



A University of Sussex PhD thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

Ageing 'on the edge': later-life migration in the Azores

Dora Isabel Martins Sampaio

Doctoral Thesis

PhD in Human Geography

School of Global Studies

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

August 2017

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

PhD in Human Geography

Dora Sampaio

AGEING 'ON THE EDGE': LATER-LIFE MIGRATION IN THE AZORES

This thesis looks at the diversity of living and ageing experiences in the Azores, exploring the complex intersections between migration, place and older people through a relational lens. It seeks to make a number of original contributions: mapping out the ageing–migration nexus within geographical research; bringing together, under a common theoretical framework, three different types of later-life migrants – labour, lifestyle and return migrants – seldom looked at in a comprehensive comparative manner; putting in dialogue the narratives of migrants and non-migrants; and tapping into a distinctive and, thus far, largely overlooked geographical setting – the Azores. This is a research dually 'on the edge': for its geographical focus on a nine-island archipelago remotely located in the North Atlantic, and by examining a migrant population chronologically 'at the extreme' of the age spectrum. The research is empirically grounded on in-depth life narrative interviews, complemented by other research techniques such as participant observation, a focus group, and photography.

The thesis offers several key findings: above all, it exposes later-life migration as fundamentally diverse and shaped by migrants' aged, gendered, classed, and ethnicised subjectivities; ageing is seen as a fluid process and an ongoing social construct. Later-life (migration) should be viewed as not necessarily vulnerabilising, but potentially empowering and liberating; and later-life migration decision-making is found to be complex and multi-layered, showing that economic and lifestyle motives can no longer be analysed separately and that a holistic approach is crucial for a richer understanding of the migration process. Stemming from this, four themes emerge from older migrants' living and ageing experiences in the Azores: 'home' and ambiguous belongings; cultures of ageing and ageing care; ageing in specific relation to place; and intimacy, loss and their negotiations. These show the importance of moving beyond simple binaries of older age as 'progress' or 'decline', and recognising later-life as an active negotiative process.

WORK NOT SUBMITTED ELSEWHERE FOR EXAMINATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....

Table of Contents

Summary.....	ii
List of figures	viii
List of tables	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
 Chapter 1 Later-life migration in the Azores: an introduction.....	 11
1.1 Introduction	11
1.2 Mapping the ageing–migration nexus in geographical research: why does it matter?	14
1.3 ‘The anchors’: questions, objectives and ageing tropes.....	16
1.4 Research ‘on the edges’: later-life migration in the Azores	18
1.5 Navigating the thesis: an overview	20
 Chapter 2 Geographies of the ageing–migration nexus.....	 23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Challenges in theorising age and ageing	24
2.2.1 Temporalities, liminality, and the life course	28
2.3 Mapping age and ageing within geographical research	30
2.4 Challenges in theorising later-life migration	33
2.4.1 Diversity in later-life: a typology of older migrants	35
2.4.2 Relocating in later-life and/or ageing abroad: imaginaries and motivations ..	40
2.5 (Un)making home and home-making practices.....	42
2.6 Ageing care.....	45
2.7 Intimacy and loss	48
2.8 Cultures of ageing.....	52
2.9 Ageing, place, and older people in place: exploring effects and intersections	57
2.10 Conclusion: towards geographies of the ageing–migration nexus	61
 Chapter 3 The Azores: ‘island-worlds’ between Europe and North America.....	 64
3.1 Introduction	64
3.2 Venturing into the ‘island-world’: place, islandness and migration	67

3.3 'No man's land': emigration and return	70
3.4 Reversing paths: the 'migration turn' and contemporary immigration to the Azores	74
3.5 The islander identity: a critical exploration of Açorianidade / Azoreanness	77
3.6 The Azores at the crossroads: changing social and cultural landscapes	81
3.7 Conclusion	84
Chapter 4 Methods and data collection.....	86
4.1 'Talking the talk': a methodological overview	86
4.1.1 'Geographical ethnography'? A multi-migrant approach through the lens of geography	86
4.1.2 (Non-)migrants lives in the first person: in-depth life narrative interviews	88
4.1.3 The study groups: outsiders, semi-insiders and insiders.....	90
4.2 'Walking the walk': fieldwork in the Azores	92
4.2.1 Selecting the research participants and the interviewing process	95
4.3 Getting to know the stories: an introduction to the portrayals.....	101
4.3.1 Labour migrants.....	104
4.3.2 Lifestyle migrants.....	108
4.3.3 Return migrants	112
4.4 Setting myself in the field: reflections on positionality and ethics	117
Chapter 5 Narratives of transition: motives for relocation and (re)adjustment paths..	121
5.1 Introduction	121
5.2 'Not the most obvious choice': motives, desires and aspirations.....	123
5.2.1 The lure of nature and the quest for the untapped	123
5.2.2 The lure of 'homing': re-bonding and re-grounding.....	127
5.2.3 The lure of 'the land of opportunities': working and ageing in the Azores ...	131
5.3 'A good place to grow older but...': ambiguous belongings, transnationality and (re)adjustment paths in the Azores	134
5.4 Conclusion	142
Chapter 6 Putting down roots: living and ageing in the Azores.....	144
6.1 Introduction	144
6.2 Meanings of home and home-making practices.....	146

6.3 Challenging ideas of social isolation: (re)embedding in the local social life.....	155
6.3.1 Intimacy and romantic partnership	163
6.4 Challenging ideas of vulnerability in later-life: active ageing, health care and wellbeing	166
6.5 Cultures of ageing, place and their (dis)continuities	174
6.5.1 Care in later-life	174
6.5.2 Morals, values, and attitudes	176
6.5.3 Health, bodily appearance, and self-care	181
6.6 Shifting cultures of ageing in a transnational space	183
6.6.1 Physical wellbeing, self-appearance and care in later-life.....	183
6.6.2 Morals, values, and attitudes	185
6.7 Conclusion	187
 Chapter 7 ‘Upside down, inside out’ – Ageing, place, and older people in place: exploring effects and intersections	191
7.1 Introduction	191
7.2 Later-life migration and socio-demographic and cultural effects.....	193
7.3 Later-life migration and economic effects	203
7.4 An inside-out look at migrants’ effects in the Azores: openness and resistance.	209
7.5 ‘If you’re here by choice, you embrace what is here’: identity and place effects on the self	214
7.6 Conclusion	216
 Chapter 8 ‘Is this all there is?’ Unpacking the determinants of later-life (im)mobilities	220
8.1 Introduction	220
8.2 Determinants of later-life (im)mobilities.....	221
8.2.1 Health	222
8.2.2 Family	225
8.2.3 Economic context	230
8.2.4 ‘This is the Mecca of the world’: the uniqueness of the Azores	233
8.3 ‘When you make too many plans, God laughs’: later-life as ‘living for today’	235
8.4 Death, gender, and considerations about the future	237
8.4 Conclusion	240

Chapter 9 Conclusion: closing and opening paths.....	243
9.1 Introduction	243
9.2 Living and ageing ‘on the edge’: later-life migration in the Azores	244
9.2.1 ‘Home’ and ambiguous belongings	246
9.2.2 Cultures of ageing and ageing care.....	247
9.2.3 Ageing, place, and older people in place: effects and intersections	249
9.2.4 Intimacy, loss and their negotiations.....	251
9.3 Is this all there is to research on later-life migration? Reflecting on achievements and limitations, and avenues for future research	253
9.4 Reflecting on my own research journey.....	255
References	257
Appendix 1: Consent form.....	278
Appendix 2: Participants’ information sheet.....	281
Appendix 3: Interview guides	284
Appendix 4: Focus group information.....	301
Appendix 5: Profiles of the research participants	305

