required almost four hours on the part of the participants, maintaining a diary was optional. After each interview, the researcher asked the participants if they were willing to maintain a diary for a period of two months where they had to record their thoughts once a week based on the prompts sent by the researcher. It was made clear that this was entirely a choice, and they could write as much as they wanted – two sentences or two pages. Additionally, if they wanted to record other thoughts in it (apart from the ones guided by the prompts), they were free to do so. Participants were also made aware that they would have to share the diary with the researcher at the end of the two months. If the participants agreed, the researcher sent them prompts regularly (once a week). At the beginning, all seven participants agreed to maintain a diary whilst three admitted it would be difficult to be regular, but that they would try. By the end, only four completed diaries were received – some participants maintained a digital diary, others used a physical notebook. Below are the list of prompts sent to the participants during this two month time frame:

- Something that I found comforting today/this week
- An interesting thing which happened today/this week
- I really missed….. today , this week because
- Describe a place where you feel most relaxed and peaceful
- Write a love letter to yourself
- Which parts of your daily life cause the most stress or frustration. How do you cope with them?
- List 5 things you're grateful for
- What are three things that are working well for you in Switzerland, how and why?
- Identify three short term goals and one long term goal

These prompts were chosen as they are open-ended, provide room for the expression of one's emotion and at the same time are related to 'adjustment' without using the term directly. They guide the participant to think about people, places and their situation related to employment in the past and in the new sociocultural environment. Additionally, these prompts could make the participants self-reflect as they engage in a dialogue with themselves temporally. Diary writing, as a process, could also lead them to new ideas and understandings about their recent or past life events when viewed with a new lens – in the light of the present (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2017). The objective of including these prompts was also to see if, like in the interviews, participants referred to the beliefs of others in written form, and how they positioned themselves vis-à-vis those beliefs (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2021). As Markova states, this helps the researcher to study the "other-within-self and particularly the role of the significant others in the micro dynamics of identity" (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2021, p. 3).

Diary study theories indicate that it is important to understand the relationship between stream of thought and stream of externalisation. Zittoun and Gillespie (2017) explain this with the help of three cases – first, where the two streams are separated experiences and come together with external intervention, i.e., when the researcher or another person asks about the stream of thought, the individual translates or externalises it; second, when the person experiences a feeling and externalises it simultaneously, the externalisation seems an extension of the thought itself. This means that the function of externalisation is more to express the thought than to communicate it for any social purpose. Thirdly and lastly, the externalization of thoughts can become a source of new insights for the individual as the externalization acts as a stimulus triggering new thoughts. In Vygotsky's words, it is "a means to control mind from outside the mind" (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2017, p. 8).

Despite the fact that diaries have become tools of reflection in qualitative research and education because of their quality of being dynamic and because they provide narrative modes of externalization (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2017), they have certain limitations. These can range from missing entries to irregularity in writing the entries. Some participants, in this research, could not keep up with the writing as they were not used to writing or recording their thoughts. Also, the prompts were sent over a duration of two months post the interview which is a very short time frame to capture the change in one's thoughts related to their identity, and meaning making of their sociocultural environment. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult for any individual to pay attention to all elements of their consciousness and from the ones they notice, they are able to communicate only some aspects of this stream to others (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2017).

IV Dialogical approach to qualitative analysis

As the theoretical framework has already established that sociocultural psychology explores the interconnected relationship between developing individuals and their changing social and cultural world, it was important to choose a method of analysis which took into account this change; hence a dialogical approach was adopted. According to Sullivan (2011, p.1) "a dialogical approach provides tools for methodological analysis of subjectivity in qualitative data" where subjectivity is understood as change and responsiveness to others. First and foremost, it is necessary to discuss what we mean by dialogue as it is much more than a conversation. According to Bakhtin, a dialogue is characterised by the exchange of ideas but the ideas are actually lived rather than being abstract. They are "full of personal values and judgement" (Sullivan, 2011, p. 2). For him, one can only be truly knowledgeable by participating in a dialogue with the ideas of others. In addition to seeing dialogue as a theory of knowing, it has also been perceived as the theory of being – ontology. This theory suggests that human beings are born needy as "they depend on others for values or embodied ideas to give a clear sense of who they are" (Sullivan, 2011, p. 5). Also, as Zittoun writes, a dialogical approach can provide a deeper insight into the relational, social, and cultural nature of the person (2014 a).

The aim of the analysis in this research was not to find a single meaning in the narratives, but to comprehend the "different and ambiguous ways in which a meaning may be experienced" (Sullivan, 2011, p. 14). In simple terms, the dialogical approach to qualitative data analysis provides room for the analyst to explore a "complex and conscious subjectivity" (Sullivan, 2011, p. 43). On this account, the data of all seven participants was studied for the identification of : different voices, the temporal connection between these voices, the various resources used in meaning making in the context of ruptures such as mobility, change in employment status, separation, starting a new project. The first step for preliminary engagement with the data set was to identify key moments and key utterances instead of exhaustive coding (Sullivan, 2011). Key moments refer to utterances which are significant, and utterance is interpreted as a "significant unit of meaning, different from the sentence or the line as it is defined by its readiness for a reply/reaction" (Sullivan, 2011, p.72). In order to find key moments, a wide variety of different extracts were chosen based on the relevance to the research question; here the peripheral was excluded and the relevant coded. The key moments were coded based on why they were considered crucial; the key moments identified were as follows:

- anecdotes around difficulties and interests
- management of social and interpersonal relations
- expectations
- reflection on relationships, past experiences, and one's own identity
- references to past and current employment status

The second step involved the systematic identification of emotions and feelings inherent in pivotal moments. These consisted of feelings of comfort, self-reliance, interpersonal connectedness, familiarity, contemplation, joy, mental and physical well-being, continuity, and global interconnectedness. Subsequently, these emergent subthemes were contextualized within a broader framework. This broader framework drew from existing scholarly literature based on concepts such as engaging in vocational or voluntary pursuits; sustaining continuity through recreation of experiential domains; expanding social networks thereby creating social support; making sense of experiences and events by utilizing prior knowledge and symbolic resources. While certain themes were initially drawn from existing literature and subsequently identified in the collected data – like the forming and fading of spheres of experience; the role of employment in establishing social networks and financial independence; symbolic resources; and the process of comprehending new experiences using prior knowledge, other themes surfaced from the data itself and were later corroborated by pertinent literature. These newly emerged themes encompassed: applying insights gained from past/other current ruptures to navigate through the rupture of mobility, subsequently linked to the sense-making process; the significance of creating a sense of home; engaging with nature; and planning for the future.

The interwoven nature of life events precluded the absolute demarcation of themes, revealing interconnections between the diverse life roles of an individual. For instance, the subtheme of continuity pertaining to the establishment of a home is also connected with the recreation of spheres of experience. Similarly, symbolic resources emerged as a theme in nature and then resurfaced as a subtheme within the context of making sense of experiences and interactions. Despite these overlaps, principal themes were identified due to their recurrence in a minimum of six out of seven interviewees and detailed discussions in the context of these themes, underscoring their importance in the adjustment process. These sub-themes are deeply connected to the participants' feelings and emotions.

In the next step, a table was created with three columns representing the past, present, and future to analyse the temporal dimension of dialogical movement because the photographs were from the past and the present leading the participants to compare their past and present selves, and by comparing diary entries of the same person over time, one can see how the author develops temporally as they continue to interact with their environment (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2021). This was followed by the addition of six sub-columns showing different voices – voice of self and other – in the three time frames.

Voice of the self – This refers to the I-positions from which the self speaks. The I-positions are born in particular contexts or in a particular set of social relations, and it is possible for the self to move between different I-positions within one context or one utterance.

Voice of other – The second type of voice which exists within the self consists of the voices attributed to others (different from the voice of actual others). These are the voices of ‘inner – others’ which means voices of others within the self. These inner others do not necessarily represent ‘real’ people as these could be voices of imagined or generalised others. Moreover, it could also be a voice which reflects “discourses or social languages associated with particular groups or institutions” (Aveling et al., 2015, p. 673). The others who the self sees as different and does not identify with, i.e., enemies or out-groups, also exist as voices or inner-others within the self. These voices can be identified in a narrative in three forms :

> direct quotes where the speaker gives voice to a specific person or group; indirect quotes where the speaker refers to the opinions, beliefs, utterances or ideas of another person or group; and in the form of echoes. Echoes pertain to a more subtle level of dialogicality, namely, the way in which most ideas and utterances are second-hand or borrowed. The words we use are always ‘half someone else’s’ (Bakhtin, 1981:293-4), bearing traces of their former uses. Bakhtin (1986) used the term ‘ventriloquation’ to describe the situation of a speaker

> adopting an established social language, without fully owning it (Wertsch,1991), that is, without it becoming an I-position (Aveling et al., 2015, p. 673).

The voice of the self or I-positions not only engages in a dialogue with the other or inner others, but also with the actual others, i.e., heterodialogue, and with the voices within, i.e., autodialogue. A three-step analysis model proposed by Aveling et al.(2015) was used for the analysis of multivoicedness. First the multiple I-positions from which the participant was talking were identified; secondly, the voices of the inner other were marked in the narrative and lastly, the nature of the relationship between voices within the self was analysed. By this I mean, how one voice responded to the other, if there was a power dynamic between the voices, if there was an evaluative tone in the voices, and lastly if there were any 'dialogical knots' or misalignments and how they could be explained (Aveling et al., 2015). Using these steps of analysing multivoicedness was one part of how participant data was studied from a dialogical perspective.

Then, I divided the table into rows for the seven main themes and their subthemes and added quotes that were thoughtfully chosen from the lengthy interviews to clearly showcase the specific theme and subtheme, i.e., context and emotional reactions. The selection of themes was also aided by the idea put forth by Zittoun which says that since capturing the dialogicality of the mind is difficult as it can only be accessed through externalization, analysts should make use of markers which not only exist but float in the stream of thought. These could be cultural elements such as books, movies, social events that not only appear in a participant's discourse, but are developed through discussions in the discourse. Therefore, observing the trajectories of cultural objects in one's stream of thought provides a window to the dialogicality of the mind and how these cultural elements become symbolic resources – if at all they do (Zittoun, 2014a). This implies the examination of how their activities and sense making, i.e., their actions, thoughts and externalisations, reflect or were guided by the social world, past interactions with others, their experience of places and locations , their exposure to social representations and art forms (films, music, etc) (Zittoun, 2014a).

The different methodologies discussed above – to conduct interviews, to collect data, and to analyse data – have been chosen in line with the sociocultural nature of the research in order to understand the participants' lived experience of facing a rupture, or multiple ruptures, and their process of adjustment. By including many quotes in the analysis, I emphasise the voices of the participants. Clearly, the chosen methodology prioritizes the charismatic aspects of qualitative research (Sullivan, 2011). This charismatic approach involves scrupulously selecting quotations for analysis, methodically categorizing them, selecting suitable labels, and then skilfully weaving them into coherent themes. This methodology focuses on meaningful analysis while simultaneously nurturing a profound researcher-participant connection. It endeavours to decode and comprehend the intricate lives of the participants ensuring commitment to both meaningful exploration and insightful interpretation.

For the purpose of analysis, the data was studied across participants rather than focusing on individual trajectories. This decision was driven by research methods and goals as I wanted to capture overarching patterns and find common themes that may extend beyond individual experiences and apply to a larger group. While looking at each participant's unique journey could have led to intricate exploration of unique personal narratives, thus providing more detailed insights, it could also have shifted the focus from the primary objective of identifying collective trends, that is to say, what most people experience. Also, exploring individual trajectories could help understand specific contexts, triggers, and outcomes that are unique to certain participants, offering a richer qualitative exploration. However, it's important to note that this approach could potentially limit the generalizability of the findings and may not provide a comprehensive understanding of the broader phenomenon being studied. Moreover, due to the limited time available, analysing individual trajectories spanning a longer period

would have posed challenges. Considering that some participants struggled to consistently maintain a diary for two months, the notion of extending the engagement to a year appeared to be a complex proposition. By prioritizing a transversal analysis over individual trajectories, I aimed to strike a balance between capturing common themes and embracing diversity in experiences, ultimately aiming to provide insights that hold relevance for a broader audience and contribute to the advancement of the field as a whole.

Procedure

In this segment, the procedure of data collection and analysis will be made clear by dividing it into three phases. This is followed by a brief discussion related to ethical considerations.

Phase I - In this phase, the following post was posted on a social media group titled 'Expats in Neuchâtel'.

> Hello, I am pursuing my Masters in Psychology and Education at the University of Neuchâtel, and for my dissertation I am trying to understand the adjustment mechanisms used by expatriate women in Neuchâtel.
> So if you're a woman who has moved to Neuchâtel in the last one year and would be interested in participating in this research anonymously, please send me a dm.
> While there is no monetary compensation, it could be an opportunity for you to make new friends.
> Thank you

It is imperative to point out that this was the second post which received plenty of responses after the first one which received no responses. The content of both the posts was almost the same except one difference – the phrase 'migrant women' was replaced by 'expatriate women' in the second post. It could be argued that the reason for no response was that people identify themselves as expats irrespective of their mobility trajectory to be viewed as the 'desired migrants'. The reader could also assume that it was just a matter of time and people would have responded to the first post as well which is true, but the difference is that in the same span of time, the responses that 'expatriates' received were much more than 'migrants'. This is the reason, terms related to mobility have been discussed at the very beginning. After receiving several responses, the researcher selected seven participants who had been in Switzerland for less than four years as it was easier to find more participants in this time frame. The researcher also made sure that the ratio of employed and unemployed participants was maintained. Participants were then contacted individually and informed that the research was not about asking and answering questions, but about understanding their transition to Switzerland through photographs. So, they were requested to choose twenty photographs – 10 from before moving to the canton of Neuchâtel/ Switzerland and ten from after. The researcher also told the participants to select photographs mindfully (which were important to them), and to bring them digitally or physically when they come for the interview. The estimated time for the interviews communicated at this point was an hour and a half to two hours. A mutually convenient date and time were fixed with each participant.

Phase II - During this stage of the research, participants were invited to the location of the interview which was mostly different buildings of the University of Neuchâtel; only two interviews were conducted elsewhere – one at the participant's home as per her preference and the second in a language centre where the researcher works part-time as it was more convenient for the participant in terms of distance. When participants arrived, the researcher made conversation with them for 10 to 15 minutes (not recorded) to make them feel comfortable, to explain the project, and to thank them. Subsequently, they were requested to sign a consent form (Annexure A), and were also verbally made aware of the points in the form (as participants

often sign without reading it). At the beginning of the interview, participants were also asked about their willingness to share the photographs used during the interview with the researcher. Though, all participants in this research consented to bringing photographs for the interviews, two were not comfortable in sending them across to the researcher after the interview as they felt the images were too personal to send. From the five who shared the pictures, two did not consent to using the images with people in any published work while the others consented to their pictures being published in this work only if it would not be circulated. All participants refused the use of pictures with children. So, the decision of only publishing photos without people, or where people's faces were not visible was communicated to the participants which was reassuring for them.

Using photo-elicitation, interviews were conducted where the interviewee was free to choose the order of the pictures and talk about them. The researcher used the five leading questions (mentioned in methodology) and posed other spontaneous questions while listening to the participant. Since the first interview extended beyond a duration of two hours, other participants were informed in advance about the extended time it could take. After each interview, participants were asked if they were willing to maintain a diary for a period of two months where they had to write entries once a week based on a prompt sent by the researcher. It was explained that the objective was to see how their thoughts evolved over a period of time. Next, prompts were sent via whatsapp to each participant every week and at the end of two months, the ones who maintained a diary shared it with the researcher.

Phase III - In the final phase, instead of beginning with exhaustive coding, the researcher read all interview transcripts with the focus on 'utterance' which is considered to be the basic unit of communication (Sullivan, 2011). In the first reading, the researcher underlined whatever seemed to be important in the context of a rupture and adjustment with short notes accompanying the highlighted text. The second step involved the systematic identification of emotions and feelings inherent in pivotal moments. This helped in the identification of basic and organising themes in individual data. Subsequently, these emergent subthemes were contextualized within a broader framework developed from the data and literature. Next a table was created with the themes on the left and time frames on the right (past, present, and future). These were further divided into voice of self and other (voice of a friend, relative, society). Transcripts and diaries were then read again to identify and select quotes from individual data and to place them in the table according to the theme, voice, and time frame. Global themes which have been explored and described in the next section (Analysis) were developed using all data sets.

Ethical considerations

Participants' informed consent was obtained for publishing of photos as well for the audio recording of the interview. Anonymity has been maintained by changing the names of all participants and their relatives/friends. Before getting the participants to sign the consent, the researcher thanked all participants for their support and for taking out the time to choose photos thoughtfully, for organising them in folders (even though it was not requested) and for travelling to the location of the interview, in most cases twice. A brief introductory conversation was made which was not recorded following which the participants signed the consent to avoid the feeling of being interrogated. Additionally, participants were made aware of the implications of consenting to the display of photographs.

Analysis

Though the starting point of this research is the presence of mobility as a rupture, I will begin by briefly discussing the difficulties faced and reported by participants in the process of moving, and as a result of moving to the canton of Neuchâtel. I intend to use participant data* to illustrate

ruptures in order to concretise the theory reviewed above and explain the same using real-life situations. Firstly, examples will help contextualise mobility as a rupture based on the background of the participants and the setting where the research is conducted. Next, with the help of extracts from interviews and diary data, existing theories in the field of sociocultural psychology and mobility will become tangible and relatable for the reader as these real life stories illustrate the abstract concept of mobility as a rupture. Lastly, participant examples act as a bridge between the theoretical and empirical aspects of this research.

Another important reason for initiating the analysis by presenting lived examples of ruptures is to highlight that challenges go beyond what has been previously identified in the literature reviewed above. Similar to the theories discussed, individuals encounter various difficulties such as language barriers, feeling like an outsider, and search for employment. However, with the help of participants' data illustrated below, the reader can understand how various perspectives, within an individual, interact over time and situations to make them recognize their experiences as challenges. Some of these challenges were specific to the region where the research took place, i.e., canton of Neuchâtel which is a smaller canton compared to some of the other cantons with bigger and metropolitan cities. This led to participants who were accustomed to international moves struggling to connect with people in similar situations, such as other expats, without having to travel long distances. Therefore, limited international engagement emerged as a new challenge contrasting with existing research that often emphasizes people in mobility seeking connections with fellow nationals or compatriots. Interestingly, administrative issues were brought up by participants, not only in their workplaces but also in their educational institutions, or those related to the issuance of permits. For instance, Permit B was only available to spouses and not unmarried partners which posed as a challenge for two out of seven participants.

