“Not hired, but hosted”:
The identities of displaced academics in UK higher education institutions

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of EdD

UCL Institute of Education

I, Michael Beaney, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This qualitative narrative study examines the tensions and opportunities underlying funded placements that are offered to displaced academics in UK higher education institutions. These placements are offered by humanitarian organisations such as the Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA) and the Scholars Rescue Fund (SRF). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirteen PhD students and post-doctoral fellows. All of the study's participants were displaced either from Syria due to its ongoing civil conflict or from Türkiye following its attempted coup of July 2016. The 'small stories' that emerged from the participants' interviews were used as a means to elucidate their shared understandings of forced migration and placement with funded sanctuary scholarships in host institutions in the UK.

Narrative and thematic analyses of the interview transcripts reveal the shared experiences of displaced academics as they move through different zones that are termed as Vulnerability, Assistance, Affiliation and Disaffiliation. Within these zones, a number of tensions and conflicts emerge, such as liminal identity, issues with supervisor relationships and a sense of precarity and marginalisation in host universities. Participants' stories also reveal positive stories of professional and personal development and a deep sense of gratitude to such organisations for providing them with sanctuary fellowships. Concepts related to transnationalism and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field, are also used to understand how displaced academics' identities are impacted by their experiences and how they navigate the social field of higher education.

With refugee numbers worldwide currently increasing and universities allocating greater funding for sanctuary scholarships, I argue that placement organisations must aim to place displaced academics in suitable institutional and supervisory contexts, that institution-wide support programmes be put in place to support displaced academics and provide peer support and a sense of belonging, and that greater funding be raised for placement organisations to respond to substantially increased demand for sanctuary scholarships. Such recommendations can ensure that critical scholarship and talent worldwide can be protected against a rising tide of political violence.

Impact Statement

The scope of my study programme has been broader than I had imagined when I began the EdD at the UCL Institute of Education (IoE) in 2017. With an initial focus on reforming assessment of pre-sessional EAP students for the Methods of Enquiry (MoE) and IFS modules, my studies initially aimed at developing an approach to student assessment that would allow students to practice more frequently the integration of academic reading and writing. The proposed reforms have since been adopted by the LSE Language Centre and pre-sessional testing is now more reflective of such an integrated approach.

This thesis marks a substantive shift in focus of my EdD to PhD students and postdoctoral fellows displaced from their home countries. This is the largest independent study of its kind ever undertaken in a UK setting, and it is my hope that its recommendations be considered and taken up by higher education institutions and sanctuary organisations as they expand funding and provision for displaced academics fleeing political violence. I aim to situate this research in professional practice in a higher education setting, maintaining the overall focus of the EdD programme as a practice-based research degree.

I aim for as wide as possible dissemination of this research and in 2022 presented the initial findings as a poster presentation at the IoE's 2022 summer conference and the Narratives of Displacement conference at the London Centre for Interdisciplinary Research at Birkbeck, University of London. In 2023 I presented the study at the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA) 20th World Congress in Lyon, France. The study will also be published as a chapter of an edited volume entitled Language and Identities in Higher Education.

The study's findings could provide the potential to go beyond merely learning more about individuals' experiences of placement, teaching, and research, but also to propose positive and sustainable change in the placement of displaced academics in host institutions, ensuring that they receive the necessary support during their fellowships. Such changes could relate to informing placement organisations and host universities on the difficulties encountered by academics both during and after placement, as well as advising them on policy changes to mitigate against such difficulties. These findings could also be used as the basis for

comparative studies investigating the experiences of displaced academics in host universities elsewhere, particularly in the United States (US), Germany and France where similar sanctuary fellowship programmes are currently operating. Such studies could generate valuable insights into how placement organisations and UK universities can improve the placement process and facilitate effective support and transformative outcomes for displaced academics, ensuring that social justice for academics who have undergone displacement and forced migration can be achieved to the fullest extent possible.

Acknowledgements

I feel incredibly lucky to have been afforded the privilege to have had the constant encouragement and guidance of my Primary Supervisor Mary Richardson. Your enduring patience, your insistence on regular conversations, and ultimately your belief in me and in the value of this research helped to keep me motivated throughout the last six years. A heartfelt thankyou to Caroline Oliver for agreeing to join my supervisory team and for providing so many valuable insights and advice on an area that I was so unfamiliar with when we first met. A huge thankyou also to Jim McKinley with whom I enjoyed such a productive relationship with in the first half of my EdD and who was ready with fresh perspectives and a great eye for detail at the end of my studies. I could never have hoped for a better supervisory team.

Thank you to the LSE Language Centre and LSE Enterprise for helping me with the funding for my EdD journey. This thesis would not have been possible without the cooperation and input of the Council for At-Risk Academics and the Scholars Rescue Fund who helped me so much with this study's logistics and practicalities. Thankyou also to Seçkin Sertdemir Özdemir and Bermal Aydin, the conversations with whom first gave me the idea of pursuing this doctoral research.

This thesis is dedicated to the thirteen people whose lives were disrupted so profoundly by Syria's civil conflict and the Turkish government's 2016 purge of its critical scholarship, none of whom have yet been able to return home. It is your stories that this thesis has attempted to tell and to broadcast to a wider audience. Thank you for sharing them with me. This thesis is also dedicated to the memory of Mehmet Fatih Traş and those scholars across the world who have stood up to political violence with unimaginable courage and bravery. It is in your name that the below words are written.

Lastly I would like to thank my family and my wife Arthi. I first met you at my lowest point on this journey. It was ultimately your encouragement, your love and your endless patience that have helped me to reach the end of this journey.

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List of Abbreviations

AfP	Academics for Peace
AKP	Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) (Türkiye)
ARAP	Afghan Relocations and Assistance Policy
CARA	Council for At-Risk Academics
CV	curriculum vitae
DELTA	Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EdD	Doctorate in Education
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
ESL	English as a Second Language
ETP	English for Teaching Purposes
EU	European Union
GCM	Global Compact on Migration
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
GTAs	Graduate Teaching Assistants
HE	higher education
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IFS	Institution Focused Study
IR	International Relations
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IT	Identity Theory
L1	first language
L2	second language
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MPhil	Master of Philosophy
PAUSE	*Programme National d'Accueil en Urgence Des Scientifiques en Exil* (France)
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partîya Karkerên Kurdistanê*) (Türkiye)
REF	Research Excellence Framework
SAR	Scholars at Risk Network
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SRF	Scholars Rescue Fund
TEF	Teaching Excellence Framework
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UCL	University College London
UCU	University and College Union
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
YŐK	Council of Higher Education (*Yükseköğretim Kurulu*) (Türkiye)

Chapter One: Introduction and Study Context

This study explores the experiences of displaced academics and how they have been impacted by their migration from their home countries to the United Kingdom (UK). Thirteen semi-structured interviews with both doctoral (PhD) and post-doctoral fellows who have experienced forced displacement facilitated an examination of how these participants view their identities as displaced transnational migrants specifically in a UK higher education (HE) context. Following a brief introduction to the study, its aims and rationale, this first Chapter begins with an examination of the wider context of UK higher education. It then briefly examines the displacement of peoples and the application processes behind sanctuary placements. It then concludes with a discussion of displacement from Türkiye and Syria, the Research Questions, and the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

1.1) Introduction to the Study and Personal Motivation

I graduated from an undergraduate degree in French and Political Science in 2003, and a postgraduate degree in International Relations (IR) in 2006. Due to this specialism, in my role as an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) lecturer, I coordinated academic support for second language (L2) students in the LSE's International Relations department, and other related subject fields such as history and European studies. Languages and political science have thus served as unifying disciplinary threads running throughout my professional career and academic studies, and the subject of this thesis as well as my EdD studies more widely attempt to maintain these overall threads intact and indeed strengthen them.

In my roles at LSE, I have taught on and coordinated an English for Teaching Purposes (ETP) programme in which I have supported international graduate teaching assistants (GTAs), providing them with linguistic and pedagogical support as they prepare for teaching undergraduate seminars. Between 2017 and 2019, I collaborated with two Turkish colleagues who were working as visiting fellows at LSE. During our sessions together, they revealed that they had been forced to leave Türkiye and seek sanctuary in the UK as members of an academic solidarity movement known as the Academics for Peace (AfP)[1]. Many of the movement's members had been banned from working in Turkish universities as the result of

[1] https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/English

a government purge (described in Section 1.6 below) following an attempted military coup on July 15th, 2016.

Both fellows had applied for funded scholarships in UK higher education via the Council for At-Risk Academics[2] (CARA). CARA is a non-governmental charitable organisation that provides support for displaced academics forced into exile from their home countries, often due to civil conflict or, in the case of my two LSE colleagues, political repression and restrictions on academic freedom. Another organisation that offers funded sanctuary fellowships in UK universities is the Scholars Rescue Fund (SRF)[3], and all the participants in this study are drawn from displaced scholars placed by these two organisations.

During our collaboration between 2017 and 2019, we worked together on developing participants' academic English and improving pedagogical practice. Our conversations frequently reflected on the experience of academic migration, on living and working as a migrant in a host country, as well as on the impact of their placement in a host university on their identities as researchers and teachers. Multiple themes emerged from these conversations, for example, writing and speaking in a second language; positionality in their departments; diasporic identities and connections to their country of origin, as well as reflections on their employment precarity and their feelings of marginalisation in UK higher education. These conversations made a significant impression on me and led me to develop a proposal for this EdD thesis that aims to examine these complex and diverse challenges that displaced academics might face even after reaching a place of sanctuary.

1.2) Aims and Rationale

Given the context outlined above, this thesis aims to compile and analyse a rich qualitative dataset to build a better understanding of the experiences of displaced academics who have gained a funded sanctuary fellowship at a UK university. The study is designed to document their experiences and to allow displaced academics to tell their stories, to be heard, and to share how their lived experiences, rarely well-documented, have impacted on their

[2] https://www.cara.ngo
[3] https://www.scholarrescuefund.org

perceptions of their identities not only as displaced peoples but as transnational migrants in a higher education context. Both thematic and narrative analysis are used to bring into view the individual stories of participants and to create a sense of shared experiences across the cohort. The research may serve as a guide to CARA, SRF and other organisations that support displaced academics, and should be of great interest to other academic, campaigning, and charitable organisations that work with those who have been displaced. I aim to situate this research in the relevant literature on displaced academics, the majority of which to date has been written by AfP scholars in exile. This literature focuses specifically on participants' identities as academics displaced from their home countries by political repression and conflict, and on how the experience of displacement has impacted on their sense of identity, specifically as newly emergent academics.

As a result, the principal aims of this research are:

1. to build a clearer understanding of the experiences of displaced academics in UK higher education;
2. to interrogate the underlying tensions that exist in the complexity of these experiences;
3. to document common themes across the experiences of displaced academics in sanctuary fellowships.

This thesis is a constructionist, qualitative investigation into transnational academic identity from the perspective of displaced academics in funded placements in host UK universities. My requests to CARA and SRF for participants in this research resulted in nineteen offers of participation and thirteen completed interviews from a self-selecting population (full sample details are in Chapter 4). Some of these participants originate from Türkiye, while the majority originate from Syria. The number of positive responses demonstrated to me participants' enthusiasm for sharing their experiences and how this research has created a welcome opportunity for displaced academics to share their stories. The study design provides an extremely rich area for qualitative inquiry to go beyond merely learning more about individuals' experiences of placement, teaching, and research, but to use the findings to propose positive and sustainable change in the placement of displaced academics in host institutions, ensuring that they receive the necessary support during their fellowships.

It could furthermore provide the basis for future research examining the experiences of applicants to CARA following 2021's political upheaval in Afghanistan, and the 2022 conflict in Ukraine which have led to substantial increases in applications for funded scholarship placements. The extent of this increase is evidenced in the increases in applicant numbers for both CARA's and SRF's funded positions in the UK, details of which are outlined below:

Year	CARA applications	Top Nationality	SRF applications	Top Nationality
2017	213	Syria	248	Türkiye
2018	153	Syria	261	Türkiye
2019	125	Syria	263	Yemen
2020	138	Syria	339	Yemen
2021	652	Afghanistan	458	Afghanistan
2022	793	Afghanistan	508	Yemen

Figure 1: CARA and SRF scholarship applications: 2017-2022

The experiences of this study's participants are complex and multidimensional and involve negotiation of their institutional positionalities as academics, their working identities and how their institutional roles and responsibilities are framed and reframed (Billot, 2010; Whitchurch, 2013). It is also crucial to consider participants' citizen selves in the sense of their academic identities as transnational migrants (De Fina and Perrino, 2013; Warriner, 2007). Overall, this thesis therefore aims to enquire into this complex process of how these academics navigate these social fields, how they negotiate their identities as transnational migrants and how these have changed in the process of forced displacement, migration, and

sanctuary placement in a host institution. In order to better understand the context in which these placements take place, I turn to a brief examination of recent trends in the UK higher education sector into which displaced academics enter.

1.3) The Impact of Neo-Liberalism on Higher Education

In recent decades, a substantial body of literature has discussed the impacts of neo-liberalism and marketisation on the UK higher education sector (Block, 2018; Burton & Bowman, 2022; R. Gill, 2016; Giroux, 2002, 2010; Hadley, 2016; Martín Rojo & Del Percio, 2019; O'Regan & Gray, 2018; Tight, 2019). The impacts of such reforms have had wide-ranging structural impacts on universities, and have also affected both student and staff experiences, including those on CARA and SRF fellowships. In order to understand these impacts more clearly, I examine these impacts from two perspectives: the corporatisation of the university sector and the transformation of staff members' working practices.

1.3.1) The corporatisation of the university sector

The recent structural transformation of UK higher education has been driven by the view that the principal role of universities is to contribute to the economic productivity of a country, or to be more 'business-facing' (Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015). This has come at the cost of regarding the principal role of higher education as achieving social justice (Maisuria and Cole, 2017) the independent pursuit of knowledge (Gaffikin and Perry, 2009) or the development of a 'critical pedagogy' (Giroux, 2010). For Courtois and O'Keefe (2015), the neo-liberalisation of Europe's higher education sector can be traced to the EU's Council of Lisbon in 2000, which allocated economic value to education, with the objective of building human capital, and facilitating greater profitability and technological innovation. With regards to higher education funding in the UK, the Cameron government's 2012 higher education reforms proposed a shift in university funding towards student fees. As a consequence, direct state funding through the funding council for teaching was cut substantially, with 2020-21 funding 78% below the 2010-11 funding rate in real terms (Bolton, 2021). The Cameron government also removed the cap on student numbers in UK university campuses, leading to a widening expansion of the higher education market and increasing competition. In this context, universities that

failed to attract sufficient student numbers would run the risk of closure. The view of higher education as a competitive marketplace for students is reflected in the increasing reliance on fees as income generation, particularly from overseas students, whose fees can significantly outweigh those of domestic students. To illustrate, for the academic year 2023-2024, the maximum annual fee ceiling for full-time domestic UK undergraduates is frozen at £9,250, while the annual fees for full-time overseas undergraduates at UCL for example ranges from £26,200 for Arts and Humanities programmes to £32,100 for Medicine.[4]

Corporate culture, and its associated language of privatisation, de-regulation and commercialisation, has for Giroux (2014) fundamentally affected the purpose and meaning of higher education. He argues that this culture has created "the near-death of the university as a democratic public sphere" (p.16). For Gill (2016), this corporatisation has reformulated the nature of higher education in instrumental terms and has transformed students into 'consumers'. Block (2018) also views these changes as an instrumentalization of the sector, arguing that the market metaphor has shaped changes in the priorities of students as well as teaching and research staff, in which university degrees and research positions are secured in order to make individuals, as rational economic agents, more saleable in the academic labour market by increasing their economic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1990a). This labour market operates internationally, and elite universities can use their 'institutional magnetism' as a means to attract academic migrants, strengthening the claims of universities as being 'global' universities (Pherali, 2012: p.314). Such internationalisation is, for Marginson (2008), thus not related to the accumulation of knowledge capital, but increases in the competitive power of universities.

Societies dominated by market values develop "a neo-liberal version of citizenship" (Block, 2018: p.579) in which citizens' social and political rights are assigned to those who accept the market norms of neo-liberal regimes, such as casualised employment, commercialisation of knowledge and managerial surveillance through target-setting. Giroux (2010) views the neo-liberal turn of higher education as undermining universities' 'critical pedagogy', creating in its

[4] https://www.ucl.ac.uk/students/fees-and-funding/pay-your-fees/fee-schedules/2023-2024/undergraduate-fees-2023-2024

place a 'bare pedagogy' in which the market ideals of competitiveness and individualism are foregrounded. Rather than maintaining this 'critical pedagogy', in which students and staff have the academic freedom to produce knowledge and maintain "unfettered scholarly enquiry" (p.431), the neo-liberal university is harnessed by the market in which education is reduced to job-training, curricula are standardised and quantitative measurements are preferred for quality assurance through the Teaching and Research Excellence Frameworks (TEF and REF)[5] (Maisuria and Cole, 2017). These are impact evaluation measures of the quality of teaching and research in UK higher education institutions, whose frameworks are "sedimented" throughout by neo-liberal discourse (O'Regan and Gray, 2018: p.474).

1.3.2) The transformation of working practices

A second perspective in much of the scholarly literature emphasises the subsequent transformation of working practices through neo-liberal reforms of higher education. Increases in student numbers, reductions in state funding, and the emergence of competitiveness, performance, and profitability as hegemonic values, have driven an increasing need for flexible and cheap labour (Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015). For Gill (2016), these reforms have increased the casualisation of employment conditions and lowered pay and working conditions. As a result, increasing ranks of faculty are hired on short-term, precarious contracts, encounter high teaching loads and experience "profound insecurity about finding work" (p.41). In the UK, these trends have led to waves of recent industrial action led by the University and Colleges Union (UCU), involving student and staff demonstrations, cancelled lectures and seminars, and more recently a marking boycott.

These trends have arguably increased due to the negative impact of COVID-19 on university funding (Kınıkoğlu and Can, 2021), and further increased competition for student fees. Amidst reduced funding for universities and calls from the UK government for universities to provide courses that are 'value for money', recent years have witnessed a growing trend of cuts in the budgets of particularly arts and humanities departments in UK universities. The University of Roehampton for example announced in October 2020 a reduction in funding of £3.2 million

[5] For further information, see: https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk

to its Schools of Arts and Humanities, making up to a third of its staff in affected departments redundant, in what the UCU branded "a dangerous assault" on the humanities sector[6]. More recently in late 2023, Oxford Brookes University announced the closure of its Mathematics and Music departments[7], Aberdeen University announced the impending closure of its Modern Languages department[8], and Sheffield Hallam announced a voluntary redundancy programme for all 1,700 of its academic staff, leading to threats of further industrial action by the universities' UCU members.[9]

Various scholars have examined this transformation of working practices through the lens of academic precarity. Some works (Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015; Loher and Strasser, 2019) centre precarity on employment practices, as the individual experience of insecurity and the casualisation of work. In her examination of the psychosocial aspects of neo-liberalism in academia, Gill (2016) situates the transformation of working practices in precarious employment, high levels of mobility and insecurity about finding work. She argues that neo-liberalism has found "fertile ground in academics" whose passion for their discipline and predisposition to work hard have made them "model neo-liberal subjects" (ibid.: pp.46-47). Others such as Burton and Bowman (2022) and Kınıkoğlu and Can (2021) relate precarity not only to employment practices, but regard it also as "a socio-economic term denoting gendered and racialised inequalities" (Kınıkoğlu and Can, 2021: p.818). For Burton and Bowman (2022), a more holistic understanding of academic precarity allows its outcomes to be regarded as structures that reproduce inequalities and create a pervasive and dominant atmosphere. In this view, precarity can shape academics' selfhood, their relations with the academy and the value and legitimacy of knowledge making.

[6] For information on Roehampton, see: https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/12424/University-of-Roehampton-pushing-ahead-with-mass-fire--rehire-in-arts-and-the-humanities
[7] For information on Oxford Brookes, see: https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/13295/Strike-ballot-threat-in-fight-against-Oxford-Brookes-cuts
[8] For information on Aberdeen, see: https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/13311/Anger-and-disappointment-at-Aberdeen-modern-languages-cut-proposal
[9] For information on Sheffield Hallam, see: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-67707857

In her interviews with researchers across UK universities, Henkel (2002) focuses on the impact of neo-liberal reform on academic identity, and finds that the rapid policy changes in higher education have profoundly disturbed relationships between individuals, departments, institutions and disciplines. With a focus on achieving or maintaining high TEF and REF scores, institutions have the power to shape the professional lives and the self-perceptions of academics. Evans and Nixon (2015) agree that the changing policy landscape across Europe, increasing marketisation and socio-political fragmentation, have led to a variety of competing pressures for academics. Global and national university ranking systems have created, for Pelkonen and Teräväinen-Litardo (2013), a convergence of institutional interests and priorities, as evidenced in the 1999 Bologna Process. Greater competition in the academic labour market has also created a hierarchisation of labour, in which permanent and well-salaried contracts confer a high level of professional status in which control, supervision and accountability have replaced collegial trust (Collini, 2017). This hierarchisation of labour reflects what Kimber (2003) refers to as a 'tenured core' and a 'tenuous periphery' of academic workers: where fixed-term employment is increasingly normalized under the guise of 'flexibility'.

Having gained a clearer picture of the context of UK higher education that displaced academics may enter into, I now turn to a discussion of displacement, sanctuary fellowships and the placement processes of two organisations: CARA and SRF.

1.4) Displacement and the Mobility of Peoples

The movement of people across regions and territories has been a fundamental and defining pillar of the history of human civilisation (Rajaram, 2002), with the first diaspora in recorded history being the Babylonian exile of 587 BC . One of the prevailing themes in Plato's *Crito*, for example, was a discussion of the attractions and challenges of leaving one's homeland. According to Kirkpatrick (2015), two contradictory desires are revealed in Plato's text: to escape injustice in one's homeland for freedom and self-preservation, and the instinctive need to honour one's attachments and obligations to the homeland. Movements of ethnic or linguistic groups have for many centuries resulted from political and religious intolerance, such as the late seventeenth century exodus of my own ancestors the Protestant Huguenots from France, regarded by McCrackin (2021) as associated with the first appearance of the term 'refugee'.

Since the emergence of fixed state frontiers in the nineteenth century, numerous waves of refugees fleeing conflict, political repression or natural disasters have become an increasingly common occurrence (Pherali, 2020). Such refugee movements emerged with increasing regularity in the twentieth century, an early example being the exodus of 1.5 million opponents of communism following the Russian Revolution and the post-revolutionary civil war between 1917 and 1921 (United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), 2018). The end of the First World War witnessed the first international action for refugees, with the first intergovernmental framework aiming to repatriate those displaced by the conflict being established by The League of Nations (UN Archives, 2022). Other official frameworks aimed at protecting refugees have been established since then, such as the nongovernmental International Rescue Committee (IRC) in 1933.

Following the Second World War, the UNHCR established the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, foundational legal documents which formalised techniques for managing displaced persons by outlining the rights of refugees and the obligations of signatory states to protect them. According to the Convention, refugees are defined as those who are "unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 2021: p.5), a definition still widely accepted today. The key principle of the Convention was the granting to refugees of equal access to institutions, such as education, legal and welfare services (Hartonen, Väisänen, Karlsson and Pöllänen, 2021). The 1967 Protocol Amendment further included the principle of non-refoulement: that refugees "should not be returned to a country where they face serious threats to their life or freedom" (UNHCR, 2021: p.5). With 149 states worldwide as signatories, these documents have enshrined the rights of refugees and the responsibilities of states in customary international law.

Particularly since the end of the Cold War, the globalisation of capitalist economies, information and technology has been characterised by a "widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life" (Barnett, Held and Henderson, 2005: p.2), testament to which is increasing international migration and human global mobility. According to the UNHCR's (2021) statistics, by the year 2000, 173

million people were living outside their country of origin, rising to 221 million in 2010 and 281 million by 2020. Of this most recent number, 48 million are internally displaced people, remaining within the borders of their home state, and 26.6 million are refugees, of whom nearly 7 million originate from Syria (ibid.).

Recent years have witnessed substantial movements of refugees from countries such as Myanmar and Venezuela, as well as movements across the southern border of the US. In 2016, a substantial influx of migrants into Europe took place (Casella Colombeau, 2019), reflecting significant increases in the mobility of affected populations from conflict zones and humanitarian emergencies in countries such as Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. This worldwide movement of refugees led to the publication of the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) (UNHCR, 2018) and the Global Compact on Migration (GCM) (United Nations (UN) General Assembly, 2019), calling on governments to develop policies that reflect a shared responsibility for safe and orderly migration. These global governance initiatives have attempted to promote the participation of non-state actors, with the GCM calling for a "whole-of-society" approach involving national governments, civil society organisations and academia (UN, 2018: p.3). Pressure to assist refugees arriving in the EU states came from city governments and civil society organisations and served as a precursor to these compacts. In the UK, the City of Sanctuary movement (established in 2005) led to coordinated networks of civil society groups wanting to support refugees and those facing deportation (City of Sanctuary UK, 2017; Streitweiser, Roche, Duffy-Jaeger and Douman, 2018). One aspect of such support is sanctuary fellowships for displaced PhD and postdoctoral fellows organised by organisations such as CARA and SRF.

1.5) Sanctuary Fellowships

This thesis undertakes an in-depth qualitative investigation into the experiences of academics placed by CARA and SRF in host universities in the UK. Twelve of the study's thirteen participants secured fellowships with CARA, with one other securing a fellowship with SRF, so I briefly examine both CARA's and SRF's application processes below.

1.5.1) CARA's Application Process

Figure 2 (below) outlines the placement process for applicants to CARA for funded scholarships. Initially, they contact the organisation and complete an application evidencing their academic status and describing their current situation and the risks to their safety. Rather than aiming to support those already in exile, CARA aims to focus on assisting those who are still in immediate danger.[10] Once applicants have passed the eligibility filter, they then complete an enquiry form providing detailed information on their current stage of academic study, with a minimum requirement of either a completed Master's degree or a paid teaching or research position in a university. If CARA support is offered, applicants then identify potential host institutions, supervisors, or mentors within a relevant department. CARA staff then liaise with the host university to establish a supervision programme for the applicant and secure a funding package for them (and any immediate dependents) and offer support for visa applications to the UK Home Office. Applicants can then only take up their funded placement following successful completion of an International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test to determine their English language level. Applicants must achieve an overall score of at least 7.0, with no less than 6.5 in any specific area. Achievement of this score meets the minimum requirement for the majority of postgraduate programmes in UK universities[11]. Applicants and their families can then make travel arrangements to the UK and, after an induction meeting with CARA staff, join their host institution. CARA fellows and their mentors complete monitoring and evaluation reports every four months to check on the progress of their placement. Such placements often last two years in total, allowing CARA fellows to continue their PhD studies or undertake a post-doctoral placement, but this placement may be extended for a further year if research is delayed. The full application process is explained in Figure 2 below.

[10] https://www.cara.ngo/what-we-do/caras-fellowship-programme
[11] https://www.ieltsasia.org/hk/en/study-in-uk/required-score

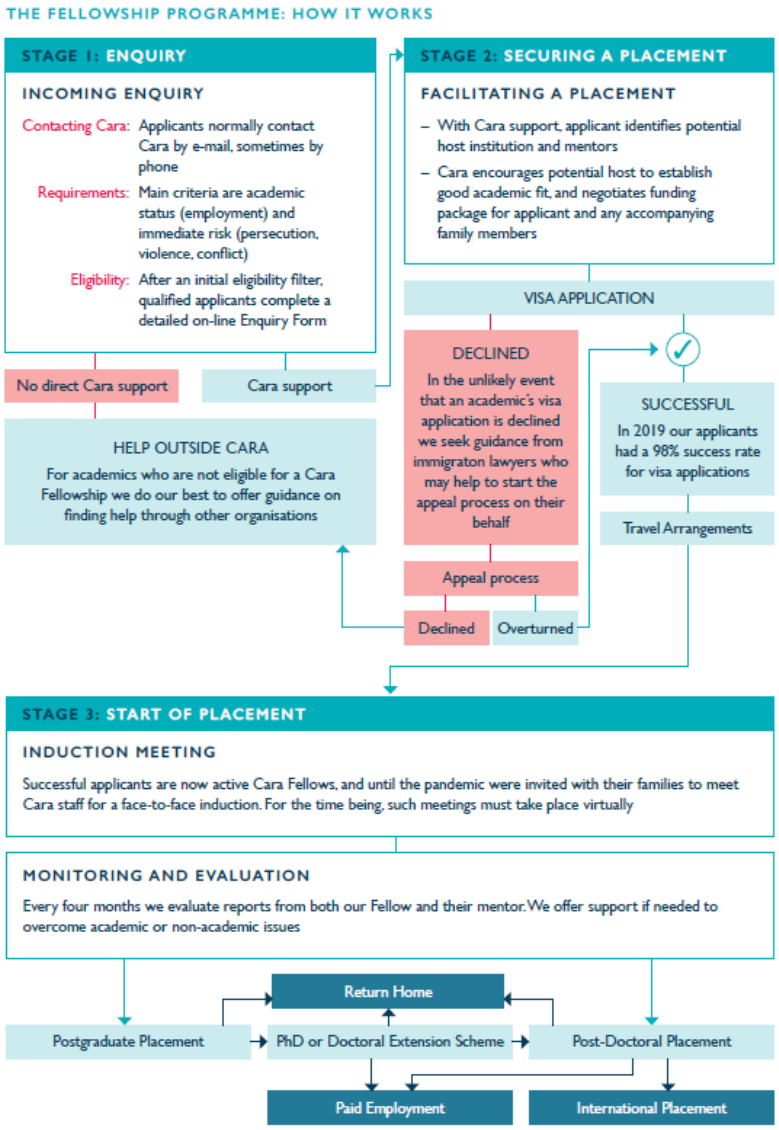

Figure 2: Summary of the CARA placement process (CARA: 'What We Do', Handbook 2020)

1.5.2) SRF's Application Process [12]

While CARA is a UK-based organisation and places scholars in UK institutions, SRF is based in the US, but places applicants both in the US and beyond. The SRF application process requires several additional documents compared to CARA's. According to its applicant instructions, SRF initially requires potential fellows to email an application form, and a curriculum vitae (CV) that must include a list of the applicant's academic qualifications, previous positions held and academic publications. SRF also require an academic statement that includes information on

[12] https://www.scholarrescuefund.org/applicants/instructions-and-application/

research interests and proposed research activities, as well as a personal statement outlining why the applicant is applying for assistance. This must include details of the nature of the threats that the applicant faces and the reasons why the applicant can no longer continue to work in their home country. Both these statements must be at least one page in length. Potential applicants must also provide copies of degree certificates and samples of current publications, with which the application process may begin.

Subsequently, applicants are requested to include two academic or professional letters of reference which can speak in detail about the applicant's research activities, academic expertise, or teaching. They are also asked to include two personal letters of reference from those who have knowledge of their personal circumstances and can attest to the threats they may be facing. Each application is then reviewed according to applicants' experience, the quality of their work and the nature and urgency of the threat in their home country.

Before discussing the background to displacement from Türkiye and Syria, I briefly turn to an examination of the background to support for displaced academics in the UK.

1.6) Support for Displaced Academics

The states of Western Europe have historically served as a safe haven for refugees seeking shelter from authoritarian regimes and conflict, some of whom have been academics and researchers (Said, 2001). Amidst Germany's increasingly authoritarian turn in the 1930s for instance, prominent academics and intellectuals such as Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein fled the growing Nazi threat to seek personal safety and academic freedom. Both settled for extended periods in the UK and US, from where they continued their scholarship (Arendt, 1968). Brockliss (2017) notes that during World War II, many British universities received Jewish German exile academics, although he notes that numbers were limited, with the Oxford colleges accepting only six Jewish exiles in the 1930s. Furthermore, Steinberg and Grenville (2020) note that Einstein's appointment at Oxford University was opposed by some faculty staff arguing that public funds should be used to support British academics.

As a response to those academics seeking sanctuary in UK universities, in 1933 progressive social reformer and LSE Director William Beveridge founded the Council for At-Risk Academics

(CARA) to assist those academics persecuted under and exiled by European fascism and to provide the "means to prevent the waste of exceptional abilities exceptionally trained" (CARA, 2020: p.15). Amongst those assisted were Karl Popper, and one of the founders of the Paralympics, Ludwig Guttman. This organisation has since provided support for academics to settle and work in countries and universities of sanctuary in the form of funded doctoral and post-doctoral fellowships. SRF meanwhile was founded more recently in 2002, "not only to save scholars' lives, but also to ensure the protection and proliferation of their ideas and work"[13]. It is a global programme that has provided funds for hundreds of displaced scholars and has hosted sanctuary scholarships in nearly thirty countries.

Higher education was first declared to be a strategic priority in the UNHCR's Education Strategy for 2012-2016, leading King (2016) to argue that higher education plays a particularly meaningful role in development and humanitarian efforts to assist refugees, although most attention on refugee education is focused at the level of compulsory, rather than post-compulsory education. Universities can thus serve as "fertile ground" (Streitweiser et al., 2018: p.6) for providing such assistance and have, in the UK, done so by offering such funded doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships delivered with CARA's coordination to displaced academics. According to CARA's 2022 annual report, while in 2021 and 2022 academics seeking temporary funded scholarships were displaced primarily from Afghanistan (see Figure 1), Syria and Turkey were also common countries of origin of applicants. Syrian scholars have been displaced due to Syria's civil war, but for Turkish scholars the cause has likely been due to increasing political repression and an academic purge (Özatalay, 2020) following the 2016 coup attempt (CARA, 2022). These scholarships are offered for displaced academics each year by CARA and SRF, as well as other organisations such as the Scholars at Risk (SAR) programme in the US, the Philipp Schwartz Initiative and the Humboldt Foundation in Germany, and the PAUSE[14] programme in France (Blackburn Cohen, 2018).

The last two years have witnessed a sharp increase in applications for scholarships from academics at risk of persecution or fleeing for their lives. In August and September 2021, CARA

[13] https://www.scholarrescuefund.org/about-iie-scholar-rescue-fund/
[14] *National d'Aide à l'Acceuil en Urgence des Scientifiques en Exil*

received a substantial number of applications for assistance from academics in Afghanistan following the overthrow of the Western-backed government, the return to power of the Taliban and the evacuation of Afghan citizens under the UK Government's Afghan Relocations and Assistance Policy (ARAP)[15] and the Afghan Citizens Resettlement Scheme[16]. In 2022, the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine led to over 7 million civilians fleeing Ukraine for Europe, with over 4 million officially registering for temporary protection schemes operated by either the UNHCR or national governments (UNHCR, 2022). This upsurge of refugee entries into Europe led universities such as the LSE to expand their funding of their fellowship programmes for displaced academics[17]. Surges in applications from academics fleeing civil conflict and persecution demonstrate the vital and ongoing role that organisations such as CARA and SRF play, as well as the importance of independent studies that examine the impact of such placement programmes on those applying for assistance.

