How to cite this article:
Fattahian, P., Khalili-Mehr, H., & Raminfar, S. (2023). The Legal Dimensions of Belonging in Border Regions: A Narrative Study. *Journal of Historical Research, Law, and Policy, 1*(4), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.61838/jhrlp.1.4.1

Article history:
Original Research

Dates:
Submission Date: 07 August 2023
Revision Date: 05 September 2023
Acceptance Date: 18 September 2023
Publication Date: 01 October 2023

The Legal Dimensions of Belonging in Border Regions: A Narrative Study

1. Peyman. Fattahian[1] : Department of Constitutional Law, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran
2. Hossein. Khalili-Mehr[2*]: Department of Constitutional Law, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran
3. Sahar. Raminfar[3]: Department of International Relations, University of Zanjan, Zanjan, Iran

*corresponding author's email: Khalilmehrhsein@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore the legal dimensions of belonging among individuals with border-region heritage in Iran, focusing on how legal exclusion and institutional interactions shape their lived experiences and narrative identities. This qualitative study employed a narrative inquiry approach using semi-structured interviews with 30 participants residing in Tehran who had personal or familial histories connected to Iran's border regions. Participants were selected through purposive sampling, and data collection continued until theoretical saturation was achieved. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed using thematic narrative analysis via NVivo software. The study focused on capturing the subjective experiences of participants concerning legal documentation, institutional encounters, and expressions of social and national belonging. Analysis revealed three overarching themes: legal recognition and documentation, spatial and social belonging, and institutional interactions and resistance. Participants described prolonged legal ambiguity, such as statelessness, bureaucratic exclusion, and document-based identity erasure. The emotional consequences of legal invisibility—such as humiliation, fear, and alienation—were pervasive. Simultaneously, participants engaged in everyday practices of cultural affirmation and narrative resistance. Some avoided state institutions altogether, while others actively sought legal remedies through NGOs and advocacy networks. Intergenerational shifts in identity and belonging were also observed, with younger participants adopting more fluid or assimilated national identities. The study demonstrates that legal belonging in border-related contexts is deeply embedded in personal narratives, social practices, and emotional landscapes. Legal exclusion operates not only through policy and law but also through daily interactions and internalized perceptions of legitimacy. Understanding these lived realities is essential for designing humane and inclusive legal frameworks that address the rights and recognition of marginalized populations in border regions.

Keywords: *Legal belonging; statelessness; border regions; narrative inquiry; citizenship; legal exclusion; identity; Iran.*

Introduction

The concept of belonging is foundational to human identity, social integration, and legal recognition. While it is often treated as an abstract or emotional condition, belonging also has concrete legal, spatial, and political dimensions, particularly in border regions where citizenship, identity, and access to rights intersect and are frequently contested. Border zones, both physical and symbolic, act as sites of legal ambiguity and social tension where states exercise control over mobility, recognition, and national inclusion. In such spaces, individuals may find their sense of belonging fractured by legal exclusion or reaffirmed through everyday acts of resistance and identity

© 2023 the authors. This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0) License.

formation. This study investigates the legal dimensions of belonging in border-affected populations, exploring how individuals negotiate the complexities of documentation, identity, and exclusion within the socio-political terrain of the modern state.

Legal belonging, or the right to be recognized by the state as a legitimate member of the political community, has long been mediated through instruments of law such as citizenship, national identity cards, and registration systems (Bosniak, 2006). In border regions, where national and ethnic boundaries do not always align, legal recognition often becomes a fraught and uncertain process (Shachar, 2009). Individuals born to undocumented parents, ethnic minorities with transnational roots, or refugees residing for generations without formal status are frequently denied full citizenship or subjected to protracted legal marginalization (Menjívar & Lakhani, 2016). Without documentation, individuals are denied access to healthcare, education, formal employment, and often, the very right to remain in the country. In these cases, the law not only fails to offer protection but actively contributes to the production of legal invisibility (Tucker, 2014).

