

**The tourism and lifestyle mobilities of
the Madeiran community in the Channel
Island of Jersey**

Rubina Moniz Vieira

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the multiple mobilities and travel experiences of the Madeiran community that decided to migrate to the Channel Island of Jersey, most during the 1990's. The thesis explores: reasons for their move to the island; the challenges of their settlement; the links they maintain with the homeland. It specifically analyses the Madeiran's' experiences in Jersey and whether they desire to return to the homeland in the future.

The theoretical discussion explores the concept of diaspora, its historical development, and the connections between diasporas, mobilities and migration movements. Themes related to diaspora tourism, labour mobilities and family migration are also discussed, to develop a critical standing about contemporary mobilities and the importance of transnationalism. Connections between diaspora tourism and the loyalty to the homeland are also explored.

The methodology explains why I have opted for a qualitative research study and my interest in the nature of the participants' experiences and my focus on understanding their social world. I conducted 28 in-depth semi-structured interviews in Jersey and in Madeira. The findings show that these migrants came to Jersey when they were young and came through curiosity, a sense of adventure and the possibility of improving their living standards. The appeal of Jersey lay in the job opportunities and the higher salaries, while the push factors of Madeira were the less developed economy and the limited career prospects. Most Madeirans in Jersey work in the hospitality, tourism, and agriculture industries.

The focus of this study on small island-to-island migration is a relatively neglected topic. Whereas mobilities studies have tended to focus on the highly skilled and more affluent groups of migrants, the discussion explores the mobilities and travel habits gained by a lower income group and contributes to the understanding of the mobility paradigm, by bringing attention to the less understood individual decisions made by citizens who wish to migrate. A framework is developed that explains how their lifestyle mobilities have changed and the travel trends that have emerged with their move to Jersey, influenced by their attachment to the homeland and their family relations. A research agenda on island-to-island migration mobilities is proposed.

Statement of originality

In presenting this thesis for assessment, I Rubina Moniz Vieira, declare that this work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

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Chapter One – Introduction

This chapter will introduce the topic studied and give some background information about the social and economic reality of Madeira during the 20th and the 21st centuries. It will briefly explore some of the reasons that have forced migration from Madeira to the many corners of the world. I will also include some background information about the Island of Jersey, to add an understanding of why this destination was chosen by so many Madeirans – especially during the 1980's – as their destination of choice to work, settle and raise a family. This chapter will also explain the aim and the objectives of the present research, the structure of the thesis and the chapters that were included.

Madeira is a well-known tourism destination in Europe. The British started visiting the island as early as the 16th century. Madeira Island, together with Porto Santo, the Desertas and Selvagens islands form the Madeira archipelago. This Portuguese autonomous region is located 900 km from mainland Portugal, 600 km from the Moroccan coast and 450 km north of the Canary Islands. Madeira is a mountainous island of 740.7 km² with a landscape of deep valleys, steeped slopes, and scarps and with a Mediterranean type of climate moderated by the Atlantic Ocean. Funchal is the largest city and capital of the island. The island's economy is based on the tertiary sector and is dominated by public administration and tourism. Tourism represents 10% of the GDP of the island and in 2013, almost one million tourists visited Madeira (Fernandes, 2016; Gouveia and Eusebio, 2018). In 2017, the number of tourists that visited the island reached 1.4 million (RTP Madeira website, 2018).

Between the 16th and the 18th century, Britain had interests in Madeira which were related to the sugarcane and vineyard productions. An active British community was established on the island and Madeira has since been visited by a growing number of tourists mainly from European countries (Fernandes, 2016; Gouveia and Eusebio, 2018). As for emigration, it has been happening on the island for centuries. Bastos (2008) states that through the 19th century Madeirans migrated to places as remote as Hawaii, California, Guyana, and South Africa. Scarcity of land, a rigid social structure, periodic famines, and poverty made them embark to distant destinations and accept harsh labour conditions on sugarcane plantations. Madeirans also embarked early to the United States of America and to Trinidad, for both religious reasons and to work as labourers. In the 20th century, their destinations included South Africa and South America.

Madeira has been a mass exporter of human capital through the 20th and the 21st centuries. In the first half of the 20th century and up until the 1970's, most of its population depended on fishing or farming small plots on terraced slopes to survive. Infrastructures were poor, industries were almost non-existent and young children had limited access to schooling. For this reason, the island developed a culture of migration. Between 1940 and 1970, Madeira exported 316,000 people (Glaser, 2012).

Most migrants came from impoverished families in the rural parts of the island. Besides the fishing communities, families subsisted with agriculture and by exchanging surpluses with neighbours. Women and girls were mainly occupied with domestic labour and assisted men in their small plantations. Women would also contribute to family income through embroidery, since the island had a reputation for its finely crafted embroidery. Although this activity was poorly paid, it provided a vital source of cash to buy manufactured household goods and to help pay for migrants to travel. Rural children received no schooling or if they received schooling it would rarely be more than 2 or 3 years. Most poor families could not afford to send more than one child to school beyond the most junior levels, and more advanced schooling would only be offered in more distant towns. Migration was mostly of men and a way to break the poverty cycle. It was anticipated that men would bring back wealth to the island or once established they would bring their extended family to the new world (Glaser, 2012).

1.1 – The characteristics of the Portuguese community

According to Beswick (2005), between 1950 and 1976 some 141,906 Portuguese migrated to the USA, with some 103,408 going to Canada. In the 20th century, a different type of migrant appears to have emerged. European migrants had one overriding intention: to return home once they had amassed enough savings. Tight-knit communities sprang up throughout Europe where the Portuguese could maintain a sense of community and national identity. Between 1950 and 1976, some 104,764 people migrated from Madeira and most of these emigrants went to Venezuela. However, it is unclear how many of the 3,820 listed under 'other countries' ended up in some part of the UK. Madeiran and Azorean economies were primarily based on subsistence farming and the Channel Islands have a long tradition of subsistence farming. Until World War II, Jersey had relied on Breton and Irish seasonal labourers to work the land (Beswick, 2005).

Due to increasing pressures from the international community on Portugal to give independence to its colonies, in 1951 a constitutional amendment stated that the colonies were part of the Portuguese territory and were designated metropolitan provinces. Incentivised by the government, many Portuguese left Portugal to settle in African territories. Other migrants, who were disappointed by both the economic situation and of living under a dictatorial regime, left the country to settle in other European countries where work opportunities were available. This was a concern to the Portuguese dictator in power, Oliveira Salazar, who preferred to see a more intense migration movement to the African colonies (Castelo, 2009).

The Portuguese left their rural settings to look for better opportunities in France and Germany and later in Switzerland and Luxembourg. Between 1957 and 1974, 1 million Portuguese migrated to France (Pereira, 2014) and a significant percentage were living as illegal migrants (Arroteia, 2001). The study of Horta and White (2009) discussed the large-scale migration flows in Southern European Destinations and migration flows in Portugal were particularly strong during the 1970's. Until 1974, Portugal was a major colonial power and after the independence of the African colonies Portugal faced a large-scale flow of returning settlers from the former colonies, especially from Angola and Mozambique.

Portuguese migrant workers have worked and settled in the UK since the 1950's but were always a minority when compared to migrants from Asia, the Caribbean and Ireland. They began to enter the UK in growing numbers in the 1990's. Since the 1960's, most Portuguese migrants opted for France, Germany and Switzerland. The census of England and Wales in 2001 stated there were only 35,867 Portuguese born people living in England and Wales. The Labour Force Survey indicated that in 2006 there were around 80,000 Portuguese citizens living in the UK. On the other hand, Portuguese sources have given considerably higher figures. The total number of Portuguese registered by the consular services in 2006 was 125,071, but the consulate estimated that the Portuguese community could be around two or three times this number. According to the Portuguese authorities, the difficulty in presenting specific numbers has to do with the fact that although the government encourages citizens to register in the consulate when they move to another country, registration is not compulsory, and many Portuguese citizens only do the registration when they need documents from the consulate. The other reason is to do with the fact that the British authorities are not obliged to provide that information to the

Portuguese government (Pina and Corkill, 2010). A study from Ribeiro (2014) stated that nearly 100,000 Portuguese emigrated in 2012. A 2018 tv report from RTP (the national tv broadcast station) mentions that more than 400,000 Portuguese lived in the UK (RTP website, 2018). As we can conclude, the variations in numbers make it difficult to estimate accurately the size of the Portuguese migrant population in the UK.

The Portuguese in the UK belong to a migrant group from a poorer part of the European Union, who could move freely and have spent more time in the UK than the new migrants from Eastern Europe. They are older and – in many cases – live in family units. Often, they have their children with them, and the Portuguese migrant community also has a multinational background because many were born in Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Macau, East Timor, and Goa. Their main motivation for emigration is economic; the recession in Portugal since the 2000's and the booming British economy attracted a workforce that was flexible and poorly qualified, and who accepted jobs in factories and in the fields that were not attractive to locals. For example, in East Anglia businesses had difficulties in recruiting workers and the solution was to recruit migrant workers through agencies. The community in this area of the UK remains close to the Portuguese local cultural organisations, they organise events regularly to celebrate important Portuguese bank holidays. The links with their families, relatives and friends remain very close (Pina and Corkill, 2010).

As for the specific focus of this investigation, there is a lack of investigation into the Madeiran diaspora in tourism research, and this is one of the main reasons I wanted to develop a thesis to understand and analyse mobilities, diaspora and tourism through a study of the Madeiran community living specifically on the Channel Island of Jersey. With the present investigation, I intended to gain a deep understanding about the Madeiran Diaspora in terms of the nature of their employment, economic and social setting in Jersey, as well as the connections they keep with their homeland.

The studies of diasporas and migration have largely been dominated by investigations which have focused on perspectives on economic impacts, the government, and businesses in general, largely ignoring individual decisions that are made by everyday people about their lives, their desire to embrace changes, open new horizons, look for new experiences on a personal and professional level, and/or their wish to initiate mobilities to different regions or countries (Martiniello, 2012). This study is an attempt

to mitigate this lack of focus by shedding light on the personal experiences of a group of Madeirans who decided to migrate to Jersey.

Another reason which has motivated me to pursue this investigation was the fact that much more emphasis has been given to the mobility of skilled and highly skilled workers, because they are perceived to be more relevant in knowledge economies (Boschma, 2014). This is not the case with the present study. Most of the Madeiran citizens that are part of the study are low-skilled or medium-skilled workers. This thesis will give them an opportunity to share their vision and opinions about many different topics, and to add to the existing research by giving a perspective from a group of participants who are not normally asked about their challenges and experiences of settlement. Therefore, I believe that the originality of the study is also related to the fact that the main emphasis of the present research is to give voice and visibility to a group of migrants who are socially disadvantaged because most of the participants are from a lower income background.

The Portuguese community was attracted to Jersey to fill-in job positions in much needed industries like hospitality and agriculture. They may be low-skilled jobs, but the workforce was needed. The Portuguese community in Jersey is also the biggest foreign community and represents 7% of the population of Jersey, which is a fact that shows the importance of this community to Jersey (Jersey Census, 2012). Some sources in the Portuguese media state that the number of Madeirans living in Jersey is much higher and could in fact be more than 10% of the population. However, because I could not find the evidence for those numbers, in my thesis I will use the official statistics provided by the government of Jersey. By analysing these figures, it becomes evident why the present study is relevant to both Jersey and Madeira. The governments of both islands should have a deeper understanding about this diaspora because of their dimension.

An analysis of what is available in terms of studies about the Madeiran migration in the last 200 years indicates that there are not many significant works with a detailed investigation about the migration of groups of Madeirans to a region of the world. There are some valuable contributions and studies about the migration to the Caribbean, Brazil, and Hawaii in the 19th century. However, most of the information available explains the statistics of migration to different parts of the world and some of the reasons that have motivated people to leave Madeira. Studies focussing on the analysis of specific groups of people and that involve field research – which includes the participation of migrants to explain the reasons they have left Madeira and the challenges of their settlement – are

rare. Therefore, this thesis will share that knowledge contribution to inspire future research studies by other students and academics.

This study will also help to overcome the fragmentation and isolation in migration studies and to better understand migration processes and their place in contemporary society. I also do not wish to hide the fact that I am both a student/researcher and a migrant from Madeira who lives in London. My own reflections and experiences have made me look at this study with a different sensibility. The stories of my participants had similarities to my own story of migration, because I also continue to have strong social and emotional ties to Madeira. As a result, this study made me reflect and explore my own identity as a Madeiran migrant.

1.2 – Research aim, key objectives, and questions

The aim of the present research was to critically investigate the tourism mobilities and travel experiences of the Madeiran migrants that have settled in the Channel Island of Jersey.

Specific objectives of this research were as follow:

- 1) To critically examine the professional experiences of Madeiran migrants in the island of Jersey
- 2) To critically explore the leisure and tourism experiences of Madeiran migrants in the island of Jersey
- 3) To critically consider the realities of their settlement experiences and if they promoted stronger connections to the host region, a tendency to return to the homeland, or to indecisions about their future.

To address the aim and the objectives, more specific related research questions were conveyed and developed, and they were:

- Who are the Madeira citizens who live in Jersey, when did they arrive and what brought them to the island?
- To what extent do they maintain their identities, how are they socially organised, and what type of social networks do they keep?

- How far, where, and why do Madeira migrants in Jersey travel within and outside the UK? How do they feel about staying in Jersey or returning to Madeira in the future?

By working to address the research aim and objectives, I believe that I will be capable of developing original knowledge and give my contribution in terms of exploring and re-conceptualising the multiple mobilities of the Madeira migrants who live in Jersey.

1.3 – The study context

I will now provide background context to the social and economic realities of both Madeira and the island of Jersey. My intention is to share more detailed information that would help the reader to understand the social and economic reality of both islands, and to better interpret the reasons behind the population flows between Madeira and Jersey that have been happening for many decades. I will start by providing an historical introduction to Madeira, by sharing some elements related to the population of the island, its administrative characteristics, and the migration trends of Madeira especially during the 19th and 20th centuries. I will then introduce Jersey and provide some information about its population statistics and background information about the economic reality of the island and some of its main industries.

1.3.1 – Introducing Madeira

Madeira was discovered by the Portuguese in 1419 and the population of the island in 2011 was made of 267,785 inhabitants, according to a government report (Estatísticas website, 2012). Madeira is made of eleven counties and 54 parishes in total. Since 2001 it is the region of Portugal with the biggest population growth, a 9,3% growth to be precise. However, more recent statistics revealed that in 2017, the population of the island was made of 254,368 inhabitants; 118,411 were men and 135,957 were women (Estatísticas website, 2018). There are two periods of tourism development that can be identified in history: the colonial between the 15th and 18th centuries and the therapeutic which includes the 19th and the 20th centuries. Both periods were dependent on the Atlantic navigation to generate visitors and in the attraction that Madeira generated, because it was a tropical paradise with a very amiable climate. Until the 1930's many of the tourists were aristocrats, public figures, and very wealthy businessmen, as was the case of Winston Churchill and the Prince of Wales. It was common for transatlantic ships

to stop at the island and for that reason the affluence of British and Germans visitors was significant. During the first decades of the 20th century, Madeira was mostly seen as a winter tourism destination. Winter was the high season in terms of visitor numbers. Staff working in the tourism and hospitality industry would emigrate during summer to places like the island of Jersey, when hotels in Madeira would close. Apart from the economic importance of these summer jobs, these stays in Jersey were also an opportunity for them to improve their language skills. In 1936, Madeira Tourism board was created, and the island started being promoted as an all-year destination (Silva, 1985). The map below shows Madeira and its eleven counties:



Figure 1.3.1: Counties of Madeira (Escolas da RAM, no date)

Oliveira (1997) developed a study about emigration in the Portuguese Islands and stated that statistics revealed the number of people who emigrated from the islands was far superior when compared to the number of Portuguese who emigrated from the mainland. The Azores and Madeira have always been greatly affected by the migration phenomenon. The author goes as far as to say that migration is an endemic characteristic of the population of the islands.

During the 19th century, Madeirans were mostly attracted to Demerara in Guyana and later to Hawaii. The studies of Ferreira (2006) focused on the Madeiran migration to the Caribbean, especially Guyana, St. Vincent, Antigua, and Trinidad. According to the author, the migration of Madeirans to the Caribbean happened between 1835 and 1975. Madeiran groups were significant both in size and in their contribution to the economic

development of the region. The first group of Portuguese arrived in 1834 and were from the Azores. With the abolition of slavery, plantation owners were desperate to find workers. Portuguese were very welcomed because they provided cheap labour and their presence also worked as a buffer between Africans and Europeans. The first Madeirans arrived in Guyana in 1835 and between 1835 and 1846, 12,000 Madeirans arrived in Guyana. On a much-reduced scale, Madeirans also migrated to Trinidad, Antigua, and St. Vincent. The push factors were mostly socio-economic as well as political. In 1847, a disease that attacked potato plots and the decrease in wine production due to a vine disease in Madeira were also contributing factors. Unemployment was high within agricultural workers and most of the Madeirans that migrated to the Caribbean were peasants, fishermen and sailors with a deficient education. After the 1840s, family and village migration became very popular in Madeira (Ferreira, 2006).

Other migrants had different motivational factors. Religious clashes between Catholics and Presbyterians happened because of the involvement of the Scottish doctor Robert Kalley in the evangelisation of Madeirans since 1838. For some years, Dr. Kalley practised medicine, developed charitable work, and worked as a missionary in Madeira. Hundreds of Madeirans converted to Protestantism and encountered a great deal of hostility from the Catholic church and the government. The result was that they left Madeira and travelled mostly to Trinidad, where religious freedom was possible. A few years later, over 700 Madeiran Protestants moved from Trinidad to Jacksonville, Springfield, and Illinois in the US. Nowadays, Madeiran descendants in Trinidad maintain the tradition of cooking the typical garlic pork dish during the Christmas season. Apart from that, little cultural manifestations are seen because they have assimilated into the Trinidadian society (Ferreira, 2006). Other studies have focused on the migration to Hawaii (Caldeira, 2010), Brazil, Venezuela, South Africa and Curaçao. Slavery abolition in Guyana in 1834 was particularly relevant because sugar plantations needed people to work. More than 41,000 Madeirans established roots in Guyana until 1889. Apart from the Caribbean, between 1853-54 many Madeirans abandoned Trinidad and migrated to North America, especially to New England. In the first decades of the 20th century, the economic crisis in Madeira continued to force Madeirans to find work and settlements abroad. Brazil continued to attract Madeirans, but Australia and North America were also appealing. Between 1900-1925, 16,647 Madeirans travelled to the US and after the Second World War the number of migrants continued to be strong, especially to Brazil and Venezuela (Freitas, 2016).

What we see is that in the beginning of the 20th century, Brazil and North America were favoured and the interest in South Africa started to grow. With the establishment of the British navigation companies, regular services of passengers and freight were implemented and connections between British ports and Natal and Durban were regular. These connections had compulsory stopovers in the capital of Madeira, Funchal, and in the Canary Islands. These port movements between Britain, Madeira and South Africa were a huge opportunity for Madeirans who wished to migrate. Many of the British families established in Madeira had connections to South Africa, as was the case of the Blandy's, Hinton's and Phelps, who are still well-known families in Madeira nowadays, and involved in trade. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Madeirans migrated to South Africa, especially to Pretoria and Johannesburg. They had a strong presence in the fishing and agriculture industries. Between 1945 and 1979, 8,906 Madeirans migrated to South Africa (Vieira, 2016).

After the Second World War, Curacao and Venezuela became the most important destinations to migrants. Venezuela was the most chosen destination by Madeirans, although Brazil was still significant until the 1960's. During this time, temporary migration started in Europe, mostly to serve the blossoming hospitality industry (Oliveira, 1997). According to Oliveira (1999), after the Second World War apart from the capital – Funchal - all the counties in Madeira saw their population decrease because of emigration. Rural counties were the ones that sent more emigrants abroad. Between 1944 and 1945 almost all emigrants went to Curacao. From 1946 onward, Brazil, Venezuela and South Africa were added to the list. Between 1952-54, 6,600 people migrated every year and between 1955 and 1972, 60% of migrants were choosing Venezuela and 23% Brazil. Between 1973-75 Venezuela continued to be very popular, attracting half of the migrants, with Europe being the second choice. During the 1970's, the most popular destination for migrants in Europe was the UK and in the 1980's the number of people that migrated from Madeira decreased. Most migrants were women, and more Madeiran women migrated during the 1980's than men (Oliveira, 1999). What we see is that studies that reflect about the demography of Madeira are rare. However, it is possible to conclude that during the 1960's the international context favoured emigration because of the beginning of the colonial war in Portugal. Many young citizens migrated illegally to avoid being recruited to go to the war (Freitas, 2016). The study of Brandão and Santos (2020) also mentions the high migration flows of men between the ages of 18 and 30 years old. With the continuation of the Colonial War, young men would continue to escape military

training and travel to other European countries to avoid being recruited to fight in the African colonies.

Although there is no specific census to quantify how many Madeirans live outside Madeira, in the beginning of the 21st century it is believed that around 300,000 Madeirans live in mainland Portugal and around 600,000 live abroad (Correia de Jesus, 2021). The successive government programmes have highlighted the importance of the Madeiran communities abroad and have supported the creation of associations to maintain and promote the cultural traditions of the Madeirans to the new generations, and to keep them connected to the homeland. The government also showed interest in promoting associative movements of young entrepreneurs to support their integration in the homeland and consequently to increase their political, cultural, and economic stand in society. The government has also recognised the importance of the Internet not only to allow migrants to be in contact with the homeland but also to promote the creation of online classes to teach the Portuguese language to the second and third generations. Other initiatives that have been stated as important are radio and TV programs, especially targeting younger audiences, cultural exchanges with universities and initiatives that bring the second and third generations to Madeira, to be in contact with their ancestors' homeland. The government believes that the economic success of Madeirans abroad can be relevant to Madeira if they decide to invest in businesses in the homeland but can also be important to the Madeiran community living abroad because they may support the political careers of Madeiran descendants (Correia de Jesus, 2021). Until very recently, families in Madeira were numerous and children were an important economic support to farmers because they worked the land and when they migrated, they would send much needed remittances to support the family they had left behind (Freitas, 2016).

1.3.2 – Introducing Jersey

Jersey is the largest of the Channel Islands and has a geographical area of 118 km². The island is divided into twelve parishes and considering it is a relatively small island, it has a large population which doubles during the tourist season (BBC website, no date). According to the 'economic trends 2012', (States of Jersey website, no date), between 2000 and 2011 the resident population increased by 11%, from 88,400 to 98,000. Jersey has always been a very desirable place to live and work; it is seen as safe, secure, beautiful, with good beaches and as a wealthy destination (Hampton and Christensen, 2007).

Jersey is not part of the United Kingdom but is a self-governing British Crown Dependency. Defence and diplomatic representation are reserved to the UK government in London, but Jersey has its own international identity and negotiates directly with foreign governments on matters within the competence of the island's parliament. Jersey is not part of the European Union (EU) but belongs to the EU Common Travel Area and is within the UK for the purposes of immigration and nationality, but it is legally entitled to restrict immigration (Kelly et. al., 2019).

The island retains a certain traditional rural way of life and was occupied by the German armed forces during the Second World War. This difficult period had a profound impact on the island. As Raynor et al. (2007) stated, Jersey has a long history of independence and self-reliance, by creating local solutions to local problems. After the second world war, the tourism industry boomed in the island with visitors coming mainly from the UK. These visitors were looking for the warmer climates, lower taxes, and the natural tourist attractions. However, mass tourism started declining in the 1990's due to the pressures from other destinations that were more affordable (Johnson, 2012).

There were various influxes of non-Islanders over the past centuries and migrants came to Jersey for vastly different reasons. Focusing on the last fifty years, significant numbers of Portuguese, mainly from the island of Madeira, have settled in Jersey. They came to work in the hospitality and farming sectors. Other nationalities have arrived to work in the construction industry. More recently, there is a significant and increasing number of Polish workers, in large measure replacing the Portuguese (Baldachinno, 2011).

After the five years of German occupation during the Second World War, the island rapidly accommodated its new tourist demand by building hotels and other types of accommodation, and the service industry expanded to meet tourist demand. New short-term migrant workers came to the island, both from the UK and from Portugal. Over the decades many such workers decided to stay on the island, but were confronted by strict housing regulations, which usually meant that the average workers could not make purchases until they had been working on the island for ten years. As the mass-tourism industry was growing, so too was Jersey's offshore finance industry. In this context, as the tourist industry went into serious decline from the 1990s, there was a rapid reduction of accommodation providers between 1992 and 2014 (down from 393 to 139) and bed

spaces (down from 24,770 to 11,554), although the financial services industry was still growing. Some hotels were replaced by apartment blocks, and other new housing was developed to accommodate the growing population (Johnson, 2016).

The size of the population and immigration have been on the political agenda of Jersey for the last century. As Boleat (2015) has mentioned, to understand population trends, it is crucial to analyse the economic growth of Jersey. Between 1951 and 1991, the population of the island increased by 52%, because of tourism and the finance industry. The source of immigrant labour moved from France to Portugal and more specifically Madeira. It is estimated that the population increased from 98,100 in 2011 to 99,000 at the end of 2012.

Driven by increased employment in the private sector, in 2005 and 2006 there were high levels of net inward migration of 300 and 700 people per year respectively. Non-governmental organizations in Jersey are particularly active in their opposition to policies that encourages an increasing population. They argue that it would bring strains on the island infrastructure, particularly the housing market, the roads, evidenced by rising house prices, traffic disruptions, congestion, and pollution. NGOs are often an effective voice in bringing awareness that an increasing population will maintain the strongest of pressures on all matters environmental (Baldachinno, 2011).

The major job creator sectors in 2011 were financial and legal activities, education, health, and other services, which represented almost 50% of the labour force. In the last 50 years, the main objectives of the population policy were a preference for locals in access to the housing and labour markets and to regulate the growth of the economy to reduce the demand for labour; this would be achieved by limiting migration and attracting a workforce that would bring economic and social value and only if local candidates were not available (Boleat, 2015).

The prosperity of the island is associated with the stable political system and the established rule of law. The tourism industry began in the 19th century but took off in the 1950's and 1960's. Jersey was an affordable option for British tourists with the advantage of being sufficiently like home in terms of language, customs, and currency. The industry needed a large volume of workers on a relatively low-cost labour. In 1961, the census recorded 118 Portuguese and in 1981 the number was of 2,321, which represented 3% of the population. In 2011, the number of Portuguese was of 7,031, which meant 7.2% of

the population. The opportunity to earn much more than they could get at home while being in a community of their own fellow countrymen was attractive (Boleat, 2015). The Island's crime rate is low by British standards, with 59.6 reported crimes per 1000 population in 2005, compared with 112.7 for England and Wales.

According to CCMM (no date) – the Madeiran government body that deals with migration issues – seasonal migration to the UK and the Channel Islands largely started in 1952. However, one of the first Madeirans to migrate to Jersey was Eduardo Alho who arrived in 1934. According to the BBC website (2014), Mr. Alho came from the county of Câmara de Lobos, in Madeira, to work as a waiter. He went back to Madeira during the Second World War and returned to Jersey in 1948. He married a woman from Jersey and worked at the Merton Hotel, the biggest hotel in the Channel Island, during the 1950's and the 1960's, decades of a tourism boom in Jersey. Mr. Alho retired in 1984. Madeiran hospitality workers would choose to work in the UK during the summer months doing similar jobs in hotels. They would return to Madeira to work for the winter season. Temporary migration to Jersey and Guernsey started in 1978 and migrants who chose Jersey would mostly work in hospitality and agriculture, while the ones who went to Guernsey would work in flower and fruit production. Madeiran migration to Jersey gained some relevance in the 1940's and in 1961 there were 500 Portuguese living in Jersey. In 1972 there were 1,800 Madeirans in Jersey, many working in farms. Nowadays, Madeirans and their descendants continue to work mainly in jobs related to hospitality and catering, but many others work in the health services, as public servants. The chart below shows the place of birth of Jersey residents in 2011:

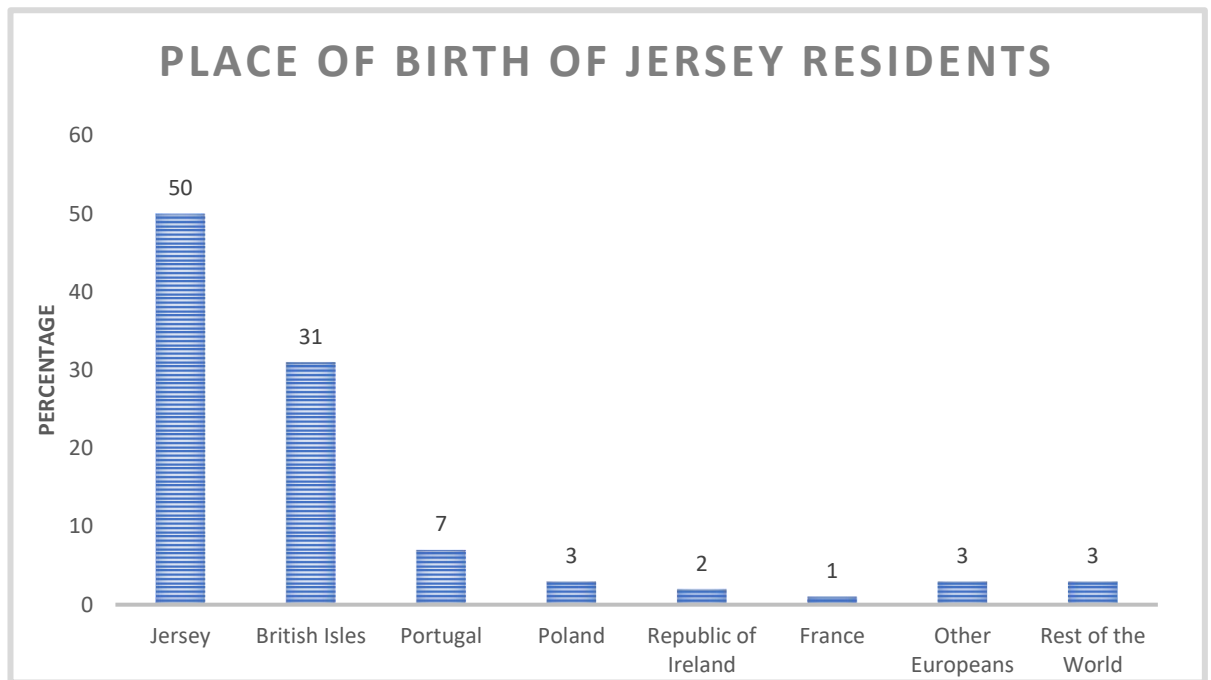


Figure 1.3.2 – Place of birth of Jersey residents (States of Jersey, 2011)

Tourism peaked in the 1970's and has been in decline since. Jersey has attracted a small number of very wealthy immigrants, some seeking to avoid tax who make a very significant contribution to the economic prosperity of the island. The finance industry has demanded a huge amount of skilled labour which has also maintained the hospitality industry, hotels and restaurants who serve the business travellers who come to Jersey for meetings (Boleat, 2015). The island has a long history of importing short and long-term agricultural migrant labour. The agricultural industry has imported labour first from France and Ireland, followed by Portugal and more recently from Poland. The many migrant workers have contributed to the promotion of the island cuisine for local and tourist consumers. Agriculture is a traditional industry and local produce like milk, potatoes, tomatoes, cabbage, and broccoli helped form an important local and export industry. These products remain in high demand because the island's heritage was partly constructed around the reputation of its agriculture produce (Johnson, 2012).

As mentioned before, between 1971 and 2003, the tourism and the agriculture industries faced a decline. The number of farms in Jersey went from 1,164 in 1971 to 80 in 2003. The development of offshore finance during the 1970's and the 1980's stimulated the growth of demand in the labour and housing market, as well as a rise in the total population. Financial services contributed more to the GDP of Jersey than the tourism and hospitality sector. Between 1971 and 1999, the GDP grew by 11% annually. For this

reason, housing shortages and supply are an issue in the island and prices are some of the highest in the UK. Consequently, tourism lost its relevance in Jersey when compared to the offshore finance industry, in terms of revenue, share of direct employment and contribution to government revenues (Hampton and Christensen, 2007).

As the statistics reveal, a large proportion of the population of Jersey are Portuguese and many started as seasonal workers in the tourism and horticulture industries. Many lived in accommodation attached to the farms, hotels, or pubs where they were employed, or rented rooms or other lodgings on a weekly basis (Kemeny and Llewellyn-Wilson, 1998). The State of Jersey statistics (no date) also revealed that in the 1990's, 4% of the population of Jersey was born in Portugal/Madeira, in the 2000's the percentage was 6% and since 2011 the percentage is 7%. Apart from the significance of the numbers, they are also the biggest foreign community living in the island. In terms of employment, in June 2012 more than 22% of all employees were employed in the finance sector, 15% in wholesale and retail, 11% were employed in the hospitality industry and 12% in the public sector industry (Economic Trends report, 2012). A report from 'Statistics Jersey' (2019) revealed that the estimated population of the island in 2019 was made of 107,800 people, and the inward migration was accounted as 1,000 in terms of annual increase, although no information is provided about the origin of those migrants. The publication of the 2021 Census will certainly provide more updated information about the Portuguese migration.

Jersey's employment law is governed by the Employment Law 2003 and the Employment Relations Law 2007. These laws apply to employees, whatever their nationality, but employees working and living on Jersey are very reliant on their 'residential status'. This means that after five years of residency, a person can apply to any job available, and after ten years they can rent or buy any type of housing. However, until those requirements are met, access to work and housing is limited and restricted by the Housing Law 1949 and the Regulation of Undertakings and Developments Law 1973, which are designed to manage immigration and protect local housing and jobs (Kelly et al, 2019).

The island has a dense population base considering its small island setting. The population density of 836 people per km² allows it to be considered urban. As Jersey has grown economically its population and infrastructure have grown accordingly. These have caused a growing urbanisation of the island that posed a threat to the natural and cultural landscape, which is often a selling point for a destination in terms of lifestyle and tourism. Inward migration over several hundred years, and especially since the end of the Second

World War, has led to a locally defined urbanisation, which has resulted in a continually growing population and to a type of urban appeal (Johnson, 2016).

The financial services industry is the largest exporting sector and employs 13,000 people. Tourism is the second largest exporting sector of the economy, and the government of Jersey believes the sector is unlikely to be severely affected by Brexit. Agriculture represented 1% of the economy of Jersey in 2014, with most of the income derived from exporting produce to the UK and some live cattle export to the EU. In 2014 and 2015, most of the total value of the agricultural sector came from the potato production, mostly exported to the UK. Dairy products and flowers are also exported to the UK and to outside the EU. Finally, 80% of all fisheries products are exported to France, which could represent its challenges if tariffs are to be introduced after Brexit (Brexit Information Report, 2016).

1.3.3 – Significance and originality of the study

This major investigation aims to explore and discuss a topic which links tourism, migration and mobilities. Besides population movements being common, they also have social and political consequences to the homeland and the host land. Labour flows have become one of the most common forms of contemporary mobility. People feel the need to move to improve their living standards and to look for better jobs (Fischer-Souan, 2019). What international migration flows are showing is that migration patterns have shifted from permanent migration to non-permanent, temporary movements of people. There are less barriers to mobility and migrants return home more frequently to visit friends and relatives and to take part in family gatherings. When they return to the host land, they take with them souvenirs and nostalgia goods like food and drinks, pictures, and literature to conserve the memories of the homeland now that family life is more distant. Mobilities are modifying organisations, moving risks and illnesses across different borders, and changing travel and tourism. In the last decades, there has been an attempt to differentiate migration from other forms of mobility because people are travelling more often and for diverse reasons, which has implications in terms of transportation, societies, and everyday life. While some citizens can move freely, others must escape dangerous situations and face deprivation, as is the case with refugees. These studies of travelling patterns need to give more emphasis to local concerns related to

place, culture and transportation (Allon et al. 2008; Gerharz, 2009; Hannam et al. 2010; Jones, 2012).

More attention has been given to the studies of migration and mobilities that focus on the employment challenges, the statistics, and the settlement experiences of migrants in the new localities they choose to move to (Martiniello, 2012). Yet, the tourism and travel habits that migrants acquire after migrating are not so well known, despite the economic, social, and political impacts those travel habits could generate. This thesis will explore those changes of travel habits to understand how often, where to and what are the reasons, migrants travel to those chosen destinations. On the other hand, the study of the migration experiences of low-income migrants have received less attention from academic research, when compared to the higher income and better educated migrants (Agnew, 2005; Trotz et al. 2013). To tackle these understudied areas of knowledge, this thesis will discuss a group of individual stories of migrants from a less privileged economic background.

Equally important are ethnic minorities, a relatively understudied area in academia. By exploring the transnational perspective of migration studies, cross-border mobilities and migration networks, this study will contribute to a better understanding of migrants by giving voice to their perceptions and practices as actors in economic, social, and political transnational spaces. The movement of people is an important aspect of social mutations in the contemporary world and this study will contribute to enrich and engage with contemporary debates about tourism mobilities, paying particular attention to how places are experienced by migrants and how the movement of people is integral to social life (Diekmann et al. 2012; Martiniello, 2012).

This study will investigate the increasing fluidity between leisure, travel, and migration. Mobility patterns contribute to the understanding of the divides between work and leisure, and the concepts of home and away. Migrants' future decisions related to the 'myth of return' will be discussed and can also be compared to other migrant studies, to explore the significance of post-migration mobilities and of diasporas visits to the homeland, their memories of home, to understand the activities that take place when they visit the homeland, how their identity changes with the transnational experience they live, and what are the consequences to both the homeland and the host land (Ali et al, 2006; Cohen et al, 2015; Marschall, 2015).

This thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of diasporic lifestyles, which are generally understood to be stressful and challenging ways of life. The migrants leave their

homeland and move to a different country and to a new culture which brings significant challenges. The feelings of homesickness and the questioning of their sense of belonging, the maintaining of their cultural and emotional ties with the homeland and the challenges of their settlement are explored (Etemaddar et al, 2016). While the success or failure of certain migration movements are normally discussed from the homeland or host land point of view, portrayed in government statistics, what my study contributes is the individual perspective of a group of migrants on what they consider as a successful experience or a failure. This approach is a distinctive contribution of this thesis.

In addition, small island-to-island migration is a phenomenon that should be given more visibility in academia, because it is important to understand the motivations behind the decisions of moving from one small island to another small island, and to be aware of aspects like the concept of islandness, the habits and lifestyle of islanders, how they manage their resources, deal with remoteness and their limited opportunities, what motivates them to embrace a change to another small island that could present them with similar challenges and a not so different lifestyle. At the same time, the population movement between two small islands brings the focus of the debate into how people from a different cultural background would settle and adjust to an island with a distinct identity, why would migrants welcome that change and the social relations between the locals and the newcomers. This is also an original contribution of this thesis (Burholt, 2013; Parker, 2021; Godenau, 2012).

The studies on the migration of the Portuguese diaspora have mostly focused on the movements to the former Portuguese colonies (like Brazil) or to countries where the diaspora has a significant dimension, as it is the case of Venezuela, South Africa, USA, France, and Luxembourg. There are also significant numbers of Portuguese living in Germany, Switzerland, and Canada (Almeida, 2007). However, given the dimension of the diaspora in those countries, the studies produced are still limited. My thesis is addressing this research gap of the Portuguese diaspora by focusing on a population movement in Europe, more specifically in the UK, which is a relatively new destination for Portuguese migration, thus less well known and still with a limited visibility in the migration debate (Almeida, 2007). My study will focus on a particular group of Portuguese migrants, the Madeirans who migrated to the channel island of Jersey. I intend to explore the reasons why these communities left Madeira to live in another smaller island, often choosing to work in the same industries they would find in Madeira, like in agriculture and low-skilled jobs. Alongside this research, I intend to explore the social

and economic links they establish locally and with their homeland. I also want to investigate the differences in terms of social settings, jobs, and education, mainly of the first generation of migrants. There are other studies which have focused on linguistic practices and the learning experiences of Portuguese students in schools in Jersey, as is the case of Beswick study in 2005. However, there seems to be no study on the mobilities and travel habits of the Madeiran community, their social settings, and economic conditions.

The Madeiran community represents 7% of the total population of Jersey (Jersey Census, 2012), which could be considered a large-scale movement of people in Jersey. When investigating their motivations to travel, this project intends to explore the extent to which tourism and travel is part of everyday routine and to consider how Madeiran migrants create impacts on the local community and take account of their political and social significance. This is also what the topic of mobilities aims to discuss. My intention is also to go beyond the statistical analysis of the number of Madeiran migrants and to investigate the relation between out migration, return migration, transnationalism, and tourism in Jersey. The impacts that the diaspora has in Madeira should also be studied in terms of investments in the homeland, their loyalty to the destination and the beneficial word-of-mouth advertising which could attract other visitors to Madeira. This study will investigate if there are any government schemes or programmes that develop social, cultural, or economic initiatives that involve the diaspora, and if there are any annual events to attract the diaspora to the homeland. The travel habits of this group of Madeirans will also be studied. I want to understand if their move to Jersey has brought any changes to their travel habits, if they are travelling more often, what are the destinations they travel to and what is the motivation behind their decisions to travel.

The recently deceased Madeiran historian Alberto Vieira (2016) stated researchers should explore life stories through the oral history or biographical memories, as a repository to reconstruct the daily life of emigration, to enable the construction of the history of the phenomenon in a comprehensive and global way. This is also what I intend to achieve in the present study.

1.4 – Structure of the thesis by chapter

Chapter one has introduced the thesis and the study that was developed. It explored the social and economic reality of Madeira in the 20th and 21st century, so as to provide some relevant background information about the study, which would allow me to understand the reasons that have motivated or forced Madeirans to migrate to different parts of the world. The chapter included historical information about the presence of the British in Madeira and explained the political status of the archipelago. It has also provided some considerations about the migration trends and the destinations chosen by Madeirans in the 19th and 20th centuries. The social and economic reality of the population was discussed, as well as their work patterns. This was followed by the explanation about the characteristics of the Portuguese community in the UK. The aim of the study was explained in detail and the key research questions this thesis attempted to answer were included. Finally, the chapter ended with information about the study context, and the economic and social reality of the island of Jersey. The significance and originality of the study were also explored and explained. I further developed some historical information about Jersey and Madeira, to provide an economic and geographical context to the study.

Chapter two provides a detailed discussion of the wider theoretical literature related to the study. It starts by introducing and defining the concept of diaspora and its initial associations with specific communities. I explore the links between diaspora and the concepts of mobilities and migration, which are the most relevant themes of the study. The concept of mobilities is defined and some of the patterns of mobilities in Europe are also explained. Following this, I explore the concept of migration and discuss the value of diaspora tourism and of family migration. Finally, I also review the concept of labour mobilities and the role of social relationships in migration. A conceptual framework was created.

Chapter three provides an insight on the methodological process and the principles and practices that are followed during the research. I start by reviewing the literature on research methodology related to the research options of my investigation. This is followed by a discussion about the qualitative research tools that are used to collect the primary data, which include an inductive analysis, in-depth interviews, and observations. I reflect on the process of the investigation, the challenges encountered and how I use the primary data to develop the findings and explain the meaning of the data. Lastly, I consider the

limitations of the study, my role as a researcher, and the ethical dimensions of the research.

Chapters four and five present an analysis of the findings of my data regarding the multiple mobilities of the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey. I explore the identity of Madeirans in Jersey and the reasons that brought people to Jersey initially, the challenges and difficulties they have faced and how those obstacles were overcome. Chapter four then discusses the involvement of the Madeiran government in developing a strategy for the diaspora and what they wished to achieve. Chapter five discusses the working experiences of Madeirans and their professional progress in Jersey. The importance of the support provided by friends and family for newcomers is analysed, and the concept of home and of a possible return to the homeland is also examined. Aspects related to property ownership and their attachment to the homeland have been included. Chapter five also discusses the social settlement and lifestyle of Madeirans in Jersey, the events and gatherings which attract the diaspora and the travel habits of Madeirans, including the destinations they have chosen to visit, the motivations behind those decisions and the impacts their settlement in Jersey had on their travel habits. These topics are linked and examined with the theoretical discussion of the literature review, and their significance for the research is explored. The revised conceptual framework was added at the end of the chapter.

Chapter six presents the main conclusions of the investigation and starts with a summary of the main findings of this research. I then revisit the research aims and the key objectives and consider what this research has found and how the objectives are addressed. The chapter then discusses the contributions to knowledge of this investigation and the originality of some of the elements of the data. The policy implications of the findings are explored, and the chapter concludes with some considerations about the limitations of the study, the recommendations that I give for future work on this topic and some of my final thoughts and reflections.

