

**Migratory Grief: An International Comparison of Migrants from Ireland, Venezuela,
and Poland**

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Abstract

This study compared rates of migratory grief among a sample of migrants originally from Poland, Ireland, and Venezuela. The influence of participants' motivation to migrate on rates of migratory grief was examined, along with the influence of their home culture and their gender. The Migratory Grief and Loss Questionnaire (Casado & Leung, 2002) was used to measure migratory grief. Results found the Venezuelan sample to have the highest levels of migratory grief. Push and pull factors influencing the decision to migrate contributed significantly to migratory grief, though push factors accounted for more of this effect. Participants from more collectivistic societies and women displayed higher rates of migratory grief. Polish participants, including women, reported lower rates of migratory grief than Irish participants, a result which was not expected. Small effect sizes underline the need for further research on the factors that contribute to the grief of the migrant experience.

Migratory Grief: An International Comparison of Migrants from Ireland, Venezuela, and Poland

International migration is an increasingly common feature in today's world.

International migrants move from their own home country to a new 'host' country on a temporary or permanent basis, and do so for economic, social, educational, political or other reasons (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Along with the potential gains of migration, which can include employment, a sense of adventure or protection from violence, there can also be considerable losses (Khawaja & Mason, 2008; Young et al., 2016). Besides the loss of one's familiar surroundings and social network, migration can induce losses relating to one's own culture, identity, social status, property and material wealth (Bhugra, 2004; Casado & Leung, 2002; Vromans et al., 2012; Ward & Styles, 2003).

Several researchers have compared the experience of grief associated with migration to the grief felt by bereaved individuals after the death of a significant loved one (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Casado et al., 2010; Stroebe et al., 2015a; Stroebe et al., 2015b). Grief is most commonly understood as the emotional experience of the psychological, behavioural, social, and physical reactions a bereaved individual might experience as a result of a death (Boerner et al., 2017). However a grief reaction can also occur in response to separation and loss more generally (Buglass, 2010). The grief brought on by the changes and loss involved in migration can include feelings of disorientation, helplessness, anger and pain (Arredondo-Dowd, 1981). These feelings may exacerbate symptoms of psychological distress, including depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Bhugra, 2004; Casado & Leung, 2002; Pumariega et al., 2005), and can

encourage a diverse set of negative emotional, cognitive, social and somatic manifestations (Stroebe et al., 2015a).

The concept of homesickness is one area of the migration literature that has received a reasonable amount of attention. Homesickness has been defined by Stroebe et al. (2015b) as a ‘mini-grief’ experienced primarily because of separation from home and attachment persons, which often results in difficulties adjusting to the new place a person has moved to. Although homesickness can be a feature of long-term migration, the focus on short term relocation is a limitation of this literature (Stroebe et al., 2015a). Homesickness studies do not consider the negative effects associated with long term migration and omit individuals who have been forced from their home, such as refugees. Consequently, examinations of threats to a migrant’s cultural identity have been rare in the homesickness literature (Archer et al., 1998).

In contrast, changes in cultural identity are a central concern for researchers investigating longer term migration (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Casado et al., 2010; Sawicki, 2011; Vromans et al., 2012; Ward & Styles, 2003). Cultural bereavement is a key concept for analysing this symbolic loss of culture often inherent in long-term migration (Eisenbruch, 1984). Cultural bereavement describes the experience of individuals or groups that have been uprooted from their familiar social structures, cultural values, and self-identity through the process of migration (Eisenbruch, 1984). It addresses the many subjective consequences of this experience, which can include nostalgia, guilt, pain and homesickness among others (Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Vromans et al., 2012). The nature of this effect is mediated through the migrants’ own culture and is affected by how the host culture compares with their own (Bhugra & Becker, 2005).

The concept of acculturation helps to understand how migrants interact with their original culture and the host culture (Bhugra, 2004). This interaction leads the migrant to

develop a bicultural identity which blends both cultures, or to favour one culture over the other, or to reject both cultures (Yoon et al., 2013). The degree to which a migrant can overcome the complications of migration, such as learning appropriate social cues, developing language proficiency, finding employment and housing, while constructively dealing with their own sense of cultural bereavement and the challenges of acculturation, can influence whether that individual develops mental health issues (Pumariega et al., 2005; Vromans et al., 2012; Yoon et al., 2013).

There is a need for a concept that addresses homesickness along with the complex experiences of long-term migrants and the challenges they face regarding cultural identity, cultural bereavement, and acculturation. *Migratory grief* is a possible concept that can inform study and analysis (Casado & Leung, 2002; Casado et al., 2010). Like the homesickness literature, migratory grief focuses on the grief reaction to the various losses involved in the process of migration including the loss of home (Casado & Leung, 2002; Stroebe et al., 2015b). However migratory grief places a greater emphasis on the migrant's experience of cultural bereavement and the acculturation process (Casado et al., 2010; Vromans et al., 2012; Ward & Styles, 2003). This study defines migratory grief as:

The grief reaction experienced by migrants in response to the physical and symbolic losses incurred during migration, the problems with adapting to the host culture, the resultant threats to their own cultural identity and the negative psychological and social consequences of the migration process.