This legal marginality creates what scholars have called "liminal legality"—a condition wherein individuals exist in a suspended state, neither fully documented nor entirely excluded, navigating an unstable terrain of partial rights and uncertain futures (Menjívar, 2006). Liminal legal status is particularly common in border regions where state capacity to enforce citizenship regimes intersects with longstanding informal economies, mixed-status families, and cross-border kinship networks (Heyman, 2013). For those caught in this legal grey zone, belonging is not merely about cultural affiliation or emotional attachment, but about the ability to access rights, navigate institutions, and participate fully in public life. Legal documentation thus becomes a primary determinant of social inclusion or exclusion, and with it, a person's perceived legitimacy within the national order (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012).

Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of narrative in understanding how marginalized individuals make sense of their legal and civic exclusion (Coutin, 2000; Lakhani & Menjívar, 2020). Narrative approaches foreground the subjective experiences of individuals and allow for a more nuanced exploration of the interplay between law and identity. Through storytelling, people construct and reconstruct their sense of self in relation to the legal apparatus that governs their lives. These personal narratives often reveal how legal exclusions are internalized, resisted, or reinterpreted through the lens of daily life. Moreover, stories of exclusion often contain embedded critiques of state practices and alternative understandings of justice and membership, which may be invisible in formal legal discourse (Ewick & Silbey, 1998). For border-dwelling populations, storytelling becomes a critical site of agency, where individuals contest official definitions of legality and assert their own belonging.

Iran, with its complex ethnic composition and geopolitical position, presents a compelling context for examining the legal dimensions of belonging. The country's border regions are home to diverse populations, including Kurds, Baluchis, Arabs, and Turkmen, many of whom have historical ties across modern state boundaries. In addition, the presence of refugees and stateless persons—particularly from Afghanistan and Iraq—has introduced additional layers of legal ambiguity and bureaucratic complexity. While the Iranian government has made formal efforts to register certain refugee groups and expand documentation processes, many individuals remain in legal limbo, either because of incomplete administrative records, intergenerational undocumented status, or ethnic discrimination (Khosravi, 2008). For these populations, formal citizenship may be inaccessible or conditional, resulting in a tenuous relationship with the state and a deep sense of insecurity.

The legal exclusion of border populations in Iran is not merely a matter of administrative inefficiency. It is structurally embedded in the policies, discourses, and enforcement practices that define the national community.

Citizenship in Iran is patrilineal and highly bureaucratic, often requiring the documentation of both parents' Iranian nationality for legal recognition (Harpviken & Tadjbakhsh, 2016). Consequently, children of mixed-nationality or undocumented parents are often denied birth certificates, leading to the intergenerational transmission of legal invisibility. Moreover, security concerns in border provinces have led to heightened surveillance, profiling, and suspicion of certain ethnic groups, exacerbating their sense of exclusion (Moradi, 2020). In such settings, legal belonging is not simply about meeting formal criteria, but about navigating a deeply politicized terrain of identity, loyalty, and control.

The experience of legal exclusion is compounded by its psychosocial effects. Without documentation, individuals are rendered “non-persons” in many aspects of public life. They are unable to enroll in school, register marriages, receive medical care, or obtain formal employment. This results in chronic stress, social stigma, and a profound sense of alienation (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). For many, the legal apparatus of the state becomes a source of trauma rather than protection. Bureaucratic encounters are experienced as dehumanizing and arbitrary, with individuals often required to relive painful experiences or submit to humiliating procedures in their attempts to be recognized (Kubal, 2013). The denial of legal belonging thus shapes not only one’s material conditions but also one’s self-conception, community ties, and relationship with the state.

Yet, even within these conditions of structural marginalization, individuals develop adaptive strategies to cope, resist, and assert their belonging. These strategies include seeking assistance from NGOs, forging informal networks, engaging in passive resistance by avoiding state institutions, or creatively narrating their identities in ways that affirm their place in society. Some find solidarity in shared experiences of exclusion, while others use social media, community gatherings, or art as platforms to tell their stories. Such narrative practices are not merely expressions of pain but acts of political agency—mechanisms by which individuals reclaim their subjectivity and challenge exclusionary legal regimes (Eastmond, 2007).