Such placements can offer a potentially transformative experience for individuals (Parkinson, McDonald and Quinlan, 2020; Pherali, 2020). However, Avery and Said (2017) offer some criticism of this approach, arguing that the offer of sanctuary scholarships to displaced academics from the Global South can lead to long-term structural dependency and a 'brain-drain' which might slow the sustainable post-conflict reconstruction of civil society in academics' native countries. Amongst those displaced academics who have received funded scholarships in sanctuary universities, some have published articles discussing their experiences of exile and placement in host countries and institutions (Baser, Akgönül and Öztürk, 2017; Biner, 2019; Özdemir, 2019; Vatansever, 2020). The number of these funded placements in host institutions is inevitably limited in number, thus another criticism of these programmes is the limited number of displaced people that they reach. To increase its outreach to affected populations, CARA established the CARA Syria programme in 2016 and completed a pilot in 2018. This programme aims to provide ongoing support for Syrian academics either internally displaced or living in Türkiye (CARA, 2020). It has focused on recruiting female and Arts and Humanities scholars to address gender imbalances among

[15] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/afghan-relocations-and-assistance-policy
[16] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/afghan-citizens-resettlement-scheme-pathway-3-eligibility-for-british-council-and-gardaworld-contractors-and-chevening-alumni
[17] https://www.lse.ac.uk/africa/Opportunities/scholarships

CARA's programme participants and, by 2021, approximately two hundred Syrian academics were actively engaged in the programme. The literature published by displaced academics who have researched the experiences of their fellow displaced scholars is included in Chapter 2 below. Prior to this discussion, I close this chapter by examining the background context to displacement from the two countries of origin of this study's participants: Türkiye and Syria.

1.7) Displacement from Türkiye and Syria

The last decade has witnessed the displacement of civilian populations worldwide. In order to limit its scope of enquiry, this study aims to examine the experiences of displaced PhD students or postdoctoral fellows who successfully applied for funded placements through CARA and SRF in UK higher education institutions between 2016 and 2020. It focuses specifically on Turkish and Syrian nationals for two reasons. Firstly, Syria and Türkiye have been the countries of origin of large numbers of applicants to CARA and SRF between 2017 and 2019 (see Figure 1). Secondly, these two countries are indicative cases of two major reasons why people may choose to flee their home country. Syria has been in civil conflict since 2011, while Türkiye's government pursued a major purge of academic staff following the July 2016 attempted coup. What follows is a short discussion of the contexts of these two countries.

1.7.1) The Turkish Context

Türkiye has witnessed a number of military coups in the twentieth century, each of which has been followed by purges of academic staff (Özatalay 2020). The most recent purge, following the July 2016 attempted coup, reflects an increasingly authoritarian drift headed by Türkiye's President Erdoğan and the AKP[18] party. Those academics who were targeted by this most recent purge were members of either the religious Hizmet movement associated with Fethullah Gulen[19], regarded by the AKP as being responsible for the coup attempt, or the left-leaning Academics for Peace (AfP) movement.

The AfP movement was founded in 2012 with the explicit aim of building reconciliation between the Turkish state and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)[20] in the south-east of the

[18] *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*
[19] https://www.gulenmovement.com
[20] *Partîya Karkerên Kurdistanê*

country (Aydin, 2018; Özatalay, 2020; Özdemir, 2019; Özdemir, Mutluer and Özyürek, 2019; Tekdemir, Toivanen and Baser, 2018). Amidst heightened tensions between the two sides in 2015, the movement created a petition calling for the re-starting of peace negotiations and an end to state-sponsored violence, gaining 1,128 academic signatories across 89 Turkish universities (Tekdemir et al., 2018). In March 2016, President Erdoğan accused the petition's signatories and the AfP movement of being 'traitors' and 'potential terrorists' (Aydin, 2018). Biner (2019) argues that the polarisation and mistrust from a decades-long civil war, the tense political situation at the time, alongside nationalistic sentiments amongst much of the Turkish population, have conspired to create a political atmosphere in which a counterterrorism discourse – employed by Erdoğan – has been successfully used to suppress dissent and opposition to government policy.

Following the attempted coup, mass disciplinary action commenced against the AfP academics mainly through the use of emergency decrees. According to figures calculated by Baser et al. (2017), and supported by Özatalay's (2020) findings, over six thousand academics in total were dismissed from their posts between 2016 and 2018 following the emergency decrees, and fifteen different universities were closed. The Turkish Council of Higher Education (YŐK[21]) placed new restrictions on the academic freedom and autonomy of Türkiye's higher education sector, overseeing senior appointments and restricting research on sensitive topics, particularly related to peacebuilding and conflict resolution (ibid.).

During the subsequent three years following the attempted coup, emergency decrees were used by the government to dismiss many of the members of the AfP movement from university posts and ban them from holding positions in Türkiye's higher education system (Baser et al., 2017). Over six hundred members of the movement were put on trial, with some receiving prison sentences of between fifteen and thirty-six months (Biner, 2019). In order to continue their research and maintain the movement, many AfP members were forced to flee Türkiye for Western Europe and the US, applying for the temporary funded fellowships offered by organisations such as CARA and SRF. The Turkish government's repression of academic freedom thus created an exodus of critical scholars from Türkiye, but as Biner (2019) has

[21] *Yuksek Őgretim Kurulu*

found, for those AfP scholars who were unable to secure funded positions, continuing their academic careers in Türkiye was increasingly difficult as their employment status became more precarious. Their social security numbers were re-registered under a newly-created code, which made the search for new employment in Turkish higher education practically impossible. This new social security code affected peoples' interactions with the administrative bodies of the Turkish state, both at home and abroad, as these codes designated people as belonging to a banned terrorist organisation (Özatalay, 2020). Numerous displaced academics writing after their exile (e.g. Biner, 2019; Özdemir and Özyürek, 2019) discussed such changes of members' social status in Türkiye by referring to the experience as a 'civic death', a concept I return to in Chapter 2.

Those who fled the purges sought sanctuary scholarships offered by universities in Western Europe and the US, and also established solidarity groups to allow members to continue their research and "reclaim their lost freedoms" (Biner, 2019: p.24), such as the Solidarity Academies and the University Without Borders[22].

1.7.2) The Syrian Context

Prior to 2011, Syria's education sector was relatively well-developed. From the year 2000 onwards, significant education reforms aimed to link Syrian higher education with labour market needs. In particular, the Ministry of Higher Education's Legislative Decrees of 2001 and 2006 led respectively to the opening of the first private higher education institutions in Syria and the sector's decentralisation of regulatory authority (King, 2016). As a result, by 2011 approximately 25% of Syria's young people were participating in post-secondary education, creating a significant number of job opportunities. Faulkner (2020) points out that Syrian higher education was particularly rich in Archaeology, with expeditions organised by a variety of universities worldwide. Italian universities were particularly active, maintaining frequent expeditions to the Ebla archaeological site in north-western Syria from 1964 to 2011.

However, since 2011 Syria has experienced the world's most severe conflict-related humanitarian disaster since the Cold War, decimating many aspects of civic life, not least its

[22] https://off-university.com/en-US

university sector. According to one academic displaced from Syria and living in Jordan, many academics were targeted for kidnappings for ransom (Faulkner, 2020), and in 2013 both Aleppo and Damascus universities were subjected to targeted regime attacks, resulting in the deaths of almost one hundred students. Thus even if academics were not targeted individually, their place of work might be lost if their universities were subjected to attacks. In 2014, a decree from the Syrian Ministry of Education denying all requests for sabbatical leave meant that many scholars were presented with the choice of them and their families either remaining in Syria, or jeopardising their long-term careers and source of livelihood by leaving and becoming refugees (Reisz, 2014). According to Parkinson et al. (2020), approximately two thousand academics and up to one hundred thousand university-qualified students have subsequently fled Syria as refugees.

Unlike those academics fleeing Türkiye, who in many cases were made up of the members of the AfP movement, no such common thread unites the academics displaced from Syria. According to the contributors to a 2018 article on displaced academics from Syria, they are a much more disparate group, having been displaced to Middle Eastern neighbours, as well as European countries. They come from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, and some have secured permanent contracts in their host countries, while others remain unemployed. Some return frequently to Syria to teach, others provide consultancy support for NGOs in Syria, while others provide lectures in e-learning environments (Parkinson, Zoubir, Abdullatif, Abedtalas, Alyamani, Al Ibrahim, Husni, Omar, Hajhamoud, Iboor, Allito, Jenkins, Rashwani, Sennou and Shaban, 2018).

Displaced students and academics from Syria can encounter not only a dramatic shift in their social status, but also a precarious legal status, language barriers, unrecognised qualifications and psychological trauma, making the continuation of academic life for displaced staff and students highly challenging. The Institute of International Education (IIE) for example estimates that less than 10% of academics and students displaced from Syria have continued their careers and studies (Sheikh, 2016). Reisz (2014), focusing specifically on those Syrians who have been displaced to Lebanon, describes a similar proportion: of the approximately 70,000 Syrian university students having fled to Lebanon, between 6,500 and 10,000 were enrolled in Lebanese universities at the time of writing. He argues that such a low enrolment

figure may be due to the fact that Lebanon's higher education system is marked by sectarian and geographical divisions, and an influx of largely Sunni Syrians may upset the demographic balance of Lebanon's largely Shia higher education staff and students. According to one academic linguist displaced from Syria to Jordan, "we're overworked, we have little money, no rights, less chances to attend conferences in our industry, we're unable to travel or even to be engaged in scholarship opportunities like Fulbright" (Faulkner, 2020: p.2).

Since 2016, such scholarships have emerged for those Syrians exiled in Jordan, Lebanon, and Türkiye, with CARA's Syria Programme developing capacity-building activities across a number of areas such as EAP and Academic Skills Development to help participants maintain their academic practice, develop research skills and improve their English language level. Other Syrian academics have sought sanctuary scholarships in the West, along with academics from other countries such as Türkiye and Afghanistan. Amidst the ongoing conflict, Syrian academics have remained committed to working in exile to maintain their country's higher education community, but despite these efforts, the plight of Syrian academics in exile has been largely neglected within academic research, and much of the published resources have been grey literature. This thesis thus aims to contribute to addressing this scarcity of research by investigating the experiences of both displaced Syrian and Turkish academics in UK higher education.

Having outlined the context to this thesis and given its principal aims, I therefore propose to answer the following research questions:

1.8) Research Questions

RQ1: How do displaced academics report their experiences of sanctuary fellowships?
RQ2: How do displaced academics perceive their identities as at-risk scholars? What are the shared aspects of these perceptions?
RQ3: How do displaced academics navigate the social fields of UK higher education, their host institution, and the academic department in which they work?

1.9) Thesis Structure

This thesis is composed of six chapters. The first has presented an introduction to the study and has outlined its aims and Research Questions. Chapter 2 is a Literature Review that examines several key theoretical frameworks and the literature that has been published by displaced academics themselves. Chapter 3 comprises the Methodology and Study Design of this thesis, and Chapter 4 outlines the key Findings. Chapter 5 contains an in-depth discussion of the findings and Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of the key recommendations for the field and some of the principal contributions to my personal and professional practice.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Before presenting the experiences of the Syrian and Turkish academics who have participated in this study, I first situate this thesis in a wide body of literature that encompasses a number of themes. The first of these is a brief discussion of the concept of identity, including refugee, academic and liminal identity. I then proceed by outlining three theoretical frameworks that will help me to answer each of the Research Questions set out in Chapter One. For the first Research Question I examine the studies undertaken to date by displaced academics, specifically employing the theoretical framework outlined by Özatalay (2020). For Research Question 2, I employ some of the literature on transnationalism and for Research Question 3, I employ Pierre Bourdieu's (1990a) conceptual tools of capital, habitus, and field. I then complete this chapter with a brief examination of the concept of academic mobility.

2.1) Identity

2.1.1) Introducing Identity

Antaki and Widdicombe (2008) outline three models of identity that serve as a useful introduction to the concept. The more traditional psychological models regard identity as a descriptive label used to refer to roles, statuses and groups of individuals. Some such as class identities and national identities can be ascribed at birth, while others are acquired through socialisation and internalisation of identities. The principal theories of these traditional models are role identity theory (McCall, 1987; Stryker, 1987), which explains how identities are internalised as roles that people enact. Another is social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) which assumes that people's social identities have a social reality through their relation to social groups. Over time, they develop an awareness of a preference of 'my group' over others. These traditional models view identity as essentialist in that they are taken to be an essential property of individuals and society, and realist through the assumption of correspondence between identity and social reality.

A second approach encompasses sociological and social constructionist accounts of identity. Sociological views of identity arguably retain this essentialist view as they use identity as a key concept to examine the relationship between the individual and wider society,

distinguishing between personal identity that individuates us, and social identity as affiliation with social groups (van Tonder, 2006). Sociological perspectives on identity assume that personal and social identity are related through the concepts of 'sameness' and 'difference', and also recognise that we can identify ourselves with more than one identity which can interact with each other, at times in tension (Lawler, 2014). This approach rejects static views of identity and regards identity as being embedded in social relationships and worked out in people's everyday lives and interactions.

This approach ties in with social constructionist accounts of identity that seek to understand the relationship between individuals and society through an emphasis on the capacity of people to define their own social reality and not view it as pre-given. For Barth (1969) for example, collective social forms are generated through people's interaction with each other, and in this interaction individual and collective identities are produced. For Zimmerman (2008), interaction between social actors is tightly articulated with their social worlds, and their orientation to an identity is a link between interaction and broader social orders. Social interaction therefore "offers a bridge between individuals, their practices and their identities and the macro-level of social forms and collective identities" (Jenkins, 1996: p.100). Furthermore, historical, cultural and political processes can construct individual identities and it is through the employment of these processes that individuals can construct their life histories and personal narratives (Antaki, 2008). According to the social constructivist account, identity is therefore not a fixed property of societies and people, nor does it act as a reflection of social reality. Selves are constructed through multiple discourses or narratives in which they are positioned, what Zimmerman (2008) refers to as talk-in-interaction, and identities are products of joint actions and co-production through interaction with the social world. As Widdicombe (2008) argues, identities are thus mobilised through such instances of interaction, in this case through displaced academics' interactions for example with CARA and SRF, their supervisors, their first language (L1) groups, or during research interviews.

The third model that Antaki (2008) outlines is a postmodern model that uses identity as a tool to specify the impact of globalisation and communications technologies on people's lives. A key postmodernist author on identity is Bauman (2012) who argues that new questions over identity emerged during the late modern era due to the weakening of social bonds such as

family, locales and religious institutions that constituted the social setting of the pre-modern and modern eras. Durkheim ([1893] 1984) even goes as far as to say that the 'individual' did not exist in traditional cultures. According to this perspective, the emergence of modern mass society, characterised by the transport revolution, greater levels of migration and globalisation, has "prised social relations free of the locales" (Giddens, 1991: p.2). The settings of modern life are thus more fragmented and diverse, and systems that constitute daily life, such as education and the labour market offer a range of possibilities for people's identities, not fixed guidelines. Bauman (2004) argues that through the fragmentation of such systems, questions over an individual's identity formation have emerged, and that, as a result, identities are forever incomplete and provisional, rather than fixed and secure. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) concur, claiming that through increasing mobility and education, people are "invited to constitute themselves as individuals" (p.13), leading to a dazzling array of opportunities and possibilities. The notions of self-fulfilment and achievement are powerful currents that have created a highly differentiated society constituted by separate non-interchangeable spheres. In the modern era, we are partially integrated into a number of these spheres and move between these functional worlds. Within these spheres, such as education, the labour market and the welfare state, individuals must develop their own biographies and take greater responsibility for themselves, since broader social institutions of welfare, including the welfare state and family, are fragmenting. Such individualisation speaks directly to the influence of neo-liberal ideology on social relations, which, for Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), "enforces atomisation with all its political will" (p.47).

As Bauman (2004) argues, "[o]nce identity loses the social anchors that made it look 'natural', predetermined and non-negotiable, 'identification' becomes ever more important for the individuals desperately seeking a 'we' to which they may bid for access" (p.24). As a result of a loss of these anchors, people have a longing for new groups with which to facilitate identity-making. In the modern era, with globalising processes, technological developments and greater mobility, the holding power of locales have been disrupted, "clear[ing] the site for identity to be born" (ibid., p.18). In an increasingly individualised society, people's identity has become more prevalent due to the breakdown of previously existing social forms, such as class, fixed gender roles and social status. Having outlined some key theoretical models of

identity, I now turn to three more specific discussions of identity: refugee, liminal and academic identity.

2.1.2) Refugee Identity

The literature on migration has particularly adopted postmodern conceptualisations of identity, with Mijić (2022) for example identifying a shift in migration literature towards a consensus that people live in complex worlds that span locales which "affect[s] the construction, negotiation and reproduction of social identities" (Vertovec 2001: p.578). The crossing of state borders is integral to a migrant's sense of objective and subjective reality and, hence, their identity. For Cavalli (2004), the subjective reality of migrants can structure time into a 'before' and 'after' in their lives. In the case of this study's participants, examples may be Turkey's 2016 coup attempt, the outbreak of Syria's civil war, their decision to leave their home countries or their acceptance onto a sanctuary programme.

In the context of forced migration, migrants become unstuck from their association with a particular place (i.e., their homeland) through forced displacement. According to Madon and Schoemaker (2019), refugees are often seen as people who have lost a crucial aspect of their identity: their legal identification by the state. For forced migrants, living in a foreign context can thus create anxieties associated with unsettled immigration and economic status, unresolved psychological trauma and a marginalised status in their host country (Schaubroeck, Demirtas, Peng and Pei, 2022). A sociological approach arguably has substantial value in explaining changes in refugee identity by regarding identity as something that is dynamic rather than static, continuously reformulating based on variations in circumstances over time. The local dimension of their lives is lost to this displacement and this formerly key constitutive feature of their identity must be reconstituted through migration and placement. This local dimension can be particularly important for those from a Middle Eastern background, for whom more traditional markers of identity such as family and religion may play a more significant role than in the more post-modern West (Panossian, 2022). As a result, those experiencing displacement become what may representationally be termed as 'exiles' or 'refugees'. For this thesis, I subscribe to the terms 'displaced' or 'exiled' to describe this study's participants. Malkki (2022: p.512), evoking Said's (2001) reflections, argues that the ancient term 'exile' "connotes a readily aesthetisizable realm", and can maintain freedom and

a sense of power. These terms thus connote a sense of agency appropriate for those who have secured funded fellowships in the UK, but in line with Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) and Bauman's (2004) arguments, nevertheless also hint at some of the complex negotiations and contradictions that are associated with their identity-making, particularly in the context of neo-liberal higher education. 'Refugee' meanwhile is a highly politicised and bureaucratic term, evoking a sense of uprooting and loss of identity, and thus also further diminishes agency from this study's participants.

Discourses on displaced people have a variety of foci, two of which are the human suffering caused by conflict and the humanitarian efforts of NGOs. The displaced appear in these discourses as either objects or victims and such discourses ignore their multiple manifestations of agency. Displaced migrants do not passively undergo displacement, but they strive towards a better life, often breaking ties with their families and homes, to seek sanctuary and new beginnings through migration. In this sense, as Bauman (2002) argues, displaced people in the late modern era are the authors of their own life trajectories as they move from separation into transition. Unlike voluntary migrants for whom this freedom may constitute a positive choice, Bauman (2002) argues that for displaced people, this freedom may in fact constitute a more negative choice. This freedom of choice echoes Bandura's (1999: p.2) argument that "in the agentic socio-cognitive view, people are self-organizing, proactive, self-reflecting and self-regulating, not just reactive organisms shaped and shepherded by external events".

Displacement from people's home countries may thus be characterised by both great professional and personal opportunity, as well as significant insecurity and precarity. As migrants, displaced academics must build alternative reference points to their identity, as their identity defined in terms of their nationality becomes less accessible and even barred to them, in this case either through political persecution or conflict. The fact that their identity becomes more negotiable and revocable and no longer "cut in rock" (Bauman, 2004: p.11) is symptomatic of those for whom a sense of 'belonging' has come into question. As forced migrants, there is no place where they can completely fit in, and they may be considered "out of place everywhere" (ibid.: p.11). The sites where belonging is traditionally invested (such as work or neighbourhood) have, for those displaced, become lost or less trustworthy. In this

light, funded fellowships can potentially provide a source, albeit temporary, of such belonging. Those who have been displaced may struggle to create a new sense of belonging in "liquid modern" times (Bauman, 2012: p.29), whereby a coherent sense of identity becomes arguably even more ambivalent and provisional, in contexts of 'in-between-ness' and 'liminality', than it is for those who have not had to endure the disruption of forced displacement. The concept of liminality is therefore a useful theoretical tool for this study to which I now turn.

2.1.3) Liminal Identity

The idea of a person being in a liminal, or 'in between' space was first espoused by Van Gennep (1960), who argued that there is a common ritual tripartite structure in people's passages from one status to another (e.g. from one age status to another): separation, transition (liminality) to incorporation (investiture). The liminal period marks the 'in-between' part of the transition: it is bounded in space and time, often characterised by removal of individuals from their normal social state. It is a period marked by ambiguity and uncertainty, but also possibilities for disruption and creation as those in a liminal state are between structures. Examples of liminal periods may be age-related such as in transitions around puberty and retirement, as well as related to migration, as people move across borders from one geographical space to another.

Ellis and Ybema (2011) argue that liminality can become a permanent life condition where life states are indeterminate, and states of transition and temporality have become permanent, although this is not the dominant conception. Bamber, Allen-Collinson and McCormack (2017) differentiate between permanent liminality: ongoing, enduring in-betweenness of indeterminate duration in a changing context, and transitional liminality, which is for a limited duration. Permanent liminars are "constantly crossing the threshold" (Ellis and Ybema, 2011: p.300), who find themselves in "an enduring experience of ambiguity and in-betweenness within a changeful context" (Swan, Scarborough, and Ziebro, 2016: p.783). This permanent liminality can create greater negativity, a sense that people are 'stuck' or 'locked-in' to a state of being in place and time. The short-term nature of sanctuary fellowships arguably constitutes an example of a transitional liminality, which for Bamber et al. (2017) can be an unstructured, fluid and unsettling space. Transitional work arrangements such as sanctuary fellowships can lead to "feelings of substitutability and disposability" (p.1518). For Ellis and

Ybema (2011), transitional liminality can also be viewed as potentially transformative, allowing for the emergence of new relationships.

Displaced people represent a social reality that arguably captures the simultaneous existence of individuals within and outside a nation state (Hartonen et al., 2021). They are removed from organised political communities and have no country in which to enjoy the right of residence (El Masri, 2020). In their literature synthesis examining liminality in refugee studies, Hartonen et al. (2021) identify displaced peoples as liminal personae and the system itself as a state of limbo. Examining the experience of forced migration through the lens of liminality is of value as forced migrants exist "outside the natural order of things" . For Bauman (2004), identity studies are particularly relevant for those who have lost this connection to their local dimension and have found themselves marginalised. He refers (1998) in particular to movers classed as 'vagabonds': those who have no choice but to move. Malkki's (2022) argument is highly relevant here when she cautions that refugee literature can too often over-simplify poverty as the cause of refugee movement. She underlines Stein's (1981) point that "refugees are not poor people (…) they are successful, prominent, well-integrated, educated individuals who fled because of fear of persecution" (p.321). Displaced academics are for me a personification of this point. Malkki (2022) regards the instability inherent in liminality as "essential traits and characteristics" of the individual refugee experience, emphasising the role of nationalism and state belonging as "the natural order of things" (p.511).

The concepts surrounding liminality can assist in bringing into sharper focus the slightly blurred positionality of displaced academics. They are in the highly desired position of receiving funded scholarships and accommodation from their host universities. They do not experience asylum centres and refugee camps, and the vulnerability of forced migrants to exploitation and informal labour conditions, what Coutin (2005) argues is the 'clandestinity', or the hidden dimension of social reality that migrants can experience. But liminality is not merely a tool to understand displaced academics' experience, but also an ontological space in which precarity, insecurity and ambiguity predominate. Those in this liminal space are marked off by temporal and spatial barriers that set them apart from others, such as short-term contracts, precarity, no citizenship in their host country and an expectation of return. But by employing Van Gennep's (1960) positive identification of liminal spaces, such as the

opportunity for creativity and disruption of the status quo, the liminal space that displaced academics enter is a potential site for new interactions between displaced scholars and other stakeholders in higher education such as myself who aim to emphasise agency and challenge the victimising narratives and negative discourses surrounding displacement. In this view, the liminal ontological space can offer itself as a site of resistance and activism. In order to better understand this ontological space, I now turn to a third key aspect of identity: academic identity.

2.1.4) Academic Identity

The concept of academic identity in the context of higher education is one that has been subject to a variety of discussions in relation to higher education staff and students (see e.g., (Billot, 2010; Drennan, Clarke, Hyde, Politis, Shin and Teixeira, 2017; Winter, 2009). The meanings contained within the concept of academic identity are complex and require some unpacking to be of value in this study. Evans and Nixon (2015: p.10) define identity as "a process of mediation between individual agency and the contingent circumstances" in which individuals find themselves. They must therefore seek to exercise their agency to develop narratives of identity that have neither an end nor any stable direction. An individual's identity is therefore structured according to the narratives of ourselves and others and is temporally dynamic as it is constantly evolving.

In relating academic identity specifically to wider identity discourses, Billot (2010) argues that academic identity is a dynamic construct emerging from an individual's personal, ethnic, and national contexts, as well as being socially constructed over time. It may be regarded not as a specific attribute but as a relational phenomenon that develops as a consequence of interaction with individuals' environments or social worlds. Winter (2009) identifies the academic 'self' as developing through the inter-relationship of a variety of constitutive elements of academic identity, such as collegiality, autonomy, self-regulation, academic freedom, and behavioural patterns. Both Winter's and Billot's arguments provide the means to account for the development of this study's participants' academic identities through the migration, placement, and post-placement processes, and assist in a discussion of how participants' academic identities have been impacted by the processes of displacement and placement. In order to undertake such a discussion, it is important to understand how

displacement has affected the identities of displaced academics, so I now turn to an examination of the literature written by them, examining key themes and an important theoretical framework.

2.2) Literature by Displaced Academics

Amidst their forced exile, some of Türkiye's Academics for Peace (AfP) who fled the restrictions on their academic freedom and employment security enacted by the Turkish state went on to publish reflections on their experiences of forced migration and conducted studies with others who had shared their experience (Aydin, 2018; Baser et al., 2017; Biner, 2019; Özatalay, 2020; Özdemir, 2019; Vatansever, 2020). Such research reflects on normative questions surrounding the precarity of the status of displaced academics, particularly focusing on those in sanctuary scholarship programmes principally in UK and German higher education institutions. Other research (Pherali, 2020), has investigated the experiences of academics displaced from Syria, but fewer studies exist involving this cohort. An overview of these publications reveals some overlapping themes with this study, and that reinforce the sense of their liminal and marginalised positionalities: namely academic precarity within the neo-liberal context of the higher education sector, the experience of 'civic death' in displaced academics' home countries and entry through displacement into a 'politics of compassion', before a renewed precarity if the temporary placement ends and no further position is secured. I examine these themes within Özatalay's (2020) theoretical framework which analyses the experiences of displaced academics within three zones: of Vulnerability, Assistance, and Disaffiliation. In order to answer Research Question One, this thesis applies this theoretical framework and extends this model by examining the experiences of both Syrian and Turkish academics through the addition of a fourth dimension to Özatalay's (2020) framework, which is outlined in Chapter 5.

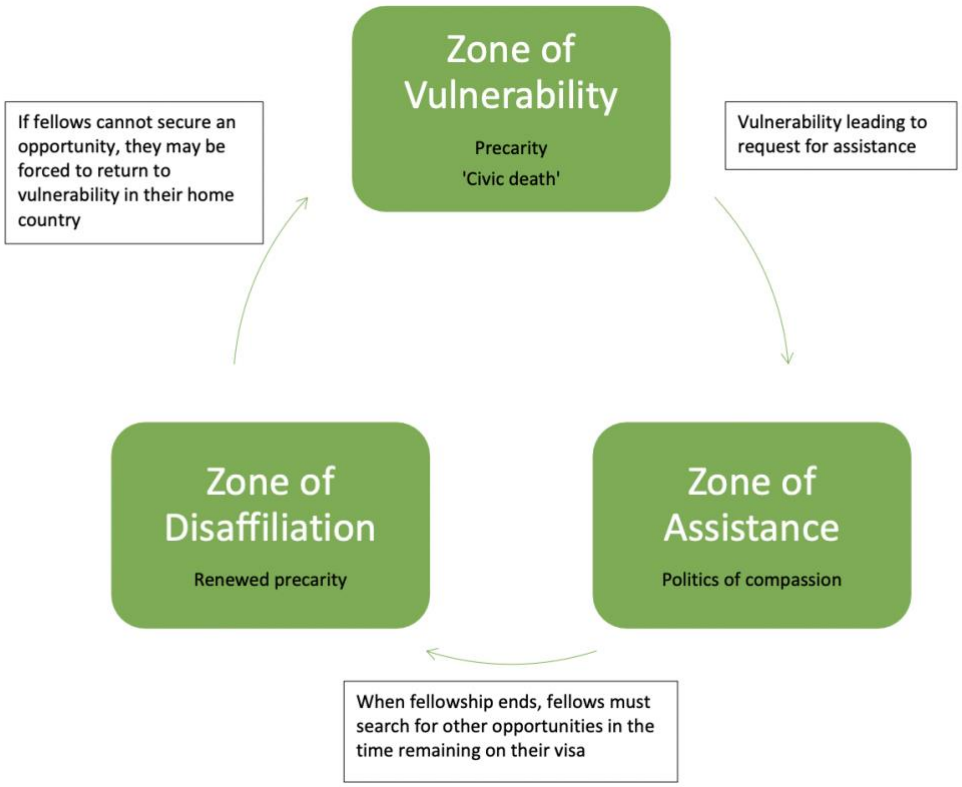

Figure 3: Özatalay's (2020) conceptual framework

2.2.1) Precarity

Türkiye's academics who were persecuted following the July 2016 coup attempt suffered from the twin threats of precarity and 'civic death', conceptualised by Özatalay (2020) as a Zone of Vulnerability. Several recent studies (Baser et al., 2017; Biner, 2019; Özdemir, 2019) have examined the role that employment precarity has played as a useful instrument for the Turkish state to punish the perceived civil disobedience of the AfP academics. Biner (2019) examined the role of employment precarity within the context of the criminalisation of Türkiye's academics, placing this precarity within a wider framework of "human rights violations [and the] curtailment of academic freedom" (p.274). She argues that the July 2016 attempted coup created the circumstances for a massive purge of critical scholarship in Türkiye, with those on the most precarious academic contracts being the most affected by these purges. Increased state oversight of Türkiye's universities restricted their autonomy and clamped down on the academic freedom of research staff (Özdemir, 2019). Many of the AfP academics were, for Baser et al. (2017), criminalised through an anti-terrorism discourse and dismissed from their

roles. The ease with which this happened reveals the precarity of the positions that academics were in. For those academics who had published in English, many fled abroad and applied for funded scholarships with CARA and others, placing themselves within the normative status of being 'at risk'. Emergent from this literature is a strong sense that this forced migration and consequent change in status embedded precarity into people's careers and personal lives, affecting their sense of personal identity and de-stabilising previously taken-for-granted feelings of safety and security.

2.2.2) 'Civic Death'

Özdemir and Özyürek (2019) explore the effects of de-stabilisation in depth and claim that political repression in Türkiye is not merely an embodiment of academic precarity, as Aydin (2018) and Biner (2019) argue, but represents a more fully-encapsulating form of what they term 'civic death' in the form of the displacement of critical scholarship from Turkish universities and dismissal from roles. I found Özdemir and Özyürek's (2019: p.702) elucidation of this concept particularly striking when they wrote of 'civic death' as the means with which the state "does not commit murder in order to rule, but can merely isolate undesirables from society and all means of sustenance by reducing them to outlaws or disposable people". In the case of the victims of Türkiye's academic purge, 'civic death' has for Özdemir and Özyürek (ibid.: p.708) meant that:

> "the victims' socio-political existence has been purposefully annihilated in order to demean them and degrade their life condition. Although they retain the right to vote, they are no longer considered ordinary citizens. Indeed, they are not even considered second-class citizens, but rather as 'the dismissed'."

For Özdemir and Özyürek (2019), the dismissal of critical scholarship embodies a 'civic death' as the AfP scholars were stripped of their roles, ostracised from civil society and thus deprived of their fundamental rights as citizens. Those dismissed were mostly assistant professors working under already precarious employment conditions, and PhD and post-doctoral students who found themselves unable to complete their research (Vatansever, 2020). They were removed from editorial boards of journals, their work was removed from selected journals, and research scholarships were threatened for those who were studying politically

contentious topics (Biner, 2019). As a consequence of these purges, some of the AfP academics took the opportunity to flee Türkiye, securing temporary opportunities of work through funded scholarships of between one and three years.

For Özdemir and Özyürek (2019), 'civic death' as the consequence of these purges of the AfP academics was the experiencing of "a deprivation of juridical and civil rights whereby the accent is on exclusion outside the political realm" (p.702). They argue that the state's abnegation of their civil rights as citizens has, as it has throughout the 20th century, been a political method of the authoritarian state to suppress political opponents and ethnic minorities, leading ultimately to the destruction of human dignity under totalitarian regimes (Arendt, 1968). Through rendering critical scholars as 'enemies of the state', the Turkish state forced dissident academics into a choice of either 'civic death' or forced migration. A consequence of this 'civic death' has been exclusion from the professional realm of academia in Türkiye, criminalisation for many (Baser et al., 2017), and indeed the suicide of one of the group's members, Mehmet Fatih Traş[23]. Such events cry out for compassion, a call which was answered by those organisations such as CARA that offered sanctuary scholarships to those impacted by such repression. However, such offers of compassion and support are complicated by the changes to their normative status that the acceptance of such offers of compassion entails.