Chapter Two – Theoretical discussion on the concept and relevance of diaspora, migration and mobilities studies

In this chapter, I review the concept of diaspora, its historical development and connections to classical dispersal populations like the Jewish and the Greeks, supported by the studies of Hannam and Knox (2010), Oh (2012), Tololyan (2012) and others. The development of diaspora studies and the interest that the topic has created in many governments is discussed. The connections between diaspora, mobilities and migration movements are explored, because mobilities have become a commonplace for different types of travellers. The concept of mobility in contemporary society will be analysed and the motivations behind the different movements of people are discussed.

The chapter then analyses how mobilities are being affected by new modes of transportation and by communication technologies, bringing into the discussion the concepts of corporeal travel, imaginative travel and everyday mobilities of people, objects, and ideas. The relation between migration movements, tourism, and transnationalism is discussed because it is essential to understand mobilities research (Hannam, 2006; Jones, 2012; Potter, 2012). Migration movements are often associated with transnational spaces where migrants experience social, economic, and cultural practices; they live between two worlds and belong to transnational networks that must be understood.

Diaspora tourism is very significant to many countries and diasporas challenge the concept of nation-state. The search to understand their roots, reinforce identities, and maintain the connection to the homeland are common and are given attention in this chapter. Apart from the association with the homeland, this chapter will explore how diaspora members organised themselves while settling in a new country. Their contribution to the local economy and loyalty to the homeland, aspects related to the financial support of certain social projects, the investments in the homeland, and the sending of remittances, are aspects that will be given attention in this chapter. Consequently, migrant memories will lead to the desire of doing homeland tours and the search for information about their origins. I will discuss the relevance of family ties and their influence in migration, how they integrate in the new society, the migrant notion of a family and the development of bicultural and transcultural identities, especially once

migrants have children. Transnational mobility also means that family members are extended through space and time, and labour mobility shows that migrants are actors capable of making decisions about where they want to live and why (Andrijasevic et al. 2016; King, Christou and Ahrens, 2011; Marschall, 2017; Newland and Taylor, 2010; Powers, 2011).

2.1 – The concept of diaspora

Diaspora is an historic concept which originally explains the dispersal of the Jewish people from their homeland but is now also associated with modern movements of people. While the meaning of this Greek word is the spreading of seeds, in the Jewish diaspora it means the loss of territory due to the forced removal of an ethnic group (Oh, 2012). Diaspora is also a kind of dispersion together with other forms of mobility like migration to acquire education, jobs, land, settlements, or a combination of these. Mobile traders and itinerant labourers circulate between homeland and extraterritorial opportunities; sometimes they are victims of mass deportations and wars or uproot themselves. Some eventually return home, many are assimilated, and others will be part of diaspora communities (Tololyan, 2012). Diasporas may motivate voyages of self-discovery and identity affirmation from people who are in search of their roots. Diasporas are also ‘communities that define themselves by reference to a distant homeland from which they once originated’ (Barber, 2001, cited by Hannam and Knox, 2010, p. 163).

Hebrew and Jewish contacts with Mesopotamia go back to the origins of the community. Although they were forced to leave Canaan, they were trading with other communities in Babylon and in the Persian Empire and their ties with the foster-countries were strong. They built up prosperous businesses and spread the faith. Jewish communities had long been resident in Egypt and Jordan. The refugees from Jerusalem found safe harbours in close foreign nations, and yet hostility would grow over time, as ambitious expatriates would become more prosperous than the indigenes. On both sides of the Red Sea, there are very old Jewish communities and early settlements that were also established in central Asia, India, and China along the Silk Road. Dates of this migration go back to the first century AD (MacLaurin, no date).

Over time and more acutely from the 1990’s, the term has been gaining multiple meanings and contemporary discussions do not simply refer to Jewish movements but also to many

other groups who have been displaced (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2005). Within the literature, diaspora refers to the physical existence of a homeland, a form of identity, and a community with certain responsibilities and organisational and institutional aspects. Even members of the same diaspora may have different roles and perceptions of their homeland. For some, the homeland is seen as a sacred place but for others their identities are linked to both the homeland and the host land (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2005).

In recent years, the term diaspora entered policy language as migrants are agents of development in relation to their countries of origin. This means diaspora is not only an abstract concept in the literature but is also seen as a political actor having a positive or negative role in the countries of origin. Thus, locals play a role by either recognising or rejecting diasporas, but migrants can also gain that recognition by their activities and building trust among locals (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011). McIntyre and Gamlen (2019) highlighted how diasporas are nowadays created by home governments with their own purposes and through 'engagement policies'. Government departments are created to deal with the needs and requests of migrant populations and to activate and develop forms of belonging, among migrants and their descendants, and to attract investments and business connections to the homeland. Apart from the economic interest, governmental institutions and departments are also interested in preserving and spreading the culture, and language, and in allowing the diaspora to better understand their identity.

Defining diasporic identities is not an easy task. As a mode of production, migrants use their intellectual, social and political resources to construct identities that transcend physical and social boundaries. Identities are constructed, and are contingent to the time, place and social context of the actual construction of identity. On the other hand, belonging to a diaspora shows a dual nature of an individual and their attachment to symbols of their ethnicity. Diasporas produce multiple consciousness, histories, identities, and skills for survival within the family and community (Agnew, 2005). Academics have discussed the concept as a forced dispersal, immigration, displacement, and the establishment of transnational communities that may have a better living standard but are still nostalgic of their cultural and linguistic homes (Agnew, 2005). To understand diasporas, we need to go beyond defining the concept and should explore the nature of a specific migrant group, their identity, culture, their transnational mobilities, their sense of belonging and citizenship. The concept has been explored to examine how transnational identity is built, and what are the experiences of migrants living far from the homeland. The term is also now used to define a variety of groups from the same homeland who are

spread to different countries (McSweeney and Nakamura, 2020). As a global phenomenon, diasporas are almost impossible to enumerate. It is often scholars with an interest in a diaspora who bring together the statistics and a representation of one or more diasporas. Global research has been mainly supported by the United Nations, the International Migration Organisation, and the World Bank through the sponsoring of relevant statistical and demographical research. In 2008, the UN declared that there were 214 million international migrants globally, which included 16 million refugees. China, India, and the Philippines were the top three sending countries, and the main receiving regions Europe and the USA (Knott et al, 2010). Global migration trends have produced transnational groups related by culture, ethnicity, language, and religion. Thus, the crucial element that makes the concept of diaspora meaningful is to use self-mobilization around their awareness of themselves as a diaspora (Tsagarousianou, 2004).

Existing diasporas have a significant impact on future movements of migrants and allow patterns to be predicted. While the call for improving their living standards and labour opportunities is an important drive, diasporas also contribute to sustaining the connections and resources that facilitate migration and their stories will encourage others to make the journey. At the same time, classic diasporas like the Jewish, Armenian, and African show that migrant flows have a long history (Knott et al, 2010).

Until the 1930s, diasporas consisted of a network of communities, sedentary or mobile, that lived away from home and resisted or were denied assimilation. Many of them lived in precarious conditions in an era where the nation-state was the supreme form of polity and diasporas could mean second-class citizenship. The terms were associated with three main groups: Jews, Greeks, and Armenians. According to Tololyan (2012), writing from an American perspective, the most important historical events for diasporas were the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 for people born in diaspora. By then, the Jewish-American community was not only a political lobby but also a movement in intellectual life. It became possible and even incentivised to develop translocal commitments to the homeland. The other event was the empowerment of Black Americans as voters in 1964-65 and the black power movement together with the emergence of the term African Diaspora. The third was the passage by the American Congress of the Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act (1965), which enlarged the number of immigrants and enabled non-European immigration to the USA.

Increasing reflection on new models of immigration, ethnicity and multiculturalism made diasporas an acceptable concept. Citizens could have multi-local commitments, dual

citizenship and participate in transnational networks without being classified as dangerous and disloyal. Another important development was the fact that academics wanted to study diasporas and the concepts of identity, difference, and diversity. Academia helped to understand the right to be different and of inclusion without homogenisation, with diaspora studies benefiting from this wider movement, even though diasporas are not yet a legal category (Tololyan, 2012).

Diaspora studies have lacked an understanding of class and gender differences. Even cultural identities and traditions change with movement and travel (Agnew, 2005). In addition, diaspora studies are a multi and interdisciplinary work and research contributions have come from very different areas. From the 1960's and 1970's, diasporas were associated with experiences of large-scale scattering due to homeland trauma which included the Irish migration to the UK and the United States, and the humanitarian crisis of the Palestinian refugees in the Middle-east (Glynn, 2012; Miller et al, 2009). African studies had a notable development after post-colonial independence in Africa and the fight for civil rights in the USA. Later there was a shift in focus as it also began to include migrants, ethnic minorities, exiles, expatriates, refugees, guest workers and many more. This proved that not all diasporas are victims of great catastrophes, and mobility and resettlements do not always lead to homeland consciousness or to a sense of connection to co-ethnics overseas (Knott et al, 2010). Cho (2007) argues that:

Diaspora must be understood as a condition of subjectivity and not as an object of analysis... An understanding of diaspora as... A subjective condition marked by long histories of displacements and genealogies of dispossession. (2007, p. 14)

This idea of diasporas as mourners or traumatised communities discussed by Cho (2007) is somehow in accordance with Cohen's (2008) vision when the author introduced the notion of victim diaspora. It is also supported by several academic studies that discuss the struggles of the Jewish Diaspora, like Knott et al (2010), Braziel et al (2009) MacLaurin (no date), Sheffer, (2003), Sasson et al (2011). As I have mentioned before, other classical diasporas were the Armenian and Greek until the historian George Shepperson introduced the concept of 'African Diaspora' and the Palestinian Diaspora was constructed as a victim diaspora. The concept of trade or mobilised diaspora is another aspect of the Jewish as well as the Greek and Armenian. Chinese, Indians, Lebanese, Baltic Germans, and Nigerians are also among the trading diasporas and as starting points for travelling in a global world (Ang, 2003).

The lack of research and publications about domestic and diaspora tourism is a gross oversight to the value of the topic. Scheyven (2007) classifies the diaspora as a sub-category of domestic tourists. They travel to places that foreign tourists do not go – to visit friends and family – and attend cultural and religious events. They feel closer to domestic tourists than international tourists. Scheyven goes on to explore diaspora tourists' 'return visit' and explains they have extensive social and cultural foundations at a destination as well as family and social ties. They travel to their country of origin to attend functions, to renew and solidify their family connections. At the same time, they belong to a larger social unit which is the diasporic community formed by past migratory episodes. Visits by overseas-based nationals have received little official attention, even when numbers are significant. Governments assume that more money is earned from tourists who can afford luxury products even when these tourists also expect international standards in terms of the service and products provided (Scheyven, 2007).

Many governments invest large amounts of capital annually to attract international tourists believing they will bring wide economic benefits to the economy. Benefits include employment, foreign exchange, small business development, tax revenue and many others (Inkson and Minnaert, 2012). Although governments have had limited attempts to encourage domestic tourists or overseas-based nationals to travel in their country of origin and enjoy the attractions and unique sites they have to offer, the fact is that tourism monies are spread more widely by domestic and diaspora tourists and there are more economic and social benefits. Examples are the promotion of the unity and integration of the country through the appreciation of the cultural diversity and the common interests that citizens have. Travel by country nationals who live abroad can expand their knowledge and understanding of their own country as well as increase their sense of national pride (Erb, 2003).

According to Tsagarousianou (2004), the term Diaspora carries with it connotations of displacement and is linked to communities that share characteristics like: an original community who has spread from a homeland to two or more countries; the feeling they will never be accepted by their host societies; and, the development of autonomous cultural and social needs. They and their descendants will return to the homeland if in the future they have favourable conditions, and they will continue to support their homeland. Diasporas are also a contested concept which is seen by some as discrete entities or groups and by others as a social construction where migrants gain a consciousness of their diasporic identity. Grossman (2019) named the six core attributes of a diaspora as:

transnationalism, community, dispersal, and immigration, outside the homeland, homeland orientation and group identity, which are aspects that this thesis explored. The author suggested an integrated definition of what diasporas are, which could include qualitative and quantitative aspects and take into consideration that there are migrants related to more than one homeland and may belong to more than one diaspora.

Tsagarousianou (2004) believes that the definition of diaspora needs to include groups that scatter voluntarily and that diaspora communities form a collective identity in the place of settlement. However, the author also believes that there is an overrated emphasis on the perceived nostalgia links and memories they may have of the homeland. Thus, dispersed populations cannot be identified as diasporas because they share a common ethnic background. It is their willingness to engage themselves and to build a transnational imagination and connections that will identify them as a diaspora (Mandaville, 2001).

2.2 – Diaspora, Mobilities and Migration

Migration within Europe is not a recent phenomenon. The migration of highly qualified people, seasonal migration and the migration of trades people and students existed before the 19th century. What changed after the industrial revolution of the 18th and the 19th century was the quantity of citizens and the distance of migration (Fassman and Lane, 2009). Studies on human mobility have increased in the last decade due to the intensification of human mobilities and inter-cultural exchange. Individuals are no longer tied to local or national moorings. Cresswell (2006) believes that mobilities remain unspecified and undefined. Mobilities represent moving from A to B and imply dislocation between those points. The line that links A to B has not been given enough attention and reflection and should be analysed because the movements of people all around the world are full of social and political significance. In addition, movement can be considered mobility with no social meaning and mobility is a dislocation with social implications.

Mobility is increasingly a commonplace in a world stitched together through technological systems of communication and transportation. Interconnections include informal pathways like migration and transnational communities. Students, backpackers, refugees and asylum seekers, guest workers and cosmopolitan workers are more likely

than ever to merge and to create impacts on 'local' communities (Allon, Anderson and Bushell, 2008). The Internet, mobile phones, the new information systems, and transportation networks have come to be indispensable. It is possible to communicate instantly and at high speed, but technology is also assisting the physical movements of people around the world.

In 2008, Allon et al. stated there were around 31 million refugees and 100 million international migrants worldwide. Labour flows have become one of the most common forms of contemporary mobility. People have always moved in search for jobs and better lives; however global international migration patterns have shifted from permanent migration to settlements characterised by the non-permanent, temporary movements of people. Tourism and travel are among the largest industries in the world and places have become both arrival and departure points for international visitors (Page et al., 2014). The developments in transportation tied with increased disposable incomes have played a crucial role in the emergence of travel and tourism on a massive scale (Holloway, 2006). On the other hand, the deregulated airline industry has made cheap flights available to more people and contributed to an expansion and diversification in the number and type of places visited. Thus, the range of mobilities associated with such changes has not received the attention they deserve.

In Europe, budget airlines not only increased the number of tourists but also a rise of numerous niches like regional sport tourism, dark tours, pre-wedding parties, drinking tours, medical tourism, and short mini breaks (Allon et al., 2008). The concept of mobilities has become a keyword for life in the twenty-first century and encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, and capital as well as local processes of daily transportation and the travel within everyday life (Hannam and Knox, 2010). Mobilities theoretical perspectives would ask questions like 'How and when do tourists become migrants?' and 'What are the relations between out migration, return migration, transnationalism and tourism?' Barriers to mobility have been lowered and new forms of mobility have arisen. Migrants return home frequently to visit friends and relatives while being 'on holiday'. At the same time, when leaving a place migrant-tourists carry parts of their home with them in the form of souvenirs, foods, scents, and sounds (Hannam and Knox, 2010). Consequently, mobilities are centrally involved in reorganising institutions, generating climate change, moving risks and illnesses across the globe, altering travel, tourism, and migration patterns, and producing a more distant family life. The political-

economic space is more complex due to the emergence of elaborate mobility systems and their restructuring of space and time (Hannam et al, 2008).

In addition, community social capital provides the networks that assure travel, the first steps of settlement and cultural capital that offers the conditions for insertion into economic niches that ensure a certain degree of success. Migration is one step into the larger process that brings together the identity-space-time triad of micro urban spaces and macro networks of transnational circulation. Thus, diaspora communities challenge the idea of national identity being related to a place or territory that identifies us and builds history and memory (Mera, 2010). To understand and explain mobilities, it is essential to know the 'spatial fix'. These are immobile platforms like airports, roads, garages, docks used by people to travel. This means that people's fluidity can only be possible with the use of extensive immobile platforms (Hannam, Urry and Sheller, 2006). Even the right to travel and its association with power reflects the different structures and hierarchies in society. These are influenced by race, gender, age, and class and are even illustrated with the diversity of rights to travel in neighbouring countries.

Migration is often a topic in the news headlines all over the world. In terms of human geography, there are many different reasons that lead people to move from one region or country to another. Political instability, war or enforced migration, employment opportunities or the attractiveness of the environment of an area are the most common. The daily commuting of workers in global cities like London or New York can be a form of temporary migration, if the workers spend part of their time living in those cities during the week. The distinction between what constitutes migration as opposed to other forms of mobility is not clear. Historically, geographers have analysed past permanent migration patterns but nowadays people are more able to return to their country of origin. Human geographers are interested in understanding the nature of migration in the 21st century. Migration is more globalised and there is a growing diversity in terms of where people come from and where they settle. The movement of people between countries is much more differentiated; it is a combination of skilled labour, refugees, students, retirees, and many others. Migration is also more feminine. The number of women migrating to join partners or simply in their own right is growing (Jones, 2012). Martiniello (2012) states that informal networks can provide vital resources for individuals and groups in facilitating the move to another country in terms of helping with work, housing, and other needs on arrival. Migrant groups develop their own social and economic infrastructures, places of worship, shops, cafes, and associations.

The neoclassical model to study migration which focuses on the notion of income maximization and economic decision-making has little to do with the reality of most migration flows. This approach fails to understand the non-economic factors that shape migration, the importance of social groups and relationships, including migration networks. It becomes evident that theory formation in the international migration field should produce a conceptual framework that provides a comprehensive analysis of the factors that influence migratory processes. A holistic approach could include an understanding of the migration decision-making process in the place of origin, by examining the experiences during the movement and the impacts in the destination and the country of origin (Martiniello, 2012). My thesis will contribute to enrich this conceptual deficiency in migration studies.

2.2.1 – Family migration and the diaspora

While unemployment could be a trigger for migration, people also see migration as an opportunity to widen their horizons and their careers in more dynamic labour markets. The studies of Constant et al. (2007) and Trotz et al. (2013) show that highly educated people are more inclined to migrate when compared with those with less education. Family ties have a powerful influence in the decision to migrate and may be a deterrent of migration especially among couples with children, as compared to those without children (Mulder et al, 2014). According to Zagkotsi (2014), families are one of the most important drivers of social and professional mobility. Family migration and integration were for a long time neglected in migration studies but are now being included in policy discourses in Europe and emerging as a rich body of research. Different aspects of international migration based on family are being explored, including their incorporation into the receiving societies. Family migration policies are part of a broader debate on identity, social cohesion, welfare, and diversity. Boujour et al. (2015) discussed how in the first half of the 20th century the French government favoured the migration of married Italian men because unmarried men were perceived to be unpredictable and with more erratic behaviour.

Martiniello (2012) discusses the relevance of the family and community to migration. The primary migrant is usually a young man or woman in search of temporary work and who intends to return home after accumulating a certain amount of savings. Often, they

prolong their stay, and this encourages family reunions. Once they have children at school age, the second generation will develop bicultural and transcultural identities and it becomes challenging for parents to return to their homeland. The migrant notion of a family may include relations like distant cousins and godparents. Families may play a role in inhibiting migration and inhibiting return. Women migrants who leave behind their children to be cared by relatives, can be said to be engaged in 'transnational mothering'. Locality remains significant because migrants do not live their lives only in transnational spaces. They use transportation, look for jobs, commute to work, interact with colleagues, friends, and neighbours. The interactions and interconnections between the local, national, and transnational are as complex as they are multifaceted. Siblings and cousins are more likely to influence the migration strategies of younger, single people while adults are more likely to influence older migrants. Over time, migrants may develop local sources of support and their reliance on transnational families may change (Ryan, 2010).

In the 1960's and 70's, the International Labour Organisation recommended granting migrants the right to family reunification because it would promote their well-being and integration and a similar perspective has shaped EU policies on free movement rights. However, in the political sphere family migration is sometimes presented as problematic and a threat to social cohesion, as it is argued that they are less educated, less skilled, and poorly integrated in the labour market (Boujour et al. 2015). A study of Brazilian family migration to Japan developed by Green (2010) revealed that these families desire more socially and fulfilling lives in Japan, inspired by the wishes of migrant children that want to have a sense of belonging. By attending Japanese schools, they become assimilated into wider friendship networks and society, helping the parents to be more involved with local Japanese communities.

The family as a diaspora space is mediated through narratives of journeying and home, both real and metaphoric. The children of immigrant parents fulfil the aspirations on which migration is premised and produce a class-based difference within families, as they tend to gain a better education and accomplish more solid careers when compared to their parents. Globalisation has produced a smaller world networked through technology and linked by corporations that cross boundaries and stimulate an accompanying movement of people. Explorations of cultural identity focus on this sense of becoming or transience and create a fertile ground for explorations of the inauthentic, the transient, and the contingent (Tsolidis, 2011).

2.3 – Emerging mobilities

Mobility is a phenomenon of contemporary society. New modes of transportation and communication have compressed time and space forms. For this reason, some authors believe that territoriality and locality will become less significant while others like Gerharz (2009) defend localities against the overarching power of the global. The fact is, people continue to travel to improve their living standards and to meet each other and use mobile communication facilities to initiate contact or to maintain relationships (Gerharz, 2009). These different approaches highlight the different movements of people which do not lead to a decline of localities. They remain important spaces of identification and points of reference for migrants and the diaspora. Global flows are described as ethnoscapas, a concept that describes the:

landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers... This is not to say that there are no relatively stable communities and networks... But the warp of these stabilities is everywhere shot with the woof of human motion (Gerharz, 2009, p. 4).

Mobile people are constantly localizing themselves and there are two different possibilities for establishing and maintaining social relationships when there are great geographical distances: travel, and the use of communication technologies. Travel and migration can be described as ‘corporeal travel’ while the use of communication technologies will be ‘imaginative travel’ and ‘communicative travel’ (Gerharz, 2009). Thus, it becomes difficult to separate the new forms of mobility and tourism from the wider technological and economic developments including transformations in urban development and the cultures of cities. It is also important to understand that travelling involves having access to physical objects from airlines to airport and guidebooks, passport, hotels, visas, as well as immaterial aspects such as migration schemes, casual and seasonal employment.

To understand contemporary mobilities there is a need to integrate multi and interdisciplinary approaches (Allon, Anderson and Bushell, 2008). For example, contemporary airports have evolved from military airports bringing mass mobility that requires an extensive and immobile space. Airport space is a ‘space of transition’ that facilitates the shrinkage of the globe by connecting major global cities. While air

terminals are becoming like cities, cities are becoming like airports and daily flows through airports contribute to contemporary urbanism and diasporic communities. Systems of mobility, transportation and communications are complex, and we can see that through catastrophes such as 9/11, SARS, multiple suicide bombings of transport networks, hurricanes, and tsunamis. They have an impact on mobility systems and on people as they seek to flee the onset of an impending disaster.

For a long time, the movement of people interested geographers purely because of migration. However, in the last decades there has been an attempt to differentiate migration from other forms of mobility. People are moving frequently and for all sort of reasons, which is having implications for economies, societies, and daily life. Although the number of migrants and the scale of people movement is staggering, not enough attention has been given to the less dramatic mobility which is present in everyday life. People, objects, images, and ideas are moving constantly and affecting people all the time (Jones, 2012).

The relation between migration, return migration, tourism and transnationalism is crucial to mobilities research. Moving between places can be a source of status and power for backpackers and other round-the-world travellers but movement can be coerced and generate deprivation as with many refugees or forced settlements for tribal populations. Analysing mobilities involves examining many consequences for different peoples and places. Social life is full of multiple and extended connections often across long distances organised through certain nodes like stations, hotels, motorways, resorts, airports, leisure complexes, beaches, galleries and many more. These are places of intermittent movement or corridors and the mobilities paradigm states that activities happen while on the move (Hannam et al., 2006). This means that activities are not separate from the places that are visited, and places are not just fixed but are implicated within the complex networks by which hosts, guests, buildings, objects, and machines are brought together to produce certain performances in certain places and at certain times. In addition, means of travel not only allow travelling from place A to B but each means provides different experiences, performances, and affordances (Hannam et. al, 2006).

Mobilities research emphasizes crucial aspects as the relation between human mobilities, immobilities, and power relations, the relation between mobility systems and infrastructural moorings, and the complexity of mobility systems and the inter-relational dynamics between physical, informational, virtual, and imaginative forms of mobility. On the other hand, the concept of transnationalism has been linked to the debates about

mobility, citizenship, and diasporas. Connections in social life are complex and political geographers have used the concept of transnationalism to understand political movements, identities and organisations that exist beyond the notion of a nation-state.

2.3.1 – Mobilities and Transnationalism

Transnationalism is a form of international movement practiced more often in a globalised world. The influence of migrant donated remittances for the development of home communities are increasing and cross-border movements are more diverse. Transnationalism is viewed as the social, economic, and cultural experiences and practices of living between two or more worlds; transnational migrants undertake repetitive mobilities, travel regularly, pursue skills and wealth acquisition, and use technology to stay connected. They benefit from belonging to multi-local, transnational networks and very often transfer remittances to family or invest in houses, community projects or businesses. The advantage is that their future remains flexible, they help poor relatives and bring new professional skills and innovations to their homeland communities (Potter, 2012).

Geographical approaches to transnationalism developed a territorialized conceptualization of transnational space and mostly deal with the characteristics of border-crossing experiences, although not much attention has been given to how those activities have been controlled. Collyer and King (2015) highlighted the difficulties in defining transnationalism or diaspora and explained it is common that international migrants find comfort among people with the same nationality and use ethnic labels to advertise activities they organise. The authors believe that diasporas are categories of practice that may be used as categories of analysis; their transnational fields are systems of social relations, made of networks that also involve power relations.

The development of a sense of identity by diaspora communities is related to transnationalism. Global diasporas exchange cultural ideas, practices and customs and facilitate the movement of objects. Material objects and cultural objects are produced and related to specific places but travel extensive distances to be consumed in other places. Transnationalism has also been associated with the transnational elite and geographers want to learn about these mobile segments of global society; people that hold multiple passports, who live across multiple cultural backgrounds and national boundaries (Jones, 2012).

Modern transnational mobility challenges the traditional notions of diaspora because new technologies and the availability and affordability of international travel have redefined the notion of homeland. Diasporic identities are not static but a constant work in-progress. It is important to consider that migration can be forced or voluntary, the motivations to migrate are diverse and quite often migrants create their new identities because of their diasporic experience. Thus, while the transnational paradigm has been defined by Halilovich (2012) as processes by which migrants build links across borders and multiple ties with people and institutions across borders, they can also assume identities to more than one nation-state. The concept of transnationalism not only accommodates the notion of the immigrants' various identities but also gives importance to the concepts of state, nationality, nationalism, and the nation-state borders. Thus, transnationalism has been explored at a macro level but is not so well understood at a micro level, when it relates to the individual, family, group, and cultural practices.

Lourenço and Cachado (2017) brought that perspective of transnationalism when they stated that one of the main elements for maintaining balance and social cohesion in a diaspora is the family. Their study about the Hindu diaspora in Portugal and in the UK, refers to Hindu transnationalism as the construction of networks of contacts and relations as 'joint families', in which members of the diaspora can have multiple nationalities. The extensive transnational family may be considered a source of cultural identity that influences the processes of creation and recreation of culture. The second and third generations are ambiguous and flexible and have the capacity to embrace different cultural references according to the situations they find themselves in.

The study of Baldassar and Merla (2013) explored transnational care flows and its importance to individuals and to family networks; in strengthening their sense of belonging to their ethnic, diasporic, and transnational communities. The term 'cultural capital' was used to explore the assets and benefits that transnational families gain by demonstrating their cultural values, that emerge within their family networks, and the circulating care that is part of their daily lives. Care circulation is understood as the exchange of care that is evident with transnational family networks, which are subject to the political, economic, cultural, and social contexts of sending and receiving societies. Their study involved researching Italian and Caribbean migrant communities in Britain. The experiences of middle-class transnational families revealed that their relative wealth and access to visas allowed them to meet their obligations to provide care and support to distant family members, although they acknowledge that distant support and transnational

communication is not the same as being present. Distance results in feelings of loss, longing and sadness and although they can encourage more visits to the homeland, contacts between family members could also become weaker. What this study demonstrates is that the growth of transnational families has been fuelled by the global economic crisis of 2008, which has led to migration from countries like Spain, Italy, and Ireland to other parts of the world. Thus, there is a necessity to better understand the transnational lives of relatives who are now richer in terms of social and cultural capital.

For instance, the Bosnian diaspora is one of the most widely dispersed communities from the Balkans. Halilovich (2012) studied this diaspora and concluded that migration, memory, and identity are experiences of real people and the communities they belong to. These experiences are rebuilt in diasporic spaces, at the original homeland and in cyberspace. Many scholars who have studied diasporas (Cohen, 1997; Hall, 1990; Sheffer, 1986) agree that migration and mobility do not result in diasporas being formed, as a collective identity of a group of people from the same origin. There have been many examples of migration resulting in the assimilation of migrants into the culture of the receiving country. Even when migrants are accepted by the host country, many migrant communities decide to maintain ties with their homeland, which could have varying degrees of strength. That does not automatically mean that one day they will return to the homeland.

Halilovich (2012) also debated the concept of trans-localism as a complement to transnationalism, referring to multiple local-local connections which include various forms of identity formation and cultural exchanges that take place across and beyond nation-state borders, both in real space and in cyberspace. The active participation of individuals who choose where they wish to settle have created social networks based on family, friendships, and local communities from the former homeland. This also means that technology is allowing diasporas from different countries to stay connected. Halilovich (2012) argues that this could be named trans-localism, because diasporic communities are not stuck in the past or to a fixed place. Their cultural identity transcends geographical borders.

Additionally, the impact of technological, cultural, and social developments in public and private transportation are changing the nature of travel and communications. Buhalis (2003) explores the importance of Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) on tourism mobilities. This specific aspect includes the analysis of information and images on local, national, and global media and involves people and materials moving

across regions. Throughout this whole process, people engage with all sorts of technologies that enable their movement as well as that of the material mobilities that accompany and assist their travels, such as photographs, postcards, letters, images, guides, and souvenirs (Hannam and Knox, 2010). In addition, studies of tourists need to bring together more local concerns about the culture of the place and the means of transportation available since the relationship between tourism and everyday transport is obvious.

Globalisation helped to create the new technologies that facilitate mobilities and the cultural capital needed for mobility; for example, electronic communications facilitate the spread of knowledge of migration routes and of work opportunities and many people believe that mobility brings opportunities for prosperity and social transformation. The departure of young and active people will bring gender imbalances and transforms conditions in the local communities left behind (Martiniello, 2012). Thus, the emerging mobilities paradigm reflects on the activities that occur while people are on the move. Examples are specific forms of talk, work, and information-gathering, proving that actors can do more than one thing at a time. Tourism studies need to be more at the heart of contemporary social sciences and humanities and should therefore no longer be considered a marginal discipline. It relates the social, cultural, economic, and environmental aspects of society (Hannam and Knox, 2010). While nation-states will continue to be relevant because of aspects related to policymaking, citizenship, public order, social welfare, public health, and education, it is not possible to ignore the cross-border factors in decision-making and planning. Governments of developed economies will continue to encourage the mobility of highly skilled people while low-skilled workers and people fleeing persecution are excluded (Martiniello, 2012).

In conclusion, and despite the studies that bring a focus to the experiences of migrant families and individuals, migration research continues to be driven by policy needs and not by scientific inquiry. Social theorists see migration research as a less important and narrow field, resulting in less attention being given to spatial mobility. The current conceptual frameworks are filled with national assumptions about how to deal with migration and minorities. Consequently, and despite the growth of transnational approaches, migration research remains focused on models of container societies, where society and the nation-state are seen as one and the same, and even when a society is no longer automatically equivalent with the boundaries of a single nation-state. Some migrants and their descendants continue to be strongly influenced by the ties to their

homeland and their social networks extend beyond the national borders. Therefore, the traditional migration scholarly approach fails to understand the transnational movements of people. For that reason, migrants cannot be understood by focusing on what happens within the national boundaries because they are often involved in multi-layered and multi-sited transnational social fields (Levitt and Schiller, 2004; Martiniello, 2012).

2.4 – The value of diaspora Tourism

To understand a diaspora, any researcher must develop expertise in three fields: know the people of the diaspora he/she is studying by understanding how they gain their livelihood, organise their social life, participate in public and political life; identify which cultural organisations they create or are involved in; have historical knowledge of how the diaspora formed and developed. Also, theoretical competence is required to revise and discuss ideas and published knowledge about other diasporas (Tololyan, 2012).

Diaspora tourism is significant in a wide range of countries. Coles and Timothy (2004) also support the idea that diasporas should occupy a more privileged position in tourism. They challenge the concepts of nation-state through their relations and mobilities that are linked to travel and tourism. The duality of home and the host country is in the consciousness of diaspora members. The histories and the myths of the group, their identities and culture and behaviour are distinctive and contrasting due to the influences they receive at the host country. Thus, travel and tourism are associated with the spaces and places occupied and travelled through by diasporas. What is becoming more common is that diasporic communities are making trips to search for their roots to reaffirm and reinforce their identities and to maintain lines with their place of origin. Matriarchal and peer group networks will retain and revive social histories and contextualise the social and cultural background after migration. Therefore, the search for roots and routes implies genealogical, domestic, and international tourism. Family history is one of the most practised recreational pursuits in the world. Alongside, the Visiting Friends and Relatives market also develops as relatives want to discover how their family members have settled in another place or participate in festivals and events there (Coles and Timothy, 2004).

Faist and Bauböck (2011) add to the discussion with the analysis of the meaning of both diaspora and transnationalism as socially constructed concepts. Transnationalism is seen as migrant circulation movement across borders, while diaspora is characterised by the ties that migrants create with their collectives while settling in a new country. Migrant

movement in the Caribbean shows that networks have been developed that cut across the territorial borders of the nation-state. Trotz and Mullings (2013) have studied examples of migrants' involvement in politics in the region. For example, Leonel Fernandez returned to the Dominican Republic and won the presidential elections after several years living in the U.S.A. While transnational migrants are creative and entrepreneurial, governments and international development agencies want to engage with diasporas. The Caribbean has one of the largest diasporic communities in the world in proportion to population. Thus, border-crossers can have a more active role in making migrant economic international flows visible (Trotz and Mullings, 2013).

Governments believe that diasporas could use their human and financial capital and invest back into state development strategies of the homeland. This is easier to do than attracting foreign investment. Diaspora members are viewed as more loyal and willing to take financial risks. As a result, governments in Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana organised events and conferences to promote a closer relationship to the diaspora, calling it the 'ethnic lobbying game'. Furthermore, the second and third generation of migrants is even seen as the target for being more educated and well-integrated, while the first generation is more concerned with issues related to discrimination and social questions. And so, contacts should be established between the second and third generation and the political and intellectual elite because skills and capital can be repatriated without the physical relocation of bodies. A criticism of this view relies on the fact that this approach devalues and renders invisibility to the vast majority of Caribbean abroad who are in low-paid and marginal segments of the labour market (Trotz and Mullings, 2013).

Examples of the importance of the diaspora are in the fact that they will bring foreign exchange when they return to their home country to spend during holidays. They feel a stronger cultural link to locals and may invest money in the economy and make use of local resources and services. As well as offering gifts to their families and friends, they are more open to support local charities and organisations like schools or religious groups. These funds can help to alleviate poverty. Examples are Ghanaians who live abroad but have houses in their own country (Scheyven, 2007). The economic contribution of domestic or diaspora tourism has been studied by researchers. However, the social significance of their visits is neglected in most tourism studies. More than 2,000 Mexican associations based in the U.S. support health, education, and church services in Mexico while second generation Caribbean that return to their homeland bring skills which are needed to their local communities. The sending of remittances to their country of origin

is sometimes vital. Newland and Taylor (2010) add to the topic when they state that diaspora populations are bridges to broader markets both in the homeland as well as in the country where diaspora communities live. According to a Eurostat study from 2018, remittances are very relevant to Portugal. In the EU, Portugal is the country that receives the most remittances from their migrants, whether to pay mortgages and expenses, to help family members or to save. According to the United Nations, Portugal has more than 2.6 million citizens living abroad and the vast majority lives in Europe. In 2018, the value of the remittances reached 3.6 billion euros and the values have been growing in the last few years. The remittances come mainly from 10 countries: France, Switzerland, UK, USA, Germany, Angola, Spain, Luxembourg, Belgium, and Holland (Revista do Expresso Newspaper, 2019).

One can argue that it is difficult to separate diaspora tourism from other forms of tourism because it is evident that tourism is an important source of export earnings. Between 2000 and 2008, the number of international tourists visiting developing and emerging countries grew from 259 million to 424 million. Orozco (2008), cited by Newland and Taylor (2010), discussed migrant households in the US and concluded that migrants are regular and heavy consumers of home-country goods. However, it is difficult to quantify earnings due to the fact that 'nostalgic goods' are not recorded separately in trade statistics. Nostalgia goods tend to be labour intensive and are often made by local artisans. Both nostalgia trade and diaspora tourism occupy niches in a broader market and migrants often prefer products produced in their home country even when similar products made at the destination country are available and cheaper (Newland and Taylor 2010). On the other hand, diaspora tourists desire different outcomes from their visits to their home country and they may spend money in different ways. Diasporas are also a valuable word-of-mouth advertisement for the investors in tourism or export trade. The niche they occupy will attract non-diaspora customers and grow into a larger and more profitable market (Newland et al, 2010).

Tourists from the diaspora are more likely than international tourists to make connections with the local economy, to stay in locally owned and smaller accommodation, to eat at local restaurants. Generally, this has a more positive development impact as expenditures go into the hands of local businesses. Other advantages of diaspora tourism are the fact that it is not necessarily as seasonal as international tourism. This means infrastructures will be used throughout the year providing employment opportunities. Also, diaspora tourism may result in the expansion of tourism within the country as they visit less popular

sites, participate in cultural and sporting events, and visit secondary or regional sites. (Newland et al, 2010). As an example of heritage tourism and mobilities, people who move between different countries pose interesting questions in relation to ethnicity, identity, and generation but also in relation to migration, transnationalism, and mobility. Homeland ties vary according to the different generations and may generate different types of mobilities (King, Christou and Ahrens, 2011). An example is the second-generation of Greek/Germans where the emotional attachment to Greece and the Greek way of life derives from the strong ethnic-community identity amongst Greeks in Germany and the frequent visits to Greece. Opportunities for return are sometimes driven by an entry in a Greek university, meeting a future partner or using their homeland as an escape route after a relationship break-up or job loss. This means that the second-generation homecomings are not for economic motives but for personal and emotional reasons, driven by positive memories of holiday visits and a sense of cultural identity. Second-generation children experience transnational orientations and mobilities due to their parents' continued sense of belonging to Greece and can even decide to settle in Greece independently of their parents. Yet, it is not always a smooth integration.

The Caribbean diaspora is inclined to re-visit the region regularly to return to their roots, attend family events or introduce their children to the family. In 2005, Dominican Republic migrants constituted 16% of visitor arrivals. Similar patterns have been observed in Jamaica, Guyana, and El Salvador. Diaspora tourists are defined as heritage tourists, festival tourists or residential tourists. Roberts (2012) argues that governments should develop a diaspora policy and strategy to strengthen links and enhance diaspora contribution to national development; they should pay more attention to data on diaspora travel patterns and create knowledge networks.

While diaspora tourism provides opportunities for developing countries, it does not come without its challenges. Thus, homeland destinations need to consider factors like ensuring safety and security standards, promoting programmes that create links between host populations and tourists, be sensitive to any trends of hostility or unwelcoming attitudes towards tourists including the diaspora, address visa and mobilities limitations, understand the different tastes and interests of different generations which represent different generations of immigrants, and be cautious in relying too heavily on the tourism industry (Agunias and Newland, no date). Migrants are relevant for tourism because they induce different markets like visiting friends and relatives, domestic and international travel. Consequently, tourism can grow out of migration and diaspora, but it is important

to make the distinction between first and second migrant generation. Their memories and experiences of the homeland are very different. Motivations for home visits of transnational migrants vary greatly; they may return with the intention to invest in a business, but they also enjoy recreational activities. A study conducted in 2011 has shown that Eritrean migrants living in Italy prefer to stay in hotels when they visit the homeland over relatives' homes, to demonstrate their modernity and otherness when compared to friends and relatives left behind. The return visit reveals a lot about the migrant; it may generate the feeling of being connected to the place of birth and a sense of belonging, but it can also break the myth of the image of the homeland (Marschall, 2017).

2.4.1 – The importance of migrant memories and homeland tours

Powers (2011) explored the concept of homeland tourists and expatriate minority communities, who are dispersed worldwide but maintain a memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland. The 'Appadurai cultural model', developed by the American anthropologist with the same surname, in 1990, discusses these expatriate communities that live nationally but think of themselves as global. Appadurai (1990) believes that the theories that continue to give primacy to a nation-state perspective do not take into consideration the global consumption of knowledge and the increased migration flows. Diasporic public spheres are bringing social changes because citizens live and exist in national boundaries but imagine themselves as part of larger and complex systems of organisation that have global implications. The global and the national scope should be considered when these populations are studied because they claim to have common origins (roots) and similar travelling patterns (routes). They will seek information about their origins and will travel to international locations to experience history and heritage.

These trips are called homeland tours. They are group packages that take individuals to destinations that they believe are their land of origin, where their ancestral family came from. These homeland tourists travel to participate in organised tourist experiences that highlight their connections to the state or region visited. Their nationality remains but they accept and incorporate their ethnic heritage and will relate to the tangible and consumable experiences while visiting the homeland. While tourists rely on the consumption of products and services, the tourist experience is like a pilgrimage where they hope to return transformed or healed and to connect to their history. Powers (2011) provides two examples of American Jewish people and a group of American Ghanaians. 'Birthright Israel' are organised tours to Israel developed for Jews to bind with the imagined community. Organised tours to Ghana are also made available in the US and

attract a middle class well-educated African American population. Homeland tourism is a form to remember the heritage when immediate connections do not exist or have broken down. Places visited are used to reshape the definitions of belonging through the power of group experiences and by fostering belonging within the diasporic community.

For the first generation of migrants, the return journey represents a revising and a rediscovery of their own biographical past. Emotions of affection, affirmation and social bonding are common, and memories play a fundamental role not only to remember what a migrant has been missing but also to assess how much their identity has changed and even to realise that home is now in the host country. Tourism is an important mediator on the self-discovery journey because migrants can use technological platforms like Skype, but the return visit has a deep impact in their relationship towards home (Marschall, 2017).

Diasporic lifestyles in host countries are generally seen as quite difficult. People leave their homeland and move to a new country and culture; they face challenges related to feelings of homesickness, their sense of belonging and/or alienation. To fight these feelings, immigrants visit their homeland to maintain their cultural and emotional ties. However, other researchers have also focused their attention on the diasporic populations who for various reasons cannot travel back to their home country. They have cultural and emotional needs and have to re-root themselves in their new home. The concept of 'home' includes aspects of identity and belonging, and diaspora communities may recreate or reimagine their now 'home', which shows the complexity of the concept and the reciprocity between movement and mobilities. Etemaddar, Duncan and Tucker (2016) introduced the concept of 'moments of home' explaining that diaspora communities work to build or maintain a home away from their homeland. This means that 'home' is not only a static or fixed place; in reality, it may be perceived as a place, a space, a feeling, and an active way of being in the world. The authors argue that the concept of 'home' includes numerous spaces like friends and family, social networks, memories, emotions, and everyday life.

Diasporic communities not only maintain attachments to their homeland, but they also maintain a transnational lifestyle, developing and maintaining multiple social relations that link together their society of origin and settlement. Thus, 'home' is seen as a dynamic concept. The development of communication networks has resulted in diasporic networks experiencing aspects of home at different times, on many different occasions and in many different locations. The adaptation to their new life and the social, political, cultural, and

economic changes in their homeland may result in the experience of not feeling completely 'at home' when they return to their homeland. Consequently, once they become mobile any of their homes could be temporary or partial homes, and none of them will give diasporas the sense of experiencing a complete home. Etemaddar et al.'s (2016) study of the Iranian Diaspora in the South Island of New Zealand brings a new perspective into discussion. The notion of 'moments of home' can be felt during a short or long period of time. Home can be stationary and temporary, recognising the inherent mobility of diasporas and challenging the notion that there is an 'always home' in the homeland. The concept of home is fluid and communities can experience different moments of home, and spaces of home, in places which are not their original home country.

