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A movement in time; A sensory ethnographic exploration into migrants' experiences of nostalgia and its affect on personal wellbeing

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ABSTRACT

The experience of nostalgia is far more than a moment of bittersweet sentiment, as it has long been defined. Within nostalgia lies a meaningful personal signature, one that may be incited in various embodied sensuous practices and utilised within wellbeing. This study aims to explore nostalgic experiences for individuals who have migrated to England, applying a participatory, multi-disciplinary approach utilising sensory-based ethnographic mobile interviews within a myriad of locations, and founded on the roots of psychogeography. The experiences of seven individuals were explored, guided by their preferences engaging with the emplaced sensory nature of their experiences. Data was analysed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), forming three super-ordinate themes including; 'Temporal Trajectory and Identity', 'Belonging and Attachment' and 'Sensory Catalysts'. The participants conceptualised nostalgic experiences not only as naturally occurring but also as channels, connecting their past with both present and future selves. Expressing nostalgia allowed participants to engage in a sense of attachment for their memories both temporally and spatiality, and incited feelings of belonging within spaces and actions that were personally meaningful. Furthermore, various sensory-based explorations provided insight into how nostalgia may be evoked; focusing on auditory, gustatory, olfactory and kinetic senses possessing meaning.

KEY WORDS:	SENSORIAL	NOSTALIGA	ETHNOGRAPHIC	MOBILE	INTERPRETIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
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Introduction

The roots of nostalgia stem within the Greek etymology, '*nostos*', meaning to 'return home' and '*algia*', which expresses a suffering caused by longing (Jackson, 1986). When simply defined, nostalgia is 'a bittersweet longing for the past' (The American Heritage Dictionary, cited in Batcho, 2013:1). However, arguably this definition offers little insight into the meaning nor significance of the concept (Hepper et al., 2012). Nostalgia's essence can be observed throughout history; dating back to Homer's epic *Odyssey* (Homer, trans. 1921), which narrated the hero both lament for, and use his past as motivating strength (Austin, 2010). Nevertheless, the term nostalgia was originally coined by Hofer (1688) as a cerebral disease. Characterised by symptoms of anxiety and a loss of touch with the present (Havlena and Holak, 1991), nostalgia was perceived to affect individuals distanced from their homeland, such as Swiss mercenaries (Boym, 2001). This perception had a long-standing prevalence, attached to the notion of homesickness and isolated to minority groups including soldiers and immigrants (Cox, 1988; Sedikides et al., 2008), labelled by some within the psychodynamic tradition as an immigrant psychosis (Frost, 1938).

In recent years, nostalgia has distanced itself conceptually from such negative connotations as homesickness (Batcho, 1995). Instead, nostalgia has been described as warm feelings regarding the past, infused with happy memories (Kaplan, 1987). This has been supported by Davis (1979), who found students more frequently associated words such as warm and yearning with nostalgia than homesickness. Moreover, whilst homesickness is confined to location, nostalgia places more emphasis on temporality, though spatial elements may still be observed (Blunt, 2003), and may also encompass events and people in addition to places (Routledge et al., 2013). Furthermore, unlike prior belief, nostalgia is not a rare occurrence nor experienced purely by vulnerable groups, but rather is a ubiquitous experience that can occur in everyday life. As noted by Wildschut et al. (2006), individuals experience nostalgia at least once a week indicating its significance. Nevertheless, nostalgia is still approached with caution within psychology as a relatively new area (Batcho, 2013). Whilst the field has progressed, the definition of nostalgia has remained ambivalent (Hepper et al., 2012).

Although nostalgia has primarily been expressed as a self-relevant emotion (Rao et al., 2018; Abeyta et al., 2015), research has attempted to explore nostalgia as a type of affectively charged memory (Verplanken, 2012), or representational autobiographical memory (Madoglou et al., 2017). According to Batcho (1998), it is best understood as a union of cognitive memory-based, and affective processes. Nostalgia is both distinct from autobiographical memory and emotion, offering a more abstract complexity than simple cold processing memory but also construes more concrete, cognitively driven reflective system responses than emotion (Stephen et al., 2012). As stated by Batcho (2007: 362), 'One can remember without being nostalgic, but one cannot be nostalgic without remembering'. It is not simply emotion nor is it purely memory. Thus, it will be explored as a type of affective memory with a predominantly, though not exclusively, positive signature that may be associated to reflection and experienced through both internal reverie and external arousal.