2.2.3) Politics of Compassion

For those who are successful in applying for temporary funded fellowships in European universities, they enter into what Özatalay (2020) refers to as a Zone of Assistance. The AfP academics who successfully apply for sanctuary scholarships are offered temporary positions in host universities and live in their host countries for the duration of their fellowship programme. Some of the authors examining the precarious situation of displaced academics (e.g., Aydin, 2018; Özdemir et al., 2019) note that in fleeing the political precarity of their homelands they remain in a precarious state as migrants, particularly in the sense of facing uncertain living and employment conditions beyond the temporary fellowships. However, the

[23] https://stockholmcf.org/peace-academics-remember-dismissed-colleague-tras-4-years-after-his-death-by-suicide/

fact that they have funded scholarships, alongside the necessary residence and work visas for the duration of the fellowship places displaced academics in an ontologically different context to refugees and asylum seekers, in that they already have access to employment and, for Özdemir (2019), may not be seeking to settle in their host countries, but remain there only until it is safe to return home.

In her study of the experiences of the exiled AfP academics in universities in Germany and France, Özdemir (2019) traces the impact of humanitarian 'othering' by her participants' host institutions, in which displaced academics "experience a form of anonymization and marginalization which demands that they acquiesce to their normatively assigned roles as victims to be saved" (p.2). As recipients of these funded scholarships, she argues that host institutions, through their humanitarian efforts, do not regard the academics they host in their institutions as fellow academics. Through their marginalisation in their home countries, exile and subsequent application for temporary scholarships, host institutions create a 'victim-saviour narrative' in which displaced academics are transformed into victims of authoritarianism. For her, they are vulnerable to and incorporated into a discourse of victimhood and are viewed as being 'at-risk', as refugees, but not as critical scholars. She goes on to argue that NGOs such as CARA and SRF are fundamentally humanitarian aid organisations that employ as their basis a victim-saviour narrative in which their goal is simply to provide temporary shelter for displaced academics to continue their research. This narrative thus helps to create a sense of 'unbelonging', a theme that commonly arose amongst the displaced academics she interviewed. Some of the AfP academics such as Aydin (2018), Özdemir and Özyürek (2019) and Vatansever (2020) argue that these senses of unbelonging and marginalisation, of being "dismissed as an academic" (Özdemir, 2019: p.4), have had a detrimental impact on the self-perception of many of their studies' participants as academics, leading to some leaving the profession altogether.

This sense of unbelonging initially comes from persecution and then, for a number of authors (Aydin, 2018; Baser et al., 2017; Özdemir and Özyürek, 2019; Tekdemir et al., 2018; Vatansever, 2020), is one that continues in their host countries and institutions. When these scholars are exiled in Europe, they seek to "imaginatively reconstruct their academic subjectivities and singularities" (Özdemir, 2019: p.6). But through the discourse of victimhood perpetrated by

both the NGOs and the host institutions, their new subjectivities are shaped around this discourse. She describes a 'hierarchy' of victims that depends on whether these academics accept the role of victim and are 'marketable' in the sense that they can present their case and their suffering in an anti-democratic system to a sympathetic public. The AfP academics, given their demands for peacebuilding in Türkiye and their persecution by the Turkish state, are very clear exemplars of critical scholarship: it was their critique of their government's actions that led to their targeting in the latest purge. For Özdemir and Özyürek (2019), if the AfP academics enter the public realm as critical scholars and wish to communicate the context of their petition, the expression of their political opinion conflicts with the victim-saviour narrative lying at the heart of the humanitarian discourse of the fellowship programmes.

2.2.4) Renewed Precarity

These funded fellowships for displaced academics are temporary, so at their end, if they are unable to secure future positions as for example post-doctoral fellows, displaced academics enter into what Özatalay (2020) refers to as a Zone of Disaffiliation, which implies a renewed precarity without stable employment and with the prospect of their visa term expiring. Aydin's (2018) interviews with displaced Turkish academics in France and the UK revealed many considering themselves as "inadequate" (ibid., 2018; p.13) and feeling insecure in their prospects for stable employment in academia. These insecurities stemmed from having a perceived deficit of academic English, their precarious employment status from temporary scholarships, and fears over residence and employment visas from their host countries' governments.

Following the end of sanctuary fellowships, the lack of availability of stable, long-term positions prevents the integration of displaced academics into longer term positions, leading to them remaining in a "reserve army of labour" (Vatansever, 2020: p.14). Consequently, this disaffiliation can then risk becoming a permanent state, reflecting the experience of those thousands of displaced Turkish and Syrian scholars who have been unable to secure sanctuary fellowships or find employment in their host countries. For Özatalay (2020), this is a particularly acute situation for social scientists who have witnessed a greater recession in the academic jobs market, preventing escape from this disaffiliation in the country of settlement

and risking return to their country of origin. Vatansever (2020) argues that this disaffiliation, or being in a reserve army of labour, is a structural position that reflects a renewed sense of precarity following sanctuary fellowships, and the traumatic interruption and uprooting of their life courses reflects a wider loss of agency and subjectivity. This 'exilic' mode of existence thus constitutes the structural margins of academia and a sense of ambiguity over the future.

This literature discussed in the above paragraphs appears to concur that displaced academics have experienced precarity in their academic lives which has spilled over into economic and social precarity leading to displacement and the 'exilic trajectory'. In order to move beyond these ultimately damaging narratives and towards the possibility of political solidarity with displaced academics, as well as the co-construction of new subjectivities, Vatansever (2020) argues that host institutions must aim to disrupt the victimising and anonymising elements of humanitarian exile and view displaced academics as political and academic equals, and also simply as colleagues. In this sense, the anonymising subjectivities so often applied to displaced academics can evolve from those of 'refugee' and 'at-risk', to those of critical, fellow academics, "not as academic refugees to be met with compassion, but as political subjectivities with whom critiques may be mounted" (Özdemir, 2019; p.16). Having examined some of the key themes in the literature by displaced academics, I now turn to the concept of transnationalism which will provide further theoretical tools with which to understand the study participants' experiences of forced migration and placement on funded sanctuary fellowships.

2.3) Transnationalism

In order to address the second Research Question, I employ some of the key concepts of transnationalism, one of the principal theoretical concepts that scholars have used to examine the mobility of people across national borders in a globalising world. Tedeschi, Vorobeva and Jauhiainen (2020) for example argue that political, sociocultural, and economic transnational migration have been highly impactful, such as on people's identities, their sense of belonging and their decisions in their everyday lives. For Castles (2003), as the dynamics of social relations transcend state borders, thus the theories used to study them must do so also, hence the importance of studies investigating transnational phenomena. One issue that transnational studies such as Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) critique is the idea of

'methodological nationalism'. This is the idea that social sciences have "taken for granted nationally bounded societies as the natural unit of analysis" (p.579). Social life has been analysed within the 'container' of national society, and that which spills over outside of the border is "cut off analytically" (ibid.: p.579). In a more globalised world, the emergence of the transnational paradigm has transformed migration studies so they can conceive of the transnational ties that connect migrants across the globe. While the nation-state continues to play a role in maintaining ties and binding people together, Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) argue that transnational studies that investigate the connections between transnational migrants and actors can help scholars to study migration and its impact on different social fields and power structures.

However, for Çağlar (2016) and Glick Schiller (2018), cross-border lives have not been adequately theorised. Çağlar (2016) argues that temporality can strengthen migration theory, maintaining that migrants must be seen as "historical contemporaneous agents of modernity and current global processes" (p.202). For Glick Schiller (2018), theories of transnational migration have over-emphasised space (see e.g., Guarnizo, 1997; Levitt 2001; Vertovec 1999) and overlooked time and the specific historical moments in which population movements take place. When migrants are situated in global temporal transformations as well as their spatiality, then researchers of transnationalism and migration can understand more clearly the impact of transnational migration on migrants' lives, and on changing socio-political discourses surrounding migration. Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018) together operationalise the concept of 'multiscalar' analysis as a means to understand migration more fully, which refers to "sociospatial spheres of practice that are constituted in relationship to each other and within various hierarchies of networks of power" (p.8). Multiscalar analysis thus allows researchers to understand how time and space may be knitted together in historical processes. This study attempts to apply such a multiscalar analysis of the migration of displaced academics by examining both the spatial and temporal contexts in which their displacement and placement takes place. Examples of these temporal contexts are increasing employment precarity under neo-liberal austerity, and restrictions to the right to move and settle through the securitisation of borders, both in the EU and the UK (Glick Schiller, 2018).
In studies such as this which examine migration, it is valuable to relate such work to the elements that determine migrants' incorporation into the host society, and how this

incorporation in turn affects migrants' identity construction. The main determinants specific to this study are the social fields of UK higher education, and the funded fellowships administered by organisations such as CARA and SRF. Thus, transnationalism may be considered in various ways, with Smith (2003: p.14) viewing it as "the movement of people, ideas, technology, and communication across national boundaries" and Kearney (1995: p.548) focusing on transnationalism as relations, processes and flows that are "anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states".

These issues of transcendence, movement and mobility characterise a more globalised world of ever-increasing complexity, in which migrant communities have emerged as a valuable locus for studies examining the impact of transnational movement on people's lives and identities. As research looking into the experiences of displaced academics, and how forced migration has impacted on their identity construction, the literature on transnationalism is therefore helpful to understand these complex issues. Theoretical tools deriving from transnationalism have been used by numerous authors to understand the impact of mobility across physical space. Some scholars have examined migrants' transnational literacy practices (Warriner, 2007), while others such as Basch (1994) have investigated transnational flows as a social practice through which migrants "forge and sustain multistranded social relations" (p.7) that straddle their home and host countries. I briefly examine three of these tools below: hybridity; bounded and unbounded identity; and local and global interactions, and outline how they may be of value in understanding how displaced academics perceive their identities in a transnational setting.

2.3.1) Hybridity

The transnational experience spans different locations through the evolution of transnational spaces of activity, characterised by living both 'here' and 'there'. Individuals who undergo transnational migration, of moving from a home to a host country, experience what Bhabha (2011) refers to as a cultural 'in-betweenness'. Due to these modern migrations, a partial culture has emerged that he regards as "the connective tissue between cultures" (p.54). Through transnational migration to new countries of destination, Bhabha argues that this connective tissue between cultures becomes ever more finely woven with "intersubjective threads that hold together the ever more sharply differentiated components of culture,

society and person" (p.55). In this hybrid culture, Bhabha problematises liberal attempts to normalise cultural difference by noting that different minority identities can be regarded as 'ambivalent' or 'disjunctive' by the majority culture of a host country and can thus suffer permanent marginalisation.

In their study of transnational identity formation, De Fina and Perrino (2013) place the same emphasis on ambivalence as Bhabha (2011), arguing that migrants' self-other determination and their strategic identity positionings in their host countries can be particularly ambiguous and complex. This ambivalence can be particularly acute for Turkish migrants to Europe as they come from a Türkiye whose social transformation from the 1920's under Atatürk was measured in relation to its adoption of western institutions and cultural norms (Robins, 2011). In this sense, migrants from Türkiye may be seen as exemplars of cultural ambiguity: 'almost but not quite' European.

As forced migrants entering a host university in the UK, it is of interest to discover whether, in their transnational identity formation, the participants in this study emphasise their hybridity and diversity and 'difference' from others in the university, or whether they stress continuity with their lives prior to migration and homogeneity with others. In her study of transnational migration practices, Warriner (2009) argues that migrants' self-identification in host countries is influenced primarily by prior affiliations with their geo-political context. For displaced academics, this context may be constituted by economic precarity and repression of academic freedom (such as in the case of Türkiye's Academics for Peace), as well as civil conflict (as in the case of displaced academics from Syria).

2.3.2) Bounded and Unbounded Identity

The transnational identities under examination in this study are not those emerging from the macroeconomic driving forces of global migration but are from forced migration due to political repression or civil conflict. The forced nature of such migration can have a highly disruptive effect on the individual's orientation between 'here' and 'there'. In one collaborative study for example undertaken by Cambridge University, Syrian academics in exile reported their memories of a home, a professional trajectory and a family life which had been lost to the conflict, and how their status as exiles in their host country reminded them of

"being rootless, stateless and rejected" (CARA, 2019: p.78). What Bhabha (2011: p.56) refers to as the "scattering of peoples" or 'diaspora' across borders has shattered the notion of cultures as demarcated along national lines. Amidst this ruptured landscape, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) view cultural transformation and social space as being located within unbounded, interconnected spaces, arguing that "a transnational public sphere has certainly rendered any strictly bounded sense of community or locality obsolete" (p.9).

While unbounded spaces emphasise de-territorialisation and spatial mobility across borders, bounded spaces emphasise the role of the locality as a key property of social life. For Smith and Guarnizo (1998), the idea of bounded spaces need not be derogatory in which the local is regarded as a site of stagnation. Rather, they argue that the local, bounded spaces, such as community and social networks based in and serving a specific locale, can be sites of "alternative cosmopolitanisms and contestation" (p.11). Transnational identities may thus still be conceptualised as bounded in the sense that individual understandings are "socially constructed within the transnational networks that people form and move from" (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998: p.10). They may further be bounded by the "policies and practices of territorially-based sending and receiving local and national states and communities" (ibid.). In the case of this study, the bounded nature of transnational identity may be shaped by the institutions that displaced academics interact with, such as the UK Home Office, CARA or SRF, and their home and host universities.

However, notwithstanding this bounded view of transnational identity in terms of informal networks and institutional interactions, Warriner (2009) argues that migration, especially forced migration as a refugee, is highly disruptive of an individual's relationship with geographic place and cultural space. The process of migration can thus break down state-based territoriality creating new translocal spaces in which an unbounded 'diasporic identity' develops. For transnational migrants negotiating their positioning within these translocal spaces, Vertovec (2004) argues that they can experience a double consciousness located both 'here' and 'there' in which a dual self-orientation is produced and constructed. The Palestinian Edward Said (2001; p.186) identified this double consciousness, viewing it optimistically when he wrote that:

> "[s]eeing the 'entire world as a foreign land' makes possible originality of vision. Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that – to borrow a phrase from music – is contrapuntal."

It is of value to discover whether displaced academics also have any consciousness of this "plurality of vision", and how their transnational disposition impacts on their sense of self and belonging, and what the contextual conditions are of this emergent transnational social reality.

2.3.3) Local and Global Interactions

In order to build a clearer understanding of the transnational landscape through which migrants move and in which they operate, authors such as Lam, Warriner, Poveda and Gonzalez (2012) have called for further studies that more closely investigate the individual experiences of transnational migrants. In their synthesis of literature on transnationalism, they recognise an accumulating body of work examining migrants' language use and its maintenance within families and communal networks across borders. But they note that few studies have examined literacy practices in other social fields such as social movements and education. This call from Lam et al. (2012) for further studies that examine the local practices of migration represents a separate shift in the focal landscape of transnationalism studies from Glick Schiller's (2018) emphasis on the value of multiscalar analyses. Lam et al. (2012) instead call for a shift from accounts of 'ethnoscapes' and global flows of capital and people, to a greater interest in local processes and practices.

An examination of the intersections between the global and the local, between the everyday experiences of migrants and the wider contexts in which they take place, as Warriner (2007) points out, can help me as a researcher to understand what it means to be a displaced academic in a UK higher education setting. Warriner (2009) further notes that individual experiences and identities are locally realised but are globally influenced and are enacted and transformed by specific actors in their everyday practices. The focus of this thesis on transnational identity formation within the specific context of forced migration thus opens up

a window into global-local interfaces, transnational flows, and transmigrant experiences. The context of the higher education sector is a particularly fruitful locus to situate this study given that UK universities have increasingly aimed at greater internationalisation of their institutional reach and their student cohorts . Examples of everyday practices (for Warriner (2009): 'micro-level processes') refer to personal interactions, in this case with university staff, students and CARA or SRF representatives, as well as individual actions or financial transactions. Global contexts ('macro-level processes') may refer to global flows of information, people and resources, and the context within which displaced academics find themselves, as forced migrants on temporary scholarships, as L2 users of English and as stakeholders in a UK higher education context.

Having investigated the tools that transnationalism can offer, to help me explain identity processes following displacement, further conceptual tools will be of importance. In particular, Bourdieu's conceptual toolbox has been widely used in studies of educational settings, as well as being used effectively in discussions of migration and identity (see e.g., Erel, 2010; Oliver, Geuijen and Dekker 2023; Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010; Ryan, Erel and D'Angelo, 2015). This is because Bourdieusian concepts help shed light on the complex interactions of structure and agency that are at play when individuals are negotiating their identities within educational and social settings. The next section of this chapter thus examines Bourdieu's tools and how they may be applied in the context of answering my third Research Question, helping to shed light on the experiences and identities of displaced academics.

2.4) Habitus, Capital, and Field

2.4.1) Bourdieu's Conceptual Toolbox

Bourdieu's (1990a) concepts of habitus, capital, and field have been used in much empirical research to understand how processes of social change and transformation can impact upon how people perceive and evaluate the social world. Studies in the field of migration and transnationalism have employed these concepts extensively, not least Carlson and Schneickert (2021), Cederberg (2012), and Ryan et al. (2015). In a similar vein, this thesis employs these concepts to answer Research Question 3 by analysing the reflections of this study's

participants who have experienced transnationalism through forced migration and are navigating the social field of UK higher education through sanctuary scholarships.

Grenfell (2012) defines Bourdieu's key concepts as follows:

- habitus: layers and dispositions formed in individuals through socialisation and their interaction with institutions and social systems (individuals' 'feel for the game');
- field: structured social spaces in which people take up relational and multidimensional positions (the 'rules of the game');
- capital: the social, cultural, and economic resources an individual possesses that they 'bring to the game'.

Bourdieu (1990a) argues that it is through the workings of habitus that practice can be linked with capital and field and can generate various repertoires of action amongst people. Through the interactions between capital, field and habitus, a logic of practice can be generated, however when the habitus encounters a field with which it is not familiar, any consequent instability in the field can produce both positive and negative changes to habitus. For Bourdieu (1990a), these instabilities in fields and their effects on individuals' habitus can produce nuanced insights into power relations and inequalities. For the purposes of this study, my participants' specific field settings arguably change through their displacement from their home countries and their repositioning in the field of higher education through their admission into sanctuary fellowships and UK higher education.

In this regard, capital may be viewed as the variety of resources, knowledge and skills that displaced academics bring to their fellowship. These may be the cultural capital they needed to successfully apply for a fellowship and placement in a UK higher education setting, and the educational capital they accrue as they undertake their fellowship placements funded through either CARA or SRF and hosted by a UK university. These resources may also be social capital, which, for Cederberg (2012) refers to social networks that some individuals have access to and others do not. She employs social capital to examine the experience of migrants in Sweden and the role of migrant networks in wider social contexts, and how they can bring value to some but exclude others. These resources and knowledges may also be transnational cultural

capital, such as L2 English language skills or intercultural competencies accrued through mobility prior to the fellowship, familiarity with the UK higher education sector, as well as academic capital accrued through prior degree programmes and content knowledge of their academic specialism. As the study's participants complete a PhD or post-doctoral fellowship, their work is thus converted into academic capital for use by both the university and the fellow.

While the participants in this study are most likely to have been studying in their home countries prior to undertaking the sanctuary fellowship, by moving to a higher education environment in a different country, they are shifting to a different position in the structured social space of higher education. On the other hand, through the process of displacement, their capitals can arguably be devalued through the loss of their professional roles, their networks, and their know-how of how their university systems operate. In terms of linguistic capital, they are also entering into an L2 social and professional environment and a UK higher education sector with qualifications from universities in which English is not the medium of instruction, perhaps devaluing these qualifications. Also, as mentioned earlier, they have a normative at-risk status, and thus being perhaps regarded as 'victims to be saved' rather than critical academics (Özdemir, 2020), the capital that their status implies may be lower than it otherwise would be had they not been forced into migration.

2.4.2) Transnationalism and Habitus

Bourdieu (1990b) regards habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions", as embodied collections of "schemes of perception, thought and action" (pp.53-54). These dispositions result from actors' previous experiences, such as their upbringing, education, and participation in different social fields. An individual's habitus is thus a collection of these dispositions, both structured in that it is shaped by previous experiences and positions in social fields and existing social structures, and structuring in that it generates actions and perceptions that are in keeping with the different fields an actor pertains to (Reay, 2004). Social habitus conveys how a person's experiences and background can impact upon their "way of being in the world" (Nedelcu, 2012: p.1345). In terms of academic habitus, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) refer to this as a feel for the game in the field of academia and higher

education, an almost unconscious knowledge of the implicit rules, allowing for ascendancy in the field.

Transnational habitus is a useful conceptual tool to support understanding of how displaced academics experience transnationalism and placement in UK higher education. As migrants build transnational lifestyles, a transnational habitus is consequently generated. For Costey (2005), reconciliation between habitus and social field thus "allows those with practical mastery of a given environment to anticipate correctly the developments of the social game" (p.14). Transnational habitus has been used by Reay (2004) to examine the experiences of people with high professional and academic mobility, for whom developing a transnational habitus makes it easier to navigate the social fields in which they operate. The participants in this study do in fact share some of these characteristics. They are educational elites in their home countries who have achieved at least a postgraduate level of education and have attained a relatively high level of L2 English (an IELTS score of at least 6.5 overall for successful CARA and SRF applicants). They have also been accepted on to a funded fellowship programme for study in higher education. They are thus developing a transnational habitus that comes from socialisation and activity that spans nation states. For Dahinden (2013), migration in itself does not lead to a transnational habitus, but its formation requires endowment of economic, social, and cultural capital that is well-developed amongst these participants prior to displacement, hence allowing for acceptance on to funded fellowship programmes.

However, through unsafe physical conditions (e.g., in Syria) and purges of academics critical of central government policy (e.g., Türkiye's AfP scholars), this study's participants have developed an 'at risk' status. Their professional positions or physical security have been placed under such threat that they have left their home countries, applying for a funded sanctuary fellowship, thus changing their position in the social field of higher education, operating largely in a second language, and moving out of what Bourdieu (1990b) refers to as their national 'container' (i.e. their home state). They become 'at-risk', attaining the status of forced migrants, of displaced academics dependent on funded sanctuary placements in UK universities organised by humanitarian NGOs.

For displaced academics this is a substantial shift in their normative status to other transnational academic migrants. The development of participants' transnational habitus as a result of displacement and forced migration is consequently different to transnational scholars who work and study in the UK following voluntary mobility, and for whom returning home is still a viable option to pursue a career trajectory in industry or higher education. In analysing participants' stories using these conceptual tools, I aim to principally develop a clear understanding of how displaced academics navigate the social fields of UK higher education. In doing so, I hope to better understand how displaced academics transfer and convert different forms of capital across borders, how transnationalism and forced migration can affect the relative value of their capital endowment and how participants evaluate their capital thanks to their transnational habitus.

2.4.3) Transnational Habitus as a Configuration of Dispositions

Displaced academics arguably go from being relatively elite members of their home societies to being in a more subordinated position, labelled with value-laden terms such as 'at-risk', 'refugees', or as 'victims to be saved' (Özdemir, 2019), with the consequent precarity of their employment and residence status following completion of their fellowship. As Ryan et al. (2015) argue, their transfer of capital and its revaluation, the emergence or development of a transnational habitus, are deeply affected by both political and economic factors, migrants' relational ties with others as well as their individual experiences in these new field settings.

Carlson and Schneickert (2021) argue that this effect of transnationalisation on habitus is not the emergence of a unified and categorical habitus, nor a 'fragmented' habitus with diverging or conflicting sets of dispositions. For them it is a more gradual, relational effect in which some dispositions become more or less transnationalised than others. They conceive of habitus as a configuration of dispositions, and as differing in the extent to which these are affected by transnationalism. This interpretation allows researchers using transnationalism to regard these dispositions as depending on actors' transnational practices, their social contexts in their changed position in the social field, as well as their capital endowment and residence status. So, for them, transnational activities can impact on an individual's habitus, but not as a homogenous whole. Rather they affect individual configurations of dispositions: strengthening and activating some, weakening and toning down others, depending on social context.

Bourdieu (1990b) argues that an individual's habitus is both structured by previous experiences and structures people's actions and perceptions. Given that this study's participants migrated under challenging, even life-threatening circumstances, it is of great interest to determine how the particular social contexts of displaced academics have impacted on the strengthening and weakening of their different dispositions that constitute their transnational habitus. Analysis of this study's data using these concepts will thus help me to empirically ground my assumptions about transnationalism in the context of displaced academics and the impact of the different field settings on the displacement of people who have experienced at first hand the precarity and insecurity so often associated with forced migration (Schierup and Jørgensen, 2017).

The final section of this Chapter briefly discusses the concept of academic mobility which will also be of relevance to answer my Research Questions.

2.5) Academic Mobility

Given its emphasis on internationalisation and narratives surrounding academic mobility, the UK higher education context is arguably an excellent space in which to examine the ways in which global flows through forced migration and international connections are realised, and how such migratory processes can impact on people's identity formation. While substantial research has examined the experience of international students in Western, specifically English as a medium of instruction (EMI) higher education, (e.g. Flowerdew and Li, 2007; Menzies and Baron, 2014; Shaheen, 2016), Kim and Locke (2012) argue that "international and transnational mobility of university academics (…) is under-researched" and "little is known about international academics' lived experiences" (p.32).

Internationalisation has become a dominant discourse not only in UK higher education, but throughout Europe and the US. It is connected to a variety of overall positive social phenomena such as global citizenship, intercultural competencies and soft power (Morley et al., 2018). It is also conceptually linked to the marketisation of higher education, in which economic priorities and income generation are placed at the heart of universities' student and staff recruitment and research priorities. Internationalisation is commonly regarded as a desirable form of capital accumulation for academic staff, with professional stays abroad being

regarded as central to capacity building, recognition, and academic identity formation. For the elite institutions such as the UK's Russell Group universities, internationalisation is connected to what Pherali (2012) refers to as an institutional 'magnetism', drawing in international staff to enhance their strengths in a competitive knowledge economy. Academic migrants from the Global North are actively recruited in a competitive research landscape, moving between institutions, and gathering academic and cultural capital. However, those migrating from the Global South, for Morley et al. (2018), tend to move for economic, human rights or political motivations, for whom such academic mobility may, for some, be due to involuntary displacement.

Two theoretical approaches have emerged in the literature on academic mobility, which should prove valuable in a discussion of the findings of this thesis. One is the new mobility paradigm, outlined by Sheller and Urry (2006), who underline the value of the interdependent movements of information and people that have been a central feature of globalisation. In this view, new knowledge is created from academic mobility, and this knowledge is then exchanged, validated, and disseminated, creating new knowledge networks worldwide. An alternative view of academic mobility is offered by Fricker (2007), whose theory of epistemic injustice recognises knowledge as being constructed in the Global North, thus displaced and migrant academics from the Global South are not viewed as agents of knowledge but as those who have been epistemically excluded. Morley et al. (2018: p.548) make a similar point when they argue that internationalisation of higher education is "associated with the market, rather than epistemic expansion", thus members of marginalised groups claiming epistemic authority can be disruptive of knowledge hierarchies.

For Fricker (2007), markers of credibility in academic migrants' knowledge production are based on migrants' first language (their L1), their skin colour, or framings of their country of origin. Epistemic injustice ensues when migrants are misrecognised or disqualified as knowledge producers or are viewed as 'mute victims' whose specific, individual contexts are lost in the homogenising discourses of humanitarianism. This links to the literature by displaced academics in Section 2.2 above (e.g. (Özatalay, 2020; Özdemir, 2020; Vatansever, 2020) which argues that host institutions create a 'victim-saviour narrative' in which displaced academics are incorporated into a discourse of victimhood, creating a sense of marginalisation

and unbelonging. The identities of CARA and SRF fellows from this perspective cannot be separated from what Said (2001) refers to as 'exilic identity', and generalised Western narratives of refugee identity (Hopkins, 2009; Pherali, 2020), and those who lack individual identity. In contrast to the new mobility paradigm, the concept of epistemic injustice therefore associates internationalisation of higher education with marketisation, the expansion of neo-liberalism and Western ownership of knowledge production, echoing Giroux's (2010) 'bare pedagogy', as opposed to epistemic expansion.

2.6) Concluding Remarks

My reading for these initial chapters has opened up this world of concepts elucidated above and has driven me towards this in-depth examination of the experiences of this arguably unique group of people in higher education. This Literature Review has helped me come to a more nuanced understanding of the kinds of personal and professional pressures that displaced academics can face due to forced migration. I have also learnt a lot about the insecurities and ambivalent identities that may follow from at least the partial disintegration of a sense of belonging from one's own country that forced migration can entail. The conceptual tools examined in this chapter should help me to better understand these insecurities and ambivalent identities that displaced doctoral and postdoctoral fellows can face both during and after their scholarships. More specifically, I aim to use these tools to understand more clearly how the 'exilic trajectory' can impact on the academic identities and experiences of those who have been displaced, who often exist similarly to EAP staff on the margins of academia, and who must contend with the very real possibility of never returning home. Before hearing the stories of the displaced academics who chose to take part in this study, I now discuss the methodological approach that this thesis employs.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Study Design

This chapter examines the key methodological considerations that guided the study design for this research. I begin by briefly outlining the research design, before discussing my research approach and the epistemological assumptions underlying it. I then outline the value of 'small stories' as a branch of narrative research (Bamberg, 2007, 2012; Freeman, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2007), before ending the Chapter with a discussion of the methods I employed, the thematic coding process and key ethical considerations.

3.1) Research Design

Forced population movements involve people who experience a significant range of situations (Malkki, 2022). Displaced academics who gain sanctuary scholarships to continue their research arguably embody a very different experience to other displaced migrants who, as Hartonen et al. (2021) argue, can be highly vulnerable to abuse and exploitative working conditions. But this relatively privileged status amongst displaced academics may not necessarily confer the security and stability that such privilege may imply.

The experience of this very particular group of migrants is worthy of the detailed examination that this EdD thesis can provide. As a Learning Developer in a UK university, my principal professional role is to develop amongst my students a better understanding of the discourse conventions and practices of their disciplines. But it is furthermore concerned with assisting students to articulate their critical voice in their higher education community. Having collaborated with two displaced academics in recent years, and given my professional experience, I am well positioned to explore the complex and often conflicting perspectives that may emerge from the unfolding stories of displaced academics in the neo-liberal realm. This study's participants, as Braun and Clarke (2013) argue, experience their realities differently, thus in order to capture such differences, I employ a qualitative research paradigm using semi-structured interviews for this thesis. Fundamentally, I aim to learn the meanings of their understandings and I want to check if these understandings are shared by others, reflecting Johnson and Rowland's (2012) description of the goals and purposes of in-depth qualitative research. Through the analysis of qualitative data, I can then examine the

contextual boundaries of this experience and uncover and bring into view potentially hidden meanings of the experiences of displaced academics in UK higher education.

Roulston's (2012) discussion of four different conceptions of qualitative interviews provides valuable insights the variety of methodological approaches on offer. The first she outlines is the Neo-Positivist conception which assumes that an authentic inner self can be accessed via the interview, and in which "contextual influences on the generation of data may be minimized" (p.205). The second is the Romantic view which also assumes an authentic inner self, but which emphasises the role of building a strong rapport through interviewing to develop detailed understandings about the research topic. Constructionist accounts dispel with the principle of interviews as a means to access an authentic inner self and emphasise that interview data are co-constructed between the interviewer and interviewee. Constructionist accounts also consider how conversational resources are used in interviews to characterise research topics, and how interview data may be used to understand a research topic and to construct narratives. The Postmodern conception regards interview data as being "situated performances" of selves that are co-constructed, representing only partial elements of "non-unified selves" (Roulston, 2012: p.211).

3.2) Epistemological Approach

In undertaking research for the most appropriate methodological approach to this study, I came to understand that my own contextual influences could not be divorced from the interview process, and thus a Neo-Positivist approach would not be the most appropriate for the study. Also, as I had no opportunity to develop a prior relationship with the study's participants, I felt that the rapport building so integral to the Romantic approach would be challenging to accomplish. Roulston's (2012) conceptualisation of the Constructionist and Post-Modern approaches seemed to have more pertinent insights for this study of displaced academics' experiences and identities. In the Post-Modern view, the study's participants can take up a variety of subject positions, such as those of a forced migrant, a PhD or postdoctoral fellow on a funded programme, an emerging academic in a precarious and competitive sector and as a second language learner. The at times conflicting as well as complementary nature of these positions is something that would need to be accounted for in the analysis of the interview data.

When considering the value that Roulston's (2012) constructionist conceptualisation of qualitative interviews can play in this study, I was reminded of the value that Zimmerman (2008) places on talk-in-interaction in accounting for people's identities, and Crotty's (1998: p.42) particularly influential argument that:

> …all knowledge, therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

From a constructionist standpoint, external reality, as Denicolo, Long and Bradley-Cole (2016) argue, is constructed through senses and filtered through prior experience, so each person's constructed reality continuously changes over time. The task of the researcher is thus to seek understanding of these constructed realities and how people make sense of their worlds. The social constructionist approach employed in this study recognises the social context in which qualitative data collection takes place, namely the hosting of participants as forced migrants in UK universities, and furthermore aims to find commonalities in the shared stories of the participants.

This study places migration and the experience of exile at its heart, and the experience of migration is difficult to remove from its fundamentally social context but must be examined fully within that context. As former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon (2013) noted in an address to the UN General Assembly, migration "is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family". Through the application of Roulston's (2010) social constructionist approach to qualitative interviewing, this study aims to develop meaningful insights into this social context and people's complex and at times conflicting identities, and the experiences they relate in this study. It thus aims to shed light on the tensions underlying the trajectory of displaced academics' interaction with the social world of their host university and the research community that they encounter.

Echoing Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), I regard myself as exploring the shared experiences of displaced academics as they navigate the social fields they encounter, encouraging them to share with me the stories of their lived world. This constructionist view regards knowledge as

“a matter of conversation and of social practice, rather than as an attempt to mirror nature” that focuses on the negotiation and interpretation of the social world (Rorty, 2008: p.171). Fundamentally, my task is to understand how the participants in this study make sense of their world. From a social constructionist perspective, each individual’s understanding of reality differs because people’s sense of reality is constructed, and I aim to gain insights into their sense of reality and why they feel the way they do by employing this methodological approach. This approach can then produce qualitative data that is more meaningful and insightful into the experiences of this arguably unique cohort of individuals. As Denicolo et al. (2016) argue, this subjective view recognises that reality is created experientially, and that it is the individual’s subjective experience that is the object of study and the key to developing meaningful findings. It also recognises that internal realities for the study’s participants have been constructed through the dynamic interaction of a variety of factors, such as exile, academic study, mobility, and L2 English.