2.4.2 – The challenges of integration and assimilation

The challenges related to the settlement in the host land also bring to the discussion the concepts of assimilation and integration. According to Hieronymi (2005), assimilation is the adoption of the values and cultural components of the host community; studies have shown that it works best in open liberal societies, which tend to be more socially diverse. It also evokes the voluntary and forced assimilation of foreigners, which could mean the imposition by force of language, culture, values, and customs. Assimilation has both positive and negative connotations because it means that migrants can become full members of the host community, but it also means their origin could be faded and remain as a memory of the past.

Akresh et al. (2014) discussed how proficiency in the language of the host country is crucial in the process of integration among migrants who are not native speakers, in the US, and brought to the discussion that language assimilation begins in the homeland, through education and the consumption of English media. However, the study also showed that language ability is not a sufficient condition for social or cultural assimilation. The use of English is influenced by the type of job the migrant may have and his/her pre-migration experiences in terms of foreign education. The study revealed that cultural assimilation among legal migrants in terms of media consumption has less to do with the time spent in the US or their language ability, and more to do with their cultural habits before moving to the US. It is conditioned by characteristics like age, gender, marital status, and religion.

Other studies have shown that migration theories that define migrants as a homogeneous group are becoming less relevant due to the presence of ethnically and culturally diverse populations. Ethnic identity is a characteristic that can change due to the internal

transformations in individuals, of their beliefs, values, and commitments (Constant et al, 2009). Individual ancestry and cultural background do not mean a dedication, preservation, or promotion of those roots. The study of Constant et al. (2009) explored the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic identity and concluded that ethnic identity can adapt and evolve after the individual arrives at the new destination, while ethnicity remains stable. After arriving in the host country, migrants are exposed to new values and the culture of the host society. By studying information about culture, language, social interaction and the history of migration, the research provided some findings that developed a classification of migrants into four states: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. The analysis showed that better qualified migrants tend to be more open to the culture of the host country and are more willing to settle in the host land. Integration and assimilation are also easier for younger migrants.

Migration and integration research reply to the necessity of providing knowledge about ethnic differences, creating categories, and often looking at a minority group of a specific national origin – Italians, Pakistanis, etc. – as a unit of investigation to explore concepts as integration or transnationalism. However, migration and ethnicity are not always the most relevant feature to explain the social practices and realities of a specific group of migrants. Other categories like gender, class and age can also be relevant (Dahinden, 2016). Even when people are residents in a particular country, if they have a migration background they could be excluded from the national imagined community. Migrants are in contrast with non-migrants and considered culturally different. This discourse generates the need for integration because migration is seen as the anomaly and social scientists will investigate and theorise these differences.

According to Dahinden (2016), mobilities studies bring a different perspective because they analyse the movement of people as an everyday action which is not determined by the nation state or by cross-border movements. The importance of social networks for migration movements, decisions and integration becomes evident. The focus of the study could be directed to parts of a whole population, instead of treating the migrant population as a unit of analysis. The study of Schneider and Crul (2010) explored the transatlantic discussions between the US and Europe stating that the debate in the US is largely dominated by the advantages and disadvantages of assimilation, while in Europe most research is associated with integration. The assimilation concept implies that migrants and their descendants will become like locals. Successful assimilation would mean to measure the level of incorporation into patterns of social and economic success. The

European perspective admits that integration will ideally mean a degree of cultural homogeneity especially of language, to allow social cohesion, but also that migrants can continue to manifest and celebrate the culture of the homeland. Successful integration could be deemed synonymous with a scenario of parallel societies. The term integration is also associated with incorporation into society and access to the labour market; the stronger welfare states in Western Europe have translated integration into the establishment of more policies targeting ethnic minority groups, to help them in overcoming inequalities.

Crul (2015) also brought a different perspective into discussion, when explaining that the theories on assimilation and integration were based on the premises of the existence of a clear majority group and a smaller number of migrant groups. The study compared those ethnic groups to each other and to the white majority population. However, the growing diversity of migrant groups in general and the differences between the different generations of migrants, resulted in the difficulty of analysing an ethnic group as a unit. Cities have a new demography which includes neighbourhoods without a clear majority group or a dominant ethnic group, they are diverse and reveal many differences between old and new generations of migrants, even when they have the same nationality. Crul (2015) adopted the term super-diversity to explain this context and to describe the reality of super-diversity on society.

What this means is that the growing diversity within ethnic groups requires a far more refined analysis that takes the within-group differences into account, and the need for a more open approach, which will give emphasis to differences like age, changes in gender roles and marriage patterns, etc. To understand the pathways of social mobility, these axes need to be studied and understood. For example, people who are highly educated and upwardly mobile show many similarities across ethnic groups in terms of pathways, while with the downwardly mobile group the differences are more evident and influenced by gender roles and education. In conclusion, Crul (2015) highlights the importance of studying the characteristics and differences in opportunities that local and national contexts offer to migrants, to understand the new realities of integration and assimilation in the host land.

2.5 - The politics of migration

In Europe, migration is seen as a key political and social challenge which has become controversial and contested. The struggles over values and borders have brought different standpoints in relation to migration movements and these challenges have also influenced migration research. Horvath et al. (2017) argues there is a need for more analytical tools and self-reflexivity, to understand the patterns of global mobility, the current orders of power and inequality. Labour migration in the EU is motivated by the prospects of a wider EU labour market where migrants seek to improve their living standards, and more studies need to be conducted which explore the realities and viewpoints of the migrants (Andrijasevic et al, 2016). There is an increasing dominance of transnational companies in all industries worldwide and for many professional business travellers, travelling has become common. Not only is work becoming globalised, but workers are more mobile, and the development of information and communication technologies has helped to accentuate this trend (Jones, 2012).

However, under the guise of the fear of terrorist groups, countries have seemingly been forced to increase their border control, to protect their population. Issues of identity have led to migrants being seen as not capable to integrate, promiscuous and less skilled. Finiguerra (2020) discussed how in recent decades, migration has become associated with security issues and governments have been forced to adopt restrictive measures to control and restrict access to their borders. Refugees and migrants are often seen as a problem to be solved and the management of migration as an issue of security and protection. At the same time, migrants can be treated as a threat or as a vulnerable victim in need of protection, depending on how they are seen by the authorities. In the case of humanitarian camps, migrants are excluded from the local communities and integration and access to employment and education is a challenge.

The United Nations has adopted a 'migration for development' discourse which seeks to facilitate migration and protect migrants in a context of market liberalisation. Suliman (2016) argued that migration is caused by the economic power of developed countries but migrants from the South are also seen as a problem for the security and stability of the host nation. Policymakers try to control migration by using migration management strategies. However, successful migration management can only be achieved with the participation of the governments of the countries of origin and transit. The migration-

development discourse supports the idea of migration being included in both national policies and international cooperation for development, while academia has given attention to how migration and development are organised transnationally. Both approaches interpret migration as part of the development process, while the policies and politics continue to be decided and developed by nation-states.

The United Nations estimates that more than 1 million people entered Europe in 2015, from countries like Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan and the EU response was considered a failure, not only in terms of preventing unwanted flows but also in managing the integration of those migrants. Furthermore, these migration patterns have been attributed to failures in foreign policy by countries such as the United States of America as well as various European countries.

Significant amounts of funds were spent to control mobility, on technology, and in policing the borders. For politicians and policymakers, the goal is to reduce the number of migrants and the rhetoric is often that there are too many migrants. Pro-migrant NGO's have responded stating that the poorest people in the world do not have the means to move far (Anderson, 2017).

Suliman (2016) claimed that the migration-development approach is created through a mobilities lens, or 'kinetic politics', which are built taking into consideration the movement of people. The focus moves away from nation-state boundaries and development from a mobilities perspective means that migration is not related to development, but it is an aspect of development. The kinetic analysis proposed by Suliman (2016) states that migration is not only a feature of social and political change but also a force of the political community. Migrant workers in many sectors are denied safe and fair living conditions in the rich and developed world, even though development agencies and national governments admit that migrants can make valuable contributions to national development. Globally, only a minority of migrants have the capacity to move safely across borders, while many migrants face extremely hard transit experiences. Sulimar (2016) considers that migrants contribute towards political relations and are implicated in the polities of development.

In the UK, fears of migrants were used for political purposes and have contributed to the Brexit vote in 2016 (Anderson, 2017). Andrijasevic et al. (2016) argued that some of the consequences of the EU's free movement of people and capital are the lowering of wages and of employment standards and an increase of temporary and flexible jobs. Employers

would also find it easier to relocate businesses to areas where qualified workers cost less. For the sending countries, the benefits of migration are the reduction of unemployment within less skilled workers and the remittances that will arrive later.

Consequently, the term migration continues to have a problematic significance implying a need for control and a public discourse about race and class. Social policies are often critical of the phenomenon and migrations laws and policies regulate the conditions of entry and stay, access to work, etc. Immigration controls also shape social relations and migrants can be more desirable to employers than local citizens, which shows that regulations can sometimes marginalise and exclude migrants (Anderson, 2017).

Migration within the EU is complex and fragmented, it happens in a highly stratified labour market and migrant's knowledge and social networks become very important. According to Arpaia et al. (2016), there were about 1.1 million EU citizens working in another EU country but do not reside there, with Ireland and Spain the countries where the stock of migrants grew most before the crisis, while migration fell substantially in the Baltic countries. Freedom of movement means that EU migrant workers are more aware of the labour market dimension and the strategies they can use to move from one country to the other. Migration flows are not linear nor limited to two countries; they are instead multi-directional (Andrijasevic et al, 2016). It is apparent that it is not possible to understand migration within the EU without taking into consideration the way in which migrants are shaping and directing the flows of labour mobility in Europe.

A study by Zapata-Barrero (2016) found that the free movement of people – established with the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 - is among the greatest successes of the EU. However, tensions have been created by some parties regarding the free movement of workers and on occasion this has led to tensions between states, especially since the 2008 financial crisis and after EU enlargement in 2004. Since the Schengen agreement was implemented between 1990 and 1992, people's mobilities within the EU have increased from 2% in 2005 to 3.3% in 2012, which is approximately 17 million people. These mobilities are mostly labour oriented but the number of EU citizens that move to other countries is not very significant. In Germany it accounts for 3.4% of the population, in France it is 2.1% and, in the UK, it is 3.7% (Zapata-Barrero, 2016). Luxembourg has the highest percentage, with 40% of its residents being from the EU. The data also shows that Romanians are the largest group residing in other Member States, followed by the Poles and Italians.

As for the situation of Jersey, the island is not part of the Schengen agreement or the EU. A report from the minister of External Relations of Jersey, published in 2016, explains the terms under which the island wants to continue its relationship with the UK and the EU after Brexit. Aspects like the continuation of tariff-free trade in goods with the EU are mentioned, as well as an intention not to change the current relationship they have with the UK and the EU. The document explains that Jersey has had domestic autonomy since 1204 and has also acquired fiscal autonomy. It is a self-governing democratic country with the power of self-determination. Jersey is not part of the UK or the EU and has an international identity which is different from that of the UK. The Channel Islands are part of the Customs Union and the Single Market for the purposes of trade in goods but are considered ‘third countries’ for all other respects. The document states that many migrants registered to work in tourism, hospitality, retail, agriculture, and the fisheries sectors are from the EU. The restrictions applied by the UK will be followed by the island of Jersey, which means that EU nationals arriving in Jersey will not have the automatic right to move to Jersey. However, the housing and work policy controls in Jersey already restrict access to employment and housing in the context of freedom of movement within the EU. Therefore, in terms of being able to apply to certain jobs and to buy property in Jersey, it will not make much of a difference (Brexit Information Report, 2016).

To sum up, political discourse influencing public discourse may construct an image of migrants and of migration as a population that brings challenges and problems to the countries where they wish to settle. This vision has had an impact in academic studies because the funding of migration studies is made by public entities that give privilege to studies associated with impacts and stakeholder engagement. Social and scientific investigations need to challenge this reality and should continue to reflect on how and why mobilities are part of the public discourse, about the kind of knowledge that is produced and by engaging with the migrant as an individual and as a citizen (Anderson, 2017).

2.5.1 – The factors that influence migration

Van Mol (2017) explored the causes of international migration, the macro factors, and individual characteristics of migrants such as age, gender, or socio-economic status that could influence their decision to migrate. The pre-migration phase is relevant because it expresses the aspirations of potential migrants. In his study of Ukrainian migrants to the EU, Van Mol (2017) concluded that the factor that led to the migration of many

Ukrainians is not only related to external factors like natural disasters, political oppression, poverty, better wages etc, but also to the information and perceptions about other countries. Apart from the macro and micro level perceptions, there is also what the author calls the mesolevel factors, like international social networks and the links between migrants and family and friends in other countries, revealing that family and friends' networks are a stimulus to international migration movements. Previous migrants will influence the perceptions of potential migrants and, in some sending communities, there may also be a culture of migration. At the same time, returning migrants may provide a less favourable picture about the experience of migration, highlighting the harsh migration policies, unemployment, and a hostile public opinion. In high migration areas, locals may also feel less tempted to migrate because less positive experiences shared by migrants will influence others, while in areas where migration is lower, people will not have been exposed to those negative experiences. What it reveals is that migration aspirations are influenced not only by social networks but also by the migration characteristics of the region the potential migrant lives in.

International migration used to be male migration, but more recent publications have shown that more women are migrating and their reasons to migrate can be different. Younger, single, and previously married women are more likely to migrate than married women, and international migrants are not normally the poorest people, because migrating has significant costs. The case study about Ukrainian migration has revealed that motivations to migrate are related to the military conflicts since 2013, and male migration is predominant, although migration to Italy and Slovakia has been strongly feminine. The most educated migrate to Russia and in Europe the vast majority works in low-skilled jobs. The motives for migration are the low salaries and lack of job opportunities in Ukraine. Having relatives living abroad is also an important factor, and they maintain close ties to their family and friends, which shows that international family networks are more strongly related to migration aspirations (Van Mol, 2017).

Hieronymi (2005) believes that the intense attention that has been given to the issues of migration, in recent years, was influenced by the end of the Cold War, the humanitarian crises and the contrast between globalisation and migration. The role of migration to build bridges between countries and civilisations was somehow replaced by the perception of migration as a threat to security and national identity. The author believes that the success or failure of migration can be considered not only from the points of view of the host country but also the homeland and the migrant himself/herself. The failure or success of

migration results from the interpretation of each person involved. Even success cases have a degree of failure and changing circumstances will bring different types of challenges. The economic and social conditions are essential factors of success but economic success – because of hard work – has often resulted in sentiments of persecution, and xenophobia towards migrants. The author concluded that the success or failure of migration should involve conditions and policies in the host country and in the homeland, as well as the actions of migrants themselves.

Fischer-Souan (2019) studied the motivations for migration of workers from Bulgaria, Italy, Romania, and Spain and concluded that migrants from countries who joined the EU more recently seem to be driven by classic economic motivations, looking for higher salaries and purchasing power, while southern Europeans have enjoyed access to labour markets for longer, have higher living standards and tend to have an array of motivations related to work, lifestyle and affections. The study revealed that young people from Bulgaria and Romania have the highest intentions to migrate, while in Greece and Spain even when being affected by the same level of unemployment they have lower intentions to migrate. Apart from the unemployment situation, there are individual and behavioural characteristics which influence the intention to migrate abroad.

What the study of Fischer-Souan (2019) revealed is that the motivations for migration vary according to age, education, and occupation as much as the region of origin. Although the economic factor cannot be denied, the quality of life and the opportunity to acquire new skills and career development are also relevant. These findings emphasise the diversity of motivations of Eastern and Southern EU migrants. The desire to experience new cultural environments can be articulated in conjunction with more economic stability and specific professional aspirations. In the case of Romanians and Bulgarians, the desire to migrate was also related to discontentment with the politics and society of their countries.

While transnational migration studies define migrants as human beings whose primary goal is to save money with the intention to one day return to the homeland, migration also fulfils a desire to escape the family roots and search for potential routes of freedom and independence (Green, 2010). Through transnational mobility, family members become extended through space and time and geographically dispersed relatives form part of multi-stranded social relations which link together migrant societies of origin and settlement. Transnationalism involves cross-border experiences, involving dual lives,

speaking two languages, and having homes in two countries. These ties change in form and intensity overtime, as migrants needs, and circumstances also change.

At the same time, as the world is becoming more urban, with greater diversity in population living in the same areas one consequence is the increasing demand for Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) travel. VFR travel helps to identify links between residents, guests, and communities. Different countries and regions receive immigrants for different reasons like family connections, historical ties, and a common language. Immigrants bring their culture and increase cultural diversity in cities. International events and economic necessity shape immigration flows, and host countries open the door because they need the workforce. Family travel is an increasingly important and developing segment because it brings mobility that enables the performance of social roles and exchange of social capital (Griffin et al, 2016). Although it is evident that permanent migration and tourism are interconnected, even when international visitors have no friends or relatives living in a particular destination, the fact that other compatriots have chosen to settle in that community may attract them to visit the place. Research on migration, its impacts on VFR tourism, and the relationship between migration and other tourism motivations is not only limited but has been neglected. The connection between other forms of tourism and migration are less obvious than with VFR tourism. Migration is an important determinant of VFR tourism and to gain a greater insight into the effects of migration on both VFR and non-VFR tourism, it is necessary to have a better understanding of social networks, cultural traits, ethnic origins, and ties. It is also important to consider the possible differences between the settlement experiences and behaviour of the various migrant groups, since they may have settled during different periods (Dwyer et al, 2014).

To sum up, what these studies have disclosed is that classic migration theories are insufficient to understand mobilities within Europe. The diversification of sending and receiving countries and the profiles of migrants should be understood. While the analysis of the economic and material dimensions continues to be relevant, the analysis of its cultural aspects and the increased individualisation of migration strategies should also be understood. Therefore, to understand contemporary EU mobilities we need to understand the nature of migration flows and the motivations of individuals. It is also important to acknowledge that these key studies that I have identified and analysed, do not specifically address small island-to-island migration, which is a key contribution of my investigation.

The integration of these classic and more recent paradigms brings a deeper knowledge that combines national contexts and individual trajectories.

2.6 - The role of social relationships

The study of Gentile (2019) on skilled migration in the literature revealed that in 2015 3.3% of the world's population lived outside their country of origin. Yet, there are many biases and misperceptions of the number and the characteristics of immigrants. A survey conducted in several countries in 2018 (like the UK, France, Germany, Italy, and Sweden) revealed that respondents overestimate the total number of immigrants and think they are less educated, more culturally distant, poorer, more unemployed and dependant on government welfare.

The study of Faleolo (2019) about the 'Pasifika Trans-Tasman' migrants who moved from New Zealand to Australia reinforced the idea that to understand labour mobility, the motivation and experiences of migrants, we should pay attention to their narratives and voices. By doing so, we will understand their decisions in relation to their settlement and lived experiences and how they have dealt with the limitations and regulations which are normally imposed by the new country. The study highlighted the holistic notions of wellbeing which are valued by this specific group of migrants. For example, decisions to move to Australia could be related to the fact that they wish to live close to other family members or to pursue education. However, the study also shows that the economic gains are also relevant because they allow this group of migrants to purchase homes in Australia, have more savings, support other family members that also choose to migrate by providing them with free accommodation in the beginning of their migration journey, helping them find employment, etc. Their notion is that their labour not only contributes to their wellbeing and the wellbeing of their extended family but also to a wider community, like church families and other local groups. This shows how support systems are formed, their relevance and how they are maintained by the organisation of regular events such as family celebrations and reunions.

Recent changes to legislation in Australia have brought barriers to families in terms of the access to certain social benefits. For example, in terms of access to education and social security. The consequence to some families was the separation from their children,

left behind with extended family members, a situation that brought a lot of sadness to some communities. It becomes clear that the role of an extended family could not be undervalued; it is a safety net for labour mobility and to fulfil their wellbeing. What this study has revealed is that labour mobility also challenges the emphasis that migration and diaspora literature has given to financial remittances. Apart from the material sources, gaining skills, generating support, care and encouragement are also important motivators for migrants. The extended family relations are a motivator and a key contributor to labour mobility (Faleolo, 2019).

The study of Boschma et al. (2014) about the labour mobility between skilled-related industries in Sweden, brought to the attention that labour pooling and mobility are important for the development of regions because they induce knowledge creation, although they also increase competition for better human resources between similar industries. The study also revealed that more attention is given to labour flows of skilled workers because it is assumed that they matter most in knowledge economies.

A different reality is happening in the UK. International inequalities in terms of salaries and work conditions motivate migrants to accept wages and conditions that are poor for British standards but favourable for migrants when compared to the conditions they have in their country of origin. Britain's economy has had a chronic need for migrant labour in sectors like hospitality, catering, construction, agriculture, domestic work, and some other areas. Overall, migration to Britain has been characterized by high rates of employment, low wages, long hours and downward class mobility for migrants, who are willing to accept jobs that are seen as inferior or that require low-skills, when compared to the jobs they had in the homeland. International structural inequalities produce precarity as part of the same process of immigration controls, which separate workers from different countries and gives them different labour regimes. In some cases, the state limits the length of stay for specific migrants and imposes a forced mobility in job and geography. Age demographics and the presence or absence of family are also controlled by the government with visa requirements and restrictions on access to public funding (Vickers et al, 2019). Wagg (2010) developed a study that compared the opinion of the British Manchester United fans and of the Portuguese living in the UK about the football player Cristiano Ronaldo. In the article, he stated that in the Portuguese community living in Leicester/England many were maintaining two homes, one in Leicester and one in Portugal, which absorbed most of their income. For that reason, it was not uncommon for those migrants to have two or three jobs and to work for long hours. The study evidences

the importance of work for these communities and could be related and compared to the reality of the Portuguese living in Jersey.

2.7 – Island-to-island migration

Mobility has been described as a strategy for the inhabitants of small islands to access opportunities and empowerment while at the same time redefining their identities (Parker, 2021). The concept of islandness was explained as a feeling and a way of being that shows how islanders live, move, solve their issues, and manage opportunities and resources when they are limited. By using the example of St. Helenians and their narrative, Parker (2021) explored how being an islander also means being prepared to migrate, to accept changes and ruptures, to show resilience and survival. It is a dual feeling of having the desire to look for opportunities and freedom outside the island, while keeping a strong attachment to the homeland. Baldachinno (2011b) also mentioned that small territories find mechanisms to cope with managing change and dealing with isolation, remoteness, and a limited economic structure. Contemporary island identities are built because of the perceived isolation of islands, the local community sense of belonging and the notion that small islands are cohesive, safe, and secure. Burholt et al. (2013) explained how people who are born and raised on islands contribute to the construction of the islander identity, which is different from migrants who will bring their perspectives and cultural characteristics.

The study of Godenau (2012) also highlighted the danger of overvaluing the geographical position of an island as the motivating factor to attract newcomers. It could be a combination of political possibility and the fact the migrant could migrate legally, as well as the geographical location of the host land. Another aspect related to the geographical location - studied by Burholt et al. (2013) – are the physical boundaries of small islands which produce a compact social and political reality that brings its unique characteristics. External connections are sought when the islands want to avoid becoming unviable, impoverished, and uninhabitable; the islander identity will evolve with the arrival of migrants who are also willing to adapt to survive. This thesis will contribute to the body of literature that explores small island-to-island migration, by exploring the transnational nature of some small islands and the strategies islanders adopt both to survive and to strive.

2.8 – Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.8.1 shows the conceptual framework of the study, presented in page 68. The study focussed on the main themes and concepts discussed in the thesis, namely the concepts of mobilities and diaspora. This framework illustrates the relationship between mobilities and migration movements and explores the trajectory of human mobilities, as well as the capacity of migrant communities to create diaspora groups. These groups allow the development of cultural manifestations of their identity in the host land, which will influence the connections maintained with the homeland. Ethnic minorities will develop their own models of settlement and social connections. The emotional connections to the homeland can originate the creation of a dynamic diaspora tourism market, with specific characteristics.

Mobilities are influenced by family and individual needs, and by the individual imaginary of a preferred lifestyle, that could be experienced through small island-to-island migration. The key factors concerning migration movements relate to the emotional attachments to the homeland and the use of social media platforms to maintain communication bridges, as well the travel habits that are established; they reveal a loyalty to the homeland but also the acquisition of new travel habits.

As figure 2.8.1 of the conceptual framework illustrates, to understand human mobilities and migration movements, it is important to acknowledge the identity of those diasporas and the characteristics of specific ethnic minorities. Consequently, as diasporas settle in the host land, migrants establish social connections within their circle of friends, family, and acquaintances, and form connections with the homeland that could be translated into regular visits, allowing the development of diaspora tourism. When studying human mobilities, it is important to understand the motivations that could generate the desire to migrate, and how personal factors and family influence could trigger the wish to leave the homeland.

At the same time, the choice of a destination to settle could be influenced by the lifestyle and the routines migrants have in the homeland. Migration movements bring the challenges of social integration, and the memories of the homeland will influence migrants' daily routines. Their use of technology addresses the emotional need to keep a regular contact with family and acquaintances in the homeland. Those emotional connections will also influence their travel habits and the destinations they choose to visit.

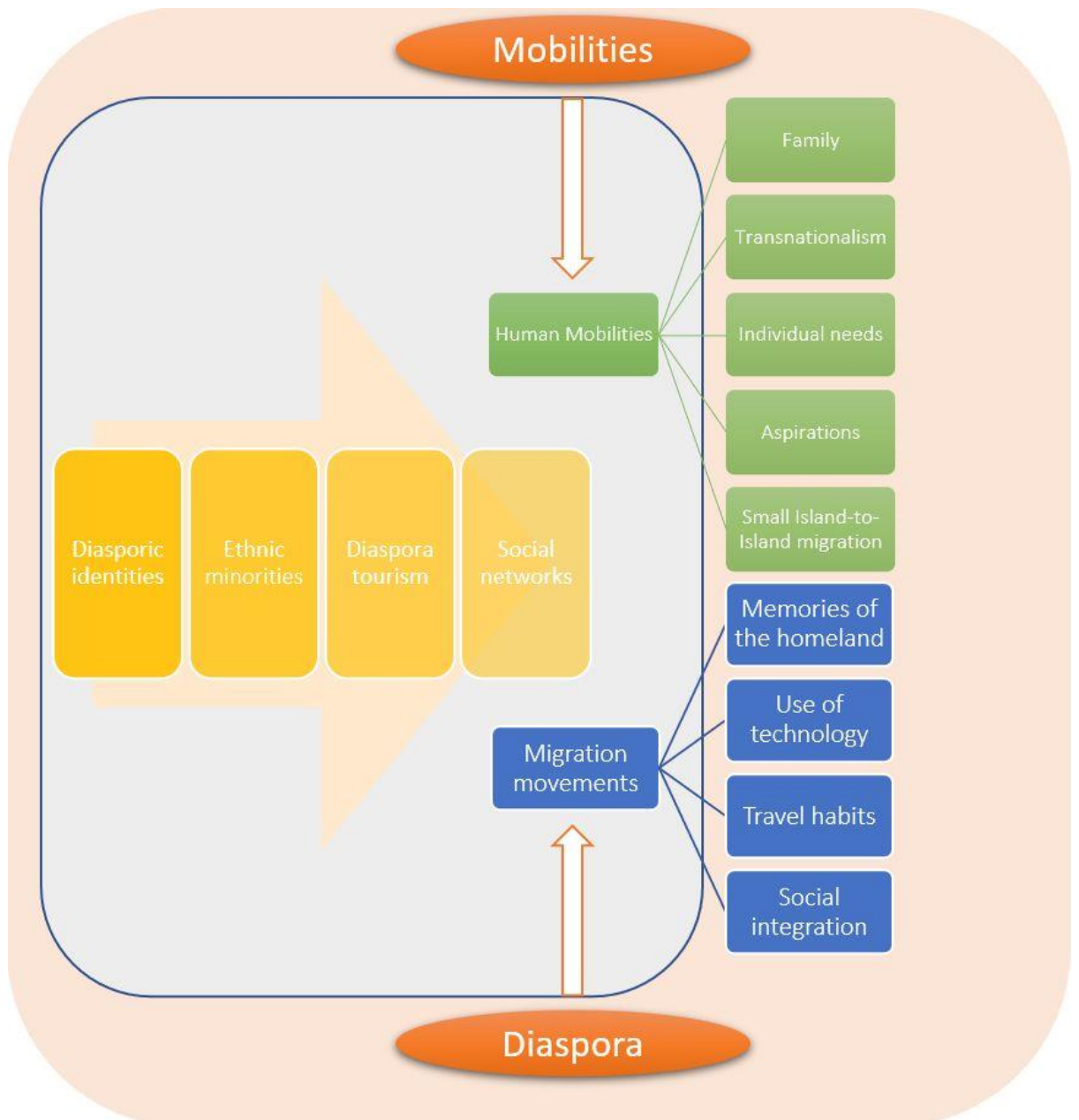


Figure 2.8.1 – Conceptual Framework Mobilities and Diaspora

2.9 – Conclusions

In this chapter I have reviewed theories on diaspora and mobilities, which investigated the historical concept of diaspora and how it was developed over time, gaining multiple meanings in the last few decades. The challenges of defining diasporic identities were considered and the global dimension of diasporas was also explored, showing the relevance of global migration trends and how they have produced transnational groups. I then examined relevant studies on new models of immigration, ethnicity, and multiculturalism, discussed by authors like Tololyan (2012). I argue that diaspora studies lack an understanding of class and gender and explained the development of studies that focused on the understanding of the migrant movements of ethnic minorities, exiles, expatriates, refugees and of traumatised diaspora communities, a shift that mostly occurred after post-colonial independence in Africa.

An understanding of the value of diaspora tourism was discussed and Scheyven's (2007) study goes as far as to classify diasporas as a sub-category of domestic tourist. I explained the importance of the contributions of diaspora tourists to the homeland, their loyalty to those destinations and their strong family and social ties. The lack of understanding of their relevance by governments in general was also discussed. Beyond the focus of traumatised diasporas, diasporas also include groups of people that scatter voluntarily, as is the case with the migration of highly qualified people, seasonal migration, the migration of students and trades people.

The proliferation of studies on human mobilities is also related to the intensification of human mobilities worldwide, as the studies of Alon et al. (2008), Cresswell (2006) and Hannam and Knox (2010) have argued. Migration patterns have shifted from permanent migration to settlements that are non-permanent and temporary. I explained how the deregulation of the airline industry contributed to the expansion of mobilities, with the contribution in Europe of budget airlines. Migration is more globalised, and diverse and diaspora communities challenge the idea of national identity being related to a place. The importance of informal social networks to support newcomers in their settlement, whether groups or individuals, was also discussed, as well as the theme related to family migration and their influence in influencing potential migrants, and as drivers of social and professional mobility in the host land. What these studies show is that the neoclassical model for studying migration fails to understand the non-economic factors that shape migration.

Current studies of mobilities have explored the relevance of the new modes of transportation and communication technologies. Moving between places can be a source of status and power but could also be forced by war or social tensions. The concept of transnationalism has been linked to the mobility debate because of the complexity of social life. Diaspora communities develop a sense of identity and exist beyond the notion of a nation-state. This chapter explored the importance of transnationalism, the influence of migrant movements to the homeland and their search for their roots, to reinforce their identities. The links that are built across borders with people and institutions and the fact that migrants may assume multiple identities was also explored. The challenges of integration and assimilation brought to the discussion the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic diversity, and the need for researchers to have a more open approach when studying integration. To do that, the factors that influence migration need to be better understood and were discussed, bringing emphasis to the debate that confronts classic migration theories and more contemporary mobilities developments in Europe.

Finally, this chapter discussed the importance of migrant memories and homeland tours, which are like pilgrimages that connect the migrant to their birthplace. The concepts of home and 'moments of home' was analysed, as was the creation of a transnational lifestyle, where migrants surround themselves with objects and products from the homeland. The importance of family to the diaspora was considered and could be encouraged by governments or organisations like the International Labour Organization. Labour mobility in the EU has been increasing and the role of social relationships is crucial. Having friends or family members living abroad is an encouragement for potential migrants to decide to migrate, and aspects related to small island-to-island migration were considered. To conclude, this chapter will support my own investigation on the mobilities of Madeiran migrants in Jersey.

Chapter three – Methodology

In the present chapter I will review the literature concerning methodology and discuss the importance of using appropriate research methods. I will also explain the philosophical approach that I have followed and justify why I opted to do a qualitative research study. This chapter also discusses the research tools used during the investigation and how the methodological approach chosen has helped me in studying the proposed topic. Subsequently, I will reflect on my experience as an investigator, explain how the primary data was interpreted and will add information about the ethical issues and the limitations that I have encountered. Finally, I will discuss my role as a researcher and explain the importance of this study from a methodological perspective.

3.1 – The subjectivity and authenticity of human experiences

Methodology is defined as the process of selecting techniques and methods to solve defined problems (Yin, 2011). In the case of a research project, methodology is used to define the methods of analysis and ways the techniques will be used, the philosophy and purpose of a study, the approach and strategy followed, the research methods applied, and the type of data collected, the type and size of the sample and the ethical issues and limitations the researcher has encountered. The research methods chosen in a specific research study are based on the task the researcher has at hand.

This study uses a qualitative research approach and shows an interest in the subjectivity and the authenticity of human experiences (Silverman, 2010). Qualitative research tends to be concerned with words rather than numbers and has an inductive view of the relationship between the theory and the research. This means that the theory is generated from the research, has an epistemological position described as interpretivist and puts emphasis on the understanding of the social world, through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman, 2016).

Qualitative research has progressed through several stages, the traditional period started in the early 20th century until the Second World War. This phase was dominated by the work of social anthropologists and the Chicago School. The next phase was the modernist and qualitative researchers sought to enhance the rigour of qualitative enquiries. The third

phase saw the beginning of an interpretivist approach influenced by Geertz in the 1970's. From the mid 1980's onwards started the crisis of representation in which qualitative social researchers developed greater self-awareness of the fact that their accounts of their fieldwork were just one way of representing reality and were influenced by their social locations. The postmodern period of experimental ethnographic writing started in the mid 1990's and was influenced by an awareness of the different ways of representing research participants when writing up findings; qualitative research is the subject of ongoing development and discussion and some authors – as is the case of Bryman (2016), influenced by Denzin and Lincoln – seek to simplify those developments into historical moments. Postmodernists argue that there can be no sense of an objective reality out there waiting to be revealed to. The reality is accessed through narratives in the form of research reports that provide representations and research theory is supposed to be an outcome of an investigation rather than something that precedes it (Bryman, 2016). Qualitative research continues to develop to the extent that it is now recognised as a distinctive paradigm, in its own right.

In qualitative research, participants are purposely chosen in small numbers and data collection is aimed at giving a comprehensive picture of the topic studied. For that reason, fewer questions are defined in advance and open questions are extensively used, giving the participants the freedom to answer spontaneously and use their own words. As such, qualitative research looks at the subjective meaning of issues from the participants' perspective and the latent meanings of a situation. The focus is on understanding and reconstructing the complexity of situations and to discover new aspects in the situation under study, developing theories and hypotheses from the discoveries made (Flick, 2011). This type of research follows a non-standardised research path because the theoretical knowledge about the issue of study is limited or has many gaps, as is the case of this study of the Madeiran community in Jersey. Qualitative research – in the form of semi-structured in-depth interviews – allow the researcher to document the details of how people interact (Silverman, 2010). The research situation is more a dialogue in which the participant will have the freedom to discuss and add new aspects and opinions. Theory is an end point to be developed and data is analysed using interpretation and may be generalised from a theoretical sense but in a limited way (Flick, 2011).

Observations and conversations about people's lives are carried out with the intention of being systematic, purposeful, disciplined, informed and rigorous, the descriptive reporting of everyday social practices. Wilhelm Dilthey was a social philosopher who

argued that the social and human sciences were focused on the particulars of meaning and action taken in everyday life. The purpose of inquiry in the human sciences was understanding rather than proof or prediction. Later, Weber, Simmel, Husserl, and Geertz acknowledged the contributions of qualitative investigations seeking to understand the realities of social life in all its varieties, contexts and situations. Qualitative research consists of material practices that make the world visible; they include field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos (Hillman et al, 2018).

Qualitative researchers study topics in their natural environment attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. The investigator is more likely to be concerned with questions of authenticity and credibility in appraising the findings of the investigation. By employing qualitative methodologies like a grounded theory approach, or conversational analysis, the interpretivist investigator works with the research participants to compile a range of empirical materials, through processes of coding and interpretation that are the focal point of inductive thinking. Interpretivists work within natural settings and adopt an insider or emic position, writing in the first person and by giving voice to his/her interpretations, constructs, and understandings (Hillman et al, 2018). Qualitative researchers seek to understand the context of the participants by visiting this context and gathering information personally. The generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of the interaction with a human community. This is what I intended to do when I visited the island of Jersey and Madeira to collect primary and secondary data. The Portuguese community tends to participate effusively in many informal social gatherings, and I considered this to be a great opportunity to spend a few days in Jersey inviting a group of people to participate in the study (Schreier, 2012).

In terms of situatedness and positionality, the researcher becomes the channel through which the voices of participants are heard. For the benefit of the outcomes of the investigation and its trustworthiness, the investigator's awareness of self, situatedness and positionality are usually disclosed to participants. Thus, the concept of reflexivity has been defined as the researcher's critique of their influence in the research process and is the recognition of the power and trust relationships between researcher and participants. Reflexivity allows for the analysis of personal, intersubjective, and social processes that may influence the investigation and is an awareness of the ways the researcher as an individual – with an identity and background – has an impact on the research process. Being reflexive allows the investigator to acknowledge, recognise and accept

understandings of issues and the production and creation of knowledge (Hillman et al, 2018). At a later stage, reciprocity is also important. The researcher may invite participants to the presentation of the research findings and reciprocal interactions can greatly enhance the nature of the relationships and the quality of the information that participants share with the researcher. In the present study, tourism and mobilities are themes and human experiences with many subjective episodes, and qualitative research captures the multiple social realities experienced by visitors to a destination or attraction (Hillman et al, 2018).

Social researchers should be reflective about the implications of their methods, values, biases, and decisions for the knowledge of the social world they generate. Knowledge from a reflexive position is always a reflection of a researcher's location in time and social space. There is a greater awareness and acknowledgement of the role of the researcher as part and parcel of the construction of knowledge, which gives more significance to the researcher's choices as both observer and writer (Bryman, 2016). Since I was dealing with subjective life stories, I could not be objective. Instead, I tried to be reflexive with the intention of being as transparent as possible, in relation to the processes that I have followed in the construction of knowledge.

The fact that migrants use mobility to deal with their unfavourable working and living conditions in the homeland brings a shift in the analysis of these topics. The mobilities of people between countries or regions does not have to be an effect of the actions of the state or by capital but are to do with migrants' individual decisions. They become the actors and this change also brings the necessity to move away from a methodology that is quantitative. The study aims to give privilege to a qualitative analysis, with an emphasis on participant observation and the use of in-depth interviews (Andrijasevic, 2016). The goal is to understand the subjective factors that have led to the mobilities in the first place, and this is what I attempted to achieve with this major academic investigation.

3.2 – Choosing an interpretivist research framework

There are a wide range of paradigms that a researcher may follow. The paradigm preferences are normally related to the investigator experience and professional training. A paradigm is a basic set of beliefs that guides action and a conceptual model of a person's worldview, and the assumptions associated with that view. It influences the way

knowledge is studied and interpreted and serves as a framework for observation and understanding, shaping what should be studied. The interpretive paradigm is used when the issue studied is complex and needs to be better understood. The focus is on understanding the multiple realities of the participants and interpretivists generate theory based on patterns or meanings. A theory might be formulated that is grounded in the empirical data collected, rather than responding to any preconceived research hypotheses. Within such a paradigm, the researcher becomes an integral research instrument and inductive reasoning provides the basis of the grounded theory (Hillman et al, 2018).

Other paradigm components that should be considered are ontological, epistemological, and methodological. Ontology is the nature of reality; epistemology is the nature of the relationship between the inquirer and the participant/knowable, and methodology is how the inquirer should go about finding out knowledge. Another component which has been added more recently is axiology, a term coined by Paul Lapie in 1902. It is a paradigm component and is related to the values of the researcher brought to the investigation by key players like participants, the investigator, and other stakeholders. These four components are interrelated and interactive. The choice of paradigm determines how knowledge is acquired and interpreted and the chosen paradigm needs to be congruent with the aims of the research. These four paradigm perspectives present a belief system that aligns with the researcher's world view in the context of being (ontology) knowing (epistemology), values (axiology) and doing (methodology). Ontology asks questions about the nature of the world and of reality (Hillman et al, 2018).

Epistemology is concerned with the nature, sources, and limits of knowledge. It refers to the question 'how can I know reality?' and the relationships between the knower and the known. This means that the researcher approaches the world with a framework-set of ideas based on his/her personal biography. The participants also have their own biographies that will impact the research project and the generation of knowledge. The role of the researcher is to understand the participant's construction of knowledge related to the area of enquiry. Through the empirical materials provided and the reconstruction of new information, the researcher will have a broader understanding that provides the foundations of an explanatory theory grounded in the data. Heron and Resons (1997), cited by Hillman (2018), referred to the 'participatory paradigm' which gives emphasis to the joint participation between participants and investigator which empowers participants.

In seeking to develop an understanding of the phenomenon under examination, the qualitative researcher attempts to become as close to be an insider as possible. In a paradigm founded on interpretivism, values are an intrinsic part of the research process and its outcomes. Thus, investigators need to engage with critical subjectivity. The population of a study are referred to as participants because they participate in the research and tell their stories to the interviewer. This approach acknowledges that the researcher has his/her own cultural background and is an integral part of producing data. Therefore, the involvement of the researcher generates a personal reflexivity through all the stages of the research (Hennick, 2011). These reflections are in tone with my role in the present research, I was actively engaged in the collection of data to understand the topic that I proposed to investigate.

This qualitative research study tended towards exploring an unknown topic, and sampling decisions were taken during the process of collecting the field data, as is the case in qualitative studies that are used to understand the complexity of labour migration decisions and their relationship to other factors. The interpretation of the data was also done while the data was being collected by making decisions about who to interview next and which similarities or disparities were present between the different interviews that were undertaken. I then developed theories from the empirical data analysis.

This research is a narrative in the sense that I have enquired about the lives of a group of migrants originally from Madeira, to provide stories about their lives. The information was retold by me into a narrative. A constructivism paradigm was followed, and the goal was to rely - as much as possible - on the participant's views of the situation being studied. The study aimed to understand and contextualise a specific migration experience and the state of their human mobilities.

3.3 – Methodological bricolage

According to O’Kane (2021), following an inductive approach means to explore patterns and to identify what the key themes are, using reflexivity and methodological bricolage. On the other hand, Kincheloe (2001) mentioned Lincoln and Denzin (2018) study and highlighted how the term bricoleur was used to reflect the person who makes use of the tools available to complete a task. Contemporary developments in social theory and interpretation have allowed the development and the use of bricolage in the discourse of

research. The critique to the use of bricolage is the assumption that it is by nature superficial. Research bricoleurs recognise the necessity of new approaches to the research process and of an ontological context which considers the social, cultural, psychological, and pedagogical circumstances of the object of inquiry, the words used to describe it, the historical situatedness of the situation and the social and cultural interpretations of its meanings. What it means is that bricolage does not only pay attention to the methods of inquiry but also to the diverse theoretical and philosophical elements that are part of the research act. All these details are important and have political implications; they will influence the way we view the world and operate within it. This multimethodological research strategy allows the researcher to see and interpret their pursuit of knowledge in many ways. The multiperspectivism has parallels with the study of Lincoln and Denzin (2018) and it has been recognised for some time now that bricoleurs should use approaches such as hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotic, phenomenology, cultural studies, and feminism, to better interpret, criticize and deconstruct what they are studying.

Bricoleurs not only acquire a deep knowledge of the literature in the field they study, but they also develop a literacy to understand the power relations within the specific group or subject they are studying. This means the bricoleur becomes a specialist on the relationships connecting cultural context, power, and oppression (Kincheloe, 2001). The study of Pratt et al. (2020) adds to the discussion when the author mentioned that conducting high quality qualitative research can be achieved in many ways and methodological bricolage allows for a diversity of approaches, and it involves an active choice from the researcher about how to move forward, in terms of designing, conducting, and presenting the research. Choices can be related to who to interview, which topics to cover etc; it is also not only about doing the research but also making use of the tools available and using different resources with new purposes. Researchers will work to create an argument which is coherent and connects the research questions and answers with the data and theory, although the argument development can be messy because qualitative research is iterative. This approach to qualitative research means the researcher will experiment and identify, explore, and understand the patterns in the data. When the analysis is done effectively, the results will provide trustworthiness.