A further point resides within the nature of nostalgia as a voluntary or involuntary experience. The voluntary aspect of nostalgia may be explored through the potential motivational, active undertones of some nostalgic experiences as nostalgia may be

expressed following an incentive desire to evoke memories (Howard, 2012). As Mace (2005) noted, voluntary reminiscence may prime involuntary autobiographical memories associated with that period, indicating voluntary elements. However, predominantly literature has been explored accordant with the Proustian phenomena, whereby a sensuous experience as simple as the taste and smell of a Madeleine cake dipped in tea may incite spontaneous reminiscence (Proust, 1982). Thus, the involuntary and voluntary nature of nostalgia are not mutually exclusive, as whilst the act of nostalgia is primarily expressed involuntarily, the potential for individuals to actively seek out and narrate memories indicates a voluntary aspect (Howard, 2012).

There has been a growth in literature exploring the ways nostalgia may be evoked, and used positively for wellbeing (Routledge et al., 2013). Contemporary research has indicated that meaninglessness, loneliness, and self-discontinuity are common psychological triggers for nostalgic reverie (Zhou et al., 2008; Juhl et al., 2010). Nostalgic-experiences may combat negative affect; incorporating redemptive, positively toned narratives that bolster positive self-regard (Wildschut et al., 2006; Ye et al., 2017), in addition to enhancing feelings of belongingness and heightened reporting of growth-orientated self-perception (Baldwin and Landau, 2014). Moreover, multiple studies have indicated the significance of collective nostalgia, which when expressed heightens self-identity and a sense of home (Blunt, 2003), suggesting both personal and collective nostalgia possess positive qualities. Nostalgia's role as a facilitator for self-enhancement and protection is similar to that of autobiographical memories within life scripts and personal narratives, acting as a reference system central to developing and maintaining self-concept (Sedikides and Wildschut, 2018). As described by Mead (1934), the formation of self is rooted to memory, thus through acts of nostalgic recollection identity is manifested, defined through both individuals and groups. Therefore, contrary to earlier research, it appears that nostalgia may serve as a psychological resource rather than a burden.

To explore nostalgic remembrance, it may be advantageous to focus on embodied practices of recollection to illuminate how previously generated bodily sensations and corresponding emotions may be utilised to interpret experiences (Misztal, 2003). As stated by Sutton (2001), bodily experiences and cognition are interrelated, thus nostalgic experiences may be evoked through sensory stimulation (Seremetakis, 1994). This concept may be understood using McKay's (2005) model of emotion, habitus and affect, whereby embodied habitus acts are influenced by stimulus affected bodily responses resulting in emotional attributions, and Connerton's (1989) concept of bodily memory. Here, focus is placed upon incorporating practices revealing how the body acts as a memory repository, moulded by culture. Accordingly, within memory-based experiences, sensory perception appears to represent a 'form of identity work' (Vannini et al., 2012:96), facilitating self-constructions through sensorial narratives of embodied knowledge.

In relation to this, sensory-ethnographic research may be utilised to explore the influences senses may have on the experiences of individuals concerning their identity formations and wellbeing. For instance, olfactive-memory recollections may be employed within sensory meta-narratives with emotional qualities, as they may mediate past experiences with present-day encounters, evoking reminiscence of past relations alongside space and time embodiment, illuminating a sense of continuity, contributing to embodied identity (Waskul et al., 2009; Low, 2013). Smellscapes have been coined to explore this, particularly within olfactive-related spatiality, whereby

scents organise and mobilise associated emotions to specific locations (Porteous, 1985; Urry, 2000). Studies exploring the interrelationships of food and memory have portrayed homogenous findings, particularly within the sphere of culturally specific foods, embodiment and memory (Sutton, 2001). For instance, Law (2001) noted that within Hong Kong's 'Little Manila', Filipino food practices were grounded through bodily impressions of sensorial reminders emulating a nostalgia for home. Furthermore, Abarca and Colby (2016) describe how food narratives may be reproduced as an embodied experience, facilitating the portrayal of who we are through what we eat. Therefore, memory-based nostalgia is the 'horizon of sensory experiences' (Seremetakis, 1994:9), both storing and dispersing sensory dimensions within culturally mediated material exercises, actuated through embodied practices.

Rationale

Despite contemporary research illustrating the significance and ubiquitous nature of nostalgic experiences, there is a dearth in qualitative exploratory research (El-Ziab, 2016), resulting in its predominant confine within consumer psychology which often overlooks its personal and individualistic character (Wildschut et al., 2006). A multitude of research has indicated the importance of self-identity for migrants, however the implications of this relating to nostalgia are minimal, focusing primarily on the aspect of homesickness (Grønseth, 2013). Due to the dominance of the quantitative approach in nostalgic-based research, the potential for exploration in naturalistic environments is often neglected. It would be valuable therefore to explore how nostalgic experiences may be evoked in an ethnographic sensory context to offer more insight.