Furthermore, the intersection of ruptures is distinct in this research. While existing studies often isolate and examine ruptures individually, participants indicated that it's not just mobility that poses to be a challenge, but the compounded effects of other changes which might or might not stem from mobility. In other words, when changes intersect, they give rise to new challenges. Below, I present the disruptions or challenges caused by mobility which have been identified through inductive sorting of key moments or utterances into broader conceptual codes. They have been presented through the voice of the self and other to demonstrate how various I-positions or voices "can agree, disagree, understand, misunderstand, oppose, contradict, question, challenge and even ridicule the I in another position" (Hermans, 2001, p. 249) to guide the perspective of the self.

The disruptions or challenges arising from the rupture of mobility:

1. The issue of encountering prejudice due to being perceived as different or an outsider: As explained in the sociocultural psychology of the life course, mobility acts a rupture because it marks a moment of change either from the perspective of the person experiencing it or from the perspective of the person observing the mobility. In the examples below, Dorothy and Rachel experience change from their perspective and feel that their identity is not being valued making them question their sense of integrity and self-continuity. Their perspective is influenced by the dialogue which takes place between the voice of the self and the voice of the other within the self.

Dorothy's voice of the self and the other-within-the-self, express her concern of facing prejudice because of her nationality.

Voice of self: "*what I feel about being French is just I'm being rejected from this place, you know, like now I'm looking for an internship on my for my 5th year for next year. And I had a lot of comments about being French"*

Voice of others: "*They just hate the people that are just next to the borders and that's stealing the jobs you know"*
Sense making from the interaction of voices: *"so I would be anything but French it would be. It wouldn't be. It would be less hard I think"*

Similarly, Rachel feels that she does not 'fit in' because she perceives the prevalent culture as conservative. According to her, the locals see her as someone different because she does not conform to this conservative culture. Albeit, unlike Dorothy who is affected by this prejudice, Rachel does not seem to care about these disruptions.

Voice of self: *"I feel like and and in Switzerland as well, like people look at me weird for what I dress… I was wearing these like very high heeled boots with tassels on it, no and we were like in near Morton in the country and they were all like everybody looked at me"*
Voice of others: "*I literally was in Munich last time with a friend of mine. We were having a drink and she's like, I think you just almost caused a car accident and I was like, it's the length of the skirt "*
Sense making from the interaction of voices: "*That's how I dress. I think it's cool and I don't actually care what anybody else thinks"*

2. The availability of limited opportunities and options for internationals in the canton: This has been linked to limited options for dining, cultural events, and meeting other international people in the canton of Neuchâtel compared to the other – bigger and international – cities within Switzerland. It is also based on participants' previous experience of living in the capital cities of various countries. As a result, the patterns that used to support their lives no longer work, and the meanings that were once assumed are questioned. Participants find themselves having to travel to the more cosmopolitan cities of Switzerland to participate in social activities of interest and to create social networks. Further, most of their previous connections, i.e., people they knew before moving to Switzerland live in cities such as Bern, Zurich, Lausanne etc.
In the examples below, Liz and Rachel experience a break in their regular flow of being or spheres of experience from the past.

Liz on cuisine and dining
Voice of self : *"this is the only one we can get in Neuchâtel and and even even in Bern and Lausanne, they are kinda similar, maybe bigger and things are a little bit better"* (referring to food ingredients)
Voice of others: *" all of our families miss the cuisines in Hong Kong and in China"*
Change experienced: *"So maybe we dine out once or twice a month, most of the time we, I cook, I cook, normally yeah, but that's totally different"*

Rachel on cultural events
Voice of self:*"I see that Lizzo is playing but in Zurich like every time if I want to go to something like that's really important, it's far away". "I miss the conveniences of bigger international cities for sure."*
Voice of other: *"she just said, you know, Neuchâtel is really really hard because it just doesn't offer that big an international community, like from Lausanne again has a huge international community and then she was like especially for people who are like over the age of like 40"*
Change experienced: *"I grew up in New York, <laugh>, I lived in London and those are sort of my two favorite cities. And compared to that, I think the only city that comes close is maybe Zurich. <Mm-hmm> And even that is quiet compared to those towns"*

3. Challenges and processes related to administration: As discussed in the literature on mobility, women often opt for the family-oriented channel with the idea that they will also find a position in the labour market which matches their skills and qualifications easily, but the reality they

face is different as Permit B for family reunification and work is only issued to spouses and partners. Stacy, who is of Canadian origin, moved from Italy with her partner (of Italian origin) as he initiated the move by securing employment in Switzerland. Stacy decided to accompany him hoping that, she too, would find suitable work opportunities. However, since she was from outside the EU, and not married to her partner from the EU, she encountered significant delays in obtaining the necessary permit. Ultimately, they decided to take the marriage route to acquire the appropriate permit which would allow her to work legally. Monica also faced a complex situation. She, initially, entered the country to accompany her spouse (her partner from several years) whom she decided to marry only to have the correct documentation (family reunification visa), but then, due to their divorce after moving, she had to begin exploring alternative means to stay in the country. Sara, on the other hand, moved through the protection-oriented channel due to the political situation in her country. She found herself in a situation which is rare for her and her new sociocultural setting, making it difficult for her to consistently access reliable information. The evolving policies and procedures further intensified her personal uncertainties. Thus administrative hurdles related to visas added to the participants' worries about the present and the future. Clearly, the problems were more prominent for non-EU citizens and women who moved to Neuchâtel due to the political situation in their home countries.

Stacy - Accompanying spouse (Spouse is Italian, but the participant is Canadian. They are relocating from Italy)
Voice of self: *"I'm from outside of Europe. She's from Europe"*
"I had made a I asked ask for Visa D [8] *... and it took more than a year and I still never heard anything from them"*
"So we started the procedure for the marriage. So I have a visa L it lets me stay here to wait to get married."
Voice of other: *"she could easily just find a job and get a visa with me and I can't"*
Developed perception: *"The law is different for her than it is for me"*

Monica - Political situation in home country and accompanying spouse. The spouse is a student in Switzerland and both of them have a Permit B[10]
Voice of self: *"because you really have to show that you have money to stay here, even if he don't find the work" "so we started one year before to have some savings to ask money to his parents"*
"it's hard for me to see also that it's such a developed country. You need to, you need to be married.""it's really hard to see that I still depend of a man, even if I had a good job if I'm paying for everything, if I had studies. And that's only because I'm not European."
Voice of other: "*The authorities, they only want to see money in your account"*
"because now that I'm trying to do this thing with my visa, they said to me, no, the authorities are only interested if you have money"
"They (employers) told me that it will do. I will stay and because they need to do what she wants to do"
Developed perception:*"But that's what they (employers) think. I don't know what things the authorities think". "I pay an apartment, I pay all my assurance, I pay his university, I've paid his insurance, I've paid all the food. I've been paying everything for a year. He didn't get a job and now it's me who needs who must leave. You know."*

Sara - Political situation in home country - Permit S [9] (people in need of protection)
Voice of self: *"I don't know what happens with Permi S because when the war is over and Permi S is also over and we have to leave even if we are working <aha> even if you're a student, maybe for now there is no real procedure because nobody knows"*
Voice of other: "*It's the first time that they face this but for now, they say that we don't know. Maybe they will treat each case differently"*

Developed Perception: *"but the general general idea is that Permi S is finished and we leave"*

4. Difficulties or issues associated with employment: Employed, unemployed, and self-employed participants raised employment-related challenges. Flavia is employed, and discussed struggles at work such as striking a work-life balance, and administrative problems at work. Similarly, Rachel who is self-employed discussed the complications related to expanding her enterprise in the new sociocultural setting due to losing focus because of other ruptures such as mobility and separation as well as establishing new professional connections. As seen in the literature, certain nationalities may be stereotypically associated with low-skilled or menial jobs. Monica who comes from Latin America encountered this difficulty as she referred to her past job as her career, and to the current one as 'work'. Her foreign educational certificates and diplomas did not secure access to related jobs in Switzerland and as a result she decided to take up a job which did not match her skills. Furthermore, contrary to the human capital theory's presupposition that educational qualifications means the individual will be able to achieve a professional status (Tissot, 2020) participants complained about the difficulty of finding employment, especially when their country of origin is from outside the EU (Tissot, 2020). They expressed their frustration stemming from their inability to secure employment, despite their perceived efforts to actively seek job opportunities as was the case of Sara who decided to pursue further education.

Sara - Unemployed
Voice of self: *"I was coming here. I thought I would have no problems with finding a job. I Speak the languages there are many refugees. I'm a psychologist. What was the problem? I'm gonna find a social workers with refugees. no, it doesn't work like that". "I have permit S but I don't have the Swiss documents, the Swiss diploma so I cannot say I'm psychologist in Switzerland"*
Voice of other: *"he said he looked at my CV, he said, Ohh, it's perfect. You can try to find a job, but you are also in the middle of the study project, and it's better if you learn French and so on" "even my social assistant, he says there are many people. I see. He says I see they are traumatised. I see they have PTSD… and here you are and you are and we cannot connect you . He said this is nonsense"*
Developed Perception: *"I was trying to find the job, but I've found that it's more difficult than finding a a place to study"*

Flavia - Employed
Voice of self: *"One thing that shocked me a bit when I arrived is that at work, the secretariat didn't really inform us of many things that are peculiar of Switzerland but not of other countries"*
Voice of other: *"at the XYZ they didn't tell us what they needed from us always. There was a bit cryptic, and there were many difficulties."*
Developed Perception: *"it's still frustrating sometimes, but a bit"*

Rachel- Self-employed
Voice of self: *"I mean, I go to conferences. They are not in Neuchâtel but it's not. I mean, this is not a huge startup scene"*
"but it's just, you know, yeah and financially, adjusting to Switzerland and to being on a single income again which is yes, yeah, an adjustment"
Voice of other: *"he's now questioning, like, where is your business going? Like, what do you where do you need it next year? And I was like, that's good cuz I haven't really thought about it and I haven't been with anybody who has that entrepreneurial mindset. So that's a good thing"*

Developed Perception: *"I do need to just you know, I had a business plan. I haven't rewritten that in a while. I need to rewrite that and stuff like that so"*

Monica – Inadequate employment
Voice of self: *"It wasn't difficult at the beginning, but now it's becoming difficult because of the situation that I am with my husband and now I can see clearly and it it's really hard for me now I can see that I left all my career on one side to be a nanny"*
Voice of other: *"the arrangement was that I will work in here and then when he finished his studies I will make my studies, but now I I can't"*
Developed Perception: *"Probably I will never get back to my career again because it's expensive in Switzerland"*

5. Intersection of ruptures: Apart from the challenges discussed above, participants also faced an intersection of ruptures. In Tissot's words, the arrival of the first child, or a divorce are changes that lead "partners to re-negotiate in the hopes of developing a new common agreement; which does not necessarily mean they are going to find it." (Tissot, 2020, p. 278). In this research as well, Stacy discovered that she was going to have a baby a few months after she moved to Neuchâtel with her partner. For four other participants separation from their partners emerged as a second rupture. Two of the participants (Flavia and Dorothy) broke up with their partners in order to move to Switzerland and pursue their work or studies, the third participant (Rachel), also a mother, mutually decided to split with her partner after moving, and the fourth participant (Monica) went through a marital separation during the same period when the interviews were conducted. She explained how they got married after several years of living together just to relocate easily with a B-permit or a family-reunification permit.

Dorothy and Monica – Separation
"I was in Paris with my boyfriend and we were talking about getting married. So I how can I say I left everything I left him. I broke up with this guy. I left my job so you know I. I arrived here alone." – Dorothy
"now we're getting divorced. So it it's been. It's been. Now I'm in a very hard position." "The last two months I've been crying a lot. Not as not as a usual cry, but more because I'm going through a divorce," "because of my divorce, I I've I've been feeling like very stressed" – Monica

Stacy – Motherhood
"But I mean I've changed also because I'm becoming a mother <Yeah> So that has not only the immigration, but becoming a mother is a big transition so I won't, my lifestyle will change for sure" - Stacy

Interviewer: how do you think it captures your life after migration? Stacy: Well, we're expecting a baby can't get any more bigger than that.

Adjustment Mechanisms

When mobility disrupts or challenges an individual's sense of continuity and identity, it initiates a subsequent process of mental and symbolic adjustment. This process involves navigating through the changes experienced and reconciling them. It helps or enables the individual to continue their actions within the new context. Hence, this cognitive and symbolic elaboration related to the (re)construction of meaning is referred to as adjustment. It is also an opportunity for individuals to develop because the new symbolic formations enhance their understanding of the socio-cultural environment while protecting their sense of self (Zittoun & Levitan, 2019; Zittoun et al., 2003; Hale et Abreu, 2010). Below, I discuss the strategies employed by women who relocated to the canton Neuchâtel (referred to as Neuchâtel) within the past four years. These mechanisms of adjustment have been identified with the help of existing literature

supported by participant data and vice versa, through the analysis of voices and dialogues generated via photo elicitation supplemented in certain instances by diaries. Participants' dialogical data has been organized in tabular format; vertical tables for temporal dialogical interactions and horizontal tables for spatial dialogical interactions.

1. Establishing a home in an unfamiliar sociocultural environment: As supported by literature, the process of mobility and settling into a new place often gives rise to a sense of ambiguity, where individuals find themselves in a state of being both present in their current location and connected to their previous one. This duality creates intricate emotional entanglements concerning the places, people, objects, and relationships involved in their lives. "Emotional attachments and feelings of belonging are at the heart of any place that is called home" (Fathi, 2021, p. 980). Home here does not refer to longing for the homeland; it represents creating a home, i.e., home-making tied to the notion of belonging (Fathi, 2021). Fathi further writes, the feeling of belonging arises from emotional bonds with individuals, locations, and connections and the sense of recognition is what one needs to feel a part of the home-making process (2021). While the home provides a space for the individual to be who they are amidst numerous changes, the location of the apartment also holds significance in maintaining a sense of continuity. Boccagni identified three fundamental dimensions of home: security, familiarity, and control (Fathi, 2021). In his depiction of these concepts, he employs the terms safety, continuity, and a sense of independence. This observation resonates in participants' accounts, where establishing a home in Neuchâtel granted them a sense of comfort, continuity, and independence.

a) Comfort: Based on a range of studies discussed in the theoretical framework, I understand the link between home and comfort as a space that lets individuals feel secure and confident in their identity. This idea also involves having important people like a partner, kids, parents, or others around, making the place truly feel like home. Thus the comfort derived from home can encompass one or both – physical and mental aspects.

Dorothy's narrative illustrates how mobility initially appeared as a disruption due to the absence of a home. It also highlights that the idea that home goes beyond simple notions of belonging tied to one's origins (Ahmed, 1999). Instead, home becomes imbued with sentimental value, arising from personalizing the space and sharing it with others. Furthermore, Dorothy's account exemplifies Ahmed's idea that mobile individuals have the ability to shape the world into their home. They achieve this by intentionally avoiding strong attachment to any specific location and instead, recreating their sense of home in various places. In the table below, voices of the self from different I-positions have been put together to show how interactions between positions generate dialogue in the context of mobility and adjustment guiding the perspective of the individual experiencing mobility. For Dorothy, mobility poses as a rupture at the beginning making her feel out of place in her new surroundings, but with the passage of time home-making brings comfort to Dorothy.

I-position	Dialogue
Dorothy as new in the city	"*I had a lot of difficulties at the beginning to find the flat, so I didn't have my home."*
Dorothy as a French national	*"I don't have homesickness because I don't feel like France is really my, si it's my home but I don't really like Switzerland. I don't feel like I belong here. I don't want to stay here."*
Dorothy as a girlfriend	"*I'm in this stupid position where I'm like. I love this guy, but I don't want to stay in Switzerland and he can't leave Switzerland for now. I think my home is with my boyfriend and it's more with him that in a place if it makes sense" "I feel more strong with him. I feel more confident. I think he's helping me to have roots."*

Dorothy as an independent woman	*"it was nice to share with someone but for me to have a home and a place for me is really, really important….I think I can face anything if I have my home. It's really important"*
Dorothy as someone moving continuously	*"I'm moving a lot, I really need to have, OK, I love to socialise and to be outside but to do so I have. I need a place where I feel comfortable, my place and the my house, my flat, whatever my room. If it's a flat mate, it's very important for me and I will take time to decorate to have nice stuff and everything and to really invest the location because it's I don't know you say English, but the place when I recharge my battery is really I really need to have this cosy nice. Uh, you know, warm space when it's my sphere and it's, you know, it's very important for me."*

For Liz, her home in Neuchâtel is more comfortable in terms of space since her previous home in the country of departure was much smaller. By comparing her past and present home, Liz engages in the temporal dimension of dialogicality. For her, this positive change makes her feel comfortable not only within her home, but also in the new city. The following dialogue between Liz's voice from the past and present explains how the physical aspects of the home provide comfort not only to Liz, but also to her family.

Voice of the past before moving	Voice of the past after moving	Voice of the present
"before we move here <Yeah> So it's quite, quite packed. Quite a little space, small spaces and with lot of things. Yeah. And the kid cannot play cannot run and cannot play very happily" "and in terms of living areas, I would say because you can see this is the almost the whole living room for Hong Kong, it's just like 10 or 20 square metres here, around here"	*"at the very beginning, we live in company's apartment for 3, three months. That was smaller and it's not that convenient and we move here it's bigger"*	*"now we have a bigger living areas and we have big terrace outside but in Hong Kong, we don't have a terrace not even a small one" "in terms of the living spaces we do appreciate the living styles here. It's really quiet… but for me I'm OK with this. Uh, tranquil life. The quiet life here. So this is the advantage comparing with Hong Kong…. I think in terms of the apartment, the, the environment. No, no, no. I mean the condition of living is better"*

b) Continuity: The concept of continuity is rooted in Boccagni's notion of familiarity, which involves both emotional and cognitive aspects, encompassing ideas of stability, routine, continuity, and even a feeling of sustained existence (Fathi, 2021). This is evident in participants' inclination to choose an apartment in an area resembling their previous living environment, underscoring the importance of home location. Such familiarity provides a sense of ease, especially during the process of adjusting to a new sociocultural context, as the geographical continuity profoundly influences their hobbies and interests. Since time is an important characteristic of the dialogical self and essential in understanding when and in what context the narrative, and experiences unfold, the following examples showcase how the voices within an individual engage in a dialogue temporally reflecting the impact of geographical consistency on their hobbies and interests.