List of figures

Figure 3.1 Map of the Azores	65
Figure 3.2 Images of the Azores islands.....	65
Figure 3.3 ‘Os Emigrantes’ [Emigrants] by Domingos Rebelo (1926)	71
Figure 3.4 ‘Que bom é ser Açoriano’ [It’s good to be Azorean]	80
Figure 4.1 Travelling between islands.....	93
Figure 4.2 The Azores over summer and winter	93
Figure 4.3 Events attended in the Azores.....	100
Figure 5.1 ‘Sailors’ mural’ in Horta, Faial Island	124
Figure 5.2 Images of the ‘Azorean rural idyll’	131
Figure 5.3 Azorean homes symbolically displaying the family’s past of emigration	139
Figure 5.4 American (-influenced) foods	140
Figure 6.1 Spaces of social living	156
Figure 6.2 Flip’s home: the symbolism of freedom.....	162
Figure 6.3 Fortunata dancing with friends at a local festival: rupture as an opportunity for self-actualisation	165
Figure 7.1 Religious photographs posted online by Vasco	195
Figure 7.2 Vince’s art work	196
Figure 7.3 Homes renovated by migrants	201
Figure 7.4 Animals in Domenico and Gaetana’s farm	202
Figure 7.5 Typical Cape Verdean food at Yolanda’s restaurant.....	208

List of tables

Table 3.1 Selected demographics of the Azores (2016)	66
Table 4.1 Biographical characteristics of the three migrant study groups	99
Table 4.2 Biographical characteristics of the portrayals	103

Acknowledgements

The last four years were plentiful in learning opportunities. Many people made this an extraordinary journey. A big thank you to you all, and apologies in advance for not being able to acknowledge everyone here. You are certainly not forgotten.

First of all, thank you to the research participants. Without your generosity in sharing your time and stories, this thesis would not have been possible. My warm appreciation extends also to the focus group participants. The generous financial support from the *Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia*, through a doctoral grant, and a fieldwork grant from the *Direção Regional das Comunidades – Governo dos Açores*, are also deeply acknowledged.

At Sussex, I am grateful above all to my supervisors, Professor Russell King and Dr. Katie Walsh. Thank you for your strong guidance, encouragement, and kindness. You made this journey all the richer! My deepest appreciation goes also to all the colleagues and friends at Global Studies (and other schools) – I wish I could name all of you here – for the stimulating and inspiring conversations, for the nice breaks in the sun, and for making me smile through the most difficult times. From the other side of the Atlantic, a friend enriched me with insightful comments on the thesis, thought-provoking discussions, and good laughter. Thank you, Rui.

In the Azores, I am greatly indebted to a number of people who helped me navigating a familiar, yet new, environment. An enormous thank you must go to Marina Fonseca, Emiliania Gaspar, Leoter Viegas and Paulo Mendes at AIPA – Associação dos imigrantes nos Açores. Your support and friendship has been invaluable. The assistance from Célia Pereira and Ana Silva at *Cresaçor – Cooperativa Regional de Economia Solidária* – is also acknowledged. I am very grateful to Gilberta Rocha for sharing her knowledge about the Azores and providing valuable feedback on my context chapter; and Paulo Teves and Ana Borges who kindly received me in *Direção Regional das Comunidades* right at the beginning of my fieldwork and helped me getting started in the Azores.

In Lisbon, a special word of gratitude goes to Lucinda Fonseca, Luís Moreno, Alina Esteves, Sandra Silva, Jennifer McGarrigle and Jorge Malheiros – as well as others at the

Centre for Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon – for your support and guidance over the years, which unquestionably helped me grow as a researcher.

To my family, a heart-felt thank you for everything. *Obrigada por tudo!* To my parents who always stood by me, even when they did not understand my choices. To my sister, your support, endless strength, and calming words always kept me believing in myself. ‘Thank you’ doesn’t even begin to express my gratitude to you. To Paulo, my brother-in-law, I am grateful for the good company and tasty food. Last, but not least, someone who made this PhD journey all the more joyous – Yavuz. Your love, support and kind-heartedness made me ‘sail smooth’ through the final moments – *teşekkür ederim!*

This research was funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) of the Portuguese Ministry for Science, Technology and Higher Education (SFRH/BD/87963/2012).

Chapter 1

Later-life migration in the Azores: an introduction

‘Of all realities [old age] is perhaps that of which we retain a purely abstract notion
longest in our lives’

(Proust, in Beauvoir, 1972: 4).

Metropolis Conference, Ponta Delgada, Azores, September 2011. I recall it with certain nostalgia. I was presenting on International Retirement Migration, the topic of my Master’s thesis which I had recently finished at the University of Lisbon. Metropolis was an inspiring conference. Professor Russell King was one of the keynote speakers on the topic of islands and migration. It was a full week of intensive learning, exchange of ideas, and travelling. I felt like I had fallen under the spell of the Azores. In September 2013, I would start my PhD on later-life migration in the Azores at Sussex.

Ponta Delgada, Azores, June 2014. I land in Ponta Delgada – it’s early; not even 8 am. Waiting for me is an older man with a distinct Eastern European accent. He tells me that his daughter, who is busy with other errands, could not pick me up from the airport so she asked him. On the way back to their place, where I had rented a room for my first days on the island, Dmitry takes a longer route to show me some of the surroundings. He tells me that his daughter came to work in the Azores, got married to an Azorean, and later brought him and his wife. Already in retirement age, Dmitry helped with daily chores and the grandchildren. He loved the soft-paced life of the Azores. Although he did not want to be formally interviewed, he was my first ‘informal interviewee’; to me, this first meeting felt like a hopeful opening to my chapter in the Azores.

1.1 Introduction

Over the past decades, the number of migrants ageing abroad – that is outside of their country of birth – has increased across the world. Globally, there are close to 26 million migrants aged 65 and over. Older migrants represent 11 per cent of the total migrant

population, as compared to 8 per cent for the world's population (United Nations Population Division, 2013: 1). Worldwide, the median age of migrants has been increasing. In Europe, migrants' median age was 43 in 2015 (United Nations Population Division, 2015: 11). Eurostat data (2016) reflect similar trends, with the period 2010-2016 witnessing a remarkable growth in the number of foreign-born residents aged 50 and older in Europe. Countries such as Finland, Luxembourg and Portugal recorded an increase in their older migrant population of more than 50 per cent (Ciobanu et al., 2017: 164). Furthermore, as Ciobanu et al. (2017) point out, large and steadily increasing numbers of migrants in the age group 45-54 suggest an intensification of the phenomenon in the upcoming years.

Thus, the number of older people who are, or have been, international migrants, and possibly hold cultural differences from the host population, will undoubtedly increase during the coming decades (Ciobanu et al., 2017; Warnes et al., 2004; Warnes and Williams, 2006; White, 2006). As individuals become more mobile, settlement and continuity, traditionally perceived as good, give way to change and discontinuity in later-life, often perceived as 'vulnerabilising' in a context of older age (Estes et al., 2003). While the double (Dowd and Bengtson, 1978) or triple jeopardy (Norman, 1985) resulting from being a migrant, an older person, and facing additional layers of disadvantage speaks to a large number of older migrants, it is also true that others are 'going first class', to use Vered Amit's (2007) words. There is the need to tease out the complexity arising from, on the one hand, neoliberal ideals of independence, mobility and experimentation in later-life and, on the other, traditional connotations of older age with dependency, vulnerability and obsolescence. It is fundamental to assert the diversity of older age: 'rather than considering migrants as a monolithic group because of age and the experience of migration, one should look at older migrants as an analytical category that embraces high heterogeneity according to various factors influencing processes of ageing and migration' (Ciobanu et al., 2017: 169). Following on Ciobanu et al.'s clear assertion, I emphasise the importance of exploring differences and communalities not only between different groups of ageing migrants but also within each group.