Research Aims

This study aims to perform an in-depth exploration into the subjective and personal nature of nostalgia from the experiences of individuals who have migrated to England, highlighting how past experiences might be evoked and utilised to promote well-being. The objective was to implement a multi-disciplinary approach, conducting sensory-based semi-structured ethnographic interviews, complemented by mobile practices developed from the psychogeographic approach, and analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) to facilitate an exploration of the participants individual life-worlds concerning their nostalgic experiences. Furthermore, utilising IPA may reveal how nostalgic experiences might relate to the participants conceptualisation of their self-identity and notion of home.

Research Questions

In response to discussed literature and aims, the main research question was constructed: How may the experience of nostalgia be explored within an ethnographic sensory approach? Furthermore, the following sub-questions were formed accordingly:

- How may utilising sensory mobile practices evoke affective autobiographical memory, specifically in the context of nostalgia?
- How can this be further explored within those who have migrated to England?
- How might this experience of nostalgia relate to an individual's wellbeing?

Methodology

Qualitative Rationale

A qualitative approach was adopted to provide rich exploration of individuals' subjective experiences (Litchman, 2006). The approach's interactive, multi-layered nature enables in-depth investigation of individuals' perceptions and lived-experiences of the world (Corbetta, 2003). Thus, an understanding of personal experiences of nostalgia within sensory ethnographic-walking interviews is facilitated.

A brief history of Psychogeography through a Nostalgic lens

The way nostalgia may be explored was initially considered in regard to the practice of psychogeography. However, upon deliberation it appeared more appropriate to utilise psychogeography as the research methodological foundation, as opposed to the primary component. Nevertheless, the heritage of the practice may still be observed within the exercise of environmental exploration through mobile action.

Nostalgic sentiment can be observed within early psychogeographic practices, particularly within the situationists approach which was imbued with nostalgia (Lovett, 2008), conceived from a loss for the city (Keep, 2009). Within that period, psychogeography served more as political commentary, providing a form of defiance against capitalist gentrification and spaces of power that were dominating Paris by creating situationist ambiances, or spaces of playful opportunity for explorative recreation (Khatib, 1958).

Like nostalgia, psychogeography has a complicated history, one pathed with conceptual ambiguity and discord (Bonnet, 2009; Richardson, 2015). Given the controversial exclusivity and heavily theoretical nature of the *flâneur* and *dérive* (Bridger, 2013; Emmison and Smith, 2000), which was primarily dominated by 'overwhelmingly white European men' (van Ratingen, 2017:9), within this research lies an aspiration to augment traditional psychogeographic practices. However, the reasoning behind studying psychogeography resides within the emphasis on exploring affective narratives within sensuous flows embedded in the environment (Richardson, 2015). Thus, the study aimed to create a multi-disciplinary methodology formed on the heritage of psychogeography, utilising go-along practices, concerning sensory-ethnographic walking interviews.

Sensory Ethnographic Mobile Interviews

Participant-led mobile ethnographic-interviews were utilised, encouraging the arousal of serendipity and reflexivity (Jung, 2013; Pink, 2008). A go-along technique was applied whereby the interviewee dictates the interview's direction; promoting empowerment and rapport between participant and researcher (Carpiano, 2009), and reducing potential power dynamics (Finlay and Bowman, 2017). Here, the researcher partakes in 'learning at the elbow' (Stevenson, 2014:9) of participants, interacting with their experiences as a collaborative exercise, subsequently converging the sensory experiences of the participant-researcher (Ingold, 2000). Due to this the approach was multi-modal, as each participant explored their subjective experiences in a personal way that was meaningful to them and their life-worlds. For instance, although all interviews involved mobile walking practices to encourage nostalgic stimulation within emplaced environments, varying sensory elements were utilised depending on participants preferences. For example, the participant 'Mona' explored her nostalgic experiences through photo-elicitation and personal olfactory associations. Utilising photo-elicitation enabled greater ease with associated responses, which has

demonstrated extensive support (Harper, 2002), illustrating the benefits of engaging participants preferences to enrich discoveries.

A recent growth in mobile research has demonstrated its many benefits (Evans and Jones, 2011). Mobile practices are temporal exercises, enabling individuals to reflectively interact with urban space, forming meaningful relationships with them (Lee, 2004). Participant journeys are not just a one-directional pathway from point A to B, but rather a subjective and immersive experience, imbued with senses facilitating connection with meaningful memories and emotions (Ingold and Vergunst, 2016; Middleton, 2010; Adams and Guy, 2007). The embodied nature of walking allows constructing emplaced memory through sensory experiences; merging movement, environment and embodiment 'as we walk to remember, memory is activated' (Stevenson, 2014:5). This is supported by dementia studies that highlight the value of walking investigations, providing the opportunity to capture lived-experiences through movement (Odzakovic et al., 2018). Thus, walking interviews may act as embodied practice, nurturing senses of place by socially meaningful and sensual experiences (Lee, 2004). Suggesting this methodology is advantageous against traditional fixed, seated interviews by encouraging richer insight within the research (Sheller and Urry, 2006).