Participant	Past Distal	Proximal

Dorothy	*"In France, Bordeaux is next by river, so it's not a lake, but it's a river, and in Lisbon I was next to the sea. I mean I always lived by water somehow and it would be very difficult for me."*	*"I was happy when I came in Nechâtel because it was next by the lake because I think I I can't live in a city where there is no lake, river, ocean. I think I'm really used to sea."* *"I love swimming. I I don't know it's just, uh, yeah, I I like it. I think I'm really used to it and I'm not sure I could live without water"*
Liz	*"We always prefer water because I was born in an island. Yeah. And I like the beach and I like the sea. So yeah, you and most of the city I live in, they have the sea as well close to the sea. So I just like water.* *"we go walking by the lake or in Hong Kong we go walking, running along the seaside as well."*	*"So This is why we choose this apartment we see the lake"* *(Here) "and in summer, we can sail in the lake."*
Sara	*"and I'm used to living nex Because I'm from Odessa and there is the sea I really like to see the water, like a lot of water and I like to be next to the to the lakes"*	*"when you're used to it's like when people are used to living in the mountains, they want to see mountains, <yeah>"* *"and like for example, here is the view from Boudry (of the lake) from the from the apartment, from the place. It was really nice"* *"I can really spend hours there and yeah, I like and when I was walking in Boudry, I was walking to the to the, to the lake"*

c) Independence/Autonomy: As per Boccagni, independence is linked with the ability to utilise and mould one's environment and space without external constraints and judgments (Fathi, 2021). This sentiment is echoed by both Monica and Rachel. By renting and decorating apartments in line with their personal preferences—an opportunity they had never experienced previously, both women express a sense of independence and pride. Rachel further adds that distancing herself from the notion of a fixed home in one country facilitated the development of her global identity and community (Ahmed, 1999). The tabular format below focusses on the identification of voices and emotions associated with the dialogue.

Voice	Feelings	Monica
self	Independence	*"I work, nobody pays anything for me and now I have a good job. I pay an apartment"*
self	Pride	*"in my own country, even if I have this amazing job, it would be impossible for me never to rent an apartment <in Chile?> Yes, because I'm a woman because my salary would never be enough to rent an apartment."*
other	Encouragement	*"that's what she* (Monica's grandmother) *told me. You should leave and you should go and to try to find a better place to stay because I didn't do it and it was really hard for me as a woman"*

Voice	Feelings	Rachel
self	Independence	*"my apartment feels like home, and I can finally do what I wanna do.""this is my new home where I've done everything myself."*
self	Belonging and privacy	*"this apartment now feels like home and it's the first time in a really long time that something has really felt like home. So, and that's nice. So but it's interesting because this apartment is in a place that I don't feel at home, right? So but. It's OK. I never have to leave my apartment. I can just hang out in the apartment"*
self	Achievement and belonging	*"So I haven't had my own furniture or like my own like my real own place in 15 years. <Since> yes, since New York, so this apartment is also very much like finally my own place. I mean, it's been really expensive, but my I picked a bed that I wanted and like my lighting fixtures""everything is new, like everything and everything is stuff that like I picked and so now it feels really like home."*
other	Belonging	*"A friend of mine was asking me like, oh, so the this new boyfriend, you really like him? I was like, yes, I've never liked anybody like this before but like I. If the guy asked me to move in with him as much as I think that would work, I really like my place. Like you can move in with me where I live, but. Like that's how I feel about this apartment"*
other	Global identity	*"we don't know where home is. My son doesn't know where home is."*
self	Global identity	*"I associate home with people and not with a place <mm-hmm> again I don't understand nationalism or anything like, you know. <Yeah> I don't understand that."*

2. Utilizing the power of nature to enhance well-being: Nature, in this context, refers to the "areas containing elements of living systems that include plants and non-human animals across a range of scales and degrees of human management, from a small urban park through to relatively pristine wilderness" (Rodriguez et al., 2022,p.191). Since the participants, in the context of Neuchâtel, did not report any negative emotions generated by being in natural environments, this section discusses the positive effect of nature on the well-being of people in mobility. It is also worth mentioning that the study conducted by Rodriguez et al. incorporates findings from various previous researches on the relationship between immigrant well-being and nature, however, only one of these studies was done in Switzerland, a country renowned for its natural beauty. Not surprisingly, all participants had selected photographs of nature or of themselves in natural settings and all of them spoke about the positive effect nature/being in natural settings had on them. The following extracts (from interviews and diaries) illustrate the different ways in which natural environments serve as significant spaces for connecting with family, friends, and how they facilitate community interactions. Nature also offers a setting conducive to self-reflection, acts as a symbolic resource, and ensures physical well-being.

a) Bonding: According to the same study undertaken by Rodriguez et al.(2022), nature facilitates feelings of togetherness. Moreover public parks and gardens are considered to be ways to connect with a new community and the environment, and the time that one spends in natural settings could also provide a sense of normality. The following table presents the temporal voices of participants to demonstrate how individuals make sense of a rupture by reflecting on their personal continuity through time and change, helping them learn and develop at the same time. Flavia recalls how she used to go hiking in the mountains with her sister, but

could not do the same with her mother. She lives a similar experience with her housemate in Neuchâtel who she referred to as a 'mother figure' during the interview.

Participant	Voice of the past	Voice of the present
Flavia	*"I would say reminds me also of going to the mountains with my sister so again, activity physical activity with my ex in Maastricht as well"* *"my mom, I really love her, but she was never extremely athletic so this would be. we never really went hiking for example, or like something extremely like very long and sporty."*	*"I like to go hiking with people that know what they're doing you know <yes> And so it was very fun and I loved it. Being in nature, doing activity and you know"* *"it was also weekend where I was here by myself and she invited me (for a hike), so it was really nice a bonding experience."* *"it was like a family trip you know"* *"I'm happy to be here surrounded by people that make me sometimes feel like I'm really at home."*

For Liz, natural environments offer a space to meet others from the local community, and to create a connection with her child in an outdoor setting. This is a shift from her previous experiences of taking her child to big theme parks or indoor museums and artificial play centres.

Participant	Voice of the past	Voice of the present
Liz	*"back in Hong Kong or Shenzhen, we saw quite a different landscape with tall buildings and also theme park"* *"in Shenzhen and Hong Kong, usually we are indoor with like museums and technology, virtual places."* *"Usually they just play indoors with the air conditioning, but it's because of the weather as well yeah, because, uh, Hong Kong is quite hot and humid almost all through the year, so usually we we just sit in the buildings with air conditioners and a lot of surroundings, just not if I would say maybe it's quite artificial rather than natural, yeah"*	*"and and also I met local people, so-called local, it's in the playground"* *"is just in the forest behind us. We took a walk some whenever the weather is good. And then here in this forest, we can also see the animals like the pig and also sheep and also the donkey. Well, this is what Shin Jin's favourite"* *" I take my kids to to the lake and to the grass and to the child play centres"*

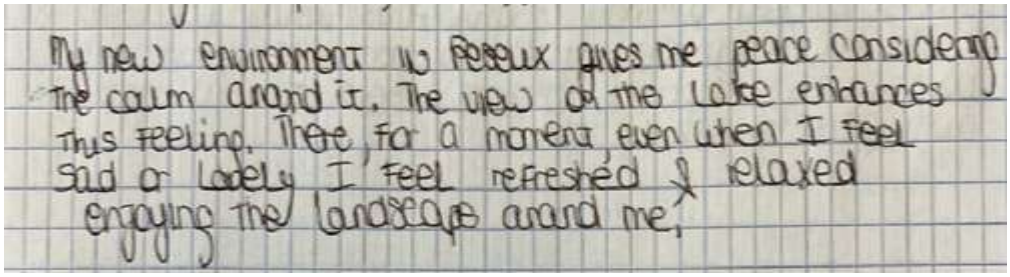
b) Self-reflection: Being in the nature also seems to encourage 'taking moments of self-reflection' (Haggstrom, 2021). This can be understood in terms of introspection - having a conversation with oneself, and looking back on one's life (Kim et Shin, 2021). Additionally, being alone in nature might give people an opportunity to think about who they were, their past aspirations, and realize what was significant to them (Kim et Shin, 2021). At the same time, they can "think about unresolved issues and evaluate individual qualities as a first step towards personal growth" (Kim et Shin, 2021, p. 10).

Spending time in nature helped Flavia rediscover herself as she realized who she really was (adventurous), the circumstances which changed her (a lazy partner), and how none of this is fixed as she can develop healthy practices and change again. Liz, too, after having discussed the inconveniences of living in the canton of Neuchâtel in terms of online shopping and lack of modernization concludes that she would prefer to live in Switzerland choosing nature over

modernity. Once again, voices have been marked as past and present to show the temporal interaction within the individual which guides their self-reflection or perception.

Participant	Voice of the past	Voice of the present	Self-reflection
Flavia	*"with my sister, especially one of them sometimes she's like Flavia is not that sporty because she's really sportier than me"*	*"And then there she was like oh, you're going fast"*	*"You're like you know so you have another perspective on yourself that sometimes you need because you know, some people they know you for long and then you go away for years. And then they still think that they know you as you were before"*
	"I was kind of a very adventurous person that would do stuff" "but in Maastricht I became to be a bit, you know, home comfortable with my boyfriend didn't want to leave my boyfriend and didn't want to leave Maastricht. In general a bit lazy.	*"And here life after migration I see kind of a more active Flavia"*	*"I feel like since I've moved, although it was very difficult to move, I feel a bit more like myself"*
Liz	(Voice of the present recalling the past) *"For the rest of my of my life, I think I prefer this one. Yeah, rather than the skyscraper, yeah and also the living area. I mean space here. Yeah, I prefer here."*		*"I like quiet and tranquil and this sort of life. That's good. Yeah. Sometimes I feel that I. Yeah, I'm retiring you know, it's different from the busy hustle life"*

An extract from Flavia's diary highlighting the importance of nature


My new environment in Peseux gives me peace considering the calm around it. The view of the Lake enhances this feeling. There for a moment even when I feel sad or lonely I feel refreshed & relaxed enjoying the landscape around me.

Sara's diary entry to describe a place where she felt relaxed and peaceful demonstrates a shift in her thoughts because previously in the interview she mentioned:
"I'm used to living next to the sea and you know it it really calms everything down"
but in her diary she talks about snow and forests:
"The forest covered in snow just outside La Chaux-de-Fonds. With this forest I can even accept the absence of the sea. The pine trees are magnificent, and I adore them covered in snow, the silence around and the snow crunching under the feet. It feels like magic."
This shows her transition from one natural setting to another and her appreciation for it symbolises moving away from the familiar to accept and appreciate change. As Hermans explains, Sara appreciates this alternative perception as her past self is able to temporarily take on the perspective of her current self.

c) Nature as a symbolic resource: As explained by Zittoun, cultural elements which not only exist but float in the stream of thought are markers. They not only appear in an individual's discourse but are developed through discussions in the discourse. Therefore, observing the trajectories of cultural objects in one's stream of thought provides a window to the dialogicality of the mind and how these cultural elements become symbolic resources. Nature brings back memories of the past and allows the individual to engage in leisure activities they used to engage in, providing stability through familiarity. In addition to acting as a cultural element connecting the past and the present, it also provides a space for the participants different from its intended use, i.e., an outlet for their emotions (anxiety, sadness) and worries. In Dorothy's, Sara's and Monica's interviews, references to nature occurred several times and through further discussions it emerged as a symbolic resource.

Dorothy uses nature to feel calmness and peace; Sara goes to the lake to relive her past experience of being by the sea; and Monica derives strength and confidence from the things she sees in nature. She also reconnects with her childhood which was in a similar natural setting, but which was lost when she changed cities in her teenage. All three of them, feel more relaxed in nature as it helps them release their negative emotions.

Participant	Voice of the past	Voice of the present	Nature as a symbolic resource
Dorothy	*"since I was eight. I was a scout girl so I was spending a lot of time in the in the forest, in the, in the countryside and everything. And I think that's it's really something that shaped me"*	*"and I still like, like every time I'm in the nature, I am like more relaxed. I'm I'm looking everywhere. It's really a place I feel. I feel good.* *I love the nature I have. I love the fact that I can hike and can go on the lake."* *"every summer I swim a lot. Yeah, I like it. Yeah it's nice. I think we are lucky to be by a lake. That's one of the most nice thing about about Neuchâtel."*	*"I'm a quite anxious person <OK> And uh, being in the nature is really for me soothing, how can I say it calms me down a lot to be in (unclear) and to look around, it's really peaceful for me."* *"I like nature, basically I like everything you can do outside, that's something I like. For me, the main, the most nice thing about Switzerland is nature."*
Sara	*"I'm used to living next to the sea and you know it it really calms everything down. If you if it's warm and you, you don't have even to swim but you you put your feet into the into the water and it like 10 minutes like that and wow you you feel nice in whatever condition you were."*	*"So it's important here that I can go to the lake, especially if it's the lake which is long and and sometimes, you know when when I look and I don't see the other side, I can imagine it's the sea. There is same same birds there is same sound of waves. There is the you know when when the sun shines on the waves, you see this. There's the*	*"in the countryside. Horses around fields around river lake. It was something that could calm me and there was a place when I really needed to cry. I would go to the field. There were no people and it's good. You know it was really the right place for relaxation for like*

		shining thing and and you see it like if there are children you hear like this some children running around, they throw stones into the water It's all the same, you know it, it it feels like, yeah, I can imagine I'm in the sea"	*switching to another mood, yeah."*
Monica	*"Chile is so different from the other Latin American countries, because we have this really, really, really big chain of mountains" "school in the snow, in the mountains. <OK> so we used to be there and I used to love it but when I was in my when I was eighteen, we left this city where I grew up and all my family grew up and I never came back and my heart was broken because I never could get back to the snow, and to the rain and the lake.""All this relation with the mountains and the lake and the weather but and that that was, that was the life that I always wanted again"*	*"I love these mountains. I love all these grass and the flowers and the lake and the trees, everything." "when I saw this this, I thought the first thing I thought is I want to stay in here." "I said thanks to the lake, and thanks to the mountains and I've been really happy and I hope to stay in Switzerland"*	*"the place of the mountains and the lake and everything, I think it makes me feel like more confident. I don't know well. <Yes> it's something. It's very personal. That's that's that's how it is. That's why I put this picture this was in the mountains." "when I woke up every day, I go out to see through the windows and I see the mountains and I love them and I think in a sort of way, they've helped me to stay and be happy here because I come from a country, there's a lot of mountains."*

d) <u>Physical well-being:</u> Though Stacy did not verbalise what being in nature brought to her mentally, several of her photographs in Switzerland reflected her fondness for being in nature with friends or family. Almost all of the trips she made with her relatives and friends who were visiting them were in the nature – hikes and walks in different areas of the canton. Her past and present voices distinctly portray her as an outdoor and fitness enthusiast. She was also the only participant who did not make any reference to her apartment or being indoors. Her idea of engaging with nature encompasses more than just mental well-being; it involves physical well-being through exercises such as walking. This also helped her in getting familiar with the geography of the canton creating a sense of knowing and belonging to the place as she took other people to the places she had already visited, and discovered new places with them.

Voice of the past	Voice of the present
"This was right after I did the EPW walk. So I walked from	*"I went walking with him to the Jardin botanique…we really like like the jardin botanique"*

Hung, the European peace walk. I walk from Hungary to Italy <what?> Yes, so I was super in shape there." *"I did 3 long distance works."*	*"we walked up like down the peninsula and also his parents were there. Yeah, we went to a new place,(exploring). there's like a peninsula you can walk out, that's another lake in Switzerland, it's nearby."* *"This is Twann, so we went for walk . It's nice just to get some exercise, some fresh air be in nature."* *"We did a hike up to Shomo and it was another nice day sunny."* *"we we went to see some animals to walk around. It was a nice afternoon. It was a nice day- this is at the zoo."* *"This is in Creux du Van and uh, this is a friend who came. His best friend came to visit us. This was a few weeks ago and we had a really nice time. Again, walking in the mountains and panoramic views and stuff like that."*

During the conversation with the interviewer, the act of walking was recognized as a part of Swiss culture

"definitely I'd say, like they're they're walkers, they hike and stuff like that".

This external perspective prompted Stacy to express that they were engaging in activities representative of Swiss culture when they were walking.

"Yeah, we were in a group doing walking things. Yeah, I guess it's it's Swiss stuff. We're doing Swiss stuff."

In simple terms, walking and hiking are connected to the local identity (Swiss identity), and participating in these activities gives a feeling of being a part of the community, or a sense of belonging.

3. Recreating spheres of experience to ensure continuity: Levitan pointed out three ways of recreating spheres of experience (in the context of families): "reinforcement of routines, the preservation of same activities everywhere , and the making of overlapping spheres of experiences among different family members" (2019, p. 268). In the context of this research as well, it was observed that women preserve same or similar activities after moving. To clarify, "same" indicates the exact replication of activities, while "similar" suggests activities that are comparable - derived from previous experiences but adapted to fit the context of the new location. Overlapping spheres of experience among family members were briefly mentioned, but this could be due to three women moving alone and two experiencing separation shortly after their move. However, Dorothy who relocated independently four years ago found a partner after a year while Rachel who went through a separation after moving started dating someone locally (a Swiss citizen). Thus, there were indications of developing overlapping spheres of experience in their respective situations.

In the following examples, I have employed temporal voices to depict how the participants remember a former proximal experience which makes it migrate into a new context. As a result, this former proximal experience becomes alive in the new context through the process of remembering

a) Same or identical spheres of experience: Using the five distal spheres of experience identified by Zittoun and Gillespie, and the proximal sphere of experience, I illustrate the replication of activities to create identical spheres of experience. Participants discussed engaging in same

activities, before and after moving to the canton of Neuchâtel, individually and with family members, leading to the formation of overlapping spheres of experience. However, there were instances where the voice of the past expressed a desire to partake in a specific sphere of experience (either in the present or future) that may not have been actively practiced, but was observed in the past.

Stacy - Same spheres of experience for the individual		
Past distal	Proximal	Future distal
"Also, I did some skiing in Canada. it makes me think of the other places that I went skiing around the world in Canada or or Italy yeah, it makes me think of that."	*"This is in Switzerland and I'm skiing. I went skiing."*	
"my aunt, my my great grandmother, was a tailor. So. and she made my grandmother's wedding dress and then my grandmother, I think, like, they sew in the family. They were tailors. So yeah, they also had a dry cleaning business and stuff like that. So they have they make beautiful things"	*"it's something like in the family they do that, they make the curtains"*	*"I just wanted to for thinking about making curtains for, like the baby, like, but because it's something that I see in my family do that's why"*
"we used to with my two of my girlfriends, we would get together and like do a whole like baking factory day, you know, put Christmas music on like my mother. My mother does the same thing she used to do a cookie exchange at Christmas, so like six or seven other of her girlfriends. They all made cookies and then they exchanged them."	*"So this year I did it on my own and it's fine. Yeah and Last year I also did them on my own. I did some baking on my own"*	
Stacy- Overlapping spheres of experience with other family members/partners		
"just on the weekends pass the time we both like this to ski so we were doing this before." *"It was just our lifestyle we we go on day trips. We've been doing that since we known each other so we don't."*	*"We want to go outside and do stuff during the weekend"*	

Rachel is a mother, and also someone who experienced a separation from her partner (and her son's father). It was noted that certain experiences which she had to give up due to frequent mobility were rekindled through her son. Rachel made a clear distinction between overlapping spheres of experience that she shared with her son and what the father shared by categorizing them as 'my thing' and the things his father wants him to do.