Kincheloe (2001) states that when methodological bricolage is used, the researcher sees beyond what can be observed and moves to a deeper level of analysis of the data, by bringing a multidimensional perspective to the phenomenon studied and exploring the relationships between the object of inquiry and the contexts in which it exists. This means

that bricolage cultivates the expansion of the researcher horizons and creativity and brings multiple perspectives of social, cultural, psychological and education domains. The bricoleurs investigate the socially privileged and the marginalised in aspects related to race, gender, class, and sexuality. They use interviews, observation, personal documents, rhetoric analysis, content analysis, and discourse analysis to build knowledge and to untap the human desire to understand themselves and the world. Sensitivity is also an important consideration when developing the knowledge of social theory. Using the benefits of philosophical inquiry, the bricoleur includes different dynamics in the research narratives to understand the relations between individuals, their contexts, and the activities they are involved in. Bricoleurs facilitate the interaction between different disciplines and create conceptual connections which can link researchers from different fields. Consequently, bricolage is a strategy in the development of rigorous and innovative research, as well as of conceptual tools for boundary work.

3.4. – The sample

Sampling designs and strategies to collect qualitative data are known as non-probability-based sampling. Convenience sampling is a form of non-probability-based sampling, this means selecting a sample that is convenient and available. Purposive sampling is a type of sample where people are selected based on some important characteristics they have and the researcher will decide about who or what subjects will be included in the study (Brotherton, 2011, Durbarry, 2018). My sampling approach used both convenience and purposive sampling. Given that I had a limited control of the selection of the sample, people's participation was dependent on their goodwill.

Another crucial decision is to decide how the research participants are selected and the focus should be to speak to people who are information rich, who have relevant experiences and stories to tell, and are willing to share those narratives with the researcher. The investigator will be looking for a type of person who may have the type of life experience that is relevant. Since my intention was to understand the travel habits, settlement experiences and the lifestyle of diasporas, I used the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey to explore those topics related to tourism, migration and mobilities. As a result, I spent two weeks in Jersey meeting people, conducting interviews, and exploring the different corners of the island, where Madeirans live. As Denscombe (2017) has stated,

access to people and places goes beyond being present; it also involves being trusted with insights and insider knowledge.

As part of my convenience sampling approach, I used a snowball method. A few months before I travelled to Jersey, I contacted the Jersey correspondent of the Madeiran newspaper 'Diário de Notícias'. A few years back, I was the London correspondent of that same newspaper, and I knew the name of the lady who was the correspondent in Jersey. I contacted her through Facebook and explained who I was and what I intended to do and asked if she could help me in finding people to interview. She was very receptive and through her contacts I spoke to six people. I then contacted people through Facebook that were my contacts, most of them were acquaintances that I knew from my village in Madeira. Others I found in Jersey, mostly recommended by my contacts in Jersey. While I was doing some research on migration statistics at the Jersey library, I met one participant. That person agreed to be interviewed the following day in the library.

It is also important to consider the difficulties that can arise with sampling. A sample is a portion of the overall population that the researcher wishes to study (Durberry, 2018). A pilot study is a way of testing if the research methods that will be used are adequate and supportive of the research objectives (Clark et al, 2010). I intended to test the research questions by doing a pilot study to two or three people before approaching the sample. In the end, I managed to do two pilot interviews to a couple on the first day that I arrived at Jersey. I concluded that they understood the purpose of the study, the relevance of their contribution and the questions that were asked. This experience gave me the confidence that the interview process could be conducted efficiently and that I could move forward with the collection of data.

3.4.1 - Opting for semi-structured interviews

The interview is a useful qualitative tool in tourism research as a stand-alone method or as a key component of fieldwork. Interviews allow the researcher to address complex contemporary issues and the multiplicity of meanings, experiences, signs, influences, politics, and relations that are associated with tourism (Hillman & Kylie, 2018). A significant amount of information that is available in textbooks and journals about tourism is collected from talking to people. The interview method has given many contributions to tourism studies and is one of the most popular qualitative methods in social sciences. Interviews seek to address questions that require an in-depth, individual response and are mainly used in qualitative research and may constitute the main method of data collection. Interviews can be used to explore a phenomenon, question, or problem and to provide a

closer and more detailed understanding of the topic in inquiry. They can contribute towards the production of thick description and give a more focused insight into the meanings and processes involved in all aspects of tourism production and consumption.

Interviews can also provide the understanding of a topic where differences in perceptions, attitudes, impacts, behaviours, and practices are anticipated. Each question that is repeated across interviews serves as an item that can be analysed and compared. Also, semi-structured interviews are better suited to enquiries where the research problems are clearly defined around key themes that are raised with each participant, as was the case in the present study. Therefore, less structured interviews are better suited for studies that have an inductive nature. Participants are given more freedom to decide what is most relevant about a topic; interviews become more individualistic and detailed which will also have an impact on the type of findings produced. The degree of differences between the different stories shared will depend on how participants are able to own the course of the conversation during the interview and how many differences there are among the participants. Explorative research aims to find out issues like experiences, motivations, transformations, memories, identity, and the relations between 'self and other'. Therefore, in-depth interviews involve fewer questions and encourage a participant to lead the conversation. When trust and rapport are achieved, qualitative interviews are more successful (Hillman & Kyle, 2018).

For this study, interviews were comprised of an in-depth exchange between me and the participants. According to Brotherton (2011) and Barbour (2008), questions are prepared well in advance as tools when exploration is necessary. They are commonly associated with an open dialogue between the interviewer and the research participants and are interactive in nature. In my research, in-depth interviews were conducted in Portuguese because the participants felt more comfortable speaking in their mother tongue. The intention was to talk with approximately 25/30 Madeiran citizens living in Jersey. In the end, I completed 25 interviews in Jersey and another three interviews in Madeira. I did an interview with the minister who oversaw the Madeiran diaspora issues. My aim was to understand how the government viewed the community, what was known about this group of people, how they were organised, analyse some travel statistics that the government could provide, and find out if there were any associations, clubs or any social organisations created and maintained by Madeirans in Jersey, to understand the dynamics of these organisations. I recorded all the interviews and after they were transcribed and

translated, I saved them in different back-up copies, printed them all and bound them as a book, as this made the access to the content and the analysis and interpretation of the content much easier. Each interview was also identified with a unique number, not only for reference purposes but also to retain the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

My aim was also to use in-depth interviews until all the concepts were repeated multiple times without new concepts or themes emerging, or to reach a saturation point when all questions were explored in detail and no new concepts or themes emerged (Trotter, 2012). Questions were broad and general so that participants could construct the meaning of a situation for me to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants. The study focused on grouping Madeirans according to their age group to understand the differences in terms of their travel habits, employment, and economic settlement of the older generations, first, second and third generations. The exercise of finding parallels and common topics to contextualize the findings also helped me in grouping the themes together and reducing the amount of data.

During those two weeks I spent in Jersey, while I was waiting to meet the participants, I could observe insights of their everyday practices, I observed and experienced the social and economic reality of my participants. In addition, some life experiences revealed new information about the cultural, historical, and social circumstances of the group, providing insights into their lifestyle and beliefs and their expectations about their future and new life in Jersey. At the same time, this group of individuals shared some similar characteristics. Apart from the fact that my findings have shown the different viewpoints of the participants, about the topics discussed, they were also informed that they could contact me later if they wished, to add new information they may have forgotten or provide extra information about a particular experience. My phone contact and email were provided to all participants. Although they did not contact me, I did contact some of the participants when I was writing the analysis of the findings, to clarify some aspects and talk about specific episodes of their migration journey, to find out if they agreed with my interpretations. Nevertheless, I did not share my complete findings with the participants.

Flick (2011) also highlighted how online interviews and virtual ethnography are used by social researchers. This means the internet is being used as a tool to apply the research methods chosen and to get the answers to the questions. There was a possibility that I

would do online interviews through email or Skype, due to the impossibility of travelling to Jersey or Madeira to speak with someone. However, this was not the case because I managed to do the interviews while in the field.

In the present research what I felt as the interviewer was that not all participants were great story tellers. But I gave them full freedom and as much time as they needed to answer the questions. They shared part of their life stories with me, for which I will always be grateful. The information that I have collected gave me the possibility to answer the questions I set beforehand in the research methodology (Hillman and Kylie, 2018). In relation to the present research, the following schedule of questions were addressed:

Who are the Madeira citizens who live in Jersey?

What brought them to Jersey?

When did they arrive?

How big is the community?

What type of jobs do they do?

How often do people travel?

Where do they travel to?

Which means of transport do they use?

What are their motivations to travel?

How often do they travel between Jersey and Madeira and what are their motivations to do so?

How often do they keep contact with family and friends in Madeira?

Is there a mobility of economic capital between Jersey and Madeira?

What are their social networks in Madeira?

What are their social networks in Jersey?

How is the diaspora organised in terms of associations/organisations?

Which transnational social spaces has the community created in Jersey?

How often do they participate in events organised by the community?

Where else do they travel to in the UK and abroad and why?

What are the consequences of mobilities for Madeiran citizens in both islands?

In conclusion, I put great effort into fully understanding the findings. Answers to the questions were generally long and rich in details; my mother tongue is the same of the participants, which was crucial to confirm that I understood the message that was being

conveyed. I always tried to avoid making assumptions or value judgements. The viewpoints of the participants were clearly discussed.

3.5 - The use of an inductive analysis

Leisure studies have been using non-traditional forms of research to stimulate a dialogue that allows the development of different research strategies, and the understanding of the experiences of people participating in leisure activities (McSweeney et al. 2019). The development of qualitative research has evidenced the struggle of researchers in locating themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts. These crises of representation have resulted in a tradition of cultural investigation using narratives with a specific focus, in producing small-scale theories and addressing specific realities and situations. In introducing the method of sociological impressionism (a term coined by George Simmel), Lynch (2005) referred the 'messiness' of qualitative research and how inductive approaches provided rich details to an investigation because of the use of, for example, observations, self-analysis, reflections and conversations which can influence a study outcome. These qualitative approaches included the use of diaries, conversations, personal experiences and that of others.

Phillimore and Goodson (2004) also reflected on the challenges qualitative researchers face and how their understanding of a particular topic will be revealed by their competency in understanding the cultural world of the group studied. To study a tourism setting, it is crucial that the investigator has reflexive ontological concerns and methodological approaches which are reflective and reflexive. Reflexivity is consideration of the influence the researcher will have in the findings, intentionally or non-intentionally. The quality of the contents produced can be enhanced when the researcher can understand how his/her interests and position can influence the research process. The researcher should constantly reflect upon his/her values and behaviour and the values and behaviour of the participants, recognising how his values can influence the interpretation of the data, while understanding that he/she are part of the social world they study. By recognising and acknowledging his/her values and how they influence the findings, the researcher will add credibility to the study. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) pointed out the problem of tourism studies not having a genuine cross-disciplinary coverage of what is subjective, discursive, and interpretive. Tourism studies are not advanced in their use of critical qualitative research approaches, to study realities that can

be rich in detail, empathetic to the lived experiences and the worldview of a particular group. What we expect from the researcher is that he/she can consider matters of local and situational ontology, and to understand the worldviews of each significant population studied.

The purpose of inductive analysis is to understand the findings that emerge from the themes that were discussed with the participants, without applying a structured methodology or the use of preconceptions while collecting the data (Altinay, 2008). A general inductive approach can be used in qualitative analysis by systematically analysing qualitative data guided by specific evaluation objectives (Thomas, 2006). The basis of the analysis is to summarise a considerable amount of raw data and to explain the links between the aims of a study and the findings, ensuring that the links are transparent and justifiable. In the end, the researcher could create a model or theory that explores the experiences of the participants.

The use of an inductive approach means the participants' experiences drive all the analysis. The researcher will immerse themselves in the data, reading and making sense of what is being revealed, through using reflection and by following the narratives shared by the participants. It is a continuous process of reflection where the researcher will cogitate on his/her relationship with the participants and how that dynamic can influence or affect their responses to the questions asked. The qualitative interviewer wants to understand meaning but they do not assume that knowledge will be gained from straightforward answers from the participants; instead, it will be built and constructed. After reading each interview several times, the researcher will be able to identify the key concepts and themes (Azungah, 2018). The detailed reading of the data allows the researcher to have a holistic understanding of the information shared by the participants, and interpret all the relevant information, by adding codes, keywords, and comments to the texts and by understanding the facts and lived experiences of the participants.

The flexible nature of an inductive analysis means that it allows changes to be made as the research progresses, the researcher can be open minded and explain why a phenomenon is taking place, and to explore topics that may not have much visibility in the literature review. An inductive approach does not force data to fit a certain framework; new theoretical insights can be generated, although the process could be time-consuming, and more effective with small samples (Altinay, 2008).

The perceptions of participants, their experiences of the world, are unique and individual, reflecting their subjective experiences and existence. The researcher's observations will be conveyed not only by what is seen but also by the words used to describe and analyse the socially constructed knowledge. The world will be described from the participant's point of view, by understanding the meanings, values, facts, and situations, and the analysis could generate small scale theories that address specific situations through transparency and reflexivity (Lynch, 2005).

In my research, the strategy that I adopted was to first explore the literature review on the various topics that were relevant to my study, to help me understand the theoretical concepts and learn about other migration movements. I started my investigation in London because it is where I live, and later I travelled to the island of Jersey to conduct the field research and to meet the participants of the study. I used the narratives shared by the participants to produce the contents of the findings; by addressing their specific realities, I analysed many of their life episodes, which have provided me with rich details about their daily life and routines. I explored the cultural characteristics of this group of migrants, their lived experiences, in Madeira and Jersey, and view of the world. Besides summarising the data, I explained the links between the findings and the aims of the study with the intention to provide contents that not only revealed the experiences of the participants but were also portrayed as the most relevant concepts and themes that were emerging. I adopted a flexible approach and used my own reflections; I went back to the content of the interviews many times, at different stages of producing the findings, to explore the subjective experiences of the participants and some of the less visible topics.

3.5.1 – The bricolage approach

An example of the analysis of an interview is in figure 3.1., where I identified the reasons that brought this specific participant to Jersey, with notes and keywords like 'failure of a business' 'debts' 'economic reasons'. I then looked at the challenges of settling in Jersey and wrote 'poor housing'. Then I looked at the interviewee's work experience and wrote keywords related to hospitality jobs, in a restaurant, café, sandwich company. Having analysed and surfaced themes emerging from an interview, I started to see recurring common themes emerging from the interviews which I started to focus upon, to build my interpretation of what I was investigating.

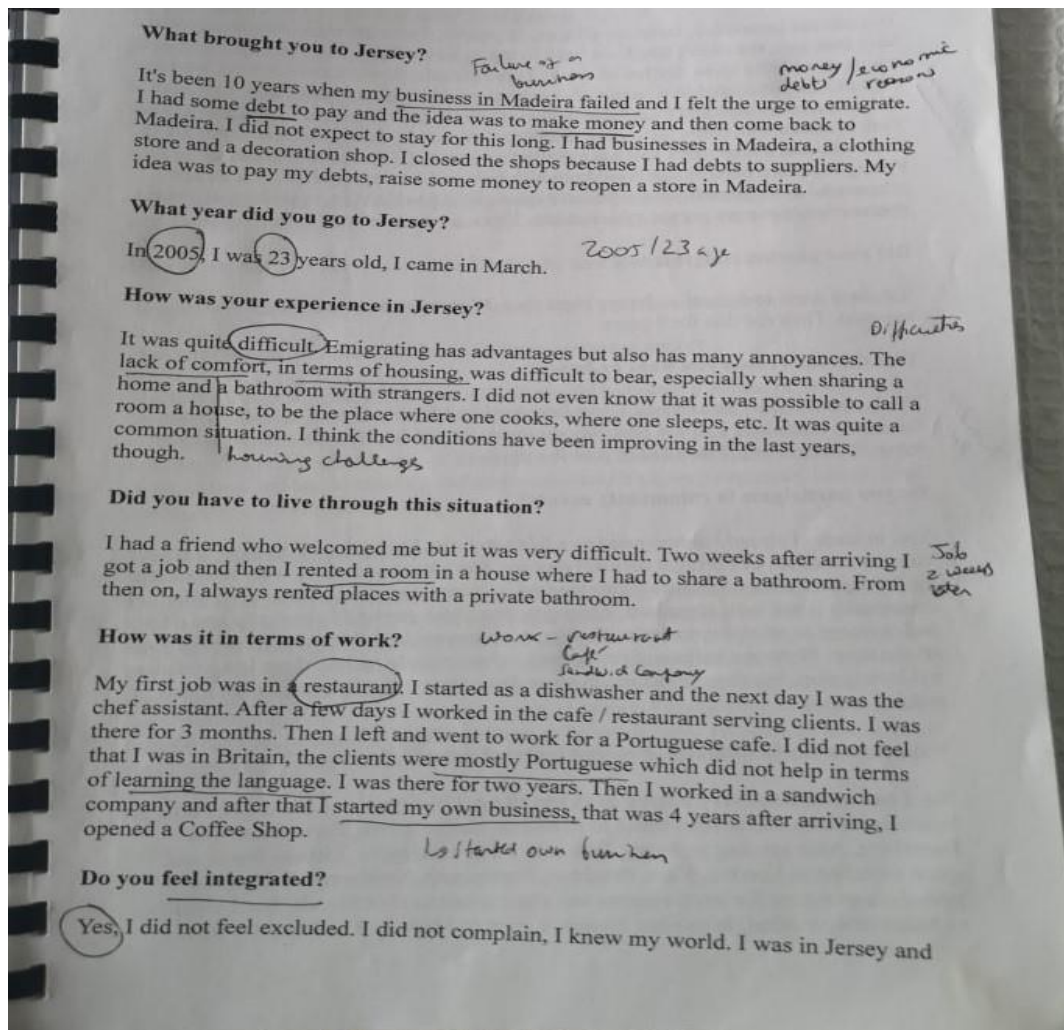


Figure 3.1 – Example of keywords and comments in an interview

These findings were later further developed in the discussion, where I was able to explore the reasons that brought Madeirans to Jersey. Economic motivations were one of the main reasons, and in particular the example of the participant who admitted being in a challenging financial situation. The findings were also analysed when I explained how they lived in Madeira, the type of jobs they had and how they felt about their life in the homeland. The challenges of settling in Jersey were another topic included in the discussion. Expensive rents and the lack of quality accommodation were mentioned by some of the participants. The work experiences of Madeirans in Jersey were also included in the discussion, and the reality that most Madeirans work in jobs in the hospitality, agriculture or healthcare sectors were explained, and it is also mentioned by the participant in the example interview, figure 3.1. Another topic which was analysed is the integration in Jersey and where do they feel home is, which is also covered in the sample interview. I built a set of findings that discussed the social gatherings of the Madeiran community, the importance of friends and relatives as facilitators to emigration, the

frequency they travel to the homeland, their intentions of a possible return, the impacts emigration had in their personal lives, their travel habits and a few more topics.

To summarise, I could state that instead of a systematic coding approach, what I did was a bricolage approach to coding because I made use of the contents of the interviews, my notes, published material and the reflections that I developed while interviewing and during the analysis of the data. I developed links between the different passages, to establish the connections between similar ideas from the participants and to understand what the data was telling me. Through this methodology, I created an argument which brought together ideas, notes, observations, interview contents, conversations, and the relevant literature, with the intention of producing new knowledge based on what I have learned, and by explaining the complexity of the subject that I was studying. This meant that I came across different perspectives and opinions and attempted to explain the experiences, emotions, beliefs, and routines of the Madeirans in Jersey. By opting for a bricolage approach, I felt that it gave me the flexibility to make sense of what I was reading and hearing, to allow me to establish connections between aspects that were not understood before, and to uncover the unknown. Since I chose to listen, to read and to observe what I was studying, I tried to join the different pieces together with the use of concepts and theories, narratives, and activities, to picture the phenomenon that I was studying, while acting in an organic and intuitive way. My aim was to produce a reflexive collage in writing that was both logical and rigorous and to demonstrate the relevance of these themes and their meaning for the research.

Another example of how I used a bricolage approach to my data analysis was the exercise that I developed of identifying common themes that were discussed by several of the participants. While reading the interviews, I used a notebook and started identifying themes that were pointed out and discussed by many of the participants. Examples were: the reasons to come to Jersey; jobs in Madeira; reasons to stay in Jersey; travel habits; family life; contact with family in Madeira; where is home; intentions of returning to the homeland, etc. An interview content is available in the appendices and more examples are shown of how the information was coded.

Then, I would explore each specific topic and summarise the main ideas shared by the participants in relation to each of those topics. Figure 3.2 below shows how I summarised what I found out about the reasons that brought migrants to Jersey, adding the comment of each migrant. I have hidden the names of the participants.

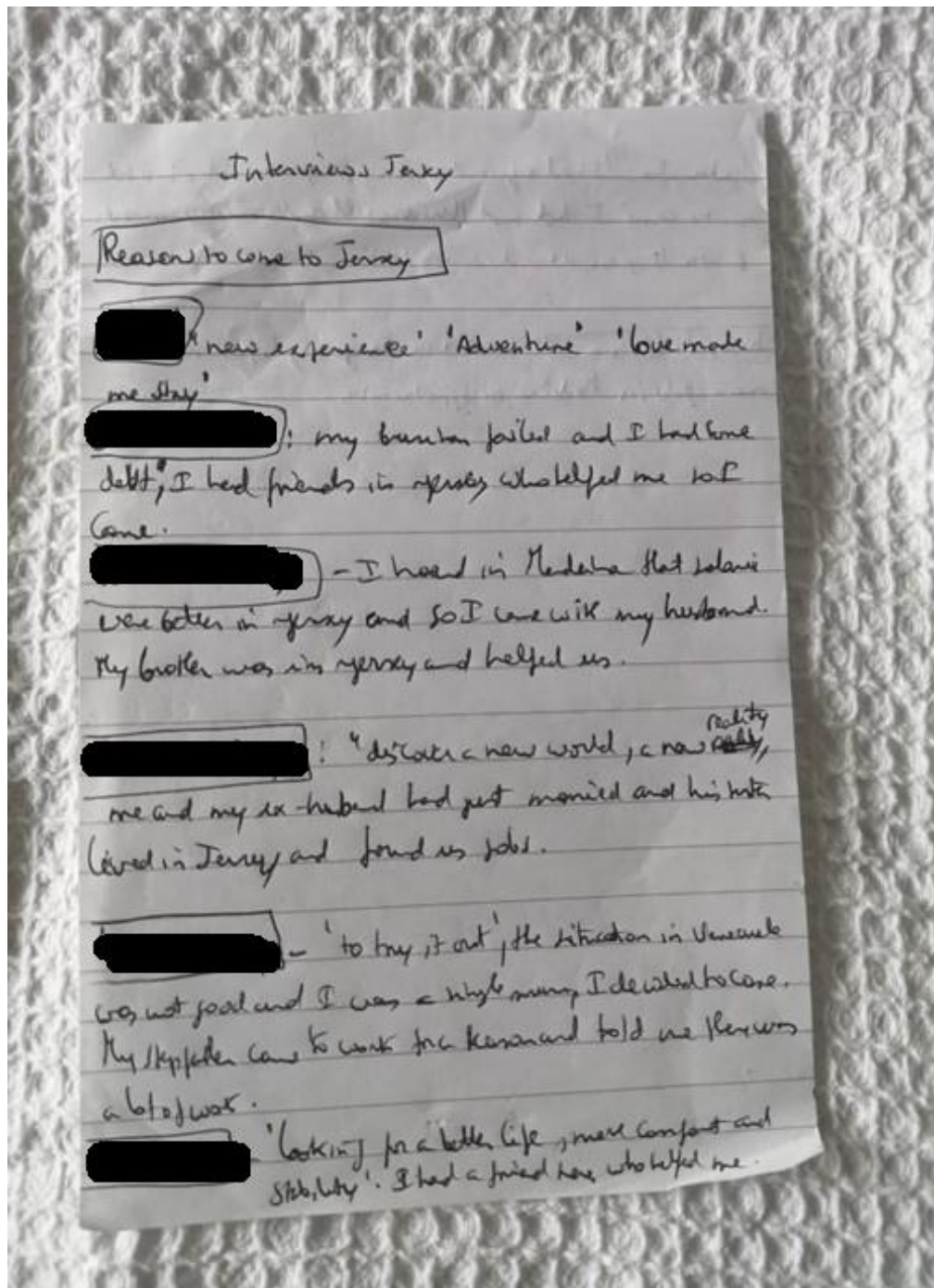


Figure 3.2 – Notes of the reasons migrants choose to travel to Jersey

When trying to understand my data, I looked for the regularities that were emerging and for the examples that illustrated and described the topics. In terms of techniques, I used manual coding like coloured pens and by highlighting key areas of the text. Conversely, Durbarry (2018) states that to do manual coding the researcher needs to read the data without colouring it and leave a lot of time to identify the codes because it is a very time-consuming process. According to Durbarry (2018), it is during the analysis of the qualitative discourse that the investigator is identifying categories, themes, ideas, and

views in the data. Connections should also be developed with the existing literature (Bryman, 2016). My role as a researcher was also to act as a social constructionist and despite Durbarry's statement, I found that colouring was helpful.

3.6 – The primary and secondary data

Primary and secondary research methods were applied to this study. Since there are no academic studies about mobilities, diaspora and tourism of the Madeiran community in Jersey, qualitative research methods were used to understand the social and contextual circumstances surrounding their decisions to travel, with an initial focus on social research. The study also developed in an empirical way (by asking, observing, and analysing data). Social research not only provides data and results as a basis for decisions but also makes assessments and evaluations. Issues can be explored, and first descriptions of certain phenomena are analysed. Thus, knowledge will be provided which can be used for the basis of political, administrative, and practical decision-making (Flick, 2011), as I expect would be the case with the knowledge provided by this investigation.

As Walliman (2011) has stated, in a research project what is needed most is data, which is analysed and processed to generate a valuable conclusion and output for future work. The success of research is heavily dependent on the collection of relevant data. Consequently, the researcher must allocate a significant amount of time for data collection to ensure that data has been collected correctly (Kumar, 2011). Similarly, if the data is not collected with rigour, it could spoil the whole research. Primary data collection takes time as the participants are approached directly and it is the most authentic source of data collection. The researcher can easily rely on the data collected since the participants provided the answers first-hand (Saunders, 2012).

The analysis of the primary data and the conclusions drawn should be supported in the data found and the evidence collected; the researcher's explanation of the data should emerge from a careful and meticulous reading of the data. The development of new theories, hypotheses, concepts, and generalisations should be based on a process that continuously moves forward and backwards. This means that the analysis of the primary data is based on logic of discovering things from the data, of generating theories and on moving from features of the data to more generalised conclusions. This entails that the meaning of the data involves a process of interpretation of the raw data collected and the

researcher should avoid bringing personal prejudices or biases based on previous theories (Denscombe, 2017). I believe that I have succeeded in this mission; I explained my findings and showed the evidence in the data that was collected.

At the same time, the researcher needs to prepare the data collection, familiarise themselves with the data, interpret the data developing codes and concepts, verify and represent the data. The process tends to be iterative, with stages being revisited when needed to be complemented or revised (Denscombe, 2017). Familiarisation with the data means that the investigator will be able to identify appropriate codes, that can be applied to them and can start the formal process of interpretation. At this stage, the tasks are related with coding the data, categorising those codes, identifying themes and relationships between codes and categories and finally develop concepts and arrive at some generalised statements. They are steps in the data analysis which justify the iterative nature of the process. In the end, the researcher will prioritise certain parts of the data and their importance will be stressed, key concepts will emerge, and the new generalised conclusions are compared with the published theories.

During the interpretation of the data, the researcher engages in analytic coding that could be related to an event, action, opinion, a word or expression and an implied meaning or sentiment. New insights may become visible to the researcher and may be kept as memos, new thoughts, or possibilities in relation to the analysis of the data; they will help other researchers in understanding the analytical thinking of the investigator (Denscombe, 2017). I applied analytic coding to the study to explain the realities of the participants, through their voices and memories, by exploring the information that was provided, the hierarchies of the relationships between them, by interpreting the frequency of words to produce contents with meaning. As Coleman et al. (2013) stated, coding is an ongoing construction of curiosities and an analytic practice of order and disorder, where new connections are explored between words, bodies, objects, and ideas, which view the world as non-static.

Secondary data was based on published sources, such as the data made available by governmental sources and articles published by the local press, as well as academic articles from books and journals that discussed the recent academic developments in terms of mobility, diaspora, and tourism studies. Government statistics about the number of people who have emigrated were also analysed and discussed. The analysis of the

secondary data was generated in the literature review chapter. The theoretical discussion helped me to determine whether the topic was worth studying and in finding a scope within the topic to an area of inquiry. The review of the literature gave me access to other studies in the same area, which have deepened my knowledge and helped me in relating and comparing those studies to my own findings. As Creswell (2014) has stated, qualitative researchers use theory to explain attitudes and behaviour but also to guide the study towards issues that should be examined and the people that should be studied.

3.7 - Developing a conceptual framework

The ideas and principles taken from the relevant fields of enquiry are used to explain the main topics to be studied, which are made of words and symbols that help the researcher to identify the key dimensions of the phenomena studied. The concepts are essential to help in structuring the path or phenomena under study. This means that the conceptual framework is like a map to the researcher, which provides a logical and coherent structure for the study. It develops an awareness of the topic on the literature, sets the boundaries of work to answer the research questions and gives the researcher the ability to go beyond the descriptions to explain the why and how. By developing a conceptual framework, the researcher will outline the possible courses of actions and encourage theory development (Durberry, 2018).

This investigation uses diaspora and mobilities theories as its underlying theories. The aims and research questions were developed around the concepts of diaspora and mobility and this research analyses contemporary mobilities of humans, which are influenced by family and individual needs and aspirations. The use of published and original data intended to provide visibility to what was obscure and unknown about the life and migration decisions of a group of people. At the same time, the paradigm goes beyond physical mobility and through the interviews explores the connections between memories and the use of technology to connect with the homeland. The relevant themes and concepts are related to the movement of people, information, ideas, and travel habits, providing the elements to understand the mobilities paradigm and how people are socially settled. The analysis was built by identifying categories from the primary data. The key themes were identified and explained by the researcher during the analysis, as well as the related concepts.

3.8 – Trustworthiness and authenticity

Reliability and validity are difficult to apply in qualitative research because the topics studied cannot be measured. Social settings cannot be frozen, and the initial circumstances of a study cannot be replicated. The alternative criteria that qualitative studies can adopt are trustworthiness and authenticity (Bryman, 2016). Trustworthiness is made of credibility (parallel to internal validity), transferability (parallel to external validity), dependability (parallel to reliability) and confirmability (parallel to objectivity). Credibility puts emphasis on the multiple accounts of social reality and on ensuring that research is carried out according to the principles of good practice and that the findings are correctly understood by the investigator.

As for transferability, it is related to producing thick descriptions that are rich in details of a culture, of a small group or individuals that share certain characteristics. Dependability means to establish the merit of research and keep an audit trail, i.e., complete records of all phases of the research process in an accessible manner. Confirmability is concerned with ensuring that the researcher has acted in good faith and has not allowed personal values or theoretical inclinations to interfere in the conduct of the research and the findings deriving from it. Finally, authenticity is concerned with the fairness representation of different viewpoints among members of the social setting, of a better understanding of the group studied and their social setting, as well as in giving the group studied the motivation to change their circumstances (Bryman, 2016).

The social setting and the circumstances that I found in Jersey cannot be replicated or frozen in the future. However, it is important to state that I was exploring the life stories of a group of migrants, expecting them to reflect on their memories and explain how they decided to migrate, what their circumstances were before coming to Jersey and the challenges they encountered when they arrived. Even if I collected the same information 5 or 10 years later, many of the elements that were shared with me would be the same, because the testimonies were mostly about their past and initial experiences of migration. The sources were credible and trustworthy because the participants were speaking about their own experiences of migration, and I collected enough interviews to allow me to produce multiple accounts of their realities in Jersey.

3.9 - Ethical considerations

The concept of ethics in research was considered by Foucault in 1985, who discussed morality and codes of behaviour and how individuals adhere to those rules. Social scientists engage in research agendas that are value driven, in spheres of understanding and prudence, and should act with integrity, honesty and be sensitive to the concerns of others. While the researcher is looking for facts and expects that the sample chosen is representative of the reality, the participants may feel that their participation in the investigation does not bring them any benefits. Thus, the researcher must return some value to the group studied. Doing research and establishing relationships means that it is not always possible to establish a distance and be objective. The researcher has his own emotions and reactions and building knowledge is also a process of maturation and understanding (Ritchie et al, 2005). I believe this was the case with the present study because I returned some value to the group by giving visibility to their experience in Jersey, by explaining the challenges of their settlement and their importance as a community in Jersey.

Research ethics are moral principles that should guide the way we behave and our relationships with others. Research should be developed in line with the ethical standards of the researcher and of the university/institution that the researcher represents. The aim is that no harm is caused to the participants or to the researcher. Some of the principles of ethical social research include: not exploiting subjects for personal gain, providing a consent form to the participants, respect for privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, avoiding coercion, using a methodology that is adequate to the study, explaining the aims of the research and how the information will be used, avoiding any undesirable consequences to participants and finally to develop findings which are accurate and consistent with the data collected (Durberry, 2018). I believe that I was very aware of my obligation to behave in an ethical manner. While speaking to the participants, I have explained the purposes of my study, the topics that I wished to discuss and the way the information was going to be used. I provided every participant with a consent form (written in both Portuguese and English) that they read and signed. I have also provided my contact details and the contact details of my supervisors; in case the participants requested any clarifications. I explained why I was recording the interviews and made them aware that if they wished to withdraw from the study, they could. Their participation

had a voluntary nature. None of the participants contacted me later to say they did not wish to participate. Therefore, I used the information that was shared with me.

Research is conducted to understand lived experiences and to develop broader outcomes for the community. Between the participant and the community lies the researcher with his/her own history and his/her lived experiences (Hillman et al, 2018). Tourism research is about the behaviour of tourists and the study of people as social entities within the context of travel away from home. Academic researchers adopt different roles in relation to the subject that they study and may speak with different voices. For example, I am a researcher, but I am also a Madeiran and an emigrant. While developing a study we learn about the process of research, the topic studied and about oneself, in cases where the researcher engages with the group that is studied over a period. During the collection of primary data, the participants may not wish to share all their thoughts about a specific situation. The researcher may be an actor in agenda setting but should also be sensitive to the ethical challenges of doing research. The privacy of the participants should be respected, and we may even ask if the potential good of the research outweighs the concern over the rights of the participant.

Integrity and ethics are at the core of research activities. Ethical concerns and the implications of the study were considered from the beginning. My research project was approved by Leeds Beckett University ethics committee before I travelled to Jersey, to collect the primary data. This is where I started my PhD studies which then continued at Edinburgh Napier University. Another important aspect is to give credit to anyone that was involved and contributed to the research and to recognise contributions of other people's work, to avoid plagiarism. I have followed those rules and have quoted and cited the authors of the ideas that I have included, especially in what is related to the analysis of the secondary data included in the literature review chapter.

Research is conducted to understand lived experiences, as well as to develop broader outcomes for the community. The participant requires and deserves the right to maintain his-her privacy and ownership of their story. Between the participant and the community lies the researcher with his/her own history, his-her lived experiences. Qualitative researchers need to protect the voices and lived experiences of the participants. Conducting research in an ethical manner means providing a real and useful outcome while avoiding harm to the participants, their families, or the researchers. Being an ethical

qualitative researcher means to consider our actions in the spirit of respect and deep concern for one's participants and for humanity in general (Durberry, 2018). I believe that I took these concerns into consideration and that I have respected the participants' right to maintain their privacy and the ownership of their story.

3.10 - The limitations of the study

The small sample size is a limitation associated with qualitative research and applies to this study. However, the approach taken, and the size of the sample is consistent with similar studies and considered appropriate to small-scale exploratory research aimed at understanding new information about an unknown diaspora. All the data was collected by me, and the authenticity and trustworthiness of the answers given were verified with the use of follow up questions and contextual information within the setting.

The analysis and interpretations of the findings are subjective to the researcher's biases and values, which brings its limitations. A way to avoid this limitation is by triangulating interviews with documents to cross-check and validate the evidence. I followed this practice by cross checking the content of the answers given by the participants, when they were related to similar questions, and explored the reasons that motivated them to leave Madeira. By comparing the answers, I ended concluding that the main reasons and motivations were similar for many of the participants.

Initially, my theoretical knowledge about the issues was limited and there were many gaps in the research. To produce knowledge, I analysed and interpreted the data and could generalise some of the findings but in a limited way. I recognised my influence and tried to gain the trust of the participants, by being open about my intentions and objectives. I accepted my understanding of the issues and contacted some of the participants at a later stage – when I was producing the findings - to clarify and confirm some aspects of the information provided to me during the interviews. My goal was to embrace a position of critical subjectivity.

I could not control the information interviewees wanted to share but I could question and ask for further clarifications, I could compare the answers, to understand if it was credible and if similar thoughts and experiences were being lived by other participants. As for the data collection, the fact that I was travelling to a place that was not my place of residence brought its challenges. I felt the pressure to complete the interviews during the two weeks

I spent in Jersey. The routines of the Madeiran community showed me they had long working days. It was not always easy to find the right time and day for the interviews to be conducted. However, as a researcher my goal was to adapt to circumstances and make myself available when migrants were available. I knew that it was important to collect the data in the field, because it would be a richer and more authentic experience, as I was able to immerse myself in the background and daily life routines of the participants. In the end, it was easier to access people and to collect the data than I had anticipated. They were happy and proud to share their life experiences with me.

Another limitation was the fact that I had little support from previous publications that could give me an insight about the reality of low-income migrants, the individual decisions which foment migration and of small island-to-island migration, that I could compare to my own findings and analysis. However, the studies I had access to have helped me in understanding the topic.

3.11- The researcher role of the ‘self’

As researchers, the meaning of the facts that are presented and the language that we use to describe them are a product of our own culture, social background, and personal experiences. Making sense of what is collected means that the researcher has done his/her homework and has used conceptual tools. Thus, in the end it is a creative work that will use interpretation, editing, writing techniques and reflections of the reality of the situation studied. The researcher will feel the need to reflect upon the way their own experiences, personal beliefs and social values may have shaped the way the events and cultures were understood and explained. It is a public account of the role of the researcher and their influence. Doing field research means witnessing events first-hand. However, in my case it also meant that I was open about my role and informed participants about the aims of my study.

My personal interests in this area of investigation are obvious because I am also a Madeiran citizen. Since I was a child in primary school, I have been aware that many of my classmates were living with their grandparents and aunts/uncles because their parents had gone to Jersey to work in farms as seasonal workers. This was during the early 1980's. I obviously could not have foreseen that more than three decades later I would be developing a major study about the topic. However, apart from having the same

nationality and homeland as the people that constitute my sample, I am also an emigrant living in London since 2004.

This topic has grabbed my attention since the very beginning, as I felt that I needed to feed my curiosity, but I also had a sense of duty to investigate and produce knowledge that would give academic visibility to a significant foreign community living in Jersey. Therefore, my personal interests were key to motivate me to develop this study. In terms of social background, my family would be considered of middle-upper class in my village. I am a middle-class citizen who lives in London. I am 44 years old, a woman, and of white ethnicity. Regarding my education, I have a degree in International Relations from the University of Lisbon and a master's degree in Tourism Management, from the University of Westminster in London. I started my career as a journalist in a regional newspaper in Madeira and, since concluding my MA, I have been working as an academic for the last fifteen years. I felt that my position as a researcher was privileged in the sense that it allowed me to understand the background and culture of the participants very well. Despite what I have mentioned about myself being a middle-class citizen, in contrast to most of the participants in the study coming to the UK in less favourable economic situations, with limited education, and as working-class citizens, at the time the interviews took place they were established in Jersey and economically stable, thus they were also middle-class citizens in a similar situation when compared to me. Another aspect I find relevant is that I had never been to Jersey and thought that – as an outsider – this study was a unique opportunity to know the group studied and the island of Jersey, as well as to be able to learn and listen to people's stories of emigration.

3.12 – Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the philosophical approach of a qualitative research methodology by exploring the literature review relevant for my research. I analysed the focus of a qualitative research study, which gives emphasis to the subjectivity and authenticity of human experiences and discussed the qualitative methods that I used to collect the primary data for my investigation, which were in-depth interviews. I reflected on my experience as a researcher, the challenges I encountered and how they were overcome. I explained how data analysis was developed and the use of a bricolage approach to interpret and understand the emerging themes. I considered the ethical

dimensions of my study and reflected on my role as a researcher and the limitations that I encountered.

Chapter Four – Findings and Discussion: the reasons that brought Madeirans to Jersey

In this chapter, I will present and discuss my findings related to the multiple mobilities of the Madeiran community living on the channel island of Jersey. During my field research, I collected extensive information in the form of semi-structured interviews to 28 people in total, which form the basis of the findings for this work, along with observations and diary entry notes. I have also developed reflective notes after the end of each day of information gathering. I therefore intend to analyse, reflect upon, and discuss the findings from the data collection in the field. Most of the findings discussed were from the answers to the semi-structured interview questions.

In terms of assumptions, I believe it is relevant to acknowledge that I share the same cultural background as the people that constitute my sample. I was also born in Madeira and have known some of my participants, either during my childhood, primary school, or secondary school, as is the case when you live in a small village. However, apart from one contact, I was not close to any of the participants and did not know much about their lives, except for the fact that they were from Madeira and were now living in Jersey. In other cases, I did not know the participants at all and met them for the first time in Jersey.

In terms of experience as a researcher conducting qualitative research, I have used such research before for my master's degree dissertation. The topic while completely different was also related to Madeira Island and it involved a trip to the island to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews.

Table 4.1: Interviewees' characteristics

Participant number	Age and year they came to Jersey	Gender	Occupation and place of residence at the time of interview	Place of origin in Madeira/ Portugal	Location of the interview
1	58 / 1976	Female	Housekeeper / Jersey	Funchal	Coffee Shop
2	35 / 1999	Female	Unemployed / Jersey	Câmara de Lobos	Coffee Shop
3	40 / 1995	Female	Shop Assistant / Jersey	Machico	Coffee Shop
4	36 / 2012	Female	Housekeeper and singer / Jersey	Machico	Interviewee's home
5	37 / 1998	Female	Shop Assistant / Jersey	Canical	Coffee Shop
6	38 / 1997	Female	Financial clerk / Jersey	Canical	Coffee Shop
7	35 / 1999	Female	Care assistant / Jersey	France / Venezuela	Coffee Shop
8	44 / 1994	Female	Business owner / Jersey	South Africa	Coffee Shop
9	25 / 2007	Female	Shop Assistant / Jersey	Canical	Coffee Shop
10	37 / 1997	Female	Retail Manager / Jersey	Canical	Coffee Shop
11	48 / 1991	Female	Housekeeper and kitchen porter / Jersey	Canical	Interviewee's home
12	57 / 1977	Female	Housekeeper / Jersey	Funchal	Coffee Shop
13	33 / 2000	Female	Baker and shop manager / Jersey	Câmara de Lobos	Coffee Shop

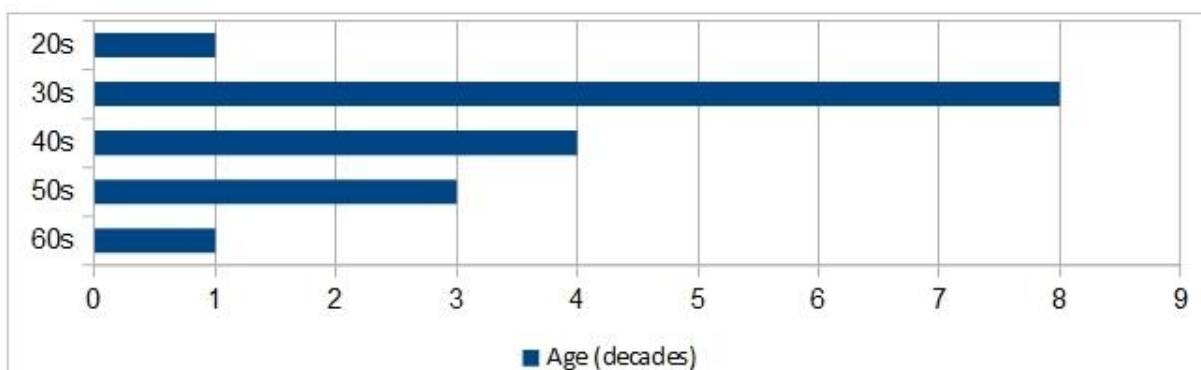
14	46 / 1992	Female	English Teacher / Jersey	São Roque do Faial	Coffee Shop
15	36 / 1997	Male	Business owner / Jersey	Machico	Coffee Shop
16	54 / 1987	Male	Restaurant Manager / Jersey	Santa Cruz	Jersey Library
17	63 / 1976	Male	Businessman / Jersey	Funchal	Interviewee's Coffee Shop
18	34 / 2005	Male	Retail Manager / Jersey	Caniçal	Coffee Shop
19	34 / 2005	Male	Businessman / Madeira	Caniçal	Interviewer's home/Madeira
20	39 / 1995	Female	Florist / Jersey	Caniçal	Interviewee's home
21	39 / 1993	Male	Cleaner / Jersey	Caniçal	Interviewee's home
22	30 / 2006	Female	Shop assistant / Jersey	Caniçal	Coffee Shop
23	30/ 2006	Male	Builder / Jersey	Caniçal	Coffee Shop
24	39 / 1994	Male	Public servant / Jersey	Caniçal	Coffee Shop
25	32 / N/A	Female	Public Servant / Jersey	Born in Jersey	Coffee Shop
26	38 / 2006	Female	Care assistant / Jersey	Caniçal	Coffee Shop
27	N/A	Male	Minister of Emigration and Madeiran Communities / Madeira	Funchal	Ministry office
28	N/A	Male	Press Adviser (Ministry of Madeiran Communities) Madeira	Email interview	N/A

4.1 – Findings from the table

Interpreting the data depicted in table 5.1 reveals some relevant elements. Out of the 28 people interviewed, half of them (thirteen in total) came to Jersey in the 1990's. Three people arrived in the 1970's, one person came in the 1980's and seven people between 2000 and 2009. Lastly, one person arrived in 2012. These numbers support the Jersey emigration statistics which state that the number of Portuguese immigrants was particularly strong during the 1990's, the decade that more Portuguese migrated to Jersey.