Within academic research, the study of the complex intersections of ageing and migration has burgeoned over recent decades and has now been identified as an

important and timely agenda across the social sciences; this has taken place chiefly through a flurry of edited volumes and books (e.g. Baldassar et al., 2007; Horn and Schweppe, 2015; Karl and Torres, 2015; Lawrence and Torres, 2015; Walsh and Näre, 2016) and special issues (e.g. Ciobanu et al., 2017; Ciobanu and Hunter, 2017; Horn et al., 2013; Torres and Lawrence, 2012; Warnes and Williams, 2006; Zubair and Norris, 2015). Nested within an important and blooming body of literature on ageing and migration, this thesis offers a number of original contributions:

1. Theoretically, the thesis makes a clear contribution to mapping out the ageing–migration nexus within geographical research.
2. This research brings together, under the same theoretical framework, three different types of later-life migrants – labour, lifestyle and return migrants – which seldom have been looked at in a comprehensive, holistic manner (important exceptions would include Daatland and Biggs, 2006; Warnes et al., 2004; Warnes and Williams, 2006).
3. I adopt an all-encompassing transnational approach, moving beyond the transnational agents themselves and bringing into a common discussion migrants and non-migrants. With this, I seek to recognise that in the ‘spaces of transnationality’ (Jackson et al., 2004) both migrants’ and non-migrants’ lives are shaped by transnational practices (Dahinden, 2009).
4. Empirically, this thesis taps into a distinctive and, up until now, largely overlooked geographical setting: the Azores. It highlights the uniqueness of the Azores as a bridging point between Europe and North America (cf. Williams and Fonseca, 1999) and its deeply embedded history of migration. And yet, the findings presented go far beyond the Azores’ geographical borders. In this sense, the Azores acts as a ‘micro spatial laboratory’ (King, 2009) where wider, global transnational trends can be observed.
5. Methodologically, this is a thesis that listens to older people’s stories and experiences and delves into migrants’ and non-migrants’ life paths and age transitions in a relational manner (Hopkins and Pain, 2007, 2008). With this, I seek to make a clear statement about

the importance of life narratives and storytelling within geographical research as a privileged tool to grasp the intimate relationships and attachments between place and migration (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994; Cameron, 2012).

Having briefly outlined some of the novel features this thesis offers, I now turn to explore each one of these points in turn. I then close this introductory chapter with a 'navigation guide' of the thesis.

1.2 Mapping the ageing–migration nexus in geographical research: why does it matter?

Walsh and Näre (2016: 13-14) aptly note that 'current literatures on globalisation are seemingly age blind, inadvertently marginalising the experiences and narratives of older people'. While young people are seen as the drivers of change, older people have systemically been regarded as sedentary, obsolete and backward. However, a brief overview of past and current trends easily proves the contrary. As a result of rising life expectancy and decline in retirement age (at least up until recently), individuals have experienced longer periods of retirement in good health (Böcker and Balkir, 2012; Warnes et al., 2004; Warnes and Williams, 2006). There has been an ability to generate greater lifetime savings and engage in transnational – work and/or leisure-related – experiences which facilitate and promote the desire to relocate (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; King et al., 2000; Rodriguez, 2001). The marked rise in elderly mobility and available income in later-life have led to shifting attitudes and aspirations towards later-life lifestyles (McHugh and Mings, 1996; O'Reilly, 2014). Concurrently, an inexorable trend of time-space compression meant that the 'world shrank' in ways that allow migration and transnational flows and practices to take place to an intensity and degree never experienced before (Harvey, 1990; Massey, 1994; Sheller and Urry, 2006).

Ageing among migrant populations and later-life mobilities have tended to pass fairly unnoticed, at least until rather recently. The ageing–migration nexus remains a relatively understudied topic both in geographical debate and in the interdisciplinary field of migration studies where, until recently, the assumption has prevailed that most migrants

are younger working-age adults. Yet, the significance of the connections between these processes is demonstrated by a range of studies on, for example, international retirement migration (Oliver 2008), older economic migrants (Lulle and King, 2016a), 'ageing-in-place' migrants (Gardner, 2002), return migrants (Percival, 2013), family-joining migrants (King et al., 2014), and the 'left-behind' by migration (Bastia, 2009).

In a context in which ageing and migration are indeed two ongoing, expanding phenomena, it seems problematic to continue reproducing ideas of older people as immobile, inactive or dependent (King et al., 2017). Rather than passive agents, in this thesis I seek to portray later-life migrants as active players in the (trans)national field through 'global migration, transnational flows, practices and families' (Walsh and Näre, 2016: 14). From a geographical perspective, I seek to bring new insights to these wider debates by foregrounding geographical analyses of the ageing–migration nexus. Providing an innovative extension to existing analyses of ageing and migration, I build on the conceptual strength of work on 'geographies of ageing' that has helped to transform understandings of older age in gerontology and beyond (Andrews and Phillips, 2005; Hardill, 2009; Harper and Laws, 1995; Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Schwanen et al., 2012a; Skinner et al., 2015). Specifically, I build upon the theoretical and empirical power of Hopkins and Pain's (2007) relational approach to ageing. I use this as a conceptual compass throughout my research in order to attain an overarching, intergenerational, and intersectional approach to age and ageing. Rather than fragmenting the ageing experience or 'isolating' (and, as a result, often 'marginalising') older age, I aim for an integrated analysis that seeks to expose *connections* rather than separations, *interdependencies* rather than disunions. Herein, I clearly argue for a fluid and unbound approach to both *space* and *place*, and *age* and *ageing*.

With this thesis, I seek to respond to two major concerns in the geography and migration studies literature which clearly demonstrate the importance of carving a space for the ageing–migration nexus in human geography: Cutchin's (2009: 440) claim that 'the study of the geographical dimensions of ageing has yet to achieve its full potential'; and Ciobanu et al.'s (2017: 177) plea for 'more intersectionality between migration studies and gerontology on the topic of older migrants, as well as more comparative

studies between older natives and migrants'. These are some of the main debates and questions that inform the research questions and objectives I turn to next.

1.3 'The anchors': questions, objectives and ageing tropes

Two main questions guide this research:

1. *How do later-life migrants experience living and ageing in the Azores and how is this different (or similar) for labour, lifestyle and return migrants?*
2. *What effects do later-life migrants bring into place – in both embodied and emplaced ways – and how, in turn, does place shape migrants' lives and ageing experiences?*

Other pertinent questions arise from these main ones. What implications does transnational migration bring for individuals' ageing as both an embodied and emplaced experience? How do older migrants' ideas about age and ageing shift across space and time? How does transnational migration affect non-migrants' perceptions of age and ageing? How do notions of 'ageing well', 'good ageing' or 'wellbeing in later-life' move across borders and shape ideas about ageing of both migrants and natives? How are later-life identities and attachments shaped at different social and spatial scales?

Departing from the above listing of main and secondary questions, the overarching aim of this thesis is to explore the diversity of ageing experiences among later-life migrants. In doing so, I examine also migrants' effects on the place but also the effects of the place on the self – an interesting and important theme emerging from my field research. Building on these main objectives, I pursue and develop four lines of thought, unpacking two commonly reproduced ageing tropes – that of older people as sedentary and immobile; and older people as vulnerable and dependent.