Rachel - Same spheres of experience for the individual		
Past distal experience	Proximal	Future distal

"it reminds me of all the tennis that I've done through the years. I I have to say like I have. I have friends in almost every country that I met through tennis, which is fantastic. So it is a good kind of social sport to have" *"I mean, I played throughout in New York, I always played with the coach. In London also, not so much."*	*"my rule when I go to a new city is I, I play tennis, so I always go and find people to play tennis with."* *"right now I have that established group in Bern. There is a tennis club I've found here, but I haven't joined it yet"*	*"I really am very keen to play games cause like my serve isn't what it used to be because I'm never serving against anybody"* *"we were in a training recently together like a group training and the coach, the other coach got in contact with me and she was like you hit really hard we should hit together. So I'm hoping that she might want to play"*
"I think I attempted a book club at some point. I'm not sure why that didn't work out I joined another book club in Munich"	*"and then I always join a book club <mm-hmm> and so I have a book club that has been here… and we do a lot of social stuff together"*	

Rachel - Overlapping spheres of experience		
Past distal experience	Proximal	Future distal
"my guitar is still sitting at my parents' house"	*"I miss live music and I miss playing an instrument and it's just one of those things that I've kind of gone by the wayside during moves and getting busy with other stuff."*	*"since he wants to learn the guitar that will eventually be my thing,"*
	"I play tennis with my son. That's like my thing that I do with him"	
"these are all things that I used to do with him in Munich before, before COVID hit, we were always at the Kids theatre."	*"I've taken my son to Basel because Basel has great theatre and also great kids theatre"*	*"he loved it and he wants to do it again so I that'll be an activity that we do and then I think I also want to look at things like in Biele for instance, because that's a big a slightly bigger city and they probably have some children's activities."*
"at my parents house, we still, like, sit down. We have a dining room and my mom when we're there, we're like set the table as if we're having brunch all the time and everybody sits and like, eats whatever they want"	*"on Saturdays or Sundays when he's with me I try to set the table and we sit down and he we have bread and croissants and whatever's available, and he gets to pick. So yeah. No, I I definitely am trying to to do that."*	

b) Similar or comparable spheres of experience: Here, I present the development of comparable or similar spheres of experience. These spheres are inspired from an individual's previous

experiences but are adapted to fit the context of new locations, both individually and in conjunction with family members. Dorothy, for example, identifies herself as a 'sea girl' since she was born in a river-side city close to the ocean. She yearns for the sea, particularly the waves, as swimming and surfing are her passions. Even after relocating from France to Portugal, she persisted in pursuing her love for surfing. However, residing in the canton of Neuchâtel, she has adapted her activities to the local landscape. This symbolic adjustment leads to a some form of resolution allowing for continued action (Zittoun et al., 2003). Dorothy now uses the lake for swimming while also developing a new sphere of experience by engaging in hiking amidst the mountains. In essence, she prefers outdoor activities in natural settings and adjusts her pursuits according to the country's landscape, thus cultivating a similar sphere of experience. Dorothy enjoys and shares these activities (swimming, a sphere of experience she has cherished in the past, as well as hiking, a newly acquired interest) with her boyfriend, further enhancing their shared experiences.

Dorothy - Individual spheres	
Past distal experience	Proximal sphere of experience
"I spent a lot of time as a kid going to the beach and it's really the ocean is I spent a lot of time at the ocean and I miss ocean." *"I miss the ocean, the waves and I was surfing. And you know Portugal as well. I was surfing."*	*"I think I'm most I was born more, more a sea girl, but I'm as well a mountain now <now?> yeah, most of it now"* *"OK, I like the lake. It's nice, it's already something"* *"I like to hike during summer here, but OK, now I do it more often like because just because I have the opportunity and we are next to a lot of mountains. So yeah, it's something I do more here, but I already liked it before and I was happy I could develop this stuff here."*

The table below excludes past distal and proximal columns because Dorothy's overlapping spheres with her partner are new experiences as she met her partner after moving to the canton of Neuchâtel.

Dorothy - Overlapping spheres
"my boyfriend loves to hike as well. So it's something we can do together." *"We are different and the same at the same time like anyway, and this is something that that we can share that we love and together and so it's a nice activity that we can do together as well."* *"Very often when it's spring or summer, at the end of work, he's like yeah, I'm done to work, do you want to swim and we go to swim and that's it. Or we just have a small meal by the lake and we see the beach you know, that's nice. It looks like it's holidays during the week no it's nice"*

Similarly, Flavia adapts her activities based on the availability of resources in her new socio-cultural environment, drawing upon her past distal experiences. During the discussion, Flavia reflects on the evolution of her past distal experience of belly dancing which has developed to the extent that she can now engage in it independently. This newfound independence has enabled her to expand this sphere of experience by venturing into learning a new dance form. Flavia also acknowledges her personal affinity for belly dancing. However, due to the expenses involved, she prefers to choose a new dance form which is more easily accessible in her current environment.

Past distal experiences	Proximal	Future distal
"So I I danced since I was little, but in the Netherlands I started four years ago, Belly dancing." *"I like it because it's ummm for everybody like you know, I have danced a lot and all the time.*	*"I'm trying another kind of dance with the XYZ courses because it's for free."* (in belly dancing)*"I'm at a level that I can also do it by myself at home a bit instead of paying so much for it So I'm going with it like by myself at home after four years."* Interviewer: *and here at XYZ which dance form?* Flavia: *It's a mixture between Afro hip hop umm Jamaican It's very fast. It's not what I'm used to, it's not belly dance at all like it's really fast and quite masculine also in some movements <Uh-huh> because they're very fast and the legs and everything, so it's really not comfortable for me and I'm really not good at it, but I don't care. I like it because it's like cardio and a lot of movement and it's the beat is active and I like it.*	*"I checked belly dance here and it's extremely expensive, like maybe I will, I will try, but maybe later I don't know"*

Liz also highlights the connection between her proximal experiences and past distal experiences. However, she notes that these spheres are not identical due to the influence of both — the geographical and sociocultural — aspects of the present environment. It is worth noting that Liz's perspective primarily focuses on the overlapping spheres of experience suggesting that her commitments to employment and motherhood could be responsible for limiting the time available for her to pursue individual experiences.

Overlapping sphere of experience	
Past distal experiences	Proximal
"In Hong Kong, we have like two day-Saturday and Sunday and usually Saturday we just go I I just go with my husband, go out for like a relax or leisure because our domestic helper can take care of the kid and then Sunday we go, we get together."	*"But here in that Saturday, Sunday we spend the time all together."* *"very typical family time that our three go together to explore some of the activities. Yeah, we go maybe to the park or to the zoo and here all together."*
"In Hong Kong, most likely we run, we do yoga and badminton and most of them are indoor and yeah some hiking, but not very not every month or Yeah. Not that usual. And biking." *"in Hong Kong we go walking, running along the seaside as well"*	*"but here we we go walking by the lake"* *"Yeah, the sports are different. According to the season. Yeah. So we can go for spo, ski. and in summer, we can sail in the lake, yeah. So this is a bit different"* *"we went up to bord de rives for like a snow slide. it's totally different activity sports comparing the ones in Hong Kong and in Shenzhen"* *"so this activity is totally different, but. But it's it's interesting"* *"we love snow so we can play do a lot of things in in snow, so yeah. It's a completely different experiences that we enjoy."*

4. Broadening social networks, thereby enhancing social support: As discussed in the literature on adjustment and social support, interaction adjustment refers to the level of comfort one experiences in socialising with locals – within and outside the work context (Ravasi et al., 2015). In the context of this research, socialising or the expansion of social networks encompasses more than simply making new friends. It refers to "a system of social interactions and relationships; a group of people who are socially connected to one another"(Home : Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.).
Participants who volunteered to take part in this research undoubtedly benefitted from various types of social support which was evident through their appreciation for internationalism, and local support systems. These networks aided them in exploring new aspects of themselves and in adapting to the new sociocultural environment. Lastly and importantly, participants also established connections and identified with individuals who shared similar circumstances, regardless of their nationality, be it compatriots or co-nationals, locals, or people from other countries. Using the available data, I exemplify how internationalism, local support, and connections with individuals in similar situations (in addition to being mobile) provided valuable social support to the participants. Furthermore, I discuss the nature of this support and the positive impact it had on the participants.

a) Internationalism: According to Bayraktar (2019), individuals in mobility consider people from different countries as comparable peers who offer social support through shared experiences and collaborations. This entails cultural diversity that fosters acceptance of different cultures, sociability through interaction in activity groups, and accessibility due to the inclusive nature of the international community. Being part of this diverse group aids in understanding the new sociocultural environment.

In the initial example, Flavia identifies as someone who embraces and appreciates internationalism. She associates internationalism with learning and personal growth. Remembering the voice of the past brings the distal into the proximal helping her develop a positive perspective to her new surroundings.

Distal past	*Proximal*
"The thing I liked at Milan was the internationals. <Yeah> and that's when I understood that I wanted to go somewhere else than Italy" *"in the Netherlands the first few months I loved it so much, not because of the Dutch, but because of the international like I had so much fun with the I was in exchange my first time in the Netherlands and I met so many people from Belgium, from Portugal, from Spain, from Mexico, so everybody else but the Dutch were fun for me and I always had this like I always had I love the Netherlands because of the people that were there from all over the world, but not the Dutch so <aha> so if they removed the international for me in the Netherlands, I wouldn't go <ok> so I love the I loved it the first months. I really loved it"*	*"It's never boring like you always have people that offer you perspectives that you didn't have before. And it's a kind, I feel like if you really are a person that likes to learn and reflect on themselves, it's continuous grow, growth like with not too much effort like you're just surrounded by this difference."* *"For me, it's very motivating and it shows that there are different perspectives"*

Liz, like Flavia, positions herself as someone who values interacting with diverse people and cultures. In a sense, both Flavia and Liz justify their choices to move by highlighting their affinity for internationalism. They believe that embracing internationalism allows them to broaden their perspectives and adapt more effectively to new environments. However, Liz

recalls the voice of the other from the distal sphere and when this voice enters the proximal sphere she rejects it. The voice of the self does not identify with the voice of the other. Therefore, in Liz's narrative the distinction between self and other is more prominent than the past and present.

Voice of self: *"I think we like both of us, like the new experiences" "but for me, I like the new things or new experiences. Yeah, and all kinds of different cultures, interactions, so this is important. Yeah. To visit or understand more about different cultures meeting different peoples."*

Voice of Other: *"Maybe some of the people they prefer to stay in the same place live in the same life."*

Rachel associates internationalism more closely with sociability as she engages in various activity and hobby groups. Drawing upon her past experience with internationals, she highlights that interacting with individuals from different backgrounds is not a novel concept for her. This familiarity and comfort in being surrounded by internationals contributes to the ease with which she embraces it. Rachel remembers the convenience of accessing international groups compared to local ones; her past experience influences her proximal sphere of experience. Even though she lives in the canton of Neuchâtel, almost all her activities and clubs such as tennis and book club take place in Bern where she finds internationals more easily. Therefore, she feels a stronger connection to that region.

Past distal	Proximal
"just more international I think the old book club was an Italian woman, a British woman who was married to somebody from Munich, a South African woman who was married to he wasn't German. He was well, whatever also from Africa, somewhere. We tried to get Lisa into it who's Italian. There was somebody else. Oh, another British expat, but yes, all expats <yeah English speaking?> I don't think there were any. Yeah. Yeah. Well, because we read a lot of books in English, right which we do now as well." *"So it's an International School(in Munich), which made it easier for me also to find other expat parents."* *"but I actually thought like in Munich it was a great way to meet people. It was a great meet to meet expats. I was all I think I was even on Internations in London, but it was not as popular there".*	*"it is difficult to connect to people when you are not local, especially in places that are not very international because people keep to themselves. This is the same in every country, by the way. This has nothing to do with Switzerland per say."* *"Bern is easier internationally because you obviously have all the embassies. And you have an, a real international school <mm-hmm> And so the women who are in that club, book club are, um, often embassy workers or have their kids at the international school."* *"so it's (Bern), it's quite international that I haven't found in Neuchâtel yet."* *"I joined Internations again when I moved here."*

Finally, Monica's narrative highlights how her journey to Switzerland presented a valuable opportunity to meet and interact with internationals, an experience she would probably not have had in her home country. Through these encounters, not only did she discover new aspects of herself, but developed a new outlook. She very aptly remarked that places are constituted by people and culture, and experiences with people and culture guide one's adjustment to a place.

“I think if people would would wouldn't have been nice with me I wouldn't like this place <hmm> I think places also do are done with the with the culture and people.”

During the interview Monica recalls a conversation which took place in her proximal sphere of experience. Remembering the conversation makes her think about the distal and why she left her country, and by remembering the distal, she develops an appreciation for the proximal.

Distal	Proximal
“I'm not baptised, I'm not Catholic. My parents neither. And my grandparents neither. And I always thought that I wasn't a Catholic because I'm not baptised”	“*but David told me no, you're a Catholic also because you grew up in a in a Catholic country, so all the things that you do in a sort of way come from Catholic culture and he's right and I never knew that.” “when I talked about that with David it changed my point of view” “it changed all the way I understood religion before”*
“Nobody goes to Chile because you don't have opportunities there” “because when I was in Chile which is the place I grew up. Of course, it's difficult to know people from everywhere else if it's not at work, it's harder because you always see the same friends you go to the same places but in here you met people from everywhere.”	*“when you leave your country to come to Europe, things are so different where we come from and in here you knew people from everywhere” “And those kind of things are things that you can only see and talk when you leave your country because you're meeting people from all over the world and in different things” “people who have so different cultural things, which is amazing for me because I've learned a lot about different cultures” “So that's one of the things that makes me happy of migration”*

b) <u>Support of community members and local institutions in the new sociocultural environment:</u>
The support provided by local community members and institutions is categorized in previous studies as informational support, social companionship, emotional, and instrumental support. All these four forms of support are apparent in this study. Flavia and Monica rented and resided in the homes of local individuals upon their arrival in Switzerland (Flavia continues to live in the same place). Flavia discovered her accommodation through an advertisement, while Monica learned about it through a friend based in Switzerland. Flavia predominantly emphasizes the emotional backing she received from her landlady, whom she regards as a motherly figure. On the other hand, Monica highlights the informational assistance provided by her landlady which aided her in securing employment. She also evokes social companionship and learning about the new sociocultural environment while talking about her landlady.

The following excerpts from Flavia's interview exemplify how she receives both emotional and informational support from her landlady. Through the voice of self, Flavia expresses that she received emotional support from her landlady as she reminds her of her mom; she also received informational support related to transport and administration from her landlady. But, through the voice of the other Flavia states the landlady's motivations for renting out the house. This interaction demonstrates that Flavia is trying to establish a mutually beneficial relationship by offering companionship in exchange for emotional and informational support.

Voice of self	*“I'm living with a…a woman. My landlady has a bigger house” “she reminds me a bit of of a mom”“she's extremely organized. She's very precise”*

Voice of other	*"she's renting some parts of it because it's very big and it's convenient for her"* *"I think she decided to rent out the house also for this reason to be to meet people to be more because she's alone in the house."* *"So I feel like now she likes to have people around and and being with company,"*
Voice of self	*"I really feel like I'm going back to a home where if I have a problem and it's already happened, I can talk to this person and have a solution and have a kind of a mother figure without the for me at least the lack of privacy that my mom never really gave gave me"* *"a mother figure that is there to help me and give me advice if I have an issue in this country that is new to me with a new language"* *"I think having her at home was very nice because I could ask questions and and and get informed of things that my actually my work for a reason or another didn't really get to tell me and so regarding insurances regarding transport transports cards for transports medications"* *"I have a piercing that was in pain and she's a nurse. Only that you know it's really comforting,"*

In the following example, Monica's I-positions or voices demonstrate her affection and admiration for her landlady whom she credits with helping her secure employment. Monica affectionately refers to Gwendolyn as a friend rather than just a landlady. She further elaborates how many of her experiences in exploring and getting to know her new environment were made possible through Gwendolyn's guidance and support. One of the voices in Monica's narrative also highlights that she's not just a recipient of support and affection as she actively reciprocates these gestures in any way she can.

Voice of self	*"she's my friend actually.* "*Yes, I love her. this picture is important to me because it shows that Gwendolyn, which is my friend from Switzerland, the the old woman, when we came to her place, she was very, really, really nice with us. She took us to as a tourist and she took us to different places. We were looking at. We went to everywhere we went to the restaurant, to the mountains and she was really happy and she was really nice with us."*
Voice of the landlady as an advisor	"*my friend, this old woman where we live and she told me that I shouldn't ask less than 20 francs <per hour> because everybody do it <minimum salary> Yes, yes. And she told me it's very important that you really need to to do things well, <yes> so that was all I I I made this inscription in this website and this woman called me"*
Voice of the employer	"*she also said to me that I was asking for more money because Gwendolyn, my friend, told me you shouldn't ask for less than 20 francs, <yes> And all these kids were asking for 17 or 10 francs per hour and she told me that that give her the confidence to think, OK, this woman is responsible"*
Voice of acceptance	*"It was really nice because we were invited to the place with the Gwendolyn of her sister and his brother-in-law and they were with their kids" (for Christmas)*
Voice of reciprocation	*"I talk with her every, every week we go for small walks in the woods, she said to me, like when she needs to go to the doctor, I go with her, we go to swim. We went to the lake we go like, we're friends."* *"she needed to lose weight and I wasn't able to go to go to work yet because I didn't have my permission , so we decided to do a plan to go out four times per week two hours for walks to the mountains, everywhere, so I know every*

	everywhere we've been everywhere with Gwendo it was really fun and we really enjoyed"
Voice of a local friend	*"she noticed that I was so interested in her culture and these gardens and these flowers and these herbs and everything so she starts to took me to go to places that are really from here, not touristic places <ah> like from deeply Switzerland"* *"she told me, like usual, all good Swiss old people they take care, they really take care of their garden. It's like something very important to them and in the Swiss German Part too, so you need. It's not like a competition, but people, she explained to me this that you really need to take care of your flowers because it means that you really you take care of yourself. So it's like a Swiss spirit, like for traditional people from here."*

Sara was fortunate to receive instrumental support from a friend in the canton of Neuchâtel who comes from the same city as her in Ukraine. The friend had been living in Switzerland for several years as she is married to a Swiss national. This friend extended a generous invitation for Sara to live with their family in their home, relieving her of the burden of finding her own place to stay. Not only did this provide practical assistance, but it also had a profound emotional impact on Sara as she felt like she was visiting a friend rather than being a refugee. Sara also talks about the support of local institutions because after leaving her friend's house she was supported by the state institutions. Just seeing the flag of her country in the new country made her feel welcomed and supported.