Contributing factors to the experience of migratory grief are numerous. Three factors which arise regularly in the literature concern the migrant's motivation to migrate, the influence of their home culture and finally, their gender.

The motivation underlying the decision to move has been identified as a key factor in the success of migration (Aroian, 1990; Bryant et al., 2020; Khawaja & Mason, 2008; Pernice et al., 2000; Tran, 1993). The inter-related reasons that influence this motivation can be understood as forces which either “push” migrants to encourage them to leave their home, or which “pull” migrants to a country with certain opportunities, or incentives (Bryant et al., 2020; Kunz, 1973). Designating motivations as push or pull factors allows for a systematic analysis of the various influences involved in the decision to migrate. It also provides a framework for comparison between groups with differing motivations (Kunz, 1973). Certain migrants, such as political refugees, who feel more pushed than pulled to leave their home country have been found to have higher levels of psychological distress, grief and related complications in their new destination than those who have been more pulled (Adams & Kivlighan III, 2019; Bryant et al., 2020; Khawaja & Mason, 2008; Pernice et al., 2000). Though migrants who are more ‘pulled’ to migrate can experience deep levels of grief, this is usually not felt with the same intensity as those who are pushed (Aroian, 1990; Young et al., 2016).

Besides these motivational influences, studies suggest that the culture of a migrant group’s home country may relate to that group’s level of migratory grief (Khawaja & Mason, 2008). Hofstede derived six dimensions of cultural values of societies to facilitate measurement and comparison between national cultures (Hofstede, 2011). Of these, the individualism/collectivism dimension appears to account for much of the cultural, behavioural and value differences between countries and may affect the experience of migratory grief (Bhugra, 2004; Kagitcibasi, 1997). The individualism dimension concerns how integrated people are into various primary in-groups such as the family or the nation state (Hofstede, 2011). The loose social relations of individualistic societies tend to produce people who are extraverted and socially adept. Collectivist societies tend to produce more

introverted people because of tighter loyalties to a select number of in-groups and generally stable, long-term social relations predetermined by hierarchy and social roles (Hofstede, 2011; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Schimmack et al., 2005). This difference in extraversion and attendant social skills has been offered as a reason why individuals who come from collectivist societies often have a more difficult time adjusting after migration than people from individualistic societies (Bhugra, 2004; Kagitcibasi, 1997).

Along with the motivation to migrate and the influence of the host's culture, it has been argued that gender is a principal determinant of migratory grief. Some studies suggest that women and girls have a more difficult time adapting to a new country than their male counterparts (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Khawaja & Mason, 2008; Sluzki, 1979; Sonderegger & Barrett, 2004; Tran, 1993; Treadwell et al., 1995). For example among children and adolescents resettling in Australia females displayed more internalising symptoms and anxiety along with lower levels of general self-concept and emotional stability than males (Sonderegger & Barrett, 2004; Treadwell et al., 1995). Women can often play a more domesticated role in family units when transitioning, particularly if they originate from more traditional cultures (Sluzki, 1979; Ward & Styles, 2003). The home and family focus of this role can lead to the isolation of women in their new host culture (Sluzki, 1979). Women from collectivist countries may have the most challenging experience due to the intersection of cultural and gender issues they must contend with, though this assertion requires more research to establish its veracity.

The aim for the present study is to compare rates of migratory grief among migrants from Ireland, Poland, and Venezuela. These countries were chosen due to ease of sampling, rather than for theoretical reasons. The study will investigate whether the levels of migratory grief in this sample are affected by the migrants' motivations for leaving their home, by their

home culture, and by their gender. It is hoped that these questions will add to our understanding of the concept of migratory grief.

The hypotheses for the following study are:

1. More push factors motivating the decision to leave home more strongly predicts higher rates of migratory grief than pull factors.
2. Migrants from collectivist societies will have higher levels of migratory grief, regardless of where they move to, compared to migrants from individualistic societies.
3. Women from collectivist societies will experience higher levels of migratory grief than all other participants. There will be no significant difference in the level of migratory grief between men and women from individualistic societies.

Methods

Design

The study used a comparative cross-sectional design. All participants completed the same questionnaire, and no control group was sought. Three countries, Ireland, Poland, and Venezuela were included in the study. According to Hofstede, Ireland is the most individualistic country of these (individualism score: 70), followed by Poland (60), with Venezuela being a more collectivistic society (12) (Hofstede Insights, 2021).