Semi-structured interviews were paired with walking, encouraging open exploration of participants' life-worlds (Willig, 2013). Smith and Osborn (2003) described this interview style as an exemplary method for IPA, providing a focused yet flexible approach for data collection. Within IPA, participants are 'experiential experts' (Smith and Osborn, 2003:57), enabling interviewees to convey experiences whilst avoiding the researcher imposing too much direction into the narrative (Smith et al., 2009). The interviews began open-ended, with a few set questions encouraging participants to direct the interview tone (Smith et al., 2009) (Appendix A). However, questions were also tailored to illuminate participants' preferences and experiences (Miles and Gilbert, 2005). Recorded on an audio-device, the interviews were approximately thirty minutes depending on participants' and their experiential narrative. During the interview, the participants' guided how and where they wished to explore their experiences, focusing on sensory elements.

In contrast to traditional participant observation, ethnographic-based research is beginning to highlight the value of incorporating more sensory-based embodied awareness, involving both participant and researcher; distancing from purely ocular observations, progressing towards more richly textured, 'full-bodied' research (Sandelowski, 2002; Pink, 2009). The utilisation of senses within ethnographic-interviews to evoke meaningful experiences and emplaced memory has received extensive support (Pink, 2009; Adams and Bruce, 2008; Rhys-Taylor, 2010). As walking practices are multi-sensory (Lee, 2004), it seemed appropriate to accompany interviews with the opportunity for participants to explore how their senses might evoke nostalgic meaning. As our senses 'constantly reinforce each other to provide the intricately ordered and emotion-charged world' (Tuan, 1977:11), inciting a sensory cascade of relating nostalgic-associations (Guillemin and Harris, 2014). Resulting in reuniting individuals with meaningful sensations, enabling an evocative sense of past memories within the temporal continuums of everyday life (Hemer and Dundon, 2016).

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

Due to the inductive and idiographic nature of IPA (Eatough and Smith, 2017; Husserl, 1970), it seemed appropriate to utilise for exploring participants lived-experiences (Smith, 2004). IPA was consistent with the research aims, thus effective to explore nostalgia's corporeal and psychological nature and emphasise the experiential involvement with subjective life-worlds within the sensorial mobile methodology (Lee, 2004). According to Smith (2009), identity and emotional experience are the cardinal concepts that have emerged in IPA studies, which may be observed within participants experiences.

Guidelines for implementing the IPA process were outlined by Smith (2009), facilitating the complexity and depth required for the methodology and research to explore how the data converges and diverges, illuminating how the participants' distinct accounts may be similar but also idiosyncratic (Smith and Osborn, 2003). Interviews were first listened to, transcribed verbatim and read several times to encourage familiarity and immerse the researcher with the voices of participants (Appendix B). Reflections and emergent themes were noted and subsequently repeated for all transcripts. This resulted in the clustering of themes for connections and patterns, ultimately generating super-ordinate themes. All transcripts were revisited upon analysis, deepening understanding of participants' experiences.

Effort was made to engage with the double hermeneutics of the research, both exhibiting empathy for the participants and partaking in sense-making (Smith and Osborn, 2003) in a process involving discovery and interpretation of lived-experience focused on the individual (Pringle et al., 2011). This was acknowledged throughout the research, accompanied by an awareness of the epistemological stance and intention to exercise a level of bracketing, monitoring personal subjectivity. To interpret the meaningful life-worlds of the participants, three themes were explored relating to nostalgic experiences.

Collaborating Participants

Purposive sampling was utilised to gather a homogenous sample of participants who met the inclusion criteria of being a migrant in England. This was chosen to gain deeper insight into the individuals emplaced memories and how they may be expressed in both a different time and place. Multiple researchers have indicated the effectiveness of smaller samples in IPA (Smith et al., 2009), thus seven participants were involved to ensure in-depth exploration. Table 1 illustrates the participants details.

Table 1

Participant Information

Pseudonyms	Age	Gender	Migrated From	Interviewed in
James	41	Male	Spain	Nottingham
Katherine	22	Female	Russia	London
Mona	40	Female	Poland	Kings Lynn
June	22	Female	Pakistan	Manchester
Susan	35	Female	Portugal	London
Mandy	20	Female	Philippines	London

Rebecca

21

Female

Philippines

London

The participants recruited were known prior the research, which may facilitate emotional involvement and reflexivity, enhancing the understanding of the individuals' experiences (Owton and Allen-Collinson, 2014). Using friendship as a method (Tillmann-Healy, 2003) may promote empathy and expressiveness between participant and researcher, generating richer data (Fine, 1994). However, self-scrutiny and reflexivity will be implemented to avoid issues such as bias arising (Tillmann-Healy, 2003).