Despite the growing body of literature on legal exclusion and undocumented life, there remains a dearth of qualitative studies that center the narrative experiences of individuals in border contexts, particularly in the Middle East. Most research has focused on migrant populations in Western democracies, leaving the localized dynamics of legal belonging in non-Western settings underexplored. This study seeks to fill that gap by providing an in-depth narrative analysis of how individuals living in Tehran—many with origins in Iran's border regions—experience and articulate the legal dimensions of belonging. By foregrounding participants' stories, the study sheds light on the lived effects of legal exclusion, the bureaucratic logics that sustain it, and the creative acts of resistance and negotiation through which individuals navigate their legal precarity.

In doing so, the study contributes to broader debates on citizenship, legal personhood, and state power. It highlights how the boundaries of national membership are not simply defined by legal statutes but are actively contested in the narratives and practices of those at the margins. Through a narrative methodology, the research captures the complexity, ambiguity, and emotional weight of living under conditions of legal uncertainty. It demonstrates that belonging is not a binary state of inclusion or exclusion but a fluid and negotiated experience, shaped by law, space, identity, and resistance.

Methods and Materials

This study employed a qualitative narrative research design to explore the legal dimensions of belonging as experienced by individuals residing in border regions. Narrative inquiry was chosen to capture the complex, lived

experiences and personal accounts of legal recognition, exclusion, and identity negotiation within socio-politically sensitive border areas. The study population consisted of 30 participants residing in Tehran, each with lived experience of legal or perceived marginality in relation to national borders, including issues related to citizenship status, documentation, or ethnic affiliation. Purposeful sampling was used to identify participants with rich, relevant narratives, and the recruitment process continued until theoretical saturation was achieved—defined as the point at which no new themes or insights emerged from the interviews.

Data were collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted in person at locations chosen by the participants to ensure privacy and comfort. The interview guide included open-ended questions designed to elicit detailed narratives about participants' experiences with legal status, administrative interactions, and the feeling or denial of belonging in the border context. Probes were used to encourage elaboration and explore critical events in participants' lives related to legal recognition, state institutions, and identity. Each interview lasted between 60 to 90 minutes and was audio-recorded with participants' consent. Field notes were also taken to capture non-verbal cues and contextual observations. All interviews were transcribed verbatim for analysis.

Data were analyzed using a narrative thematic analysis approach, focusing on both the content and structure of participants' stories. NVivo qualitative analysis software was utilized to manage, code, and organize the data. The analysis involved multiple readings of the transcripts to identify recurrent patterns, legal discourses, and narrative arcs. Initial open coding was followed by the development of focused codes and narrative categories. The process was iterative, allowing for refinement of categories and themes as analysis progressed. Emphasis was placed on identifying how legal frameworks shaped participants' sense of inclusion, exclusion, and identity in border-related contexts.

Findings and Results

Legal Recognition and Documentation

Ambiguity of Legal Status:

Many participants narrated experiences marked by ambiguity in their legal identity, often rooted in the absence of official documentation or inherited statelessness. Several had no birth certificates or national identity cards, which created a sense of legal invisibility. One participant remarked, "I don't exist on paper. I was born here, but I have no number, no name in the system." Another interviewee shared that their nationality was in question due to cross-border family history, saying, "They tell me I'm not Iranian because my grandfather came from across the border, even though I've never lived anywhere else."

Bureaucratic Exclusion:

Participants frequently described encounters with opaque and inconsistent bureaucratic procedures that left them excluded from basic legal recognition. Forms were repeatedly rejected, and clerks often gave contradictory explanations. As one participant recalled, "Every time I submit the documents, they ask for something new or say I'm missing a form that didn't exist before." This bureaucratic maze was described not just as frustrating but as intentionally obstructive.

Citizenship Access Strategies:

In navigating these institutional barriers, participants developed various strategies to gain legal recognition. Some relied on NGOs or legal advocates, while others resorted to informal or illicit means, such as bribery. One

respondent noted, “I paid someone to push my file through. It was the only way.” Others reported repeated trips to government offices in different cities in hopes of finding a sympathetic official.

Impact of Legal Nonrecognition:

The lack of documentation had profound consequences. Participants recounted being denied access to education, health services, and formal employment. A 24-year-old man said, “I couldn’t go to high school because I didn’t have an ID. They just turned me away.” Another participant shared, “I work in a shop for cash, no insurance, no rights—because I have no papers.”