Participants

Participants of Venezuelan, Irish and Polish nationality were sought. Participation was voluntary with no incentives used. 3177 individuals responded to the online questionnaire. 1016 (31.97%) responses were incomplete, leaving 2161 participants. Of these a further 11 (.51%) participants were ruled out due to uncertain nationality, leaving a final sample of 2150 (Venezuelan, $N=1021$, 47.5%; Polish, $N=671$, 31.20%; Irish, $N=458$, 21.30%). Total demographics and breakdowns by country can be seen in the table in Appendix A. 1091 participants (50.7%) were female. The gender breakdown was less balanced across nation groups (Venezuelan: $F=664$, 65%; Polish: $F=72$, 10.7%; Irish: $F=355$, 77.5%). The total mean age was 31.5 years ($SD=11.66$), with similar means found in each group.

There were less Polish participants with a bachelor's degree qualification or higher (53.8%), than Venezuelan (77.6%) or Irish (75.1%). Venezuelan respondents indicated the highest percentage of unemployment (26.4%) compared to their Polish (14.5%) and Irish (10.3%) counterparts. Motivations to migrate were reasonably similar across nation groups except regarding the influence of political (Venezuela =8.7, Poland = 3.6, Ireland =2.8) and personal security (Venezuela =8.6; Poland =1.9, Ireland =1.6) factors on Venezuelans' decisions to migrate. Venezuelan participants had spent a shorter amount time in their host

country ($M=6.5$, $SD=4$), than Polish ($M=10.5$, $SD=6.5$) and Irish ($M=11$, $SD=8.5$) participants.

Instruments

Adapted Migratory Grief and Loss Questionnaire (MGLQ)

The Migratory Grief and Loss Questionnaire (MGLQ) (Casado et al., 2010) (Appendix B) is an 18-item scale designed to measure the intensity of grief and loss which is associated with migration by asking how frequently the participant experienced such feelings in the previous 30 days. Participants answered using a 4-point Likert scale (0 = never, 1 = occasionally, 2 = often, 3 = always). As frequency and intensity may not necessarily equate the researchers felt that deriving intensity of feeling from the frequency with which these feelings were experienced was potentially erroneous. Therefore, an additional variant was added to the MGLQ to directly measure the intensity with which the individual experienced each of the 18 items. Both the frequency and intensity scales had possible scores of 0 to 54. The MGLQ was translated by the research team into Polish and Spanish. Cronbach's Alpha for the frequency and intensity scales of the MGLQ together in the present study was .96. Cronbach's Alpha value was the same for the English, Polish and Spanish versions of the MGLQ.

The relationship between the frequency and interval scales of the MGLQ was investigated using Pearson correlation. There was no violation of assumptions. A large, positive correlation between the frequency and interval scales of migratory grief was found, $r = .94$, $n = 2150$, $p < .01$. Due to the strength of this relationship it was decided to use only the frequency scale as set out in the original MGLQ (Casado et al., 2010).

General Health Questionnaire-12 (GHQ-12)

The GHQ-12 (Appendix B) is a 12-item measure designed to assess an individual's level of medical complaints and general health over recent weeks (Goldberg, 1988; Goldberg & Hillier, 1979). Participants are asked to assess how well each of the 12 items resembles their health in recent weeks by using a 4-point Likert scale (0 = less than usual, 1 = no more than usual, 2 = rather more than usual, 3 = much more than usual). Spanish and Polish translations of the GHQ-12 were used (del Pilar Sánchez-López & Dresch, 2008; Makowska et al., 2002) Cronbach's alpha for the GHQ-12 in the present study was .86.

Data Collection

The current study was supervised by Henk Schut and registered with the Department of Clinical Psychology at the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University. Migrants from the three countries under examination were contacted primarily through social media (e.g., Facebook) and personal messaging services (e.g., WhatsApp). Permissions to sample within an organisation or a closed social media group were sought from individuals with a position of responsibilities such as managers or group administrators, respectively. The survey was open for participation through Qualtrics from 10/12/2019 until 11/02/20 (Qualtrics, 2020).

The questionnaire was accessed using a hyperlink. It included an information sheet, consent form and a debriefing sheet (Appendix B). Questionnaires were completed digitally and anonymously. All data was collected on a Qualtrics database before being transferred to SPSS; only the researchers involved had access to these files (IBM, 2017; Qualtrics, 2020).

Data Processing and Analysis

All data was collected using the standard Qualtrics XM package (Qualtrics, 2020). Statistical tests were performed for each hypothesis using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 25 (IBM, 2017). For the first hypothesis the correlation co-efficient between

the push and pull scores was derived by using Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient (r). The combined push and pull score was identified as a co-variate and was included in the analyses for the second and third hypotheses. Assumptions were checked for each hypothesis. For the migratory grief score nine outliers were found and retained as they did not substantially affect the results. The migratory grief score data were determined to be non-normal, however the decision was made to continue with the analysis as both multiple regression and ANCOVA are robust to the violation of normality, especially when the sample is large (Pallant, 2010).