3.3) Narrative and Storytelling in Qualitative Study

3.3.1) Human Experience Narratives

Studies employing narrative research have become increasingly prevalent in recent decades for studies that are concerned with notions of social justice and change (Hopkins, 2009), and with the aim of potentially raising awareness of under-examined groups and questioning practices that may be taken for granted. The value of narrative research for such fields of study can arguably be traced to the emphasis of this approach on ‘voice’, in the sense that narrative researchers are interested in enabling people’s stories to be voiced and in exploring the experiences of people in specific social contexts. As Lewis (2017) argues, narrative research emphasises inclusion, which can allow for authentic stories to emerge that may otherwise not be heard, creating a unifying thread for narrative studies that are concerned with social justice. Squire (2008) similarly argues that change, transformation of circumstances and people’s attempts to resolve issues associated with such change are fundamental to narrative studies, thus I would argue that this approach is particularly relevant for studies involving migrants who have experienced displacement. There exists a strong tradition of studies employing narrative as a research approach into forced displacement, with recent examples including Pavlish's (2007) study of the life experiences narrated by Congolese refugees in

Rwanda, and Kovinthan's (2016) use of narrative to explore the experiences of refugee students in the UK's school system. Pavlish (2007: p.33) argues that narrative research is a tool to "surface, challenge and overcome negative stereotypes", while Kovinthan (2016) points to its value in researching life experience to reveal rich contextual insights into people's lives.

Methodological literature such as Hopkins (2009) and Denzin (2013) and a dissertation by McCrackin (2021) have emphasised the value of narrative studies for research into the experiences of refugees and marginalised people. Hopkins argues that refugees are often referred to as a homogenous group, and are consequently 'othered' and demonised, and amidst such discourses individual stories are lost. The use of narratives to tell the stories of often-marginalised people thus serves the purpose of humanising subjects, ridding people of their anonymity, "politiciz[ing] the personal and personaliz[ing] the political (Denzin, 2013: p.454). Denzin goes on to argue that narrative studies can have an essentially subversive quality in which "critical personal narratives are counter-narratives that disrupt and disturb [dominant] discourse by exposing the complexities and contradictions that exist under official history" (ibid., p.455). The act of narrating the life events of people who are often marginalised or silenced in other contexts can therefore allow us to "take the other's perspective [which] is a necessary step in constructive social change" (Frank, 2000 in Chase, 2005: p.94). For Chase (2005), narrative storytelling thus creates a public space in which marginalised people's individual and collective stories can be heard by those who occupy more powerful social locations, such as powerbrokers and gatekeepers. In the remainder of this sub-section, following an examination of the relationship between storytelling and experience, I outline the connections between narrative studies and questions of identity before discussing the value of 'small stories' as a unit of analysis in narrative studies.

3.3.2) Storytelling and Experience

The storytelling that facilitates the sharing of my participants' experiences cannot simply be regarded as faithfully mirroring their unmediated past, present and future, or an authentic inner self, and thus qualitative data collection tools such as interviews and focus groups are more than mere instruments for gathering qualitative data. The stories that my participants share in this study of their identity are examples of co-constructed knowledge and situated

discourses which, rather than mirroring experience, instead as Riessman (2012) suggests, refract it through the storytelling process. In light of the arguments of Chase (2005) and Riessman (2012) about the importance of the social context and shared discourses in and through which storytelling takes place, the adoption of a constructionist approach to this study allows me to interpret the data collection process more as a social practice than as a research instrument (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). Our shared discourse is a social action, generating stories that are complex, subjective, and tangled accounts of my participants' experiences, and are shared with me through situated interaction, in which my own 'situatedness' must also be considered as a co-constructor of knowledge. Ultimately, my analysis of the interview data aims to explore these complex webs of identity, language, and migration, and synthesise themes across the accounts of the research participants.

Polkinghorne (2007) and Chase (2005) also highlight the disjunction between the meaning made from experience and the reporting of that experience itself. Chase (2005) points out that the storytelling emergent from qualitative studies is not reflective of the authentic or unmediated self. Such disjunctions may be caused by language capacity, self-awareness, degree of openness and performativity, perhaps in this case by a desire to communicate only the positive or negative elements of placement. This performativity may stem from feelings of gratitude at being offered a funded fellowship, from a desire to share an explicitly negative experience, or from a regard for this study as being outsourced research that is funded and directed by CARA or SRF with the aim of generating feedback on the programme. I thus found it crucial to emphasise at the outset of all initial interactions with participants that I am an independent researcher who is not being funded or supported in this research by CARA or SRF, nor have these organisations set the 'direction of travel' in terms of setting the study's research questions and research goals. These organisations were simply used to initiate contact with potential participants, and an executive summary will be shared with CARA and SRF on completion of the study.

3.3.3) Narratives and Identities

As an examination of participants' identities as displaced academics, it is important for this thesis to consider the role that narrative can play in studies of identity. From a sociological standpoint, identity cannot be theorised from essential or fixed categories, as they leave no

space to accommodate changing power relations and temporal changes to people's lives. As an alternative, Somers (1994) argues for the value of narrativity in identity studies, stating that "it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities" (p.606). A narrative view of identity allows social researchers "to infuse the study of identity formation with a relational and historical approach to the embeddedness of identity in overlapping networks that shift over time and space" (ibid.: p.607). For me, Somers' (1994) narrative view speaks directly to Glick Schiller's (2018) call for studies of migration that knit together time and space. Somers espouses 'ontological narrativity' as a means to understanding identity. Rather than viewing narrativity as representational, in the sense that narratives represent knowledge forms imposed by theorists on social life, an ontological view of narrative regards the social life as storied, and narrative as the ontological condition of social life. People construct their identities by locating themselves in repertories of emplotted stories. Through linking identity formation to narrativity, we can thus improve our understanding of identity by "connecting parts of narratives to a social network of relationships" (p.616).

Ontological narratives represent the stories that actors use to make sense of their lives, with narrative location endowing actors with identities so that their lives are more than a series of isolated events, helping people to explain the relationship of events with others. In this sense, ontological narrativity turns life events into a series of 'episodes', with people acting according to how they understand their place in these episodes. This view therefore embeds identities in time and space relationships, and they exist interpersonally in the course of social and structural interactions over time.

McAdams (2018) also underlines the role of narratives in understanding identity when he posits that "storytelling methods fit well with autobiographical memory" (p.360). For him, identity is an internalised, evolving life story and through participants' narration of their life stories, autobiographical memory is operationalised. Similarly to Giddens (1991), Roulston (2010) and Du Gay and Hall (2011), De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015), in identifying with the social constructionist stance on identity studies, argue that identities are pluralistic in nature and that contradictory identities may co-exist in the individual, thus espousing an anti-essentialist stance. I would argue that this view of identity speaks directly to studies of transnationalism, displacement and exile, in which research subjects can experience what

Vertovec (2004) refers to as the double consciousness of 'here' and 'there', and what Said (2001) called the 'plurality of vision' of the exile (see Section 2.3.2 above).

The growing link between narratives and identity is due to what Bruner (1991) defined as the 'narrative turn' in social research. The role of narratives in constructing people's identities is described by several authors such as Singer (2004) who notes that in narrating their autobiographical memory, people can internalise and construct evolving stories of themselves. For McAdams and McLean (2013), narrative identity is "a person's internalised and evolving life story" (p.233) integrating a reconstructed past with an imagined future. For them, people lead 'storied lives' in the sense that they can bring together their memories with the goals they envision to create storied accounts of their lives. Furthermore, they argue that through meaning-making, people can thus move beyond the specific details of their personal stories to articulate what these stories say about who they are. McAdams (2018) goes on to interlink identity and narrative more closely in his conceptualisation of identity as a collection of stories which "bring narrative order and logic to the chaos of experienced life" (p.361). He thus conceives of identity either as one large story that is comprised of numerous different chapters, or small sets of stories in different domains. This conceptualisation resonated strongly with me as I prepared for the data collection stage with my participants, who I thought might share highly personal, even traumatic stories, and which constitute very particular and identifiable chapters, or episodes, in their lives.

In connecting narratives and identities, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015) outline two different paradigms. Firstly, the biographical approach (see McAdams 1988; McIntyre, 1984) regards the goal of identity building as the production of a coherent self through the construction of a 'life story', and such autobiographical stories are a central component of self-development, as well as a coping mechanism in the face of difficult life events. Second, an interactional approach (De Fina, 2015) focuses on identity construction itself rather than coherent self-presentation. In this view, the strategies that people use to reaffirm and construct their identities are key, and through social interaction, people can create and circulate ideas and images of themselves. An interactional view of identity also focuses on the broad social categories of belonging, such as professional, family and friendship groupings. This approach is widely employed particularly in ethnographic studies that focus on how

people interact with each other and manage their discursive strategies. With reference to this study, it is important to consider the value of both paradigms: not only the long autobiographical accounts of the study's participants, but also the situated practices and local contexts of displaced academics in their institutional settings, as well as transnationally in relation to the transnational networks maintained following their displacement. This consideration is outlined in further detail in the discussion of 'big' and 'small' stories in narrative research.

3.3.4) Big and Small Stories in Narrative Research

The emphasis on the role of storytelling as central to human understanding and experience provides a substantive basis for numerous approaches to qualitative research, such as narrative and ethnographic studies (Lewis and Hildebrandt, 2019). Narrative Inquiry can thus serve as an umbrella term for qualitative approaches that place experience, knowledge construction and meaning making at their heart. One particular branch of narrative research that has emerged from the paradigms outlined by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015) above is a differentiation between 'big' and 'small' stories in narrative research.

Small stories have emerged as a relatively recent tenet of the wider family of narrative research that aim to counter more traditional narrative practices which emphasise long and uninterrupted accounts of tellers (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2020). For Georgakopoulou (2007) and Bamberg (2007), these long, narrative accounts may be regarded as 'big story' or biographical approaches, such as memoirs and autobiographies. They argue against the idea that narrative identity research should use the solitary reflections of an individual as a point of entry into identity studies. Instead, stories are a function of the context in which they are told, thus the telling of life stories is dependent on the specific times, places, and relational spaces from which they emerge. Georgakopoulou (2007) and Bamberg (2007) thus call for a shift towards the use of 'small stories' in studies of identity, emergent from interaction, which recognise the situated and contextual nature of narrating activities that are embedded in sociocultural practices, and thus are context-specific and situation-bound. This alternative approach to 'big story' narrative research takes talk-in-interaction, how stories are related in

dialogue, “as the locus where identities are continuously practiced and tested out” (Bamberg, 2014: p. 133).

For Georgakopoulou (2007), small story research aims not for fully-fledged, autobiographical accounts of people’s experiences that big stories can embody, in this case of displacement and placement, but fleeting moments of their narrative orientation to the world. She identifies associations between small stories, the social worlds in stories that are shared, and the situated identities of tellers. Examining the small stories shared by people who have been forcibly displaced and are experiencing exile from their homeland is arguably valuable for two reasons. Firstly, the stories and experiences shared by this study’s participants are dependent on their individual circumstances, their situated practices, and the local contexts of their host universities. This reflects Lam et al.’s (2012) call for studies that investigate the individual experiences of transnational migrants that have an interest in local processes and practices (Section 2.2.3 above). Secondly, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2020) argue that examining small stories allows the qualitative researcher to foreground ‘counterstories’ that are often silenced or undervalued, through which “tellers present emergent and hybrid identities for themselves” (p.97). They also argue that research examining identities among mobile populations has looked at how storytellers tie different places with a variety of identities and how identity constructions are entangled within transnational ties. In the view of Georgakopoulou (2007), narratives are thus not looking for a coherent autobiography of the teller, but a short-range narrative that provides an account of a landmark event or experience that may be considered pivotal in the interviewee’s sense of self. Small stories are thus a key entry point into qualitative studies that aim to enquire into questions surrounding tellers’ identities.

For the purposes of this thesis, I am seeking co-constructed, negotiated, and situated accounts of the experiences of displaced academics in host universities and how these experiences have impacted upon their sense of identity. For many of the participants in this study, their placements in host universities and their displacement from their home countries are ongoing situations, making small story accounts valuable units of analysis for this thesis. However, I would concur with Freeman (2011) that both big and small stories can complement each other in narrative studies of identity. He argues for a synthesis between the two approaches and

that while big story research can analyse “stories as representations of world and identities within them” (p. 16), small stories can be used in their interactive engagements to help in the co-construction of a sense of who the teller is. For Freeman (2011), small stories that are set apart from big stories cannot tell an entire story of self and identity because it is through the telling of big stories that a more extended timeframe and the wider identitied world can emerge. As a consequence, I aim to present both the big and small stories of the participants in this thesis. In order to provide the reader with a broader biographical account of the circumstances of each participant, Chapter Four thus presents participants’ big stories as broad summaries of their interviews, encompassing participants’ autobiographical accounts of their experiences as forced migrants, as displaced academics and as people on funded scholarships in UK higher education organised through CARA and SRF. In order to answer the three Research Questions, Chapter Five then examines participants’ small stories, the ‘telling moments’ through which a sense of self can be conveyed (Bamberg, 2007).

Before presenting the big stories of the study’s participants, this Chapter moves on to a discussion of the data collection procedures, the coding process, and ethical considerations.

3.4) Data Collection Methods

3.4.1) Semi-Structured Interviews

In considering the best approach to data collection for this study, I decided that semi-structured interviews are the most appropriate means to allow the participants’ stories to unfold. In my methodological reading, Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015) view of the purpose of the research interview resonated when they argue that “in research interviews, we talk to people because we want to know how they describe their experience or articulate their reasons for action” (p.3). Braun and Clarke (2013) also emphasise the value of interviews when examining research questions that are related to participants’ experiences. These Research Questions call for an in-depth investigation into participants’ perspectives as they reflect on their experiences, thus in generating qualitative data I aim for an in-depth understanding of their experiences of both displacement and placement, and to check if these understandings are shared with other participants. This generation of an in-depth

understanding and 'deep' knowledge echoes the value that Johnson and Rowlands (2012) place on the role of in-depth interviews in social research studies that aim for such understandings.

I considered other types of research approaches, such as focus groups. While Braun and Clarke (2013) argue that focus groups can be a useful method especially for studies that are exploratory in nature and involve marginalised communities, I decided against their use as these would have undermined the commitments to confidentiality I had made to the study's participants prior to the data collection stage. As a result, they may have been less willing to share their very personal experiences around others or may have withdrawn from the study completely. From a constructionist perspective, I also regard semi-structured interviews as a site of situated interaction between the interviewer and interviewee, and as such, interview data reflect reality as constructed by the interviewer and the participant. I also aim for participants to share their stories as personal narratives, and participants might have altered the content of what they shared if other displaced academics had been listening. Moreover, issues surrounding forced displacement are particularly emotive and, for Braun and Clarke (2013), discussions that draw on such issues may not be suitable for a focus group environment.

In considering my approach to interviewing, I employed semi-structured interviews as the most appropriate approach to planning for data collection. I am aiming to bring into view potentially hidden contexts and experiences, thus an overly-structured approach would not permit further exploration of potentially hidden perspectives (King and Horrocks, 2010). Such an approach would also not allow myself as an interviewer to explore emergent themes as the interview progressed, potentially missing out on highly valuable information. As participants are L2 English users and may not have been previously interviewed for such a study, I also aimed to avoid a completely unstructured approach to interviewing. Lastly, it is worth noting that several interviewees reflected on the value of the interviews themselves as an opportunity to reflect on their experiences of placement. At the end of one interview for example, the participant noted that "I was really happy just to talk to you, to reflect on my journey in the UK". One other mentioned that "this has been a really meaningful experience, sharing this story with you like this. Thankyou for listening to me". These initial extracts from

the interview data reflect the interpersonal nature of in-depth interviewing (Johnson and Rowlands, 2012) and demonstrate the value of employing semi-structured interviews as an effective approach to facilitating the sharing of participants' experiences and reflections.

3.4.2) Validity and Accountability in Interviewing

In planning the interviews, I have taken a number of steps to consider the validity and accountability of the data generated from these interviews. As a first step, in line with Miles and Huberman's (2002) view on validity in qualitative research, I must analyse my own values and positionality to the research encounter that can potentially impact my interpretations. Using notes that I kept adding to throughout the research process, I was able to reflect on the interviews and be aware of my potential sources of bias and how they may be impacting on the experience. These sources of bias include a subjectivity in relation to issues surrounding marginalisation in higher education, an overall negative view of the impact of neo-liberal reforms on higher education, and an identification with the critical views taken of the Turkish government's purge of academics following 2016's attempted coup. In my notes (see Appendix F), I also discuss a variety of issues including the impact of the pilot interviews, the challenges I encountered in asking participants about their identities, and the need to avoid leading questions in interviews.

In conducting these interviews, however, I have not aimed to strive for objectivity as, in line with Roulston's (2010) view of constructionist approaches to interviewing that data are co-constructed, I embrace subjectivity as something to be celebrated rather than avoided. If I can ground my concepts in the data analysis in detailed and close attention to the interview data, then the validity of my analysis can be high. In line with King and Horrocks' (2010) views on assessing quality in qualitative research, I suggest that my research is trustworthy in a number of ways. After completing transcriptions of the interviews, I wrote summaries of the participants' stories and sent these summaries to participants for checking. The participants then reviewed these summaries and made any corrections that they felt were necessary, thus recognising King and Horrocks' (2010) recommendations on the importance of respondent feedback as a source of quality assessment.

I have chosen to interview neither staff at placement organisations such as CARA, nor staff at host universities responsible for the placement of displaced academics, as I wanted to maintain the focus of this thesis on the experiences of displaced academics themselves. However, this focus means that I have not been able to achieve further validity through data triangulation that comes through the gathering of data from a variety of stakeholders in qualitative research. I would argue, however, that I can achieve investigator triangulation as I am able to compare the data collected for this study with that of other studies undertaken by displaced academics themselves (see e.g., Aydin, 2018; Özdemir, 2020; Vatansever, 2020). The data analysis thus allows for variation in relationship to the topic, particularly insider versus outsider perspectives as, from my literature searches I am one of the very few researchers to approach this area as an 'outsider'. Lastly, I am also able to undertake quality assessment by undertaking 'thick' description of displaced academics' experiences (Geertz, 1973). This refers to detailed, in-depth description of a phenomenon, and should allow the reader to clearly see how I reach my responses to the Research Questions using the interview data. The following section that outlines the method, along with the notes I wrote following some of the interviews (Appendix F), should allow for what King and Horrocks (2010) refer to as an 'audit' trail that documents my thinking throughout the research process, thus reflecting Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015: p.284) argument that validity is not "inspection at the end of the production line, but quality control throughout the stages of knowledge production".

3.5) Data Collection Procedure

3.5.1) Preparation

I first contacted programme officers working with both CARA and SRF in August 2020. After discussion virtually and via email, over the course of September and October 2020 these officers sent out a short outline of my EdD thesis proposal and a request for interview participants to their fellows on funded scholarships at the time. They then forwarded all the positive responses, and I contacted the participants directly. In total, nineteen fellows responded positively to the initial enquiry: eighteen from CARA and one from SRF.

Data collection started with a short (online) questionnaire for each participant to gain some personal information, which for Grenfell (2012) can help the researcher evaluate the specific cultural and economic capital of participants and enable them to position participants relative to the context in which they are operating. A sample of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix D and data included: country of origin, gender, educational stage and discipline and stage of placement.

Following successful completion of my EdD upgrade in December 2020 and subsequent ethical approval in March 2021, I then developed emergent research questions from my review of the current literature and initial drafts of the questions I wanted to ask for these semi-structured interviews. The full timeline for thesis can be found in Appendix A, while the final list of interview questions can be found in Appendix E. In May 2021 I contacted my two former colleagues at LSE with whom I had first discussed the proposed research in winter 2019. They were no longer working at LSE and, as their funded programmes had concluded, and due to the closeness of our relationship, I felt that they would be the ideal participants with whom I could conduct pilot interviews to test the questions and receive feedback on their wording. Due to their input, I made alterations to both the interview and research questions, with the aim of shifting focus in the interviews away from the participants as CARA or SRF scholars, and more towards regarding them as displaced academics. This was of particular value to me as I came to understand the importance in interviews of emphasising my independence as a researcher to the study's participants, which I communicated to them in the information sheets I sent prior to the interviews (see Appendix B). CARA's Programme Officer had mentioned in one meeting that when CARA conducts feedback with participants, there may be what she described as 'performativity' in their feedback, with hosted scholars not wanting to criticise an organisation that had provided them with a funded sanctuary placement in the UK, echoing Chase's (2005) view that the storytelling emergent from interviews may not reflect an authentic 'self' (see 3.3.2 above). They were therefore eager to hear the findings of independent research into the experiences of displaced academics, and the ways in which their support programme could be improved upon.

Following completion of pilot interviews, I began formal data collection in late November 2021. Of the nineteen participants who had initially responded, thirteen remained still

interested in participating in the research: twelve from CARA and one from SRF. The thirteen interviews themselves were conducted via Zoom over a nine-week period between October 2021 and early April 2022. Although Braun and Clarke (2013) do view online interviews as often being a "poor substitute" (p.79), they go on to note some of its advantages in relation to participants having greater control and empowerment over the interviews and they are "potentially ideal for sensitive topics" (p.98). Furthermore, due to UK government restrictions in place during the COVID-19 pandemic, I concluded it would be safer to undertake online interviews only. The interviews were recorded and stored securely on a single iMac computer in my home. During the pilot interviews I had used Zoom's closed caption software to transcribe the audio into text format. But the transcriptions themselves contained numerous errors, so after researching other applications I decided to use Otter.ai[24] software for first level transcription purposes. After testing on the audio recordings for the pilot interviews, this software was then used to initially transcribe the audio files for all subsequent interviews.

Interviews were arranged and scheduled via email, undertaken using Zoom. Over several days following each interview, I listened to each audio file again and checked the precise wording of each of the participants' responses against the transcription, fixing any errors where necessary. I then copied the transcriptions into separate encrypted Word documents. This was completed by the start of summer 2022, after which analysis commenced.

3.5.2) Before the Interviews

There was a limited amount of sampling that took place as part of the preparation for this study. After communicating with CARA and SRF, they agreed to send the information sheet to their displaced academics currently on sanctuary scholarships in UK universities which included my contact details. The group were self-selecting in the sense that they all had at least an overall IELTS score of at least 6.5, meaning they arguably had a sufficient level of L2 English to participate in a narrative study. All of the participants were either currently enrolled on their fellowships or had completed them within the last year. I made no requirement that participants had to be currently in the UK as, due to the online nature of the interviews, the

[24] https://otter.ai

geographical location of participants during the interviews was largely irrelevant provided that there was no major time difference between myself and the interviewee.

As this is a piece of narrative research, I recognised in my selection of this methodology that a large number of participants was not necessary as I was seeking the individual stories of participants as opposed to looking to make generalisations across the wider population. In the information sheets (see Appendix B), I made sure I communicated with clarity the purpose of the study, as well as reassured participants of confidentiality. I also made the decision not to send the questions to the participants beforehand because I wanted participants' responses to not be too well-rehearsed in advance of the interview.

3.5.3) During the Interviews

Having arranged a suitable day and time, the interviews then took place online. I made sure that the background to my video was not filtered or blurred so that participants could be reassured that I was alone. At the start of the interviews, I also reminded the interviewees that I am an EdD student conducting an independent study and that the research was being neither funded nor directed by any organisations such as CARA, SRF or the Home Office. I felt that this was important in order to generate personal, flexible, and relational narrative research (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006).

I aimed to minimise my interventions to maximise the opportunities for participants to tell their stories in their own words. In conducting the interviews, I recognised the time distance between the events they discussed and the interview, as most of the participants were accepted onto CARA or SRF's programmes in either 2017 or 2018. In my reflective notes after the interviews (Appendix F), I wrote about the different levels of 'chattiness' in the interviews and why this might be. I reflected that this may have been due to language barriers, as well as cultural dynamics, personality, gender, and the perception of a lack of shared experience between the interviewees and myself. I also reflected on the power dynamics in the interview exchange, as well as participants' previous experiences of interviews, such as with UK immigration on their arrival in the UK. This reflection caused me to make some changes to the interview guide, in which I attempted to lead participants into a conversation about their

identity more carefully, rather than suddenly hitting them with a highly personal, and what they may have regarded to be an intrusive question.

3.5.4) After the Interviews

The key issue following the end of the interviews was how to make the data 'manageable' for analysis. Full re-listening of the interviews helped me to 'hear' the stories and I also tried to keep the wider contexts of the stories in mind, considering Somers' (1994) view of the importance of contexts in narrativizing identities. However, the amount of data was still significant and as considered in the chapters that follow, I recognise that I have an accountability to my participants to tell their stories accurately and to treat their highly personal, and at times traumatic, stories with great caution and care throughout the research process.

Reflecting on Somers' (1994) and Lewis' (2011) arguments on the importance of evaluative criteria, I had to decide on what to keep and what to leave out of the summaries. In doing so I developed evaluative criteria that were led by what would be most informative to answering the Research Questions. I read each transcript carefully and developed summaries of each interview. I then sent these summaries to the participants alongside their chosen pseudonym and a reminder of my Research Questions. They then responded with any corrections they felt would be relevant. Examples of details they changed were locations of study in Syria, a closer emphasis on Syria's civil conflict as the main reason behind migration as opposed to lack of resources, and the details of the Turkish participants' civic persecution and dismissal. The interview summaries, the participants' 'big stories', in Chapter Four have thus been checked and verified by the study's participants, which I feel creates an extra layer of accountability to ensure fully informed consent in the research process. I decided to remove any conversation fillers from the interviews so that any quotations I used in subsequent analysis would be cleaner. I felt that this would make the reading process easier and would thus allow me to consider both the participant-writer relationship as well as the reader-writer relationship. In writing the summaries I have also removed any signifiers of participants' identities, namely their host university, location, and their real names. I decided not to remove their academic disciplines, their nationalities, their genders nor their ages, as I felt that this biographical

information was useful in categorising the participants' stories. The full lists of participants can be found in Figures 4 and 5 in the subsequent chapter.

3.6) Theory-Driven Coding and the Coding Process

Once the interview data was fully transcribed, prepared and double checked, I was ready to begin the coding process. Overall, I employ a deductive approach to the analysis of the qualitative data generated through these interviews for two reasons. Firstly, I aim to extend and develop existing theoretical work that has been undertaken by Özatalay (2020), by extending the model and by applying it to a broader cohort than the Turkish academics he examined. He outlined three Zones to analyse the experiences of the displaced Turkish academics in his study, and I make this model into a more effective account of displaced academics' experiences by adding a fourth dimension that is fully elucidated in Chapter Five. Boyatzis (1998) regards this deepening of existing theoretical work as a key rationale for undertaking a deductive approach. Secondly, the scholarly literature is arguably still poorly developed in this field, particularly in relation to displaced Syrian academics, thus I would argue that a more effective contribution to knowledge is to supplement the already existing literature and theory.

I followed the formal procedures of thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013). I firstly familiarised myself with the data by editing the transcripts, cleaning any grammatical errors, and removing any conversational fillers. I then generated an initial set of codes from my first review of each transcript, before organising the codes to identify recurring themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). In order to do so, I used NVivo software to make the process easier to manage and more efficient. This was a highly iterative process and involved moving back and forth between the codes and interview data to create commonalities. I then reviewed and refined the themes, made the wording clearer when I could, and looked for identifiable differences between the themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013). I frequently re-read the interview data to ensure my coding and themes were faithful reflections of the interview data.

When planning the coding process, I did consider employing a second coder to analyse the interview data. I recognise that employing another coder would have helped to bring a different perspective on the data and therefore expand the range of concepts that might be

developed, and what the relationships between the different properties in the data might be. If there are instances in which coders do not agree, this can help to identify codes and themes that may not be sufficiently clear or may be poorly defined. This can then lead to greater conceptual clarity and consistency in the thematic coding process. However, after consideration, I decided not to employ a second coder for three reasons. Firstly, I would argue that I could achieve reliability and trustworthiness in the coding by employing reflexivity and using regular reflective notes, rather than having to rely on a second party. I also felt that given that there were transcriptions of thirteen interviews, it would be resource-intensive for another party to code the interview data. Lastly, as Morse (1997) argues, coding requires a strong understanding of context and sensitivity to the data. As I had undertaken the relevant reading of literature by displaced academics, I felt that this context was key to the coding process and would not have been shared by a second coder.

An example of the coding process is the development of codes based around the theme of 'Fellowship'. This theme encompassed the participants' stories surrounding their sanctuary fellowship in their host university. When coding for this theme, I first looked in the data using 'fellowship' or 'scholarship' as a search term, as well as the initial question prompt inviting participants to start sharing this part of their stories. Some of the wording for these codes emerged with relative clarity, such as 'supervisor relationship' and 'privilege'. Others were more challenging and involved numerous iterations, particularly 'learning and developing', due to the breadth of the term. The length of interview text that was coded also varied significantly in this theme. Comments coded as 'funding' were quite specific and involved much shorter sequences of interview data, while others such as those on 'supervisor relationship' were often much longer due to the detail which some participants went into when reflecting on this aspect of their fellowship. This detail is reflected in the fact that seven out of the thirteen participants discussed supervisor relationships, but this accounted for approximately one quarter of the coding instances under the Fellowship theme (31 out of a total of 123). The full thematic coding chart for the study can be found in Appendix H.

In order to examine the 'small stories' of the interview participants for the Second and Third Research Questions, I employed a deductive approach using narrative analysis, as I aim to use existing theory to develop insights into participants' shared identity construction as displaced

academics, and their stories of how they navigate the social field of UK higher education. In employing this approach, I aim to develop rich interpretations of the interview texts (Squire, 2008) and to paint a picture of the principal factors behind displaced academics' experiences of placements and develop a sense of how they are perceived in host institutions and placement organisations. To answer RQ2, this deductive approach primarily employs the theoretical tools on the literature on transnationalism (discussed in 2.3 above) and for RQ3, this approach primarily employs Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field (discussed in 2.4 above).

3.7) Ethical Considerations

3.7.1) Procedural Ethics

The participants in this study were identified directly through CARA and SRF and even though they are all over 18 years of age, their status as displaced migrants arguably makes them vulnerable individuals, thus I prioritised the protection of their identities in taking part in this research.

Initial contact with potential participants was made through the placement programme officers at CARA and SRF with whom they have frequent contact. Those who expressed an interest in participating in the research were sent a participant information sheet (see Appendix B). Those who decided to participate were then asked to complete an informed consent form (Appendix C) which included their contact details. These documents were all password protected. At this stage I outlined the steps I would take to protect their identities through email channels as potential participants could consider whether they were willing to participate. Questionnaires (Appendix D) were used to develop a biographical picture of all potential participants before sampling based on questionnaire responses related to such areas as stage of study and placement, gender, and research field. These questionnaires were also password protected.

Following sampling, participants selected for interview were contacted and their names were pseudonymised and any information that may reveal their identities in the interview process were redacted in transcription and not mentioned in the findings and discussion sections of

the thesis. The questions in the interview were developed with sensitivity given the potential for the triggering of some negative emotions relating to the migration process and some participants' experiences in their countries of origin. The running of pilot interviews with two research 'allies' at LSE who had both had experience of placement with CARA and SRF was particularly valuable in helping me refine the interview questions and consider how I would phrase them. I tested these questions and discussed the wording of the questions with them to help develop questions that were worded with sensitivity and care for the feelings of participants. I recognised that every effort throughout the process must be made to protect the feelings and identities of the potential participants in this study.

Consent about recording of the interview was requested at the start of the interview. Following transcription of interview data, further informed consent was sought from participants to allow them the opportunity to review their responses and make changes to the transcribed texts to ensure no information that may reveal their identities remained in the transcripts. Only once participants had acknowledged their consent to using their interview data did I begin to use the transcriptions as part of the coding process and subsequent analysis. The informed consent made it clear that participants could withdraw from the study at any time. In the writing stage of the thesis, pseudonyms have been used throughout and the location of study and country of origin of participants are not revealed.

3.7.2) Power Relations and Iterative Consent

Ethical consideration must also be given towards issues relating to power relations in the interviewing process. In the context of refugee studies, Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway (2007) argue that it is incumbent upon the researcher to understand hierarchies and systems of domination that can exist in refugee settings. While the participants in this study may not be in positions of precarity comparable to forced migrants participants in other studies (see eg., Pavlish, 2007), they are people who have been subject to forced migration due to extreme circumstances such as civil conflict or political repression. As part of the preparation for this study, I have thus aimed to ensure that all data is anonymised and encrypted throughout to protect the safety of participants. I also attempted to avoid asking overly leading questions about the placement itself and recognised my own situatedness as a researcher who has not had to experience forced migration as my participants have.

Through employing a process of iterative consent as recommended by Mackenzie et al. (2007), I aim to ensure that reciprocal trust with participants is built up throughout the research process. Using consent forms, information sheets and the start of the interviews themselves, I have made it clear that consent, assurances of confidentiality, rights of withdrawal and clarity on the reciprocal benefits of participation are subject to negotiation with individual participants. This has helped me to ensure that participants can play an active role in determining the research agenda, helping me be more responsive to concepts that arose in interviews. If narrative research is to aim at remedying issues of social justice and of using stories to raise the voices of often marginalised people (Hopkins, 2009), then it is the responsibility of the researcher to involve participants autonomously in an iterative, negotiated research process. As underlined by Barkhuizen and Consoli (2021), I use narrative research to show that I value the human stories that lie behind my data. In sharing their stories, I give great credit to the participants for having had the courage to share their deeply personal stories, to which this thesis now turns.

Chapter Four: Interview Summaries

This chapter outlines the biographical particulars of this study's participants as well as summaries of each of their interviews comprising key insights and reflections on their experience of exile and placement. These summaries encompass an extended timeframe in their lives, of displacement from their home countries to placement in host institutions and their lives beyond, thus represent an example of what Freeman (2011) regards as 'big stories'. In writing these summaries, I have kept in mind the contributions most relevant to the Research Questions.

Due to the numbers of participants interviewed for this study (n=13), the goal of the below summaries is to provide the reader with a broad oversight of the participants' stories prior to more detailed analysis in the Discussion chapter (Chapter 5). Figures 4 and 5 (below) summarise the participants' biographical details, each of which is followed by my summaries of each of the participants' stories. All of these stories have been checked and approved by the participants themselves.