Voice of self	*"my friend who invited me and I stayed with them for almost four months, three and a half months four months." "You know, I don't imagine inviting somebody in your house"* *"She made it easier for me to to to to cope with the situation, because also I came to visit a friend. You know, I was like. I'm not a refugee. I was afraid of this word refugee. It was not. I could not refugee is somebody else "I could not identify with a refugee at all"* *"and staying in her place felt like I came for a visit, it's always tricking your mind"* *"this is the best place in Bern, it's this one. They have our flag. I don't know for now, but for this, for this summer, our flag was flying on on top of the houses in Bern" "I just feel grateful that Switzerland accepted me."*
Voice of other	*"and you know, she just said it's yours (the home). She's from Odessa. Her husband is local and they have children and her mother is from Odessa too, she also was there. So yeah, it's it was"* *"It's important for me to feel (unclear word) for all the Ukrainians in Switzerland, it's important to feel the support of so many countries"* *"then I look at this flag and I think come on you see that the majority here, they understand"*

Her friend introduced Sara to various individuals and organizations, enabling her to establish her own network. She specifically recommended joining the university, an advice that Sara eventually followed. This support not only helped Sara expand her social connections, but also shaped her educational path.

Voice of other	*"where I lived at my friend's house she introduced me to some to psychologist with her neighbour, who introduced me to Maison de la santé here and then I met another refugee who lived in the in the in the apartment provided by the community and the*

	mayor of the city invited her, and I was translating and we became friends and this mayor he almost every day they're in contact and you know he's very nice as well. And he introduced us to other refugees who live in somebody's house who lived in somebody's apartment, and we made friends with those people because they invited us to come. People are very warm here. They're so willing to help, it's it's amazing." *"She gave me this thought that you I should search in universities. That they may offer work or something or stage (French) something."*

Among the participants, Liz stood out as a unique case where she received both informational and instrumental support due to her husband's employment in a multinational company. Through his workplace, they were provided with accommodation, and they also had access to a local consultant who offered assistance and information throughout their relocation process. However, as the consultancy services came with a charge, Liz and her husband opted to discontinue using them after a short period.

Voice of self	*"we have a consultant before we came, there is an educational consultant including in the relocation package that she helped us to register for that crèche." "We have a initial discussion regarding their educational expectations and she recommended" "Yeah, so it's. This is quite useful as well, but it's from the agency and it's expensive."*
Voice of other	*"she just recommend she help us to get this initial interview for our expectations and our needs and requirements and then she help us to register to fill in the forms coz all of the forms are in French before we moved here. she recommended French teachers for me as well at the very beginning and also a job coach."*

c) <u>Identifying with individuals in similar circumstances irrespective of their nationality (compatriots and non-compatriots):</u> When individuals encounter others facing similar situations, they often experience a sense of connection and find meaning in conversations with such individuals. The voices of these others contribute to their understanding of self. However, in some cases seeing people in a similar situation encourages individuals to act differently based on their personal culture, i.e., their principles and beliefs which play an important role in making sense of ruptures. The following examples illustrate how the circumstances of others in similar situations resonate with the voice of self. In Sullivan's words the individual depends "on others for values or embodied ideas to give a clear sense of who they are" (Sullivan, 2011, p. 5).

Stacy connects with a friend who, like her, hails from outside Europe and faced difficulties in finding employment leading to pursuing the marriage route for a permit. Stacy finds it challenging to relate to individuals with jobs since she is currently unemployed. As a result, the voice of someone facing a similar situation aligns with her own perspective.

Stacy	Distal	Proximal
Voice of self	*"we had something in common the rest of the people I didn't. I didn't feel like I really connected with them because either like they have a super duper fantastic job, which I don't have. So I feel bad. So I didn't have much in common with them because they they worked full time, they you know, they they*	*"The other girl, Alena, she's from from outside of Europe, so with with her, I felt a little bit more like, OK, I'm not the only one and there's she. She found a way to stay and stuff like that. Yeah, but with the Carol, her name is Carolina, the the girl neighbor. No, it was a different different thing because she's already from Europe."*

	have good jobs. They they're they're like established. I didn't feel like I had could relate to to this you know"	*"Alena I related to her. I I had something in common with her because we were both in the same situation."*
Voice of other		*"She lived here for a year without work, without a permit, waiting, waiting, waiting at the end she had to get married, so she also. Yeah, coming from outside of Europe. So I had a lot more in common with her"*

Rachel establishes connections with various individuals in different scenarios. In other words, her I-positions change according to the situation demonstrating the multiplicity of identity (Hermans, 2001). She finds a sense of closeness with Laurence who shares a similar experience of separation. Rachel identifies strongly with the women in her book club as engaging in intellectual conversations aligns with her true identity, rather than solely associating with other mothers who lack common interests. Additionally, she draws upon the voice of a friend from the past who despite being a local is perceived as an outsider because of her different origins. She uses this voice to explain how she feels about her son's situation at school. Put differently, the voice of the other helps her understand her own situation, and make sense of her own experiences.

People who have similar ideas in the context of the book club	Voice of self	*"the book club women, I feel I have a lot in common with we sit down, we have conversations about our last book was on the fall of Hodja in Albania you know,"* *"so then having those philosophical conversations that's interesting to me"*
Friend in a similar situation of separation	Voice of self	*"Laurence who also obviously has a similar situation with an ex-partner you know has been an immense help this summer when it was absolutely horrible going through the separation so you know, but that's stuff that you build up and it's similar experiences that you've had"*
Associating with the voice of another mobile mother from Albania whose son also had a difficult time at school	Voice of other	*"she's like, you know, we're technically my children are second generation Swiss now but like, they're still viewed as foreign. You know, they're not Swiss. They're Albanian"*
	Voice of self	*"I think Mylow definitely encountered that at the beginning because he's not from the Neuchâtel and he's not Swiss and he's not. You know, he's not a native speaker of either Swiss German, which, well, the French speakers don't like that either. But but and and not Swiss and not French sorry, he and he doesn't speak French. And so I think he was a little bit looked at like the odd person"*

Monica, on the other hand, identifies with individuals facing similar situations, but she does not necessarily follow the same path as those individuals. Instead, she takes pride in her ability to navigate similar circumstances in her own distinct way. Monica, originating from a Latin American country, recognizes the prevalent issue of alcoholism among men in the region. As she engages in conversations with other women who find themselves in similar or even worse situations, she discovers that many of them choose to remain with their husbands for the sake

of their visas. However, Monica prioritizes her own dignity above everything else. Upon making the courageous decision to separate from her husband, she experiences concerns about the potential impact on her job. Here, the voice of her colleague provides her with the confidence and reassurance she needs to affirm her choice. The following extracts have been arranged to illustrate the progression of Monica's thoughts and decision-making process. In alternate terms Monica identifies with others in a similar situation, but agrees with the voice of the other which is in accordance with her principles.

Voice of the society	*"I guess that's something that usually happens to all women from this kind of country that you always depend of a man."*
Voice of other women from South America	*"I've been talking with a lot of women from South America, who come and they they never do what I did. They stay. Somebody, a few of them, they get beaten by their husbands, like in the very worst position"*
Voice of general others	*"lot of people told me that I should have wait because of the visa or that I shouldn't get this decision because I'm. I'm in the worst position, of course"*
Voice of colleague	*"she told me you don't must be scared of what's gonna happen to you in Europe because the situation is in here is so much easy to live in Europe, then, of everything that you're used to. In Latin America she told me I know it's really hard for a woman to be alone, but in Europe it's not that way. You shouldn't be scared. You also you all speak English. You speak French and you speak Spanish. So you really must be confident. and don't worry, you can go to Portugal to to work during the summer. You can go to Spain, you can go to France. You're gonna have chances I'm here. You have friends, supportive, friends. You have your parents. You're a grown up woman. You really must trust in yourself."*
Voice of self	*"I think my dignity is more important than getting a visa to stay in a country. So I'm going to manage"*

5. Making sense of one's experiences and interactions in the new sociocultural environment by using prior knowledge, familiarity, and symbolic resources: Within the overarching theme of making sense of one's new sociocultural environment, individuals in mobility explore various subthemes that involve drawing upon the known. This encompasses using previous knowledge of the new social setting gathered through diverse sources prior to and after the move; their sense of familiarity with the new environment and the familiarity of dealing with ruptures derived from past knowledge and experiences; and their ability to navigate disruptions such as mobility or other life transitions by using symbolic resources. These resources, both tangible and abstract, are deeply rooted in their personal culture and aid in their process of understanding and adapting to the changes they encounter.

a) Prior knowledge: Previous knowledge encompasses the participants' anticipations and the information they gathered in preparation for their move to the new sociocultural environment. "In other words, individuals inform themselves as they prepare to move, even though they may not have a perfect sense of what is going to happen" (Tissot, 2020, p. 42). Since all participants actively made the choice to relocate, they also engaged in gathering knowledge to address their expectations beforehand. The interviews captured their pre-move anticipations as well as their lived experiences after the move, establishing a meaningful connection between their past and present circumstances. Black et al (n.d.) also propose future research on anticipatory adjustment which is based on the premise that if an individual makes appropriate anticipatory adjustment

before moving, the actual process of adjustment in the new setting will be easier and quicker. In other words, by engaging in a dialogue with a future/imaginary sphere of experience before moving, an individual can prepare themselves for what is to follow. This reduces the possibility of surprises and negative affective reactions.

The voices presented below illustrate participants' anticipations born from their interactions with others and objects before and immediately after moving to the new sociocultural environment. These anticipations are either realised or contradicted when the individual enters the new sociocultural environment. However, the interactions between a developing individual and a dynamic social and cultural world can also change the individual's perspective about these anticipations which in turn could affect their experiences.

Stacy's experience contradicted what she had previously read in a book whereas Monica discovered that there was another side to her new sociocultural setting which was less discussed and different from her initial expectations. These lived experiences, thus, affect the interactions of the individual with their new sociocultural environment.

Stacy	
Voice of anticipation or future distal experiences before or immediately after moving	Voice of experience or the proximal
"there's like steps that you have to cross before you can actually, you know, really know somebody really well. Well, first you have to be friends with them for maybe 2-3, four or five years and then maybe they'll invite you to their house and then maybe you'll have a friend for life after" *"I read it in a book. I read it in a book I read Swiss watching. First usually I heard usually that they invite you out to a restaurant they would never invite invite you home for dinner. And then yeah, that there's just steps that you have to go through"*	*"I babysit for these neighbours and I go in her house and she's Swiss her husband is French and she invited me over to she gave me lots of baby stuff, and she invited me over the next week. We had like a coffee and a chat"*

Monica	
Voice of anticipation or future distal experiences before or immediately after moving	Voice of experience or the proximal
"I always have this idea that everybody said to me in Chile and also when we came here that Swiss people was very cold <Yeah> And they always care only about money *when I came to Switzerland, people talked to me about money and cars and all this fancy side of Switzerland"*	*"it was completely different of everything that people told me"* *"I feel like there are two sides of Switzerland. One side is this all that people want to see all this money and fancy fancy things and cars, and I don't care about it, but there's this other side Yes, you have a lot of nature. They're really like all the Swiss people I've met. They're really like peasants. They're really simple people"* *"when you meet them, really they they're, like, very open and they show you who they really are like. They're normal people, they only would like to eat cheese, to go outside and go mountains and see all the bees and that's it. That's the people that I've met."* *"I really like I I really like that they they use everything that they have in the garden like the ricola, for example, they do this. All these candies of <herbs> herbs, you know, they're like really simple people and I really love that of them."*

Liz was fortunate to have had the opportunity to visit the new setting before her actual move, allowing her to gain a preliminary understanding and familiarize herself with the place.

Past distal	Proximal
"I visit here in 2018 just for the travelling visit for one week and then my my husband spent three months here in 2019 for training and I came as well for two weeks for like exploration or experience here have the life experience here to to feel that, and in general we can foresee the difficulties and the significant changes from Hong Kong to here because it's totally different."	*"at the very beginning, it it really is quite difficult but we we do. We did discuss about these difficulties before we came. Yeah, and a little bit research and preparation."*

b) Familiarity with the new environment, mobility and other ruptures: It includes finding meaning through existing and developing familiarity with the new environment, and by making connections to previous experiences of mobility and dealing with ruptures. In other words, it primarily entails seeking support from the known in the unknown. According to Levitan, it involves interpreting one's current situation by relating it to other situations, elaborating emotions connected to transformations, creating continuity within one's past and possible futures (2019).

Existing familiarity with the new environment: Both Rachel and Sara demonstrate a tendency to gravitate towards familiar parts of Switzerland for various activities. Rachel feels more at ease in the German-speaking region of the country because she is able to communicate in German. Similarly, Sara finds comfort in areas such as Geneva and Lausanne which she had frequented during her previous work for a Ukrainian company. The geographical compactness of Switzerland, coupled with its well-connected train system, allows them to conveniently access these familiar places, enhancing their sense of comfort and familiarity.

Past distal	Proximal
"The office is in Nyon, it's Canton Vaud and it's very close to Geneva, so I know that region. I know Geneva and you know Lausanne"- Sara	*"I went to Geneva to Nyon, to Bern, to places that I really knew from before and this was like. It was like, you know, like fresh air. It was like I was. I went to Geneva and I was like yeah OK I'm fine. You know everything is good. I know the place it feels it, it kind of brings back the normal me, you know, so this is also why I was really happy that it was Geneva"* *"for me it was very important to be in a place that I visited before, ah and plus first first three months the the train was free for Ukrainians and the transport was free, so for me it was good.I went to the I didn't want to see new places. I went to the cities that I knew. You know, the cities that I knew when I was OK, when I was employed, there was no war I had a like I had a normal life."* *"I feel like I'm in a country where I know many people. This is why I'm here. This is why I'm not in Germany, or France or anywhere else because I'm definitely not alone, this is. This is the place where many people know me."* - Sara
"And last year when we were in Morton, my son was in school there, so I kind of have a group	*"I have a tendency at the moment, you'll see from my pictures, I go back to Bern because I speak the language"* *"I'm obviously having like, some difficulties moving away from the German speaking part of Switzerland."*- Rachel

established there. I don't have a network here." - Rachel	

Monica's familiarity with the local language, weather, and landscape helped her get comfortable in the new sociocultural environment as she found an element of continuity in the rupture of mobility.

Monica	Past distal	Proximal
Existing familiarity with landscape and weather	*"I grew up in the South of Chile, in Patagonia at the beginning of Patagonia."* *"Everything like the streets, the houses and there was also a lot of German immigration during the 19th century there so the houses and how it looks a part of these cities in the South of Chile"*	*"so I was really used to cold weather to these kind of landscapes mountains, so it wasn't too difficult to me to adapt to the to the weather"* *"they're really like very similar to here. Of course, with the things of poor country not like in Europe."*
Existing familiarity with the local language	*"Yes, there are some German schools and also there was a French immigrants and that's why I started in a French school there"*	*"because I speak French we said, OK, we're coming to Switzerland. It will be easier for me to find a job"*

Developing familiarity with the new environment: In the following extract, Liz discusses the inconvenience of online ordering in her new environment compared to her previous location. However, her perspective undergoes a shift as she starts to consider the environmental implications. This shift in her voice demonstrates her familiarity with the methods of garbage disposal in her new sociocultural environment and her appreciation for their eco-friendly approach. In other words, she finds meaning in the unfamiliar by comparing it to the familiar.

Past distal	Proximal
"back in Hong Kong and China. To tell the truth, in most of the yeah, most of the cases I just order online and they deliver very soon. Maybe the other day or the same day. Yeah. So it's quite, quite easy."	*"I do understand that it's totally not environmental friendly for ordering things online lot of packing lot of boxes."*
"in Hong Kong, every day we follow yeah, this is the another thing that we fill rubbish easily in Hong Kong. Just go down and to fill it"	*"then here we need to buy the bag. The bag is, yeah, expensive and then we need to drive to the the déchetterie. Yeah to throw things. Yeah, so the good thing is, it's really good for the environment."*

Stacy, too, understands that an important element of adjustment is familiarising herself with the new sociocultural environment which will help her interact with others and at the same time make her aware of her surroundings.

"when I was living in Canada, I watched the news every day because I I I I know the the broadcast."	*"I try to update myself, I read the you know the the papier journal that comes*

"in Italy, I didn't watch the news that much either, but I was also on the local for Italy. I would read more there because there was more like pressing things that had that I had to know about like. That what's going on in politics or that would affect me"	*in the in the news, the local, the local stuff. Yeah, I try to update myself. So when I talk to people I know what's going on and I'm not like what?* *"learning about what's going on around you local information is important."*

Making connections with previous experiences of mobility: By engaging in the temporal dimension of dialogicality, Stacy and Dorothy recall previous events of mobility that they lived or observed which helped them learn and develop making it easier for them to adjust in the new sociocultural environment.

Participant	Past Distal	Proximal
Stacy	*"it was more a huge jump from Canada to Italy was, you know, like <the bigger jump> a bigger jump"*	*"from Italy to Switzerland was not so bad. But from Canada to to move to Italy, this was like night and day. It was really different and I only lived on this continent. In a bubble almost and then moving into another culture was a was a huge change. But now I've done it a few times"*
Dorothy	*"my brother when I was like 15 or 16, he was leaving. He he he left the house to do his studies and he was living in Shanghai. So at 15 or 16, I understood that you, I mean that, OK, you could go in different countries."*	*"I knew I wanted to go out of Bordeaux and maybe abroad"* *"In my family a lot of people somehow don't know why have been living abroad. I left my house when I was 18, just when I was old enough. Yeah, I really wanted to leave."*

Making connections with other ruptures: Participants' familiarity with various life disruptions beyond mobility provided them the resilience to cope with the challenges of relocation. These ruptures include separation, career transitions, becoming parents, conflicts in their home countries, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic, in particular, emerged as a significant reference point for all participants, as it prepared them for isolated living and resourcefulness. Some had already faced job losses during the pandemic and had become accustomed to online social connections which proved valuable even after their move.