Results

Hypothesis 1

A multiple regression was run to determine whether push factors are stronger determinants of higher rates of migratory grief than pull factors. A Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to assess the relationship between the push and pull variables to determine whether they should be treated individually or combined for the regression analysis. There was a medium, positive correlation between the push and pull variables, $r = .34$, $n = 2150$, $p < .001$. As the correlation was not sufficiently strong to warrant combining the variables, the decision was made to treat the variables independently.

The multiple regression model of push and pull factors significantly predicted Migratory Grief score, $F(2,2147) = 24.4$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .02$, a small effect size (Cohen, 1988). Both push factors and pull factors were statistically significant with push factors recording a higher beta value ($beta = .16$, $p < .001$) than pull factors ($beta = -.06$, $p < .001$) (see Table 2). So, while both push and pull factors are significant determinants of the level of migratory grief, push factors account for more of this effect, as hypothesised. However, the effect size overall is very small.

Table 2

Multiple regression results for effect of push and pull factors on MGLQ score

MGLQ	<i>B</i>	95% CI for <i>B</i>		<i>SE B</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2
		<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>				
Model						.022	.021***
Constant	20.97***		19.21	22.74	.9		
Push	.61***	.44	.78	.09	.16***		
Pull	-.29*	-.511	-.07	.11	-.06*		

Note. Model = “Enter” method in SPSS Statistics; *B* = unstandardised regression coefficient; CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit; *SE B* = standard error of the coefficient; β = standardised coefficient; R^2 = coefficient of determination; ΔR^2 = adjusted R^2 .

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 2

A one-way ANCOVA was conducted to determine if, when controlling for combined push and pull scores, the level of Migratory Grief was higher for migrants from collectivistic societies than from individualistic societies.

After adjusting for the influence of the combined push and pull scores, there was a statistically significant difference in Migratory Grief score between countries with differing individualism scores, $F(2,2146) = 119.45, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .1$.

Adjusted means are presented, unless otherwise stated. Migratory Grief score increased from the Polish ($M = 17.55, SE = .45$), to the Irish ($M = 23.08, SE = .55$), to the Venezuelan ($M = 26.66, SE = .37$) group in that order (See **Table 2**). Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that the mean difference between the Polish and Irish groups (5.54, 95% CI [3.83, 7.24], $p < .001$), the Polish and Venezuelan groups (9.11, 95% CI [7.7, 10.52], $p < .001$)

and the Irish and Venezuelan groups (3.57, 95% CI [1.97, 5.17], $p < .001$), were all statistically significant.

Venezuela, the most collectivistic society examined, displayed the highest levels of migratory grief of the three countries, as expected. Despite being a more individualistic society according to Hofstede, the Irish sample reported a *higher* level of migratory grief than the Polish sample. While the high score for the Venezuelan sample fit the hypothesis, the discrepancy between the scores of the Irish and Polish samples was not expected as the Polish sample should have a higher level of migratory grief according to the hypothesis.

Table 2

Adjusted and Unadjusted Means and Variability for Polish, Irish and Venezuelan Migratory Grief Scores With Combined Push and Pull Score as Covariate

	Unadjusted			Adjusted	
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Poland	671	17.37	11.72	17.55	.45
Ireland	458	22.84	11.26	23.08	.55
Venezuela	1021	26.88	11.95	26.66	.37

Note: *N* = number of participants, *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, *SE* = Standard Error.

Hypothesis 3

A two-way ANCOVA was conducted to examine whether, when controlling for combined push and pull scores, women from collectivist societies experienced the highest levels of migratory grief, and to determine if there was no significant difference in the level of migratory grief between men and women from individualistic societies.

Female mean migratory grief scores for the Venezuelan group was 28.86 ($SE = .452$), for the Irish group was 23.71 ($SE = .615$) and for the Polish group was 16.37 ($SE = 1.36$). Male mean migratory grief scores for the Venezuelan group was 23.01 ($SE = .61$), for the Irish group was 20.88 ($SE = 1.14$) and for the Polish group was 17.68 ($SE = .47$) (see Figure 1).

When controlling for combined push and pull score, there was a statistically significant interaction between gender and individualism score for Migratory Grief, $F(2, 2143) = 9.46, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .009$.

As hypothesised women from the collectivist society of Venezuela were found to have a significantly higher levels of migratory grief. Though there was no significant difference between males from the individualistic societies of Poland and Ireland, Polish females did report significantly lower mean migratory grief scores than Irish females.