Ethical Considerations

The project adhered to ethical guidelines in accordance with the BPS framework (BPS, 2018) to ensure participant safety. Prior commence, an application for ethics approval was submitted and approved (Appendix C, D). Participants received an information sheet and consent form prior to partaking, ensuring informed consent (Holloway, 1997) (Appendix E, F). A debrief was delivered and participants were explained their right to withdraw data until two weeks prior the analysis commenced. Participants were attributed pseudonyms, ensuring anonymity, and data was secured on researcher's password-protected laptop, and will be later discarded upon project completion. As interviews occurred in safe environments chosen by participants, there was minimal risk involved. However, care was taken on routes concerning environmental and uncontrollable factors, and necessary adjustments were made if required (Carpiano, 2009).

Analysis

Using IPA, the nostalgic-based experiences of seven individuals who had migrated to England was explored. Focus was placed on how the participants chose to explore their individual experiences regarding sensory embodiment, and how this related to their sense of identity and well-being. Super-ordinate themes were revealed from the emergent themes during the transcription process, highlighting distinct similarities between the individuals lived experiences of nostalgia. Three master themes with varying inter-related subthemes were construed; Temporal Trajectory and Identity, Nostalgic Attachment and Belonging, and Sensory Catalysts.

'literally transports you to a past time'; Temporal Trajectory and Identity

The participants conveyed how their nostalgic-memories arose and the effect this experience had on their sense of identity and wellbeing. This theme focused on exploring temporality, as nostalgia can be seen as a temporal signifier, embedded in past, present and future of the participants life-worlds in both practice and reverie (Blunt, 2003).

Nostalgic Transportation.

For the participants, the conceptualisation of nostalgia illustrated an often-ambiguous point of return, situated within the past.

'it literally transports you to a past time...I think it's really powerful in that way'
(Rebecca, 216-217)

'the big part of the memories for me that bring nostalgia is that they're not of a specific event, they're just a part of my past that sometimes, when the moments right, I'm able to recollect so clearly' (Katherine, 3-5)

The process by which nostalgia 'transports' the participants' back in time indicates its abilities as a medium for mental time travel, facilitating continuity between our past and present selves. This illustrates how nostalgia is not merely a romanticized version of the past, but a complex spatiotemporal channel possessing both retrospective and prospective qualities (Boym, 2001). These experiences appear to be often naturally occurring and involuntary, not necessarily characterised by specific memory focal points but somehow meaningful to the individual. For instance, many participants explained how their experiences arose spontaneously, emphasising the suddenness through expressions such as the interjection 'oh';

'...the way the light sometimes falls, even in London, on very clear winter days and just for a moment I'm like 'oh! Wow, this was what it was like in Russia' (Katherine, 39-41)

'there's even this bank here, that's Filipino like even just seeing the words is like 'Oh!'' (Mandy, 32-33)

These expressions illuminate nostalgia's spontaneous nature, as unlike other memory forms, recollection may appear naturally occurring when evoked, supporting classic Proustian nostalgia whereby memories are spontaneously relived upon arousal, accompanied by primarily positive expressions as portrayed by participants' utterances. Furthermore, this could be related to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf, 1956), as the simple expression of recollection brings to light the embodied evocation of precognition in the form of emotive interjections. This enables the participants to convey and recognise with ease a sensation of nostalgia that might otherwise be intangible.

Present Discontinuity.

Many of the participants referred to how they found themselves nostalgizing more in times of uncertainty. For instance, in relation to the participants experiences as a migrant, some noted how they would seek out nostalgic memories for stability.

'when I do feel sad, I do ruminate over my past a lot. That I've got no roots, that all my past has stayed there... That's why, when you do get a smell, or I look at these photos it makes you feel better, it gives you your roots.' (Mona, 138-139)

'particularly in the beginning when I came to this country, being nostalgic in that tapas bar was almost like a crutch' (James, 58-59)

The participants utilisation of nostalgia to provide continuity in present times indicates how their experiences may serve as a vehicle for them to connect their past selves to present in times of discontinuity, supporting the literature discussed prior. As stated by Wilson (2005), nostalgia acts as a channel, locating and employing earlier self to present self-assessment in a continual process of identity construction. This may also be indicative of the voluntary nature of nostalgic experiences, as nostalgic associations may be sought after to facilitate meaningful narratives (Howard et al., 2012).

Nostalgia for the future.