Thus, these individual and global disruptions fostered a sense of familiarity with the adjustments required to deal with the rupture of mobility. The table below presents the voices of the participants where they recall the adjustment mechanisms used by them in a distal experience of a rupture. By remembering these adjustment mechanisms, the distal enters the proximal making the current rupture appear relatively normal or less overwhelming because of the awareness of adjustment mechanisms.

Rupture	Adjustment Mechanism	Past Distal
COVID-19 pandemic	Consulting a psychologist	"*We started in COVID times so it was fine anyhow, so we had to do it online because of COVID and then we continued online."* – Flavia
	Learning to live with lesser social contact	*"but after COVID something changed. I was so difficult. Not for me, but to rearrange people like people are were more static."* - Flavia

	Living through challenging times by thinking about the future	*"he got into a really, really hard depression during the pandemic <yes>. So it was me who do all the paperwork for him to come and that was really hard"*- Monica
	Turning to nature for well-being	*"I spend most of the this moment walking around because I don't know if you remember, but it was super sunny. It was a very nice spring, so I spend a lot of time by the lake. Just walking and enjoying the nature because there is no, we did not have that much to do, you know"*- Dorothy
	Disengaging with things causing anxiety and stress	*"And I was like, OK, I have COVID and I'm going to hospital because, you know, I was dreaming all day long that people were dying because they couldn't breathe and anything. So I got so stressed. I was like, OK, I I will stop news."*- Dorothy
Separation	Prioritising Self-care and self-love	*"In the way that of course I'm sad because of my divorce but in sort of way I feel better and I think I feel this way because it was because I came to Switzerland that I got the courage and that I met these nice people who has been very supportive and that I also got a push to my to my I I don't know to say it to your self care loving <self love?> to my self love."* – Monica
	Being able to come out of what one imagines to be the worst	*"before I broke up with my boyfriend. I was thinking Oh my God, if I if I would broke up with my boyfriend now I would be so sad. It would be. So bad and then it happened and I'm like OK, what else can happen"*- Flavia
Motherhood	Accepting and adapting to change	*"Well, we're expecting a baby can't get anymore bigger than that. the parents have to adapt to having a child <Yeah. Mm-hmm> It takes some ittakes some time."* *"now I'm getting older also and I have a baby so things are gonna change"* – Stacy
	Accepting changes in social life and spheres of experience	*"being a parent and an expat is very different from being a single and an expat <ahha> Like that to me, I think was the biggest change. So being an expat, before I had my son, I made associations very differently than I do now that I have a child."* – Rachel
Change in employment status	Looking for new jobs	*"OK, I lost my job from the pandemic, cause the school went under."* – Stacy
	Not settling for inadequate employment to deal with unemployment	*"It was difficult to find a job I don't know. I I couldn't. Plus I could not find a job which is as good which was as good as my previous one. I did not want to do the same kind for with different conditions and with different money, so I would refuse a lot of stuff but this I was ok to do."*- Sara

c) Symbolic Resources: For certain participants, the photographs they brought to the interview served as symbolic resources. They selected the pictures not solely for their literal content, but for the deeper meanings the photographs represented; other symbolic resources varied among the participants. In the following part, two specific examples of symbolic resources have been discussed in detail. These cultural elements helped the participants maintain a sense of continuity; symbolic resources also helped them make sense of the changes they experienced.

Dorothy, who was already acquainted with Zittoun's concept of symbolic resources, acknowledges how she made a deliberate choice to take a job she didn't particularly enjoy solely for the opportunity to live in Portugal, a place where she felt a profound sense of freedom.

Dorothy as a decision maker: *"I always knew I wanted to do something else, but I loved so much my life in Portugal that I was like, OK. This job is making me live in Portugal"*

Portugal as a symbol of freedom: *"Portugal is just freedom <yeah> to put your stuff outside is just for me the sign of being free"*

However, when her job posted her to Paris where neither did she feel free nor did she enjoy her job, Dorothy made the bold decision to leave her job and embark on a new educational journey in Switzerland where she found a course she really wanted to pursue, seeking a complete change of field. Here, the significant role that music plays in her life becomes evident. She recalls a particular song with lyrics related to freedom which she uses to describe her experience of moving to Switzerland.

Music as a symbolic resource: "*I really have music that reminds me of some part of my life and moment." "I really associate music to moment of my life. Really more than objects. I think it's the the words. Yes. And the tune as well Yeah <Ok> But I really like. I really pay attention to the lyrics of the music, I would say, the one I am attached to most of them it's it's because the lyrics are somehow meaningful to me. When I came here that is the story of a girl that is dating a guy on the motorcycle and OK, it's not about me wanting to date but it was just more the idea of freedom. And when I lived in Switzerland, I felt very free because it was a new start. I don't know this story about this girl dating this this guy for me was really about my new adventure and you know, she this girl is full of hope. And so I think it was really me at this point, you know I was. It's not OK in in the lyrics, she said. I want to date a guy that has a motorcycle, for me it was not I want to date but it was in the spirit of OK, I want to have this life of freedom."*

Interestingly, Dorothy also finds a similar sense of freedom through swimming. For her, both music and swimming serve as powerful symbolic resources that allow her to relive the experience of becoming free. These resources help Dorothy manage her emotions of anxiety and stress. In describing her experience of swimming, Dorothy employs words like "feeling light" and "holiday," highlighting the impact this activity has on her. It not only evokes a sense of freedom but also serves as a protective measure against the potential risk of burnout. Engaging in swimming creates a sanctuary, almost like a rejuvenating holiday amidst the busyness of her weekly routine.

Swimming as a symbolic resource: "*I've done like the the France championship of swimming. It's really something that. I love to swim. You feel fr, OK? it's all. I have a feeling it's always about freedom. You feel so free. No, but and you know, sometimes I have back problems. You don't have this weight. So I don't know I like to swim."*

This emphasis on freedom could be linked to her past experiences and search for freedom. Dorothy had always longed for freedom; she found it through her moves to different places, and by engaging in different activities.

Dorothy as a child: "*I always had the feeling when I was a kid and teenager that I couldn't choose anything, my parents were would choose for me and I just had to <follow?> Yeah, I think every kids, uh, feel this, but me it was a very strong feeling. So at this time I had the capacity, I think to think and to have my own opinions at the beginning, you know, at least and I couldn't. So maybe it was a bit frustrating for me because I. I didn't have the need the mean to do what I want."*

For Monica, two cultural elements hold great meaning and emerge as symbolic resources: art, and an image of her grandmother with whom she shared a close bond. She connects her decision

to leave Chile to the resounding voice of her grandmother who had always encouraged her to pursue a better life whenever the opportunity arose. Monica draws strength and inspiration from her grandmother's story as an independent migrant woman, even though her relocation was within Chile. Throughout the interview, Monica frequently remembers her grandmother and lives in the world of her grandmothers' words (Zittoun, 2014a).

" she was a strong woman." "she was very important in my life. In Latin American in general you, you grow with with your grandmother." "I saw her every weekend. I stayed with her."

"every time that I don't want to do something or then I need this. I don't know how to say in English volonté., the will the will to do something I think of my grandmother because that gives me the strength like, OK, I need to go out of this. It doesn't matter what's going to happen. I must do it for myself, so every time that something's happening to me, I think of her and she's really important because, well, because she's my grandmother, but also because uh, I always think of of her."

Monica shares that she took care of all the necessary paperwork for both her husband and herself to move to Switzerland, including handling his university documents, letters, and more because of her familiarity with the French language. However, their relationship took a difficult turn as her husband was struggling with alcoholism, ultimately leading to their divorce just a year and a half after their relocation. As a result, she finds herself in a challenging situation where her spouse visa (Permit B) will no longer be valid, and she might have to leave if her employers are not able to help her with a new visa. Monica recalls her grandmother's words in this situation and regrets not listening to her.

"My grandfather was an alcoholic and one of the last things she could tell me. , she told me you Monica one of the things that I wanted to ask you, I know that I'm gonna die soon. Please never get married with a drunk man. Do that for me. My life couldn't have been so this hard if I wouldn't marry this guy So one of the things when I decided to get divorced is because I thought of of my grandmother. when I went to the sea to swim, I was thinking about her all the time, all the week that I was at the beach. Uh, I I thought she asked me not to be with a guy who's an alcoholic. I'm already having these problems"

Monica and her husband made the decision to leave Chile due to the political situation and the societal expectations imposed upon them by their families. In their new destination, Switzerland, Monica took the path of seeking employment while her husband pursued his studies. This arrangement allowed Monica to lay the groundwork for her own educational pursuits which she intended to pursue once her husband's studies were completed. Hence, Monica's relocation was motivated, in part, by the opportunity to further her studies in her chosen field and partly by her grandmother's voice of going elsewhere when possible.

"also one of the other things that she told me was if you have the chance to go somewhere else, you must do it because that's one of the things that I regret the most. So she, she told me it doesn't matter what, but it's always worth it. I decided to be in charge of what my grandmother told me to do because I think, uh, we must believe in women and more in the women of your own family. So I guess this photo in in that way that represents what means migration to me"

Art, particularly intricate handcrafted art, emerges as the second symbolic resource . She derives deep meaning from visual expressions and appreciates the intricate details captured through artistic creations. For Monica, art becomes a source of inspiration and a means to perceive and interpret the world around her.

"the things that made me crazy about Switzerland, and I still love it is all this I I think they're the best. I don't know all I've. I've never been all over the world but the treatment that they have

with plants and flowers is crazy and I love flowers because I do embroidery because I study art. So flowers and nature has been always the best inspiration for art and when I saw all these flowers and gardens and everything, it was like, where am I? This is crazy. I'm so happy to come in here and to be at this place."

"what I do with Mila (the child she babysits) *is to go up the mountains. We walked a lot and I show her the plants, the leaves, the trees and I don't we make some art classes and paintings with her hands and things like that."*

Monica is someone with prior experience of working in a museum. When she visits the watch museum, she draws connections between various artistic elements and her new sociocultural environment. Monica's ability to appreciate and interpret artistic expressions reflects her understanding and integration into the cultural fabric of her surroundings.

"I said, wow, this guy has invented the clocks, the watches" "And then I saw they also worked with the émaille, émaille is this technique of doing small very small paintings inside the clocks." "And also I realised because in Chile everybody is late. You never get to at the time to places and I always have troubles because I always in. I was always in time and when I got here for me it was perfect because I'd never had problems with that <Yeah> so it works perfect for me"

"this guy invented this and I made a relation that they also have respect for the time and that the time is something very, it's important because you can take the time from another person. Like to take it from Grant for granted. Everybody has things to do and it means and it shows something about respect to each other and I realised about that also when I went there and I saw all these clocks. That means they they really have a conscious they're conscious about time and about respect for the other."

6. Employment and engaging in volunteer work: Existing literature highlights the centrality of work and career-related factors in the lives of mobile individuals. Frequently, their choice to relocate to a different country is driven by the pursuit of new opportunities for career advancement and development (Sterle, Vervoort, et al., 2018). Employment also emerged as a significant aspect in the lives of the participants considering their high levels of education and successful professional backgrounds in their respective departure locations. Furthermore, as discussed in existing literature, employment not only offers financial independence, but also numerous psychological benefits. It provides opportunities for expanding one's social network and finding a sense of purpose by making contributions to society, thereby boosting an individual's self-worth and confidence. However, finding desired employment in a new sociocultural environment can be challenging, often resulting in unemployment, underemployment, inadequate employment, or engaging in unpaid volunteer work. According to the Human Capital Theory[11] people in mobility often find it challenging to secure a job in the new sociocultural setting because they lack "human capital factors such as language, formal education, and knowledge of the functioning of labour markets in the new country" (Blekesaune, 2021, p. 335).

In the following analysis, I examine the temporal voices of participants to explore how employment and/or volunteering contribute to the development of self-reliance, establishment of social and emotional connections, and finding a sense of purpose.

a) Self-reliance: Self-reliance is characterized by the ability to meet one's own financial needs and fulfil personal desires without depending on a partner or other family members for support. Participants share their experiences of how employment enables them to realize dreams that were previously unimaginable in their home country or at an earlier stage in their lives. They emphasise the significance of work as a means to not only survive but also thrive in an expensive country like Switzerland. Those who were actively seeking employment drew upon

their past experiences and engaged in a dialogue with the future distal where a job would restore their sense of self-reliance. Four examples have been used to discuss self-reliance in the context of employed, inadequately employed, unemployed women; the fourth being women engaging in volunteer work.

In her diary, Flavia discusses her present financial circumstances and how they have granted her a greater sense of independence compared to her previous situation. Her journal entry reveals that she did not experience the freedom to utilize her money as she wished while in the Netherlands due to being in a relationship. However, in her current situation (of being single and living in Switzerland), she enjoys financial autonomy which permits her to engage in activities she loves.

Past Distal	Proximal
" while when I was with my former partner I felt like I was giving away too much without receiving back(time, money, care)"	*"I left my job at XYZ University and I moved here to Switzerland for for this PhD, yeah."* *"Being, now single I realise I can use my financial resources for me-investing in what makes me happy"* *"My current financial situation is more comfortable than when I was living in the Netherlands. I am earning more and spending slightly less with my current housing situation. I am glad I can spend more time and money travelling in the best years of my life. I love travelling and visiting new places and I am glad I can now spend more on this activity that makes me truly happy without worrying about saving and keeping my expenses under control"*

Monica, who had a background in art restoration, made the decision to temporarily set aside her career and take on any available job as she had mentally prepared herself for this before moving. During her husband's pursuit of higher education, Monica worked to support both of them with the intention of focusing on advancing in her field once he completes his studies. However, their divorce altered this situation significantly. Despite not working in a field she is passionate about, Monica takes pride in the fact that her current job offers a generous salary, which brings her happiness and allows her to be self-sufficient.

Past Distal	Voice of present
"I didn't have a good salary in Chile because I study arts and nobody gets paid, but it was a beautiful job." *"we do a lot of research about it and we saw that we can live together only with my salary. So we decided to come to here."* *"my salary would never be enough to rent an apartment. Never. In any place, Because I will never get the money to do it <Ah, OK> even if I worked hard, even if I do everything."*	*"I left my career on one side and now I'm working as a nanny."* *"I never worked as a nanny but I have nephews and I really like small babies. So I put on this website that I wanted to work with one week old until eight months old."* *"I work, nobody pays anything for me and now I have a good job. I pay an apartment, I pay all my assurance, I pay his university, I've paid his insurance, I've paid all the food. I've been paying everything for a year."*

Stacy relocated from Italy to Switzerland with her partner because of his job. Before the move, she worked as a teacher, but lost her job during the pandemic. It was during this challenging period that they made the decision to move. However, Stacy encounters difficulties in finding

employment in her new environment. To Stacy, having a job is closely linked to her sense of independence and survival. She cannot envision herself being able to sustain herself in Switzerland without employment. While she was focusing on motherhood (during the interviews), Stacy was also actively engaged in searching for job opportunities for later, with the intention of returning to work in the future.

Proximal	Future distal
"I couldn't survive here on my own. I don't have a job so. They don't. Switzerland is not a place for people to be unemployed." *"I want my independence. I don't want to depend on someone else."* *"I want to be able to work here like I'm having a child. It's my my focus right now is to have the baby to raise my child, stay with the baby as much as I can"*	*"but I I want to go back to work. Yeah. In August, September To earn some money, you know, I mean, it's expensive living here."*

Sara aptly captures the essence of what work means to her: independence and freedom. By being employed, she will no longer have to rely on social assistance and will regain the ability to make choices, just as she did in the past when she had a job.

"It would give me financial like independence. I can choose where I live. I can leave from that apartment packed with people, and I can live alone. And I can be independent you know, like I don't have to go ask all the time my social assistant what's going on? and I could be doing something useful and something interesting, and I could know and I could get to know more people and it's like. It's freedom. It's more independence and its freedom."

b) Establishing social and emotional connections: Workplaces provide opportunities to people in mobility to interact with natives "in circumstances where intergroup contact is usually supported by the organisation" (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019, p. 336). This contact between like-minded people and people of mostly equal status in terms of working towards the same goal could reduce prejudices among the groups (the natives and the people in mobility). This results in positive implications for an individual's psychological and socio-cultural adaptation as they interact with natives and co-ethnics "who are already familiar with the host country's culture and habits" (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019, p. 336). While existing research focuses on how workplaces facilitate connections among like-minded individuals, it often overlooks certain professions, such as working as a nanny. Nanny positions are often perceived as part-time jobs, but for some individuals, they can provide a well-paying full-time job. Additionally, being a nanny can also foster unique social bonds, particularly between the nanny and the child they care for.

Monica, who is employed as nanny, but holds a Masters degree in arts history is not surrounded by likeminded people, i.e., people who are interested in art because she takes up a job which does not match her skills. Her colleagues are the lady who cleans the house and another nanny; both possess a different skill-set compared to Monica. However, she establishes a strong connection with both - the other nanny, who has a Latin American spouse, and the cleaning lady, who hails from Latin America. While they offer support to Monica during her concerns about potential job loss following her divorce, it is the child she takes care of who provides her emotional comfort.

Rachel recalls how most of her friends are people from the company she previously worked in. Rachel has now been self-employed for a few years and runs her own company. While recognising that a workplace is an opportunity to connect with new people, she also admits that running her own company allows her to spend time with her son which is a bond she prefers to spend more time on developing currently.

Sara, too, explains how her ex-colleagues had been immensely helpful when she moved to Switzerland, and it's because of their support that she managed to find stability in the new setting.

Participant	Past distal	Proximal
Monica		*"She's (the baby) been like a an angel to me this year because I've been through very difficult things and she's like, uh, some kind of uh, yes, of an angel because when I'm with her, I forget about everything."*
Rachel	*"some of my best friends are still people I worked with at Linklaters, for instance"*	*"obviously I think if I had, um, if I worked in an office where one meets locals, I think that will always make it a bit easier to, to adjust to a city."* *"one of the reasons I started working for myself was so that I could be more of a mom so on the weeks he's with me, I'd pick him up earlier. So when regular school ends"*
Sara	*"I know Switzerland because I used to work in a company which is like the main office is in Switzerland and the another office is in Odessa. So we worked. I have a lot of colleagues, a lot of people who I came here a lot of times"*	*"one of the colleagues offered me an apartment to stay. They said you can come and stay for another three weeks"*

Monica's conflicting voices reflect her previous habit of socializing with colleagues, causing her to feel a lack of such companionship in her current job. However, she attempts to recreate this sense of camaraderie by engaging in activities like going out for drinks with her current colleagues and seeking advice from them regarding personal matters.