Table 3

Means, Adjusted Means, Standard Deviations and Standard Errors for Male and Female Irish, Polish and Venezuelan Migratory Grief Scores With Combined Push and Pull Score as Covariate

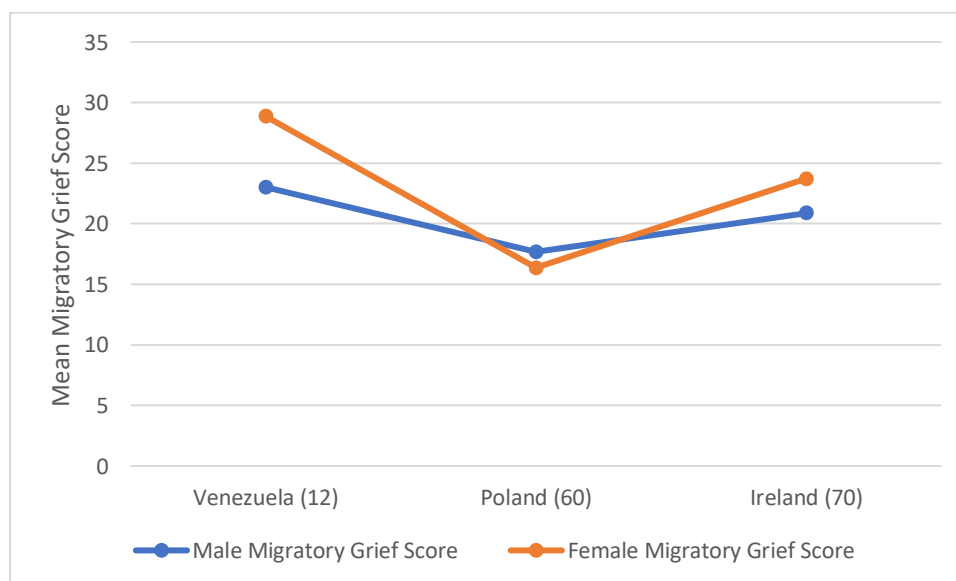
Group	Gender					
	Male			Female		
	Poland	Ireland	Venezuela	Poland	Ireland	Venezuela
<i>M</i>	17.50	20.63	23.20	16.25	23.48	28.86
(<i>SD</i>)	(11.79)	(10.18)	(11.75)	(11.2)	(11.48)	(11.59)
<i>M</i> _{adj}	17.68	20.88	23.01	16.37	23.71	28.86
(<i>SE</i>)	(.47)	(1.14)	(.61)	(1.36)	(.615)	(.452)

Note: *M* = unadjusted mean; (*SD*) = standard deviation; *M*_{adj} = adjusted mean; (*SE*) =

Standard Error.

Figure 1

Male and Female Mean Migratory Grief Scores of Venezuelan, Polish and Irish Groups, When Controlling for Push and Pull Score.



Discussion

The current study hypothesised that (i) push factors more strongly predict migratory grief than pull factors, (ii) that migrants from collectivist societies would report higher levels of migratory grief than those from individualistic societies and (iii) that women from collectivist societies would report more migratory grief than all other participants while no significant difference in the level of migratory grief between men and women from individualistic societies would be found.

In relation to the first hypothesis results indicate that push and pull factors are significant determinants of the level of migratory grief. As expected, push factors account for much of this effect. However, the effect size overall is very small, so it is likely that there are more influential variables determining the rate of migratory grief (Cohen, 1988).

Regarding the second hypothesis, each society examined, Venezuela, Ireland, and Poland, exhibited statistically significant differences in migratory grief score, though the effect size was small (Cohen, 1988). As expected, the most collectivist society, Venezuela, displayed the highest levels of migratory grief. There was an unexpected discrepancy between the more individualistic societies. Despite being more individualistic the Irish sample reported a higher level of migratory grief than the Polish sample (Hofstede Insights, 2021).

Finally, as hypothesised Venezuelan women were found to have a significantly higher level of migratory grief than any other participants, including men from Venezuela. Although there was no significant difference of migratory grief score between genders within the Irish and Venezuelan groups, Polish females did report significantly lower mean migratory grief scores than Irish females.

The results of the first hypothesis echo those of previous papers by identifying push factors as better predictors of migratory grief than pull factors (Adams & Kivlighan III, 2019; Bryant et al., 2020; Khawaja & Mason, 2008; Pernice et al., 2000). This body of evidence is important for our understanding of how the experience of migration and resettlement differs in difficulty for more ‘forced’ migrants compared to more ‘voluntary’ migrants (Bhugra, 2004). The very small effect size suggests however that push and pull factors are not a major predictor of the level of migratory grief among migrants. It may be that a more sensitive framework of motivational forces is required than Kunz’s model of push and pull (Kunz, 1973). Other variables need to be considered also. These may include differences in culture, features of the host culture, individual personality traits of migrants, level of education and job attainment in the new country among others (Bhugra, 2004; Casado et al., 2010; Schimmack et al., 2005). Given the complexity of the migrant experience the influence of these various factors upon migratory grief requires deeper investigation.