4.1) PhD Fellows

All of the names used here have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

Participant	Country of Origin	Age	M/F	Placement Organisation	Field of Study
Aisha	Syria	34	F	CARA	Pharmacy & Pharmacology
Dalal	Syria	35	F	CARA	Pharmacy
Danielle	Syria	36	F	CARA	Education
Dina	Syria	32	F	CARA	Microbiology & biochemistry
Kazem	Syria	39	M	CARA	Dentistry
Fouad	Syria	34	M	CARA	Engineering (manufacturing / automation)
Nasim	Syria	28	F	CARA	Pharmaceutical Sciences
Rabia	Syria	33	F	CARA	Microbiology
Wasim	Syria	36	M	CARA	Biology

Figure 4: Biographical particulars of the study's PhD participants

4.1.1) Aisha's Story

Aisha is in the third year of her PhD programme studying Pharmaceutical Sciences in a well-known university in the west of England. After completing her Master's degree in Syria, she wanted to go on to do her PhD but there were not enough lab resources due to the conflict, so she decided to look for paid scholarships in the UK. She applied for a CARA placement, and, after a two-year application process, she started her PhD in 2018.

During her interview, Aisha states that she wanted to go to a university in London "so badly", but this university was the first to accept her and she rushed to accept the place after such a long application and due to the continuing "unsafe and unstable" situation in Syria. Her supervisor, she claims, was not ready for a new PhD student and was the only staff member in the university who shared her specialism. She felt that she had been "imposed on him" as a PhD student due to being a CARA fellow. This supervisor then resigned from the university a year into her studies. When he left, she says she lost control of her project, and the university advised her to change either her research focus or host university. She decided to remain at the university and retained her research focus, a decision she now admits to regretting, saying that "I should have changed the project". She felt isolated in her first year, made little progress and received little support, evidencing little of the development of 'competent autonomy' that Gurr (2001) emphasises. This situation was then compounded by lockdowns during the COVID-19 pandemic. Since then, she has enlarged her network, built her social capital, recalling Cederberg (2012) on the value of building social capital, and her confidence has grown. Her new primary supervisor has tried to help her, and she was pushing towards submission at the time of writing, but with a much more limited dataset than she had initially envisaged.

She is keen to move into industry rather than academia because her academic life in Syria and in the UK has been characterised by frustration and frequent setbacks. She highlights the opportunity that CARA has given her through this funded placement, but she also emphasises how much it is tinged with regret and frustration about not being able to exploit its full potential.

4.1.2) Dalal's Story

After completing her undergraduate degree in Syria, Dalal worked in a pharmaceutical company in Damascus for seven years before moving to the UK to firstly do a full-time Master's, and then a full-time PhD through CARA. The university she is attending is a major London university which was sixth on her list but, like Aisha, was the first to respond to her application, so she accepted it. She said that she was hoping to finish her PhD programme by early 2023.

She is "rather conflicted" about whether her future lies in academia or industry, and this lack of clarity about the future after she graduates is a source of real insecurity and tension for her, indicative of the ambiguity of liminal spaces (Bamber et al., 2017; Ybema et al., 2011). On one hand she wants to stay in academia as she loves teaching lab sessions, engaging with students and developing their critical thinking. She says her academic identity has been strengthened by her experiences of teaching and researching in the UK, receiving positive student feedback. This reminds me of the role that collegiality and autonomy play in Winter's (2009) understanding of the academic 'self'. But on the other hand she would like to work in the NHS, but this could require another year of study to complete a conversion course.

But she does emphasise her commitment to remaining in the UK, as this is where she can grow professionally, as in Syria there is still "no hope of a future" in academia. But she is very unclear about where her future lies, whether in the UK or abroad, and whether in higher education or in the NHS. She says that she is arriving at a point where she needs to determine what her best course might be when she completes her research and graduates.

4.1.3) Danielle's Story

Danielle studied an arts and humanities degree BA in Damascus before doing a Master's degree in a university in South-West England. She then returned and taught undergraduate lectures and seminars in a variety of public and private universities for three years but was "forced to move between universities" in her attempts to escape from the conflict. This became increasingly difficult as she had to travel long distances in dangerous conditions to work. The devaluation of the Syrian Pound also meant that she was teaching 42 hours for the equivalent of £30 a month. She started noticing a lot of her colleagues leaving and amid much

secrecy she applied to CARA, was accepted for a fellowship, and began her PhD in a UK university in October 2019.

She selected fifteen different universities, but CARA "disregarded the list that I gave them" and found a fellowship for her elsewhere and "pushed" her to accept this regardless of her preferences. She has struggled throughout her PhD, which she was due to complete in spring 2023, as she "couldn't find anyone who was interested in [her] topic". To her frustration, she has not been offered any teaching hours despite her teaching experience, and her requesting them to develop her academic profile. She now regrets not being firmer with CARA and holding out for other opportunities but the situation in Syria was so severe that she felt she had little choice but to try and escape.

Despite her substantial teaching experience, her academic development in the fellowship, she feels, has been stymied by a lack of research alignment and teaching experience. She says that she has "replaced the stress" of moving between universities in Syria and the ongoing conflict with a fear of what she will do when her fellowship PhD ends in 2023. This brings to mind the 'double pressure mechanism' that Vatansever (2020: p.74) emphasises in her study of the experiences of displaced Turkish academics in Germany.

4.1.4) Dina's Story

This student in her early thirties is studying for her PhD in a scientific (STEM) subject in a university in the Midlands. At the time of her interview, she was starting the second year of her placement with CARA. She completed her Master's degree in Syria in 2015, but as the situation deteriorated, she feared for the future of her young child, so she and her husband decided to migrate. She applied to CARA upon completing her Master's degree in 2015, with the application process taking two years, and as in Danielle's case, notes that there was a lot of secrecy about the organisation amongst applicants. In order to demonstrate the requisite English language level for the CARA application, she had to travel to Lebanon where the nearest IELTS test centre was located, recalling the great difficulty and danger of the journey. Due to time pressures with work and family, she struggled to prepare for the exam and had to travel twice to secure the score she needed, after which she successfully applied for a sanctuary fellowship with CARA.

On arriving in the UK, she “was very nervous because it's a very different start, different language, different community, different culture”. She listed ten universities in her application, of which her host university was one, and has found the culture of the university very welcoming and supportive, evidencing the value that Deem and Brehony (2000) place on the role of access to research cultures in the positive development of research student identity.

She had difficulty adjusting initially to the use of English and in her first term she “cried, and I felt like I am not supposed to be here”. Over time her self-confidence improved, and similarly to Aisha, her supervisor changed after two years, but “everything changed, it was very difficult”. She was able to readjust and has formed a productive relationship with her new supervisor.

She loves being in academia, doing experiments and “passing on my knowledge to others”. Her capabilities have improved, and her knowledge base has increased substantially. In Syria she was just managing to survive, but in the UK she has flourished. But when her visa expires, which it was due to in November 2022, similar to Danielle, she expresses anxiety over the future if she cannot find a postdoctoral position as her family is dependent on her income.

4.1.5) Kazem’s Story

Kazem is a Syrian PhD student who left Syria to avoid being drafted into the Syrian army in 2010. He spent nine years living in Saudi Arabia working in private dental practice and teaching in a private university before arriving in the UK in 2019 under a CARA scholarship. He said that for him and “many of my Syrian colleagues, the IELTS is considered as the main obstacle against us because it is really challenging”. He attained a score of 6.5, limiting his choice of university to three, two of which turned him down. He secured a place at a university in London, which he repeatedly called a “privilege” and a “dream”.

Similar to Aisha and Dina, the fellowship was a challenge due to his relationship with his supervisor. After submitting his research proposal, his supervisor “rejected the systematic review, rejected many issues, he just pushed me in a different area, so I changed my proposal entirely” and his PhD progressed in a completely different direction to what he wanted. This was particularly because the supervisor was from a clinical background while he was doing

non-clinical research. This lack of alignment brings into question whether the right technical support was made available to Kazem, one of the key domains of a successful supervisory relationship that Sambrook et al. (2008) emphasise. At an early stage he was advised by a fellow PhD student to change supervisor, but he said that he was happy to adapt at the time given what he regarded as the privilege of being there. Looking back, he regrets this and says he should have changed supervisor at the earliest opportunity.

He also expressed frustration at the lack of opportunity to do any teaching despite his years of teaching experience in Saudi Arabia. This was partly affected by COVID-19 lockdowns and him "finding myself out of the game" when on-campus life returned. When prompted to clarify what he meant by this, he talked about feeling isolated from social and academic networks at the university, reflecting Bourdieu's (1990) argument that people with lower social capital may feel like a 'fish out of water'. He was also unable to improve his English skills as his academic and social network extended little beyond his Arabic friends and family. He sees a future for himself in teaching and researching his subject in higher education, either in the UK or in the Middle East, but not in Syria. He notes that it is not his identity that has changed in moving but his mindset. His horizons have widened, and his opportunities to develop his career, reflecting Parkinson et al.'s (2020) view that sanctuary scholarships can indeed have great transformational value.

4.1.6) Fouad's Story

Fouad completed his BSc degree in 2009 and began his Master's in 2010 in Aleppo university. He immediately started teaching both undergraduate and postgraduate courses, developing his own course content and curricula. When he was about to start the second year of his Master's programme in 2011, he was kidnapped and held "for five really difficult days" by the Free Syrian Army. He was eventually released when his family paid a ransom, but he no longer felt safe in Aleppo and returned to his family home in Homs. One year later he returned to Aleppo and finally completed his Master's in 2017. After hearing about CARA from colleagues at the university, he applied and was accepted in 2018. CARA found a place for him in a regional university in the UK, but similar to Aisha and Danielle, he states that he did not want to go there as "I couldn't find anyone in my topic area". He goes on to say that he felt marginalised and isolated from other PhD students in his group. He received no lab support

in setting up experiments and no feedback or support from his supervisor, recalling that "the supervision I got was (…) nothing to do with supervision. I did everything myself", evidencing the lack of a research culture (Deem and Brehony, 2000), or one that he did not have access to. Echoing Aisha's words, he felt that he had been imposed on this supervisor as a funded PhD student and an 'at-risk' scholar, but who his supervisor perhaps felt he had no responsibility for. He said, "I became really disappointed" and recalled his fellowship as a "bitter experience". He did a small amount of teaching and supervision of Master's students, but this came from the informal networks he had built. These reflections recall to me the views of both Özatalay (2020) and Vatansever (2020) who discuss displaced academics being 'discarded' into a 'reserve army' of academic labour.

Towards the end of the interview, he notes the importance of mobility in the strengthening of his academic identity and the value of studying in UK higher education. Echoing Kazem's and Parkinson et al.'s (2020) reflections on the transformational nature of such fellowships, Fouad notes that his experience "did really change the way I think, even gave me new skills, different perspectives, and even different future ambitions". The experience of researching in the UK was highly enriching, but this was from self-development and an informal network, not from a wider research culture or his formal supervisory team.

4.1.7) Nasim's Story

Nasim is the youngest of the study's participants at 28. She graduated with a BSc from Damascus University in 2015 and taught for four years in a private university while reading for her Master's (completed in 2018 via a state university). During her postgraduate studies, she was asked to teach undergraduate classes and said that her goal was always to gain teaching experience, complete her Master's and then apply for a PhD scholarship in the UK. Leaving her home country was important, as she noted, "everyone was trying to escape Syria at the time" and, after being accepted onto CARA's programme, she felt very privileged that as a non-contracted staff member she had the opportunity to leave. Her MSc supervisors, as state employees, were banned from leaving the country.

Similar to Aisha, Danielle, and Fouad, she says she had little choice about her selection of university as she had to find a fully funded scholarship, and she encountered a lot of rejections

before arriving in her host university in February 2020. She explains that her relationship with her supervisor has been extremely positive, and he was “like a father figure” to her: a source of both technical and emotional support that Sambrook et al. (2008) emphasise. While she was very isolated on arriving due to the COVID-19 lockdowns of 2020 and early 2021, she has since built a small network of friends with other Arabic females, although the university was due to close her department in 2022 and she would need to complete her PhD as quickly as she could. She has had very little teaching experience in the UK which she says has been a source of “great frustration”, with only some lab demonstrations in 2022.

Her mobility has allowed her to fulfil her ambition of leaving Syria and pursuing doctoral studies abroad, and she says that she has developed a strong sense ambition and experience as an academic, echoing Morley et al.'s (2018) view on the role of mobility in gaining academic capital. She will use her three years post-PhD visa to apply for a variety of positions in industry and academia but remains determined to pursue her career outside of Syria.

4.1.8) Rabia’s Story

Rabia attained her Master’s degree from Damascus University in 2017, having spent six years on it in total due to severe delays and disruption caused by the civil war. These disruptions included power cuts that ruined lab experiments, university students and staff fleeing the country and difficulties in securing resources for the labs, such as chemical compounds. She then worked as a lecturer on undergraduate and postgraduate courses for two years in the university of her hometown, before applying to CARA to do her PhD in the UK.

Compared to some other participants, Rabia had a smooth application and placement, applying to a university in London after finding a supervisor who matched her specialism and accepted her proposal. After initially having her visa rejected by the Home Office, CARA provided her with a lawyer to appeal the decision which was overturned. Although she had an overall IELTS score of 6.0, her supervisor asked a Home Office representative to attend an interview, after which the requirement to achieve an overall IELTS 6.5 was waived, and her Tier 4 student visa was granted.

She recalled that she was initially “overwhelmed and so shocked by the peace and stability” of the UK after living under conflict for so many years in Syria, and it took her several months to “deal with” her memories of what she had seen and experienced, such as a lack of food and fuel and a lack of physical security that had “traumatised” her. She has had an experience that she “absolutely love[s]”, with proactive technical and emotional support from her supervisors, again reflecting Sambrook et al.'s (2008) emphasis on the two domains of effective PhD supervision. Since late 2021 she has made progress in her research and has run lab sessions for undergraduate students independently. She said she lacks confidence in spoken English, and while she feels that her confidence has improved, she is keen to run many more sessions to develop her ability to deliver lab sessions in English.

She notes that she has felt isolated in the UK, however. She had to enter lockdown only several months after beginning her PhD and since the release of restrictions, she has worked in a lab, but alone. Her supervisory team have been proactive and supportive of her in her studies, but she said that her adaptation to life in the UK has been a lonely process without the social network she had been hoping to develop.

She is hoping to secure a role in higher education after her PhD, but her supervisors have emphasised the difficulty and competitiveness of the field. She said that if her supervisors do not regard her as a potential academic then how can she? Lacking in self-confidence, she says that her future currently seems unclear, leading me again to recall the ambiguities and insecurities of liminal spaces (Ybema et al., 2011).

4.1.9) Wasim’s Story

Wasim graduated with a Master’s degree from Damascus university in 2013, before getting a Master of Business Administration (MBA) through the Syrian Virtual University in 2016. He had wanted to do his PhD in Damascus but the conditions in universities were not improving in terms of funding and facilities, so he applied to CARA after hearing about the organisation from a friend and was accepted in 2017. CARA approached several universities on his behalf, but no positions for funded scholarships were available until they found his current host university. His arrival in the UK was delayed by a year as the Home Office rejected his visa, a decision which, as with Rabia’s, was overturned on appeal.

He says his PhD fellowship has been “extremely useful”: he has used the opportunity to learn a lot of new techniques in a well-equipped lab (Morley et al., 2018). He has built up “close relationships” with his supervisors, and has developed a strong network of informal contacts, echoing Aisha’s experience, the value of a strong research culture in academic identity development (Deem and Brehony, 2000), and Cederberg's (2012) emphasis on the value of migrants building social capital. He has participated in lab demonstrations and has assisted in teaching on seven different undergraduate and postgraduate modules. His work was slowed by COVID-19 lockdowns that prevented access to labs, but his biggest issue has been a lack of funding as CARA fellows are responsible for the funding of any dependents and, with a wife and new-born twins, his finances have become very stretched. He notes that in the primary agreement applicants with CARA sign, it is their “full responsibility to provide funding for any new dependents that join” him.

He echoes Kazem and Fouad when he says this mobility has afforded him a rich learning experience as he has had access to equipment, funding, and the stability to conduct his research that would not have been available had he stayed in Syria (Morley et al., 2018). Similar to Dalal and Rabia, he is very unsure about the future after he finishes his PhD as visa costs are so expensive, so he hopes he can find a role in industry that will sponsor his visa. Ideally, he would like to remain in academia, but the competition is so fierce for roles in UK higher education that he sees a more realistic future in industry either in the UK or elsewhere, but not in Syria.

4.2) Postdoctoral Fellows

All of the names used here have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

Name	Country of Origin	Age	M/F	Placement Organisation	Field of Study
Emir	Turkey	47	M	CARA	Economics
Mesut	Turkey	34	M	CARA	Political Science
Semra	Turkey	45	F	SRF	Political Science
Yasemin	Turkey	36	F	CARA	Media and Communications

Figure 5: Biographical particulars of the study's postdoctoral participants

4.2.1) Emir's Story

Emir has worked in higher education since 2006, completing his PhD in 2011. Emir was settled, working in a university in Türkiye when the July 2016 coup attempt "changed everything". His university was "one of fifteen" to be closed down by the government as it was associated with the Fetullah Gulen movement[25]. He was left "jobless, without any job opportunities" after his social security number was changed. This purge not only left him without work but associated his group with involvement in the coup attempt, "so we were all guilty in the eyes of the public". This speaks to the findings of many of the AfP academics also (see e.g., Aydin, 2018; Özdemir et al., 2019; and Tekdemir et al., 2018). He lived in such fear of the authorities at the time that he collected all of the books associated with the movement and burnt them. He needed to provide for his family so together they fled Türkiye for Nigeria where his movement had connections and he worked in a university there for two years, between 2016 and 2018. He regards himself as lucky as many of his friends and former colleagues are living as asylum seekers in Greece and some have been imprisoned. Many have been separated from their families. After seeing a Turkish government list naming him as a member of a terrorist

[25] https://www.gulenmovement.com

organisation, he decided to apply for a sanctuary scholarship with CARA. He was accepted and hosted by a university in a major city in England in 2018, recalling that “I find myself very lucky because of CARA”.

He worked as a teaching fellow in this university for two years, but he initially found teaching challenging due to his lack of fluency in spoken English, saying “I could have expressed myself better, I could have reached my audience much more easily”. His confidence in teaching slowly improved as he attended numerous teaching workshops, completed his Senior Fellowship with the Higher Education Academy (HEA), and received positive student feedback. He did, however, feel very isolated from the department that hosted him, as he did not develop a professional or a social network , which was then worsened by COVID-19 lockdowns. As he was working in a Russell Group university, he also reported that, as he saw himself as a teaching fellow as opposed to a research fellow, he found it difficult to fit into their research profile. He has since found a permanent role in a smaller university in England. Here he has felt “more comfortable” and “I can fit myself as this is a young and developing university”. He has built up a strong network of friends and colleagues and his students’ capability levels are more similar to the level he encountered in Türkiye and Nigeria.

He regards it as “a luxury to consider questions of identity”: he is simply grateful that he has found a settled and permanent role after the disruption he and his family have experienced since 2016. For this he is very thankful to CARA for what they have done for him. He is aiming to achieve a more senior role in his current university, but at the end of the interview emphasises the extent of his homesickness and fears that he may never see his mother again.

4.2.2) Mesut’s Story

Mesut was awarded a scholarship from the Turkish government to undertake his PhD abroad, before returning to Türkiye to teach his subject in a regional university. He completed both his Master’s and his PhD in a Russell Group university in England, taking five years to complete his PhD in 2016. According to the agreement, he had to teach for double the amount of time he took for his PhD, so the minimum requirement for him was ten years. He struggled in the first two years of his PhD, describing it as “a really dark period” during which he had ill health and a difficult relationship with his supervisor.

He returned to Türkiye immediately after the July 2016 coup attempt and was appointed to a regional university in Türkiye. He said that he experienced an atmosphere of “real uncertainty and fear” amongst his colleagues as the government’s purges of left-leaning staff in academia increased. He became associated with a small group of left-wing academics, and he argues that as a result the university ostracised him, asking him to teach subjects he was unfamiliar with at a vocational high school linked with the university. His promotion to an assistant professorship was also delayed.

After publishing several articles critical of Türkiye’s military incursion into Northern Syria in 2018, both anti-terror police and the university opened investigations into him. He was interrogated and questioned by a prosecutor, then released in a process that he regarded as “intimidation”. He then applied for a sanctuary scholarship with CARA and after they found a position for him in a host university, he resigned his positions and moved to the UK. He noted here how lucky he had been that his name did not appear on lists of people who were fired from their jobs by emergency decree.

He worked as a CARA scholar in another Russell Group university in England between 2019 and 2021, during which he co-taught on a variety of courses, including designing a Master of Philosophy (MPhil) course. He had to teach a lot as he still needed to repay his debt to the Turkish government, and he knew that his teaching experience in Türkiye would count for little in the UK academic labour market. His fellowship was not extended by his host university, but he has found work in another higher education institution. He emphasises that although he feels he is “on the right track” in terms of his career trajectory, he has started to question whether he wants to cope with the demands given the competitiveness, workload pressures, micromanagement, and REF requirements.

He has been blacklisted by the Turkish government so feels that he must pursue his academic career in the UK. However, he notes that in terms of identity, he has “escaped from the political discipline only to be confronted by the market discipline”. This again exemplifies Vatansever's (2020: p.74) view of the ‘double pressure mechanism’ acting on displaced

academics: political repression and economic precarisation. Mesut no longer encounters political interference, but he remains a precarious academic subject to “the market discipline”.

4.2.3) Semra’s Story

Semra recalls “my best time” after she completed her thesis in 2011, working a for a small, elite university in Türkiye, creating courses, and teaching students in supportive working conditions. She notes that at this point she was on a trajectory towards becoming a department director. She was teaching courses that were politically sensitive and for her the atmosphere in classes began to noticeably change in 2014/15 when the country started “sliding towards authoritarianism”. She started to change the content of her courses, dealing with less sensitive issues and her students became more silent in class. Similarly to Emir, she recalls a time when her “mother and father were putting their books in the fire”. In Türkiye, she says that “each generation has got a similar experience”.

She signed the AfP petition in January 2015 and says that after its publication “the atmosphere became terrifying”. She says that amidst this authoritarian turn, her own research trajectory and that of her friends and colleagues changed to more “inoffensive topics” for fear of creating further scrutiny. In the period after the petition’s publication, she fled her home as her fellow signatories’ homes were being raided by police. Her fellow AfP scholars received threats and intimidation after national newspapers published lists of their names, what she describes as “a very dark time”.

She then decided to apply for a fellowship at a London-based university to escape this growing authoritarian turn. She arrived in the UK just before the July 2016 coup attempt. With the publication of emergency decrees, in which AfP scholars were fired from state-run universities, she was told by her rector to either return to Türkiye or resign from her position. Knowing she would be unable to find work in Türkiye, she resigned.

She began a visiting fellowship in the UK in 2016 but felt that she was at a disadvantage as her PhD had been completed in a language other than English. She then decided to apply to CARA and the SRF to help her while she was already in the UK. She was accepted onto a CARA scholarship, but in a university far from London. As her children had settled in London, she

declined to move to another region of the UK. CARA then withheld funding for her as she refused to take up the position in the host university they had found. SRF then agreed to fund her, at which point she withdrew the CARA application. She then worked as an SRF fellow in a London university, “researching on the subject of exile” and is about to publish a book on her experiences as an “academic in exile”, what she regards as “my response to the government”.

4.2.4) Yasemin’s Story

Yasemin was in the early stages of her academic career in Türkiye, working on temporary contracts. She signed the AfP petition in 2015 and judicial and administrative investigations were opened against her. Her rector then told her that her current contract would not be renewed when it ended in April 2016. Following the July 2016 coup attempt, her name was added to a list of academics by emergency decree and, according to her, she “was effectively fired again”. Her social security code was changed, barring her from any public sector role and excluding her from civic life, which she refers to directly as the experience of a “civic death,” recalling how Özdemir and Özyürek (2019) describe the destruction of the AfP academics’ “socio-political existence”, and discussed in Section 2.2.2 above. She fled Türkiye to the UK in April 2017 and her passport was cancelled by a further emergency decree ten days later. This act of cancellation arguably exemplifies Arendt's (1968) view of the authoritarian state’s abnegation of a citizen’s rights and its destruction of human dignity.

Her CARA fellowship began in May 2017, and she was hosted by a London university. Her supervisor went on sabbatical as soon as she arrived, and she was assigned another academic in the same department with whom she had no research interests in common. She described the experience of the fellowship as “cold”, recalling that “it wasn't really inclusive” and she lacked any feeling of being accepted. She felt that she was a visiting fellow in a department that was disinterested in her, and “you don't feel like you really belong to this place actually,” echoing Kazem’s view of feeling like a ‘fish out of water’ (Bourdieu, 1990). After one year she was transferred to a different unit in the same university. She said that other visiting fellows seemed to adapt much more easily to life in the department than she did. She was the only displaced scholar, dealing with prosecutions from Türkiye related to spreading terrorist propaganda, a cancelled passport, and an obstructive consulate. Other visiting fellows seemed to be funded from their home universities and seemed able to adapt better, focus more on

teaching and research and thus participated more in the department. She also lacked any opportunities to teach, which also impacted on her ability to participate meaningfully in the life of the department, again recalling the idea of displaced academics as being discarded into a reserve army of labour (Özatalay, 2020; Vatansever, 2020).

Prior to the coup attempt, she had been teaching and was pursuing a clear career trajectory, which was upended by the government's emergency decrees against the AfP signatories, throwing her into a liminal space (Bamber et al., 2017; Ybema et al., 2011). Her life was interrupted, and she is unsure of what the future holds. She no longer has an 'at-risk' status and is living peacefully in Europe, but neither does she see herself as an academic anymore as she is not engaged in any research or teaching. Ultimately she argues that her identity is located in practice, not in the abstract, and without work as an academic, she feels that her academic identity has "fallen away".

4.3) Reflections on Participants' 'Big' Stories

Although each participant's story is unique, some notable commonalities emerge. Before I move on to a detailed discussion of their stories in Chapter 5, it is valuable to reflect on some of these commonalities that thread through these initial summaries.

The first commonality is related to issues with university and supervisor selection, with some sharing positive reflections on this experience (Rabia and Wasim). Others (Aisha, Danielle and Fouad) however encountered problems with CARA finding placements in universities that would accept them, regardless of whether they were on the list of universities that the fellows compiled. In some cases this led to an apparent mismatch between CARA fellows and the specialism of their supervisor, leading to feelings of 'being imposed on' supervisors and isolation, further compounded by COVID-19 lockdowns.

A second commonality is related to participants sharing feelings of privilege at being offered funded placements as displaced scholars (Danielle, Emir) and of professional development and learning (Fouad, Nasim, Wasim). This reflects the opportunity of fellowships for displaced academics to build substantially on their academic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1990; Morley et al., 2018) which, particularly for the Syrian fellows, would not have been possible had they

remained at home, fighting, as Rabia shared, “just to live”. However, tension can emerge between the conflicted feelings of gratitude and privilege on the one hand, and regret at university choice, challenging relationships with supervisors and a feeling of ‘being imposed on’ mismatched supervisors (Fouad).

A third commonality relates to confusion and insecurity about the future. Some participants (Dalal, Dina, Mesut) express insecurity and uncertainty about what will happen to them after their fellowship ends. None of the participants demonstrate any desire to return home at the end of their fellowships, so they are trying to forge careers and lives as transnational migrants either in the UK or in a third country. These challenges speak to the ambiguities and insecurities that can affect many (Bamber et al., 2017; Ybema et al., 2011), but is particularly acute amongst displaced people. Özdemir (2020) refers to these insecurities when she describes the ontological exile of displaced peoples from their homeland, either through persecution or conflict.

Having outlined my initial reflections on the stories that participants shared during their interviews, I now turn to a more detailed discussion of the interview data, structured around my responses to the Research Questions.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion

Having outlined the biographical details of the participants and the 'big' stories they shared during our interviews, I now examine the interview data in more detail by examining the 'small' stories that participants share during their storytelling in these interviews and discuss how they may be connected to the various concepts outlined in previous chapters. Such stories can, as Georgakopoulou (2007) argues, connect the social worlds in which stories are shared and the situated identities of the tellers.

In order to answer RQ1, I follow the formal procedures of thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013), and I employ a deductive approach to the thematic analysis of the data by applying and extending a pre-existing conceptual framework. The interview data is also of a sufficient size to allow for thematic coding, and I aim to focus on the principal themes that emerge from the coding of the interview data. As I mention in the Methodology Chapter above, while Chapter Four presented the 'big' stories as broad summaries of the participants' interviews, Chapter Five examines the participants' 'small stories' emergent through our interactions in the interviews as the unit of analysis.

5.1) Shared Experiences

RQ1: *How do displaced academics report their experiences of sanctuary fellowships?*

I respond to this first Research Question by examining the experiences of this study's participants through employing and extending Özatalay's (2020) conceptual framework. I extend it by adding a fourth zone of Affiliation that separates out the distinct experiences of the application process for assistance from sanctuary fellowship programmes, and the experience of the fellowship itself. I have thus developed a structure that more fully reflects the experiences that the displaced academics involved in this study shared. According to this new model, these four Zones are: *Vulnerability*; *Assistance*; *Affiliation* and *Disaffiliation*.

I firstly discuss the meaning of the four zones and how the experiences of the study's participants are embodied in these zones. After experiencing vulnerability in their home countries, PhD and postdoctoral fellows then apply for sanctuary scholarships in host universities, moving from V*ulnerability* to an application for *Assistance*. If they are accepted

on to sanctuary fellowships in universities, they move from *Assistance* to *Affiliation* as affiliated PhD students or postdoctoral fellows with placement organisations and host universities. Following the end of their fellowship, they move into a Zone of *Disaffiliation* in which displaced academics lose their affiliated status and must apply for other academic or professional positions in order to retain their Tier 2 (skilled worker) or Tier 4 (student) visa status. This Zone of *Disaffiliation* can be a source of anxiety if people are struggling to find positions, risking forced exit from the UK to a third country or return to their home countries and a return to the Zone of *Vulnerability*, completing the cycle.

Below is a visualisation of the relationships between these Zones in my extended version of Özatalay's (2020) model, after which I undertake a detailed discussion of the different elements of these contrasting Zones of experience.

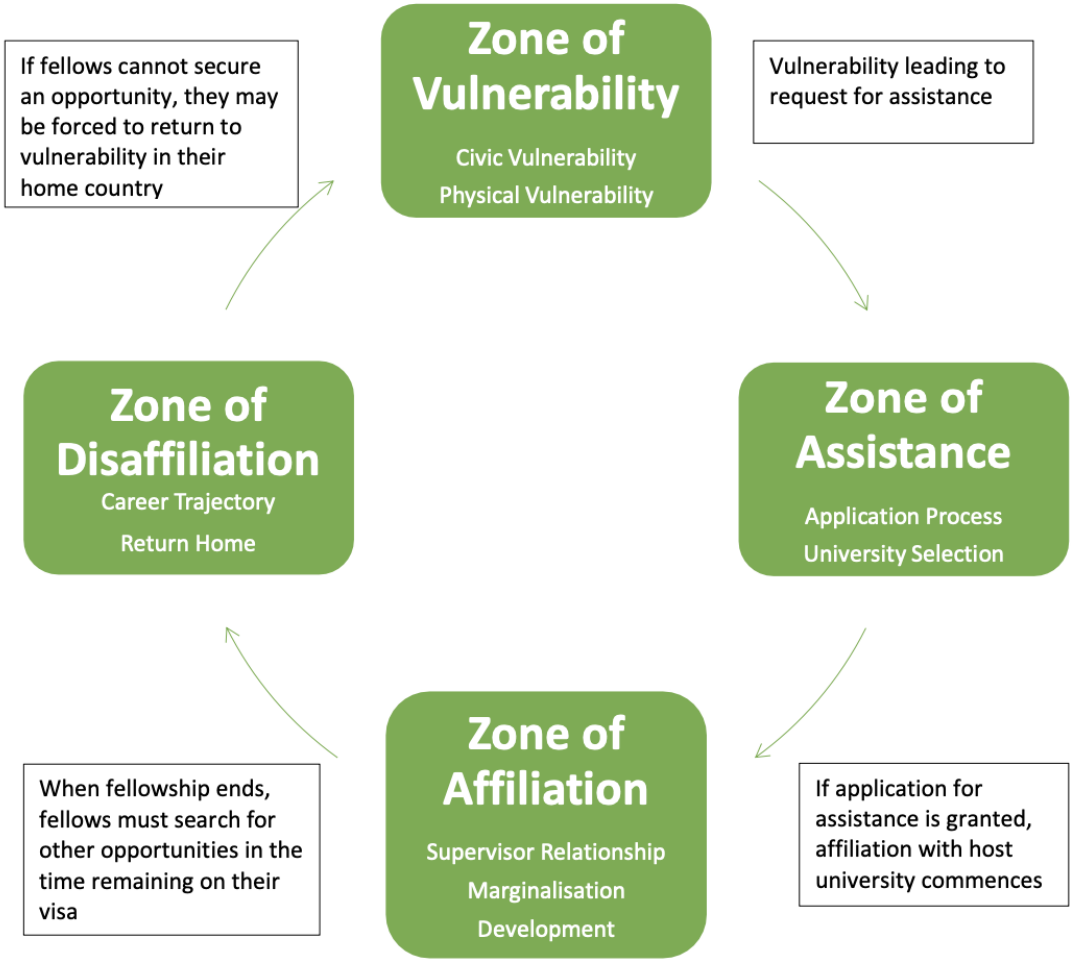

Figure 5: Displaced Academics' Zones of Experience

5.1.1) *Zone of Vulnerability*

This first zone describes the risk situation of the participants prior to their application for funded fellowships. From the interview data, under the theme of *Vulnerability*, I coded some of these vulnerabilities as being civic in nature (41 codes), referring to threats to their civic status through political pressure. Other vulnerabilities I identified as being physical in nature (17 codes), encompassing threats to participants' physical health and wellbeing, as well as threats to participants conducting their research. This was one of the most heavily coded themes emergent from the thematic analysis, with a total of 58 separate coding instances from the interview data. The information that participants shared relating to this *Zone of Vulnerability* constituted some of the most emotionally charged elements of the interviews. Overall, it was the PhD students from Syria who discussed their physical vulnerability and the long delays to their Master's studies due to the civil war (8 out of 9 interviewees), while the postdoctoral fellows from Türkiye discussed their civic vulnerability following the Turkish government's purge of academic staff following the coup attempt of 2016 (4 out of 4). These vulnerabilities impacted on participants' lives so deeply that they felt they had no choice but to leave their homes, careers and at times their families to leave behind this vulnerability and seek, often alone, new opportunities in a different country.