An interesting area that has recently arose in nostalgia-based studies is the relationship with future-orientation (Blunt, 2003). This was highlighted particularly by Rebecca and June, who described how the use of nostalgia incited an anticipation towards the future;

'being able to keep it with you, taking it into the future with you and being able to use it, to shape how you want your future to be' (Rebecca, 28-29)

'the feeling it gives me is sort of like motivational...Like, I feel optimistic for today, and tomorrow, and the day after.' (June, 46-47)

The projection of nostalgia onto one's future is said to increase creativity and optimism (Cheung et al., 2013; Routledge et al., 2013), as stated by Rebecca, it may be used to 'shape' ideal potentials, maximising future-directed thought. Subsequently, it appears nostalgia may not only be distinguished as a desire for the return of the past, but also as means to aspire for future satisfaction for the participants.

'that warm feeling that kind of takes you back home'; Nostalgic Attachment and Belonging

The theme of Attachment and Belonging illuminates how nostalgic experiences are conceptualised not only through fond remembrance, but also through a longing to hold on to the past and claim spaces that connect to the participants past lives. Furthermore, the nostalgic attachments participants partook in promoted a sense of belonging, particularly when occurring in transnational places, inciting emplaced meaning within social and cultural spaces.

Attachment.

A sense of attachment was strongly rooted in the participants' experiences, both in the sense of emotional longing and associated meaning within emplaced environments.

'it's always things that I would quite like to hold on to for longer than you ever really can' (Katherine, 81)

'it's that warm feeling that kind of takes you back home, wherever or whenever 'home' is' (Susan, 4-5)

Some participants referred particularly to a desire to hold on to their past, regardless of the context. This suggests how nostalgia may not only be situated within specified frozen moments of our past, but also within a frame of attachment to times we cannot reclaim. As stated by Batcho (2018), without a sense of longing for what is lost, the nostalgic experience would be purely fond remembrance, but for the participants there exists this bittersweet sentiment that accompanies the positive-toned association, supporting previously discussed literature and indicating the complexity of the participants nostalgic experiences. However, whilst participants noted missing their memories, there was no reference to a sense of loss, this was similarly indicated by El-Ziab (2016), suggesting nostalgia may be connected to longing without suffering, nuancing the perception of nostalgia.

During the interview, the participants expressed nostalgic attachments also stemmed within distinctive transnational spaces that incited emplaced sensory remembrance.

'maybe because I don't go here super often it still has this weird attachment to Russia rather than being embedded in my life in London' (Katherine, 91-92)

'I'm very grateful for Earls Court actually...when I'm in London, I feel like I can live my past from the Philippines' (Mandy, 157-159)

These places heightened the possibility for nostalgia to arise, both within sensory experiences and enhanced cultural collective identity. Ethnographic research has supported this, revealing how transnational places with nostalgic associations may enable 'a sense of place that was both proximate and distant' (Blunt, 2003:719), inciting nostalgia for a distanced local and time within emplaced environments. For instance, Law's (2001) 'Little Manila' resembles Mandy's descriptions of Earl's Court, recreating sensorial landscapes of emplaced home.

Belonging.

How the participants defined their home influenced the way their nostalgic-experiences arose, and the affective emotions attached alongside. For some of the participants, their home was strongly rooted in the country they previously lived, thus their nostalgic experiences were situated within that frame. However, others, such as Rebecca described possessing multiple homes that incited a sense of belonging.

'that's very different, a very different kind of nostalgia because you miss different parts, you miss different aspects of your life, you miss different times of your life.'
(Rebecca, 56-58)

The way Rebecca refers to her concept of home, and the nostalgia she associates with it indicates that nostalgia is something that is constantly being formed and becoming. This notion has not been explored prior, illuminating that within this process, many different forms of nostalgia may be created in response to multiple variants of the individual's attributions of home. This was similarly indicated by Miyazawa (2012), whereby the participant reflected alternative nostalgic experiences depending on their definition as home.

The participants also explored their sense of belonging through translocational places. For instance, for Mandy, London's 'Earls Court' functioned as a medium for her to interact with her identity and sensory memories.

'coming here is important to me, it gives me the opportunity to remind myself of my identity' (Mandy, 23)

'I can feel like I can really live my culture here' (Mandy, 158)

These environments evoke a sense of intersubjectivity, as the experience is both personal, and collective within living culturally-based memories and traditions. Vázquez-Medina and Medina (2014: 137) also highlighted this within their study, noting how transnational places may 'represent a place where memory come to the fore' and nostalgia for individual's sense of home is evoked, enabling belongingness. Nostalgia may subsequently be used to bridge the gap of present non-belonging and past belonging (Ahmed, 2015). Thus, nostalgia may be unrooted, but also accessed in places that incite belonging and identity.