The results of the second hypothesis suggest that migrants from collectivistic societies are more likely to suffer from a greater amount of migratory grief than those from individualistic societies. Migrants raised with the loose social bonds of individualist cultures are more likely to be extroverted. This may help migrants from individualist societies learn new social rules and negotiate the many challenges inherent in migration because extraverted individuals are more willing to seek out opportunities for social interaction than introverted individuals (Kagitcibasi, 1997; Schimmack et al., 2005; Searle & Ward, 1990). Introversion is more common among people from collectivist backgrounds and may set such migrants at a disadvantage in their new homes (Kagitcibasi, 1997; Schimmack et al., 2005; Searle & Ward, 1990);(Ward & Kennedy, 1992). Migrants from collectivist societies may also be hindered by a greater sense of cultural and social loss, akin to losing a part of themselves, because of deeper connections to tighter in-groups which they leave behind (Bhugra & Becker, 2005;

Kagiticbasi, 1997; Vromans et al., 2012). This could be particularly true of this study's Venezuelan sample because of the intense pre- and post-migration stressors many of them have experienced (Pumariega et al., 2005; Sawicki, 2011). This greater feeling of loss may exacerbate the level of migratory grief.

As hypothesised the current study found that women experienced greater migratory grief than men. This may happen, especially among more traditional groups, because in the migration process men often fulfil a more autonomous role, thereby opening them up to more opportunities for acculturation, language development and social interaction (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Khawaja & Mason, 2008; Sluzki, 1979). If applied too strictly the division of roles between outward facing, action-oriented men and home facing, emotion-oriented women can result in the isolation of the affective partner, along with the possibility of personal problems, marital issues and family discord (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Sluzki, 1979; Ward & Styles, 2003). This is concerning, as studies suggest to successfully integrate into a new society women must employ social strategies, rather than 'solitary' strategies, to adapt to their new surroundings and adjust to the impact of the multiple losses caused by migrating (Aroian, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Ward & Styles, 2003). Failure to do so can damage the psychological wellbeing of women, particularly among refugees and lower socio-economic-status migrants (Bryant et al., 2020; Fassbender & Leyendecker, 2018; Tran, 1993). This could be the case among Venezuelan women in the present study.

It was observed that Polish women report lower migratory grief than Irish women. While the reasons for this finding are unclear, it does concur with the result of the second hypothesis which found the Irish sample to have a higher level of migratory grief than the Polish sample. This was unexpected given that Ireland is more individualistic than Poland. According to Hofstede Poland and Ireland's individualism scores are reasonably close, so it may be that individualism becomes a less reliable indicator of migratory grief as the

difference between countries is lessened (Hofstede Insights, 2021). Ireland and Poland differ significantly on Hofstede's dimensions of uncertainty avoidance, indulgence, and power distance, however none of these cultural traits have been identified in the literature as having a major impact on migrant outcomes (Hofstede Insights, 2021). Alternatively, wealth has been offered as a parsimonious measure of differences between countries (Hofstede, 2011; Schimmack et al., 2005). Still, using wealth as an explanation in this case is complicated by the fact that while Poland's total wealth is more than twice that of Ireland's, their wealth per capita is around half that of Ireland's (Suisse, 2021). Further exploration of this discrepancy could help distinguish in finer detail the features of cultures that affect the level of migratory grief for a particular group.

A major strength of the current research was the size of the sample. The enthusiastic response from participants, particularly among the Venezuelan population, should encourage future researchers. The clear definition of migratory grief provided by this study should help future related studies be more focused. There were also limitations to the current study. The country groups of Venezuela, Ireland and Poland were chosen for convenience rather than any core theoretical reason. Despite significant results the very small effect sizes indicate that there are still many variables affecting Migratory Grief to be considered. The Hofstede country score of individualism/collectivism may be too broad an assumption to base analysis on as subjects' individualism levels are not directly measured but are instead assumed based on their nationality (Kagitcibasi, 1997). Also, individualism and collectivism are not necessarily mutually exclusive and traits of each may co-exist within groups or even within individuals at different times or in different situations (Hofstede, 2011; Kagitcibasi, 1997). Finally, the failure of the current study to account for the impact of the wide diversity of host cultures which participants settled in on their level of migratory grief is a limitation (Kunz, 1981).

Future research could ensure a baseline measure for participants upon entry to the host country or shortly thereafter to facilitate a longitudinal design with multiple test points. This would allow researchers to determine how a migrant's sense of grief changes over time as they meet the challenges of adapting to life in a new environment. Studies could also incorporate theory from the literature on personality traits into studies on cross-cultural transitions (Ward & Kennedy, 1992). This may contribute to a deeper appreciation of the personal variables that help determine an individual's level of migratory grief.

To conclude, it is clear from the present study that the literature is still in an early stage of understanding the influence of the intricate mix of factors that affect the development of migratory grief. This is important work at a time when migration of all kinds is a hallmark of human life and because of this more studies like the current one are needed.