Voice of self: "*it's been a year now and I see that I can't talk with anybody <Yeah> I can't. Uh, I I don't meet people because I work as a nanny <Yeah> you don't have colleagues or you don't go out. You don't. You don't do anything you're with the baby"*

Contradictory voice of self: (Referring to the other nanny) *"Ummm I consider her my friend. I don't know if she considers me a friend. But yes, because I've I've been really open with her. I asked for advice"*

"because the woman who cleaned in the House of Mila. She's from Colombia <OK> she lives in here like for more than 15 years <Yeah> in Switzerland and one day we went out to get a drink"

It cannot be ignored that Monica's perspective challenges the distinction between high-skilled and low-skilled jobs. She recognises that being a nanny requires its own unique skill set and training, and values the insights and opinions of her professionally trained colleague, which allows her to form meaningful social connections based on mutual respect and understanding.

Referring to the professionally trained nanny, Monica says "*Fatima also helped me a lot. When she came, she told me, like you're gonna be part of a family and you really need to. Because at the beginning, for me it was really hard to see all these things and I didn't know how to react and then Fatima explained to me and she said to me like, you really mustn't care. This happens*

in all the families and of course you're working here but that's make part of your work to be quiet and calm and don't really worry about it because you you're taking care of their child."

c) Finding a sense of purpose: Previous researches show that when an individual is employed and working for a collective purpose, it helps them perceive themselves as participating in something meaningful. As a result, they feel valued in the community which has a positive effect on their well-being, motivation to work, and work satisfaction (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). This sense of recognition and being valued by others generates a feeling of completeness as a person, thus helping in identity formation. In the absence of employment, as mentioned by Yijälä & Luoma(2019), participants seek inadequate employment, underemployment or even voluntary work to benefit from this latent benefit as it enhances their self-worth and provides them with a sense of participation in, and contribution to, the community. Where employed participants can accomplish this sense by paying their taxes, for unemployed individuals volunteer work becomes all the more important to feel actively involved.

In Flavia's and Monica's dialogues below we see how employment and inadequate employment provide this sense of purpose. Flavia expresses through a conversation she had with her ex-boyfriend (taken from her diary) that teaching gives her a sense of making the world a better place and she derives satisfaction from this work.

Voice of self: *"I am satisfied with my work and my work environment" "I feel that my work is appreciated and rewarded"*

Voice of other (outside self): *"You are going to save the world Flavia. I am so proud of you"*

Voice of self: *I am not sure about saving the world but studying to understand it better & maybe making it a bit better through teaching too*

When Monica was asked if she felt more comfortable in her new sociocultural environment after making friends or after finding a job, she was quick to respond that it was the latter which gave her more comfort. Though she admits, she left her career on one side and took up a job which does not match her skills, she finds purpose in her current job. For Monica the purpose has changed from excelling in art and embroidery to taking care of a child as a nanny which she thinks is better than not having a purpose. Additionally, she understands that working as a nanny will help her long term purpose of studying in her actual field of interest, i.e., art.

Voice of self: *"I felt more comfortable when I get the job""I love her (Mila) and I think now she's the most important thing and that keeps me here because she gave me my job, but also she has become emotional support""I'm trying to get concentrate in and to put all my energy in trying to stay because I have a good job and that way I can save some money and if I save some money, maybe I can try to make some studies"*

Voice of the other: "*you left your job, your career on one side to become something you never thought but now you have Mila"*

Sara came to Switzerland due to the political situation in her home country (Ukraine). She receives social aid from the government which creates a strong sense of wanting to give back in her. When Sara was asked about her motivation to volunteer, she explained that her willingness to volunteer has a dual purpose – of wanting to contribute to the society which supports her, and for her personally, it is to feel a sense of normality. This normality consists of being surrounded by like-minded people or people one identifies with, and feeling useful and productive for the society one lives in.

"I wanted to help, but I think it's because I also needed help. I needed to be with somebody who is like me. So I don't know who needed more, who needed this more me or people around. I think it's mutual."

"we were collecting all the info like where to get a doctor, how to get somewhere, everything that, everything that that a refugee needs and they were local people, and they were refugees so it was really nice. I thought that I'm doing something useful"

However, at times, this latent benefit of employment which a person can also seek through voluntary activities seems less important than manifest benefits, i.e., financial benefits, especially when one needs to make ends meet. Financial benefits further provide a sense of independence and freedom which is what Sara's voice reflects here.

"just staying with doing nothing is like it's crazy. But you know, I would it would be better to have a job, <yeah> Not like like how long can I go as a volunteer, it's not serious"

7. Thinking about the possible future: One of the processes an individual uses during transitions such as mobility is sense making (ibid. sociocultural psychology of mobility) and creating continuity with possible futures. Zittoun & Gillespie also discuss the future distal experiences while talking about spheres of experience; it includes imagination of possible courses of action in the future – experiences, places and activities (2014). By moving to the future distal sphere in the context of the proximal sphere, the human mind engages in dialogicality. This bringing of distal knowledge and ideas from the future to the immediate context where one physically is helps a person to reconfigure their experiences, activities and feelings to create a regular and stabilized pattern of experience (idib. Zittoun & Gillespie, 2014; Levitan, 2019).

Monica, for example, takes up a job which does not match her skills, but continues to hope that she will save enough money to be able to pursue studies in her field of interest in Switzerland. The fear of being asked to leave begins to fade when Monica engages with the future distal possibility of pursuing her studies in Switzerland. Monica, in her diary, mentions one of the short term goals as "*to stay in Switzerland to work and take care of Mila. I really want to see her grow up*", but for her long term goal she writes "*be able to make some studies about embroidery in Switzerland, to find a way to work or make studies of Swiss influence in Chilean lace and different kinds of textiles"*. This shows that by engaging with the future distal experience of pursuing her studies, Monica understands that it is important to focus and develop interest in her current job even if it does not match her skills as it will help her stay in Switzerland and maybe help her save enough to pursue her dream, i.e., her initial plan of studying here after her husband finished his studies and found a job. Thus, by thinking about the planned future, she finds motivation to focus on the present.

Though Rachel is not sure if she will continue to stay in Neuchâtel, the conflicting voices indicate that she is trying to build a future here. Rachel, in all her I-positions, sees herself living in Switzerland in the future (though not necessarily in the canton of Neuchâtel). The voice of the future plays an important role in helping Rachel make sense of the present as her decisions from every I-position take account of the present and the future. Even if some of these decisions are difficult in the present, she picks them for how they could positively affect her future, and the ones which are pleasant already are picked because she sees a better future with them.

	Present	Future
Voice of a an ex-partner	*"co-parenting with an ex who is very angry and resentful. No easy solution here"* (diary entry - parts of your daily life cause the most stress or frustration)	*"it was my decision to leave the relationship. So therefore I think that it is my duty, like to be a good mother he needs a, he, he wants his father and his life. If he, if my ex-partner were a bad father, I would leave but he's a good father (laugh), he's just not a great partner (low voice), but, um, but, so yeah, no, it's my, I mean, it's, it's my choice in the sense that I want my child to grow up with his father. I think I owe him that*

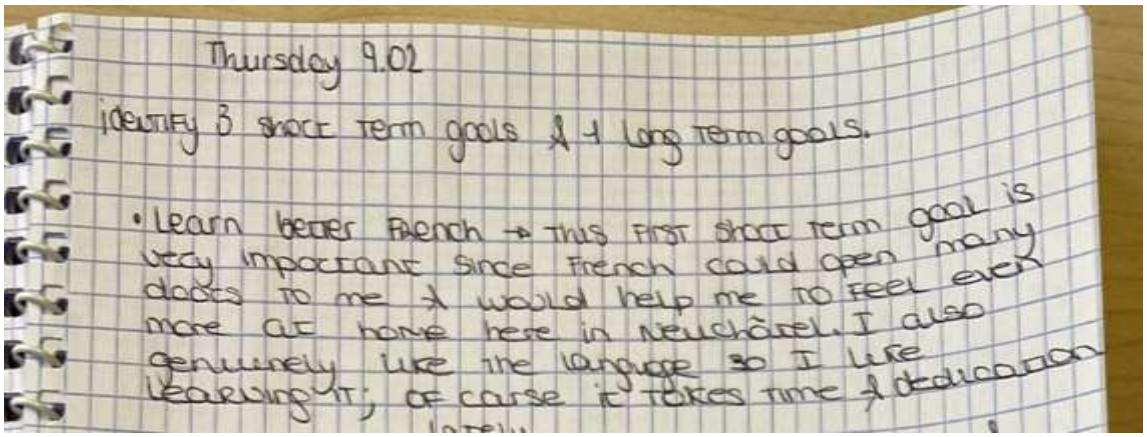
		much" (in response to why she chooses to live in Neuchâtel)
Voice of a girlfriend	*"I am actually home in NY but for the first time I miss Switzerland because I have somebody waiting for me to get back, ie I missed my boyfriend"*	*"assuming this goes somewhere, then in the next year obviously I will have to do couples"*
Voice of a mother	*"he seems not to as easily adjust and he has said that like he hopes that this is kind of the last move for a while"*	*"I'm fully prepared for him* (her son) *to pick French over English at some point."* *"we go there (Morton) quite frequently <for the play dates> Also yeah, I mean we I would move back there"*
Voice of an employed woman in mobility	*"it doesn't matter where I live. Like my clients are my clients. The only thing that bothers me obviously is I went from Munich, which was less expensive than it is here. So I'm now in a much more expensive country but I'm still getting paid the same I was getting paid before."*	*"I've been looking at positions that are like 50% fully remote because that way I can still run my company on the side. I don't really want to give it up."*

Stacy's voice in the present expresses her frustration as result of not finding a job, but when her voice shifts to the future distal experience, it seems she has a plan chalked out. While she may not have control over her present circumstances, having a future plan provides her with a sense of empowerment and control. The future offers Stacy the opportunity to create plans and explore potential solutions, merging the challenges of mobility and the birth of her child. It allows her to envision a path where she can address her employment situation and navigate through these intersecting disruptions.

Present	Future
"I mean I'm a little bit annoyed that like I'm not getting a job. I sent applications out and I don't understand why. It's it's difficult for me to get a job. I got a job like this in Italy? So I'm working on it. I actually fixed my CV. I went to a career counselor for her to help me. How how the system works? How what route to take and so on."	*"ideally I would look I would want to start for something in August where I can also take my child to Part time and I want to work part time to be with my child and I want to do this CFC programme that after 2-3 years I passed all the tests and blah blah blah. I get certified with the Swiss Certificate for Educatrice socio educatrice. So that's what I'm trying to do,"*

Both Flavia and Rachel also expressed their aspiration to improve their French language skills during the interview. The fact that they also mentioned this goal in their diaries as a short-term objective highlights the importance they place on familiarizing themselves with the local language for a smoother transition. They recognize that acquiring proficiency in French will facilitate their integration into the new sociocultural environment.

Flavia's diary indicating her short term goals



Discussion

At the beginning of this study, I presented four important questions that guided the primary research inquiry. Now, I will explore these questions and try to provide their respective answers. The first one was to discuss the diverse resources that can facilitate the adjustment of mobile women to a new sociocultural environment and the fourth question was 'How does analyzing multivoicedness through a dialogical approach enhance the understanding of adjustment? Clearly, a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis helps provide a comprehensive understanding of the adjustment mechanisms used by women experiencing mobility as a rupture. Adjustment is a "processes of elaboration related to the construction of meaning following a rupture in the 'taken for granted' or the emergence of something otherwise unexpected" (Zittoun et al., 2003, p.3) and the analysis of this research focussed on the individual's interaction with others, and with cultural, historical, and institutional settings spatially and temporally (Aveling et al., 2015). Therefore, it sheds light on how women in mobility navigate and make sense of the challenges and changes associated with their mobile lifestyles instead of focussing on adjustment as an end product.

Below, I present the adjustment mechanisms which have been identified through the data collected in this research; they are elucidated by engaging in a dialogue with the literature explored in the theoretical framework.

<u>The said and the unsaid</u>

The establishment of a home in an unfamiliar sociocultural environment holds great importance for women in mobility. As discussed by Boccagni, the key aspects of home-making include security or comfort, familiarity or continuity and control or independence. In the context of this research, home provides a sense of comfort, serving as a space where individuals can be their authentic selves and reflect on their daily experiences. It offers a familiar and personal environment in the unfamiliar surroundings. Women shared how they continued practicing familiar habits within their new homes such as baking Christmas cookies and listening to music simultaneously (as done in the home country) or cooking their native cuisine. Dorothy used the term "recharge" which I interpret as taking a break from the various domains of adjustment throughout the day in order to prepare for the next day's adjustments in the public sphere of the new sociocultural environment. Continuity, here, was about seeking an apartment in a similar geographical setting with mountain or lake views (as in their previous living environments). Participants emphasized the significance of the location of their home in their decision to choose the particular apartment. However, it not only pertains to the surrounding views, but also the

activities and hobbies that can be pursued in those settings. The geographical aspects of a place influence people's preferred activities, and they tend to choose new homes in similar geographical settings to maintain links with their interests. Another essential aspect of having a home is the feeling of autonomy and independence expressed mostly by employed women participants. Earning a salary not only enables them to rent an apartment and create a home but also instils a sense of autonomy and confidence in managing their own expenses. In situations where the woman was solely responsible for paying the rent even though the partner was present, participants expressed a heightened sense of freedom and independence. This sense of empowerment stems not only from affording an apartment with their earnings, but also from the ability to personalize and decorate the space according to their own preferences. Thus, the establishment of a home in a new sociocultural environment takes on added significance when women achieve it independently as it enhances their feelings of freedom and autonomy. Additionally, as literature explains home-making as a process entails significant personal involvement, participants detailed the time and energy they invested in doing-up their home based on their individual preferences and style. Interestingly, as pointed out by Ahmed, participants also avoid a strong attachment to any specific location as it empowers them to navigate the world as if it were a familiar and comprehensible terrain (Ahmed, 1999).

The data indicates that the second adjustment mechanism involves spending time in natural environments to enhance physical and mental well-being. While there is limited research on this specific topic in the context of mobile people, the findings of my study indicate that all women, regardless of their employment status, civil status, nationality, and age, view being in nature as a significant factor influencing their overall well-being. Engaging with nature has a positive impact on their physical and psychological being. Furthermore, when women connect with each other in natural settings, it often leads to the development of strong bonds. Conversely, existing bonds can motivate them to explore natural environments together. Being in natural environments, whether alone or with others, facilitates self-reflection and introspection. It provides individuals with an opportunity to think about their thoughts and reflect on the events of their life-course Moreover, living in proximity to nature encourages physical activity, particularly for those who are new to the sociocultural environment because the desire to explore the new setting and to prioritize physical well-being seamlessly merge in natural surroundings. For some individuals, nature also holds symbolic significance as they establish a connection with their past by revisiting certain moments from their past while being in nature. On the other hand, being in nature serves as a means for emotional release. The act of being outdoors in nature allows the body to respire and breathe in the open air, providing a resource for the mind to think more openly and freely.

The third adjustment mechanism involves the recreation of spheres of experience. As pointed out by Levitan this allows people to stick to a rhythm amongst other changes. She identifies three ways of recreating these spheres (in the context of families): “reinforcement of routines, the preservation of same activities everywhere , and the making of overlapping spheres of experiences among different family members” (2019, p. 268). However, in this study preservation of same activities and the making of overlapping spheres of experiences among different family members were the prominent ways. Additionally, participants mentioned the development of similar or comparable spheres of experience, i.e., modifying their sphere of experience based on the new sociocultural setting by taking into account several aspects such as finances, landscape, and weather. These identical and comparable spheres of experience allow participants to find a sense of continuity and stability amidst the multitude of changes they encounter during mobility. Furthermore, the creation of overlapping spheres of experience among family members contributes to their bonding and connection. As each family member undergoes individual changes and adjustments, the overlapping spheres of experience provide a shared ground where they can connect and support one another. This collective experience fosters a sense of stability and cohesion within the family unit.

Moreover, the data suggests that women in mobility actively seek to expand their social networks by connecting with locals, other internationals, and people in similar situations regardless of their nationality (co-nationals, locals or other internationals). Van Bakel et al.(2016) identified informational support, social companionship, emotional, and instrumental support as the four kinds of support offered by host-country nationals or locals and all four have been exemplified using participant data. Women in the study expressed gratitude for the support they received from both the local population and institutions which made them feel welcomed in the new environment. Simple gestures such as strangers initiating conversations, or exchanging smiles, contributed to a sense of acceptance and belonging. The solidarity shown by Switzerland or the host environment, especially in providing institutional support for individuals from Ukraine was greatly appreciated. Furthermore, as mentioned by Bayraktar (2019), internationals foster acceptance of different cultures; sociability through interaction in activity groups; and accessibility due to the inclusive nature of the international community. The participants in this research clearly benefitted from these three aspects of the international community. They valued the opportunity to gain new perspectives through interactions with individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Their prior experiences with culturally diverse populations could be the reason for choosing an international lifestyle, prompting them to actively seek out events and gatherings that provide opportunities to meet people from around the world. However, with the exception of a single participant from China who derived solace from bonding with fellow compatriots in addition to locals and internationals, other participants found a stronger sense of identification and connection with women who shared similar experiences, regardless of nationality. Those going through separation and mobility felt a kinship with others in similar situations while women navigating motherhood and mobility found support and understanding among fellow mobile mothers. Recognizing shared trajectories and challenges provided relief, fostering a sense of equality and comfort in communication and connection. It's also crucial to note that, even though participants made an effort to build a social network in the new sociocultural environment, they were equally content with being on their own as they perceived themselves as self-reliant. Participants also mentioned the increasing use of technology to acquire information about their new sociocultural surroundings and to sustain connections with pre-existing social circles.

The fifth significant mechanism involves the process of making sense of one's experiences and interactions within the new sociocultural environment. This is achieved through the use of prior knowledge; use of existing familiarity and development of familiarity with the environment; establishment of connections with similar lived experiences including ruptures as well as the utilization of symbolic resources. The prior knowledge of the new sociocultural setting helped the participants anticipate potential experiences they might encounter. Furthermore, participants drew upon their previous experiences of mobility and other significant life transitions to provide a new lens through which they could understand and interpret the changes they were going through. These experiences were not limited to relocation but encompassed dealing with other ruptures such as unemployment, separation, the pandemic, and motherhood. Lastly, participants also relied on symbolic resources apart from nature (discussed above) to aid in their comprehension of the disruptions caused by mobility and facilitate their transition through this period of change.