1. *I make a clear statement about the importance of recognising diversity in later-life.* In other words, I argue that to understand contemporary ageing it is fundamental to recognise its diversity (Daatland and Biggs, 2006). Diversity in later-life emerges from a variety of experiences gathered through the life course. Diverse ageing experiences are a result of time and space contingent pathways, as individuals' lives and cultures are

wrought by migration and transnationalism in and out of place, within and across borders. Identities and attachments are re-defined throughout the life course, as individuals acquire the material and symbolic resources that are conducive to significant diversity, but also inequality, in later-life. In stressing the role of diversity in older age, I cast doubt on traditional assumptions of older people as frail, useless, hopeless or as posing a burden to society.

2. In relation to the previous point, *I problematise and move beyond simplistic binaries of older age*. I question binary logics of older age as ‘old and poor’ (Beauvoir, 1972: 6) or as a period of freedom and choice (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1989), to acknowledge the diversity of ageing experiences. In doing so, I put into perspective Western ideals of ‘ageing well’ and ‘successful ageing’ which often encompass older people in the wide geographical spectrum in an unproblematised and culturally-oblivious manner (Fox, 2005; Wray, 2003). In light of growing diversity in older age, such a homogeneous understanding of ageing experiences and expectations for later-life seems rather limiting.

3. *I argue for a new understanding of ageing as a fluid rather than static process*; one that values discontinuity and mobility as forms of enhancing wellbeing instead of necessarily promoting vulnerabilities. I contend that later-life must be analysed through a relational and unbound lens, emphasising the need to ‘think age’ relationally, and conceptualising ageing as both a process of *being* and *becoming* (Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Acknowledging the blurring of identities over the life course, I move beyond chronological notions of age and stress the importance of psychological and emotional dimensions (Andrews, 1999; Bytheway, 2000; Schwanen et al., 2012b), highlighting that the ageing experience can only be fully comprehended by looking at age as a continuum rather than as a categorical reality. Age and ageing are perceived as a complex mix of highly subjective and interdependent life experiences.

4. *I support a relational and overarching understanding of transnational ageing that includes both migrants and non-migrants*. I move beyond fragmented approaches to transnationalism, putting in dialogue migrants and locals¹ – often analysed separately in

¹ In this thesis, I opt for using the word ‘locals’ as referring to local Azoreans. Yet, this was not without reservations given the obvious limitations of the term that could easily be used to describe the migrant participants living in the Azores who would, in their own right, describe themselves as ‘locals’. This choice,

transnational and ageing studies – as highly interdependent agents in the (re)production of transnational ties and transnational practices (Dahinden, 2009; Jackson et al., 2004). Specifically, I draw attention to individuals' social relations and belonging to transnational spaces and their transformative power in terms of ageing practices and understandings of 'older age'.

1.4 Research 'on the edges': later-life migration in the Azores

This is a research dually 'on the edges': on the one hand, I look at the case of the Azores – a nine-island archipelago historically, geographically and socially on the edges of its mainland, Portugal; and on the other, I examine a migrant population chronologically placed 'on the margins' of the age spectrum (Hunter, 2011a).

Jean Brunhes (1920: 52) described islands as 'little geographical worlds'. Studying islands, and the Azores in particular, opens up the possibility of observing and analysing, in a neatly bounded physical space, a variety of transnational ageing experiences from where one can draw broader understandings of how migration and ageing interrelate translocally. Following Massey (2005: 119), I view space as 'the sphere of a multiplicity of trajectories' and the Azores as a 'small laboratory' where one can observe and try to make sense of complex, multilayered dynamics. I do not wish, however, to reduce islands to a simplistic binary of either 'idyllic research laboratories' for mainlanders or a world of its own for bona fide islanders. Instead, I draw on a relational approach to islands, one that binds inside and outside; one in which 'islandness is an intervening variable that does not determine, but contours and conditions physical and social events in distinct, and distinctly relevant, ways' (Baldacchino, 2004: 278; Grydehøj, 2017).

Migration, a centuries-long feature of the Azores, is part and parcel of its history and culture; making sense of the Azores' past and present of migration is an open door to 'enter' the Azorean world and understand Azorean people. In this thesis, I deploy the

however, seeks to embrace a collective and mutually shared sense of place that, for instance, alternative words such as 'natives' (vs. 'migrants') seem to obscure, suggesting a starker differentiation between 'us' and 'them'.

term 'Açorianidade' ('Azoreanness'), coined by the Azorean novelist Vitorino Nemésio (1932) as referring to the putative uniqueness of the Azorean culture, in a critical way which leads me to explore how traditional notions of islander culture have changed as a result of migration and cultural exchange.

This is a research that holds at its core migrants' worlds, their stories and experiences, seeking to convey reality through 'their own voices'. It is centrally based on the collection of life narrative interviews and its claims of methodological originality are fourfold:

1. Its multi-migrant approach, where different types of migrants – labour, lifestyle and return migrants – are analysed in a fluid and unbounded transnational social space;
2. Its migrant–local approach, which foregrounds a relational and inclusive approach to transnational ageing;
3. Its methodological hybridity, with a combination of research techniques including in-depth life narrative interviews, participant observation, focus group, field notes, and photography;
4. Its interdisciplinary approach, conjoining studies on ageing and migration within and beyond geography, with a specific insight into island studies.

In adopting a life course approach which 'does not hold a static view on each life stage, but rather emphasizes the historically unique cultural and contextual forces that individuals interact with as they live through life stages' (Lauer and Wong, 2010: 1054), I seek to flesh out 'processes of reach, drift, and break from home', offering an enriching life-span perspective on migration (McHugh and Mings, 1996: 546). Listening to migrants' and non-migrants' stories allows a rich and all-encompassing understanding of how ageing and older age are perceived, experienced and constructed in and out of a migration context, as an older and younger person.

1.5 Navigating the thesis: an overview

There are seven chapters in this thesis. The next one is a theory chapter. This is followed by two context chapters which provide the geographical and methodological foundations of this research. Chapters five to eight are devoted to the empirical discussion, engaging with the research questions laid out in the introduction. The empirical chapters are organised in a manner that ‘follows’ migrants’ life paths since relocation to the Azores and closes with considerations about the future. The thesis concludes with a chapter summarising the main findings. Below, I offer a slightly more detailed summary of each chapter.

In chapter 2, I outline the relevant debates and supporting theories to this thesis. I bring together theories on ageing and migration, framing the discussion within geographical research. The chapter starts by addressing three overarching topics – theorising age and ageing; mapping age and ageing within geographical research; and theorising later-life migration – whilst folding into the discussion other relevant themes in a context of transnational ageing: temporalities, liminality and the life course; home and home-making practices; ageing care; intimacy and loss; cultures of ageing; and mutual intersections and effects between place and older people. I wrap up the chapter by stressing how pressing and timely it is to map out the ageing–migration nexus within geographical research. This serves also to locate this research within existing literature, highlighting the research lacunas it seeks to address.

In chapter 3, I devote attention to contextualising the Azores, illuminating the features that make this archipelago such a unique research hub. I review some of the main debates on islands and islandness, arguing for a relational approach to island studies; I outline the past and present of migration in the Azores, offering a detailed overview of the migration flows in the archipelago; I critically explore Azorean identity and the notion of ‘Açorianidade’, highlighting the importance of mobilities in shaping and transforming islander identity. This is precisely the main point I make in the last section of the chapter, where I focus on the Azores’ shifting social and cultural landscapes.