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Appendix A – Table of Participant’s Sociodemographic characteristics

Table 1

Sociodemographic characteristics of Venezuelan, Polish and Irish participants

Characteristic	Totals		Venezuela		Poland		Ireland	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Nationality	2150	100	1021	47.5	671	31.2	458	21.3
Gender								
Female	1091	50.7	664	65	72	10.7	355	77.5
Male	1059	49.3	357	35	599	89.3	103	22.5
Marital status								
Single	504	23.4	309	30.3	122	18.2	73	15.9
In a relationship, living separately from partner	170	7.9	94	9.2	52	7.7	24	5.2
Co-habiting relationship	519	24.1	140	13.7	211	31.4	168	36.7
Married	808	37.6	378	37	251	37.4	179	39.1
Divorced	131	6.1	86	8.4	32	4.8	13	2.8
Widowed	18	.8	14	1.4	3	.4	1	.2
Children ^a	965	44.9	457	44.8	322	48	186	40.6
Highest educational level								
Primary school	22	1	2	.2	16	2.4	4	.9
Secondary School	158	7.3	103	10.1	34	5.1	21	4.6
Higher Certificate/PLC Program	473	22	124	12.1	260	38.7	89	19.4
Bachelor’s degree	706	32.8	400	39.2	138	20.6	168	36.7

Postgraduate degree/diploma	791	36.8	392	38.4	223	33.2	176	38.4
Employment								
Unemployed	414	19.3	270	26.4	97	14.5	47	10.3

Note. Participants were on average 31.5 years old ($SD = 11.66$)

^a Reflects the number and percentage of participants answering “yes” to this question.

Appendix B – Complete Questionnaire used in current study.



Participant Information Form

You are being invited to participate in a study being carried out by Maria Touza, Emilia Grycuk and David Tracey, as part of their Master's Degree in Clinical Psychology at Utrecht University, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences. The study aims to investigate Migratory Grief among migrants living abroad who originate from either Poland, Venezuela or Ireland. Migratory Grief refers to the various physical and symbolic losses migrants incur when moving to a new place, the problems they encounter when adapting to a new culture and the threats that can be posed to their own cultural identity along with the negative psychological and social consequences that can result from this.

Overall our study aims to improve the understanding of Migratory Grief as it occurs for migrants from a variety of cultural, economic, social and political backgrounds. We hope to shed some light principally on whether an individual's reasons for leaving home, their socio-economic status in their new country and/or the degree of cultural change they experience moving from their country of origin to their new residence home has an impact on the amount of migratory grief they experience.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you consent to take part in this study you will first be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire, providing information about yourself and about your migration experience. You will then be invited to answer a scale which will measure your general wellbeing and another scale measuring your level of Migratory Grief. At the end of the study the researchers' contact information will be provided should you have any further questions.

How long will my part in the study last?

The study should take approx. 10-15 mins to complete.

Who can take part in this study?

Adults above the age of 18 years old may take part in this study.

Confidentiality

The study is entirely anonymous. As the study is anonymous you will not be able to withdraw your data once it is submitted as there will be no way of identifying an individual's data. Data submitted for this project will only be available to members of the research project. No one else will view this data.

We look forward to your participation.

Kind Regards,

Researchers

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Participant Consent Form

Please tick the box below to indicate that you consent to the following information:

- I agree to take part as a participant in this study of Migratory Grief.
- I have read and understood the participant sheet and this consent form for this study.
- I understand that to participate in this study I will have to complete the questionnaires in full, i.e. I will be required to answer all the questions that make up the questionnaire
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study, without giving any reason, and without my legal rights being affected
- I understand that the researchers involved in this study will hold all information and data they collect securely and in confidence. I understand that the information that I provide is entirely confidential and anonymous.
- I understand that as the study is entirely anonymous, I will not be able to withdraw with my data once it has been submitted.
- I understand that if I disclose information that could prevent injury or other damages to other people's health or to prevent serious loss or damage to property, such information would need to be passed on to the relevant authorities.

Please tick this box to indicate you have understood this form and that you give consent to be a part of this study

Many thanks,

Researchers

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Socio-Demographic Questions

How old are you?

18-27

28-37

38-47

48-57

58-67

68-77

78+

What is your gender?

Male

Female

Other (fill in blank): _____

What is your marital status?

Single

In a relationship, but not living together

In a cohabiting relationship

Married

Divorced

Widowed

Do you have any children?

Yes

No

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

Primary School

Secondary School (Junior or Leaving Certificate)

Higher Certificate/Post Leaving Cert program

Bachelor's Degree

Postgraduate Diploma/Degree

Are you currently employed in a paying job?

Yes

No

Do you think that your current occupation is a fair reflection of your level of education?

Yes, I feel my current occupation is a fair reflection of my education level

No, I feel my current occupation is an improvement on what would be expected from my education level.

No, I feel my current occupation is a poor reflection of my level of education.

I'm not sure

What is the level of your language proficiency in the country you are currently living in? Please mark your answers on a scale of 1-10, where 1 is equivalent to no proficiency and 10 means full fluency.

Please rate to what extent did each of the following factors influence your decision to migrate. Please rate every factor on a scale of 1-10 (1 meaning it had no influence at all, and 10 it was completely influenced by it).