In terms of gender, eighteen of the interviewees were women and ten were men. This could be justified by the fact that I am a woman and most of my Facebook contacts of people who were living in Jersey were of women. Most of the people interviewed worked in the retail and hospitality sector, four people were business owners, two people were public servants, one person was a builder, one person was an English teacher, and one person was a financial clerk. Out of the 28 interviews, twenty of them were done in coffee shops suggested by the interviewees. Four people invited me to do the interviews in their home and one interview took place at my family home in Madeira. The interview that I did with the minister in charge of emigration and diaspora issues was in his office in Funchal, the capital of Madeira. Before the interview with the minister took place, I was in contact with his press adviser – Mr Sancho Gomes – who also kindly answered some questions by email, providing me with some background information.

Figure 4.1: Age breakdown of participants (in decades)



Most of the participants were in their thirties, four were in their forties, three were in their fifties, one was in their sixties, and the youngest person interviewed was 25 years old. This group came from five different counties in Madeira: Funchal, Machico, Câmara de Lobos, Santana, and Santa Cruz. Thirteen people were from the village of Caniçal, which represents half of the sample. I am also from this village in Madeira. This could be justified by the fact that I had their contacts, and they were the first people to be approached and to accept to be part of the study. One person was born in France and lived in Venezuela before moving to Jersey and one person was born in South Africa. In both cases they were descendants from Portuguese families originally from Madeira, that migrated to Venezuela and South Africa, destinations that hold significant emigrant communities from Madeira. This ties in with the theoretical discussion where I explained Madeira migration trends and the popularity of destinations like Venezuela and South Africa, in the 1960's and the 1970's, using the studies of authors like Glaser (2012) and De Oliveira (1997). Finally, one person was born in Jersey from Portuguese parents and married someone originally from Madeira.

Out of curiosity, seven of the participants had the same surname but they were not family related. This is an important clarification because it means that I have tried to speak to as many people as possible, that were unrelated, to understand if their life stories and mobility experiences were vastly different or not so distinct. In addition, six of the participants were married couples, which means that in total three couples were interviewed.

A few months after the interview took place, one of the participants (19) returned to Madeira and was trying a new business venture with the intention of settling in Madeira. Another participant emigrated to Miami and was trying to settle in the USA. However, after some time this person ended up returning to Jersey. I was in touch with most of the participants by mobile phone and through Facebook until the end of this research journey (22 out of the 28 participants). My aim was to continue to have access to updated information related to their settlement and place of living.

4.1.1 – Collecting primary data in Jersey

During the two weeks that I spent in Jersey in May 2015, I made notes and observations that have helped me to understand the Madeiran community and their environment in Jersey. While walking in St. Helier, I saw there are many Portuguese-named shops, mainly cafes and supermarkets, and the lifestyle in Jersey is somewhat like the lifestyle people have in Madeira,

i.e., living by the sea on a small island, although much smaller than Madeira, without having to spend time in long commutes.

The hotel where I stayed is owned by a Madeiran from Santa Cruz and one staff member told me that 90% of the staff were from Madeira. On many occasions, I felt that I was in Madeira, because of so many people speaking Portuguese in the streets of Jersey; there are some Portuguese shops named after Portuguese football teams. While I was visiting St. Helier library to check the population and migration statistics, I saw that the library has a section with books in Portuguese and it also receives some Portuguese newspapers.

Statistics reveal that the Portuguese are still arriving in Jersey due to the more difficult economic situation in Madeira. The efforts to create an easier settlement are not only made by Madeirans. I was made aware of a local priest named Nicholas, who has helped the Portuguese community a lot and learned the Portuguese language to be able to celebrate mass in Portuguese to the Madeiran diaspora. He also provided a space for the Madeiran folkloric group to meet and have their rehearsals. Tololyan (2012) describes diasporas as a group dispersion to acquire education, jobs, land, settlements, or a combination of these which can be related to this group of Madeirans that were mainly looking for jobs and settlements.

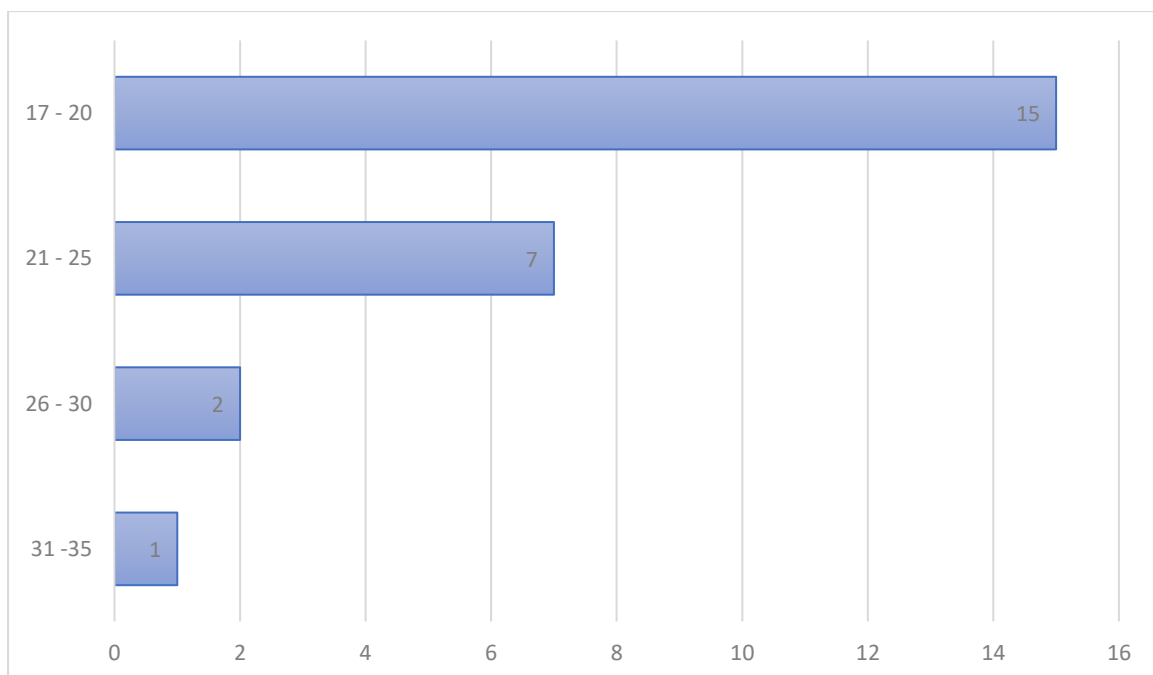


Figure 4.2: Age of participants when they emigrated

4.2 – Age of the participants when they came to Jersey

Most of the participants – fifteen to be exact – decided to leave Madeira and travel to Jersey when they were between seventeen and twenty years of age. Six were eighteen and four were nineteen years of age. Three participants came to Jersey when they were twenty and two of the participants were seventeen years of age. Seven people were between 21 and 25 years of age, of these four came to Jersey when they were 24 years of age. The eldest person to arrive in Jersey was 33 years old. This information shows that this group emigrated from Madeira when they were young and looking to start a new chapter in their life. The findings also revealed that they either did not finish secondary school or had concluded secondary school and decided to emigrate in the following year. What this information also indicates is that this group of people did not have much formal education and were expecting to find low skilled jobs in Jersey.

4.3 – Reasons for emigration to Jersey

The curiosity to live in a different environment, the sense of adventure and the ambition to improve their living standards are points mentioned by many of the interviewees as reasons that brought them to Jersey. The difficult economic situation of some of the people interviewed (eight in total), together with the limited prospects the island of Madeira would offer in terms of jobs and professional growth, are some of the main reasons that convinced Madeirans to see Jersey as a viable destination to possibly settle and to improve their economic situation.

The need for a change is what brought participant 24 to Jersey in 1994. He came with a friend to work on a farm and while in Jersey he met his future wife. Then he returned to Madeira after a few months, to attend compulsory military service. Love is what made him come back to the island. He said:

I was working in a factory in Madeira, and I think I could stay there for a long time. I was also offered a job as a prison guard in Madeira. I did not come to Jersey because I did not have job opportunities in Madeira. I returned, in 1997, because I met my now wife and wanted to be with her.

The first year was difficult, the work on the farm was hard and they had to work many hours every day, in the cold and under a lot of pressure. However, after some time participant 24 saw that he could cope with the pressure and enjoyed the freedom he had in Jersey. He stated:

After work I could go out with my friends. I was seventeen years old and in Madeira my mother was very restrictive, she would not allow me to go out in the evening. I enjoyed my freedom in Jersey.

Participant 2 is from the village of Estreito de Câmara de Lobos and had been married for two weeks when she arrived in Jersey for the first time, in 1999. She came to join her sister who lived on the island. Although she intended to stay for a while, she returned to Madeira after two months to take care of her sick mother. In 2001, she returned to Jersey with her husband to start a new life and to look for a job. She saw Jersey as the beginning of a new chapter in her life. A similar situation brought participant 13 to Jersey, in 2000. She had recently married and wanted to emigrate to leave her parents' house. She was eighteen years old and although she could not speak English, she found a job in a café a day after arriving. A few years later, two of her sisters came to Jersey as well, which helped her with her integration on the island. Participant 5 also came to Jersey in 1998 with a sense of adventure. She knew the living standards were higher when compared to her homeland and it was easier to save money. She said:

Before I came to Jersey I worked in a factory in my village. At the time I earned 300 euros a month, but I was single and had no responsibilities. I was living with my parents, and it was enough for me. I stayed in Jersey from 1998 to 2000. I think life in Jersey is like Madeira because it is a small island. Then I went to live in Bristol with my then partner, because he needed a medical treatment. After our relationship ended, I felt it made no sense to stay in Bristol by myself with all the expenses. I lived in Bristol from 2001 to 2003. Then I returned to Madeira, but I came back to Bristol in 2004 and lived there until 2008. Meanwhile, my youngest sister went to live in Jersey, and I felt it would be better if we were together. So, I moved to Jersey again and have been here since.

Participant 5 considers that although the cost of living in Jersey is expensive, the salaries compensate and it is enough to pay the rent, bills, go on holidays with the family and save money. However, she admits that emigrating and leaving the family and ageing parents behind is not an easy decision. Her current motivation to continue to stay in Jersey are her children

and thinking about their future, in terms of jobs and education. The fact that during the 1990's many people left Madeira to emigrate to Jersey had also an influence on other citizens who were thinking about that possibility. This was the case of participant 15, from the city of Machico, who came to Jersey in 1997 moved by curiosity and desire to have a better life. While in Madeira, he saw emigrants returning from Jersey with expensive cars and owning good houses in Madeira, which made him think that life could be easier in the Channel Island. He explained:

At first it was curiosity. I had work in Madeira, but I also had family in Jersey. My father had worked in Jersey many years before, in a farm. He did not like Jersey, his accommodation was terrible back then. I came to work in a hotel and then moved to other jobs. It has been an interesting experience so far, and I intend to continue living in Jersey.

Curiosity and a lack of maturity was also what motivated participant 1 to come to Jersey in 1976. A friend that was visiting Madeira asked her if she wanted to come to Jersey to work and she agreed without thinking about the consequences. When she arrived in Jersey, she regretted her decision immediately and wanted to return to Madeira as soon as she could. However, first she had to work and earn enough money to pay for the return flight ticket. Meanwhile, she met her future husband in the same hotel she was working in and ended up staying in Jersey until today.

Besides the sense of adventure and curiosity, there are people who migrate because they want to learn about other cultures and languages. That was the case of participant 16, from the city of Santa Cruz in Madeira. He said:

The first time I came to Jersey was to learn English. I worked in the hospitality industry in Madeira and used to serve many British and American tourists. For that reason, I wanted to learn English. I had a good job in Madeira but since I had a colleague working in Jersey, I asked for his help. I came and worked for nine months and then went back to Madeira, this was the time we had work permits and were forced to return after a few months. I did not like Jersey very much and told my family I would not return to Jersey. After that, my colleague used to call me very often to convince me to return to Jersey. I said I was not interested but he ended up convincing me. I have been in Jersey since 1987".

Participant 16 was 27 years old when he arrived the first time and continued to work in the hospitality industry in Jersey. Today he is a restaurant manager. After some time, the emigrant confessed that he started to like Jersey, his English improved and he met new friends which helped him settle, integrate and appreciate the way of life.

A similar story was shared by participant 18, from the village of Caniçal. He came to Jersey for the first time in 2005 when he was 24 years old. He worked for six months and then returned to Madeira but decided to return to Jersey again in 2007. He said:

The first time I came I worked in a hotel but in terms of salary it was not what I was thinking. It was enough to pay expenses but not to save. When I came back in 2007, I tried to get a better job. I wanted a new adventure, to know another culture and I could always go back to Madeira if I wanted.

Participant 1 came to Jersey in 1976 and said that her decision was motivated by her lack of maturity and a friend's invitation. She explained:

I was eighteen years old and a friend who was in Jersey came to Madeira and asked me if I wanted to come to Jersey to work. I was very innocent at the time and said that if my mother allowed me to go, I would go. My mother said yes, and I came. I did not know what it was, I did not think well. When I landed at Jersey airport, I started to cry that I want to go back. The reality was very different back in 1976. There were not many Portuguese in Jersey, we had no one to support us, if we had a difficulty we had to conform. I felt very lonely and did not speak the language well, just a few words. I decided that I would stay long enough just to earn the money to pay for the return trip to Madeira. Then I met my future husband.

To sum up, what these testimonies reveal is that some of these migrants had a relatively stable life in Madeira, as many already had jobs, but they were curious to find out what Jersey could offer to them. They were influenced by other Madeirans or other family members that had come to Jersey before and were doing well. They also were curious to find out how it was to live in another country and the expectation that they could gain more skills, their lives would improve, and they could grow professionally.

The answers obtained from the interviews also show that it was not because this group of people was unemployed that they felt the need to emigrate. Out of the 26 people that live in Jersey and were interviewed, only five of them were unemployed when they decided to leave Madeira.

This means that most of them had jobs in Madeira, but the main issues were that the salaries were low, professional growth was limited and their living standards in Madeira were also low.

4.3.1 – Economic difficulties in Madeira

Economic difficulties are also a reason pointed out by some of the people interviewed. This was the case of participant 19; it was a failed business venture that brought him to Jersey in 2005. The fact he had some debts in Madeira made him feel the need to emigrate and to earn money in order to pay his debts. He stated:

I had two shops in Madeira which I had to close as I had debts to suppliers. I did not expect to stay in Jersey for this long, but it has been ten years already. My beginning was quite difficult, the lack of comfort in terms of accommodation was difficult to bear. I did not like sharing a home and a bathroom with strangers. I did not even know it was possible to call a room a house, where you sleep and cook. It was quite a common situation in Jersey.

Economic difficulties were also what brought participant 4 to Jersey. But first a professional challenge took her from Madeira to the Azores islands, where she lived for seven years. She then met her future husband in the Azores, settled, bought a house, and had a daughter. After some time, they found themselves without jobs and ended up losing their property. They arrived in Jersey in 2012. She clarified:

My life has taken a turn. I had a sister in Jersey, and we decided to start a new life here, but it has not been easy. I prefer the lifestyle in Madeira and the Azores. My sister helped us in the beginning but in terms of work it has been hard. I have extensive sales experience but cannot use it here because of my level of English and because if you live in Jersey for less than five years, you cannot apply for certain jobs. When I arrived, I found out that I was pregnant, and it was an issue because I did not have access to the public health services. I had to pay for everything because you are not entitled to it if you have been in Jersey for less than six months. The reason I am here is because I do not want my children to grow up separated from their father. Otherwise, if I had no children, I would keep the last job I had in Madeira and my husband would continue working in Jersey.

For participant 11, who was 54 years old at the time the interview was made, her personal economic situation was also the main reason she left Madeira in 1991. She said:

I heard that in Jersey we earned better salaries and life in Madeira was more difficult. Since we already had two children, we felt the need to come because salaries in Madeira were low. I was 24 years old when I arrived.

Participant 3 also came to Jersey when she was twenty years old, in 1995. After finishing high school in Madeira, she worked in the hotel business for three years, but the low salaries did not motivate her to continue there. She said:

I wanted to change my life, there were not many jobs in Madeira. But moving to Jersey was not easy, the first three months were hard. I came with my then boyfriend who is now my husband. It was difficult to adapt to this new reality, the weather, etc. Salaries in Jersey were not as high as we thought and we had many responsibilities, pay rent, bills etc. After two years in Jersey, we decided to get married in Madeira.

As for participant 7, she has no doubts that the reasons that brought her to Jersey are like so many other Madeiran emigrants i. e. economic. She added:

I think that the main reason is the same for everyone, to look for a better life, a more comfortable life that we did not have in Madeira. I was studying but had to quit school due to economic difficulties. I started working in a sewing factory and stayed there for five years, until it closed. After that, I worked in a bar for three months but did not like the experience. Since I had a close friend in Jersey I decided to come. She told me she would find me a job. I left Madeira in 1997, when I was twenty years old. I thought I would be here for one season, for a few months, but eighteen years have passed, and my season is not yet over.

For the young couple participants 22 and 23 – who arrived in Jersey in 2006 – finding a better job and making more money was also their main motivation. They married young and had jobs that did not pay very well. Their cousin that was living in Jersey suggested they should try their luck, with her support. Participant 22 explained:

Many people that were living in Jersey said it was a good place to settle. My husband was working in construction in Madeira, and I was in a factory. He continues to work in construction, in fact he is working in the same company since we arrived in 2006. I had different jobs, mostly in cleaning and in retail. We have more independence in Jersey and more privacy. We rent a place, but it is our space, we are not living in our extended family home.

With little formal schooling and being from a numerous family of ten children in total, participant 12 saw in emigration a solution to improve her life and economic condition. She is from the capital of Madeira, Funchal, and arrived in Jersey in 1977. She explained:

I had great friends living in Jersey. I had no job in Madeira and thought I should try. Back in the 1970's, Jersey was a very different place, very dark, not many Portuguese were living here. I was nineteen years old. I had never worked outside my family home. To be honest, I do not even know how my father allowed me to come because he was a very traditional man. Back then, Jersey had a strong tourism industry, there were so many hotels. I believe those were the golden years of tourism in Jersey. Emigrants did not have much freedom, there were restrictions. Unmarried couples could not come and if a woman became pregnant, she would have to return to Madeira. Even if a married woman became pregnant, she would have a hard time because they did not want to rent houses to couples who had children. It was a very different reality.

Participant 17 was also attracted to Jersey because of the higher salaries and a job offer made by a friend. After returning from the colonial war in Angola, his aim was to live in Madeira and to start a job as a bus driver. However, the temptation of earning a better salary made him travel to Jersey in 1976. He explained:

Before going to Angola, in 1973, I had never travelled outside Madeira. I came to Jersey with my wife and the plan was to stay for four years. But then we started to like Jersey. I was lucky to work in a prestigious hotel, where I gained better and learned specialised tasks. I was quickly promoted, and the money made up for my absence in Madeira. Later, I bought some properties and had different businesses in Jersey.

For participant 14, work instability in Madeira was the main reason that brought her to the island. In Madeira she worked in restaurants and supermarkets but always had precarious work contracts. She added:

Me and my husband decided to come because we had cousins living in Jersey. We thought it would give us more security to come to a place where we had family. My father was also an emigrant in Jersey when I was a child, for two seasons. He came alone and me, my mother and other four siblings stayed in Madeira, I am the eldest daughter. In 1992, we came with a work contract and me and my husband worked in different sides of the island, we lived apart for a while.

4.3.2 – Unfulfilled dreams in Madeira

Other emigrants like participants 26 and 10 expressed their frustration with their situation in Madeira as one of the reasons to emigrate to Jersey. Participant 26 was the person with the highest qualifications from my sample. She has a degree in Geography from the University of Coimbra and wanted to be a teacher. However, she could not find a job in her area of study. She explained:

After completing my degree, I thought I would have the opportunity to do what I wanted but unfortunately, I could not find a job. Since I had two sisters working in Jersey, I decided to come and work while I could not find a teaching placement in Madeira. My sisters had been in Jersey for quite some time. Also, while I was studying in Coimbra, I used to come to Jersey during summer to work and earn some money to help me in my studies. Therefore, I knew what to expect and came to Jersey in 2006.

Participant 10 also came to Jersey in search of more opportunities and a new adventure. She was nineteen years old and arrived in 1997. She added:

I was finishing high school in Madeira and wanted to go to university and do a degree. But my parents could not afford to pay for my studies, and I felt frustrated. I had a great desire to study. Then I married my then boyfriend when I was nineteen years old, and we decided to start a new chapter of our lives in Jersey. I wanted to leave Madeira, to discover a new world and reality.

The intention of the young couple was to stay in Jersey for some time to earn money and then return to Madeira to do a big traditional wedding. However, after the first year in Jersey the situation in Madeira changed. Their friends and family in Madeira would not encourage them to return because jobs were scarce. They postponed the wedding and became more integrated in Jersey's lifestyle; they then bought a car and went to Madeira on holidays. For participants 20 and 21, a married couple, the main reasons they came to Jersey were family and love. Participant 21's parents had gone to Jersey when he was a toddler and worked in the island for more than 20 years. As they had no right to bring their children to Jersey, as soon as they had the legal age to work, they joined their parents and participant 21 – being the youngest – was the last one to join the clan. He said:

I lived with my grandparents most of my life, my parents had been in Jersey for many years. At the time, they were not allowed to bring children to Jersey. My brothers came

to work, and I wanted to come as well. But after two years I was tired of Jersey. I was two years old when my parents came to Jersey.

Participant 20 said:

I came to Jersey because of him, I was also tired of Madeira. There was not much to do, I was out of work and had little formal education. My sister was living in Jersey, and I could go to work in the hotel where she worked. But I decided I wanted to work in the farm to stay with my boyfriend. It was a very hard life, we worked from 7 am to 8 pm every day, picking up tomatoes. I was not used to it, in Madeira life was easy, I did not have much pressure. But it paid off because we could save a lot of money, we did not pay for accommodation. I worked in the farm for four or five years and meanwhile we got married.

Love was also the reason that brought participant 9 to Jersey in 2007, when she was eighteen years old. The fact that she had finished an accounting course and could not find a job in the area was also relevant. However, it was the fact that her ex-boyfriend had an aunt in Jersey and wanted to try a new life that made her decide to go as well. She clarified:

I returned to Madeira after some time when the relationship ended. I worked in a restaurant for one year and then decided to return to Jersey. I did not see many opportunities in Madeira and felt that I had learned so much during the time I was in Jersey, it made me grow on so many levels. Also, my ex-boss from Jersey called me saying that he needed me and if I wanted to return. In Madeira I had no work contract in the restaurant. Another aspect was also the fact that I got used to having my space and freedom, and it was hard to go back to my parent's house.

4.4 – Transnational stories of migration

There are also emigrants in Jersey that came from other emigrant communities, as is the case of participants 7 and 8. Participant 7 was born in France from Portuguese / Madeiran parents who were settled in Venezuela. She moved to Jersey in 1999, out of economic necessity and after being advised by her stepfather. She explained:

My stepfather had been in Jersey for one season and made good money. He worked in the hotel industry. He gave me positive feedback about his experience. He told me there were a lot of people from Madeira and many acquaintances and it was not difficult to find a job. Since the situation in Venezuela was not good and I was a single mother, I decided to come. I needed to organise my life. I was nineteen years old and arrived in 1999.

As for Participant 8, she was born in South Africa and both her parents are from Madeira. In the 1990's, due to the unstable political situation in the country, the problems of violence and racism, she and her husband decided to go to Madeira and tried to be settled there. However, it was not as easy as they had anticipated. She added:

During my childhood, I lived between South Africa and Madeira. Between the age of two and eleven years old I was in Madeira. Then my parents went to South Africa, and I lived there until I was 22 years old. I married with a Madeiran man when I was seventeen. Although my husband was from Madeira, he did not adapt well when we decided to return. He was a fisherman in South Africa and came to Madeira to do the same job. However, in Madeira they stay away in the sea for about three months, and he did not like that. In South Africa, he would be away for one or two weeks. Our daughter was a toddler and he wanted to find a job that would allow him to be with the family every day. We lived in Madeira for one year, but we felt that life was difficult. We had been away in South Africa for a long time and things had changed, we did not adapt well. Also, I could not find a job in Madeira, and we wanted to earn money to have our own house, at the time we were living in my mother-in-law's house. Since my husband had a sister in Jersey, we decided to emigrate to Jersey. She told us she would help us find a job.

These two cases are examples of transnational migration to Jersey. Both Venezuela and South Africa are destinations with very representative Madeiran emigrant communities. When these countries are affected by political and economic turmoil, the emigrant communities took advantage of the fact that they had European passports to find solutions for their lives. As a result, they sometimes migrated to countries or regions where they have other family members living as was the case in Jersey. This shows that family support is key to help in their settlement and integration. I know that there are other examples of Portuguese who lived in Venezuela and South Africa and have moved to Jersey, although they were not part of the sample.

Participant 1, who arrived in Jersey in 1976, also mentioned that her daughter was born in Jersey, studied for a degree in Business Management in Leeds and went to Spain for a work experience. Later, she ended up settling in Madrid, is now married and has a family.

4.4.1 – Migration to Jersey

The analysis of the findings illustrates the reasons that brought this group of emigrants to Jersey. It is evident that their economic situation in Madeira was a major factor in their decision to leave the island. Just over 42% of the participants mentioned that the decision to emigrate was out of economic necessity, as was specifically said by participants 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17, 19, 22 and 23. Their testimonies reveal that they were not happy with their earnings in Madeira due to salaries being low. They did not feel that their professional situation could improve in the future, as opportunities were scarce in their homeland. They also mentioned failed business ventures, having debts to pay, low salaries and a precarious job market. This group of emigrants did not believe the economic situation in Madeira would improve significantly in the years ahead.

Another relevant aspect is the fact that 42% of the participants came to Jersey as couples or partners, shortly after marrying or with the intention of marrying in a near future. They were young couples with a sense of adventure, who saw Jersey as the start of a new chapter in their lives and as a place where they could earn enough money to put aside some savings to buy or build their dream house in Madeira. This was the case for participants 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22 and 23. A few of them had small children to support while others were just starting their married life. Out of the 26 people interviewed 61% were in this situation. At the time the interviews were done, half of the participants had already achieved their dream of building or buying a house in the homeland.

Other reasons mentioned as motivators were a sense of curiosity, the need for a change, to have more freedom and to learn about other cultures. Some participants were influenced by other Madeirans that were already in Jersey and gave them positive feedback about their experience. They were also impacted by the fact that those emigrants that came before had managed to build good houses in Madeira and would drive expensive cars, showing that Jersey was a place of opportunities. This idea of being influenced by other countrymen is not new and was also explored by the study of Tsolidis (2011). As a result of globalisation and of living in a world connected through technology, people feel stimulated to move across borders. Van Mol (2017)

also discussed how previous migrants could influence the perceptions of potential migrants about a particular region, and a culture of migration can be built in some communities.

There were cases when a move to Jersey was not definitive and some participants went back to Madeira, after some time, to then decide to return to Jersey. They realised that it was in Jersey that they wish to continue to live, also because in Madeira they did not find the work stability that they expected. What I could conclude is that those participants were in a position where they could compare what Jersey and Madeira had to offer. This was the case for 30% of the participants (2, 5, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18 and 24). Green's study (2010) reveals that migrants may wish to leave their homeland to escape family roots and search for more freedom and independence. Transnational mobility means that family members will live in different places which will force cross-border experiences, speaking several languages and having homes in two countries. These ideas were supported by the work of Halolovich (2012), when discussing the modern nature of transnational mobility, which allows diasporas to have identities that are not static but a work in progress.

For 21 of the participants, Jersey was their first migration experience. They had never lived or worked outside Madeira. It is also relevant to note that this is not a surprising outcome because many participants came to Jersey when they were very young. There was a case of a migrant who spent some time in Angola, fighting during the colonial war, and of two migrants who were born in Venezuela and South Africa to Portuguese parents, and later in life ended up moving to Jersey. There was also one migrant who moved to the island of São Miguel-Azores to work and settle but later ended up moving to Jersey with her family. For some of the participants, when they moved to Jersey it was also the first time they travelled abroad. In conclusion, for the majority in the group Jersey is the only migration experience they had; they never lived or worked elsewhere besides Madeira and Jersey.

Finally, an important aspect is the fact that most of the people interviewed had a low level of education and were not motivated to study in Madeira or could not afford to study. They were doing jobs in Madeira that did not require specialised knowledge and did not pay good salaries. Most of the participants did not conclude secondary education and had no specialised skills when they arrived in Jersey. As a result, that is shown by their professional reality because they are doing jobs in Jersey which do not require advanced skills, mostly in retail, cleaning, and hospitality businesses or in agriculture. However, some of them have studied in Jersey and concluded qualifications that were relevant to the careers they now follow. Also, in terms of

satisfaction most of them are happy with their work reality and with what they have achieved, since their lives have improved, and they reached the economic stability that they wanted. Their perception was that if they stayed in Madeira, they would be tied up to jobs that would most probably only pay minimum wages and their living conditions would not improve. With the move to Jersey, they improved their economic situation, created a comfortable life, amassed savings, were able to provide financial assistance to family members in Madeira, have bought properties in Madeira or Jersey and can provide for their kids' necessities, without being worried that their salaries would not be enough to cover their monthly expenses. They went from being low-income to middle-income families, and there are some cases of Madeirans who built businesses in Jersey and in Madeira and are well off.

4.5 – The challenges of settling in Jersey

An analysis of the stories of emigration shared by the group of Madeirans that I interviewed shows that there are different experiences and somehow they are more traumatic for the immigrants that arrived in Jersey in the 1970's when compared to the immigration of the last ten or twenty years. Back in the 1970's, laws of immigration were very restrictive to workers. They needed a work permit to be able to work, were doing mostly seasonal jobs and were not allowed to look for a different job if they had come to Jersey to do a specific type of job. Also, children were not welcome and there were situations where immigrants had difficulties in renting a house because they did not want to rent houses to immigrant couples with young children. For that reason, many couples would leave their children in Madeira with other family members. I do remember that when I was in primary school in Madeira, in the village of Caniçal, back in the 1980's, several of my colleagues were being raised by their aunts or grandparents because their parents were in Jersey working in seasonal jobs. Vickers (2019) reflects on the limits imposed by governments related to the length of stay and a forced mobility, as well as the presence or absence of family, visa requirements and restrictions on access to public funding.

Participant 1 had a somehow dramatic start in Jersey. She stated that her decision to come was not well planned and she started crying when she landed in the island in 1976. In the beginning, the Portuguese community was much smaller, and isolation and loneliness were part of her routine. The attitude towards immigrants was also very different back then, where they had less

rights and many restrictions. Sometimes women were asked to leave the island because they had a baby and if they were single mothers they would have to leave. As time passed, they became acquainted with their new reality, their children grew up in Jersey and they settled. She said:

I have been in Jersey longer than I lived in Madeira. I cannot forget my roots, but this is where I belong now, I have a house and a garden here and my kids were born in Jersey. My daughter studied at Leeds University and now lives in Spain. My son has settled in Jersey and works in IT. I like getting involved in the Portuguese community events, especially the religious festivities, and I also visit Madeira when I can.

The difficulties of settling in Jersey have also been explained by participant 3 when she said that the first three months were difficult to bear. Life was so different when compared to Madeira. Besides the language barriers and the harsh winters, the cultural differences were also a challenge that was slowly overcome. Nowadays she feels integrated and very comfortable in the island. Some of those difficulties were also shared by participant 12, who arrived in 1977. The weather was very cold, the Portuguese community was small, and she missed her family dearly. She also faced language barriers and promised to herself that she would learn the language. Nowadays, she feels integrated in Jersey and said it is the place where she built her life, had her children, and bought a house. Yet, she feels sorry that the community is not so united. She said:

There is certain envy between people because some are well off. But that is due to hard work. Jersey has given many opportunities to people. I like participating in some of the events organised by the Portuguese. I am involved in the Madeiran folkloric group, and I also sing in the church choir. I am very proud of my heritage and my children also speak and write Portuguese well, but I also like Jersey a lot, I like the fact that it is a small island, and it is easy and quick to go everywhere, like in Madeira. I would not want to live in a big city.

Participant 11 also mentioned that her beginning in Jersey was not easy. She and her husband left their two children in Madeira to work on a farm in Jersey. She said:

It was a very hard job. We worked for two months to plant potatoes, then we would go back to Madeira and come back after a few months to harvest the potatoes. We had a work contract with a permit which meant we had to come and go back, according to the seasons. I worked in the farm for ten years, from January to October. Then we

decided to bring our children from Madeira, and I had to change jobs, to be able to do the school run. My husband continued working in the farm, we also lived there but I found a job in a hotel. After that, I worked in several hotels. Then I started working on my own, cleaning houses. Now I work in a restaurant and clean offices in the evening.

Participant 6 has also mentioned the difficulties of the first few months in Jersey. In some respects, her expectations were not met. She added:

I found it very difficult in the first year. One imagines something and it is completely different. The conditions in terms of accommodation are not the best, at first, we needed to rent a room, share a bathroom with strangers, it is not so easy. Also, being away from friends and family is hard. Everybody is working and we only see our friends from time to time. I did not speak the language and was living alone; it was very difficult. However, I was lucky that I worked in hotels in the beginning.

Other immigrants continue to feel much attached to their homeland. Participant 14 stated that when she arrived in Jersey with her husband in 1992, they had to live separately because they were working on different parts of the island. Her husband was working on a farm, and she worked in a guest house and later in the fruit market. She said:

Even today I do not like Jersey, but I adapted. I do not think I will ever like living here but I needed to work and had to stay. I live my life and try not to create conflicts. It was difficult to integrate, some Portuguese who have been in Jersey for a long time think it is fine to exploit those who came later. I went through that experience in the beginning.

Some of the difficulties of living in Jersey are related to the fact that life can be stressful because people work long hours. Participant 5 also mentioned the difficulty of having ageing parents in Madeira and the living costs being so high. However, they must conform for the future of their children, because salaries are higher and allow them to give better living conditions to their children and to provide them with a better education. This participant lived between Jersey and Bristol and ended up opting for Jersey to be closer to a sister. She also felt lonely in Bristol and thought it would be easier to meet a Portuguese companion in Jersey. She ended up finding a partner and married and feels integrated in Jersey. Yet, they did not have the intention of buying a house in Jersey, especially her husband. They have the dream of buying or building a good house in Madeira. Participant 20 shared some ideas about the difficulties that emigrants felt in the beginning. She said:

When many people were working in farms, some of them were struggling. People worked hard and wanted to save as much as possible. You did not see many Madeirans with good cars or quality furniture at home. All the money they saved would be sent to Madeira because they were poor. Nowadays people have a different mentality, they buy houses and good cars, they go out for a meal, their lives have improved, and they are not so worried about sending money to Madeira.

It is evident that the adaptation to Jersey was more difficult for people who came as single and for the groups of immigrants who came to Jersey first, when the Madeiran community was small and there was little or no support from other countrymen. When couples came together their integration was much easier and the same could be applied to the people who met a partner in Jersey after some time, as was the case of participants 1 and 12. After they found a partner their adaptation to Jersey was easier and they are now well integrated.

4.5.1 – A lack of unity and support between Madeirans

A point mentioned by several of the interviewees is that the Madeiran community is not united. Although they are hard-working and praised by their local employees, they do not help each other. Participant 24 mentioned that there was a football club a few years back that would bring people together to play football. In the first few years in Jersey, the participant would spend more time with his friends from Madeira and they used to go to Portuguese coffee shops to watch football games. However, since he has the Portuguese TV channels at home, he does not go to the coffee shops anymore. He added:

I work at Jersey Water with my father-in-law and my brother. Apart from my wife and daughter, these are the people I spend most of my time with.

Participant 14 mentioned the fact that the Madeiran community is large, and the vast majority are very hard working. For many years, she oversaw a choral group in the church and was part of the committee of twin cities between St. Helier and Funchal. But there are always conflicts between Madeirans which do not allow more initiatives to grow. The community is not very organised, and much more could be done, like poetry readings and events related to the Portuguese language. Participant 7 also stated that the community should be more united and supportive of each other. She said:

I helped seven couples to come to the island, in terms of work as well as accommodation. I help without wanting anything in return; I guess I am a naturally generous person.

Participant 5 said:

Unfortunately, people from Madeira are not united; there is a lot of gossip and not much of a support network.

The experience as a volunteer police officer gave Participant 15 some help in terms of his integration. This phase helped him to understand British culture and to know more about the law. In the beginning, homesickness was the main problem as well as the adaptation to the food and weather. But after marrying and having a daughter in Jersey, the participant states that he feels settled and has no intentions of returning to Madeira. His job stability and the fact that the island is safe are what he considers to be some of its strengths. The opportunity to learn and know people from different backgrounds was also an advantage. As for the Madeiran community, a few issues were a cause for concern for the Participant. He added:

The community could do more stuff together. For some reason, people who are better established and have good jobs often ignore those who have more modest jobs. A good example of what we can do is the folkloric group where I participate. We started in 2009 and received support from the Bailiff of Jersey. I wish Madeirans were more united, but I am not saying they are disunited.

There are other similar opinions. For example, Participant 2 said:

Madeirans are self-centred and do not help others much. They are not very united and act more individualistically.

Participant 13 added:

There should be more projects, events, and meetings to talk about community problems. We could do more by being united and organised. I would like to see more involvement of the community. We should help each other.

The relationship between locals and Madeirans has been more difficult in the past. When there were assaults or robberies, the local press would often say that the perpetrator had a Portuguese appearance. The initial immigrants were also labelled as poorly educated and unable to speak English when compared to the more recent Polish community. Participant 15 believes the

image of the community has improved and many are better educated. Participant 16 has a similar opinion, explaining that Madeirans are very focused on working, earning money and their individual goals. He said:

We could have a Portuguese centre but there is no will to do it, people think about work and money all the time. I usually participate in the Food Festival in August, but apart from that nothing much happens. I feel well settled in Jersey and have good friends here, but when I came to Jersey there was a lot of racism, they treated us badly, like servants. Now it is better, and it is also easier to be an immigrant. You can find all kind of Portuguese products in supermarkets and many restaurants serve Portuguese food. What I like about Jersey is that there is less corruption than in Madeira, it is a more balanced and just society.

In relation to racism, Participant 17 has a different opinion. He stated:

I think if we leave our homeland, we must adapt to the environment where we are. Those who do not like Jersey should return to Madeira. I have always been very well received, I have contacts with local authorities and was a government adviser for eight years, in what relates to issues of the Portuguese community. It was a voluntary role. I never had any problems. Most Madeirans are well integrated and are extremely hard-working people. But unfortunately, Jersey sometimes is a refuge for people fleeing Madeira with problems, both personal and family related, some have also criminal records.

Participant 5 also added:

The Madeiran community is not good to each other. Sometimes I go to events or to the club and when I call my mother in Madeira, the next day, she already knows where I went, with whom I was etc. There is a lot of gossip.

Participant 14 stated that racism is still an issue and emigrants are blamed for everything that goes wrong. Locals continue to see the Portuguese and Polish as their servants and when some emigrants save enough to buy properties in Jersey, there is certain envy from both locals as well as other Portuguese.

Despite the lack of union between Madeirans mentioned by several of the participants, I think it is also important to reflect on the level of support and encouragement given by friends and relatives when people move to Jersey and are trying to settle. Madeirans may not help each other if they do not know the other individual personally. However, friends and family

members do give a lot of support to newcomers, and to their family and friends in general, as was highlighted in several of the interviews. Therefore, this reality of strong emotional and economic support given to their friends and family members, contrasts with the lack of union in general mentioned by other people. I also conclude that this lack of unity is not related to a class issue, because the Madeiran's' background in Jersey was very similar, both in terms of their economic situation and their level of education when they arrived on the island. It continues to be similar as they progressed economically and are now middle-class citizens, with some exceptions of Madeirans who have established businesses and became very wealthy.

The level of support between Madeirans was also evident when some participants mentioned how they were helped by family members, friends, or acquaintances from their homeland, in terms of childcare. In some cases, family members would adapt their work schedules for someone to be always available to take care of the children of extended family. Others would have arrangements with friends and acquaintances that they would babysit for more affordable prices, than those charged in nurseries. They even said they could not afford nurseries and would have to quit working, or return to the homeland, if it was not for these informal arrangements within the Madeiran community. This is evidence of the role that family ties and friendships play in the balance of the daily routines of these migrants.

4.5.2 – Interactions with locals

The testimonies of the participants do mention some tensions between locals and Madeirans. One of the participants said that when he came to Jersey, in the 1980's, Madeirans were treated badly, like servants, they were seen as poorly educated and many did not speak English. With community growth, the interaction with locals became easier. It seems evident that less favourable experiences were more common during the 1970's and 1980's, when workers needed work permits, there were more legal restrictions, and migrant's' children were not welcome to stay in Jersey.

Some participants mentioned that when Madeirans improve their economic conditions and buy houses or open businesses, that is not always viewed favourably by locals; there is a certain envy that migrants are acquiring property and becoming wealthy. Another aspect mentioned was that there were occasions where robberies or incidents happened and the articles in the press would say the perpetrator had a Portuguese appearance. The Portuguese consulate wrote to those publications to remind them there were people from several nationalities living in Jersey.

Other migrants also mentioned that on some occasions they felt like they had been treated differently by locals, in shops and other services. In my own experience of spending time on Jersey, while I was collecting the information, there were two occasions where I felt locals were not particularly helpful or kind, and I did not understand why. On my flight to Jersey, I took the initiative to give up my seat to allow two friends from Jersey to stay next to each other. Apart from the fact that there was no eye contact with me, there was also no acknowledgement of what I did. A few days later, while I was in Jersey library, there was a poster stating Wi-Fi was available and we could ask for the password. I went to a librarian to ask for the password and the lady said that would not be possible. I even repeated what I wanted; in case I was misunderstood. Again, a very unfriendly face told me a password would not be given. A few minutes later, I spoke to another librarian who immediately provided the password, as they do to everybody that attends the library and needs it. When I explained what my purpose in Jersey was, that same second librarian showed me the publications that could be relevant to me and even introduced me to a Madeiran man, who had the habit of coming to the library to read the Portuguese newspaper they have available. The next day, I interviewed that person. On those two occasions, was there a case of me having a Portuguese appearance and, for that reason, being treated differently? Although that is what I felt, it is difficult to be sure. It is about what we feel, and that cannot be measured or easily assessed. Back then, I decided I would not give much importance to those experiences and would instead focus on what had brought me to Jersey.