Chapter 4 is about methods and data collection. The chapter is structured in two main sections: in the first one, I lay down the methodological grounds of the research, outlining the ‘multi-migrant’ nature of the study which includes three different types of migrants (as well as a group of locals), and the core research method used – life narrative interviews. In the second part, I review the main steps of data collection and analysis. I justify my choice of the portrayal approach adopted, which is grounded on the accounts of nine participants but draws also on the variety and wealth of ‘voices’ and information collected. Lastly, I deal with issues of positionality and ethics, reflecting on my own positionality across generational and gender boundaries.

Chapter 5 opens the empirical analysis. In this chapter, I focus on participants’ motives for relocation and their (re)adjustment paths in the Azores. I organise their motivations in three main categories – the lure of nature and the quest for the untapped; the search for ‘homing feelings’; and the opportunity to find work or a more satisfying work-life balance. In the second part of the chapter, I move from pre-migration aspirations to post-migration realisations, discussing the (trans)national lives, ambiguous belongings, and (re)adjustment challenges faced by the participants.

In chapter 6, the longest of the thesis, I deal with participants’ living and ageing experiences in the Azores. In this chapter, I grapple with the first main research question: *how do later-life migrants experience living and ageing in the Azores and how is this different for labour, lifestyle and return migrants?* I focus the discussion on four key debates: home and home-making; social contacts and intimate relationships; active ageing, health care and wellbeing; and (shifting) cultures of ageing. Throughout my analysis, I adopt a dynamic and fluid lens, which sees cultures of ageing as ongoing social constructions that shift in time and space. In discussing the diversity and shifting nature of cultures of ageing, I tap into issues of ageing care; physical and psychosocial wellbeing in later-life; and morals, values and attitudes towards older age.

In chapter 7, I draw attention to the intersections between ageing, place and older people in place. Departing from an understanding of society and place as inextricably linked and mutually constitutive (Laws, 1997; Warnes, 1990), I deal with my second research question: *what effects do later-life migrants bring into place and how, in turn, does place shape migrants’ lives and ageing experiences?* The chapter then divides in two

main axes: later-life migrants' socio-demographic, cultural and economic effects in the Azores; and place effects on the self in which I explore migrants' desire to embrace the local way of living rather than changing it. The discussion also unfolds some reflections on in-migration, islander culture and resistance to change.

Chapter 8, the last of the empirical discussion, is both an 'end' and a 'starting point'. In this chapter, I discuss the determinants of later-life (im)mobilities. I frame the discussion around three main themes – health, family, and economic context – each one playing a distinct role for different types of migrants but also affecting differently migrants in the same migrant group. I also briefly address the uniqueness of the Azores as a reason to stay put. In the last two sections of the chapter, I explore participants' 'unplanned' lives and their motto of 'living for today' and delve into issues of loss, death and bereavement and their impacts on participants' considerations about the future.

The concluding chapter wraps up the discussion and summarises the main findings. It is structured around the two main questions guiding this research, dealing also with other emerging themes – 'home and ambiguous belongings', 'cultures of ageing and ageing care', 'ageing in relation to place' and 'intimacy and loss'. While it looks backward and reviews the main achievements of this research, also including some of its limitations, it also looks forward and suggests avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

Geographies of the ageing–migration nexus

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a general overview of the literature on ageing and later-life migration from a geographical perspective. The discussion develops around eight main themes. I start by engaging in an overarching discussion on, firstly, theorising age and ageing; secondly, mapping age and ageing within geographical research; and thirdly, theorising later-life migration. I then delve into five key themes in the context of transnational ageing: home and home-making practices, ageing care, intimacy and loss, cultures of ageing, and effects and intersections of place and older migrants. These themes mirror and help navigate the main topics discussed in the empirical chapters.

Pertinent questions addressed in this chapter include the following. What does it mean to *be* and to *become* old? What implications does transnational migration bring to individuals' ageing as both an embodied and emplaced experience? How do older migrants' ideas about age and ageing shift across space and time? How do cultures of ageing and care navigate across borders and shape ageing perceptions of both migrants and non-migrants? How are later-life identities, home-making practices and feelings of intimacy and loss shaped at different social and spatial scales? How do place and older people *in* place affect each other and become mutually constitutive?

As a starting point to the analysis, I offer a brief overview of the ageing-related research produced within migration and ageing studies and geography. For this, I focus on five journals related to migration and ageing and five geography journals² which have

² This includes for migration and ageing studies: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, International Migration Review, Transnational Social Review, Ageing & Society, and Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology; and for geography: Area, Geoforum, Population, Space and Place, Progress in Human Geography, and The Professional Geographer. For reasons of space, the number of journals considered here is necessarily limited.

published findings relevant to the study of ‘geographies of the ageing–migration nexus’³. I consider the period since the mid-1990s, since this roughly corresponds to the timeframe in which relevant research in this field has been produced. Geographical research on ageing has mainly worked towards developing ‘geographies of ageing’ as a distinct research arena of human geography. While the constitution of the field has been underway since the mid-1990s (Harper and Laws, 1995), recent studies have drawn attention to pressing and timely issues. These include the intertwining of social and cultural, and biological and physiological, dimensions of ageing and later-life in place; the challenge of incorporating time and spatiotemporality in the discussion (Schwanen et al., 2012a); and the potential for relational and non-representational approaches to age and ageing within geography (Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Skinner et al., 2015). Research on the ageing–migration nexus has flourished over the last two decades, with fruitful discussions on the diversity of older migrants (Warnes et al., 2004), transnational ageing (Horn et al., 2013), elderly care (Baldassar, 2007a), ageing in ethnic minority or transcultural contexts (Zubair and Norris, 2015), and policy implications of ageing as a migrant (Ciobanu et al., 2017).

2.2 Challenges in theorising age and ageing

In this section, I seek to map out age and ageing within geographical research. I start by providing a broader conceptual discussion of notions such as ‘ageing’, ‘elderly’ or ‘older age’, questioning potential ageist attitudes behind their use, their rehabilitation or dismissal. I move then to critically examine the Cartesian division between the (youthful) mind and the (inescapably old) body in light of the theory of the ‘unified whole’ (Gibson, 2000).

It is fairly socially accepted that after a certain moment in our lives, we start being labelled ‘aged’ or ‘older’ (older than who?) and that, at a certain chronological age (what age?), we will start being perceived as ‘ageing human beings’ (Bytheway, 2000).

³ This exercise also revealed the need for a journal(s) with a specific focus on the intersections between ageing and migration; especially considering that ‘there have been overlaps between migration studies and gerontology for decades’ (Warnes and Williams, 2006: 1260).

According to Beauvoir (1972: 2) 'the time at which old age begins is ill-defined; it varies according to the era and place, and nowhere do we find any initiation ceremonies that confirm the fresh status'. Even if there are no corporeal signs of important changes taking place, there seems to be a cultural – temporal and spatial – repositioning of older people in society (Baars, 2009; Harper and Laws, 1995). This social categorisation, based on a given society's cultural perceptions of chronological age, can be significantly different from 'intrinsic' time; the personal and collective meanings and emotions attributed to the past, present and future (Andrews et al., 2009; Bytheway, 1995, 2000).