'...as soon as I eat them or smell them, I can tell stories about them'; Sensory Catalysts

The theme of Sensory Catalysts reveals how nostalgic experiences may arise when participants recall and partake in sense-based practices, facilitating contact between

prior autobiographical memories with present occurrences through embodied engagement in their life-worlds. Partaking in embodied sense-based practices revealed not only positively-toned, naturalistic experiences for the participants, but also provided participants a medium to galvanise their sense of identity.

Auditory nostalgia.

An extensive amount of research has implicated the relationship between nostalgia and auditory stimulation, predominantly in the 'Proustian mnemonic' music (Sachs, 2007). This too was shared by the participants.

'I feel music makes me feel the most nostalgic to be honest. Yeah, there's definitely certain songs that I remember from certain situations and memories' (June, 31-32)

The presence of music, particularly songs with context-relevant meanings to the individuals have a transportive effect, rekindling prior emotional affect to specific musical forms and phrases (White, 2017). Music's distinctive effects appear idiosyncratic to the listener and may be utilised to both intensify and stimulate the associated memories.

'hearing it again makes the memories so clear' (June, 43-44)

'I was listening to this song by Sara Bareilles... at that point I was just really, I was struck by this feeling of like I was really sad, but I was also really, really happy?'
(Rebecca, 161-163)

June and Rebecca both note how listening to songs they associated with their past evoked strong emotions. Rebecca's description illuminates nostalgia's characteristics of spontaneity and ambivalent affective signature, both tinged with positive and negative connotations.

Olfactory nostalgia.

'you walk down the street and you get this whiff of something that takes you back to that moment, you relive the emotions and whatever happened' (Mona, 34-35)

As referred to previously, a distinctive smell may incite a strong connection to our memories (Waskul et al., 2009). This is said to be true for participants such as Mona as well, who described the affective sensorial experience that occurred with the scent of two distinctive perfumes when walking through a department store.

'there was this other nurse that wore a perfume that smelt just like this, she smelt exactly like this.' (Mona, 27-28)

'This is Angel, it reminds me of my partner when we were running our own grocery shop... obviously they're bittersweet now because it all went horribly wrong. But at the time it was a very happy time...' (Mona, 3-8)

This indicates the rather instantaneous and naturalistic effect of olfactory experiences, whereby smells act as a conduit to enable the participants to relive their past (Low, 2005). In particular, Mona characterised her scent-evoked nostalgic memories through her previous interpersonal ties. This was similarly found by Low (2013), who noted how distinctive perfumes may act as powerful triggers for recalling past relationships, and the surrounding narrative frame they existed within.

Conversely, for participants such as 'Katherine', scent-based experiences reflected on evoking place;

"if I ever come into a building and it smells a little bit damp and a little bit of cabbage it's like 'oh wow this really smells like Russia!'" (Katherine, 27-28)

This portrays how olfactive associations may also evoke embodied recollections within situated spatial locations, providing nostalgic experiences in an 'olfactively pinpointed locale' (Low, 2013:699). This concept has received a multitude of support, predominantly within the field of smellscapes (Urry, 2000), illustrating how scents may elicit emotional connotations within place and nostalgia, enabling participants to access a sense of continuity between their olfactive-associations and present identity.

Gustatory nostalgia.

A prevalent trigger of nostalgia amongst participants was the experience of food. This was particularly illuminated within Mandy's interview, journeying to several Filipino eateries including the fast food chain 'Jolly Bee'.

'It tastes the exact same, I'm so happy, I wanna cry.' (Mandy, 85-86)

'I don't remember their names but as soon as I eat them or smell them, I can tell stories about them.' (Mandy, 38)

Mandy's powerfully emotive food-based evocations helped frame narratives of her past, reproduced as an embodied experience inciting memories' that had been previously forgotten (Abarca and Colby, 2016).

Unfortunately, within James' interview, the Spanish Tapas Restaurant we intended to explore had closed. However, James still wished to walk around the vicinity, as the journey itself incited his memories;

'Even being outside it reminds me of when I used to go, the grub I'd get and how it made me feel.' (James, 49-50)

'it was like real tapas, and they taste like the real deal, they have like proper turrón, proper hamon, everything ... I would spend a lot of money in there just to sit in Spain.' (James, 57-60)

As the existence of 'proper' Spanish food was available, James had the opportunity to connect with his past life in Spain, despite being present in Nottingham. Thus, eating this food provided an emplaced spatial experience (Seremetakis, 1994), tied both to his memories and past home.

Both interviews indicated how food possesses a unique ability to evoke nostalgia through both taste and smell, suggesting a multi-sensory aspect to the gustatory experience. This is supported by Sutton (2001: 82), who similarly found that senses of taste and smell may evoke 'emotional/embodied plenitude' attached to their homeland. Therefore, experiencing embodied gustatory memories enable connection to be established not only to prior memories, but also significant places.