In conclusion, many of the participants do not feel they were victims of racism in Jersey. They are well integrated and have local friends as well as friends from Madeira. Others have mentioned that many locals appreciate immensely the fact that the Portuguese are so hard working. Some of the participants also highlighted how important it was to integrate into the local society, be open to a new culture and learn the language, to facilitate their daily life. From the content of the interviews, I concluded that the initial difficulties of settling in Jersey were not helped by the lack of proficiency in English of many of the participants. This point was studied by Akresh (2014) as crucial in the process of integration of migrants. I could also understand how the ethnic identity of Madeirans has evolved with the exposure to new values and the culture of the local society, aspects that were studied by Constant et al. (2009).

4.5.3 -Gender related issues

In terms of gender issues, there was a particular situation that was mentioned by some of the participants which affected women that migrated to Jersey from the 1960's until 1986, when Portugal joined the European Union. Authorities in Jersey would not allow women to stay if they fell pregnant. They were asked to return to Madeira, during a period where migrants needed work permits to be able to work for seasons in Jersey. Many would return to Jersey but would leave their babies with a family member in Madeira. It was a discriminatory practice that only affected women.

Although there are many examples of single men and women who migrated to Jersey looking for better opportunities, a reality mentioned by some of the participants – that was also a common practice in the 1980's and 1990's – was the decision of young couples to marry in Madeira before they migrated to Jersey. Even if they did not have a religious ceremony, they would do a civil wedding to be able to travel with their parents' blessing, or for simply gaining their parents' approval to move abroad with a husband or wife. This is related to the fact that Madeiran society was conservative, and some parents did not view well that their daughters would move to another country with a boyfriend, and possibly cohabit with a partner without being married. The expression "*marrying to move to Jersey*" was quite common in the 1980's and 1990's society in Madeira, especially within groups of people from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, with a limited education, and open to a migration experience. The situation was mentioned by nine of the participants as being something they had done. Two of the older participants, who migrated in the 1970's, even mentioned that they were very surprised their parents had allowed them to come to Jersey as single women. But what my findings have also revealed was that Jersey has provided many women with economic independence and a freedom they did not enjoy when they were living in their parents' house in Madeira, simply because professional opportunities were scarce, and they were devoted to domestic chores.

For both men and women, their networks of family and friends in Jersey were a source of opportunities and a fundamental reason to convince them to migrate. My findings showed that there were opportunities for both genders and apart from the issues with pregnant women before 1986, migration processes were similar for both genders. This could be related to the fact that the jobs that were offered to these migrants in Jersey could be done by both genders

and the workforce was needed. On farms, employers liked to hire couples, who would live on the farm and could share accommodation.

4.5.4 - The strategy of the Madeiran government

When I interviewed the minister responsible for migration and the Madeira diaspora, in Funchal, Mr. Sérgio Marques, I enquired about the fact that the community is not very organised and if the government thought it would be important that they were better organised. Mr Marques said that the community should have the freedom to organise or not organise. He stated:

I do not think it is a problematic issue and it always depends on the way each community has integrated in the host country. The need to get together is often associated to the desire to be better integrated. In other countries, where emigration is more recent and qualified, there is no need to create associations. They are people who live less focused on the values they brought from Madeira and who are integrated well. We will have to find other strategies to reach people and to bring the communities from different countries closer together. Also, because there is a certain mobility between communities. For example, with the end of apartheid in South Africa, many Madeirans left South Africa and went to live in Australia.

As I mentioned before, I established contact by email with Mr. Sancho Gomes, the then press adviser of the minister of migration. Before I interviewed the minister in Madeira, I sent some questions by email to Mr. Gomes to which he replied and shared some information that stated they aim to understand the Madeiran diaspora worldwide before setting any policies or support strategies. They wish to go beyond the economic view that migrants will send remittances. Solidarity is also important, and they believe that the future of the diaspora relies on the second and third generation of Madeirans; as for the Madeiran community in the UK, one of the main issues is their lack of political participation and the difficulty of the Madeiran government in knowing where the community lives; the government official stated that many migrants are less involved with the Portuguese community and do not participate in their parties and social gatherings.

To tackle this issue, in the last few years the government started organising an event in Madeira in August that lasts for three days and involves workshops and debates about the Madeiran diaspora and is open to any participants that wish to attend. The government believes it is a useful platform to develop a closer relationship with the diaspora and to understand how they

connect with the homeland and what their difficulties are. The main themes debated are related to the media in the diaspora, the stories that are reported in the local media, entrepreneurship, and culture. McIntyre and Gamlen (2019) have mentioned how governments create engagement policies with their diasporas, not only to answer their requests but also to develop emotional and business connections with migrants and their descendants, and eventually attract investments to the homeland. The authors also reflected on the importance of preserving and spreading the culture and language of the homeland, aspects which were also mentioned by Mr. Gomes about the Madeiran Diasporas worldwide.

From the analysis of the findings in relation to the challenges this group has faced when settling in Jersey, the major difficulties were related to their feelings of isolation and loneliness, the restrictions that were submitted to workers in the 1970's and 1980's, the language barriers, the harsh winters when compared to the balmy weather in Madeira and the cultural differences they encountered. Back then, work permits meant that if someone came to work in a farm, they could only do jobs in farms and could not, for example, decide to work in a hotel instead. Also, work permits meant that their jobs were seasonal. They would have to go back to Madeira for a few months, before being able to return to Jersey for another working season. The reality was harsher when the community was much smaller and there was less of a network of support. Homesickness was also mentioned by some of the participants.

4.6 – Concluding discussion

This chapter has presented the findings regarding the settlement experiences of Madeirans in Jersey. First, I explored the reasons that brought Madeirans to Jersey and the reality of their lives in Madeira, to provide a background that would help in understanding my sample and to answer the question: who are the Madeirans that have settled in Jersey? Then, I examined the challenges they have encountered while trying to settle, discussed how the government of Madeira engages with the diaspora and how important diasporas are for the government.

In the literature review I mentioned Silva (1985) to explain that in the first half of the 20th century, Madeirans used to migrate during the summer months when hotels in the island were closed. During the first decades of the 20th century, Madeira was considered a winter tourism destination and summer was considered the low season. Many Madeirans would migrate to places like Jersey and work in the hospitality sector and they would return to Madeira during

the winter season. Although Madeira is nowadays an all-year destination, and tourists visit the island especially during Spring and Summer, the testimony of Participant 16 could be linked to the reality described in the theoretical discussion and the information shared by Silva (1985). This migrant came to Jersey as a seasonal worker with the intention to improve his English and would return to Madeira after a few months because contracts were seasonal. However, the reality of most of the participants does not fit the situation of seasonality that was seen decades ago, especially when significant groups of migrants came to Jersey in the 1960's and the 1970's, as their stories have confirmed. The migration of the last two decades is not seasonal anymore, Madeira migrants move to Jersey with the intention to find out if their lives can improve for better and are open to the possibility of settling in Jersey. However, although seasonal contracts are not common nowadays, the access to work and public services is restricted to newcomers until they reach the milestone of living on the island for five consecutive years. This means that during the first five years of migration, they can only apply for certain jobs and are sometimes limited to accumulate part-time jobs, as two of the participants have told me. The access to public health services is also only available after they have been living in the island for at least 6 months.

Bastos' (2008) study reviewed earlier, states that emigration has been happening in Madeira for centuries and names the scarcity of land, a rigid social structure, periodic famines, and poverty as the main reasons that made people embark to destinations and accept harsh labour conditions. Glaser (2012) also stated that Madeira has been a mass exporter of human capital through the 20th and the 21st centuries. The reasons for it were related to the population's dependence on fishing and farming small plots, infrastructures being poor, and the fact that industries were almost non-existent. Migrants came from impoverished families mostly in rural Madeira. The study of Almeida and Corkill (2010) about Portuguese emigration in the UK also mentions that their main motivation for emigration is economic; the recession in Portugal since the 2000's and the booming British economy attracted a workforce that was flexible and poorly qualified, and which accepted jobs in factories and in the fields that were not attractive to locals. The links with their families, relatives and friends remain close. I could confirm that many of these aspects could be applied to the Madeirans in Jersey, and this was the situation of many of the participants that I interviewed. Their lack of prospects and challenging economic situation is explained in the testimonies.

One of the main reasons they migrated to Jersey was to improve their lives because many of the participants were people with modest origins, who wanted to find better paid jobs in Jersey.

The findings also revealed that this group was indeed flexible and accepted any type of job available, more so due to their initial poor knowledge of English and limited education. However, the reality of this group of Madeirans is far from what Bastos (2008) and Glaser (2012) described in relation to being in serious poverty and deprivation. In general, their testimonies did not reveal that they were in a desperate situation in Madeira. Most commonly they expressed their enthusiasm with the possibility of living in a different place, where more opportunities could be offered to them and where they could achieve the dream of becoming independent from their parents. They showed enthusiasm with the possibility of living in a different country, to experience new adventures in their lives and of learning about a different culture. In conclusion, although the economic factor cannot be denied, what many of the participants have said was that they were young and found the move to Jersey to be an exciting change in their lives, a new beginning, and an opportunity to enrich their horizons.

The literature review emphasised that migration has always happened and the intensification of the studies on human mobility is a reality because mobility is also a commonplace. New technologies and information systems have become indispensable, allowing instant communication, and assisting in the physical movement of people around the world. People have always moved in search of better lives, but migration patterns shifted from permanent to settlements which are non-permanent, temporary movements of people (Allon et al., 2008) (Cresswell, 2006) (Fassman and Lane, 2009). The example of Madeirans in Jersey confirm that the migration trends are strongly related to their desire to improve their lives and change their economic condition. However, in relation to their settlements it is not totally clear that they are non-permanent and temporary, because many of the participants do not know if they will return to Madeira for good. Some feel that Jersey is now their home, where they wish to permanently live, although they continue to visit Madeira regularly. Therefore, I would challenge this idea that migration patterns are non-permanent and temporary movements of people. Some of the participants in this study may end up moving to Madeira permanently when they retire, but many others are happy to have a permanent settlement in Jersey and visit the homeland regularly, to enjoy what the island has to offer and to visit their family and friends.

The study of Martiniello (2012) in part corroborates the characteristics of the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey. The author explained that the primary migrant is usually a young man or woman in search of temporary work, who intends to return to the homeland after their economic situation improves. The stay could end up being prolonged if they have children. The return to the homeland can therefore become more challenging for the parents. The examples from my

sample reveal that most people came to Jersey at a young age (between seventeen and 25 years of age), with the intention of accumulating savings and returning to the homeland. As they have settled and constituted new families, their desire to return may have been delayed or even abandoned which again shows that their intention to return to their homeland in the future is not certain.

Green (2010) also added to the discussion when mentioning that migration can fulfil a desire to escape the family roots and search for more freedom and independence, this idea was mentioned by Participants 7, 9, 13, 18, 22, 23 and 24. The motivation to move to Jersey was also related to their desire to be away from their families' home and to make decisions about how they intended to live their life. Andrijasevic's (2016) and Fischer-Souan's (2019) studies named the main benefits of migration in the European space as the higher salaries, the development of new skills, career development and work experience, quality of life, and the legal status of migrants. These points were also mentioned by some of the participants of this study, as reasons to convince them that a move to Jersey would be a positive change in their lives. Arpaia et al. (2016) added that mobilities could be an adjustment mechanism in the EU, where migrants seek life solutions and are willing to move to other regions to look for better opportunities. Again, this theory can be applied to the Madeirans in Jersey, as the theoretical discussion (Baldachinno, 2011; Boleat, 2015; Johnson, 2012) and the primary data revealed that they were a much-needed workforce in Jersey.

The findings have allowed me to explore some insights about small island-to-island migration. The answers from the participants have given visibility to the opinions and feelings from Madeirans that made me conclude that they were also encouraged to move to Jersey because it was less frightening to move to another small island than to a bigger city; they made it clear they appreciated the fact they did not need to do long commutes, Jersey is peaceful and safe, everything is very close, there are many similarities to Madeira, it is not difficult to meet or to find acquaintances when walking in St. Helier, the capital, it is a small island with a small capital, where they have a comfortable life and they would not live in a place like London. A few other remarks emphasised they appreciated the lifestyle of a small island. From the group of people I interviewed, only one admitted she wished to move elsewhere, - to Miami. Everybody else would only consider to either live in Jersey or in Madeira. Aspects related to how they spend their free time have also given me some indications about how they felt. For example, they mentioned Jersey has many Portuguese cafes and bakeries, and they would often visit those places to have a hot drink and to meet friends, just like they did in Madeira, a daily

ritual for most people. They also mentioned the family and community gatherings arrangements and the religious ceremonies they attended in Jersey, as they did in Madeira.

It is important to highlight that before they moved to Jersey, most of the group hardly had any travel experience outside Madeira. Therefore, they had created the skills and ability to live on a small island and deal with aspects like remoteness, resources management, and isolation. Jersey was a move to a similar lifestyle, and, therefore, easier to adapt to and with the quality of life they wished. The concept of islandness (Parker, 2021) explores how islanders live and how they appreciate the remoteness but are also ready to accept a life change, to migrate if circumstances are transformed, and how they show resilience and stoicism when facing those life adjustments. It is also related to the idea that small islands encourage a sense of belonging and cohesiveness, which brings comfort and stability to its inhabitants (Baldachinno, 2011 b).

The study of Etemaddar et al. (2016) highlighted the difficulties of diasporic lifestyles in the host countries. The feelings of homesickness, the alienation and their sense of belonging are the reasons why migrants visit the homeland and work on re-rooting themselves; they create their moments of home and a transnational lifestyle, by developing multiple social relations. The 'Portuguese Food Festival' that happens every August in Jersey is an example of that. It attracts many Madeirans and local people from Jersey. Migrants experience aspects of home at different times, by buying Portuguese groceries in the supermarkets in Jersey and going to Portuguese restaurants and cafés to enjoy the food and meet with friends, and by participating in the August festival where they can enjoy the typical food and music of Madeira and meet their friends and relatives. Etemaddar et al. (2016) also wrote about the fact that home can be a fluid concept and communities can experience different moments of home in places that are not their original homeland. Again, the 'Portuguese Food Festival' in August is an excellent example of a 'moment of home', given its popularity and the participation of so many Madeirans, as the findings revealed. But the fact that Madeiran migrants can also find grocery shops, cafes and bakeries in Jersey that are owned by Portuguese and sell goods from the homeland, and similar types of bread, are also examples of the chance they have to live 'moments of home' when they buy and consume those nostalgia goods. The cultural and emotional tie migrants maintain with the homeland are a way to cope with these feelings. It also ties with the concept of 'home' within diasporic communities and how they recreate their home away from the homeland, challenging the concept of a fixed home and expanding their vision of home, which may include spaces like friends, social networks, memories, emotions, and everyday life.

Many emigrants have mentioned difficulties related to the lack of support between Madeirans and the fact that the Madeiran community is not united. Some even mentioned that they were exploited by other Madeirans that were living in Jersey before and would charge them fees to find them accommodation and jobs, the first time they arrived. In the end, they would not be given what they were promised and paid for. This reality seems to have made difficult the possibility of developing more networks of support, a Portuguese centre or to develop more activities related to the culture of their homeland. Although there are some cultural initiatives, like the Madeiran folkloric group and the church choir, given the community dimension in Jersey and the fact that many Madeirans are well established financially, many participants believe that more initiatives could be developed. However, Madeirans are focused on their individual goals and often there is conflict and gossip between Madeirans. Other points that were mentioned that have created difficulties with their settlement was the fact that Madeirans felt that locals did not see them as equals. They were portrayed as less educated and treated like servants.

The Madeira government in the voice of Sancho Gomes, the press adviser for the minister of the diaspora, has told me that apart from the economic contributions that diasporas could bring to the homeland, they also want to focus on developing acts of solidarity and stronger relationships with the second and third generation of migrants. The minister himself states that more educated migrants feel less need to create associations and are better integrated. At the same time, the government highlights the importance of connecting and building bridges of communication with the diaspora. This position is in accordance with what Trotz et al. (2013) stated when mentioning that when migrants are more educated and well-integrated, governments from the homeland wish to establish contacts – especially with the second and third generation – because skills and capital can be repatriated without a relocation to the homeland. Crul (2015) also emphasized the importance of understanding aspects like age, gender roles, level of education and marriage patterns, to better assess social mobility and the realities of integration and assimilation in the host land. The second and third generation also tends to visit the homeland not with economic purposes but for personal and emotional reasons, due to the memories that have built while visiting the homeland on holidays (King et al., 2011). Trotz et al. (2013) also explored the role of governments in seeing diasporas as relevant human and financial capital. It is easier to attract investment from the diaspora because they are more loyal to their homeland. Similar events have been designed by many Caribbean governments to attract the second and third generation of migrants, which tends to be better educated and

integrated. These migrants bring foreign exchange and are more willing to support local charities, besides being regular visitors, like the studies of Newland and Taylor (2010) and Scheyven (2007) have concluded. The diaspora event organised by the Madeiran government in Madeira every August – named Forum Madeira Global – has an economic component that includes a specific event for investors and entrepreneurs which is called ‘Investidores da Diáspora’, which shows that the Madeira government intends to attract investors from the Diaspora that could invest in the island, build new commercial projects and create jobs in Madeira.

Abdile et al (2011) discussed migrants as agents of development in relation to their countries of origin. They are political actors who can have a positive or a negative role in the homeland. In relation to the Madeiran diaspora, I believe that the government strategy should be more robust because migration to Jersey started decades ago. A way forward would be to pay closer attention to the diaspora travel patterns, knowledge of which would help in building a more effective diaspora policy for the future. As Erb (2003) mentioned, tourism monies are more widely spread by domestic and diaspora tourists, which benefit the local economy and culture. At the same time, as Potter (2012) explained, migrants undertake repeated mobilities and travel regularly and may invest in houses, community projects and businesses. The government’s responsibility is associated with the need of ensuring that the homeland is safe and secure and be sensitive to any hostility or unwelcoming attitudes from locals towards the diaspora (Marshall, 2017). I would challenge this vision in the case of the Madeiran Diaspora in Jersey. Migrants did not express any feelings of remorse for being treated differently when they visit the homeland; they have a close emotional attachment to Madeira and towards their friends and relatives. Safety and security are also not an issue in Madeira, because it is a very safe destination for travellers in general. Several recent studies have pointed out Portugal as one of the safest destinations in the world, being the third safest destination (Conde Nast Traveler, 2020).

Migration movements have been associated with security issues, border restrictions and control measures, especially when the discussion is around the movement of refugees from countries like Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan (Anderson, 2017; Finiguerra, 2020). However, Jersey did not have to deal with these issues or challenges. The government of Jersey has always had very strict migration management policies, long before the Brexit discussion started in the UK, and would allow the arrivals of the number of migrants they needed. As I explained before, the

housing and work policy controls in Jersey restricted access to employment and housing even in the context of freedom of movement within the EU (Brexit Information Report, 2016).

In conclusion, to understand diasporas it is important to spend time exploring a specific group of migrants, to find out aspects related to their mobilities, culture, identity, travel habits, sense of belonging, as well as their citizenship. By perceiving their experiences of living abroad, we will be able to understand their transnational identity and we may be able to conclude that a group can belong to more than one diaspora, for example they may belong to the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey, but they also belong to the Madeiran diaspora worldwide. These reflections were also explored by the studies of Grossman (2019) and McSweeney and Nakamura (2020).

Chapter Five – The working experiences, social settlement, and Tourism mobilities of Madeirans in Jersey

This chapter will discuss the findings in relation to the working experiences of Madeirans in Jersey, the jobs they do and their professional progress along the years, the difficulties they have encountered, and the importance of the support given by their friends and family. I will then explore the concept of home and their emotional attachments to the homeland, the question of a possible permanent return, aspects related to property ownership, and, finally, discuss the lifestyle and travel habits of the diaspora.

5.1 – Professional progress in Jersey

One of the main reasons this group of Madeirans decided to leave their island and come to Jersey was economic and related to work. Through their contacts in Jersey of people from Madeira who were already established, they found out that it was relatively easy to find work, professional progression was possible, and salaries were also attractive. By moving to Jersey to work, many have managed to achieve some of their dreams like buying a house in Madeira or travelling more often. Participant 3 admitted that her economic situation is more favourable since she emigrated to Jersey. She said:

We had many different jobs since we came from Madeira, but I do feel that we have evolved professionally. We have bought a house in Madeira and travel more often since we moved to Jersey. I worked in hospitality for ten years and salaries were not very high in the beginning, and we had many responsibilities, accommodation is expensive and there were many bills to pay. Initially, my husband worked as a chef and as a driver. Now he oversees a warehouse. I have been working in a pharmacy for several years.

Another example of the economic benefits brought by the Jersey experience was of Participant 19. He stated that he not only managed to pay his debts but has improved his living standard. He highlighted:

Emigrating is always a worthwhile experience. It brings you openness, contacts with new realities, new friends, and professional experiences. I learned a lot from this experience and have gained tools for the future. I am now trying to settle in Madeira but if I must return to Jersey, I know what to expect.

Participant 10 gave a positive instance about her professional development in Jersey. She said:

I was offered a job even before I arrived in Jersey. My former sister-in-law found work for me and my ex-husband. In terms of work, I cannot complain. I worked in a hotel as a chamber maid, and then as my English improved, I worked as a waitress and receptionist. A year later, I got a job as a supervisor in retail. There were many job opportunities in the 1990's, we were offered jobs and more money, and we would take it. After some time, I became a general manager in a store. I felt motivated and was getting valuable experience. A few years later, I oversaw two stores and had 25 people under my supervision. I loved my job, but I had to quit because of some health issues. But the balance is very positive; I did gain experience and economic benefits in Jersey.

Participant 7 is another example of how working in Jersey improved her economic condition. She came to the island as a single mother and performed many jobs, often with long hours. She worked as a chamber maid in a hotel, in a flower farm, as a cleaner and waitress and finally as a carer in a nursing home and in a laundry. Other examples of successful integration were Participant 6, who started her experience in Jersey by working in hotels in the first two years, then worked as a sales assistant and as a supervisor for twelve years. After having her son, she had to find a job that was more flexible and went into cleaning jobs and was a part-time supervisor in a retail store. Finally, she started working as a financial clerk in the post office. Participant 1 also started working in the hospitality industry, specifically in hotels, cleaning rooms. Restrictions were a reality back in the 1970's and emigrants could not change jobs because of their work contracts. She said:

After having my daughter, it was very difficult to find a job, we were not welcomed, and we could not stay in Jersey if we did not have a job. If a single woman had a child, she would have to leave the island. After a few years, we gained more rights and could choose the jobs we wanted.

Her husband had to quit his hotel job and work on a farm, for them to be able to rent a house where they could have access to a kitchen; they needed to cook because they had a baby daughter. The job was much harder, but they are still working on the same farm after three decades:

I work in my bosses' house and my husband continues to work on the land, we work for them, but they are also our friends, like family to us.

Participant 12 came to Jersey in 1977 with little formal education. She worked for an Italian tailor and in a laundry for twelve years and learned English. After some time, she worked as a nurse assistant and as a translator in the hospital. Then she worked as a carer for nine years and more recently as a housekeeper in a care home. She said:

Madeirans do many of the hard jobs in Jersey, like working in farms where they start working at 4 am. Now we see Madeirans working in all sectors, but many people are well off because they worked very hard for many years. Apart from studying English, I did many courses in health and social care to help me with the tasks I had to do. I also work as a volunteer in the hospital and at a care home.

The lack of a stable job and better working conditions in Madeira is what brought Participant 14 to Jersey. She worked in a guest house, in restaurants, in the fruit market and in retail. Later, she studied to become a qualified English teacher as a foreign language. She worked in the prison teaching English to prisoners and taught English to other immigrants living in Jersey. She said:

People say that immigrants are taking away jobs from locals. However, many jobs that are advertised are never filled by the natives of Jersey. Since 2004, many Polish came to live in Jersey, and they created a certain tension because there was more competition for jobs. Emigrants were blamed for everything that went wrong.

Participants 24 and 25 are a married couple and have a different work experience in Jersey. While participant 24 was born in Madeira and came to Jersey when he was seventeen years old, his wife was born in Jersey and studied on the island. The husband was attracted to Jersey to have a new life experience, worked in farms and now is a public servant. His wife is also a public servant and always felt Jersey is her home. They both agree that the island allows the Portuguese community to have more economic stability and highlighted the fact that meritocracy is more of a feature of the society in Jersey than in Madeira. Their economic situation is stable.

Other participants have mostly worked in the hospitality industry and in cleaning jobs in Jersey, as it was the case of Participants 4, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 18. They admitted that the work opportunities that they have in Jersey are better in the sense that salaries are fairer and allow them to live a comfortable life. Participant 18 highlighted the fact that companies in Jersey provide training to staff which is something that does not happen so much in Madeira.

However, Participant 4 was not happy with her work situation due to the fact she was experiencing a downward social mobility situation. She said:

I have managed telecommunication companies and even went to the Azores to open a branch of the company I was working for. I have worked in financial companies and have extensive sales experience, but in Jersey I have been doing cleaning jobs because my level of English is not yet good enough and if you have been living here for less than five years, you cannot apply for certain jobs. I do not like being here because I do not enjoy the work I am doing. Plus, rents and childcare are so expensive. What has kept me in Jersey is to think that after five years I will be able to apply for other jobs and the fact that my kids love the school here.

Other migrants who arrived decades before and have managed to achieve stability and wealth, have a positive experience to share. Participant 17 is a very successful case of an immigrant that has managed not only to save but also to invest in property, opened many hospitality businesses in Jersey and lives a very comfortable life. He said:

In the 70's, I was going to start a job as a bus driver in Madeira. This was just before I decided to migrate to Jersey with my wife. After working in one of the main hotels in Jersey for several years, I bought a guest house and a café, but I continued working in the hotel. Then I opened the 'Madeira Club' which was a bar, restaurant, and night club. Years later I bought other restaurants and another guest house. Most of the staff working in my businesses were from Madeira. Coming to Jersey was very much worth it for me and my family.

The success of his businesses allows him to nowadays live in a pre-retired condition in Jersey, with a very comfortable financial situation. He sold most of his businesses and is now running a small café with his wife, to keep them both busy but without the pressures of the past. Participant 8 also invested in a business venture after initially working in a restaurant, on a farm and in a nursing home. Her daily life is dominated by work because running a family business (a small supermarket) means working long hours. Her husband also has a cleaning company, and her daughter works with her. She has no doubts that although they work hard, they have managed a financial independence that would be hard to achieve in Madeira. Plus, they have managed to buy properties both in Madeira and in Jersey.

Participant 2 worked initially on a farm for eighteen months, then in a five-star hotel and after that she worked in retail for more than a decade, which was the occupation that she enjoyed

the most because she learned a lot about management and managing people. The fact that many people came to do jobs that did not require specialised skills does not mean that people do not try to improve themselves and gain skills, as is the case of Participant 6. She came to Jersey to work in hotels but understood that learning the language would be important for her professional progress. She attended an English course, studied IT, and worked as a sales assistant and supervisor for twelve years. Then, she found a job as a financial clerk at the post office. Participant 12 also had the language barrier to overcome and one day had to go to the hospital and could not explain what her condition was. She promised that she would learn the language and even became an interpreter at the hospital, for ten years. She also completed many courses in health and social care, to support her career as a nursing assistant.

The stories of these Madeirans show resilience and a strong work ethic. Participants 20 and 21 also worked on a farm for five years, with shifts that started at 7am and would end at 8pm. Participant 20 said:

I was not used to the farm life. My life in Madeira was not stressful but, in the farm, it was very hard, we had to pick up the potatoes. But I am glad I did not give up; it was tough, but I learned a lot about life. Back then, accommodation in farms was free and we saved a lot of money. There was a time when we would still clean offices in the evening to save more money, this is how we managed to buy an expensive plot of land in Madeira, to build our house. Then I went to a flower shop and learned to be a florist, which is a job that I love and still do. My husband works in a big cleaning company owned by a Madeiran, he has been there for fifteen years.

An observation that I can do from the analysis of the findings is the fact that although many of the migrants mention the initial difficulties of having a language barrier, leaving their children in Madeira during an initial period or issues related to the isolation they felt, the challenges and hardships, as time passed their lives improved and the vast majority has no regrets in relation to their decision to emigrate to Jersey. The island had a thriving job market, with many jobs available that were not attractive to locals but were to Madeirans. The salaries were satisfying, migrants could save money to send to the homeland and to enjoy a comfortable life in Jersey. Career wise, the job market would allow people to change jobs regularly, for personal or professional growth, to gain new skills or for better payment. Their economic situation was more favourable, some have managed to build or buy a house in Madeira, others have bought properties in Jersey or on both islands. Their living standards have improved, and they have

achieved their goal of being able to provide a comfortable life to their families and to become mid-income families. This is one of the main reasons that have kept people in Jersey, the fact that they have settled, had kids, and want to provide for their kids. Many have mentioned their children as the main reason to continue in Jersey, not only because they have an economic stability and recognise that the education system is of good quality but also the fact that the island is safe, and their children feel at home in Jersey. Many mentioned that they also believed Jersey would provide better job opportunities for their children in the future.

5.2 – The importance of friends and relatives as facilitators of emigration

Most people interviewed had other family members or friends living in Jersey before they decided to travel. Participant 24 stated that apart from his brother, he has his in-laws, several uncles and cousins and the parents of his wife and brother in-law – who was born in Jersey – are from Madeira. He said:

Sometimes several months pass without us seeing each other, because of our work routines, etc. But then we have several gatherings in a row, and we are always in contact by Facebook and text message.

The same motivation helped Participant 11 come to Jersey. The fact that her brother and sister-in-law were living on the island and helped them in the beginning, was an incentive to give her the courage to emigrate. Participant 19's parents were also emigrants to Jersey during the 1980's. However, he believes that was not the reason he chose to emigrate to the island. He added:

My parents lived in Jersey as seasonal workers; they did this for nine years. But that was not the reason I chose to live in Jersey. I came because I had friends from my village Caniçal, if they were elsewhere, I would probably go there. My friends helped me in the beginning, in terms of accommodation and of finding a job.

Participant 10 shared a similar experience when she explained the reason she chose to emigrate to Jersey. She said:

Coming to Jersey was a decision we made quickly. Both I and my ex-husband were offered jobs even before we went to Jersey. My ex-husband's sister-in-law found us

work here. Later I also helped another friend finding a job in Jersey as well as helping my younger siblings to move here. My sister has since returned to Madeira, but my brother still lives in Jersey.

Participant 6 also stated that having a very close friend living in Jersey gave her the courage and motivation to emigrate. She added:

My friend said she could find me a job. My brother was also living in Jersey back then and he is still here. However, he was working in a farm on the other side of the island. I saw him once a month.

Participant 8 also shared that the reason she and her family came to Jersey was the fact that her sister-in-law was in Jersey and could give them some support in finding work. The same situation can be applied to Participants 22 and 23, the couple admitted that the fact they had a cousin in Jersey (Participant 7, who was also interviewed for the present research) that offered to help them was crucial for their decision to emigrate. Participant 18 stated a similar experience. It was also the fact that he had a cousin living in Jersey that gave him the motivation to move to the island. He said:

My cousin helped me getting a job in a hotel in 2005. When I returned to Jersey in 2007, she let me stay at her house for a while when I was looking for a job again. I started working in a supermarket as a sales assistant and reached the assistant manager position that I have today.

Participant 24 stated that he came to Jersey for the first time because he had a friend that convinced him to come and work in the same farm where he was. After some time, he went back to Madeira but returned to Jersey because he fell in love with his now wife. Participant 11 also came to Jersey with her husband with the help of her brother and his wife. Others were influenced by family members that had previously lived in Jersey and gave positive feedback about their experience, as was the case of Participant 7. She decided to come to Jersey after hearing about the experience of her stepfather. The two interviewees from my sample that have been in Jersey for longer (1976 and 1977) were Participants 1 and 12, respectively. They were both from low-income families in Madeira and came to Jersey through the incentive of friends that had migrated before. The situation of Participant 26 was somehow different. She was studying at the university in Portugal and since she had two sisters living in Jersey, she used to spend summers on the island doing summer jobs that would help her financially with her

studies. When she decided to migrate to Jersey, she knew the island well and what to expect. In addition, she also had two sisters and a brother living in Jersey, which facilitated her move.

5.2.1 – Impacts of moving to Jersey

The impacts of moving to Jersey are visible. One of the aspects that has attracted Madeirans to Jersey is the economic and social stability they encounter. Participant 19 stated:

There are all sorts of people in Jersey. The ones that migrated 30 or 40 years ago and are settled. There are many Madeirans who live very well and are integrated, have their own businesses and a huge success in the most varied areas. There is a businessman who owns the biggest cleaning company in Jersey, another businessman who owns a very big farm and has a gardening company. There are children of Portuguese born parents who were born in Jersey and are very well off. Others have normal jobs or managerial positions in supermarkets, banks, pharmacies, there are nurses and pharmacists from Madeira who are working in Jersey.

Immigrants appreciate the fact that Jersey offers their families a good quality of life, the island is small, everything is close, and it is a haven to raise a family. Having both British and Portuguese friends is important to settle well, as it is to know and respect the law. But there are also negative aspects, like Participant 24 points out: the type of houses, the very high property prices, and the cold weather in comparison with the warm temperatures of Madeira. Although he feels integrated, he stated that he does not belong to Jersey. His wife was born in Jersey and her parents are from Madeira, they have a daughter who was also born in Jersey. He added:

We are investing what we have gained in Jersey but deep down I will never be from here. I have my own house and most of my earnings stay here, I send a bit to Portugal to help my parents and to spend when we go on holiday.

Other participants have said that they became used to Jersey and now their life and routines are on the island. Participant 7 said:

There are many people from Madeira in Jersey. The beginning brought its challenges of adaptation to a new reality. I came from Venezuela to Madeira and then to Jersey. But now I am settled, my daughter was raised up in Jersey and is now independent and I would not know where to go from here.

Participant 6 feels safe and integrated in Jersey and has no doubts the island is now her home. Although immigrants are not always accepted by locals and there is some resentment towards

emigrants, she believes that the Madeiran community is strong-willed and is doing jobs that locals do not wish to do, *“they are well regarded by the British bosses”*. The visibility of Madeirans in Jersey was explained by the Participant, and she highlighted how important it is to integrate in the local culture and to learn the language, as she did by paying to learn English because she wanted to progress professionally. Although she feels well settled and integrated, she still participates in some cultural events organised by the community, mainly the folkloric group dances and the Food Festival.

The findings shows that every person that I have interviewed either had a family member or a close friend living in Jersey before they decided to emigrate. This reality was a very important factor in their decision to emigrate. To be more specific, out of the 26 people interviewed, 22 admitted that friends and family had helped them in the beginning and all of them said that they asked for information about the job situation and accommodation in Jersey, before moving to the island. Having family and friends living in Jersey has facilitated their settlement and integration, in terms of helping them find accommodation and their first job. Some of the interviewees stated that they were offered jobs even before they arrived. Others admitted that they started working one or two days after arriving. As the community was growing in number, the stories they shared in terms of their settlement and integration in a new life were less dramatic. The people who came to Jersey first had a more dramatic story to share. When the interview took place and as they were telling me about their initial struggles, they were very emotional and some of them even cried when they shared their stories. The reality in Jersey is in accordance with what Zagkotsi (2014) stated, when the author mentioned that families could be a crucial driver of social and professional mobility. The study of Lourenço and Cachado (2014) also mentioned the family as the main element for maintaining balance and social cohesion in a diaspora.

5.3 – Where is home?

When questioned where they feel at home the answers that participants have given were divided. Some could not answer the question, twelve said Jersey, six people replied Madeira and seven people replied both. This shows that most of the participants have built a home in Jersey and feel integrated on the island, even if they often continue to travel to the homeland to visit family members and own houses in Madeira. Participant 24 stated that although he likes

Jersey, he does not feel it is the place where he belongs. His wife, Participant 25 – who was born on Jersey – has a different stand. She said:

I feel at home in Jersey. My parents are from Madeira and tried to return once when I was a child. To be honest, I really enjoyed the experience because my mother was not working in Madeira and could spend a lot of time with us. But my dad did not adapt well. He left for Jersey when he was sixteen and I think he feels this is his home now. I feel the same, I have a good job here and a better life.

The couple thinks it will be difficult to return to Madeira now that they have children born in Jersey. They believe they have a better future in Jersey, and they could spend some time on both islands, when they retire. They do not own a house in Madeira because they decided to invest in Jersey instead. Participant 11 also feels more at home in Jersey after living on the island for more than twenty years. She said:

It is hard to explain. Madeira is my homeland, but I feel at home in Jersey, I think it is because I have more family here now, two brothers and two sisters. But I would like to return one day, maybe when I am retired. I would like to die in my homeland.

A similar opinion was shared by Participant 10. She said that she cannot see herself away from Jersey because she feels integrated. But at the same time, she always wanted to leave Jersey and return to Madeira, stating that:

After eighteen years, I do not know where home is. I created my roots in Jersey, my daughter was born here and now I lost some of my rights in Madeira, because I am paying taxes in Jersey. What will I go back to? Madeira has nothing to offer me. My daughter loves Madeira, I think she has a romantic idea of the island, because what she experiences are the holidays with the grandparents, the sunny breaks, etc. But I think we will probably stay in Jersey.

Participants 6 and 7 also feel that Jersey is their home, because it is where they have built a family life and where their children were born. The fact that the educational system is of good quality in Jersey, and they can offer more economic stability to their families, are advantages that they appreciate. However, they continue to visit Madeira every year, or every two years. Participant 15 has a similar opinion. It is in Jersey that he feels at home because it is where he married and had a daughter. On top of this, he does not go to Madeira so regularly since his parents moved to Jersey. A similar stance was given by Participant 1 who said:

My mother has already died, and I feel at home in Jersey. I am integrated; I have many British friends as well as Portuguese. I am more a daughter of Jersey than Madeira because I have been living in Jersey more years than I lived in Madeira. We never know what tomorrow will bring but I do not want to be away from my children. I am very proud to be from Madeira; it will always be my homeland and where my roots are.

For Participant 17, Jersey is where he feels more at ease. He stated that he has been living in Jersey for 39 years, more time than he lived in Madeira. He feels better integrated in Jersey and does not know anyone in Madeira now. Participant 8 also feels that Jersey is her home, where her family is, and her children have settled, and Participant 2 also shared similar ideas. She said:

I feel at home in Jersey. I know where to go, where to solve my problems and St. Helier is a small capital, you can walk everywhere. In Madeira we are more car dependant and there is more bureaucracy.

Participant 19 has no doubts that it is in Madeira that he feels at home. He considers Jersey to be a positive experience because he has learned a lot and made money. But he wishes to return to Madeira. The same vision is shared by Participant 14, who said that Madeira is where she feels at home. She cries when she arrives and cries when she must return to Jersey. She never liked Jersey but tried to integrate. The reason she stayed is because she needed to work and earn a livelihood. She added:

Nowadays I value Madeira more than I used to. I love the good weather; my family is very close, and I value my family a lot. When I go to Madeira, I visit all the places that tourists go to, like the farmers market, the landscapes, and the things we take for granted when we live there. We are building our house in Madeira and when I return it will be for good, I will not come back to Jersey. My goal is to do an MA in linguistics because I have experience of working as a translator for the police.

The fact that she has her sisters, parents and aunts in Madeira is what makes Participant 5 feel that Madeira is her home. However, she also confessed that she misses Jersey when she goes to Madeira on holidays. Participant 16 also thinks that Madeira is where he feels at home. He said that he misses his house in Madeira as well as his brother and cousins that are living there. Participants 20 and 21, a married couple, have a different stance about this topic. While the husband has no doubts that Madeira is where he feels at home, the wife prefers to live in Jersey because she prefers a more private life, of being at home when she is off from work, rather than

living in a small village where everybody knows each other. Other people feel integrated in Jersey but do not feel it is their home, as is the case of Participant 9. She knows that Jersey can give her more opportunities and stability and that is the reason she is raising her family in Jersey. However, Madeira is where she feels at home. Participant 3 has a different opinion. She feels divided and at home in both Madeira and Jersey. She added:

My son is nine years old; he was born in Jersey and has his friends and school which holds us here. I would like to go back to Madeira, but both my son and my husband prefer to be in Jersey.

The opinion of Participants 22 and 23 is that they also feel divided. When they think of home they think of Madeira, but they have also built a home in Jersey and had a daughter that was born in Jersey.

In terms of identity, many participants mentioned Jersey is where they feel at home, but they also feel culturally attached to Madeira and to their family roots. After spending several years in Jersey, these migrants are adapted to their routines and the way society works in Jersey. Many also have their closest family members living in Jersey and feel that home is where their family lives, where they have gained economic stability and fulfilled their ambitions. They created a home away from home and admit to having a romantic view of Madeira, because of the positive experiences they enjoy while on holidays in Madeira. Their stability in Jersey is also related to the fact that they have established friendships in Jersey, with locals and people from other nationalities.

At the same time, they do not believe Madeira has much to offer them career-wise and even admit that they lost rights in terms of social benefits and health access, because they pay their taxes in Jersey. To sum-up, the links to the homeland are related to their emotional attachment to their parents, other family members and the home where they were born. But they do not deny that they have also created a home in Jersey and even accept the dual feeling of belonging to two places that they can call home. It is an example of their fluid identity, of people who have changed their values and perceptions, who keep evolving, have beliefs and a cultural identity that links them to both the homeland and the host land.

5.3.1 – Do they wish to return to Madeira?

The answers to this question were also divided. For families who have young children born in Jersey – or who came to Jersey when they were very young – they think they will not return to Madeira for good. Some of the reasons given are the fact that the Jersey economy is stronger, and their children will have a better future. Besides that, their children also see Jersey as their home and prefer to live there. Participant 15 stated that he would not have the courage to move his eleven-year-old daughter to Madeira, as she was born in Jersey and thinks that is where she belongs. Participant 13 also stated that her two children prefer to live in Jersey, they like going to Madeira but only for holidays. A similar opinion was given by Participant 3, when she said that although she would want to return to Madeira, both her husband and son, who was born in Jersey, prefer to live in Jersey. Participant 25 stated:

I think that in the future we can spend seasons here and in Madeira, we can live on both islands.

Participant 8 added:

I do not think we will return to Madeira for good. Since my children are settled in Jersey and we have a business, I think we will spend some time in Madeira and some time in Jersey. I do not believe my children will want to go back to Madeira for good, they feel Jersey is their home.

Others believe they will only return to Madeira after they retire, as is the case of Participant 11. She said that she owns a house in Madeira and would like to return to her homeland. Some emigrants also expressed their wish not to wait for retirement to return to their homeland, as was the case of Participant 16. He would like to return after four or five years, to enjoy Madeira, to walk and do some sightseeing. He also stated that many Portuguese retire when they are too old. Two or three years later, they die and have not enjoyed their return to Madeira, or their retirement. Participant 2 also expressed her wish to return to Madeira after retiring. She is very proud of the house she built in Madeira but also feels that Jersey is her home, where her family is now. Other emigrants plan to open a business in Madeira, after having amassed enough savings in Jersey. That is what Participant 18 has in mind, to build a house, buy a car and have some savings to open a business. Participant 19 had already started a new project in Madeira. He stated:

I am developing a new project and I want to return soon; I prefer the lifestyle in Madeira and hope to develop a business and to settle. But I have recommended Jersey to friends, especially the ones who have no work prospects in Madeira, or couples in difficulties. The education system and social security in Jersey is excellent. It is a very organised island, and the health system works very well.

Participant 14 has no doubts that she wishes to return to Madeira in a few years, after her daughter concludes her studies. Her daughter was born in Jersey but loves Madeira. Although her daughter knows of the difficulties of finding a job, she believes her daughter would be happy in Madeira. They bought a house in Funchal which they are refurbishing, and they did the same in Jersey. Her plan is to ask for an early retirement pension and move to Madeira. There are also people who have a romantic image of the homeland. Participant 10 said she always wanted to leave Jersey and although her daughter was born in Jersey, she loves Madeira, she likes visiting the grandparents and going to the beach. Participant 5 also explained her preferences for Madeira. She said that her husband does not want to buy a house in Jersey, he loves Madeira and wants to buy a property there. He is very hard-working and works twelve to thirteen hours a day. He likes saving money because he came from a very poor background. He is always waiting for life to improve in Madeira so they can go back and maybe open a business. Participant 10 stated about her experience in Jersey:

I cannot see myself away from Jersey. I have been living here for a long time, the same amount of time I lived in Madeira. I know how everything works, etc. On the other hand, I always miss Madeira and I know I am not from Jersey. There are some cultural obstacles. Locals do not always treat us well.