Given its relative precision, and despite its lack of intrinsic meaning, chronological age continues to be widely used in the construction of age categories and, in practical and institutional terms, it effectively has the power to influence individuals' lives (Bytheway, 2005). And yet, earlier (Neugarten, 1974) and more recent research (Bures, 1997; Bytheway, 2005) has made clear that attempting to establish (artificial) boundaries between 'young', 'middle-aged' and 'old' can be to a certain extent arbitrary⁴. In line with this, it is generally agreed that an embodied perspective of ageing can prove more useful in examining human ageing since the phenomenon cannot be reduced to chronological age, life expectancy or mortality rates, being influenced instead by socially and economically constructed life course events (Andrews, 1999; Hardill, 2009; Harper and Laws, 1995; Pain et al., 2000; Schwanen et al., 2012b)

Focusing on the individual component of the ageing process, several authors have commented on a growing conflict between two dimensions frequently referred to in the literature as the Cartesian division: on the one hand, the ageing body which inevitably grows old and tends to be perceived as no longer productive in industrial-era, capitalist societies; and, on the other hand, the spirit that can remain eternally young (Andrews, 1999; Gibson, 2000). This is manifest in the apparent contradiction between traditional (Western-based) age stereotypes associating older age with idleness, mental and physical incapacity and dependency, and the increasing diffusion of lifestyles guided by principles

⁴ This arbitrariness is manifest, for instance, in Beauvoir's (1972: 13) listing of historically nuanced and socially-constructed understandings of old age. For instance, while for Dante old age began to be felt at 45, modern societies have generally set retirement at the age of 65.

of 'active' and 'healthy' ageing (Andrews et al., 2007; Bytheway, 1995; Schwanen et al., 2012b; Vanderbeck, 2007).

Andrews (1999) and Gibson (2000) are especially critical of this mind and body split. The latter, in particular, argues for a 'unified whole' rather than the division (and even conflict) between an 'old' physical appearance and a 'youthful ghost' that remains intact through the passage of time. This is, moreover, an idea earlier sustained by Beauvoir (1972: 13) in her seminal work *Old age*: '...old age can only be understood as a whole: it is not solely a biological, but also a cultural fact'. Three main approaches seem to illustrate this body-mind clash in which the body seems to act as a source of conflict in the negotiation of one's identity: i) 'the mask of ageing' related to a consumer culture (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1989); ii) 'the masquerade' which places emphasis on the creation of a social facade designed to obscure (social and physical) manifestations of age (Woodward, 1991); and iii) the 'persona' which acts as a bridge between the internal self and external social realities (Biggs, 1993, 1997). The adoption of a mask from one stage of life in another can, however, prove problematic: 'mid-lifestylism would thus be seen as a problem rather than a solution to the challenge of later life because it constitutes a hanging on to an illusion and an avoidance of different existential questions that have to be asked in the second half of life' (Biggs, 1997: 568). As Featherstone and Hepworth (1989) observe, it seems paradoxical that while 'midlife-styles' have been extended into later stages of life, seniors increasingly tend to opt for youthful lifestyles.

This theoretical entanglement has led to an extensive academic debate on whether the concept of 'old age' should be broadly used (Andrews, 1999), rehabilitated (Gibson, 2000), or eventually replaced (Bytheway, 1995). In response to Bytheway's (1995: 119) conceptualisation of old age as a 'cultural concept, a construction that has a certain popular utility in sustaining ageism within societies (...)', Andrews (1999) disputes the propensity of studies on ageing towards 'agelessness' and challenges Bytheway's suggestion to eliminate (or at least reform) the concept of old age. For Andrews (1999), the pretence that old age does not exist is the ultimate seductiveness of agelessness, and it is vital to accept old age as a means to reinforce its importance within society. In short, the author claims that in denying old age its rightful category, one is not reducing but rather perpetuating the problems arising from an ageist society, and that agelessness can

itself be a form of ageism (see also McHugh, 2003). Supporting the same premise, Gibson (2000) contends that older people should not endeavour (or be encouraged) to remain 'young', as that would be a denial of the positive features that come with ageing. Overall, this discussion seems to follow in the footsteps of Beauvoir's (1972: 1) earlier reflections and cautioning that 'society looks upon old age as a kind of shameful secret that it is unseemly to mention'.

In reply, Bytheway (2000) argues that the title of his concluding chapter – 'No more "elderly", no more old age' (Bytheway, 1995) – was more of a challenge than an aspiration to eliminate the category. The author continues by suggesting the use of a relativist rather than an absolutist vocabulary (see also Pain et al., 2000): older people instead of elderly people, and later-life and older age rather than old age. While Gibson (2000) maintains that, in light of long-standing ageist prejudice, words such as 'elderly' need to be rehabilitated rather than tabooed, a similar stance to that of Bytheway is contended by other authors as the complexity and diversity of those included in the category of 'old age' increases (Harper and Laws, 1995). This seems to be particularly true if the Western-based retirement age – typically 60 or 65 – is used to define old age while, simultaneously, it is also increasingly apparent that many individuals retire well before (and perhaps in the future, well after) the socially conventionalised age for retirement. This re-engaging with an active way of life (Peace et al., 2005) – linked to a seeming resistance to concepts of ageing and ageism – is what, according to Gilleard and Higgs (2000), defines and shapes the 'cultures of ageing' in which culture plays a central role in shaping how ageing is articulated. This attitude of resistance towards, or delaying of, older age is neatly captured by Ekerdt's (1986) concept of a 'busy ethic' or Cruikshank's (2003) notion of a 'prescribed busyness'. This can lead older people to engage in 'leisure activities' in a work-related, productive manner and, consequently, turn older age into an extended active phase of midlife bereft of 'real leisure' (Andrews et al., 2007).

Much of the blurriness in 'older age' relates to the complex temporalities, liminal phases, and lifespan developments experienced by individuals over the life course. This is the topic I address next.

2.2.1 Temporalities, liminality, and the life course

Time, and time-induced events, are crucial dimensions of the ageing process. As Daatland and Biggs (2006) and Hareven and Adams (1982) have aptly shown, diversity in older age emerges as a result of the experiences and stimuli individuals acquire and are exposed to through the life course, as well as the specific historical conditions affecting their lives at earlier times. The life course has indeed been recognised as of pivotal importance in explaining health conditions, migration patterns, socio-economic inequalities, identity formation and place attachment in later-life (Andrews et al., 2007; Peace et al., 2005).

Hardill (2009), for instance, highlights the fact that, whereas the life cycle underlies predictable changes and builds relations between life experiences within a rigid set of biological stages and ages, the life course approach is more flexible and open to the diversity of pathways that individuals may take during their lives. Family shifts and wider social and economic transformations, as well as their interactions with individuals' own experiences, foreground the need to move beyond traditional markers such as 'life stages' or 'life transitions' and embrace variation, change and discontinuity as positive features throughout the life course and, especially, in later-life. Transience, liminality, interstitiality, and 'lifespan developments', as well as their negotiations, are then crucial to understanding how social identities are (trans)formed (Oliver, 2007; Trundle, 2009).

The concept of liminality introduced by Arnold Van Gennep in his pioneer book *Rites of passage* (1960) proves particularly enlightening in discussing the fuzzy boundaries between life stages. According to the author, 'the life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another' (1960: 2-3). Oliver's (2008: 27) understanding is that in a 'liminal phase' individuals 'inhabit a zone "betwixt and between" one status or identity and another'⁵. Following from this,

⁵ One's state of liminality can, in the specific case of lifestyle migrants, be described as a 'particularly privileged form of liminality' (Croucher, 2013: 23). This can be experienced differently by women and men, and this permanent feeling of being 'betwixt and between' can eventually take its toll on migrants' lives as shown, for instance, in the confessions of older British migrants in Costa del Sol on their loneliness despite living 'the good life' (O'Reilly, 2000a). All in all, this seems to point to the fact that liminality can be both a privileged status, and a vulnerable one.

retirement represents a liminal period and a 'rite of passage' between working life and a non-working older age.