5.1.1.1) Civic vulnerability

All of the study's Turkish participants fled Türkiye after the academic purges instigated by the Erdoğan government following the July 2016 coup attempt. Emir exemplifies the climate of vulnerability and fear of arrest as he recalled in his interview that he was made jobless and lacked opportunities to find any other work after the government closed fifteen universities including his own institution. In one interview, I was struck by his repeated use of the phrase of a 'Holocaust' to describe his view of what the government had done to the Hizmet movement, and the acute fear he experienced at that time:

> "… so, if someone complains about you, police officers raid, find the [Fetullah Gulen] book and take you away to jail. I'm not exaggerating, this is the reality… what happens right now. Therefore, let me tell you what I did. I burnt the books. (…) We had a huge library then and we burnt the books, even anything related to the Hizmet Movement, even a prayer book, just a prayer book. So this happened,

so it is a version of the Holocaust. What I can say, a version of, a light version but still a version of the Holocaust disease".

He asked my forgiveness for his terminology, but his choice reflected his personal anguish. Living in this *Zone of Vulnerability* following the coup attempt, he goes on to recall his decision to leave, exemplifying Biner's (2019) point of Turkey's purged academics' being forced to choose between forced migration and 'civic death' (see p.43):

> "there were no job opportunities because they were not giving any jobs to those who worked at the universities of this Gulen movement. I couldn't find any job even. They explicitly said that they cannot employ me because of the university I worked in, because the Erdoğan regime accused our movement of plotting the coup attempt, therefore, we were all guilty in the eyes of the public. I have a family, I need to look after them, so we had to leave".

As one of the AfP academics, Mesut also described this atmosphere of insecurity, noting that:

> "the state of emergency it was impacting lots of people. There was a, you know, sort of atmosphere of insecurity of fear, and anything could happen at any time. And then as the state of emergency progressed, there were more problems and the extent of the repression was getting wider, and including not just certain people, but dissidents, including us leftists as well".

Mesut had published an article critiquing Türkiye's military intervention in Syria and, shortly after, he was informed of the opening of a police investigation against him. This investigation led to a cascade of events:

> "I was told, you should come to the police station tomorrow with your lawyer otherwise we'll come and get you. (…) And I was like, okay it could happen because I was openly against the operation, the Turkish government, and their state of emergency. So I was like, okay, I'll come. Then the Deputy Dean of the Faculty said that the university is starting an investigation into you as well. And so it was

> simultaneous. (…) Then in the court of serious crimes in the city I was teaching in, I was charged with making terrorist propaganda, and then there was a ban on my passport as well. So I could not leave the country either. You know, it's a kind of threat, it is sort of intimidating you. They don't believe in that; they don't believe that you did that. They just try to intimidate you".

When Mesut's passport was returned, he looked into sanctuary scholarships abroad. Amidst this atmosphere between 2016 and 2017, two other Turkish AfP academics in this study also decided to flee, with Yasemin leaving for London after she was fired from her position in her university:

> "In April 2016 the rectorship didn't renew my contract. They said okay, because you signed the petition and there are investigations launched against you, judicial and administrative investigations, we won't renew your contract and you're fired".

She recalled that like her, many of the AfP scholars dismissed from their posts were in junior positions, such as lecturers and assistant professors working on precarious contracts that were not renewed, confirming Aydin's (2018) and Biner's (2019) views that precarity created the circumstances for the purge (Section 2.2.1). But "university rectors couldn't fire associate professors and professors with these methods because they were tenured".

After Yasemin fled to the UK, and with her passport cancelled through an emergency decree ten days after her arrival; the state also opened investigations against her, accusing her of promoting terrorist propaganda. All of these cases clearly exemplify the 'civic death' described by Özdemir and Özyürek (2019), in which the Turkish government deprived people of their judicial and civic rights, excluding them from the realm of professional life. This alignment between the Zone of Vulnerability and 'civic death' is further strengthened by Semra's story, in her own studies of Türkiye's displaced academics, who argues that this was a common feature of those whom she had encountered: having been dismissed from their workplace, they then had their passports cancelled by emergency decree, "so they couldn't leave the country, they were stuck there, they couldn't go anywhere else". Semra recalled that she had begun to sense an increasing vulnerability for academics who were teaching politically

sensitive subjects as early as 2013, reliving in her interview her feelings of discomfort at students filming her teaching, and her subsequent decision to "tone down" her lecture content. After the series of dismissals of the AfP academics in 2016, Semra resigned from her position before she was fired. After a pro-government newspaper published the names of the AfP academics, she fled her home with her husband and child, and for two weeks lived with extended family members. In this detailed account of her experience, she creates a vivid embodiment of Özdemir and Özyürek's (2019) description of 'civic death':

> "during this time, I still remember these two weeks it was like a dark, a very dark time. I don't remember all the details but I remember this dark feeling, I had all this pressure. I couldn't do anything but follow the news over these two weeks. Because there was news coming from other places, other cities. And some of the signatories were targeted by local nationalists and some of their offices were marked by students with 'traitor'. I remember this, I didn't experience this directly, and nobody did something like this against me. But my friends got threats on their Facebook accounts after the newspaper published our names".

5.1.1.2) Physical vulnerability

In contrast to the civic vulnerability experienced by the Turkish participants in this study, the Syrian civil war led to physical vulnerabilities in the form of threats to people's physical security, as outlined by Faulkner (2020). This vulnerability emerged amongst a number of the study's Syrian participants who went on to enrol in PhD programmes on UK sanctuary scholarships, facing the choice that Reisz (2014) discussed of either remaining in Syria and risking their physical security, or fleeing abroad and risking their source of livelihood and careers by becoming displaced people. These physical threats to participants affected not only their abilities to conduct any research in Syria, but in some cases left them in fear of their lives, both of which were coded under *Physical Vulnerability*.

Aisha, for example, recounting her final years in Syria before applying to the CARA fellowship recalled that "there was so much bombing I fled from my house five times". She also highlighted the challenge of undertaking research amidst the Syrian civil war, recalling that:

> “I spent four and a half years on my Master’s. So one of my supervisors died, another one fled, we didn’t have any electricity or water in the university for one year. We struggled with purchasing anything, and we struggled with the funding. So I took a long time to finish it off”.

Nasim also mentioned the challenges in completing her Master’s degree, recalling that:

> “the situation was so hard. No electricity, no water sometimes. So many times I came to university to prepare samples to measure absorption. Then when I was doing the experiment we lost electricity, and I had to throw everything in the bin and go back home, with nothing. This happened so many times”.

Rabia also recalled the frequent interruptions to her research and the need to change institutes in the middle of her studies, as a result of which she spent six years doing a two-year Master’s degree. Fouad, clearly upset in his interview as he recounted his story of vulnerability as a target of a ransom kidnapping, an issue for academic staff in Syria that Faulkner (2020) highlights, shared an experience that I believe needs to be read unedited:

> “I was entering the second year of my Master’s degree in Aleppo and was about to register for my dissertation and I was kidnapped by one of the so-called Free Syrian Army. So those people they kidnapped me, and I was kept in captivity for five really difficult days. By the end of this, I felt like I can't stay in Aleppo anymore because my life was obviously threatened”.

His family paid a ransom for him to be freed, after which he fled the city and returned to his family home. He returned to Aleppo to complete his Master’s degree a year later, placing himself in what he regarded as further physical danger in order to complete his degree.

Danielle also recalled the threat to her physical safety she experienced and the difficulty she had in settling into a university after she moved back to Syria after completing her Master’s degree in the UK in 2008. Following the outbreak of the conflict in 2011, she moved between four different private universities, as “when it was unsafe in a certain area, I changed the

university and moved to another one". After moving between different cities far from her family home, she recounted that:

> "… a lot of kidnapping started, and it wasn't safe at all to just stay away from home. So that's why I decided to change university again and choose something closer to where I live. This was why I couldn't stay outside my home, (…) because it was dangerous to live alone at that point. That's why I applied to another university which was very close to my family home".

But despite the proximity of her new university to her home, due to the number of military blockades in Damascus at the time, a journey of 25 minutes took "two and a half hours or three hours just going there, and back then another three hours so it was a nightmare actually".

These instances of civic vulnerability exemplify the concept of 'civic death', and also the vulnerability of lecturers and assistant professors working on precarious contracts, for whom such persecution can lead not only to dismissal but disruption to their entire career trajectory. This vulnerability, or precarisation, of their lives can lead to persecuted academics feeling unstuck from their homelands and, in the cases of those such as Yasemin and Mesut who had their passports cancelled, the loss of legal identification with the state, which Madon and Schoemaker (2019) emphasise for its central importance to people's identity. The examples of physical vulnerability amongst the Syrian participants also underline Reisz's (2014) and Faulkner's (2020) observations of the level of jeopardy that Syrian academics can face, not just to their research but to their daily lives too.

These two contrasting vulnerabilities, civic and physical, were highly prevalent in the interviews and refer to the continued experiencing of feelings of associated trauma and remembering a variety of threats to participants' research output, their career progression and at times their physical safety, as identified by Schaubroeck et al. (2022). This idea of becoming unstuck from one's homeland can thus serve as the driver for applications to sanctuary fellowships, which I frame as the *Zone of Assistance.*

5.1.2) Zone of Assistance

In this *Zone of Assistance*, participants contact NGOs such as CARA or SRF and complete applications for sanctuary scholarships in the UK. This entry into a Zone of Assistance exemplifies a migratory route out of one's homeland that is open only to those with a sufficient level of English (IELTS 6.5 overall) and at minimum a Master's degree, thus those who have attained high levels of linguistic and academic capital (Ryan et al., 2015). In this Zone, I examine participants' shared experience of application for funded fellowships, in which they move from vulnerability to applications for assistance as scholars at risk. From the interview data, the theme of 'Application' contained 54 coding instances in total. Several principal issues emerged from this examination of displaced academics' experiences of applications for assistance, namely the application process itself (12 coding instances) and university selection (22 coding instances); these are now examined in turn.

5.1.2.1) Application Process

Several participants highlighted the length of time the application process took between initial contact and commencement of the fellowship programme. Across the participants, the length of time was in fact quite varied. Dalal, for example, was the exception as she was already in the UK when she applied, meaning that she required only a visa extension, and she already had the necessary IELTS certification, so the entire application process took only two months. For others, the process was substantially longer. Both Kazem and Mesut mentioned that the process took approximately 18 months, while for Dina two years passed between initial application and commencement. She stated that CARA "asked so many things like about me and about my husband and my kid. It was a very, very long process to be honest". For some Syrian fellows such as Nasim, the process was delayed by initial difficulties in securing the necessary IELTS scoring, and also because no IELTS test centres were operating in Syria at the time. Dina also recalled that:

> "I went to do the IELTS. We couldn't do it in Syria because of the war and there weren't any IELTS centres in Syria. So we had to move to the nearest country, which was Lebanon. Yeah, and moving from Syria to Lebanon, at that time was very dangerous and hard".

For others, delays in the application process were caused by initial rejections of fellows' visa applications. Rabia, for example, was initially rejected for her visa, "I think because I'm Syrian and they were worried about if I came here and I settled in and I refused to come back to Syria, or if I applied for asylum for example. So my visa got rejected".

Semra also recalled a sense of frustration with the application process: "because they were asking for so many documents. I remember, I felt like this was another visa application, it was like that, you know, an academic visa application. She contrasted the CARA application process with the application for SRF, noting that:

> "they were totally different. They [SRF] didn't ask for all these approved copies of my certificates. I sent them my PhD writing and without having this PhD, I couldn't write all my articles. When they searched my name online, they could see I have author accounts and they didn't ask for all this kind of information that CARA did. They asked me for a research project and my CV, and they checked all my articles, and that was enough for them. You couldn't fake these kinds of things".

5.1.2.2) University Selection

Another key element of this *Zone of Assistance* is applicants' selection of a host university. A number of participants shared sharply contrasting experiences of the process of university selection with CARA. Of the 22 coding instances of *University Selection* under the theme of *Application*, six were positive instances, and sixteen coded for negative instances. Such organisations are searching for fully funded sanctuary fellowships in host universities; thus the placement process can be highly challenging, with universities likely having a limited number of places for displaced academics who require accommodation, fee, and stipend funding. Issues related to these challenges were of note in many interviews. Several participants discussed the university selection process as one that involved multiple attempts to secure a place. Wasim noted that CARA asked him to choose different universities on several occasions due to his first-choice universities already hosting at-risk scholars. He reported that:

> "I found something else, like they asked me to do this a few times, and at last we found this place. Yeah, initially I searched for other universities, other schools. But

> then as I mentioned there weren't a lot of opportunities or not a lot of colleges offering scholarships. So at some point CARA said to me, look this college might be able to support you, do you think you might be able to conduct research there?"

Nasim also mentioned applying to multiple universities and being turned down due to the presence of other CARA scholars, thus her destination was impacted by which university had a funded position available. She said that "really it depended on where CARA found the scholarship. Because when CARA wanted us to come, they wanted to make sure that you are sponsored financially, totally sponsored. So they got a scholarship from this university [and] that's why I accepted this place". Kazem experienced the same process of applying to several universities and being rejected due to a lack of funded placements. He recalled that "I can tell you that I applied for three universities. So CARA got in touch with them and told me that it was negative. (…) But the final university I applied to was at that time trying to enrol new PhD students. So I got this opportunity to study here". One participant, Rabia, reported a relatively unobstructive approach to the fellowship application, recalling that the first university and potential supervisor that she contacted expressed an interest in her application and she quickly secured the position.

However, in contrast to the above participants who had secured positions in universities and departments with some overlap with their research focus, other PhD fellows reported feeling rushed into deciding on a university that had an available position but in which they had not expressed prior interest. Despite being asked to create a list of PhD programmes as well as possible PhD supervisors, these participants mentioned that CARA did not appear to consider these selections in finding positions for them.

Aisha for example, stated that "I wanted UCL, I wanted it so bad. Because I know they are really good in pharmaceutical sciences. Like this is a really good university in some kinds of areas that are not pharmacy for me, but I was rushing". Similarly for Danielle, the university she ended up attending was not one she had selected:

> "this university wasn't my option, like CARA, they tell you to choose around 15 universities according to your priority, and to your speciality and the supervisor that I found, I never put this college. I didn't put it because there were no staff in my field. So I found really good options, but I don't know maybe CARA had certain policies so the person who was working with my case, she told me she disregarded the list that I gave them, and she told me we have an opportunity at this college, so just go there and try to find the supervisors who are interested in the topic that you're researching. (…) So I was almost forced to just choose this university in a way because they got the opportunity already. (…) Maybe now when I reflect back on what happened, maybe I should've been a bit firmer and just say no, I will not go for this. But I don't know, my situation was, I was in a mess in my country, and I just wanted to… I don't know what happened…"

Fouad reported a similar experience, recalling that:

> "I wanted other universities because the topic I had in mind by that time, I didn't find it on any of this university's pages. But later when CARA said we have some support from this university and try to find something, I managed to find someone who works in this topic. But even after that, we were not lucky enough to get that person, so I just stuck to what they gave me, and that's it".

In some cases for displaced academics such as with Rabia and Wasim, university selection was relatively unproblematic, leading to highly productive relationships with supervisors. But both Aisha's and Fouad's cases are the clearest examples in the interviews of issues with university selection which can lead to a serious lack of subject alignment with a PhD supervisor, which in turn can lead to breakdowns in the provision of the technical support that the literature on PhD supervision so often emphasises, particularly that by Hockey (1994), Sambrook et al. (2008) and Wisker (2008).

Semra, one of the Turkish postdoctoral fellows, ultimately refused a fellowship offered by CARA and accepted a position with SRF instead, a unique instance of rejection of support in this cohort. Already living in London and with a family of dependants, CARA had asked her to move to a different part of the UK to take up the offer. She reported feeling pressurised by

CARA into moving to the city of the host university. Although the host agreed that she could do the fellowship remotely, she reported that CARA refused to agree to her working remotely, during which "more than three months passed and I couldn't get my fellowship because CARA didn't agree, they didn't agree that I would do the fellowship remotely". She then decided to reject CARA's fellowship offer and took up a funded fellowship with SRF instead.

These examples speak collectively to the fact that organisations such as CARA and SRF are humanitarian organisations, providing temporary sanctuary for academics who, as CARA's website states, are "in immediate danger"[26]. While organisations may ask for applicants' preferences of host institution, often the placement process appears to become a matter of fitting in to whichever university has a free place for a funded fellowship, regardless of research alignment with supervisors and the recommendations of the literature on PhD supervision (e.g., Gurr, 2001; Hockey, 1994; Sambrook et al., 2008). This situation echoes what Özdemir (2019) describes as displaced academics being regarded as 'victims to be saved', creating a sense of unbelonging and marginalisation (Aydin, 2018; Özdemir and Özyürek, 2019; Vatansever, 2020) by being accepted into institutional contexts that are too often unsuited to their research specialisms. I would argue that their relative loss of social capital (Cederberg, 2012) through forced displacement explains why none of the participants who felt unhappy with their placement at their host university ever requested a different host institution. The impact of such a loss of social capital can also be seen more broadly as applicants enter into affiliation with their host universities.

5.1.3) Zone of Affiliation

Moving into this Zone, the study's participants have been accepted onto funded fellowship programmes by CARA and SRF in host universities. They have successfully completed their IELTS certification, their Tier 4 visa applications have been processed and they have arrived in the UK to start their programmes. Displaced academics at this stage are thus affiliated to their host universities.

[26] https://www.cara.ngo/what-we-do/caras-fellowship-programme

In this *Zone of Affiliation*, the new element to Özatalay's (2020) framework, numerous issues emerged from participant interviews as they reflected on their placements and host university affiliations. This theme of *Fellowship* accounted for by far the most codes in the interview data (123 coding instances in total). The fact that this specific theme was coded so heavily, and it is such a specific period in displaced academics' experiences, means that this addition of a new element to Özatalay's (2020) framework is for me clearly justified. For this discussion, I examine the three most frequently occurring codes under this theme. Both positive and negative stories were shared about supervisor relationships (31 codes), with a sense of marginalisation becoming apparent amongst many participants (21 codes), as well as many positive stories about their professional development (18 codes).

5.1.3.1) Supervisor Relationship

The first and most prevalent issue emergent in this Zone is participants' relationships with their supervisors. Some highlighted a very positive and productive relationship (9 coding instances out of 31), such as Dina who underlined the importance of her supervisor in supporting her work and helping her develop as a PhD student. Nasim also reflected positively on the relationship with her supervisor, noting that "he's so helpful, I think that he is like my dad. Yes. Yes. He's so supportive and we have very good relationship". These elements of their stories speak particularly to two strands of literature on PhD supervision. One is Hockey's (1994) view of effective PhD supervision as having two principal dimensions: counselling practices as well as the provision of intellectual expertise. Another is Gurr's (2001) dynamic view of effective supervision, in which active and direct supervision styles must be gradually adjusted over time to allow for the emergence of competent autonomy. They also recall Gill and Burnard's (2013) emphasis on constructive and encouraging relationships as being central to effective supervisory relationships.

Others however, shared stories that conveyed acute challenges in their relationships with their supervisors (22 coding instances out of 31). Aisha mentioned that she never felt sure that her supervisor accepted her as a PhD student as "it seemed like the Chancellor of the University contacted him to accept me as a student for CARA. (…) He tried to help but he wasn't, he wasn't ready for a new PhD student". Linked to her issue with accepting a placement at a host university that did not share sufficient overlap in research interests, she recalls that "my

second supervisor, he was supportive, but the problem is he was really far from the field that I'm doing. So he's doing chemistry basically, his students are chemists, and I'm doing Pharmaceutical Sciences. I did not have even the, you know, the basic instruments that I can use for my work".

Her principal supervisor retired before the end of her first year, and she was unable to find other staff who shared her research interests. She recalled that:

> "basically he was the only one who was doing inhalation, and I failed in my first exam, because my examiners, after knowing that my supervisor left, said that this is not going to work. You don't have any control over your project. It's all about your supervisor, your supervisor's company, your supervisor's colleagues, and he's not there. So, they failed me, and the head of department said Aisha you have two choices: either you change the project, or you change the university".

She decided to stay and change the project making it closer to the research specialism of one of her supervisors "so it was basically his idea, his project". But she then went on to say that "this was the big mistake. I should have changed university to keep control of my project". Danielle reported similar reflections when she discussed her relationship with her supervisors. She mentioned in her interview that:

> "I have suffered from the supervisor until now because (…) there was no guidance. I couldn't find any guidance like to give me some references, how I start what shall I start reading, something related to theories to understand it, how to include it in my research. So it was like again, it was like useless. So, I'm not very optimistic about what I'm getting you know? (…) I just wanted to get out of this relationship, but I didn't have any people around me to advise me about what it means to have like, to not have good supervisors around you. I didn't realise the situation that it will be this frustrating and it will affect myself".

Kazem also found a lack of overlap of research interests with his supervisor affecting his experience. When discussing his supervisor relationship, he recalled that "he rejected my

ideas, he just rejected the systematic review, rejected many issues, he just pushed me in a different area, so I changed my proposal entirely. Completely I changed my proposal, so I'm doing something different. Completely different".

When I asked why this was, he noted that "the main problem, the core issue is that my supervisor has a clinical background, and I'm doing non-clinical research. So you can find there is no match between both of them. To be honest if I want to be like 100% accurate, I would have advised myself to change the supervisor. If I had the chance just to go back in time to 2019 and just restart my project, I would have decided to change".

Fouad recounted a particularly difficult relationship with his supervisory team that I would argue goes beyond any complaints that PhD students may share about their supervisors. When I asked him to reflect on his relationship with his supervisors during the fellowship, what he shared merits being quoted in full:

> "to be honest the supervision I got was really awful. It was nothing, nothing to do with supervision. I did everything myself. Everything, literally everything. And this is what made my life difficult in those last five years. So even the feedback I got on my dissertation, it wasn't that great. And when I prepared my upgrade report, I sent that to them a week before my upgrade presentation, I received no feedback, no one read that at all. And since then, I kind of lost hope in anything coming from them. When I showed them my first paper, my first conference paper, I was waiting for some feedback. And all they did, the first one she is the main one, she just corrected the language in the paper. And I was like, really? I don't seek a lot from people, but I think I should have asked to change my supervisor after the first year, but I didn't know it's going to be as bad as this. (…) Then in 2020, because my visa was about to, my funding was about to finish and I asked him to help me with a job, I was kind of insisting. He said, you know, I can get you to defend your thesis, just submit something, defend your thesis, and then you can go back home. Just if you insist more like I can just send you back home to Syria. It was like a threat, you know?"

Aisha's, Kazem's and Fouad's stories encompass a range of problematic issues that the literature on PhD supervision highlights. We can see in these cases how a mismatch between the fellow's specialism and that of their supervisor, as well as the ineffective establishment of constructive relationships from the outset, can lead to the failure of both the dimensions of effective supervision (intellectual and counselling) that Gill and Burnard (2013), Wisker (2008) and Sambrook et al. (2008) all emphasise. This failure was most extreme in Fouad's case, whose supervisors appeared not only to fail to establish clear boundaries as Hockey (1994) recommends, but also received no critical feedback, leading to problems in the emergence of the 'autonomous originality' that Gurr (2001) emphasises is of such importance as the supervision relationship progresses. Aisha's and Fouad's stories exemplify the passive and inactive element of Gurr's (2001) model of dynamic supervisory alignment that he regards as "patently unacceptable" (p.86).

If such problematic relationships with supervisors emerge in conjunction with the professional and social precarity inherent in exile, then displaced academics would arguably be much less likely to seek changes to supervisors or indeed host university as was suggested to Aisha.

5.1.3.2) Marginalisation

Another issue that emerged from ten of the participants' reflections on their affiliation with their host universities was a sense of marginalisation from the university group that they were supposedly a part of, often amongst the same participants who had shared issues with university selection in the *Zone of Assistance*. Aisha, for example, mentioned that "other than myself no other PhD student was in my supervisor's team. They, like all his students, they were working part time in his company, except for me. (…) I tried and tried many times to contact him, but he was not, he was not replying".

Both Nasim and Fouad also recalled experiences of marginalisation from their host institutions. Fouad for example, recounted that:

> "in four years, I wasn't invited to any group meeting. And this is enough to me to make you feel that you don't belong to this group. And even we have, it's

> something that makes me sad all the time. But we have three rooms and for every room you have you know the names written, people working in that room. I've never had my name written on those plates for five years now, never".

Yasemin, one of the postdoctoral fellows, echoed this feeling of marginalisation in her placement. When I asked her to reflect on the experience of the scholarship, she shared that she felt that it had not been an "inclusive" relationship. She goes on to note that it was:

> "maybe a cold experience actually. I don't know, I never thought that I belonged to this institution. And I was just there, and sometimes joining in some seminars, conferences. As an audience member, and also, I was in the visiting hub. Working in the visiting hub and academics are going past, some of them are saying hello. Some of them didn't say anything. So it wasn't really inclusive, because at the end your title is a visiting fellow, they know that you're coming and going, you're just visitors. And so that's why I think yeah, nobody really cares that much. And you also don't feel like you really belong to this place actually".

These contributions speak clearly to Deem and Brehony's (2000) point that postgraduate and PhD students can at times feel marginalised from research cultures through limited access to facilities, failure to establish social connections and exclusion from academic networks. They argue that this is particularly the case for social science research students who may lack the research teams and lab space that STEM students can profit from. This sense of marginalisation was no doubt further impacted by COVID-19 lockdowns (coded for seven participants). Such marginalisation can also emerge from poor supervisor relationships, and it is of note that feelings of both marginalisation and poor supervisor relationships were so prevalent in both Aisha's and Fouad's accounts.

The participants' stories also reinforce the literature by displaced academics (Aydin, 2018; Baser et al., 2017; Özdemir and Özyürek, 2019; Tekdemir et al., 2018; Vatansever, 2020) who discuss the impact of unbelonging and marginalisation in host universities in France and Germany, and make clear that these are shared issues in UK higher education settings. While the humanitarian discourses of compassion and 'victimhood' that Özdemir (2019) underlines

are evidenced in the practical element of university selection, it is during placements that marginalisation appears to be particularly prevalent, limiting displaced academics' access to peer cultures. This seems to be particularly the case with those pursuing social science subjects, supporting the findings of Deem and Brehony (2000). This marginalisation is certainly not a uniform situation, and the participants with STEM backgrounds in the study do appear to generally develop relatively stronger peer cultures, COVID-19 lockdowns notwithstanding (Nasim and Dalal and Wasim). However, this appears with such frequency in the interviews, particularly in relation to supervisor relationships, to affirm the findings in the literature by those displaced academics interviewed by the AfP scholars outlined in Section 2.2. Furthermore, while such marginalisation may be shared experiences for non-displaced PhD students and postdoctoral fellows, I would argue that it is the often-emergent lack of agency in university and supervisor selection, compounded by the vulnerability associated with returning home following placement that makes this a much more acute issue for displaced academics. As displaced academics attempt to broaden their academic experience and maintain their career trajectories through sanctuary fellowships in UK higher education, such attempts can instead be too often shaped by marginalisation, poor supervisory alignment and discourses of victimhood and humanitarian othering.

5.1.3.3) Development

One other key element of participants' affiliation is their professional development (18 coding instances) which participants mostly reflected on as being highly positive overall. Wasim for example noted that:

> "I've learned to use a lot of new techniques and equipment. It's a well-equipped place, a friendly environment, people are helpful. I have been in contact with so many people who have helped me. If I'd done that in Damascus I would not have devoted as much time as I am doing now in the UK because they do not pay you. (…) The equipment and the funding for the project will be less, so you would not have that luxury opportunity to achieve something more, so of course there is a difference, I have much more experience than I would have if I'd done this in Damascus".

Despite his at times anguished reflections on his relationship with supervisors and fellow students, Fouad argues that the fellowship "did really change the way I think, it even gave me new skills, different perspectives, and even different future ambitions. So the experience itself with regards to research, it's a very rich one, and I learned a lot of things and UK universities, they do offer this".

One of the postdoctoral fellows, Emir, reflected that:

> "I find myself very lucky because of CARA and because of my host university. I know just a few people in academia from the Hizmet Movement who found a job in the UK or in the United States. It is very hard, very competitive. My experience was that CARA was supporting us all the time. So I have received plenty of support from CARA, and along with the university it really contributed to my academic career".

Through these instances of learning and development, we see examples of Sheller and Urry's (2006) new mobility paradigm, in which new knowledge networks are created and strengthened through mobility. Despite the reporting of feelings of unbelonging and marginalisation, the reporting of professional development and enhanced research capabilities shows how displaced academics have also become endowed with heightened economic, social and cultural capital, strengthening, for Dahinden (2013), their transnational habitus through the migration and placement processes.

5.1.4) Zone of Disaffiliation

In this final Zone, having completed their funded placements, at-risk scholars move to a status of disaffiliation from their host universities. At this stage displaced academics, like other international scholars, face the prospect of securing postdoctoral fellowships or other paid employment that allows them to extend their visas in the UK, or of moving to a different country and seeking opportunities elsewhere. The crucial difference in this case is that displaced academics may not be able to return to their home countries.

Overall, the interviews revealed significant uncertainty about what the future holds for these scholars, both for those in postdoctoral and PhD roles. I spent much time considering how best to code for these parts of the interviews and how to discuss them in terms of this final Zone. After several attempts that included themes around mobility and clarity of career trajectory, I decided to group coding related to this zone under the theme of *Post-Fellowship*, with 56 separate coding instances including *Academia* (27 coding instances), *Industry* (12 coding instances) and *Visa Concerns* (10 coding instances).

5.1.4.1) Career trajectory

Many of the study's participants expressed a deeply held desire to remain in academia following the end of their affiliation with their host universities, either in the UK or elsewhere. Amongst the PhD students interviewed, Dina, Kazem and Aisha in particular discussed the possibility of leaving the UK and working elsewhere, such as the US, Australia, or the United Arab Emirates (UAE). These discussions, while supporting Morley et al.'s (2018) findings that academic mobility for those from the Global South may be due to involuntary displacement, also demonstrate the value of sanctuary fellowships as a means for fellows to accumulate academic and cultural capital and to increase their mobility in an internationally competitive research landscape. This clarity of pursuing a career trajectory in academia was strongest amongst those studying for PhDs in STEM subjects, Danielle, Dina, Fouad, Nasim and Rabia in particular. Nasim, for example, when asked about her future quickly responded with:

> "I'm aiming to be a Professor at university, I'm looking for the academic field for teaching. That's what I'm working on. And sure, because like if you want to be promoted, you need to work in the research field. And have papers. So that's my concentration".

Two participants (Dina and Wasim) also mentioned the possibility of further support offered by CARA, with Wasim noting that:

> "CARA said I have to try to find a job and prove that I have applied for at least 30 jobs. But they said it's like kind of there's a trust, if I said I have applied to 30 then okay, I have, but please try to apply for as much as you can. And in case I couldn't

> find any job, they might be able to offer me like a research fellowship for a year or so".

Some of the STEM PhD participants also mentioned their desire to move into an industry role, away from academia, particularly Dalal, Nasim, Wasim and Aisha. Aisha for example, expressed her frustration with the pace of research projects in higher education, arguing that:

> I feel like I want to work in the industry (…) They're fast and they get the work done. For me because time is like, time has more worth in industry than in academia (…) If you're going to tell me, do you really need four years to get this data out? I will say no. I don't need four years, but because I struggled to get the casts done. I struggled to get my samples done. I struggled with good communication with my supervisors".

Amongst the postdoctoral fellows, Mesut, Emir, Yasemin and Semra, some were much less certain about their career trajectory. Yasemin, for example, revealed that she had retired from academic life completely. When I asked her about her career prospects, she argued that:

> "(…) because when you are a social scientist, if I was an engineer for example, or if I was a I don't know a medical doctor working at a hospital, it could have been different but for a social scientist you don't have too many options at the end (…) Yeah, it's a bit impossible to follow this path".

This is reflective of the literature on the impact that neo-liberal reform has had on the higher education sector, such as what O'Regan and Gray (2018) identify as the 'sedimenting' of neo-liberal discourses in higher education, with increasing cuts to arts and humanities funding (see Section 1.3.2), and an "increasingly shrinking employment capacity" in social science disciplines (Özatalay, 2020: p.37). Such cuts make the career trajectory of those pursuing social science subjects much less clear than those pursuing STEM subjects, for whom there appear to be a wider range of opportunities in academic or industry roles. I discuss this in more detail in Section 5.2.1 below.

5.1.4.2) Return home

Given the continued insecurity in Syria and an unchanged government in Türkiye, it is understandable that out of all the thirteen participants who shared their stories of exile and placement, none reported feeling safe or secure enough to mention the prospect of returning to their home countries as a realistic possibility. Aisha for example mentioned the difficulty of pursuing a research career, particularly in a laboratory role: “it's sad to say that going back home is not an option at all. Nothing has changed. It's amazing how nothing had changed”. She also said that in her feedback to CARA, she had told them that:

> “I think everyone wants, like whoever like flees from their country's people, they really want to go back again one day. But (…) we are trying to build something here that we're not going to get from there. It's a situation that is still not secure”.

Danielle echoed these sentiments when she said that:

> “the option to return to my country is not an option for me now because I was, I was there like last April, I stayed there for four months. I was locked there, I couldn't return, and the situation is completely in a mess. It was miserable”.

The Turkish academics also viewed return home as an impossible option, but from a different perspective. While in the Syrian case, return home was difficult due to a lack of opportunities to undertake any research, from the Turkish perspective their concern was more related to being banned from working by the government. When I asked Mesut about the possibility of returning to Türkiye for example, he pointed out that:

> “well, I'm blacklisted to start with so I cannot, they will not appoint me. Some private universities might maybe attempt to appoint me but then again, they need to get the approval of the police and do the security checks. And so yeah, I mean, I do not think I can work now in Türkiye”.

Emir made a similar point, but from a very personal perspective that was more focused on his family:

> "right now, in my dreams I go to Türkiye, I am homesick. So right now I am away from Türkiye since 2016. It is hard for everyone, for me, for my wife for my children. I hope one day we will go, but we are losing many things. For example, maybe I am not going to see my mother. She is over 90 years old and if she dies, I won't be able to attend (…) these are the costs of being here. Actually, I would like to stay in my country, but being here is good for my children and for our freedom. (…) In the long term, everyone looks for their home. But right now, we are here".