Other emigrants have doubts about a return to the homeland. Participant 1, for example, does not believe that she will return because her children have settled in Jersey and Spain, and she does not want to be away from them. Participant 26 also said that she feels torn because she has a stable job and a stable relationship in Jersey. Her partner prefers to live in Jersey, and she has projects for the future and no prospects in Madeira. Participants 22 and 23 – a couple – said that they wish to return one day. If there was a lot of work in Madeira, they would have returned already. It would be easier to raise their daughter with the family support they have in Madeira. However, they also believe their daughter has a better future in Jersey.

From the answers we can conclude that twelve of the migrants enquired do not have the intention of returning to Madeira, eight responded maybe and five said that they will return.

One of the main reasons people wish to continue to live in Jersey is the fact that they have children. They have no doubts that the island can provide more stability and future opportunities to their children, as opposed to those that Madeira would afford them. In total, this sample of people have 31 children, the vast majority were born in Jersey. Only seven were born in Madeira or elsewhere and came to Jersey when they were very young. It shows that family is particularly important to this group of Madeirans and their children's well-being is their main concern. The reality expressed by Madeirans in Jersey coincides with the ideas of Ryan (2010) when the author explained that after migrants have children it will be more challenging for their parents – the first generation – to return to the homeland. The children will have a bicultural and transcultural identity (Tsolidis, 2011). In terms of family structure, twenty of the participants are either married or in a relationship and 23 have children. Three people were single and two of them were single parents. This shows that the family structure is traditional, with people opting for marrying, having a partner and children.

5.3.2 – Property ownership and the attachment to the homeland

Several of the participants have mentioned that one of their dreams when coming to Jersey was to save enough money to be able to build or buy a house in Madeira. The information I was given has provided me with an insight about how they see their homeland. Some explained that they did not build a house in Madeira because they decided to invest in Jersey instead. Properties in Jersey are very expensive, and they had to decide to either buy in one place or the other. When they travel to Madeira, they stay in their family homes or even in hotels. Others have built a house in Madeira but decided to sell it after some time, when they were more settled in Jersey. They felt that having a closed house in Madeira for most of the year did not make much sense. There were expenses and taxes associated with maintaining those properties.

Out of 26 people, twelve of the participants currently own a house in Madeira; some are still paying a monthly mortgage while the other fourteen do not own a property in Madeira. The reasons are that either they do not wish to buy, are trying to save money to buy a property or prefer to invest in Jersey. From the total of the sample, ten of the participants currently own properties in Jersey. As for their attachment to the homeland, the answers given are clear. This group of migrants maintain a very close emotional attachment to Madeira, apart from the fact that most of them visit their homeland very often. Participants 24 and 25 stated that now that they live in Jersey, they know Madeira better because when they visit the homeland, they explore the island and always go on round the island trips. This opinion was also given by other

participants, the fact that they explored Madeira better after moving to Jersey, either because they did not have the means or because they wish to revisit places that are close to their heart. The findings also showed that people maintain regular contact with their family and friends in Madeira, taking advantage of technology. Some have mentioned that they talk to their parents and siblings daily or almost every day, using skype calls or other Internet tools like messages through Facebook, every week or every two to three weeks. Adile et al (2005) explained that members of the same diaspora often have different perceptions of the homeland. For some it is a sacred place while for others their identities are linked to both the homeland and the host land. The findings about the Madeiran diaspora reveal this emotional division.

Participant 6 explained that when she was living in Madeira, she did not even know the island so well. Her family was of modest means, finances were scarce, and they did not own a car. It was after she moved to Jersey that she had the means to explore Madeira. Now when she travels to the island she behaves like a tourist, visits the attractions, eats in restaurants, and goes on island tours. A similar opinion was given by Participant 16, who said:

I feel like a tourist in Madeira and tend to go every two years. I stay for four or five weeks and go for walks, visit my cousins and friends, we love having meals together. I like visiting different parts of the island to see what changed. I like visiting Ribeiro Frio, Cabo Girão, Curral das Freitas. I miss Madeira a lot.

Other participants have mentioned that they visit Madeira every year, as was the case of Participants 7, 12, 22, 26. Sometimes they even go to Madeira twice a year, to take advantage of the warm weather, go to the beach, visit their relatives, and enjoy the typical food. Their testimonies reveal that a strong motivation to travel to Madeira is related to the fact that they have other family members in Madeira. Participant 12 mentioned that she always stays at her siblings' house when she visits Madeira, because they are close. Participant 3 also added:

We go to Madeira every Christmas for three weeks. We own a house there and visit our family, we eat out almost every day, we go for walks and do a lot of sightseeing.

The information collected reinforces the emotional attachment of Madeiran migrants in Jersey to their homeland, since eighteen of the participants stated they either go to Madeira every year or every two years, three people said they visit the homeland every four to five years and two people stated they travel to Madeira several times a year. In conclusion, most of the participants

of this study visit their homeland every year or every two years, which is very regularly. The findings show that migrants have strong family values and work to keep those connections and emotional attachment, but at the same time feel well settled and at home in Jersey.

5.4 – The sending of remittances

Many Madeirans living in Jersey continue to have an economic relationship with Madeira. In some situations, it is because they have a house and need to send remittances to pay the maintenance expenses or mortgages. Others also send money to Madeira to support elderly parents and siblings, and to provide funds to religious parties. Participant 24 explained to me that he sends money to Madeira to help his parents but also to use the money when he visits the island to enjoy his holidays with the family. Other participants do not have the necessity to send funds to their families like they used to do in the past.

Participant 1 stated:

I used to send money to help my mother, but she died. We had a house in Madeira in the past and we sent money to keep it, but we sold the house and when we visit Madeira we stay in a hotel. Sometimes I send money to help my brother in Madeira because he is sick.

Participant 12 also had the habit of sending money to Madeira to help her parents when they were alive, because they were of modest means. Nowadays she does not have to do it also because she does not own a house in Madeira. Participant 17 used to send remittances for similar reasons. He said:

When my parents were alive, I helped them a lot because my brothers could not afford to help. I always had good jobs in Jersey and a stable economic situation. My sister calls me when there is the Santo Antonio religious party in Madeira, asking me to send some money to help in the organisation. All my brothers and sisters live in Madeira except for myself and one sister that lives in London, in Wimbledon.

Other participants continue to send money to Madeira to pay for their house's maintenance expenses or to pay for the construction of the properties they bought in Madeira, as was the case of Participants 3 and 14.

What the findings reveal is that the sending of remittances is related to the economic situation of their families in Madeira. If their parents and siblings are of modest means, they tend to send some funds to help their family members. The sending of remittances is also strongly connected to the fact that migrants may or may not own houses in Madeira. The moral obligation to send remittances changes when their parents die. Their settlement and stability in Jersey also influence these migrants to decide to either sell their properties in Madeira or end up never buying a property at all and invest in Jersey instead. The specific context of low-income migration has this economic component of the sending of remittances to the homeland. It is a characteristic of the mobilities of low-income groups, which is not so common with highly qualified migrants, who are more independent and less economically attached to the homeland. The studies of Kind et al. (2011) and Trotz et al. (2013) state that governments from the generating countries - where migrants come from - want to attract the well-educated and integrated diaspora, not because they wish them to return to their original homeland but to strengthen their emotional attachment to the homeland.

5.5 – Events and social gatherings in Jersey

The social settlement and the ties Madeirans maintain in Jersey, their lifestyle and the events and gatherings they participate in, and the reasons for their participation, have revealed that for several of the participants the ‘Madeira Food Festival’ is the biggest event of the community on the island and the most popular. It happens every year at the end of August and attracts huge crowds of Madeirans as well as Jersey citizens. People also mentioned that there was a ‘Portuguese Club’ in the past with physical premises located in Rue de Funchal, that used to attract people to play games and spend time together. That club closed for reasons that were not totally clear. Some people have mentioned the fact that the community was now better integrated in Jersey, resulting in people not feeling the need to meet at the Portuguese Club. Other reasons could be related to the fact that rents were expensive, and they were therefore charging an entrance fee. The situation made it difficult to keep the space open. In addition, as the community settled and their economic situation improved, several retail spaces, owned by Portuguese entrepreneurs, appeared in Jersey.

Participant 17 added:

I opened the Madeira Club in 1987, it was a place for all the Portuguese to meet, it was a bar, a restaurant, and a night club. At the time there was also the Portuguese Club and I was one of the directors. I managed the Madeira Club for nine years.

Some participants remember that a few decades back there were very few businesses owned by Portuguese migrants. Participant 24, for example, said that in 1994 there were only two coffee shops owned by Madeirans. Nowadays there are many examples of businesses, like coffee shops, restaurants, bakeries, grocery shops, where people go to buy bread, fish, and many other goods, but also to socialise with friends and relatives. However, people lead busy lives and do not always have time to socialise. Participant 26 said:

I do not deal much with the Madeiran community. My life here is work-home. I meet my nephews and brother sometimes, some childhood friends and spend time with my boyfriend. I do not identify with the events that the community organises. I am not better than anyone, but the subjects that interest me are not common. For example, I do not like the popular singers they bring. There is also too much gossip. I do not go out very often. However, I always participate in the Food Festival in August.

Participant 19 also mentioned that he participated as a fair exhibitor for both the Food Festival and the Portugal National day. However, he stated that in general not much happens. The community is not very organised, people work many hours and are focused on working and making money. Apart from the retail shops, there is also the Madeiran Folkloric group. What I can conclude is that the fact that many people in the community work for long hours means that they do not have a lot of free time to socialise, and each person is focused on their own goals. Participant 10 stated life in Jersey is hard and people forget there is a heart in each person, daily life is all about work and there is not much life quality or face to face contact. Yet, there are some music events with singers brought from Portugal, as well as the celebrations of Portugal National day and the Food Festival in August in which she likes to participate. Participant 9 mentioned that she does not pay much attention to the Portuguese community. She said that Jersey is a small island and people know, see and comment on everything, there is too much gossip. But when she is off work, she enjoys going for a meal or drink with her friends, who are mostly from Madeira. Participant 4 stated:

Last year I sang at the Food Festival and this year I will also sing at the Portuguese National Day celebrations. But the community is not very organised, there is not much

happening. There are no associations or many festivities. Meetings and gatherings are more informal, in cafes for example.

Other participants shared some details about their daily routine, which can sometimes imply that they need to travel all over the island, no day is the same. They feel tired and want to go home after work. Participant 20 added:

Me and my husband are very homely, a dream Sunday for us is to be home in our pyjamas all day. We also like to have parties at home, to prepare lunches for the family and friends. My brothers and sister are all here in Jersey. We do not go out to events very often. But sometimes I like to go to the concerts of the Portuguese singers they bring here.

Another similar opinion was given by participant 18, who said that he does not spend much time with Madeirans. He lives and works outside St. Helier and when he is not working, he meets with old friends from Madeira who also moved to Jersey and spends time with his partner. He does not go to any events, apart from the Food Festival in August.

In conclusion, the findings reveal that Madeiran migrants are very work centred, work for long hours and sometimes accumulate a main job with other part-time jobs, like cleaning offices or private houses. On their days off, they mostly enjoy the company of their friends and family and organise private gatherings at home or in local cafes and restaurants. Jersey is mainly seen as a place to work, and to provide them with economic and financial stability. They seem to accept that living in Jersey means working long hours and not having a very active social life, because that is what has allowed them to improve their living standards and economic stability.

5.5.1 – The travel habits of the Madeiran diaspora

The interviews explored the mobilities of this group of Madeirans, the destinations they have visited, the motivations behind those visits and how their move to Jersey has influenced their travel habits. My research shows that the travel mobilities of this group of Madeirans has changed significantly since they moved to Jersey. Some participants said that they had never left Madeira before migrating to Jersey. Others added that they did not even know Madeira very well, because they did not have the means to travel on the island. Finally, a group of participants stated that they had visited the nearby island of Porto Santo, and some had gone to the mainland.

Participant 24 explained that before leaving Madeira he had only visited the nearby island of Porto Santo, a two-hour ferry journey away. During his childhood, he rarely left his village because his parents had no car and were of modest means. After arriving in Jersey and working for 5 years without leaving the island, he started exploring other destinations on holiday. He said:

I went to Majorca, mainland Portugal, France, Tenerife, Malaga and to Disneyland Paris. When we travel to Madeira, we do not feel it is a holiday. We need to go to a place to rest, for at least one week a year. We tend to do an all-inclusive family holiday.

A similar experience was shared by another five participants, Madeira was the only place they knew, and some did not even travel within the island very often. Participant 1 said that she had never left Madeira before coming to Jersey. But now she has visited Majorca, mainland Portugal, Bolivia, Paris, and St. Malo many times, as well as Guernsey and Sark, and the same situation was shared by Participant 12. Now she has travelled to France, Spain, the US, several cities in England and mainland Portugal, apart from going to Madeira every year. Participant 14 also never left Madeira before travelling to Jersey but has now visited mainland Portugal, London, Nottingham, and Bristol and has been to France several times. She likes to visit France, even if only to spend the day at St. Malo. She says that she has not travelled to more destinations because she goes to Madeira every year, to see her parents who are getting older. Participants 20 and 21, a married couple, also only knew Madeira before settling in Jersey, but have now managed to visit mainland Portugal, go on a cruise to the Mediterranean and visit France a few times. Finally, Participant 16 has managed to travel a lot since he moved to Jersey. He has been to Poland, Brazil, New York, Spain, mainland Portugal, London and other cities in England, Ireland, apart from the fact that he visits Madeira every two years.

Another group of migrants – thirteen people to be more specific - had only visited the island of Porto Santo, which belongs to the Madeira archipelago, and some had visited mainland Portugal before moving to Jersey. Now, this same group showed similar mobilities trends having visited other Channel Islands, Spain, France, Tunisia, other European countries and destinations like the US and Brazil. Again, the increased mobilities of these people are strongly connected to their economic stability in Jersey. What the findings also reveal is that apart from wanting to visit destinations they have never been to this group of migrants is still very loyal to their homeland and continue to visit Madeira with regularity.

The findings have also shown that all the participants have visited the French city of St. Malo several times, and some went on short breaks to France using the easy accessibility and the direct ferry services from Jersey. This group of Madeirans have told me that the purpose of their visits was to spend a day in St. Malo and explore the village, to have a change of scenery or to spend two or three days exploring other villages in the region. Participant 15 said:

What I really like about Jersey is the fact that it is easy to go to France by ferry. We have been to France several times, we stayed for two or three nights. It is a nice break, there is so much to do.

Similar testimonies were given by Participants 1, 3, 14 and 17. France is a popular destination among the Madeiran community in Jersey, also because it is easily accessible. Participants 1 and 3 revealed they had been to St. Malo several times, as well as to other parts of France like Paris, normally on mini breaks. The daily ferry service facilitates this option and the fact that they can take their car means they can explore other regions of France. Participant 14, for example, said that she had been to St. Malo between ten to fifteen times. Day visits are also common.

The findings also revealed that the increased mobilities of these migrants did not happen straight away. Some of them mentioned that they worked for some years when they moved to Jersey and during that time they did not travel anywhere. They needed to adjust to their new life and have some savings before they could travel, as was the case of Participant 17. His travel habits changed dramatically but that did not happen immediately. The first ten years in Jersey were of very hard work. He went to Madeira three times during those ten years. After that, he visited mainland Portugal to buy some property, went to Majorca and Ibiza, visited Disneyworld in Orlando with the family, has visited other parts of the US and has been to France many times. He enjoys spending time in Paris and sometimes goes to St. Malo for a day visit, which happens regularly. He has also visited other parts of the UK and other Channel Islands like Guernsey and Sark. A similar experience was shared by other Participants (24, 11, 1, 18), first they had to settle, work for a few years, and accrue some savings. Then, when their life was more financially stable, they started travelling to Madeira and to other destinations.

Other participants said that they did not travel much either because they were still settling and did not have the means to travel or because they do not enjoy travelling. Participant 4 had not been to Madeira since she had gone to Jersey. The settlement of her family in Jersey was met by several obstacles and being a family of four makes it expensive to travel to Madeira. A

similar issue was pointed out by Participant 18. He mentioned that direct flights to Madeira are expensive and if they were cheaper, he would probably travel to Madeira more often. A few migrants revealed that they do not enjoy travelling very regularly, as was the case of Participant 15. He said:

I have been to France twice, once to Tenerife and to Littlehampton. We do not travel more often as a family because I do not really like the unknown, I like to be in places that I feel comfortable.

These interviews reveal that the move to Jersey was fundamental for some migrants, in terms of giving them the possibility to travel to other destinations and enjoy holidays abroad. Participant 6, for example, travelled outside Madeira for the first time when she came to Jersey. But since then, she has visited France, Switzerland, Germany, and Spain. She is also proud of the fact that she can provide her teenage son with more opportunities to travel. Participants 9 and 10 also explained to me that the move to Jersey allowed them to discover other parts of the World. In conclusion, the fact that they have become more mobile is related to their improved economic conditions. They did not have the means to travel before and their current mobility is related to the fact that they moved to Jersey, have better salaries, and can afford to travel.

5.6 – Concluding discussion

Allon et al. (2008) analysed the importance of labour flows and contemporary mobilities and wrote that labour flows are one of the most common forms of contemporary mobility because people have always moved to search for better jobs and to improve their living standards. Andrijasevic (2016) also stated that labour migration in the European Union market is motivated by migrants' prospects of improving their lives, benefiting from higher salaries, developing new skills and work experiences, and doing that in a legal context. This means that migrants use the EU space to their advantage. These points apply to the Madeiran community in Jersey, as we can see from the testimonies of several of the participants. They mention that one of the motivations to move to Jersey was their wish to have better paid jobs, that would allow them to provide for their families, build a house in Madeira and have more financial security. Some of them have mentioned they were working in precarious jobs in Madeira or activities they did not enjoy. Several of them have mentioned that they were encouraged to change by other friends and family members who were living in Jersey. This point is very

important because it is relevant to most participants and shows that having the support of friends and family gave them the extra confidence they needed, to risk leaving their familiar space and embracing a new life in a new country. This idea was also discussed by Faleolo (2019) when studying the movement of migrants between New Zealand and Australia. The relevance of having the support of family members who were already established in Australia was emphasised, which again reinforced the idea of the importance of new migrants having access to support systems.

When work is one of the main motivators for people to migrate, the new destination will benefit from a workforce that is young, active and may help in renovating an ageing population. New migrants are also willing to accept unpopular jobs, temporary contracts, and lower wages, as is the case of the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey (Andrijasevic, 2016). My findings revealed that migrants who arrived in Jersey during the 1960's, 1970's and part of the 1980's were given seasonal contracts and were also doing less popular jobs in agriculture and hospitality. Some of the difficulties revealed are related to the fact that migrants consider life in Jersey stressful because they worked for long hours and the living costs were high, which surprised newcomers. The accommodation offered to many emigrants was of poor quality, meaning that many people were living in houses where they had to use the same room to sleep and to prepare meals and would share a bathroom with other emigrants. Work was hard, especially the work on the farms. It was not unusual for emigrants to work ten to twelve-hour shifts and to start their work in the plantations at 7am.

While the study of Jones (2012) argued that transnational companies are more mobile and are willing to move their businesses to places in the EU where qualified workers cost less, this reality does not apply to Jersey because many of the jobs that Madeirans do in Jersey cannot be transferred to other regions or countries. My findings revealed that Madeirans mostly work in hospitality, farming and in the health/care sectors which cannot be relocated. Arpaia (2016) mentioned that migrants in the UK are motivated to accept lower salaries because they are still favourable when compared to the conditions they had in the homeland. Furthermore, these Madeiran migrants are not experiencing downward class mobility because most of them are doing similar jobs to their past ones on Madeira. The reality is that Madeirans receive higher salaries when compared to the homeland and are benefiting from training and new skills while being legal migrants.

The challenges of adapting to work in a different environment were related to the language barriers and the weather, especially when the jobs on farms would require them to work outside for long hours. Most participants are happy with their professional achievements, but some are also trying to find a more fulfilling career path, as was the case of Participants 4, 9 and 26. These Participants arrived in Jersey more recently than most of the sample (during the 2000's), are more educated and that is probably the reason they are still trying to find a career path which is more fulfilling and related to their life goals.

It is important to contextualise and remember that back in the 1970's and in the beginning of the 1980's, Portugal was not a member of the European Union and emigration was more restricted. Portugal joined the EU in 1986 (Europa.eu website, no date). Before 1986, migrants in Jersey needed work permits and, if migrant women had dependants, finding jobs would be much harder. Employers did not view favourably when migrants had small children and they would prefer to give jobs to couples with no children, as some of the stories of the participants have revealed. Knott et al. (2010) mentioned that the call for improving their living standards and labour opportunities are important drivers for the migrants. However, the other relevant point is that diasporas contribute to sustaining the connections and resources that facilitate migration and their stories will encourage others to make the journey. This was the case for the Madeiran migrants: family and friends' connections in Jersey were crucial to attract and encourage other migrants to leave Madeira and settle in Jersey. The support of migrants that were settled and established before was truly relevant in terms of helping them with accommodation, finding new jobs and feeling more secure and less lonely in their new home.

The study of Mera (2010) added to the discussion when arguing that community social capital is important for diasporas because it develops the networks needed to ensure that the settlement is easier. The idea is that the existing cultural capital will help new migrants to insert themselves into the new society. What diasporas are doing is to challenge the assumption that migrants' identities are related to a specific place. This idea was also reinforced by Martiniello (2012) when the author explained that informal networks are vital for individuals and groups in facilitating the move to another country, in terms of helping with work, housing and other needs. So, to understand mobility movements we need to understand people's individual decisions to migrate and the importance of informal networks.

The importance of the family and friends' network is evident in many of the answers given by the participants. It was the reason why many chose to emigrate and to later settle in Jersey.

Some went to work on farms, in restaurants, and hotels because they had Madeiran friends working in Jersey who would call them in Madeira to offer those job positions. They convinced them by explaining what the working conditions were, the salaries and the career progression they could achieve. Others met their future partners in Jersey and decided they would not return because of these emotional connections. Apart from the invitations and job offers, it was the fact that they had a network of family and friends in Jersey that helped them deal with the initial struggles of missing their homeland, of being introduced to a new culture and society with the emotional support of their countrymen. After working long hours, they could meet their friends and family after work, to socialise, to have meals together, to watch football matches, for birthdays and other family celebrations. As some participants explained, even if they did not meet so often the fact that they were a phone call away or knowing they lived 15 to 20 minutes away would give them the reassurance that if they needed help, they would have that support.

Some of the stories also show that having friends and family living in Jersey was particularly important for the younger generations because it meant they had somewhere to stay in the beginning. They could stay with a friend or a family member for a few weeks or even months. This aspect was highlighted as being crucial for young migrants who would arrive in Jersey without having the funds to rent a room and pay for the fees involved. Some of the participants explained they stayed in family accommodation until they were paid the first salary or until they accumulated some funds that would allow them to become more independent. Their testimonies also revealed that even when some of the participants had decided to open a business in hospitality, catering, or cleaning, in Jersey, they would normally recruit their staff within the Madeiran diaspora; supervisory positions were given to other family members and word-of-mouth was used to attract friends-of-friends looking for an opportunity. I conclude that the growth of the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey was possible because of the support of the networks made by family and friends. One of the participants explained that after coming to Jersey, another two sisters also moved to Jersey a few years later. I testify this was a reality for many of the participants, because other migrants also mentioned they had more siblings living on Jersey.

Zagkotsi (2014) studied family migration and defended the idea that families are the most important drivers of social and professional mobility. Martiniello (2012) also discussed the relevance of family to migration and the primary migrant being in most cases a young man or woman, which is confirmed in the present study. When they continue to live in the new home longer than they expected, this encourages family reunions and once they have children the

second generation will develop a transcultural and bicultural identity. Consequently, it becomes challenging for parents to return to the homeland. The statements from my participants confirm this vision, where their children who were born in Jersey or came to Jersey at a very young age will influence the length of the participant's stay in Jersey and even their decisions not to return to Madeira. Tsolidis (2011) argues that globalisation has produced a smaller world where people cross boundaries and explore their cultural identity. That could be said of Madeirans in Jersey because their cultural identity is influenced by the values of the homeland but also by the values and lifestyle of Jersey, where their children feel integrated and at home.

There were even cases of parents who had moved to Jersey after retiring in Madeira, since all their offspring had moved to Jersey, and they wanted to be closer to them and their grandchildren. Van Mol (2017) analysed the causes of international migration and explained the relevance of international social networks and the links between migrants and their friends and family, that could be a stimulus to international migration movements. The author explored how certain regions of high migration could be influenced by the positive or the negative experiences of the migrants, who had left the homeland and of the migrants who decided to return, because they did not have a positive migration experience. Hieronymi (2005) highlighted how the success or failure of migration should not be considered only from the point-of-view of the homeland or the hostland. It should also be understood from an individual point-of-view, which is what I have done with the present study. I concluded that for most of the participants moving to Jersey was extremely beneficial.

The study of mobilities and migration movements is dominated by the attention given to the transnational mobilities of the elite and of the highly skilled migrants (Jones, 2012). The study of Boschma et al. (2014) brought to the discussion that more attention is given to labour flows of skilled workers because it is assumed that they matter most in knowledge economies. Martiniello (2012) believes that governments of developed economies will continue to encourage the mobility of highly skilled people while low-skilled workers and people fleeing persecution are excluded. I believe that one of the major contributions of my thesis is that I explored the individual reasons that brought migrants to Jersey, their stories of settlement, and this study highlights the struggles of a lower-income group who also live in a transnational space and develops different types of mobilities, for work and leisure purposes. Mulder et al (2014) wrote about migration as an opportunity to widen horizons and expand careers in more dynamic labour markets for the highly educated people. My study suggests that the less educated are also interested in migration as an opportunity for professional growth and

economic development and that they are also a group of migrants who have developed distinctive travel habits.

The motivation to do voyages of self-discovery and identity affirmation was studied by Hannam and Knox (2010) and are made by people who are in search of their roots. Coles et al. (2004) added diasporas' wish to reinforce their identities and maintain lines with their place of origin. Tololyan (2012) also explained that citizens can have multi-local commitments, dual citizenship and participate in transnational networks, as is the case of most of the participants in this study. The analysis of the findings show that this group of people is well integrated in Jersey and the majority feels that Jersey is their home, as their answers have demonstrated. Out of 26 people, twelve replied that Jersey is their home and another seven stated that both Jersey and Madeira are their home. This group of people maintains close relations with their family and friends in Madeira. When asked about how often they travel to the island, eighteen people said they go to Madeira at least once a year or every two years, three travel every 4 to 5 years and only two of the interviewees visit Madeira several times a year, or at least three times a year, which proves that they maintain a close emotional and physical link with their place of birth. Many of the participants have close family members in Madeira, like parents, siblings, and extended family. They feel the need to, for example, visit their ageing parents and spend time with them. They also want their children to spend quality time with their grandparents in Madeira. This information was stated by fifteen of the 26 participants. The statistics show that 78% of the participants travel to Madeira either every year or every two years.

Powers (2011) writes about the homeland tour being like a pilgrimage where migrants hope to connect with their roots and return healed and transformed. These strong connections with the homeland reveal that the search for roots and routes will motivate migrants to visit Madeira. As the findings shown, Madeirans do often visit their homeland. Coles et al. (2004) argue that family history and the 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' market develops when relatives want to discover how their family members have settled in another place or to participate in events. This means that the number of Madeirans visiting Jersey could also be significant, although this was not a line of investigation that I have explored. Powers (2011) added to the discussion when he wrote that the diasporic public spheres bring social changes because migrants exist in national boundaries, but they also see themselves as belonging to a larger and global organisation. In this case, Madeirans' diasporic public spheres exist in Jersey and in Madeira, but they also belong to the group of the Madeiran Diasporas worldwide.

My findings also revealed the degree of loyalty from the Madeiran diaspora to their homeland, their regular visits and their emotional attachment is evident and was explained above. Scheyven (2007) explored diaspora tourism as a concept and the connections to the homeland. The author highlighted the loyalty of diaspora communities to the homeland and the fact that they travel to places that are not visited by tourists, to be with their family and friends and to attend social gatherings, while at the same time being part of a larger social unit which is the diaspora. Although it is evident that the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey has that loyalty towards their homeland and the family they left behind, they also show that they wish to visit the popular sights and enjoy going to restaurants and bars, like any tourist would do. Some of the participants even mentioned that they have stayed in hotels while visiting Madeira. Therefore, although it is correct to affirm that migrants are loyal to the homeland and are willing to visit less popular places because of their family connections, this group of participants also showed that they enjoy taking part in the activities that foreign tourists do, like the round the island trips, walks in the mountains and visiting many of the tourism attractions. Some of the participants even said that they had visited certain attractions for the first time only after migrating to Jersey, because before that they did not have the opportunity or the means to travel within Madeira. The study of King, Christou and Ahrens (2011) highlights the fact that the second generation of Greek/Germans visit Greece for personal and emotional reasons given by positive holiday memories and a sense of cultural identity. The study of Roberts (2012) also reveals the relevance of diaspora tourists, who constituted 16% of visitor arrivals in the Dominican Republic in 2005.

The theme of sending remittances to family members in the homeland was explored by Potter (2012), and the reasons are to help poor relatives and bring new professional skills and innovations to their communities in the homeland. The importance of remittances to Portugal was mentioned in the literature review, and a Eurostat study of 2018 showed that Portugal is the country in the EU that received the most remittances from their migrants (Revista do Expresso, 2019). As for this group of people, their interviews do reveal that some of the participants used to send remittances to Madeira to help family members or to pay debts or their mortgages in Madeira. Others decided that they wish to establish themselves in Jersey and having a house in Madeira is not a priority. This means that they do not have the obligation to send remittances to Madeira and, at the same time, that their future remains flexible because they can continue to live in Jersey or decide to move to Madeira.

As for the lifestyle of the Madeiran Diaspora, the analysis of the answers given by the participants is the evidence that the Madeiran community is very hard-working and social gatherings are mostly informal and family oriented. Many people have mentioned that their daily routine is made of going to work and coming home, their work journey is made of long hours, and many have part-time jobs besides their main job. They do not go out very often and prefer to stay at home with their family and extended family and friends, who they invite for home-cooked meals. This situation was mentioned by several participants.

In the past, there were other clubs in Jersey like the Portuguese Club and the Madeira Club, but none of these spaces exist at present. The big community event is the Food Festival in August, which was mentioned with enthusiasm by almost everybody that I have interviewed. Apart from that, there are not many events happening. Some people mentioned the religious celebrations of the Lady of Fatima, in May, which involves a Portuguese mass and a parade. This event is also popular within the community, especially the Portuguese Catholic community. In addition, there is also the church choir which involves a group of Madeirans and was created many years ago, and a folkloric group that performs traditional Madeiran dances and was created in 2009. The folkloric group participates in parties in hotels and other events, and they also perform in the August Food Festival. They have also performed in other areas of the UK where there are significant Portuguese communities. For example, they visited Littlehampton a few years back to participate in a cultural exchange with another Folkloric group managed by Madeiran emigrants, that live in that part of England. I went to this event and witnessed their participation; however, this happened before I started this research project.

What I understood as well is that there were more celebrations in the past, which were related to certain Portuguese/Madeiran bank holidays, for example the 25th of April which is the date of the revolution that brought democracy to Portugal, or the Madeira Day, on the 1st of July. None of these events are celebrated today. Some say it is because they do not have volunteers to organise them while others state that it has also to do with the fact that people often disagree on how and what to do and end up never reaching a consensus. It is also a fact that when emigrants settle and feel more integrated in their new country, they tend to mingle more with the local community and do not feel the necessity to participate in Portuguese gatherings. However, some continue to do it and participate in the cultural gatherings of their adopted country. As they feel more at home in Jersey, they participate less in gatherings related to their homeland. They feel they are part of both cultures. Some may even want to forget their roots and become invisible in the community. Some migrants continue to have the mentality that

their mission in Jersey is to work hard and save as much as possible, to return to Madeira in the future. They want to improve their economic condition, build quality houses in Madeira, and have savings for the future. Others work hard but also want to enjoy life in Jersey, going out for meals and travelling abroad.

Tsagarousianou (2004) argued that diasporas share the feeling they will never be accepted by their host societies and develop autonomous cultural and social needs and their descendants will return to the homeland if in the future they have favourable conditions. The author also believes that there is an overrated emphasis on the perceived nostalgia links and memories that diasporas have of the homeland. I must disagree with the argument because my study has shown that the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey have few formal associations that organise and promote events and cultural gatherings. Many of the participants have said that they prefer to organise informal gatherings at home, for their friends and family. This idea was also shared by Martiniello (2012) when the author states that informal networks can provide vital resources for individuals and groups in facilitating the move to another country. My study has also shown that formal associations existed two decades ago but nowadays Madeirans are better integrated in the Jersey society and do not feel the need to participate or create Portuguese associations. The first generation of migrants – which constitutes my sample, except for one participant – is clear to say that they feel that Jersey is their home, although they identify themselves as Madeirans and maintain very close relations with the homeland. It is not difficult to predict that the second generation of Madeirans who were born in Jersey will be even more attached to Jersey than their parents are. A future study could explore these themes with the second generation of Madeirans. As for the nostalgia links and memories of the homeland, again I disagree with Tsagarousianou (2004) when the author states there is an overrated emphasis. Madeirans in Jersey continue to look for Portuguese goods in the grocery shops and have told me how they enjoy their visits to restaurants in Madeira, to try the food and drinks that they miss so much in Jersey, and how they bring some of those nostalgia goods and products in their travel suitcases when they return to Jersey.

As for the travel habits of the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey, it is noticeably clear that their mobilities have changed dramatically with their move to Jersey. Most participants had never been abroad before moving to Jersey, and for some their first international flight was from Madeira to Jersey. Some had visited the nearby island of Porto Santo and mainland Portugal. After moving to Jersey, many have said that they did not travel at all during the first few years in Jersey, because they needed to find some stability and pay debts in Madeira. After four or

five years, they visited their homeland and their travel routines started to change. The reason for it is economic, it is the fact that they had disposable income that changed their habits. Before moving to Jersey, they were also living on an island, which creates its own barriers to travel for people of more modest economic means. This was the case for most of the participants, they could not think about going abroad because they could not afford to do it. When their lives improved in Jersey, they started visiting other destinations – mostly in Europe – to enjoy leisure holidays. France was mentioned by most participants as a destination they enjoy travelling to, mostly because of the proximity with Jersey and the regular ferry services. St. Malo and the nearby regions were pointed out by the participants as places they had visited several times. Paris was also mentioned as a favourite city break. Apart from that, Spain and mainland Portugal were named as popular travel destinations for leisure holidays. What the data reveals is that it was the move to Jersey that allowed this group of participants to become more mobile, and to enjoy leisure holidays abroad, in the several destinations they had mentioned (France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Tunisia, Brazil, USA, etc). Before moving to Jersey, most of the participants had never enjoyed leisure holidays outside their homeland. Some even confessed that they did not know their homeland too well, because they did not have a car in Madeira and could not afford to travel inside the island. A few said they had visited the neighbouring island of Porto Santo and had not travelled anywhere else. However, even with the move to Jersey and their improved economic stability, many participants admitted the reason they did not travel abroad more often was because they are so loyal to Madeira and visit the island every year. They have strong emotional attachments to the homeland, some own houses and spend 2 or 3 weeks a year in Madeira, enjoying their houses and visiting family and acquaintances. In addition, even the destinations they choose to visit on annual leave have family members living in those countries. Some participants also said that they had taken advantage of the ferry connections to visit other Channel Islands like Guernsey, Sark, and Herm, and enjoy short breaks. Gerharz (2009) discussed the fact that mobile people can constantly localise themselves and they maintain social relationships through travelling and by using communication technologies. Therefore, it is challenging to separate mobilities from the wider technological and economic developments. I would add to this vision by also stating we cannot separate mobility decisions from the emotional attachments people have to places and acquaintances. As my study demonstrates, their decisions on where to travel are strongly connected to their emotional attachments to their family and the homeland.

As Jones (2012) has written, the concept of transnationalism has been used by political geographers to discuss debates related to mobility and to understand political movements and identities that exist beyond the notion of nation-state. Diasporas develop a sense of identity which is related to transnationalism, a form of international movement practised in a globalised world and through practices of living between two or more worlds, as is the case of the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey. These migrants travel regularly to pursue skills or enjoy holidays and use technology to stay connected. They are part of multi-local, transnational networks and often transfer remittances to their families to invest in houses, community projects or businesses, as they have mentioned in the interviews. Some of the participants have told me that they did not travel to other countries more often because of the emotional necessity they felt to travel back to their roots, and to connect to their origins and identity. Even when they did not go to Madeira, many would still choose to travel to destinations where they had family members living, as was the case of London, mainland Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, Guernsey, and France. These destinations were mentioned by the participants as places where they had family connections and their main motivation to travel was to be reunited with other family members. Griffin et al. (2016) explored the increasing demand of VFR travel and the links between migration and tourism. Even when visitors have no friends or relatives living in a destination, knowing that there are significant numbers of compatriots who have settled in a particular community could attract visitors. The links between migration and VFR tourism can only be sufficiently known by understanding the social networks, ethnic origins, and ties of a certain diaspora. My study also gives this contribution to a better understanding of the concept and theories of transnationalism, through the exploration of the transnational movements of this diaspora and proves that classic migration theories are not sufficient to understand mobilities in Europe. Future studies need to engage with the individual stories of migration and their cultural dimension, to give more visibility to the more recent paradigms of mobilities and diaspora movements.

Agnew (2005) stated that diasporic studies have lacked an understanding of class and gender. I would add to the argument to say that diasporic studies also lack the knowledge and understanding of the lifestyle and identity changes that are brought to diasporas because of their new settlement and the improvements to their living standards, at the host destination. Through the testimonies of the participants in my study, it became clear that a move to Jersey was accepted as a change to an island that could offer Madeirans a similar lifestyle, of living in a peaceful and small island. They accepted their fate of being away from their family, friends,

and cultural surroundings because of the strong possibility that an improvement to their economic condition was possible. They continued to live on an island, but their improved financial situation had an impact on their travel habits, which changed dramatically and for the better.

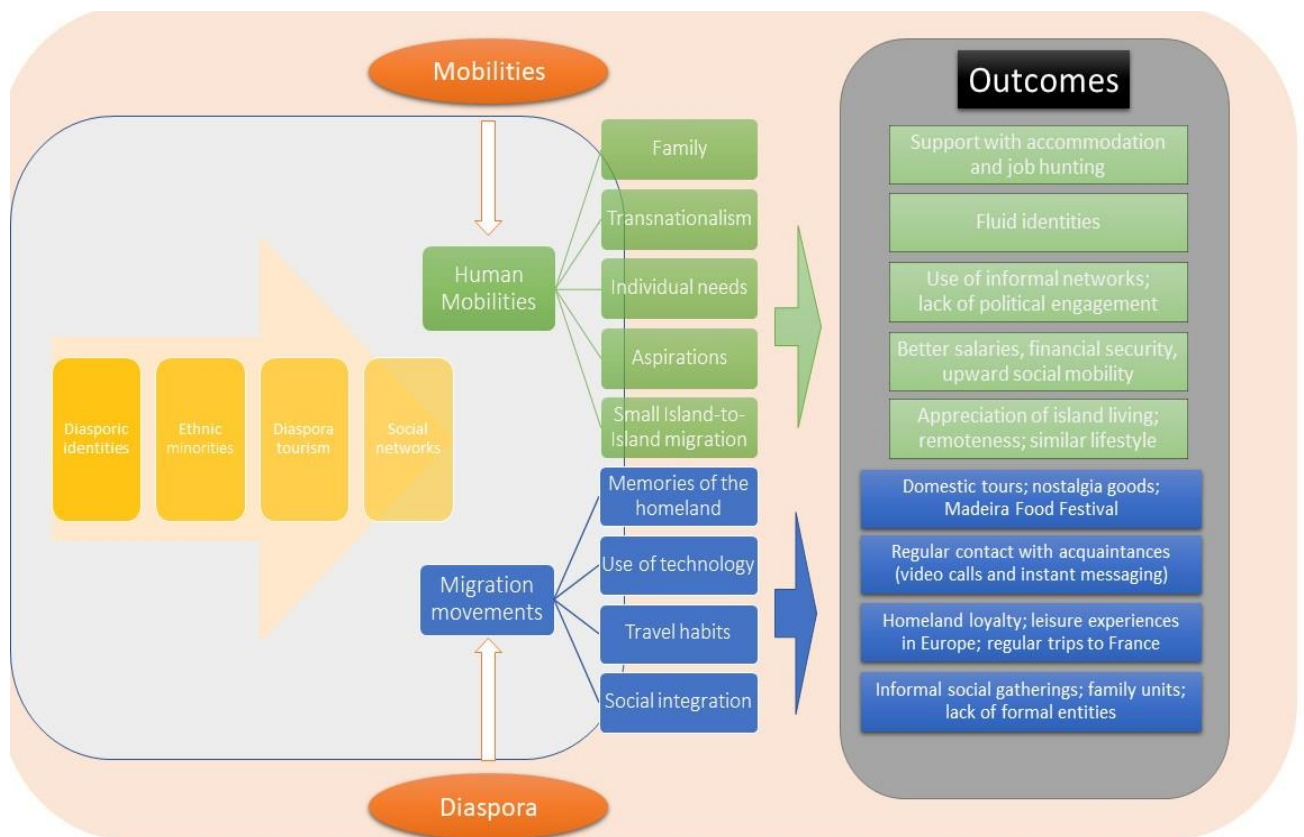
5.7 – Revised Conceptual Framework

Figure 5.7.1 shows the revised conceptual framework, in page 169. It was initially developed based on the theoretical discussions of mobilities and diaspora and was then further refined to conceptualize the issues that were investigated, and by using the data that was collected and analysed. After having identified diaspora and mobilities as the main concepts that supported the development of the theories, the discussion of findings has given visibility to the new outcomes which explain the migration characteristics of the group and what has allowed the diaspora to become mobile.

Diaspora becomes a relevant concept to explore and understand how a group of migrants settle in the host land. The conceptual framework indicates how family connections and individual aspirations are important for the studies of mobilities, and migration movements. They can be catalysts of the desire to migrate and allow the practice of transnationalism. Apart from the improved economic perspectives that can be achieved in the host land, the potential lifestyle similarities between the homeland and the host land are an important factor that can both influence the decision to migrate and facilitate the subsequent settlement. Diaspora groups may feel the need to maintain memories of the homeland, and to reproduce certain cultural traditions in the host land, in the form of fairs and festivals and of consuming nostalgia goods. The framework in figure 5.7.1, has illustrated that while diasporas can be significant in numbers, social gatherings can still be informal. The development of diaspora tourism is also evident.

Migration movements are influenced by social and economic networks which can change or be adapted by the new lifestyle adopted by migrants, by their personal or individual circumstances. This investigation has demonstrated that migrants use informal networks instead of engaging with public policies of migration. This study has also reinforced the importance of giving more emphasis to the individual stories of migration, as well as the necessity to produce more studies that further explore small island-to-island migration.

My revised conceptual framework, illustrated in figure 5.7.1, highlights the key issues related to the reasons of the migration to Jersey, the changes of their identities and the factors that have allowed migrants to embed themselves in the local environment in Jersey. The outcomes not only provided more detailed information about the identity of Madeirans in Jersey but also revealed that the support given by family and friends in terms of job hunting and accommodation was crucial. As a result, they were able to experience upward social mobility by having more financial security, while appreciating a lifestyle that had many similarities with the life they had in Madeira, namely of remoteness and living on a small island. Their fluid identities became evident when a possible return to the homeland was discussed and many expressed their current emotional connections to both the homeland and the host land, and of not knowing if they would ever return to the homeland.



5.7.1 – Revised conceptual framework Mobilities and Diaspora

Chapter Six – Conclusion

This chapter summarises the main arguments of this study of the multiple mobilities of the Madeiran community in Jersey. I will also reflect on my aim and what I found out about the initial themes and topics. This chapter also explains what I believe are the contributions of my study to academic knowledge, and some of the consequences and implications of my findings to the governments of Madeira and Jersey. In addition, I will also identify the limitations of my study and reflect on the aspects that could be further investigated in future studies. To conclude, I will also add some final thoughts about my research journey.

6.1 – Introduction

Through the examination of the Madeiran community in Jersey, this major investigation has shed light in understanding the tourism mobilities and related behaviours of small island-to-island migration. More importantly, this study sheds light on the mobilities and travel habits of a lower income migration group and of an ethnic minority, which is not so often investigated in academia. This diaspora has migrated to countries like Venezuela, South Africa, Brazil, Curacao, Guyana, USA, and France, amounting to around 600,000 Madeirans living abroad (Correia de Jesus, 2021; Almeida, 2007). The decision to focus my study on the Madeirans in Jersey – who represent 7% of the population – is a way to access and explore this wider diasporic group, spread in many corners of the world.