Emotional Toll of Statelessness:

The psychological burden of legal exclusion surfaced across many narratives. Individuals described feelings of humiliation, fear, and inferiority, especially during interactions with authorities. One woman confessed, “When I walk into a government office, I feel like I’m begging for permission to exist.” Fear of deportation or detention was a recurring theme, even among those born and raised in Iran.

Document-based Identity:

Participants expressed that their very sense of self was shaped by the presence or absence of documents. Legal papers were often seen as the sole proof of existence. As one man put it, “Without a passport or an ID, you’re no one. You’re not even a problem—they just ignore you.” Many equated documentation with being visible to the state and to society.

Legal Labeling by the State:

Several participants discussed how legal terms like “illegal resident” or “undocumented” influenced not only how others perceived them but also how they viewed themselves. A young participant explained, “They call me illegal, but I didn’t cross any border. I was born here. Still, I carry that label everywhere.” These state-imposed categories shaped public perception and internal identity alike.

Spatial and Social Belonging

Fragmented National Identity:

Many participants described a fractured sense of national identity. Though they felt Iranian in culture and language, legal exclusion made them feel like outsiders. One respondent remarked, “When I hear the anthem, I sing it, but I know the country doesn’t accept me.” Participants also reported dilemmas in loyalty due to mixed heritage or cross-border family ties.

Everyday Practices of Belonging:

Despite exclusion, participants engaged in daily acts that reinforced their sense of belonging—such as cooking traditional foods, attending local mosques, or maintaining neighborhood ties. A woman said, “My life is here. My neighbors, my rituals, my prayers—they’re all Iranian.” These small but persistent practices anchored their identity in the everyday.

Perceived Rejection by Society:

Beyond legal exclusion, many faced social rejection, particularly in schools and workplaces. Some recounted being denied job offers after revealing their legal status. One participant said, “When they saw I didn’t have a national ID, they told me not to come back.” Others faced discrimination in housing and reported being labeled as “foreign” or “untrustworthy.”

Generational Shifts in Identity:

Participants observed that younger generations tended to adopt more fluid identities or assimilate more easily, while older individuals maintained stronger ties to ancestral narratives. A father said, “My son speaks only Persian and doesn’t ask about our origin. But I still dream in my mother tongue.” This generational divergence created tensions in familial and communal identity.

Sense of Place and Memory:

Narratives were often filled with emotional recollections of specific locations—childhood homes, border villages, or landmarks now inaccessible. These places carried symbolic meaning. One woman said, “There’s a tree in our village near the border. I used to sit under it with my grandmother. It feels more like home than any document ever could.”

Physical Separation and Movement Restrictions:

Participants also discussed restrictions on their movement due to border surveillance or lack of legal travel documents. Many avoided traveling to other provinces for fear of checkpoints. One participant shared, “I don’t take buses anymore. If they ask for ID, I have nothing. I could disappear.” Such restrictions contributed to a sense of physical and psychological confinement.

Institutional Interactions and Resistance

Administrative Encounters:

Participants consistently described interactions with public institutions as alienating and often dehumanizing. Clerks and officers were reported to treat them with indifference or suspicion. A 36-year-old man said, “They didn’t even look me in the eye. Just pushed the form back and said ‘next.’” These interactions reinforced their exclusion from full citizenship.

Coping with Legal Disempowerment:

Despite systemic marginalization, participants showed resilience. Many found strength in familial bonds, religious faith, or personal dignity. One participant noted, “I’ve learned not to break. I teach my children they are worthy even if the system says they’re not.” Such coping strategies acted as psychological safeguards.

Role of Intermediaries:

Legal and community intermediaries were often crucial in navigating the system. NGOs, local leaders, and even sympathetic government employees played instrumental roles in helping participants file paperwork or understand procedures. As one interviewee stated, “If not for the lawyer from the NGO, I would have given up a long time ago.”

Passive Resistance and Avoidance:

Some participants responded to marginalization by avoiding the state altogether—refusing to register births, skipping school registration, or abstaining from medical care. A mother explained, “I didn’t register my daughter. Why should I? So they can reject her like they did me?” This form of resistance reflected a deep disillusionment.