Amongst the existing researches related to employment and adjustment, the one undertaken by Anu Yijala and Tiina Luoma titled ‘The Importance of Employment in the Acculturation Process of Well-Educated Iraqis in Finland: A Qualitative Follow-up Study’ rightly addresses the manifest and latent benefits of employment which were apparent in this study. Being employed not only provides self-reliance and a sense of purpose, but also helps in the establishment of social and emotional connections. For unemployed women, volunteer work serves as a means to find a sense of purpose and to establish social and emotional connections. Therefore, all women benefitted from the latent benefits of employment through paid work and

volunteer work, but the manifest benefits such as financial independence, freedom and autonomy were particularly evident among employed women. While latent benefits can temporarily motivate individuals, those living independently eventually prioritize the manifest benefits. Moreover, this study builds on the recommendations of the research undertaken by Anu Yijala and Tiina Luoma by taking into consideration the interplay between different aspects of adjustment and adaptation instead of solely focussing on the work context as there are several factors which influence well-being and adjustment of mobile people in a new sociocultural environment.

Lastly, the ability to disengage from the present and envision the future played a crucial role in helping women recognize that the challenges they were facing were temporary. By engaging with the future distal sphere of experience, the participants gained a valuable sense of perspective that assisted them in navigating the present circumstances. This ability to mentally project themselves into the future allowed them to maintain a positive outlook and effectively make sense of their current situation.

To what extent does the employment status of a woman in mobility affect her adjustment to a new sociocultural setting?

Though employment emerges as one of the adjustment mechanisms utilized by women in mobility, it influences many other aspects of their lives. Establishing a home in a new sociocultural environment often requires the woman to be employed or for her partner to be employed. Additionally, future plans and aspirations are typically contingent on financial self-sufficiency which is achievable through one's employment or the financial support of their working partner. Furthermore, creating similar or comparable spheres of experience often involves financial resources, whether for travel to specific locations or to engage in activities thus pointing to the need for employment. Similarly, expanding social networks often necessitates mobilizing resources to attend international events, connecting with people, and engaging in social activities. Thus, employment assumes a significant role in the adjustment process.

In Switzerland, individuals are required to have employment or demonstrate sufficient financial resources to support themselves if they are moving to the country without a job or for the purpose of studying. In the case of family reunification, the supporting family member should be able to financially support the arriving individual, or the individual should have the necessary funds to support themselves. Refugees and asylum seekers are entitled to social assistance or social welfare (Misicka, 2020). Therefore, it is crucial for individuals to have their finances in order before relocating to Switzerland. Once in the country, it becomes important for at least one person in a couple to be employed. For individuals moving alone, employment is essential to avoid dependency unless they are seeking social assistance as refugees or asylum seekers. Whether individuals have sufficient funds or rely on social welfare, these situations are typically temporary as they are expected to eventually find employment. One could argue that the necessity of employment for survival is not unique to Switzerland and applies to many countries; this is true, and while the findings of this research related to the role of employment are not extraordinary, they build on existing evidence that employment is one of the most important goals for well-educated migrants (Yijälä & Luoma, 2019). Further, this study took into consideration the interplay between different aspects of adjustment instead of solely focussing on employment or economic adaptation as recommended by Yijälä and Luoma (2019). However, the findings of this research do not fit with the theory of Yijälä and Luoma that due to the lack of manifest benefits of employment, unemployed women tend to take-up social benefits (2019). Instead, the women in this research expressed a strong interest in taking up part-time jobs to in order to have the finances to pursue further studies and enhance their Curriculum Vitaes with the aim of improving their job prospects. All three unemployed participants - Dorothy, Stacy, and Sara - dedicated their time to studying. While Dorothy had

originally moved to Switzerland with the intention of studying and anticipated that it would facilitate her entry into her desired field of work, Stacy and Sara made the decision to pursue further education when they faced challenges in finding employment. For them, obtaining the necessary educational qualifications to meet the requirements of the new environment was seen as a crucial step towards securing suitable employment. Additionally, they viewed it as an opportunity for personal growth and self-improvement.

Patterns and trends:

Below, I reiterate the second and third questions that were initially posed. To address these questions, I present a range of identified patterns and trends that might serve as a foundation for future research endeavours.

- Is the relationship between resources and adjustment the same for all unemployed mobile women, and all employed women in mobility, or does it vary depending on individual factors such as age, civil status, past professional background and previous experience in mobility?
- Do adjustment mechanisms exhibit commonalities between employed and unemployed women?

1. Working mothers, Rachel and Liz, expressed that their work provided them with a sense of value and achievement, highlighting that their identity extends beyond being a mother. The intersection of three ruptures - mobility, managing motherhood after mobility, and managing employment after mobility - played a role in emphasizing the significance of their work identity. Both participants admitted that motherhood demanded much more of their time after relocating. This realisation prompted them to recognise the necessity of shifting their attention back towards their work.

2. Rachel and Liz, two participants who work independently from their homes, enjoyed the flexibility provided by this arrangement. Nevertheless, they acknowledged that it limited their opportunities to connect with adults in their professional fields. Instead, they primarily interacted with other mothers in school or playground environments which was related to their roles as parents. Their work-from-home responsibilities kept them from having professional networking opportunities. Further, finding time for French language lessons which could enhance their professional prospects also proved to be challenging for them because of their work responsibilities.

3. The unemployed participants – Stacy, Sara, and Dorothy – expressed their hope for employment primarily to improve their financial situation. They sought employment to enhance their monetary resources, gain independence, and pursue personal projects. While volunteering provided latent benefits, the participants ultimately sought employment for its monetary and manifest advantages.

4. Participants often compared their current experience of mobility with their immediate previous experiences of mobility rather than with their country of origin. They referenced their recent places of residence, such as the Netherlands for Flavia instead of Italy where she comes from, or Italy for Stacy who comes from Canada, as their ‘home’ and used it as a point of reference. This highlights that the notion of ‘home’ for individuals on the move is more tied to their recent significant locations rather than their country of origin. It also explains why the association of home with people rather than places emerged frequently.

5. While participants emphasized the importance of building a social network and interacting with locals, there was also a growing sense of individualism. They expressed enjoyment in being alone or spending time solely with their partners. This shift could be attributed to the availability of online information and recommendations for places to visit, reducing the need

for extensive communication with locals. Additionally, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic which disrupted their lives in various ways by causing the loss of a job, or emotional turmoil such as anxiety and depression or distancing from friends led to a sense of solitude and a focus on spending time alone or with immediate family members.

6. The intersection of separation and mobility was found to make the process more challenging and stressful. Rachel mentioned the difficulties of managing with a single income while Monica faced the issue of her visa being tied to her husband which is no longer applicable due to their separation. Therefore, the combination of separation and mobility disrupts the adjustment strategies used by families or couples in a new environment. Further research on the intersection of different ruptures in mobility could be worth exploring.

7. Lastly, it is noteworthy that four out of the seven participants expressed their reluctance to discuss certain family members; they described their relationships with these family members as difficult. Stacy cited her father, Rachel mentioned her mother, Flavia and Dorothy pointed to both – their mother and sister. Interestingly, Dorothy and Flavia acknowledged that these difficulties played a role in their decision to leave home at a young age. This could also explain why Rachel and Stacy, who also left their homes in their early twenties, found it relatively easier to emotionally separate from their families. These challenging relationships may have contributed to their readiness to embark on a life of mobility at an early stage.

Limitations

The generalizability of the results is limited by the number of interviews conducted. Since only seven participants were interviewed with three unemployed and four employed (including self-employment), the identified correlations and patterns are based on a very small group and thus further research situated in bigger and varied sociocultural environments is required to investigate these patterns. In addition, the diary data which could have provided an insight into the meaning making processes of participants was not available for all participants as it was optional. Based on the data which was available, it was observed that perceptions and voices were changing over a period of two months with new changes experienced in the sociocultural environment. Therefore, the missing data could have been useful to understand how Stacy experienced motherhood and how her perception of finding employment evolved. Similarly Dorothy's diary data could have been useful to see the evolution of her decisions regarding staying or leaving after finishing her studies. Thus, two missing datasets from unemployed participants makes it difficult to find patterns in the adjustment mechanisms of unemployed women, based on diary data (documenting temporal changes). It is also important to mention that five out of seven interviews were conducted in two parts on different days with a gap of a week or more. This could have provided additional time to the participants to reflect and think about their narrative as they were aware of the questions associated with the photographs defeating the purpose of using photo elicitation to avoid a rehearsed narrative. On the contrary, participants could have also thought about the remaining photos more deeply after finishing the first part of the interview which could be the reason for more detailed explanations in the second part of the interviews.

Theoretical limitations

This study is subject to certain theoretical limitations. Firstly, the exclusive reliance on the 2016 Migration Mobility Survey as a primary source for comprehending mobility patterns and labour market dynamics in Switzerland introduces a constraint. Moreover, the concept of the 'dialogical self' within the Dialogical Self Theory encompasses both temporal and spatial dimensions, and a focussed examination of either temporal or spatial aspects of these voices could have been an intriguing approach. Additionally, the endeavour to identify and differentiate temporal, spatial, and symbolic markers presents challenges in maintaining a

coherent tracking of shifts between these facets. Furthermore, the interviews were intentionally extensive to encompass the diverse array of perspectives. However, during transcription, it emerged that a considerable portion of the data might not be directly pertinent to the research context. This situation arose due to the nature of the questions posed which often elicited elaborate responses. In this study, an attempt was made to incorporate various theories such as the dialogical self theory and dialogicality of symbolic resources. However, due to the limited number of participants, this idea could have been overly ambitious. It might have been more effective to concentrate solely on the dialogicality of symbolic resources or I-positions for understanding adjustment.

Methodological limitations

Bates et al. (2017) discuss the absence of a formally agreed terminology of photo elicitation in visual qualitative research causing different researchers to use their own form; they present the lack of consistency in the use of photo elicitation as a challenge while simultaneously celebrating the diversity and depth it brings to qualitative research. I believe that even with a universally accepted definition, a researcher will bring in their personal way of designing and conducting the research. So, instead of trying to give structure to this creative and open method of research , visual qualitative researchers should focus on using the visual data effectively to understand the lived experience of individuals and share it with relevant social institutions as they play an important role in guiding the socio cultural world of an individual (Reavey & Brown, 2021). In this research, one participant only had five pictures in each of the categories because she did not like to take too many pictures whereas another participant made a mental note of the photographs she wanted to show and discuss. Thus, she had not selected and organised any photographs; she used her phone's photo gallery during the interview to decide which ones she wanted to talk about. This could, albeit, be attributed to the fact that she had lots to say and found it difficult to choose a few pictures. Thus, it is possible that each participant will interpret the request of the researcher in a different way, and in such cases it is important to redirect the focus on the participant's engagement with the photograph - their impressions and imagination at a personal and social level (Reavey & Brown, 2021) instead of getting stuck on the unmet expectations. Sometimes, as seen in this research, the participants engage with the first few pictures at a very superficial level by literally describing what they see and even with questioning they find it difficult to share their thoughts and memories about it, but once they go through this process a few times, they begin to let go of their reservations. So, towards the end, it is a good idea to revisit the first few images and rediscuss them with the participants in case they want to add to what was said previously. In a particular case, the participant also felt that the visual qualitative research was too long and 'loose' for her and she wanted the researcher to ask direct questions. In such cases one can only thank the participant for their feedback and re-explain the purpose and structure of the research.

"May I give you one suggestions <yeah> I think the interview it's a bit loose and and it takes quite long. Yeah, for me it takes too long. So yeah, would you please like a more structure and let's talk about the core things or otherwise I might not be able to finish all of them"- Liz

Hence, photo elicitation interviews can be very long which are not convenient for many people. After an hour and a half and two hours, I checked with all participants if it was alright to continue or if they preferred to come a second time to finish it, and everyone chose the latter except one, who was not available after that day. Another participant wanted to do the second part online.

Conclusion

This research set out to explore the adjustment mechanisms used by women in mobility and the extent to which employment affects this process. The study used various theories from

sociocultural psychology of mobility to focus on the process of learning, sense making, and identity making such as spheres of experiences and symbolic resources. Furthermore, the analysis focussed on dialogicality drawing from Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory and Bakhtin's multivoicedness in order to capture the dialogical dynamics through interviews. Interviews were conducted with employed and unemployed women in mobility living in the canton of Neuchâtel using the visual qualitative method of research, and the specific technique of photo elicitation. A dialogical approach to qualitative analysis was then used to understand how women transition through the rupture of moving to another country, be it from their country of origin or another. Through this process, employment emerged as one of the seven adjustment mechanisms used by women in mobility. It became evident that employment not only directly impacts an individual's financial freedom and independence but also influences other adjustment mechanisms. By providing financial stability, employment enhances self-confidence and self-worth, thereby influencing other aspects of the adjustment process. Other important adjustment mechanisms identified in this research were home-making; recreation of spheres of experience; thinking about the possible future; social networks and social support; and making sense of experiences and interactions. Interestingly, nature also emerged as a valuable resource as it is abundantly present in Switzerland. This aspect uncovered new avenues for future research, particularly in exploring the relationship between mobile individuals and nature. Moreover, the research revealed that participants placed more emphasis on the stress caused by other life ruptures such as separation, motherhood, and marriage, rather than solely focusing on mobility as a rupture. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate how individuals navigate through the complexities of multiple ruptures in mobility rather than solely focusing on individual aspects such as employment or separation or motherhood. Additionally, further research should explore the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the adjustment mechanisms employed by mobile individuals. Through this research, it became evident that the pandemic prompted a shift in the adjustment mechanisms of mobile people towards individualistic approaches with technology and self-reliance becoming paramount in accessing information; maintaining social networks; and participating in activities. Understanding these evolving adjustment strategies in the face of global challenges will contribute valuable insights to the field.

Lastly, it is important to highlight the research process employed in this study which proved to be highly insightful. Participants felt comfortable sharing details of their lives before and after moving to Switzerland aided by the use of photographs they brought. This approach facilitated the exploration of multiple voices within each individual as photographs have the power to capture memories and evoke meaningful recollections. Participants engaged in a dialogue not only with the people present and absent from the photographs but also with their past selves in the present moment. As a result of this enriching experience, I would highly recommend the use of photo elicitation as a technique for researchers employing a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis despite its time-consuming nature. Furthermore, I hope that the research findings will serve as a catalyst for the labour market to reassess their entry procedures and recognize the valuable talent that is currently being underutilized in inadequate employment and underemployment. Additionally, I believe that volunteering and women's organizations can play a crucial role in supporting mobile individuals by providing them with the necessary space to develop their adjustment mechanisms. To all the mobile women reading this, I encourage you to recognize that you are not alone in your journey and to resist the temptation of relying solely on social assistance in the absence of desired employment opportunities. Instead, I urge you to persist in your pursuit of appropriate employment by furthering your studies or engaging in temporary work, thereby empowering yourselves to achieve the goals you are striving for.

Notes

[1] Sandoz developed the concept of migration channels and she defines them as " mobility pathways structured by different actors" (Tissot, 2020, p.89) These pathways can create opportunities for migrants or can generate constraints.

[2] Under Swiss employment law, regular working hours should be a maximum of 45 hours per week. However, working hours in Switzerland may vary depending on the employer, position, and the industry in which one works. For instance, people in full-time posts usually work an average of 41 hours per week. On the other hand, industries in the private sector, such as banking, tend to work longer hours, around 42 hours per week. Whereas hospitals, catering, and hotels may work up to 60 hours per week, even though the average is between 45-48 (Studying in Switzerland, 2023)

[3] The culture referred to here is personal culture which signifies what an individual draws from the "reservoir of shared values, meanings and objects" i.e., the collective culture (Morasso & Zittoun, 2014). A cultural element becomes a part of personal culture when a person is able to establish links between the new cultural element and their existing understanding (Zittoun, 2007).

[4] Zittoun and Grossen have identified five forms of dialogues which are : distant dialogues with absent third- parties involved in the relevant situation; actual dialogues with people who are present physically or virtually; auto dialogue where the person engages in a dialogue with themselves – internally and externally; dialogue between situations across various spheres of experiences and temporalities provides a sense of continuity as a result of the commonalities (such as similar patterns or motives in activities set in different contexts) between them, and lastly dialogue between human and non-human actants (Zittoun, 2014a).

[5] The views of an I-position in the self, according to Hermans, are located in a specific context. This means that the perspective of an I-position in a particular context is influenced by several factors such as cultural background, circumstances, and personal experiences (Hermans, 2001).

[6] By entangled mobilities we mean a theoretical prism that, on the one hand, enables us to study human mobilities without limiting them to migration and at the same time allows us to take into account the ways in which people's movements differ, regarding their spatial and temporal dimensions and their positioning within socio-economic hierarchies. On the other hand, the concept compels us to systematically examine the ways in which mobilities are interconnected and interdependent—and thus to consider the local and global entanglements as well as the power structures in which they are embedded (Wyss & Dahinden's definition in Disentangling entangled mobilities: reflections on forms of knowledge production within migration studies, 2022).

[7] Externalisation of thoughts refers to "the process whereby the internal flow of thinking is translated into a semiotic and communicable form (Valsiner 2007a; Vygotsky 1934), recognizing that externalizations can become part of the stream of thinking itself" (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2017).

[8] National visa, also known as type D: for longer term stays in Switzerland (more than 90 days). This visa is issued subject to authorisation from the cantonal migration authority competent for the intended place of residence in Switzerland (Visa Requirements, n.d.)

[9] This permit entitles holders to stay in Switzerland provisionally. The duration of its validity does not entail any right of residence. Any employment and change of jobs requires prevision permission. If holders of this permit apply for a job, they will have to show this permit to the prospective employer. The permit must be submitted to the competent cantonal authority, without their requesting it, not later than two weeks before its validity expires without request. The competent authority must be notified of any change of address within eight days. This permit does not serve as evidence of the holder's identity (Permit S (People in Need of Protection), 2023)

[10] Resident foreign nationals are foreign nationals who reside in Switzerland for a longer period of time for a certain purpose, with or without gainful employment. The residence permit for EU/EFTA nationals is valid for five years. This permit is issued to EU/EFTA citizens holding a contract of employment of at least twelve months or of unlimited duration (B EU/EFTA Permit (Resident Foreign Nationals), 2022).

[11] "Human capital theory, initially formulated by Becker (1962) and Rosen (1976), argues that individual workers have a set of skills or abilities which they can improve or accumulate through training and education." (Xu & Fletcher, 2017).

* In participant quotes, parenthesis have been used to insert words and phrases to provide context and angle brackets <> have been used for interjections by either the researcher or the participant during each other's discourse.

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