Following the end of sanctuary fellowships, if displaced academics are unable to secure any further professional roles and their residency visa expires, they can thus return to this permanent liminality in the *Zone of Vulnerability*. In view of returning home as repatriation, as Crisp and Long (2016) note, refugee repatriation is both a legal question codified in the 1951 UN Refugee Convention through the principle of non-refoulement, and an ethical one if refugees do not consent to repatriation. Against the background of Syrian participants sharing their stories of physical vulnerability, the UK and other European states do not deport migrants to Syria, but this is not the case due to the civic vulnerability experienced by the study's Turkish participants. Rather than seeking repatriation, displaced academics such as Aisha and Kazem shared their desire to move to a safe third country outside the UK, if necessary, but one which is either Arabic or English-speaking. For Gerver (2018), the notion of voluntariness in migrant repatriation can be skewed when home countries are in crisis, and it is through the gaining of cultural and linguistic capital that displaced academics can hope to avoid non-voluntary repatriation to their home countries.

Having employed an extension to Özatalay's (2020) conceptual framework to discuss the experiences of displaced academics as my response to Research Question One, I now turn to my responses to Research Questions Two and Three below.

5.2) Identity Perceptions

RQ2 How do displaced academics perceive their identities as at-risk scholars? What are the shared aspects of these perceptions?

In answering Research Question Two, I collected reflections of the study's participants and aim to establish their relationship particularly to the different bodies of literature outlined in

Sections 1.3 (neo-liberalism), 2.1 (identity), 2.2 (literature by displaced academics), and 2.3 (transnationalism). In order to answer RQ2 and RQ3, I employ a narrative analysis approach as I aim to develop insights into participants' identity construction as displaced academics, and their stories of how they navigate the social field of UK higher education. In employing this approach, I aim to develop rich interpretations of the interview texts (Squire, 2008) and to paint a picture of the principal factors behind displaced academics' experiences of placements and develop a sense of how they are perceived in host institutions and placement organisations.

5.2.1) Academic Precarity in the Neo-Liberal Context

I first examine displaced academics' perception of their own identities in the context of academic precarity. Overall, the transformation of working practices that was discussed in the literature (Burton and Bowman, 2022; Courtois and O'Keefe, 2015; Loher and Strasser, 2019), I found to be highly relevant as the participants' stories unfolded. In emphasising the role that academic precarity played in transforming the working lives of Turkish academics, Yasemin shared her memory of the wave of purges in Türkiye as being primarily focused on those operating on temporary contracts that were not renewed by their institutions. Exemplifying Kimber's (2003) reference to the 'tenuous periphery' of academic workers, she recalled that "those on tenured tracks were less likely to be removed from their posts". This strengthens both Aydin's (2018) and Vatansever's (2020) findings that casualised employment trends in Turkish universities made it much easier for the 2016 academic purge to occur following the coup attempt, with this very contractual precarity making the extent of the purges possible. But while Semra was in a more senior role at her university, she was merely given the option of whether to resign or be fired following the coup attempt, meaning the purges clearly went beyond those on precarious contracts. Harsher treatment was experienced by Emir, whose entire university was closed down by the government, with only some of his colleagues having been able to continue their careers in academia outside of Türkiye through sanctuary scholarships. The Turkish government's use of academic precarity to purge critical academia following the 2016 coup attempt, particularly of the AfP scholars, thus created a "pervasive and dominating culture or atmosphere" that Burton and Bowman (2022: p.499) identify in their holistic perspective on the impact of academic precarity, and which Mesut directly referenced when he described an atmosphere of "real and uncertainty and fear". Their

reflections that emerged in the ‘small stories’ of our interview interactions exemplify what Burton and Bowman (2022) go on to argue is the effect that academic precarity can have beyond the transformation of employment practices: the disruption of one’s selfhood, and one’s relations with the academy.

A third impact of academic precarity that Burton and Bowman (2022) identify is on legitimacy in knowledge making, which Semra evidenced as early as 2013 when she described feeling compelled to change her lesson content as a Political Science lecturer teaching concepts such as necropolitics (Mbembe, 2019). She recalled vividly the insecurity she felt when she noticed students starting to film her lessons. This speaks to two other relevant points. One is Giroux's (2010) view that higher education staff having the freedom to produce unfettered ‘critical pedagogy’ can be undermined in a higher education environment dominated by market values, leading to a ‘bare pedagogy’. Another is Evans' (2003) point that political repression in universities, much as in Germany in the 1930s and China’s Cultural Revolution, can be embodied by students as much as it can by political and bureaucratic authorities. Likewise, Mesut experienced the same surveillance when he was given permission by his employer to attend a conference in London only if he altered the presentation’s content. These stories of surveillance take Ball's (2017) views on the neo-liberal imaginary to an extreme. While his arguments were focused on performativity, in which teachers must organise their work according to managerial evaluations, the experiences of Türkiye’s AfP and Gulenist academics shared in these interviews reflect managerial and student surveillance that led to the destruction of people’s careers (Aydin, 2018), people’s ‘civic death’ at the hands of a politically repressive state (Özdemir, 2019), and ultimately exile from their homelands (Vatansever, 2020).

Such precarity was also evidenced in the day-to-day lives of the Syrian PhD students. Nasim, for example, shared her experience of lecturing undergraduate students in Aleppo university, reportedly earning a salary of $50 per term, as other more senior colleagues had already fled the country. She shared her reflections on her low salary, the long hours of work, and the temporary contract she received, all while trying to undertake her own Master’s research in labs that experienced frequent power outages. This was one of the most distinctive embodiments of research precarity shared by any participant in the study, and demonstrates

alongside Faulkner's (2020) article the nature of the difficulties experienced by Syrian academics attempting to pursue research after 2011. Furthermore, while Fouad also shared his experience of teaching on a course with little prior training due to staff shortages, Danielle meanwhile shared her story of a seven-year court case with her former employer who had wrongfully tried to fire her, alongside the five-hour return journey she had to make daily to arrive at her workplace due to military roadblocks.

All of these shared stories arguably reflect an extreme version of the consequences of the precarity of employment practices and individual insecurity but are ones which must be heard in the context of the discussion of academic precarity in higher education. These are the real-life situations and lived experiences of some of this study's participants that are embodied in the *Zone of Vulnerability*: threats to their civic selves through political repression, as well as their physical well-being. In this sense we may view precarity as a tool of a repressive state, as well as a symptom of neo-liberal market reform in higher education and as a tool of political violence. As these PhD students and university staff members at the outset of their academic careers fled their home countries and their loved ones by successfully applying for funded placements, this sense of precarity did not end, but shifted into a different realm of economic precarity. They thus entered into Vatansever's (2020: p.74) 'double pressure mechanism': from political precarity to market precarity.

The economic precarity or the "market discipline" in Mesut's words can be seen in examining displaced academics' experiences in the *Zone of Disaffiliation*. He recounts his experience following the end of his CARA placement as one that has seen him put under what he termed as "ridiculous" pressure in terms of teaching and marking workloads, as well as the competitiveness of the academic labour market, exemplifying Gill's (2016) view that neo-liberalism has found "fertile ground in academics" (p.46) through precarious employment, high mobility and insecurity. This is of course not a situation experienced solely by displaced academics, but is one that is shared, as Gill (2016) argues, by staff members across the higher education sector in the UK and beyond. However, Emir also shared an experience that went beyond managing workloads and competitive pressures into the realm of economic insecurity, reporting that he had worked in highly casualised employment following his placement, "as a pizza chef and a handyman", in order to simply provide for his family. These findings also speak

to Schierup and Jørgensen's (2017) connections between migration and precarity, in which precarity can become the "quintessential incarnation" of the migrant's life (p.5). In discussing their prospects following the end of their placements, while many of the participants shared an optimistic view of their future, this sense of their precarity as displaced peoples, of their strong desire not to apply for asylum, of their feelings of uncertainty about the future were repeated themes that emerged from our interactions during these interviews.

5.2.2) Displaced Academics in the Exilic Context

Unlike other transnational scholars, at-risk academics are operating on funded placements organised by humanitarian organisations such as CARA or SRF. As much of the key literature by displaced academics has indicated, at-risk scholars have been viewed through the lens of humanitarian 'othering' and as 'victims to be saved' (Özdemir, 2019). This victim-saviour discourse can have a number of facets. For Vatansever (2020), successful applications for scholarships are as much dependent on political risk as they are on applicants' qualifications. Although this need to demonstrate vulnerability and "immediate danger"[27] must be a key prerequisite to an offer of funded help, such experiences risk characterising individuals as part of humanitarian or victimising discourses. For the Turkish scholars purged from their roles by their government, these discourses serve to shift the perception of placement organisations, and thus host universities, away from viewing applicants as critical scholars, politically persecuted for their scholarship, towards a view of them as 'at-risk' scholars. Discourses surrounding their support thus shift from the political arena to the moral arena. Through their exile from their home countries and home universities, displaced academics have been anonymised and grouped as a homogenous whole. Through this process, they have arguably been stripped of key sources of their cultural capital, such as their employment rights, their legal identification by the state through passport cancellations, their ability to work in their L1, their networks as well as their professional seniority. The 'victim-saviour' discourse identified by Özdemir (2019) of placement organisations thus strengthens this anonymisation, and through the processes of exile and subsequent placement, they shift from subjects to

[27] https://www.cara.ngo/what-we-do/caras-fellowship-programme

objects, from singular agentic actors in Bauman's (2004) view to the anonymised (Özdemir, 2019).

This dislocation from one's homeland through forced migration may be viewed through the theoretical lenses of identity as outlined in section 2.1. The post-modern accounts such as those by Bauman (2004) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) emphasise the roles of factors such as increased mobility and globalisation in a reduction of the role of localities in shaping people's identities. This is certainly the case for displaced academics who have used their educational and linguistic capital to secure funded fellowships in the UK. But the loss of this local dimension to their lives can be deeply disruptive to identity formation, exemplified in Schaubroeck et al.'s (2022) findings that displaced people can experience acute anxieties surrounding their unsettled and marginalised socioeconomic and professional status, as witnessed particularly in the Zones of *Affiliation* and *Disaffiliation*. The post-modern view of identity I would argue serves less of an explanatory role in understanding the identities of displaced academics as, although they have profited from academic mobility and the internationalisation of UK universities that Morley et al. (2018) discuss, this has come at the cost of substantial rupture with their locales, one of the central aspects of their identity formation as Madon and Schoemaker (2019) argue, particularly for those from a Middle Eastern background (Panossian, 2022).

The interactionist views of identity emphasised in sociological and social constructionist accounts have arguably greater relevance when considering the impact on the participants' identities of displacement and placement in host universities for three reasons. Firstly, social constructionist accounts of identity, such as those by Jenkins (1996) and Zimmerman (2008) place emphasis on the role of interaction in connecting people, their practices and their identities. As a forced migrant becoming unstuck from their homeland and moving to a new locale, using a second language, and being part of the humanitarian 'othering' identified above, it is clear that the displacement and placement processes can have a hugely disruptive impact on people's sense of personal and social identity. The participants' forced displacement has arguably upended some of these interactions in their social worlds, such as with their employers, government institutions, and their friends and families, impacting on the formation of their personal and social identities through the disruption of existing group

memberships and the formation of new ones (van Tonder, 2006). In this sense, regarding identities as dynamic rather than static, and as being particularly consequential in people's interactions with others (Antaki and Widdicombe, 2008), allows for a clearer understanding of the disruption to the continual process of identity formation that displacement can engender.

Secondly, it is possible to witness what Lawler (2014) views as identities interacting, at times in tension, with each other. Practical impediments such as funding restrictions and numbers of displaced academics already hosted by universities, and these humanitarian discourses, can all serve to limit the flexibility of organisations such as CARA and SRF when they try to find a suitable placement for applicants. When placements lack suitability, they can thus feed a sense of unbelonging amongst displaced scholars, leading to serious tensions between interacting identities that often emerged in instances of conflicted feelings and lasting regrets about the placements. Aisha arguably articulated such clashes between her identity as a critical, autonomous scholar and as a 'victim to be saved' when she expressed highly conflicted feelings about her placement. She expressed this tension when reflecting on her decision not to change the university assigned to her by CARA. She said:

> "I experienced war in Syria, but this is different. This is totally different, this issue with my choice of university. I know I'm still privileged because I know that hundreds want my place, I have a funded PhD in the UK. But I did not invest it well. This is my mistake and now I'm paying."

We can witness a similar tension between these identities in Fouad's decision not to change the supervisor who had given him such little meaningful support throughout his PhD programme. He recalled that:

> "I knew this is not who I want to work with, but this is a scholarship, this is something good, it's leaving this bloody situation in Syria, with no safety, no security."

Thirdly, in terms of academic identity, Billot (2010) regards this as being a relational phenomenon, and a dynamic construct emerging from an individual's interactions with their social worlds. Winter (2009) meanwhile pinpoints these interactions as the key constitutive elements of the academic 'self', emerging through the interrelationship between factors such as collegiality, academic freedom, autonomy, and self-regulation. Stories of participants' interactions with other stakeholders and the lack of collegiality and autonomy emerged in a sense of unbelonging that was felt acutely and articulated by a number of the interviewees. Yasemin for example described her "cold experience", feelings of marginalisation and exclusion from the department, not being provided any opportunities for meaningful teaching or even being made to feel welcome by her department. Fouad meanwhile described his feelings of marginalisation from his department as he recounted never being invited to meetings over four years, never having his name on the door of his office, and his sense of isolation when doing his experiments without any support. Aisha also recounted her experience of isolation when she was the only PhD student not to work in her supervisor's lab. After his retirement, she failed her first-year exam as her host university made it clear that no staff member in the university was suitable to supervise her work, so they asked her to either leave or develop a new research focus. This marginalisation was also experienced by those who had experienced problems with their host university selection, especially those who had not been provided a host university in which they had demonstrated any prior interest. This led to some displaced academics being hosted in departments and supervised by staff members fundamentally unsuited to their specialism, such as Danielle and Aisha, or those who felt actively excluded from the department, such as Fouad and Yasemin. This precarity as migrants is visible elsewhere in other participants' stories, such as peer relationships with supervisors, lack of teaching opportunities and development/support, as well as initial rejections of participants' visa applications, as in the cases of Rabia and Wasim. In all of these different cases we can witness how a lack of collegiality, academic freedom and autonomy in particular can undermine the development of an academic 'self' during sanctuary fellowships, as well as the effects of displaced academics being regarded as "not hired but hosted", of being cast into a "reserve army of labour" (Vatansever, 2020).

5.2.3) Displaced Academics in The Transnational Context

I now turn to a consideration of the identities of the displaced scholars in this study in terms of the discourses surrounding transnationalism. Much of the literature discussed in Section 2.3 discussed the idea of hybridity: a 'dual orientation' between 'here' and 'there' (Vertovec, 2004), between a migrant's home and host contexts, as well as a web of bounded and unbounded transnational networks that straddle home and host society (Warriner, 2009), creating evolving spaces in the 'in-between' (Bhabha, 2011). From the above discussion on the constructionist view of identity, people's identities are formulated through interactions with their social worlds (Zimmerman, 2008). But following dislocation from their homeland, the social worlds that forced migrants were familiar with, such as their workplaces, places of study and locales are significantly disrupted, leading through forced displacement to what Schaubroeck et al. (2022) identify as unsettled immigration and economic status, as well as a potentially marginalised status in a host country. Movement through a transnational landscape thus lead to interactions between the local and global, in which individual identities and experiences are realised locally, but influenced by global contexts Warriner (2009). Regarding identity as more dynamic rather than static and examining displaced academics' experiences using these concepts from transnationalism, therefore allow us to understand two things. They afford us the opportunity to regard sanctuary fellowships as an unstructured, unsettling transitional liminal space as outlined by Bamber et al. (2017). They also permit an understanding of how displaced academics can resolve this fracture to their social worlds and reconstitute their identities as transnational actors.

From the interview data, the Turkish scholars in particular demonstrated distinctive expressions of Vertovec's (2004) dual orientation and hybridity as transnational actors. They were purged from their positions and fled Türkiye as a result of their belonging to dissident political groups. This purge led to these groups gaining an increasingly transnational element as members were forced to flee. As transnational members of these groups, the postdoctoral fellows Semra, Yasemin, Mesut and Emir all emphasised their prior affiliations and the maintenance of these communal networks, an example of Gupta and Ferguson's (1992) unbounded, interconnected spaces. Both Semra and Yasemin fundamentally changed the direction of their academic research, undertaking qualitative studies into the experiences of the AfP scholars in exile, embodying Warriner's (2009) argument that self-identification of

migrants in host countries can be influenced by prior geo-political affiliations. Semra also became involved in an informal network of AfP scholars through her ties with a Turkish AfP scholar in the UK. Emir meanwhile was a member of the Hizmet movement for over twenty years prior to his 2016 exile from Türkiye. As he and other members fled persecution across Europe, the US and Africa, this web of group membership across borders remained greatly meaningful to him and a source of emotional support during dark times. He referred in his interview frequently, and emotionally, to his former university colleagues with whom he remained very close and in regular communication, including his former Deputy Vice Chancellor. Among his group, who should have been "in the most productive periods of their lives", he reported that very few had found academic work. Many he said were battling depression and loneliness. This group clearly gave him, and no doubt its other members, great comfort, and emotional support during his own CARA scholarship.

Both the professional and personal impacts of political repression on the AfP and Gulenist scholars reflects what Bhabha (2011) refers to as the "scattering of peoples " (p.56), and the location of social spaces and networks within unbounded but interconnected spaces (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). In the telling of their stories through these interviews, the Turkish postdoctoral fellows demonstrated that these movements clearly remain powerful sources of unbounded diasporic identity between members of movements targeted by the academic purges such as the AfP signatories (Vertovec, 2004). These interconnections can help displaced scholars to maintain a sense of group identity beyond their host university, and are a clear source of unbounded transnational identity and examples of the intersections between local, everyday practices that take place in a global context that Warriner (2007) identifies as being so important in transnational identity formation. In the transitional liminal space of sanctuary scholarships, these unbounded transnational networks that displaced academics such as the Turkish scholars maintained are a clear example of the potentially transformative nature of spaces that can allow for the development of powerful new relationships (Ellis and Ybema, 2011).

From the interviews, it was notable that the presence of transnational group membership as a source of unbounded identity was not as present amongst the PhD fellows from Syria as it was amongst the postdoctoral fellows from Türkiye. Fleeing from conflict, none of the Syrian

PhD fellows reported membership of any organisations that the Turkish fellows had. Furthermore, none of the Syrian fellows reported being the subject of government purges of university staff and students but were the victims of conflict: accounted for in the *Zone of Vulnerability*, constituting not just a threat to their research but indeed their lives amidst state breakdown and civil war. Many of the interviewees talked about learning of CARA or SRF through word of mouth from friends and colleagues at their universities as Master's students. But these participants did not speak of groups, neither formal nor informal, of which they were members which may have informed their unbounded identity as they gained their normative status as at-risk scholars. Several participants even talked of the need for secrecy about CARA's support, with Rabia mentioning the risk of telling fellow students about CARA running "the risk of them taking your place". Danielle meanwhile mentioned that:

> "a colleague of mine, she applied to it, but she didn't tell me you know, because CARA is not something, like people do not talk about that. (…) Then I started noticing a lot of my colleagues just travelling especially to the UK, but no one told me about it. It was very secretive, actually".

In emphasising secrecy when engaging with sanctuary organisations such as CARA or SRF, the participants demonstrate the potential for fragile bonds with fellow nationals who they fear may take their offer of sanctuary. This conceptualisation brings into view crucial differences between refugees fleeing political persecution (in Türkiye) versus those fleeing civil conflict (in Syria). The Turkish scholars emphasised strong ties with a diasporic community of those fellow academics with whom they had been persecuted, thus exemplifying the hybridity of living both 'here' and 'there' that Bhabha (2011) refers to. The Syrian scholars' emphasis on secrecy and the competitive nature of the application process as they seek pathways out of the *Zone of Vulnerability*, attests to weaker transnational bonds with those in similar positions. The Syrian scholars' stories thus attest to greater ambivalence towards their transnational identities as displaced scholars. This may point to greater destruction of civil society in Syria caused by the civil war than has occurred due to the academic purge in Türkiye, leading to Turkish scholars maintaining a stronger 'connective tissue' (Bhabha, 2011), and stronger interactions between global diasporic communities and local everyday practices (Warriner, 2009) than Syrians.

The Syrian PhD fellows in particular emphasised a strong sense of isolation and marginalisation from the departments of their host universities during their fellowships. This may have stemmed from a lack of diasporic identity with those from their homeland and a failure of the transnational web of ties identified by Lam and Warriner (2012) and Smith and Guarnizo (1998). This is also reflective of the point that the contributors to Parkinson et al.'s (2018) work make: that few common threads unite displaced Syrian academics. As at-risk scholars, the source of their identity formation thus relied more on their bounded identity in the local contexts of UK higher education and specifically their host universities. The Syrian PhD fellows mentioned their sense of isolation from their host universities (Nasim and Danielle), a lack of support from supervisors (Aisha and Fouad), as well as a sense of isolation from their fellow PhD students (Rabia and Fouad). All of these issues arguably strengthen Özkirimli's (2017) argument that although sanctuary scholarships do offer a safe environment for at-risk scholars, the extent of collaboration with permanent faculty is highly questionable. As PhD students often placed in the first university that accepts them (Aisha, Danielle, Nasim) or with supervisors unsuited to their research specialisms (Dina, Fouad, Kazem), they encountered institutional marginalisation and a sense of isolation, further worsened by the impact of the COVID-19 lockdowns. From a constructionist view of identity, such losses of sources of social interaction, from displacement, problems with sanctuary placement and COVID-19 lockdowns, could have profoundly impacted displaced academics' sense of collective and social identity as this bridge to "the macro-level of social forms and collective identities" (Jenkins, 1996: p.100).

Their sense of belonging and identity formation as transnational PhD students was thus stunted in many cases by this, what we may call another 'double pressure mechanism' (Vatansever, 2020: p.74) of a lack of unbounded identity sources as forced migrants from conflict, as well as marginalisation as at-risk scholars due to the issues identified in this study related to the local context. The interaction between these two factors has undermined this dual orientation amongst Syria's displaced academics, or the double consciousness from which other migrant academics can substantially benefit (Vertovec, 2004), weakening or fatally undermining their sense of belonging. This sense of unbelonging emerged during their CARA fellowships with great frequency, encompassing issues with university selection, marginalisation, feelings of imposition, supervisor relationships, CARA or SRF relationships, all

playing out amidst a background of neo-liberal academic precarity in the higher education sector. This finding underlines Glick Schiller's (2018) point that multiscalar migration studies must situate migrants in temporal transformations as well as spatial ones. It is the specific socio-political context in which migrants' vulnerability occurs that can have a striking impact on their positioning in host universities and societies, as well as migrants' wider transnational identity formation. So while the Turkish post-doctoral fellows were able to build a transnational identity through the maintenance of transnational networks that straddled their home and host societies, the existence of these networks, outside of their immediate friends and families, was not present amongst the Syrian participants in this study, ultimately weakening the development of their identities as transnational scholars.

5.3) Navigating the Social Field of Higher Education

RQ3 How do displaced academics navigate the social field of UK higher education, their host institution, and the academic department in which they work?

5.3.1) Transnational Habitus

As a locus of intense academic mobility, higher education is a clear example of a transnational social field (Morley et al., 2018). It is thus an ideal space to examine identities, power relations and social positions between various actors such as displaced academics. As discussed in Section 2.4.2, social habitus has become increasingly shaped by transnational processes and in turn habitus is another useful concept with which to understand displaced academics' experiences as transnational actors (Nedelcu, 2012). This study's participants have arguably reconciled their habitus to their new social field by very varying degrees. Some have developed a strong sense of fit by being placed in universities that they selected and with supervisors with whom they share a high degree of research alignment (Nasim and Wasim). Others have experienced lower levels of reconciliation between their habitus and the changed position in the social field. This has come from a range of factors that have been discussed above including a mismatch with supervisors (Aisha and Fouad), the selection of a university that was not appropriate (Aisha and Dina) and their normative 'at risk' status as displaced migrants (Yasemin).

The greater the lack of reconciliation between participants' transnational habitus and their new social field, the greater their sense of 'otherness' in these fields. As they move between the *Zones of Vulnerability*, *Assistance* and *Affiliation* they become aware of the relativity of their social position within the wider social space of international higher education beyond the 'national container' (Glick Schiller, 2018). This social position is negatively affected by their exilic identity as 'at-risk' migrants, but can in turn be positively impacted by strong alignment with Gurr's (2001) dynamic model of supervisor relationships, effective balance between intellectual expertise and counselling practices (Hockey, 1994), and placements in departments appropriate to their research specialism, which can lead to affiliation with strong research cultures (Deem and Brehony, 2000). In the cases when participants have found themselves in departments and supervisor relationships with insufficient overlap with their research specialism, conditions are created that can lead to highly conflicted reflections on their experience of placement.

Reay (2004) argues that habitus can be used to make the 'taken for granted' problematic, and I use it as a means to bring into closer view what on the surface can seem an uncomplicated opportunity of funded sanctuary fellowships. Through forced migration, displaced academics move to a different position in the social field of higher education, exemplifying what Carlson and Schneickert (2021) regard as a severe social change. While they remain in a higher education setting, they are operating in a second language and in a different socio-political context than they have been accustomed to. As Özdemir (2020) argues, they are 'at-risk' scholars, or 'victims' in a humanitarian discourse, their economic capital dependent on funding from their fellowship programme. Their habitus thus encounters a field with which they are less familiar, leading to tensions that can generate both positive and negative change. They are educational elites who have used their social, linguistic, and cultural capital to be selected for funded fellowships in the UK, and many have used this opportunity to provide sanctuary for their immediate family members too. Their migration thus reflects what Reay (2004) refers to as a 'creative response' that transcends the social conditions in which their habitus was produced, i.e. their domestic setting. In the interviews, many participants for example emphasised the opportunities for research training and professional development (Section 5.1.3.3).

However, this experience of transnationalism as a forced migrant, even one with a funded fellowship, can be highly destabilising. They have lost an element of their independence as actors through their 'at-risk' status as exiles. This profound shift has resulted in a clear sense of alienation in this new context for many of the study's participants, in which they feel out of place or as "fish out of water" in their new surroundings (Bourdieu, 1986). We see evidence of this alienation emerging frequently in participants' interviews, such as through mismatched university selection, problematic supervisor relationships and feelings of marginalisation. Some of this may be reflective of the PhD/postdoctoral experience of many scholars who have not experienced displacement (Deem and Brehony, 2000), but I would argue that this marginalisation is greatly heightened by their displaced status.

Their habitus thus changes significantly in response to these new experiences. Some of the participants (Emir and Semra) were working in full-time, permanent positions with substantial levels of economic and cultural capital. Others were Master's students who had successfully applied for PhD placements with funded sanctuary scholarships (the Syrian PhD fellows). While they remain in a higher education setting, it is one that is linguistically and culturally very different, more individualistic (Deem and Brehony, 2000) and with an 'at risk' normative status (Özdemir, 2020). Their ability to adjust to this new field setting is thus reliant on reconciling the dispositions that constitute their transnational habitus and employing the capital that they bring to this new setting.

5.3.2) Capital Formation

As Erel (2010) argues, a Bourdieusian analysis of cultural capital can assist with exploring how migrants form and transform their cultural capital through the process of migration. When discussing the experiences of this study's participants, I refer to Vatansever's (2020: p.7) view of displaced academics as entering into the "exilic mode of existence". As they migrate from their home countries and enter the UK and their host institutions, the relative values of their capitals both increase and decrease. In considering how displaced academics navigate this new field setting, these relative increases and decreases of the participants' capital valorisation are sites at which we can better understand how displacement and placement have affected their sense of identity.

From the participants' stories, the principal increases to the value of their relative capital appear in the sense of their economic capital, as the participants were all accepted on to fully funded placements which their migration and application trajectories led to. Several participants expressed their gratitude to CARA and SRF for providing them with the opportunity of a fully funded placement, although several others also mentioned issues with funding for dependents, particularly children (Mesut and Wasim). In undertaking PhD or postdoctoral fellowships in a UK university, participants' academic habitus would also have strengthened (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) through their accrual of capital through increased academic mobility (Morley et al., 2018). By achieving this qualification, either a PhD or a post-doctoral fellowship, their academic capital through a higher level of formal qualifications has thus become further valorised. This academic element of their transnational habitus has thus strengthened (Carlson and Schneickert, 2021). Several participants mentioned the value of undertaking PhD studies in the UK as a 'dream' or as something that they never felt would be realistic. I was struck by the frequency with which this was raised, in this lack of belief that placements of this nature could be possible. This increase in their institutional cultural capital was also prevalent in the participants' mentioning of how much they have developed their research skills as a result of the placement. This was particularly the case for STEM researchers who mentioned that they had been able to work in labs with equipment that was not available in Syria.

Another way in which migrants' capital has been increasingly valorised is their embodied capital in the sense of improvements to their language skills and cultural knowledge. Although a number of the participants reported frustration at their lack of improvement in their day-to-day use of L2 English, they did report improvements in their L2 academic writing and speaking and listening skills, arguably the accumulation of linguistic capital, echoing Kubota's (2020) arguments about the development of L2 English skills as a form of 'linguistic entrepreneurialism' in the sense that students are increasing their economic and cultural capital as a result. From an EAP practitioner's perspective, it is worthy of note that very few of the participants recalled making use of EAP support offered by their host university. Amongst those who did seek out this support, some argued that it was "not useful" (Danielle and Fouad). Only Semra mentioned the value of EAP classes. Institutional cultural capital in the form of L2 written and spoken academic English was thus accumulated by many displaced

academics in this study outside of institutional support, as a result of the placements themselves or informal ties with fellow L1 users, despite offers of EAP support from both the support organisations themselves and host universities. In my view this reflects the need for more joined up offers of support for displaced academics that takes account not just of the support offered by sanctuary organisations themselves, but of a wider variety of stakeholders in the Third Space, such as EAP units, learning development, wellbeing and career units (Whitchurch, 2013).

However, there are a number of other areas in which participants' cultural capital has been de-valorised, or in which participants have been unable to convert their cultural and social resources into cultural capital. As Erel (2010; p.655) notes, this ability to convert resources into capital "depends on the socio-political ability of actors to define the boundaries and content of the field of migration-specific cultural capital". Displaced academics do not, as discussed in Section 2.4.2, share the same normative status as voluntary academic migrants, drawn as international staff and students to the "institutional magnetism" (Pherali, 2012: p.314) of UK higher education. As the literature by the AfP academics argues, displaced academics are refugees from their home countries, exiled from the public realm of academia in their home countries through political repression (in Türkiye) and civil conflict (in Syria) (Özatalay, 2020; Özdemir, 2019; Vatansever, 2020). Through funded fellowships, scholars subject to these civic and physical vulnerabilities can find sanctuary and continue on their research and professional trajectories on a temporary basis as PhD and postdoctoral fellows. But as we have seen, some of the interviewees (Aisha, Dareen, Nasim, Semra) were not placed in a university of their choice but were instead placed in institutions in which there was a free place for a displaced scholar, notwithstanding the scholar's preferences. This is of course an understandable position, given the restricted number of placements available, but this appears to have been the root cause of a lot of the issues emergent in the interviews related to isolation and marginalisation from departments, problematic relationships with supervisors and highly conflicted feelings of both privilege and regret.

I would argue that these issues that participants shared about the placement process are exemplars of displaced scholars, as refugees and as ontological exiles, and as 'victims to be saved' in a humanitarian discourse (Özdemir, 2019), having a lower status compared to other

international visiting fellows, falling into what Vatansever (2020: p.51) terms as a “surplus academic labour force”. Many, but not all, participants were therefore unable to define the boundaries and content of their field and were asked to “make the best out of it” (Danielle). This led to a serious lack of ‘fit’ for some CARA scholars, feelings of being a ‘fish out of water’ when their habitus does not match the field they are in (Bourdieu, 1990). This lack of fit undermined their positioning in the institutional field in which they were placed, in turn weakening the dispositions, due to their normative status of being ‘at-risk’, of their transnational habitus.

A further issue related to cultural capital that we must consider is the connection between informal networks and displaced scholars’ social capital. As discussed above, a striking difference emerged in the interview data between the Turkish and Syrian participants, in the sense that all of the Turkish scholars maintained ties to diasporic social networks to which they belonged prior to their exile, such as the AfP movement and the Hizmet movement. The same was strikingly not the case for the Syrian scholars who appeared to report more cases of isolation during their placements. These social networks that the Turkish scholars reported membership of may be regarded as examples of what Putnam (2000) refers to as a form of ‘bonding capital’: ties that hold similar people together, and what Ryan et al. (2015) regard as a central element of migrant cultural capital. During the period of the participants’ placements, CARA and SRF were unable to hold regular meetings of displaced academics due to COVID-19 restrictions, further restricting their ability to develop their social capital through Putnam's (2000) ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ capitals. While displaced scholars may be viewed as highly-skilled migrants, and as such less reliant on such networks as lower-skilled migrants, I would argue that in the cases where university selection emerged as problematic for displaced scholars, and where supervisor relationships were poor, or even non-existent as in Fouad’s case, the lack of bonding capital as a source of building new sources of social capital proved to be a major disadvantage amongst the postdoctoral and PhD fellows, compounded further by their exilic trajectory. It is thus incumbent upon sanctuary organisations and host universities to facilitate a much more inclusive environment for displaced academics for whom precarity and exile are such destabilising factors.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

This concluding chapter brings together the key contributions to knowledge that the study makes, before going on to outline what I regard to be some of the principal recommendations for the field. I then discuss what I consider to be some of the study's limitations before looking at the key contributions to my personal and professional practice. I then end this final chapter with some concluding remarks.

6.1) Contribution to Knowledge

The contributions to knowledge of this thesis are arguably threefold. Firstly, examination of the current literature in the field of academic mobility in the context of forced displacement reveals a striking lack of substantive scholarly investigations into the experiences of displaced academics in host institutions and countries. Some authors (Aydin, 2018; Özdemir, 2020; Vatansever, 2020) have investigated the experiences of displaced Turkish academics hosted in universities specifically in Germany, while Özatalay (2020) focused on AfP academics displaced throughout Western Europe. Referring to displaced academics from Syria, Parkinson et al. (2020) have addressed the role of academic development for Syrian academics in exile, while Reisz (2014) and Faulkner (2020) have published grey literature on the impact of displacement on Syrian academics' lives and livelihoods. Their focus was on Syrian academics domiciled in Türkiye as opposed to those who had found placement in higher education institutions through sanctuary fellowships offered elsewhere, leading them to argue that sanctuary scholarships for displaced academics are "transformational for individuals (…) but this approach is resource heavy and limited to those who are able to travel" (p.186). Morley et al. (2018) used semi-structured interviews with fourteen migrant academics and analysed their experiences with reference to the "global mobility paradigm" (p.538), but who had migrated to the UK under their own volition, so were thus not forcibly displaced. Pherali (2020) meanwhile discussed "how refugees are positioned within social, psychological and humanitarian debates" (p.87) by examining one Syrian scholar's experiences of displacement and academic life in exile.