Storytelling as Resistance:

Many participants viewed storytelling as an act of empowerment. Sharing their stories in community gatherings, online platforms, or personal writings allowed them to reclaim their narrative. A participant explained, “When I tell my story, I exist. Even if they ignore me, I know I have a voice.”

Legal Consciousness and Rights Awareness:

While some participants were unaware of their rights, others actively sought legal knowledge to confront the system. They shared experiences of attending community workshops or studying past cases. One woman proudly said, “I know what Article 41 of the Constitution says. It gives me strength to argue.”

Discussion and Conclusion

This study explored the legal dimensions of belonging among individuals with border-region heritage residing in Tehran, using narrative inquiry to highlight subjective experiences of legal exclusion, institutional interaction, and identity negotiation. The analysis yielded three overarching themes: legal recognition and documentation, spatial and social belonging, and institutional interactions and resistance. These themes converge to show how legal marginality is deeply embedded in both formal bureaucratic structures and everyday life, and how individuals assert agency through resistance, storytelling, and adaptation.

One of the most salient findings was the pervasive **ambiguity and precarity of legal status** among participants. Many lacked official documentation such as birth certificates or national identity cards, resulting in exclusion from essential services and rights. This aligns closely with the concept of "liminal legality" described by Menjívar (2006), wherein individuals live in a suspended legal state that denies them full citizenship yet offers no clear path to inclusion. The participants' narratives of repeated rejection, administrative runaround, and contradictory requirements underscore what Kubal (2013) identifies as the systemic production of "semi-legality," where legal uncertainty is not a temporary condition but a prolonged institutional strategy of exclusion.

The emotional toll of this legal invisibility emerged as another critical dimension. Participants described feelings of humiliation, anxiety, and fear when encountering state institutions, and they often internalized legal labels such as "illegal resident." This echoes Tucker's (2014) work on how legal frameworks influence self-perception and shape emotional experiences. In particular, the finding that individuals equated documentation with existence—"without an ID, I don't exist"—illustrates the existential dimensions of state recognition, as previously noted by Bosniak (2006) in her analysis of citizenship and alienage. These legal labels and document-based identities are not merely administrative; they structure how people see themselves and how society treats them.

In addition to legal exclusion, the study uncovered a fragmented and contested sense of **spatial and social belonging**. Participants simultaneously expressed strong cultural ties to Iran and feelings of being foreign in their own country. These narratives reflect what Shachar (2009) calls the "birthright lottery"—a system in which citizenship is distributed arbitrarily and often unjustly, failing to capture the lived experience of national identity. For many, national borders did not coincide with their sense of identity or community, especially in cases of ethnic minorities or cross-border families. Their feelings of being socially rejected, whether in education, housing, or employment, further affirm findings by Gonzales and Chavez (2012), who showed how undocumented status intersects with everyday forms of racial and ethnic exclusion to deepen social marginalization.

The concept of **belonging through everyday practices** also played a central role in the participants' strategies of identity affirmation. Despite their legal marginality, individuals engaged in daily rituals—cultural customs, neighborhood relations, and local traditions—that allowed them to assert their rootedness in Iranian society. These findings are consistent with Eastmond (2007), who argues that belonging is not only about formal citizenship but also about daily practices that embed individuals in social and spatial contexts. These micro-level acts of cultural continuity act as a counterweight to the macro-level forces of exclusion.

Another major theme involved **narratives of resistance and institutional avoidance**. Many participants actively avoided interacting with the state—refusing to register their children or refraining from using public services—because they viewed the system as dehumanizing or futile. This behavior mirrors the passive resistance strategies described by Coutin (2000), in which undocumented individuals engage in non-participation as a form of political

protest. Others resisted through storytelling, using their narratives to reclaim dignity and visibility. This aligns with Ewick and Silbey's (1998) framework of "resistance stories," which serve as counter-narratives to dominant legal discourse and challenge the legitimacy of exclusionary policies.