Education (e.g. pursuing a degree)

Economic (e.g. better job opportunities)

Political (e.g. greater freedoms; disagreement/dissatisfaction with political system; regime change; political persecution)

Social (e.g. reunification with family/community)

Personal security (e.g. risk of becoming a victim of violence; health risks; natural disasters)

Push factors are conditions that motivate people to leave their homes, such as (but not limited to): a lack of jobs in the country, poor economic or educational prospects, political fear or persecution, poor or absent basic services and natural disasters.

To what extent was your reason to migrate motivated by 'push' factors in your home country?

Please mark your answers on a scale of 1-10 (1 means not being pushed at all and 10 means being entirely pushed)

Pull factors are those conditions or opportunities in the new country that motivate people to move to that new country, such as (but not limited to): job opportunities, better living conditions, political or religious freedom, education and access to better basic services.

To what extent was your reason to migrate motivated by 'pull' factors in the host country you moved to?

Please mark your answers on a scale of 1-10 (1 means not being pulled at all and 10 means being entirely pulled)

In general, how distressing was the overall migration process for you? Please mark your answer on a scale of 1-10 where 1 means not distressing at all and 10 means very distressing.

How distressing have you found settling in to your host country? Please mark your answer on a scale of 1-10 where 1 means not distressing at all and 10 means very distressing.

How welcome have you generally felt since arriving in your host country? Please mark your answer on a scale of 1-10 where 1 is not welcomed at all and 10 means very welcomed.

In general, have you been able to maintain your cultural traditions since arriving in your host country? Please mark your answer on a scale of 1-10 where 1 means not able to maintain traditions at all and 10 means completely able to maintain your traditions.

How many years and months have you been in your host country:

___ years

___ months

What is/are your nationality(ies)? _____

What is your country of origin?

What country did you most recently move from?

What country are you currently living in?

Were members of your family and/or close friends and/or a significant other living in your current host country before you migrated?

Yes

No

Did you migrate with any members of your family and/or close friends and/or a significant other?

Yes

No

Are there members of your family and/or close friends and/or a significant other now living in your host country?

Yes

No

Do members of your family and/or close friends and/or a significant other still live in your original home country?

Yes

No

In your opinion, is it sensible to go back to your home country currently?

Yes

No

Not sure

Do you want to return to your home country permanently in the future?

Yes

No

Not sure

General Health Questionnaire

Please read this carefully.

We would like to know if you have had any medical complaints and how your health has been in general, *over the past few weeks.*

Please answer ALL the following questions by simply choosing the answer which you think most closely applies to you; 0= less than usual, 1= no more than usual, 2= rather more than usual, 3= much more than usual.

Remember that we want to know about present and recent complaints, not those that you had in the past.

It is important that you try to answer ALL the questions.

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Have you recently;

Been able to concentrate on what you're doing?

Lost much sleep over worry?

Felt you were playing a useful part in things?

Felt capable of making decisions?

Felt constantly under strain?

Felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties?

Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

Been able to face up to your problems?

Been feeling unhappy and depressed?

Been losing confidence in yourself?

Been thinking of yourself as worthless?

Been feeling reasonably happy?

Migratory Grief and Loss Questionnaire

We would like to know about the experience of grief and loss you may have felt as a result of migrating to a new country.

FREQUENCY: Please indicate how frequently you have felt or thought each of the following items during the last 30 days? (0= never, 1=occasionally, 2 = often, 3 = always)

INTENSITY: Please indicate how intensely you experienced each of the feelings or thoughts described in the following items during the last 30 days? (0= not intense at all, 1= mildly intense, 2 = intense, 3 = very intense)

I miss my homeland

Things were nicer in my homeland

I dream about going back

I think and am worried about my homeland and its people

There is no better place than my homeland

My thoughts are drawn to my homeland

I think of pleasant things about my homeland

Leaving my homeland is like having a part of me cut off

I feel like a stranger

Thinking about my homeland

I only have pleasant memories of my homeland

I feel like crying

I feel upset about being far away

I am not sure who I am

Homeland is always my home

I feel I am different

I feel lost

I need to have reminders of my homeland



Participant Debriefing Sheet

Thank you for taking part in our study. We hope you gained something worthwhile from the experience.

What will my data be used for?

The data collected during this study will be used to investigate Migratory Grief among migrants from a range of backgrounds who have chosen to move for varying reasons. It is hoped the data will add to our understanding of the grief that migrants can feel when they move to a new country. We also hope the data will help us better comprehend some of the factors that may increase the likelihood of a grief reaction among migrants.

Confidentiality

The study is entirely anonymous. The data collected will only be used in connection with this current study. **As the study is anonymous you will not be able to withdraw your data once it is submitted as there will be no way of identifying an individual's data.**

Who do I contact for more information or if I have further concerns?

If you have any questions about your participation, please feel free to contact the researchers:

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Many thanks for your participation