Luborsky and LeBlanc (2003) specifically draw attention to the sociocultural differences between retirement and older age, noting that although gerontological research has extensively discussed older age, little has been written about retirement per se and a valid cross-cultural analytical approach seems to be lacking to both definitions (Neysmith and Aronson, 2012; Rowles, 1986). In fact, not all retirees are old, nor are all elderly retired. While retirement is defined according to the occupational domain, older age lies in the conjunction of a set of personal, social and cultural dimensions in which the occupational aspect only represents a part (Luborsky and LeBlanc, 2003). This intricacy arises, I suggest, from the increasing necessity to take up longer periods of work as a result of increased longevity, but also from the desire to engage in complex lifestyles that go beyond the traditional work-retirement dichotomy. Work and retirement are then, increasingly, no longer two distinct phases but rather part of a blurry continuum. Retirement, in particular, has been reinvented in consumer society as a 'time of transition to a new life' (Hockey and James, 2003: 102), turning its back to dependency theories that perceived older age as the 'final years'. In light of these transformations, the social sciences have moved towards explaining diverse ageing experiences through a life course lens (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1989).

In drawing attention, too, to ageing and its temporalities, the concept of life course proves to be especially relevant as it accounts for life transitions, changes, and disruptions (Schwanen et al., 2012b). The postmodern life course approach discards linear and staged notions of the modern lifecycle – youth and education, adulthood and work, and older age and retirement. In this regard, the challenge for geographers studying ageing through a life course lens is to keep continuity and discontinuity in dialectical tension and to articulate complex short-term and long-term dynamics through which older age evolves and is continually reshaped (Phillipson and Ahmed, 2006). With this in mind, in the next section I take the challenge of placing age and ageing within geographical research.

2.3 Mapping age and ageing within geographical research

Schwanen and colleagues (2012a) foreground five key reasons for reinforcing geographical engagement in ageing research: first, the undisputed growth (both in absolute and relative terms) of the number of older people⁶; second, the blurring of identities over the life course, which increasingly challenge the categorisations of ‘childhood’, ‘adulthood’ and ‘old age’ or the use of chronological age to identify ‘young’ or ‘old’; third, the mounting complexity between neoliberal discourses of independence, mobility and experimentation in older age, and industrial-era connotations of ‘elderly’ with dependency, frailty and obsolescence; fourth, the widespread ageist conceptions based on age; and, finally, the need for expanding research on the geographies of ageing in a context of changing experiences and landscapes of care. In support of this, Skinner et al. (2015) have invited further geographical attention to the ageing process, convincingly showing that while geography is a burgeoning subject field within gerontology, ageing still remains an unassuming sub-disciplinary focus within geographical research.

Holding this rationale at its core, and starting off by showing why continued geographical engagement in ageing studies should be seen as a priority, this section moves to examine the relationship between geography and gerontology, critically exploring concepts such as ‘gerontology done geographically’, ‘geography of ageing’, and ‘geographical gerontology’.

The roots of the disciplinary crossing between geography and gerontology can be found in the 1970s, when authors started to unpick the inextricable links between ageing and place. The publication, in the following decades, of three pioneering geographical pieces – Harper and Laws (1995); Rowles (1986); Warnes (1990) – were decisive to the establishment of ageing as a research field within geography. The themes explored at this

⁶ In terms of intergenerational relations, the growing number of older people can be analysed in two different ways: as a threat concerning the sustainability of health and pension schemes, or as an opportunity which is proven by the increasing importance attributed to grandparenting in a context of increasing complexity of family structures. This is apparent, for example, in the growing numbers of single-parent, multi-generational and grandparent-headed households, especially in advanced economies (McDonald, 2011; Vanderbeck, 2007).

early stage were framed within a wide range of epistemological frameworks including phenomenology (Rowles, 1986), post-positivism and critical geographies (Warnes, 1990), and feminist, post-structuralism and postmodernism (Harper and Laws, 1995). While Rowles (1986) focused mostly on the spatial dimension and distribution of the ageing phenomenon, Warnes (1990) argued for geographers to move from research centred on the nature of place to focus on older people *in* place, considering global, local and temporal perspectives. Adding to existing research, Harper and Laws (1995) showed concern about the empiricist and atheoretical nature of the geographical research on ageing, stressing that while gerontological literature offered in-depth examinations of the social construction of older age, the same debate was missing in geography, where the category 'old' was rarely problematised.

The early challenge for geographers to move beyond geography in ageing research (Warnes, 1990) led to a broader analysis of the mutual intersections and evolutionary patterns between geography and gerontology. A primary approach taken by both geographers and gerontologists was to regard this intersection as a subfield of gerontology – 'gerontology done geographically' (Andrews et al., 2007, 2009). Nevertheless, since the late 1980s, an alternative approach was developed mainly by geographers – here the work of Harper and Laws (1995) must be highlighted – who claimed the intersection between space and ageing as part of human geography and, more specifically, as a subdiscipline within social geography designated as 'geography of ageing'. A basic criticism of this approach would lie, however, in the fact that much of the relevant research at the intersection between geography and gerontology has been produced by non-geographical disciplines (Andrews et al., 2007). As a whole, the differences between the two abovementioned research strands seem to echo a dilemma for geographical gerontologists as to which discipline to take as a core ground – geography that studies older people or gerontology that adopts a geographical approach.

Interestingly, the major critiques to the approach proposed by Harper and Laws (1995) arose precisely from geographers, namely Hopkins and Pain (2007). The latter authors pointed out the disproportional research focus on the social-chronological margins – the very young and very old – arguing instead for 'relational geographies of age'. Relying on a critical social geography framework, Hopkins and Pain's work focuses

on the concepts of intergenerationality, intersectionality, and life course instead of fixed-age geographies based on single demographic cohorts. The authors' vision of continuity is based on the belief that research on ageing must be based on the interactions between different age groups, as it is extremely intricate (and even artificial) to individualise them. Ultimately, and especially relevant to this thesis, the authors note that, as a result of a fragmented approach to age research, scholarship on ageing and older age is fairly limited in comparison to that on childhood.

In reaction to Hopkins and Pain (2007), Horton and Kraftl (2008) and Andrews et al. (2009) show concern about the fact that the value specifically assigned to each age cohort may become lost within such a general approach, warning that age could then become just another 'blank descriptor' losing its unquestionable relevance. Horton and Kraftl (2008), in particular, are apprehensive about how concepts such as intergenerationality and life course can account for the complexities and specificities of young and old age, contending that the individual groups may become obscured by relations that, in their opinion, matter much more than 'generational' differences.

In an attempt to address these debates, and building upon Rowles' (1986) earlier call for a more balanced and integrated relationship between geography and gerontology, the term 'geographical gerontology' (although not always consistently recognised as such) has made its way into the academic vocabulary (Andrews et al., 2007). In a context in which both disciplines have built up from, and been influenced by, a critical turn, therefore sharing methodological, theoretical and empirical communalities, geographical gerontology appears to be, according to Andrews et al. (2009), the adequate arena to develop relationships between ageing, space and place. This is attested by the earlier geographical publications mentioned above, but also by a more recent collection edited by Andrews and Phillips (2005). Ageing research using space and place as conceptual frameworks has, indeed, proven valuable in grasping experiences that have been traditionally analysed in gerontology using individual and social dimensions (Andrews et al., 2007). Nonetheless, it appears to have been a general tendency to consider place as a mere territorial setting, side-stepping the social meanings that it acquires through a long-standing social, cultural and economic construction (Burholt et al., 2013; Pain et al., 2000). Spatiotemporality emerges then as an important concept in the study of the

ageing process by combining both spatial and temporal dimensions (Andrews and Phillips, 2005; Schwanen et al., 2012b). Ageing-related mobilities and later-life migration can be found within these complex spatio-temporal crossings. Departing from this understanding, in the next section I focus on the challenges in theorising later-life migration.