This study is to date therefore the most substantial of its kind to investigate the challenges, tensions and opportunities of both displaced Turkish and Syrian scholars living and studying

in host universities in the UK. It has thus aimed to make a substantive contribution to this current but limited literature in the field of academic mobility within the specific context of those who have been 'made mobile' through displacement. It is the first study to have drawn together the experiences of thirteen globally mobile academics from different home countries, specifically those who have been forcibly displaced and have applied for funded fellowships in the UK as 'at-risk' scholars.

Secondly, I have expanded Özatalay's (2020) conceptual framework to create a more detailed theoretical model that reflects the experiences of both Turkish and Syrian fellows who have been placed by CARA and SRF in host universities in the UK. This new model adds a fourth Zone of *Affiliation* that separates out the application process to sanctuary organisations and affiliation with the host university itself. In doing so, this thesis has revealed numerous instances of displaced fellows being placed in universities and supervisory relationships that have lacked alignment with their research interests, leading to serious issues of marginalisation, isolation and regret. These issues can then be compounded by a conflict between the self-perception of displaced academics as autonomous scholars and as 'victims to be saved', strengthening a sense of marginalisation from host institutions and their wider research communities. In this view, an interactionist view of identity has proven to be a valuable theoretical lens through which the 'big' and 'small' stories of displaced academics may be understood.

Thirdly, I have employed transnationalism's concepts of bounded and unbounded identities to a new cohort, namely displaced people who have benefitted from funded placements in an international higher education context. The participants in this study have exhibited bounded and unbounded identities in strikingly different ways. The Turkish scholars emphasised the role of transnational communal networks as a source of unbounded diasporic identity formation. This may be due to the fact that Turkish scholars displaced due to their political affiliation have been able to maintain strong unbounded ties to the diasporic community formed out of these political affiliations, which serves as a powerful source of transnational identity formation beyond informal friendship, professional or family ties. The Syrian scholars in this study, fleeing conflict, appear to have lacked such strong unbounded transnational ties. This was perhaps caused by a climate of fear and mistrust between individuals, witnessed in

some Syrian scholars emphasising the need for secrecy over sanctuary scholarship applications. More widely, Syria's civil war may have undermined the health of civil society institutions, disrupting sources of group membership and degrading sources of people's collective identity formation. They tended to emphasise the role of bounded networks developed through first language and shared research fields, reflecting a greater weakening of their transnational web of ties and a greater reliance on bounded identity formation within the local contexts of their placements. If fellows secured suitable placements in host universities, with strong research cultures and positive supervisory relationships, then these local sources of bounded identity formation could be highly enriching. But if displaced fellows were placed in less suitable placements, with low involvement in research cultures and ineffective supervision, then bounded identity formation was arguably much weaker, leading to a compounded sense of marginalisation.

6.2) Recommendations for the Field

Practically speaking, given the unique dataset from this very particular sample of participants, these contributions to knowledge could potentially provide important information for placement organisations such as CARA and SRF, as well as host universities, on the best means of providing effective support to displaced academics operating in placements or having recently completed placements. Pherali (2020: p.89) argues that the media representation of refugees "reproduces the notion of 'refugeeness' as speechless physical bodies devoid of individuality and political agency", and obscures "the particularity of different sorts of refugee experience" (Rajaram, 2002: p.251). This process of homogenisation occurs through the "geographical narrowness" of refugee narratives that hold traditional receiving countries in Europe and the US as having geopolitical superiority over the developing world, reinforcing what Fricker (2007) regards as epistemic injustice, and framing the refugee experience in terms of numbers (Espinoza, 2019). Through focusing on the stories told by the participants in this thesis, I have aimed for participants to be able to express this individuality and agency, and have their voices heard, as they have reflected on their identities and self-perceptions as academic migrants, their experiences of the process of transnational migration and settlement in a UK institution, and their researching and teaching using English as a second language.

All of the participants in this study were either in the second year of their two-year fellowship programme or have already completed it, so the findings of this thesis could provide a rich source of information for CARA and SRF in understanding what happens to displaced academics beyond the two-year programme of funded scholarships. In my communications with CARA, they communicated a lack of knowledge about what happens to their fellows following the completion of placements. Studies such as this could thus provide an important source of information about the personal and professional trajectories of displaced fellows on funded sanctuary scholarships. Two apparent divergences in participants' experiences have become apparent. Firstly, Syrian scholars have attested to more restricted sources of unbounded diasporic identity. Host universities need to offer institution-wide support for displaced academics in their care, and to ensure that a variety of stakeholders across the institution are available to help generate a sense of community and belonging and to prevent some of the more egregious instances of marginalisation and isolation that can occur, especially if individuals are placed in a setting in which there is a lack of research alignment. Sanctuary organisations could also aim to tackle this by providing as many opportunities as possible for displaced academics to build peer support and a sense of shared experience across their cohort of displaced scholars, aimed particularly at those who have encountered a lack of unbounded sources of diasporic identity.

Secondly, this study evidences a greater level of professional precarity amongst the study's social science specialists compared to those researching in STEM fields. Sanctuary organisations could account for this heightened sense of precarity in their scholarship programmes, such as by providing opportunities for further guidance and support in finding post-doctoral placements beyond the completion of their sanctuary programmes, aimed particularly at those in social science disciplines. CARA state that they aim for their fellows to be well-placed with "newly-gained knowledge, concepts, materials and approaches"[28] for when they return home. As displaced fellows enter into the Zone of *Disaffiliation*, it is vital that host institutions and sanctuary organisations try to prevent a return to *Vulnerability*. Host institutions must therefore endeavour to fully integrate displaced academics into their

[28] https://www.cara.ngo/what-we-do/caras-fellowship-programme

teaching and research staff so that they can gather as much academic capital as possible during their temporary fellowships.

Overall, future studies in this field could be undertaken that take account of these proposals outlined above, as could comparative studies that examine in more detail the experiences of displaced academics in other countries, such as the US, Germany, and France. Until that time, I hope that this thesis will be of interest to decision-makers in higher education institutions, policymakers at the Department of Education, CARA, SRF and their fellow organisations who will carefully consider the findings of this independent research. From these findings I make the following three recommendations that:

1) placement organisations make greater endeavours to place displaced academics into institutional and supervisory contexts that are the most suitable for them;
2) support programmes that are institutionally wide and involve professional services units are put in place to allow displaced academics the opportunity to build much as much academic capital as possible during their fellowships, including stronger social and research networks;
3) especially given the substantial increase in the number of applicants for funded fellowships (see Figure 1), that funding support for placement programmes be sourced from central government and not only from university funding to increase the opportunities for displaced scholars.

6.3) Limitations of this Study

I recognise that the participants in this study are from a self-selecting group, and thus those who may have had more negative experiences may have been more likely to volunteer to participate in the study. However, numerous participants also shared highly positive reflections on their experiences of their sanctuary fellowships, so despite the fact that the group was self-selecting, there was arguably a balance between the positive and negative reflections that I have tried to reflect in my findings and discussion. As a piece of narrative research, I have also aimed to make sure the stories of those involved in sanctuary placements are heard to the fullest extent possible, and I have not written this thesis with the aim of

attaining a balanced or generalisable view of the cohort of displaced academics on sanctuary placements.

Despite the number of interviews undertaken as part of this study, one possible change to this thesis could have been conducting interviews with staff members from CARA or SRF who could have outlined the viewpoint of the placement organisations whose work has been examined here. A further possible change may have been to undertake a more detailed online survey of displaced academics throughout the UK. Coupled with in-depth interviews, this could have provided a rich source of quantitative and qualitative data for a mixed methods approach. However, particularly given the fact that the participants are displaced peoples, I feel the richness of the stories validates my decision to facilitate the opportunity for displaced academics to share their stories in interviews and for the scope of this thesis to be given wholly and undividedly to their shared understandings and reflections.

6.4) Contributions to Personal and Professional Practice

This EdD thesis has supported my personal and professional development by encouraging me to look beyond the very specific nature of my previous EAP role and engage with a greater variety of stakeholders in higher education, from L1 undergraduate students to those who have been forcibly displaced. These reflections over the course of this doctoral programme helped me to recently attain a promotion at LSE to the role of a Learning Developer. As part of this role, I have delivered workshops for displaced Ukrainian civil servants and have endeavoured to help foster a strong sense of community through education from which displaced scholars, as well as the LSE's wider student cohort, can benefit. Prior to this study I often struggled to visualise a clear career trajectory and a specialism outside of EAP, and undertaking this thesis has helped me to forge new career paths into Learning Development and perhaps as a subsequent step into migration studies. These are both fields that are extremely rich in their interdisciplinarity and yet could arguably benefit from more practical applications and knowledge exchange between the academe and practitioners. Throughout my studies for the EdD, I have often struggled with questions over my own professional identity and institutional positionality 'on the margins' of academia. As an EAP tutor and now as a Learning Developer, I have operated in spaces that, while maintaining strong connections with academic departments, exist in a third space (Whitchurch, 2013) that can offer comfort

to students as a 'safe space' outside of their departments. This problematic positionality arguably led me to identify so strongly with the two Turkish academics with whom I collaborated, and which led me to the idea for this thesis.

The fact that this thesis will be adapted into a forthcoming book chapter and has been accepted at several conferences speaks to the importance of continuing a dialogue about how displaced academics can and must be supported as they aim to simply find the space to continue their research in peace, free of political and physical risk. In a higher education context that has become increasingly transnationalised yet also neo-liberalised, sanctuary organisations must endeavour to ensure that those they assist are placed in institutional spaces where no displaced scholar feels 'out of place' or marginalised, thus avoiding any reproduction of victimhood. Temporary placements in host universities cannot overcome localised situations where students and academic staff are purged by the breakdown of state institutions through civil conflict, or by the actions of authoritarian neo-liberal governments. Ultimately it is however the responsibility of universities and democratic governments worldwide to seek ways to protect truth seeking and critical scholarship from the twin impacts of authoritarian repression and political violence.

6.5) Concluding Remarks

This research has undertaken an examination into the experiences of a group of displaced academics, to date the largest of any such study ever undertaken in the UK. The participants who showed the courage to share their stories and often traumatic recollections, have all experienced marginalisation and expulsion from higher education in their home countries from either a neo-liberal authoritarian government or through the trauma of a decade-long civil war. This thesis has shown that the provision of sanctuary scholarships by universities across Europe, the US and UK, provide both PhD students and postdoctoral fellows with invaluable opportunities to gain access to professional networks and research technologies that enhance their capital and shape a more powerful sense of their academic identity. But many of the cases examined here strongly support the findings of displaced academics who have argued that their normative 'at-risk' status and marginalisation in their host universities have prevented them from being accepted as fellow critical scholars. In this sense, the act of

solidarity that funded scholarships embody can too often become one laced with sentiments of anxiety, isolation, and regret at missed opportunities. It is my hope that studies such as this can contribute to creating an environment and sanctuary programmes in which academics who have been displaced can look beyond the horizon of being 'at-risk' and regain their autonomy in host institutions in which they are fully integrated as critical scholars engaged in the pursuit of truth-seeking amidst the onward march of academic capitalism.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Thesis Timeline

Timing	Process/Outcome
Academic year 2019-2020	Working on an English for Teaching Purposes (ETP) course with two displaced academics from Türkiye. Extensive discussions surrounding precarity, academic migration and what it means to be 'on the margins' of higher education.
September 2020	Initial thesis proposal sent to my supervisory team for discussion and reflection. This is a relatively substantial shift from the focus of my IFS so at this stage it was important for me to check whether my supervisors would be happy to continue supervision with me. As a result of this, my Secondary Supervisor changed to Dr Caroline Oliver in February 2021
October 2020	Initial contact with programme officers at CARA and SRF online and via email. Discussion of proposal and development of a short outline of the study to be sent to displaced academics hosted on CARA and SRF programmes
December 2020	Thesis upgrade passed, commencement of reading for Study Context, Literature Review and Methodology Chapters
March 2021	Ethical approval for research project granted by IoE Research Ethics
March 2021	Following further discussions with CARA and SRF, both organisations email their hosted academics in UK universities to inform them about this study, asking anyone who is interested in participating to get in touch with me directly
March 2021	I contact all of the nineteen potential participants who responded to the email. I send them an information sheet as well as a questionnaire and consent form to complete, sign and return to me

March 2021 – September 2021	Further reading and initial drafts of Study Context, Literature Review and Methodology Chapters are completed and sent to my supervisory team for feedback
September 2021	Pilot interviews undertaken with two displaced academics hosted at LSE. Feedback from these interviews helps to refine the focus of the interview questions. Renewed contact with nineteen potential participants to confirm commencement of interviews. Positive response received from 13 participants
October 2021 – April 2022	Data collection process through online interviews takes place. After initial interviews, the wording of some questions is changed to make them clearer, especially concerning questions around participants' reflections on their identities
November 2021 – August 2022	Data transcription and NVivo coding take place
August 2022 – December 2022	Re-drafting of Study Context, Literature Review and Methodology Chapters following supervisors' feedback
December 2022 – February 2023	First drafts of Findings and Discussion Chapters completed for supervisors' feedback.
March – June 2023	Full draft of thesis is written up, as well as Impact and Reflective Statements
July 2023	Viva examination
March 2024	Corrections completed and submitted

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

Information Sheet for Potential Participants

My name is Michael Beaney, and I am inviting you to take in part in my research project examining: The identities of displaced academics in UK higher education institutions.

I am an EdD candidate at the UCL Institute of Education and I work as an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) lecturer at the London School of Economics (LSE). During my experience as an EdD student, I have undertaken a number of independent research projects, most recently one examining how reading and writing can be integrated in the language assessment of international pre-Master's students. In my role as an EAP lecturer at the LSE, I have worked extensively in recent years with two displaced academics who were offered two-year placements at LSE via the Council for At-Risk Academics (CARA). These collaborations have directed my research focus towards issues of the academic identities of displaced academics who have secured placements in English universities through organisations such as CARA.

In undertaking this independent research project, I am hoping to find out more about the experiences of placement of displaced academics, and how their academic identities have changed through the process of migration and placement in universities. I very much hope that you would like to take part. This information sheet will try and answer any questions you might have about the project, but please do not hesitate to contact me if there is anything else you would like to know.

Who is carrying out the research?

I am the main researcher, and I am supported by my EdD supervisors at UCL's Institute of Education. This is an independent piece of research that is neither funded nor directed by sanctuary organisations such as CARA.

Why are you doing this research?

I would like to understand more about placement programmes for displaced academics and how displaced scholars experience this programme and their placement in UK universities.

I am particularly interested in focusing on scholars' academic identities and if/how these have changed through the migration and placement process.

There are now a number of organisations in the UK and Europe that offer placement programs for displaced scholars, but very few studies have examined this experience. In order to ensure that scholars receive the right support and that placements are as successful and as effective as possible, it is important that an independent study of the placement process be carried out.

Why am I being invited to take part?

As a displaced scholar, your contribution to the research will allow you to share your experiences of the placement process and your reflections on how this has impacted on your academic identity.

What will happen if I choose to take part?

You will firstly receive a short questionnaire asking for some biographical information, such as your research field, your stage of study and your language background. This data will be used for sampling and will be sent in a password-protected document.

If you are selected for interview, I will then conduct an interview with you, either via Zoom or Teams, in which I will ask you about your experience of the placement process and your reflections on your identity as an early-career academic. Examples of questions include:

- Tell me about why you decided to apply for a placement.
- What was the process of application and placement like?
- What were your expectations of working in a UK university?
- Tell me about your experience of placement.

Only one interview of approximately one hour will take place. The interview will be recorded via Zoom/Teams. I will retain a password-protected copy of the audio recordings on my home PC until the research is completed and the audio data will then be fully deleted. I will ask if you would like to receive a copy of the audio file of your interview.

Will anyone know I have been involved?

All the responses to questionnaires and interviews will remain confidential, and the information in the questionnaires and recorded interviews will not be shared beyond you

the participant and me the researcher. All data from the questionnaires and interviews will be password protected and stored on a single computer in my home. All biographical information, such as your name, location and country of origin will be redacted from the transcripts, and a pseudonym will be created, so you the participant will remain completely anonymous throughout the research process.

Could there be problems for me if I take part?

If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the questionnaire or interview process, then you have every right to stop at any point and withdraw from the study. The interview transcript will be sent in an encrypted document to you, along with a final informed consent document, allowing you to check and amend any responses you have made, and to confirm that you are happy for your responses to be used and occasionally quoted as part of the thesis.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of the research will be used as primary data for my EdD thesis. The thesis will then be shared with my supervisors at IoE, as well as my examiners. An executive summary of the thesis will be sent to CARA, and the findings and discussion will be used for conference presentations to relevant professional bodies, such as the British Association of Lectures of English for Academic Purposes BALEAP), as well as publications in relevant journals. Your data on which this research will be based will remain fully anonymous throughout the process, so you will not be identified.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience. If you decide to take part, you are free to later withdraw at any point in the process without any negative repercussions relative to your placement.

Data Protection Privacy Notice

The controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Officer provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at: data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This 'local' privacy notice sets out the information that applies to this particular study. Further information on how UCL uses participant information from research studies can be found in our 'general' privacy notice for participants in research studies here.

The information that is required to be provided to participants under data protection legislation (GDPR and DPA 2018) is provided across both the 'local' and 'general' privacy notices. The lawful basis that will be used to process any personal data is: 'Public task' for personal data and 'Research purposes' for special category data. I will be collecting personal data such as: your name; your placement location; your research field; your stage of study and your country of origin.

Your personal data will be processed so long as it is required for the research project. If I am able to anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide, I will undertake this and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact me about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

Contact for further information

If you have any further questions before you decide whether to take part, you can reach me at: m.a.beaney@lse.ac.uk

If you wish to contact someone at UCL to talk about my study, you are free to get in touch with my supervisors who may be contacted at the below email addresses:

Dr Mary Richardson: mary.richardson@ucl.ac.uk

Dr Jim McKinley: j.mckinley@ucl.ac.uk

If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form, and return it to me at: m.a.beaney@lse.ac.uk

This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

If you are happy to participate in this research project, please complete this consent form by ticking each item, as appropriate, adding your name, signature, and date to the page overleaf, and return this form to me via the email address at the bottom of this page.

1) I confirm that I have read and understood this information sheet, and have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions, and have had these questions adequately answered. ☐

2) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐

3) I know that I can refuse to answer any or all of the questions in either the questionnaire or the interview, and that I can withdraw my participation from this research project at any point I choose. ☐

4) I have been made aware that after the completion of my interview, I will be securely sent the interview transcript for me to review, and I can make whatever changes to the transcript that I see fit. I will then be asked again for my consent that my responses will be used as data for this research project. ☐

5) I agree for the interview to be recorded, and that recordings will be kept secure and destroyed at the end of the project. I know that all data will be kept under the terms of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). ☐

6) I agree that small direct quotes may be used in reports (these will be anonymised). ☐

7) I understand that in exceptional circumstances anonymity and confidentiality would have to be broken, for example, if it was felt that practice was putting children at risk, or there were concerns regarding professional misconduct. In these circumstances advice would be sought from a senior manager from another local authority who will advise us as to the appropriate course of action and as to whether we need to inform the authority of what you have told us. ☐

Appendix D: Participant Questionnaire

Participant Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to complete this questionnaire. The questions are designed to help me create a general picture of participants' backgrounds and their placement with CARA.

Before completing the questionnaire, please make sure you have read and signed the attached Participant Consent Form. You complete the questionnaire by ticking the relevant box or adding textual information where necessary.

You are free to leave any part of the questionnaire blank.

All of the information you provide here is strictly confidential and no biographical information will be shared with any other party. For full information on data protection, please see the attached Information Sheet.

When you have completed this questionnaire, please return it to me at: m.a.beaney@lse.ac.uk

==========

a). Biographical Information

1. Name: .....
2. Age: .....
3. Country of Origin: .....
4. Gender:

   Female ☐

   Male ☐

   Rather not say ☐

5. What is your main language? .....

b). Information about Placement

5. Host University: .....

6. What is your current stage of study/work? (tick as appropriate):

(i) Undergraduate (e.g. BSc) ☐

(ii) Postgraduate (e.g. MSc) ☐

(iii) PhD or Doctoral Extension Scheme ☐

(iv) Post-doctoral placement ☐

(v) Paid employment ☐

(vi) Other temporary placement in the UK ☐

(vii) Other temporary placement outside the UK ☐

(viii) Other: .....

7. What is your current stage of the CARA placement? (tick as appropriate):

(i) Currently applying for placement ☐

(ii) Application accepted, awaiting placement ☐

(iii) First year of placement ☐

(iv) Second year of placement ☐

(v) Completed CARA placement ☐

If so, when did you complete the placement? .....

c). Further information

8. What is your field of study? .....

9. Are you currently residing in the UK? Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Some of the participants completing this questionnaire will be invited to take part in narrative interviews, in which they will be asked to share their experiences on the placement and to reflect on how their placement has impacted on their academic identities.

If selected, would you be happy to participate in these interviews? Yes ☐ No ☐

Thank you for your responses; please return it to me at m.a.beaney@lse.ac.uk

Appendix E: Sample Interview Questions

Background

Tell me about your subject and your stage of study.

Were you studying or working in academia in your home country before you came to the UK?

How did you first hear about the CARA/SRF fellowship programme?

Can you tell me about why you applied to CARA/SRF for a fellowship?

Did you apply to another programme in any other countries?

Can you tell me about how much English you'd studied before you started the fellowship?

Had you ever written or taught in English before?

Fellowship Programme

Tell me about your experience of the fellowship programme.

What did you like about it?

What did you dislike about it? Why?

Is there anything that you didn't expect?

Did you receive any English language support during the fellowship?

Did you have any input over the university that you went to?

Do you know why you went to the university that offered you a fellowship?

Were you offered a choice of universities for your fellowship?

Have you done any teaching as part of your fellowship?

Have you had much interaction with other at-risk academics?

Have you had much interaction with other staff members in your host university?

Identity

Do you think of yourself as an academic? Why/why not?

How did you perceive yourself during the fellowship?

How did you feel about sharing your at-risk status in your host university?

How did others perceive you do you think?

Has your sense of professional or academic identity changed since moving to the UK?

In what ways have you changed as a person and as a professional since undertaking the fellowship?

Are there ways have you not changed?

Is there anything about CARA/SRF's programme that you'd like to change?

The Future

What are your plans for when the fellowship finishes?

or

What have you done since the fellowship finished? Have you been able to find other fellowship programmes/post-doctoral programmes?

Do you want to remain in academia?

Do you have any preference about where you would like work/research?

Appendix F: Pre-Interview and Interview Notes

June 2021:

I've just completed the two pilot interviews with my collaborators who were former colleagues at LSE. These were really valuable encounters as they have helped me to refine some areas of my questioning. Specifically, they both advised me to try and keep the focus of the interviews on interrogating what it is like to be displaced academic, rather than as a CARA or SRF scholar. Perhaps this can help encourage a greater sense of agency and independence amongst interview participants, as opposed to agency that is 'supplied' by the sanctuary organisations.

There are overall a number of concerns that I currently have in these few months prior to the commencement of the interviews. These are:

- will I be able to secure enough participants in the study? I am hopeful of securing at least ten interviews but am worried that more potential participants will fall out.
- I initially had contact with 19 potential participants and I had positive responses from 14 in my most recent round of emails.
- I think one reason for this is that I may have contacted them earlier than I should have. I initially made contact with CARA and SRF in March 2021 after receiving ethical clearance for this project, who then contacted participants straight away, but I won't be starting interviews until October, around six months after I first connected with the participants. This is maybe one explanation of the drop off in interest.

A further point to note is that I don't foresee these pilots as mirroring the interviews themselves. I have built up an extensive rapport with these two colleagues at LSE since 2017, while the interviews themselves will take place with those with whom I will have had no communication other than via email. What other issues might there be in conducting a research interview such as this? I will consider some issues and over the summer and write further about them prior to the commencement of the interviews.

September 2021:

I've got in touch with the 19 people who had first got in touch with me expressing interest in participating in the research. In June I was in touch with 14 potential participants, and after this next round of emails I have positive confirmation from 13 participants. I'm quite happy with these recruitment numbers, but with several caveats:

- the balance between CARA and SRF participants isn't really there. We have 12 participants from CARA and only one from SRF.
- I'm not very clear about why this might be, as it appears that SRF still has a lot of applicant numbers, so I had assumed there would be more of a balance between the groups.
- Only one SRF fellow got in touch with me asking to participate in the research, while 18 CARA fellows got in touch. Perhaps this is due to the fact that CARA fellows have a greater desire to share their experiences, either positive or negative?

Another issue is rapport building that I acknowledged in my previous note. Below are the thoughts that I have had when considering this issue:

- These interviews will be taking place online as opposed to face-to-face. Some of the literature on interviews (eg. Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015) is critical of the effectiveness of online interviews. This might have been a greater issue before COVID-19, but as so many meetings have become online or are hybrid, then this may not be so much of an issue.
- However, I acknowledge that numerous participants are females from an Arabic background, and they will be sharing their reflections in their L2 with a white, male, non-displaced, native L1 user.
- But this is a self-selected population, they have volunteered to share their reflections, they have signed consent forms and the information sheet has made clear what the focus of the research is.
- So I will approach these interviews in the knowledge that they have volunteered to share their experiences and want to share their stories with me. It is my job to focus on how to best facilitate this storytelling.

- I would like to build as much rapport as I can over the short time that we will be speaking together (I foresee these interviews lasting at least 45 minutes), but the principal focus must be on generating meaningful qualitative data that will help me to answer my Research Questions.

I am about to start my first two interviews in a few weeks so will write more notes then about how they have been going.

October 2021:

I have just finished the first two interviews and have been thinking about how participants' responses have been impacted by my wording of the questions. In particular, this is related to the section on Identity, during which I've been asking very wordy questions. I've lacked concision and I think this comes down to a number of different factors:

- in trying to keep the interviews semi-structured and quite conversational in tone, I have not kept too strictly to the interview script;
- I am asking very personal questions to people with whom I have had no previous spoken contact. I think this has made me a little nervous about asking these questions;
- I wonder if the issues with rapport building that I mentioned in my notes from a few weeks ago, such as nationality and gender are also playing a role here. The first two participants are both female and Syrian, one of whom wore a head covering.
- While asking them both questions on identity, I found myself becoming quite nervous leading up to the questions, leading to the questions themselves being too long and unclear.
- I think I am going to try and make these questions on identity relatively structured and keep more closely to the interview script. I have tried to keep the wording concise and will aim to reflect this conciseness in the interviews going forward.

The interviews themselves have been about as long as I had thought, both are between 40 and 50 minutes long. I feel that I have generated a lot of useful data from these first two interviews, and it will be interesting to see if other interviews last around the same length. As a constructionist study, it is also important to consider my own subjectivities and biases, and how they be impacting on the conduct of these interviews.

- Overall I have also tried to carefully consider keeping these questions neutral and have been wary of avoiding any potentially leading questions.
- While I used the pilots to refine the wording of interview questions and to keep the focus on generating data to examine the Research Questions, throughout the interview process I must endeavour to maintain a balance between keeping the questions concise and clear, while having the freedom to explore what appear to be 'hidden' narratives as they emerge.
- How do my own contexts and knowledges impact on the conduct of the interviews given the fact that I am: part of UK higher education, a Learning Developer who aims to provide support for students and staff in the university?

I have another four interviews scheduled before the Christmas break, so will reflect more on the above issues and anything else that emerges after these are completed.

December 2021:

I have completed six interviews now. One of the key issues that have emerged in recent weeks has been the 'chattiness' of some of the interviewees. This can lead to great variations in the lengths of some interviews. Some interviews have lasted as little as 25-30 minutes, while others have gone to more than an hour. Why might this be?

- Some of this may be related to language barriers: although their L2 English level needs to be at a minimum of 6.5 to enter the programme, I am asking some challenging questions, asking them to reflect on their experiences in detail. It can also be difficult to answer questions of identity even in one's L1, so having to respond to such questions in an L2 is even more challenging, so this must be considered.

- This may also be related to the rapport issues that I have discussed in previous notes: if I have not had the chance to build up sufficient time with the participants, then asking them personal questions and expecting detailed, personal responses, can be challenging.
- Perhaps subject specialism is an issue: STEM versus social science specialisms. Could I expect those of a more social science background to have more to say on identity than those from a STEM background?
- I must also consider the issue of power relations. As discussed before, many of this study's participants are from a Middle Eastern background and are female. This perhaps makes it less likely that some might be willing to divulge a lot about what they are feeling to a Western male who they have encountered before, despite the fact that this is a research interview. This is not a universal issue but is one that is worthy of consideration.
- I feel that given this is a one-off interview, there perhaps is not much I can do to mitigate these issues, but I must try to ensure with clear and concise questioning the generation of as much meaningful data as is possible.

The issues that initially emerged with asking questions about identity have dissipated more. I think this is due to fewer nerves and developing a stronger interviewing 'habit'. I have also attempted to address the issues raised in my previous notes by doing the following:

- rehearsing the questions prior to the interviews;
- attempting greater cohesion with other parts of the interview so questions of identity are a little more interspersed with other sections;
- sharing my screen with participants during the interview. I think this could help prepare them for these questions a little better;
- remember that they are keen to share their experiences and reflections with me. In order to extract meaningful data from this study, I need to ask questions that are capable of generating such data.

The issue of question neutrality o**r** stance has been an issue with several interview participants whose recounting of their experiences generated a lot of emotion. While I

recognise and empathise with their anxieties, I must also remember the importance of not identifying too closely with their position.

January 2022:

One interviewee mentioned that I should have shared my interview questions with her before the interview. No other participant mentioned this. Should I have sent the questions to the participants to prime them before the interview? What difference would this have made to their answers?

- I can definitely see her point because I am asking participants to recall events that happened from 2018 to the present day. It is natural that people's recollections may be a little unclear, thus prior notice of the questions would have helped.
- But I had already told participants about what the focus of the study would be so they would have known that I was going to ask about their displacement, application process and subsequent placement in their host university.
- Also when planning the study I was keen to ensure that people's responses were not too pre-prepared, but emerged from an interactive, conversational style of interviewing.
- As I planned to do semi-structured interviews, I think delivering the questions prior to the interview ran the risk of making the interview overly structured.

February 2022:

I have now done all of my interviews with the Turkish post-doctoral fellows. These were very in-depth interviews and tended to last a lot longer than the PhD interviews. I think this may be due to a number of reasons, namely that:

- they tended to be farther on in their academic trajectory (their average age is higher than the PhD fellows);

- this later stage meant that they had more experiences to share about their relative position in the social field of higher education, either nationally or transnationally;
- they spent more time talking about their backstory. This may be due to the fact that they wanted/needed to provide a more detailed discussion of the context that led to their dismissal from their posts and subsequent displacement.

April 2022:

I have now completed all of the interviews and am now in the process of checking and cleaning the transcripts in preparation for coding. Some key reflections I have learnt:

Interview style:

- As the interviews progressed, I found that I developed a much clearer style of questioning, keeping my questions on identity much clearer and more concise, and drawing the interviewees towards this area rather than hitting them too hard with this quite intrusive line of questioning.
- I think the semi-structured approach really helped to develop a conversational style to these interviews and I think I have managed to retain a stance of neutrality in terms of question wording and overall approach.

Many, but not all, of the interviews felt like quite natural discussions of the salient points, and many ran towards an hour in length, with some closer to 90 minutes or even two hours, allowing for an in-depth exploration of the salient issues. I think this demonstrates:

- that the issues with rapport building weren't much of an issue as many participants spoke freely and openly;
- that the decision to run the interviews online was the correct one;
- that the interviews themselves were valuable opportunities for people to share their stories, justifying the value of the research approach and the study.

Variables in terms of interview response:

- some of the most profound and moving contributions came from female participants, negating the issue that gender may be a factor in preventing interviewees from being particularly open;

- I think language barrier was perhaps an issue for why some interviews lasted less time than others. Some responses to questions were very short. This could perhaps lead to less meaningful data emerging from the interviews, which will thus impact on coding density for some participants.

The fact that this is a self-selecting population may be crucial in the themes that emerge from the coding process:

- how many participants self-selected to participate in this research because they wanted to critique the sanctuary organisations and elements of their placement?
- will there be more negative than positive stories of placement?
- how should this affect the conclusions that I come to and the recommendations I make to the sanctuary organisations?

Appendix G: Participant Coding Density

PhD Fellow	Coding Density
Aisha	62
Dalal	36
Danielle	74
Dina	58
Kazem	35
Fouad	55
Nasim	47
Rabia	22
Wasim	24

Postdoctoral fellow	Coding Density
Emir	37
Mesut	57
Semra	57
Yasemin	40

Appendix H: Thematic Coding of Interview Data

Themes and Codes	Participants	Coding Instances
Application		
▪ IELTS	8	12
▪ Process	5	12
▪ Time	6	8
▪ University Selection	13	22
Total instances		**54**
Arrival	2	2
Background		
▪ Non-UK	13	26
▪ UK	6	9
Total instances		**35**
Conflicted Feelings	4	8
COVID-19	7	11
Critiques	7	12
Fellowship		
▪ Adaptation	8	14
▪ Challenges	6	16
▪ Funding	7	15
▪ Isolation and Marginalisation	10	21
▪ Learning and Developing	9	18
▪ Privilege	5	6
▪ Secrecy	1	2
▪ Supervisor Relationship	7	31
Total instances		**123**
Gender	2	4

Themes and Codes	Participants	Coding Instances
Identity		
▪ Academic	13	31
▪ Refugee	4	11
Total instances		**42**
L2 Language		
▪ Before Fellowship	6	7
▪ During Fellowship	11	33
Total instances		**40**
Marketisation of HE	5	5
Moving and Mobility	13	37
Networks	12	24
Placement Organisations		
▪ Contact	8	12
▪ Fellowship Offer	4	6
▪ First Information	8	8
▪ Issues or Problems	2	8
▪ Praise	6	7
▪ Requirements	2	5
▪ Secrecy	1	2
▪ Trustworthiness	1	3
Total instances		**51**
Post-Fellowship		
▪ Academia	12	27
▪ Asylum	3	3
▪ Home	3	4
▪ Industry	8	12
▪ Visa Concerns	7	10
Total instances		**56**

Themes and Codes	Participants	Coding Instances
Teaching Experience		
▪ Before Fellowship	7	16
▪ During Fellowship	10	15
Total instances		**31**
Vulnerability		
▪ Civic	4	41
▪ Physical	8	17
Total instances		**58**