6.2 – Summary of findings

In chapter one of this thesis, I included the aim and the objectives of the study. The aim was to critically investigate the multiple mobilities and travel experiences of the Madeiran migrants that have settled in the Channel Island of Jersey.

Specific objectives of this research were as follow:

- 1) To critically examine the professional experiences of Madeiran migrants in the island of Jersey

- 2) To critically explore the leisure and tourism experiences of Madeiran migrants in the island of Jersey
- 3) To critically consider the realities of their settlement experiences and if they promoted stronger connections to the host region, a tendency to return to the homeland, or to indecisions about their future.

Regarding objective one, I identified the main activities and industries where Madeirans work in Jersey. I also discussed their work experiences, professional development, and the challenges they have encountered. The second objective was about their leisure and tourism experiences, the findings revealed how the diaspora is taking advantage of their improved economic conditions to pursue leisure and tourism experiences. I discussed how Madeirans spend their free time in Jersey, the destinations they choose to visit when they travel outside the island, as well as their motivations to travel to those chosen destinations. Finally, the difficulties they encountered while trying to settle in Jersey and their connections to the homeland were analysed. I explored their identities and their concept of home, and discussed the possibility of future returns to Madeira, as mentioned in objective three.

During this investigation, I critically discussed themes that are related to diaspora, mobilities, tourism and migration. One of the first Madeirans to arrive in Jersey in 1934 was Eduardo Alho. However, significant numbers of Madeirans only arrived many decades later. This means that this diaspora is a recent migration group to Jersey. Due to their significant presence, they need to be studied and understood by the governments of both islands.

This thesis has explored a connection between diaspora and labour mobility and showed the state of fluidity of the Madeiran diaspora. This investigation has confirmed that the mobility paradigm can help researchers in understanding the decisions and behaviour of individuals on the move, and as part of a new society. It has also helped clarifying the concept of space and place and the importance of material and visual memories, illustrated by how the Madeiran Diaspora in Jersey has created a 'home away from home', not only by consuming Portuguese products available in Jersey and participating in community events and religious festivities, but also by how often they organise informal family and friends' gatherings, at home and by cooking meals and flavours that remind them of the homeland. In addition, they cannot be simply defined as Madeirans because the experience in Jersey has made them more culturally and socially diverse. The traditional concept of home as a fixed and stable location has given place to a dynamic place that involves goods, symbols, smells, images, values, ideas, and forms

of identity. This research has enabled to understand the concept of transnational spaces where cross-border movements are taking place. The mobilities paradigm has helped in understanding those social movements and how diasporas fight to build their stability, their forms of survival and adaptation to a new society.

The theoretical discussion included the visions of Allon (2008) and Andrijasevic (2016) about the importance of labour mobilities and the fact that migrants in the European Union are motivated by the economic benefits that destinations have to offer. Even though curiosity, a sense of adventure and freedom were some of the reasons that people mentioned to move to Jersey, the main goals that motivated Madeiran migration were economic. Accordingly, their personal motivations to leave Madeira were related to their desire to improve their living standards and to start a new adventure, with the possibility of earning higher salaries and pursue more solid careers, which are the pull factors of Jersey. Madeiran push factors include: the less developed economy, the lack of well-paid jobs and the limited career perspectives. On the other hand, for some Madeirans living in Jersey, migration meant that they could experience upward social mobility; they were able to amass enough savings that were later invested in businesses in areas like construction, restaurants and cafes, supermarkets, hospitality, and property businesses. What this meant is that for this group of migrants, their economic situation improved considerably, and they went from belonging to a lower-income to a mid-income affluence. My findings demonstrate the success of some of these Madeiran entrepreneurs and the improved economic condition of other Madeiran citizens in Jersey, who do not own businesses and have entry level jobs in hotels, farms, construction, and restaurants.

Madeirans have evolved professionally, and some participants appreciate that companies' training programmes are commonplace when they start a new role. They have gained new skills and experiences and, in some cases, improved their education. Their jobs in Jersey have often allowed them to buy or build properties in Madeira and/or Jersey, and to support family members in Madeira. Jersey also has higher qualified Madeirans working, for example, as nurses or pharmacists in the hospital. However, the sample of this study revealed that most Madeirans in Jersey have low or medium skills.

It was surprising to note the lack of formal cultural and leisure organisations within the diaspora, due to the dimension of the community. Social gatherings between Madeirans in Jersey are mostly informal and organised between groups of friends and relatives. This is a situation which causes sadness for some Madeirans who would like to see more cultural events happening. I believe that this reality is also caused by the fact that family and friends' support

is very strong, not only for people in Madeira who have the intention to come to Jersey but also within the current community. Madeirans in Jersey also work long hours, and many have more than one job, which means they do not have much free time and spend most of that free time with their family and friends. The first generation of migrants is still active and productive in Jersey. It suggests that when migrants are well-integrated in their new societies, they do not feel the need to adhere to any formal associations. This is not solely a characteristic of low-income groups - like my thesis revealed - because Trotz et al. (2013) concluded it is also a common trait within the migrant movement of highly qualified people.

In terms of social structure, Madeirans are mostly organised as family units in Jersey. My findings revealed that 61% of the participants came to Jersey with their partners or as married couples, which shows the importance of the family structure and the influence of their cultural and conservative values. It was not uncommon that young unmarried couples would return to Madeira after spending one or two years in Jersey, to get married in Madeira, due to the pressure of family members who would not see as morally appropriate that young couples would be living together without being married. Another relevant point is that this sample had a limited formal education, many did not conclude their secondary studies and others came to Jersey just after they concluded their secondary education. This aspect is relevant because it indicates that Madeirans were expecting to do low-skilled jobs in Jersey. Yet, most of my sample had jobs in Madeira and were not unemployed.

The major difficulties of settling in Jersey were related to the feelings of loneliness and isolation of the first comers during the 1970's. The harsh winters, cultural differences and language barriers were mentioned by some participants. These migrants also named the stressful lifestyle they had in the beginning, of working long hours and having hard jobs on farms, where they would work from 7am until 8pm. It was not uncommon for people to be occupied with a main job and have one or two part-time jobs. It is important to remember that in the 1970's the laws of immigration were more restrictive, migrants could not bring their children to Jersey and needed to have work permits to be allowed on the island. In some cases, accommodation provided was also of poor quality, where sleeping and cooking in the same room and sharing a bathroom with other migrants was not an uncommon situation. Another complaint of many participants is the lack of union between Madeirans, the fact that they do not support each other and say that there is a lot of gossip in the community.

The importance of the support given by friends and family is clear in the present study. Every participant admitted that they received help and encouragement to move to Jersey, often in the

form of free accommodation from their family and friends in the beginning or were even offered jobs before they landed in Jersey. As the community grew, the stories of migration were less dramatic, and this was also studied by Knott et al. (2010) who found that diasporas contribute to sustaining the connections and resources that facilitate migration and their stories will encourage others to make the journey. These informal networks are key to individuals and groups when they are moving across borders and were particularly important to this group of Madeirans of more modest means.

Their decision to continue to live in Jersey or a possible return to the homeland is influenced by many mobility factors. It is related to their work commitments, professional fulfilment, and their family necessities. For a significant part of the participants, the return to Madeira for good is not an option, especially because they have children and for their children Jersey is their home. Parents appreciate the quality of the education system and believe that Jersey offers more opportunities for their children to thrive and progress in the careers they choose to follow. The second generation develops a transcultural and bicultural identity (Martiniello, 2012), they feel that they belong to Jersey as well as Madeira. The parents also believe that Jersey is a fairer society where meritocracy is a reality. Another factor which influences people to stay in Jersey is that with time other family members also left Madeira and migrated to Jersey. This meant that several of my participants had other siblings and even parents living in Jersey. This family stability in Jersey is important for them and distances them from a possible return to Madeira. Yet, a minority of participants believe they will return to Madeira after they retire.

In terms of travel habits, the study reveals that Madeirans are very loyal to their homeland. The majority visit Madeira either every year or every two years, with the intention to spend time with family members and to be in contact with their roots. One aspect which became evident is the fact that some people said they started to know Madeira better after moving to Jersey, either because they did not have the means to travel when they lived in Madeira, or they were not so curious. After settling in Jersey, when they travel to Madeira, they want to visit the popular attractions, do tours around the island, sometimes they stay in hotels, they regularly eat in restaurants, and attend family gatherings and religious parties. So, one sees the nature of the relationship of the Madeirans to their homeland changes with migration indicating how mobility may contribute to a process of relationship and identity transformation or evolution. The emotional attachment is also evident when their testimonies have shown that some migrants continue to send remittances to Madeira, to either pay for expenses of having properties there, supporting their siblings or other family members, or even supporting the

organisation of religious gatherings in Madeira. The Madeiran diaspora supports what the study of Scheyven (2007) suggested, when the author mentions that diaspora tourism is less seasonal and more loyal to the homeland.

The experiences of the Madeiran community in Jersey can be compared to other diasporas living in different corners of the world. The Samoan Diaspora, studied by Scheyvens (2007), that lives mostly in New Zealand, Australia, and the US, also visits the homeland with regularity and quite often chooses to stay in budget accommodation. Although it could be perceived as a modest contribution to the local economy, they also have the habit of regularly eating in local restaurants and of sleeping in local villages, which brings an important economic contribution to the local economies. The participants in my study also stated they often eat out while on holiday in Madeira, visit popular attractions and travel to the island at any time of the year, showing they are less influenced by seasonality. The study of Van Mol (2017) about the Ukrainian diaspora revealed that people that have more regular contact with family members that live abroad, tend to have more often aspirations to move abroad as well, which is also in agreement with what I found out about Madeirans and how the family connections were fundamental in attracting them to Jersey. However, the study of Van Mol (2017) also revealed that, over time, the contact with family and friends in the homeland decreases within the Ukrainian diaspora, which did not seem to happen with the Madeiran diaspora. The participants stated they continue to keep regular contact with their friends and families in the homeland, taking advantage of technological platforms like Facebook and Skype, an idea which was also studied by Halilovich (2012) when discussing the social networks and cultural identity of diasporas, which transcends geographical borders.

Contrary to what the study of Trotz et al. (2013) revealed about the Caribbean Diaspora and their involvement in the local politics of the homeland, the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey did not show an interest in having a political involvement in the homeland. One of the reasons could be that I mostly spoke with the first generation of Madeirans. They were not involved in politics before arriving in Jersey. The second and third generation may have that predisposition to invest in the homeland or be interested in a political career. In the future, it will be interesting to observe if the second generation of Madeirans in Jersey will continue to have the same attachment to the homeland. The study of King et al. (2011) about the Greek diaspora in Germany revealed that the emotional attachment to the homeland was very strong and resulted not only in frequent visits but also entries in Greek Universities, marrying Greek partners, and escaping to the homeland during life changing periods. I believe this may not happen to the

second generation of Madeirans in Jersey. Their parents admitted they are well integrated, and it is in Jersey where they feel home is, even challenging their parents' decisions to travel to Madeira so often, saying that they can also enjoy holidays elsewhere.

This thesis has also revealed that the travel habits of Madeirans changed radically with the move to Jersey and their improved economic situation, which meant they have travelled to new destinations to enjoy family holidays abroad, visit family members living in other destinations, or to enjoy short breaks, with France a popular destination. This shows the transnational nature of Madeirans in Jersey, they keep their national links but also cross borders and become global citizens. Other destinations mentioned were mainland Portugal, USA, other parts of the UK, Brazil, Poland, Ireland, Tunisia, and a few more. In conclusion, and despite the challenges and difficulties mentioned above, Madeirans are happy and feel at home in Jersey. None of the participants told me they regretted their decision to migrate, even when it was evident that some were still far from achieving their personal goals in Jersey, due to having migrated more recently.

6.3 – Contributions to knowledge

The content of this thesis will contribute to a broader discussion on mobilities, especially in what relates to the work, lifestyle, and the travel habits of a lower income group of migrants. Lower income migrants and ethnic minorities continue to be areas that are understudied in academia and not enough attention has been given to the travel movements and settlement characteristics of ethnic minorities. Lifestyle mobilities also incorporate aspects of work mobility and the travel habits of migrants are an understudied topic in academia, especially when the focus of the study is on lower income citizens migrants. It is also a contribution to the understanding of the mobilities of a migrant group that is an ethnic minority. By using the case of the Portuguese in Jersey, I have developed an original and unknown topic.

Previous studies (Agnew, 2005; Potter, 2012; Trotz and Mullings, 2013) have highlighted the emphasis that have been given to the lifestyle mobilities of the highly educated and people with means to travel. This study puts emphasis on a group of people that are not wealthy but found a strategy to become mobile, to live abroad, and to improve their life. It shows that lifestyle mobilities are not only followed by groups of people that are highly educated and have the means to travel. The apparently less mobile can also develop strategies to create work and

lifestyle mobilities; those strategies of the less mobile should be further explored, to understand the hardships, the efforts and the underlying motivations that are put in place to allow migration to happen. In the case of the Madeiran Diaspora, having the support of family and friends was what helped them make the move, as this thesis has demonstrated by discussing the support provided to newcomers by their family and friends who were already settled in Jersey.

This study also contributes to discussion on and the understanding of the concept of transnationalism and the transnational movements of diasporas in general, demonstrating the need to consider other paradigms to study contemporary mobilities in Europe. Classic migration theories - that focus on the number of migrants and their economic contributions - are not sufficient to understand the characteristics of diasporas. Instead, future studies need to continue to engage with individual migrants, to study their stories of migration, their cultural dimension, and what their motivations to cross borders were. From that perspective, this study makes that contribution to knowledge because the emphasis is given to the individual stories of these migrants, to explore and discuss what they said, allowing each of the participants to highlight what they thought were the most relevant aspects of their migration journeys.

At the same time, the debate around migration movements brought to the discussion that contemporary mobilities and migration patterns are mostly non-permanent and temporary movements (Silva, 1985; Allon et al., 2008; Cresswell, 2006; Fassman and Lane, 2009). This study has exposed a different perspective because the findings revealed that despite the loyalty that the participants show towards the homeland, as well as their regular visits, it is unlikely to translate into the decision of moving back to the homeland permanently. Most of the participants admitted they wished to settle in Jersey permanently; as such, their decision to migrate is neither temporary nor non-permanent. Thus, future migration studies could shift their attention not only to the individual stories of migrants but also to the propensity that migration patterns are not always temporary and non-permanent. Instead, the migrant may wish to take advantage of the convenience and legality to cross borders to decide to settle in the host land.

Small island-to-island migration studies need to be given more attention and resources, to produce knowledge that allows academics to understand what is the motivation that inspires migrants to move from the small island where they were born in, to then migrate to another small island. Parker (2021) discussed how being an islander means to be open to life changes and ruptures motivated by economic reality or political stability during a particular time frame. Small island communities are used to having to adapt to major changes and to look for

opportunities outside their homeland, exploring the transnational borders that are legal and possible and by using formal and informal platforms to escape their harsh realities. At the same time, economic remittances ensure their support of the homeland and its communities. Arpaia et al. (2016) also explained how freedom of movement within the EU meant that migrant workers were more aware of the labour market dimension and the strategies they could use to move from one country to the other. Small island-to-island migration should be on the research agenda because the number of studies that focus on the mobilities of people between small islands are limited. The ability to live on a small island puts emphasis on personal networking and there are issues related to island-living that should be explored, like the isolation, the historical and cultural sense of belonging, the social interaction between communities, and the protection of traditional values. Another aspect that should be explored is related to the geographical position of an island; the movement of people between islands does not always happen because they are geographically close, as this thesis has proven. Instead, this study has shown that many participants felt their integration in Jersey was facilitated by the fact that it was a move to another small island and to a lifestyle that had some common traits to the one they had in the homeland. Aspects like safety and tranquillity were mentioned by several participants, as were the social interactions and daily routines, and the short commuting from home to work, stating they were like what they would do in the homeland. In addition, small island-to-island migration studies contribute to the development of theories that allows us to understand this specific trend in the movement of people across borders. In the attempt to avoid becoming unsustainable, isolated, and impoverished, small islands develop strategies to attract migrant populations; consequently, its population becomes more diverse, and their islander identity is worth studying because of the possible under-explored dimensions of small island-to-island migration, that could be related to gender, age, social class, language, and many other factors. This thesis brings this original contribution to the field and my study has provided a partial picture of the experiences of a specific group of migrants.

Another under-investigated theme in migration and mobilities are the studies that focus on female migration. Although this thesis included the participation of both genders and I did not have the intention to approach and interview women only, in the end I spoke to 18 female migrants and 8 male migrants, which means that the findings give more emphasis to the characteristics and challenges of female migrants, contributing to a better understanding of their voice in terms of their motivations to migrate, on how they have integrated in the new society, how they look at the homeland and the changes that a migration experience has brought

to their daily routine, to their role in society and their feelings in terms of identity and settlement, which is another contribution to knowledge to enrich the studies of female migration.

This study has also shown migrants' preference to embrace migration as a personal choice and as an individual experience, without the need to look for support from any community organisation, or government bodies. This reality has led me to conclude that the focus of future studies of mobilities and migration should continue to be directed towards the exploration of individual stories of migration, as a way to understand why a certain ethnic group or nationality has moved to a particular area of the world, as is the case with my study, because formal organisations and government bodies will not have access to that knowledge unless they understand those individual stories of migration. Migrants do not feel the need or necessity to look for that formal support or guidance from official bodies.

A conceptual framework graphic was created and added at the end of the literature review, as figure 2.8.1, and a revised version of the graphic is included at the end of the discussion of findings, as figure 5.7.1, in page 169. My conceptual framework has highlighted the key concepts that have supported the discussion of findings, and the significance of the findings in terms of expressing how contemporary migrants are influenced to become mobile, the importance of informal social and economic networks and of island-to-island migration. The contributions to knowledge were explained in chapter five.

6.4 – Policy implications

The relevance of the Madeiran community in Jersey needs to be understood by the government of Jersey because there are social and political implications for the island. Migrants contribute to a more diverse and heterogenic society but also bring their challenges. Madeirans came to Jersey to do jobs that were a fundamental necessity for the island. Therefore, the government of Jersey could help the community by including them in the discussion of policies that have implications to migrant communities. This group of migrants have a legal status and are settled in Jersey. Therefore, understanding their idiosyncrasies will help the government to develop positive relations and a stronger proximity that will contribute to a more harmonious society.

The government of Jersey should also show some interest in finding out if the visiting friends and relatives' market from Madeira is sufficiently understood and supported. For example, the

government should study the relevance of these visitors, their behaviour while in Jersey, the places they visit and the funds that they spend while in Jersey. The relevance of this market could influence and convince the government to promote Jersey as a destination in Madeira.

In addition, the present findings should be of interest for policy makers interested in understanding the topics of tourism and migration, not only linked to the impacts of the VFR market but all tourism motivations. This study has shown that while the links between migration and tourism are clear, it is more challenging to understand the changes in terms of trends and the motivations associated with the influence of the country of origin, in the behaviour of migrants. Industry bodies and stakeholders like airlines and tour operators – in both Jersey and Madeira – should consider migration numbers and their impact in the various tourism market segments that are happening currently and could be developed in the future, in both Jersey and Madeira.

As for the Madeiran government, we have discussed their intentions in relation to the diaspora. However, taking into consideration that migration to Jersey has been relevant for some time, the government should support the community to build stronger and formal networks and promote more cultural activities in Jersey. The government recognises that political participation of Madeirans in Jersey is limited. Such participation should be encouraged by the government of Madeira, through the organisation of clarification workshops that would explain the importance of political participation in Jersey. At present, the role of the Portuguese consulate is mostly concentrated on the bureaucratic process of providing the needed documentation to their citizens. However, an additional emphasis upon political participation could be developed with the joint participation of the Portuguese consulate and the Madeiran government.

The event ‘Forum Madeira Global’ happens every August in Madeira and is an example of what the government is aiming to achieve. However, their policies should be more ambitious and act beyond the economic interests of attracting more investors to the homeland. In fact, the event could be a platform for the creation of professional, scientific, and entrepreneurial networks of the Madeira Diaspora worldwide, to facilitate the skills and knowledge transfer between the homeland and the several host lands where Madeirans live, which include the diaspora in Jersey. Based on the experience of participants, the engagement of the government with the diaspora has been of a passive nature, often consisting of a list of political intentions that do not translate into objective policies to foment stronger links between migrants and their country of origin. This idea is particularly important if we consider how contemporary

migration is often made of individual decisions that are not reported to authorities, escaping their knowledge about the movement of people and their motivations and intentions when they travel.

The fact that the Madeiran diaspora in Jersey is well established and integrated makes it even more relevant for the government to develop an active agenda for the creation of stronger cultural links with those migrants, to avoid a future disconnection and a loss of interest, particularly from the second and third generation of migrants. Given that the diaspora in Jersey is a homogeneous group, in terms of culture, identity and even religion, this could make the task of the government easier. At the same time, these connection policies could be established directly with the community leaders, and not through the consular services who are often understaffed and working beyond their capacity. The Madeiran government could take more advantage of social media platforms to reach their diasporas and keep them abreast of what is happening in the homeland and aware of initiatives that could be of interest to the latter.

6.5 – Limitations of the study

As I have considered and explained in the methodology chapter, qualitative studies reflect not only the life stories of the participants but also the experience of the researcher. Participants need to be available and willing to share their life stories. From that perspective, there are limitations because I cannot control what participants are saying and must believe that the elements and details shared are reliable. What I have done was to question, probe and compare information that would allow me to collect the findings that I needed. My sample was small which is a limitation associated with qualitative research, but it was also comparable to other studies and appropriate to small-scale exploratory research. I could have expanded the number of interviews to have more data to analyse and compare. At the same time, what I saw from the interviews was that I was getting relevant answers to the questions and those answers were also giving me an insight and an understanding of my initial objectives. Plus, I reached the level of content saturation that I needed. These realisations assured me that although I had money and time constraints, I still managed to collect a robust amount of data that would allow me to develop the findings chapter.

One of the limitations that I found while I was in Jersey was that people's routines meant that they worked for long hours and had different part-time jobs. Sometimes it was difficult to book

the interviews and the timings of some of the interviews were changed and rearranged. In the end, two people did not come to the interview but later I managed to find other contributors that wanted to participate in the study. This situation did not cause any negative impacts on my investigation because I was available at any time and day while I was in Jersey. I believe that my role as a researcher was to facilitate my participants' contribution to this investigation and adapt to the circumstances. At the same time, although people were indeed busy carrying on with their lives and duties, it was because there are so many Madeirans in Jersey that I managed to find other participants without much difficulty.

As a researcher it is important to recognise that my knowledge about the realities of Madeirans in Jersey was limited. To overcome this situation, I assumed it was important to find people who would trust me enough to share their life stories. I knew the study had a subjective nature, but by being critical, methodical, and curious I would be able to understand their issues and realities. Towards the end of my research journey, I contacted again some of the participants to clarify my understanding of some of their answers. The fact that I did not find much published information about Madeirans in Jersey meant I did not have the theoretical support from published sources, and although that is a limitation, it is also what gives my research an original contribution about a specific migrant community.

It is also important for me to recognise my limitations as a researcher, my lack of experience in gathering significant volumes of data and in establishing the philosophical approach I wanted to follow, the research tools that I wished to use and the difficulties in transcribing and translating so many interviews. I was fortunate to be greatly assisted by my supervisors and to be able to exchange ideas and have debates with more experienced colleagues at work. In the end, I gathered and analysed my data very rigorously with the mission to address the aim of my study.

6.6 – Recommendations for further work

This investigation has allowed me to reflect on many different research subjects, some of them were explored by myself but other lines of investigation could not be followed, because of the time constraints and the threat of losing my own study focus. However, it became evident that there are topics that could develop into valuable academic investigations in the future and could complement my own thesis. To start with, a future study could explore the impacts of the

Madeiran migration on Jersey by looking at aspects like the ties that Madeirans have developed with local communities, the image locals have of the Madeirans and the benefits and constraints that migration brought to Jersey. A comparative study could also be developed, which could look at the Polish and the Madeiran migrations, to explore similar themes that I have investigated but in relation to the Polish community in Jersey, which has become more prominent in the last decade and is the second biggest foreign community after the Madeiran. A comparative study about these two ethnic groups could be developed, since they have chosen to settle in the same destination, to enrich the comparative studies of mobilities theories and to validate the findings of these studies, as the research of Dwyer (2014) has discussed. Comparative studies of countries with significant migrant intakes could provide us with data that would explain the strong link between migration numbers and non-VFR tourism.

My study has mostly focused on the life experiences of the first generation of Madeirans. Except for one person, my participants were all first-generation migrants in Jersey. Although I had contact with some of their children in Jersey while I was doing the interviews, I did not focus my investigation on them. This migration group is recent, and the first generation is still very active professionally. Future studies could explore the experiences of the second generation of Madeirans that were born in Jersey or raised in Jersey from a very early age. Their interest and emotional connections to Madeira could be explored, as well as their interest or not in the culture and language of their parents, and the way they wish to connect to the homeland. This would help develop the studies of migration that take the importance of transnationalism and of transnational movements of people into consideration, as Levitt and Schiller (2004) and Martiniello (2012) have argued.

This study explored the ‘myth of return’ and the intentions of this group of Madeirans, but a future study could go beyond that and examine the significance of post-migration mobilities and diasporas, as Ali (2006) and Cohen (2015) have discussed. An investigation could be developed that would look at the reasons and motivations that have convinced Madeirans to return to their homeland permanently. The study could give emphasis to their return experiences, their settlements and how they have adapted to Madeira, what they are doing professionally and if they regret or not their decisions to return. Another future study could also explore aspects related to migrant’s’ dual citizenship, to understand how many have opted to obtain British citizenship and what were the reasons behind their decisions to become British and how to they perceive their dual citizenship as citizens of two countries.

Another line of investigation that could be followed by future researchers or myself would be to explore the significance of the visiting friends and relatives' market from Madeira to Jersey. Apart from trying to understand the statistics to find out inter alia about the numbers and their significance, a mixed approach methodology could use in-depth interviews and surveys to question those groups of Madeirans and find out about their experiences in Jersey as tourists, their behaviour, and the places they have visited, the length of stay. A study of this nature would bring new knowledge into the discussion on human mobilities theories and inter-cultural exchanges. As Creswell (2006) has argued, human mobilities have become more intense but they are also unspecified and undefined. Thus, there is an urgency for studies that illustrate and proliferate these theories. Coles et al. (2004) argue that the 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' market develops when relatives want to discover how their family members have settled in another place. This means that the number of Madeirans visiting Jersey could also be significant, and this line of investigation could be explored.

Finally, this study has also concluded that all the participants have visited the city of St. Malo in France, some of them having been there several times. The regular ferry connections to France are used by the Madeiran migrants to go on day trips or short breaks to France. A future study could explore the regularity of these visits, the places visited, the amount of money spent, the length of stay and the trends and patterns of this ferry connection. Madeirans also inhabit the neighbouring island of Guernsey, and a future study could develop a similar line of investigation about the diaspora in Guernsey. This thesis further opens an agenda for small island-to-island labour mobilities research, illustrated in relation to the present example of Madeiran migration to Jersey.

6.7 – Reflections and final thoughts

As I reflect about this long journey my memory takes me back to where it all started, with a conversation in London with Professor Kevin Hannam, where we discussed the topic that I wanted to develop for my doctoral studies. I cannot fail to mention my memories of primary school colleagues in the village of Caniçal, back in the 1980's. During those years, I could not understand their sadness for not having their parents in Madeira. My colleagues were living with their aunts, grandparents or a villager that would accept the role of guardian for some financial reward. Their parents were working in farms and hotels in Jersey, as seasonal workers.

They would see them every few months when their contracts would terminate and until the next contract would start. Many parents worked for several seasons, which meant they were away from their children for several years. When I think of those memories of my primary school classroom, I was more interested in my colleague's colourful stationery, the pencil cases, rulers, pencils and rubbers their parents had brought from Jersey, with images of the landscapes of Jersey and the Cadbury sweets which I had never tried before. As a child, I thought my colleagues were so lucky to possess these things that I could not buy in Madeira. I did not have the maturity to understand that I was the lucky one. My parents did not need to migrate, and I could spend my entire childhood with them. More than three decades later, I had the privilege and opportunity to hear the other side of the story. The parents sharing their initial struggles, the emotional pain of being away from their children, the sacrifices they were going through to be able to provide for their families, have a better life, educate their children, build a house in Madeira, and live more comfortably. I also changed as a woman during this investigation. I became a mother in 2016 and my son Samuel has brought an emotional dimension to my life which has helped me to understand the struggles of my participants, as parents away from the homeland and away from their children.

This investigation comes to confirm what other academics have mentioned. Diasporic studies are an understudied area of knowledge, and it is normally through the interest of an academic that a study can be produced, as it is the case with the current thesis. Since I am living in London, I could have opted to study the Madeiran diaspora in London. But early on I understood that the movement of people between these two smaller islands – Jersey and Madeira – would captivate my interest because they are smaller in size and offer what I could imagine would be a similar lifestyle. I was not wrong to assume that, as my investigation has confirmed that for many of the participants the appeal of Jersey was also related to the fact that they can have a similar lifestyle when compared to Madeira, with the advantage of living in much more favourable economic conditions.

The collection of primary data in Jersey brought me some anxiety. I was worried about my deadlines, the amount of time I had available to do the interviews, the possibility of people changing their minds and not wanting to share their life stories with me. In the evenings, when I went back to the hotel, I reflected about what had happened during the day, the people that I had spoken with, the questions that were raised and answered. This exercise was always comforting because I concluded that the relevant questions were being made and the content of the answers were revealing that I would produce content that would allow me to understand

the topic and draw conclusions on my findings. This state of anxiety was related to my sense of duty and the responsibility that I felt towards the participants, my supervisors and myself, to produce data that would result in findings that could be discussed, analysed compared and understood. The completion of this thesis has also contributed to my deeper understanding of the reflexivity of being an academic and of investigating a diaspora that is from my homeland. I understand better my struggles as an emigrant in London because the stories of my participants have many common traits with my own story of migration. This study has also forced me to read extensively about these topics and to learn from the studies of other academics and other diasporas worldwide.

This research has enabled me to expand my knowledge and critical thinking but has also given me the opportunity to travel to Jersey, a destination that I had not visited before, and to amass several contacts of people that I also did not know personally. I had the opportunity to reflect on my own positionality as a Madeiran, a woman, and a researcher, which allowed me to build on my confidence as a researcher. In addition, this thesis is being submitted in a time of significant political changes in the European Union and the UK.

The rhetoric on migration has changed and a cloud of division and uncertainty has been created, which will have impacts on future migration policies and the rights of citizens in the UK and in the European Union. These circumstances will certainly have an impact on future migration to the Channel Islands and, more significantly, the UK, as well as on the number of Madeirans that will be allowed to move to the island in the future. The analysis of some of the policy documents of the government of Jersey that I read and used in the theoretical discussion, made me believe that migration to Jersey will be much more restricted in the future. The political climate is also having an impact on my own future decisions of where to stay and if I wish to continue to live in the UK.

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Appendices

Information Sheet for participants

Information Sheet

I am gathering research as part of my PhD in Tourism.

The aim of the study is to investigate the multiple mobilities of the Madeira community in Jersey.

This thesis will focus on the Madeiran community that have chosen to reside or work in Jersey, more specifically the reasoning behind this decision, as well as the mobilities that permit the social activities, touristic practices and economic relationships that they undertake and form within their local community and the ties they maintain with their homeland. My data collection is intended to help me in finding information that will answer to the following questions:

- Who are the Madeiran citizens who live in Jersey and what brought them to the island?
- What links do they keep with the homeland and how often do they travel to Madeira?
- How is the diaspora socially organised in Jersey and what are the consequences of mobilities for Madeira citizens in both islands?

This investigation will explore a topic which links tourism, migration and mobilities of the Madeiran community in Jersey.

All participants have the right to withdraw at any point within 2 weeks of being interviewed.

If a direct quotation from the interviewees is to be used, their permission will be sought nearer the time for including their words.

If you have any queries in regards to the research please contact myself, Rubina Vieira at R.Monizvieira8656@student.leedsbeckett.ac.uk or on my mobile numbers: 0044-7940722044 (UK) and 00351-919183821 (Portugal). You can also contact my project supervisors, Kevin Hannam at k.m.hannam@leedsbeckett.ac.uk and Ian Lamond I.lamond@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

Please see attached consent form.

Thank You

Example of Consent Form (in Portuguese)

Participants to choose yes or no, to questions related to whether they: had read the information sheet; had the opportunity to ask questions about the contents; accepted to participate voluntarily and the right to withdraw their participation; gave permission for information to be recorded; accepted to share their thoughts and opinions in the research; gave permission for their name to be used on the thesis; gave permission for the contents of the interview to be used in future publications.

Folha de consentimento

Nome da investigadora: Rubina Moniz Vieira
Instituição: Leeds Beckett University
Título do projecto: As múltiplas mobilidades da comunidade madeirense em Jersey

Escolha "Sim" ou "Não" para confirmar as seguintes declarações.

Eu li a folha informativa fornecida que explica o estudo.	Sim / Não
Eu tive a oportunidade de ler as informações, fazer perguntas sobre elas e obtive resposta satisfatória.	Sim / Não
Aceito que a minha participação é voluntária e pode ser revogada a qualquer momento dentro das primeiras 2 semanas a seguir à entrevista.	Sim / Não
Concordo participar no projecto de pesquisa acima referido.	Sim / Não
Dou permissão para que a entrevista seja gravada.	Sim / Não
Declaro que as informações partilhadas com a investigadora podem ser divulgadas no estudo.	Sim / Não
Dou permissão para que o meu nome seja referido no estudo.	Sim / Não

Dou o meu consentimento para que os dados adquiridos (não os dados pessoais) possam vir a ser incorporados em futuras publicações	Sim / Não
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Nome do participante: _____ Data: _____
Sexo/Estado Civil: _____
Instituição: _____
Assinatura: _____

Nome da investigadora: _____ Data: _____
Assinatura: _____

List of Questions (in Portuguese)

Related to their experience in Jersey: what brought them to Jersey; if they felt integrated; what do they know about the Madeiran community; do they participate in the events organised by the community.

Travel habits (past, present, future): how often do they travel; what motivates them to travel; how often do they travel to Madeira.

Experiences in Madeira: how often do they keep contact with friends and family; what is the image they have of Madeira; do they plan to return to Madeira one day; where do they feel home is.

Background information: day and time of interview; name, age, sex; education; which area of Madeira are they from.

Perguntas da entrevista semi-estruturada – Comunidade Madeirense em Jersey

Experiência em Jersey

Conte-me sobre a sua experiência em Jersey. O que é que o/a trouxe para Jersey?
Sente-se bem integrado/a?
O que sabe sobre a comunidade madeirense em Jersey?
Participa em eventos organizados pela comunidade Madeirense?

Hábitos de viagem (passado / presente / futuro)

Quantas vezes costuma viajar?
O que o/a motivava a viajar?
Quantas vezes viaja entre Jersey e a Madeira?

Experiências na Madeira

Mantém contacto com a família e amigos na Madeira?
Como vive em Jersey há algum tempo, vê a Madeira de forma diferente?
Planeia regressar um dia à Madeira?
Onde é que se sente em casa?

Informação do Perfil

Data e hora da entrevista
Nome / Idade / Sexo
Qual é o seu nível de formação/escolaridade?
De que parte da Madeira é?

Interview to participant 14 – Examples of coding

Page 1

Participant 14

Sao Roque do Faial – 46 years old
DTLLS – Level 5

What were your reasons that made you leave Madeira?

I arrived in Jersey in 1992. The working situation in Madeira was very unstable. I worked in restaurants and supermarkets but they were always precarious contracts. My father was in Jersey when I was a child, during two seasons. At the time I had cousins in Jersey and thought it would give me more security to come to a place where I already had family. My father came alone to Jersey, my mother stayed in Madeira with her 5 children, I am the eldest daughter. It was difficult at first. I came with my husband but we stayed in different jobs. At the time, we needed permits to be able to come to Jersey. When my father came he worked in restaurants. When I was working in Jersey my father returned to work in farms but never stayed long.

Family

Reasons: work / precarious situation / Family in Jersey

How was the start? Where did you work?

We came from Madeira with a work contract. There was a lady who found work for the Portuguese, but she exploited the Portuguese because she charged a percentage of the gains illegally. My husband went to work on a farm and I came to work in a guest house, we lived apart. I did not stay long because I was fired. But it was the best thing that ever happened to me. I went to work for a restaurant that was very well known in Jersey. Back then Jersey had long hot summers, and there were a lot of tourists doing sightseeing. Now Tourism has declined a lot and many hotels closed down.

Farm

Guesthouse

Tourism

I worked for that season and at the end of the season we were both out of work. Since we had some savings we tried to get a job. I went to work in the fruit market and my husband worked in a restaurant kitchen. To this day I do not like the island, but I adapted. I do not think I will ever like it. I had to adapt because I needed to work. ^{work}

Have you always worked in hospitality?

No. Now I teach English as a foreign language, to students from all nationalities. I also taught English in the prison. About 10% of the prisoners in Jersey are Portuguese. If a foreigner goes to prison for more than one year, their stay in Jersey after serving in prison is reviewed.

I started working in a guest house where I cleaned rooms, served meals and also helped with food preparation. Then I sold fruit and vegetables in the market, I worked as a maid, then at the same time I was working in a shoe store, later I worked in a clothing store. Then I went to a supermarket chain. Later I had a daughter who is already 18 and we had to change our routine. We would either send our daughter to the grandparents in Madeira or we had to get someone to take care of her. But here everything is regulated, people who take care of children have to be registered, they cannot simply take care of children if they do not have the training and registration.

In the beginning, a Madeiran acquaintance who lived in the same house as I was taking care of my daughter, she also had a boy. Because we had different schedules, I took care of the children when I was off duty and vice versa. Only when she changed jobs I had to ask a childhood friend who also had a boy if she could take care of my daughter. She stayed for a while and then moved to England. Then there was a girl who was my

ex-colleague at work and had a daughter the same age as mine and stopped working. I asked if she could take care of my daughter and she accepted but I started having problems, my daughter's behaviour changed, she was being neglected. *childcare issues*
I had to leave work because I wanted to do the (ESOL course) for 1 month and my manager did not want to give me a month of annual leave. It was a tough period and a big risk because the course costed 4,000 pounds back then. It was a lot of money and I had to buy a computer, my husband was the only one working and I had no guarantee that I would get a job as a teacher. After the course, I decided to take care of my daughter and two other children.

Do you feel well integrated in Jersey?

I think I try to integrate myself. I live my life and try not to create conflicts. It was difficult to integrate, some Portuguese who have been in Jersey for a long time think it is fine to exploit those who come to Jersey later. *exploitation portuguese*

Is there a good relationship between the English and the Portuguese?

There are always good people and bad people. I think there's still a lot of racism, people say migrants come here to get their jobs. But many of the vacancies for those who have been in Jersey for more than 5 years are not filled by the natives of Jersey. There are people who accept and others who do not. When they opened their borders, they had a lot of people coming from Poland and wages were low and sometimes jobs were poorly executed. Things turned out to be harder for those who were here before. Migrants were blamed for everything that went wrong. They continue to see the Portuguese and

2004

Relation with locals / Racism

Portuguese } seen as their workers
Poles

the Poles as their workers and when emigrants manage to buy properties, there is a certain envy, both on the part of Jersey as well as the Portuguese themselves.

Envy from successful migrants

How do you characterize the Madeiran community?

It is hard to define. There are 'all kinds of people,' and a **large community**, there are those who adapt and those who do not. There is a **lot of envy** and there are some people *envy* who do not want to work either, and take advantage of the social system, but the vast

majority are very hardworking. For several years I was in charge of the choral group of the church and I am part of the committee of twin cities between St Helier and

Local entities

Funchal, that promotes the culture of Madeira in Jersey. In recent years, we have been celebrating the **Madeira Food Festival**. We have tried to celebrate the 10th of June and the 1st of July, Portugal and Madeira day. We have celebrated the 25th of April in the past. But there are always conflict even though the work is voluntary, sometimes it is difficult to do events because members do not agree with each other.

Conflicts between Madeirans

We also have a Madeiran folkloric group. The community is not very organized *ojo* because people sometimes do not understand each other, and then if the events are not free people do not adhere. From time to time, I organise dinner parties with people who come from Madeira, singers, etc.

We have Portuguese teachers so that the young learn Portuguese, but it would be good if there were more events, poetry contents for example etc. I think they could promote the Portuguese language more.

more events would be good

Choral group
Twin cities committee
Madeira Food Festival

Conflicts between Madeirans

Where do you feel at home?

Home? Madeira

In Madeira, I have no doubts. When I get there I always cry, and when it's time to leave I also cry. I want to go back to Madeira. When my daughter finishes university in England, I'm going back to Madeira. She wants to study Portuguese, French and German at Nottingham University.

Do you think your daughter will want to go to Madeira?

Family will return

She loves Madeira but she is also very realistic, she knows she may not find work in Madeira, but she does not want to live in Jersey even though she was born in Jersey.

Plan to return

She always went on holidays to Madeira and will work where she can find work. We have a house in Funchal and that is where I plan to go in 7 years. It is a small house but it is enough for us, we are now refurbishing it. We also did the same in Jersey, bought an old house and have been improving it. Seven years from now I will be 30 years in Jersey. I will ask for an early retirement pension and move to Madeira.

Retire early and go to Madeira

House in Madeira and in Jersey

Before coming to Jersey to work did you travel elsewhere?

Never travelled before

No, not even to Porto Santo, I had never left Madeira. The first time I travelled was to come to Jersey and I came alone. My travels were between Funchal and Sao Roque do Faial, my village. I studied in Funchal and was living in Sao Roque.

Since I came to Jersey, I have visited some places but not many because every year I go to Madeira. I have been to mainland Portugal, in Coimbra and Lisbon. I have been to London because I have cousins there, but I do not like London because it is a stressful city. I was in Nottingham and Bristol when we went to see universities. I know

Every year Madeira

Loyal to Madeira

Visited France many times

Guernsey and we go to France often. We take the ferry and explore St. Malo and other places. I like France, as we live in a place so small we feel the need to leave once in a while. I must have gone to France 10 or 15 times, sometimes just to spend the day and other times we stay for a few days.

Need to travel

The reason I go to Madeira every year is to see my parents, they are getting old. I also like spending time with my friends and sisters. I have a brother here in Jersey, and my sisters live in Madeira, in Sao Roque.

brother in Jersey
sister in Madeira

Career plans

I intend to do a long-distance master's degree in linguistic studies. When I return to Madeira I intend to teach English and prepare students for the Cambridge exams, I have been doing that in Jersey since 2005. I am also a qualified childminder and I did work with children for 8 years. Then I left that job to teach English full-time.

Do you keep in touch with your family in Madeira? How often?

Every 3 weeks

I am not very good and keeping in touch. My sister-in-law reminds me of the anniversaries. But when I call I talk to everyone. We keep in touch every every 3 weeks or once a month. But I keep regular contact by text message and through Facebook.

We know that if we need anything we can count on each other. Here in Jersey I have my brother and his family. My husband also has a sister living in Jersey, we do not keep contact very regularly because we are all busy, but we get along well.

busy lives

Has your image of Madeira changed since you came to Jersey?

I have always liked Madeira but when we visit other places our perception changes.

But honestly, I think today I'm giving Madeira a lot more value than I used to do. I love

the good weather; my family is very close and I give a lot of value to my family. In

Jersey, I try to get involved in projects that dignify Madeira.

When I go to Madeira, I like visiting all the places that tourist go to like the farmers'

market in Funchal, the landscapes and things that we take for granted when we live

there. I value the taste of the fruit, the fish, all these things that we do not have daily in

Jersey. When someone says they are going to Jersey to work, I get distressed. If I did

not have my daughter, I would not be here. It is a good place to make money but we

also spend a lot of money. We have to be here for 10 years in order to be entitled to buy

a house. House prices are a nightmare, we bought our house 6 or 7 years ago. When I

came to Jersey, in 1992, we had to leave in Jersey for 20 years in order to be able to

legally buy a house. Then it dropped to 14, now it is 10 years.

We need to send money to Madeira every month because of our house but when leave

Jersey, I will never come back. I am here because I need to, my daughter is studying

and I need to help her. My parents are getting older and they will last forever.

My goal is to do an MA in linguistics before returning to Madeira. This way I will be

a qualified translator because I worked as a translator for the police for 7 years. I hope

that all my qualifications and experience will help me in getting a job in Madeira.

Value of Madeira

Family is important

House prices

Difficulties of settling in Jersey
Dream to return / plan to return with qualifications