Kinetic Nostalgia.

In addition to the nostalgic effects of food, Mandy emphasised how even the physical process of dining may ignite her nostalgic associations, highlighted by the phrase 'body memory' (Mandy, 58).

'...I don't necessarily remember the specific food, I remember how I ate it which becomes very natural, I don't have to picture the memory my body just knows.'
(Mandy, 55-56)

'when you eat rice, you grab and then you shove it.... This is called Kamayan, which is eating with your hands in Tagalog, doing this reminds me of my family' (Mandy, 125-127)

Partaking in 'Kamayan' allowed Mandy to connect with past experiences, and the fond emotions associated with the movement, enabling contact between the body and environment (Rodaway, 1994). Connerton's (1989) notion of bodily memory supports this as the culturally formed act evokes Mandy's nostalgia within movement.

Susan similarly explored kinetic evocation, expressing how a walk along Hyde Park's river incited a sense of nostalgia for her childhood memories.

'I feel like I am rewalking my steps across the river bank' (Susan, 31)

This demonstrates how the embodied cognition of meaningful motion may facilitate nostalgic memory recall, manifested in the use of space and bodily movement (Chaikin and Wengrower, 2009).

Discussion

To recycle an age-old joke, it certainly can be said that nostalgia is not what it used to be. Progressing from nostalgia's traditional attributes, the study develops current literature by exploring nostalgic experiences; how it was evoked and the effects that followed. Nostalgia is a polysemous concept, one that can be explored both cognitively and experientially, which illuminated a myriad of visceral sensuous accounts. Significant support may be observed through sensory-based research, highlighting findings similarly found within this study involving subjective memory-based embodied acts inciting constructions of temporality, place and identity. This also reinforced the small body of literature concerning significant experiences of nostalgia for those who have migrated to England. Whilst individually dependant, it appears emplaced sensory acts involving nostalgia may evoke a sense of 'home' in times of uncertainty and manifest as a naturalistic event. Thus, the study demonstrates the significance, and sensorially embodied nature of nostalgic memories.

However, there are a few limitations to the current study which could be improved upon in future research. An interesting concept that was not fully explored, due to the focus on individual perspective, was the distinction between collective and individual nostalgia. Future research may benefit from conducting group-based interviews to analyse this (Hepper et al., 2012), particularly regarding identity and wellbeing as observed by Blunt (2003). Concerning methodology, further practices could be implemented including a greater emphasis on photo-elicitation and developing the use of the method's psychogeographic roots, highlighting the significance of psychogeographic techniques including the *dérive* as a tool for exploring the participant's experienced environments (McGookin and Monastero, 2016). Following this study, further exploration into the significance of sensory-based evocations should be encouraged, highlighting the importance of what is found, rather than what is lost within nostalgia.

Reflexive

Reflexivity unfolds as the ability to recognise and question the impact your position as a researcher may have on the study (Pitard, 2017). Willig (2013) identifies two types of reflexivity: personal and epistemological. Personal reflexivity is essential within qualitative research, due to the influence of individual experiences and pre-assumptions shaping the researcher's perspective (Haynes, 2012). Like most individuals, I have experienced nostalgia thus possessed preconceived notions as to what experiences might entail. Prior this exploration, I believed nostalgic memories to reside within childhood and was unaware how it may be explored. Furthermore, I was concerned that within a sample of migrants, if their nostalgic memories were rooted within their previous home, nostalgic experiences may not arise. However, the responses illuminated how nostalgia is characterised by meaningful experiences facilitated by sensory stimulation, unrestrained by place and time.

Concerning epistemology, as stated previously, participants should be the experts in their personal experiences (Smith and Osborn, 2003). Regarding this, I felt not only the need to engage in an inductive methodological framework, rather than a theoretical one, partaking in sensory-based journeys alongside participants to capture the essence of their subjective lived-experiences. This also contributed to the subsequent adoption of a phenomenological approach (Smith et al., 2009). Prior to the interviews I was concerned my presence as a researcher may impact the experiences. However, by engaging with their sense-based nostalgia, it appeared to allow participants to express with ease their associations and how they felt aiding the co-construction of their experiences (Larkin et al., 2006).

As previously noted, there is still an absence of a unanimous conceptualization of nostalgia, potentially due to the reluctance of psychology to approach the concept in favour of more 'technical' memory. This did make it difficult to study, however, its ambiguous nature allowed for open exploration. This facilitated an immersion into the experiences of participants' as rounded individuals as opposed to research subjects (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Ultimately, this exploration has deepened my appreciation not only for the intricacies of nostalgia but also for a range of methodologies including psychogeographic walks and sensory-ethnography.

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