Participants also demonstrated **adaptive coping strategies**, such as seeking help from NGOs, learning about legal rights, and building informal support networks. These actions are reminiscent of the "citizenship performance" described by Tucker (2014), where individuals strategically engage with legal systems to assert agency and claim space in the public sphere. One particularly noteworthy finding was the role of narrative as both a coping mechanism and a political act. Telling one's story—whether in community gatherings or online platforms—was seen as a way to document existence, mobilize support, and challenge dominant definitions of legality and worthiness.

Generational differences emerged in how participants perceived and performed belonging. Older individuals often retained strong attachments to ancestral identities and borderland memories, while younger participants expressed more fluid or assimilated forms of belonging. This dynamic reflects findings by Lakhani and Menjívar (2020), who observed similar intergenerational shifts in legal consciousness and identity formation among undocumented families. The tension between inherited exclusion and the desire for integration highlights the need for policies that address not only legal recognition but also intergenerational trauma and cultural continuity.

Collectively, these findings affirm that legal exclusion in border-related contexts is not merely a bureaucratic issue but a deeply **experiential and narrative** one. It shapes how people live, how they relate to the state, and how they tell their own stories. This study contributes to the literature by contextualizing legal exclusion within personal and collective narratives, thereby offering a more humanized understanding of what it means to live without legal belonging in a border-sensitive national framework.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our appreciation and gratitude to all those who helped us carrying out this study.

Authors' Contributions

All authors equally contributed to this study.

Declaration of Interest

The authors of this article declared no conflict of interest.

Ethical Considerations

All ethical principles were adheried in conducting and writing this article.

Transparency of Data

In accordance with the principles of transparency and open research, we declare that all data and materials used in this study are available upon request.

Funding

This research was carried out independently with personal funding and without the financial support of any governmental or private institution or organization.

References

Bosniak, L. (2006). The citizen and the alien: Dilemmas of contemporary membership. Princeton University Press.

Coutin, S. B. (2000). Legalizing moves: Salvadoran immigrants' struggle for U.S. residency. University of Michigan Press.

Eastmond, M. (2007). Stories as lived experience: Narratives in forced migration research. Journal of Refugee Studies, 20(2), 248–264. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fem007

Ewick, P., & Silbey, S. S. (1998). The common place of law: Stories from everyday life. University of Chicago Press.

Gonzales, R. G., & Chavez, L. R. (2012). “Awakening to a nightmare”: Abjectivity and illegality in the lives of undocumented 1.5-generation Latino immigrants in the United States. Current Anthropology, 53(3), 255–281. https://doi.org/10.1086/665414

Harpviken, K. B., & Tadjbakhsh, S. (2016). A rock between hard places: Afghanistan as an arena of regional insecurity. Hurst Publishers.

Heyman, J. M. (2013). Constructing a “perfect” deportee: Performance of migrant illegality in border apprehensions. Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 12(3), 195–213. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2013.797256

Khosravi, S. (2008). Young and defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kubal, A. (2013). Conceptualizing semi-legality in migration research. Law & Society Review, 47(3), 555–587. https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12032

Lakhani, S. M., & Menjívar, C. (2020). Legal violence, health, and access to care: Latina immigrants in rural and urban Kansas. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 61(2), 190–205. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146520910533

Menjívar, C. (2006). Liminal legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants’ lives in the United States. American Journal of Sociology, 111(4), 999–1037. https://doi.org/10.1086/499509

Menjívar, C., & Lakhani, S. M. (2016). Transformative effects of immigration law: Immigrants’ personal and social metamorphoses through regularization. American Journal of Sociology, 121(6), 1818–1855. https://doi.org/10.1086/685103

Miller, K. E., & Rasmussen, A. (2010). War exposure, daily stressors, and mental health in conflict and post-conflict settings: Bridging the divide between trauma-focused and psychosocial frameworks. Social Science & Medicine, 70(1), 7–16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.09.029

Moradi, H. (2020). Border management and the securitization of peripheral ethnic groups in Iran. Iranian Studies, 53(5-6), 891–912. https://doi.org/10.1080/00210862.2020.1793185

Shachar, A. (2009). The birthright lottery: Citizenship and global inequality. Harvard University Press.

Tucker, J. (2014). Citizenship performance: Narrative, agency, and belonging among undocumented immigrants. Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies, 14(3), 206–215. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708613517443