2.4 Challenges in theorising later-life migration

As a result of the broadening experience of retirement across societies (especially so in the so-called Global North), and despite traditional assumptions of older people as less adaptable and prone to move, the number of older migrants has expanded significantly in recent decades (Ciobanu et al., 2017; Ciobanu and Hunter, 2017; King et al., 2017; Warnes et al., 2004). The complexity in later-life migration arises mainly from a threefold set of factors: growing (ethnic) diversity in older age (Daatland and Biggs, 2006; Zubair and Norris, 2015); increasing socioeconomic stratification and social inequalities among older migrants (Wilson, 2000); and the mounting complexity of transnational mobility patterns (Horn et al., 2013). As a result, the disruption and multiple ‘time lags’ – mostly analysed from short-term and simplistic perspectives – resulting from migrant populations ageing both in transit and in situ have gained enhanced relevance (Harper and Laws, 1995). The diversity and nuanced nature of individual histories, socio-economic structures, and motivations underpinning later-life migration not only dismisses a ‘one size fits all’ theory, but also stresses the importance of analysing each group of older migrants in its own context, within its own subjective framework of reference.

Since the 1990s, there has been a burgeoning interest in the movements of people across places rather than studying migrant communities in fixed locations (Gardner, 2002). Yet, as Andrews et al. (2007, 2009) have rightly pointed out, much of the geographical research on ageing remains ‘static’ in time and space. Relatedly, Ahmed et al. (2003: 4) critically remark that, “‘location’ often remains a primary concern in studies of transnationalism, where movement is largely conceived as operating between two distinct national formations, “here” and “there””. In the same vein, McHugh and Mings

(1996) have commented on the fact that 'ageing-in-place' and migration have been implicitly understood in the literature as mutually exclusive options for the elderly. On the whole, these studies reveal the inadequacies of the traditional dichotomy of 'here and there', suggesting the need for a more fluid and unbound approach to migrancy.

The 'transnational turn', pioneered by works such as those of Faist (1998, 2015), Levitt (2001), Szanton Blanc et al. (1995) or Vertovec (1999), has convincingly shown evidence of the fluidity of migrants' lives across borders. There is therefore a need to explore diverse social and economic processes in relation to ageing at multiple scales, and how these processes shape the meaning of growing old in, and across, places, recognising the embodied and emplaced nature of transnational ageing processes. A loose understanding of transnationalism in which space, 'rather than [being] a passive backdrop to transnational social relations is constitutive of transnationality in all its different forms' (Jackson et al., 2004: 1), is especially valuable and welcome.

For older migrants, who have been conventionally portrayed as facing further challenges in (re)adjusting to 'new' cultures in a context of relocation, given the specific limitations already arising from their ageing process (Ackers and Dwyer, 2004; Dwyer, 2000, 2001), transnational ties can be especially relevant in building a sense of community and attachment to place (Huber and O'Reilly, 2004; Phillipson and Ahmed, 2006). This has been observed by Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt (2013) in their study of later-life migrants from the former Soviet Union residing in Finland, for whom transnational connections played a vital role in keeping the links with the place they lived most of their lives and connecting with the people they have known for decades. The absence of transnational contacts would, in this case, as in many others, lead to feelings of emotional exclusion and loneliness (cf. Barrett and Mosca, 2013; Zontini, 2015).

Research on migration and transnational ties in later-life has drawn attention to a variety of relevant issues: pendulum migration and extended visits (Bolzman et al., 2006, 2016; Hunter, 2011ab); citizenship and welfare (Ackers and Dwyer, 2004; Warnes et al., 2004); ageing care and wellbeing (Baldassar, 2007a; Zontini, 2007); and transnational home and place attachment (Gustafson, 2001, 2008; Walsh and Näre, 2016). These forms of negotiating ageing through the belonging to transnational social fields can be related to what Vertovec (1999: 450) has identified as 'type of consciousness' – a mode of

transnationalism characterised by dual or multiple identifications, multilocality and a sense of being simultaneously home away from home, 'here and there'. In this process of (re)defining ageing and family models, of 'feeling home while away', representations and memories of one place conceived while in another constitute a significant part of the modes in which transnationalism is lived and produced (Gardner, 2002).

Transnationalism, the way it is experienced and practised, is, however, necessarily nuanced for different types of migrants. Bearing this in mind, in the remainder of this section I turn to explore the diversity of later-life migrants and the variety of motivations underpinning their relocation (or desire to stay abroad) in a later stage of life.

2.4.1 Diversity in later-life: a typology of older migrants

Drawing on various migrant categorisations suggested by King et al. (2017), Rowles (1986), Warnes and Williams (2006) and Wilson (2000), I identify six main types of later-life migrants: i) return (labour and lifestyle) migrants; ii) lifestyle migrants; iii) 'ageing-in-place' migrants; iv) older economic migrants; v) family-joining migrants (also known as 'zero generation'); and vi) involuntarily displaced older migrants. Although not representing a group of older migrants themselves, older people 'left behind' by the outwards migration of their children are also implicated in the migration process (Bastia, 2009; King and Vullnetari, 2006). Among later-life migrants one can find, on the one hand, some of the most active and entrepreneurial well-off seniors but also, on the other hand, some of the most disadvantaged, deprived, socially-excluded older individuals (Warnes and Williams, 2006). In the following, I focus on the three types of older migrants relevant to this research: 'ageing-in-place' migrants; older lifestyle migrants; and return labour migrants.

'Ageing-in-place' migrants⁷

Within the European context, 'ageing-in-place' migrants represent a rather diverse group, broadly corresponding to individuals who migrated for work-related purposes, mainly between the 1950s and the 1970s, to North-West Europe and who then remained in the areas of destination after ceasing work. The majority of these migrants were from impoverished rural areas, had little education and poor technical skills, therefore representing some of the most disadvantaged and socially-excluded older immigrants in Western Europe (Bolzman et al., 2006, 2016; Warnes and Williams, 2006). The Southern European countries, original contributors to these movements towards North-West Europe, have experienced a migration turnaround with emigration replaced by immigration flows since the 1990s. These newer job-seeking immigrants originate mainly from countries in Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe; for these immigrants too, the upcoming years will see them reaching retirement age and hence the onset of new mobility decisions and patterns (King, 2015).

'Ageing-in-place' migrants are a socially, culturally and ethnically diverse group. Their decision to grow older 'in place' is, by and large, determined by the presence of family and friendship networks which allow them to develop an active and meaningful role after retirement (for example as care providers for their grandchildren), while enjoying the possibility of being cared within the family home (Baykara-Krumme, 2013; Ganga, 2006; Zontini, 2015). Related to this, the possibility of accessing various forms of welfare, housing and healthcare benefits may represent an important reason to stay put (Hunter, 2011ab, 2016a). Place attachment and sense of belonging, materialised in features such as social and economic security, safety or tranquillity, also represent important factors to 'age in place' (Cutchin, 2003; McHugh and Mings, 1996). Importantly, 'ageing-in-place' can also be rather 'involuntary', shaped by the heavy load of returning to the home community 'empty handed' or as a 'failed migrant' (Cerase, 1974).

⁷ The concept of 'ageing-in-place' migrants broadly refers to individuals who migrated abroad at an earlier stage of their lives, most often for work, later remaining in the destination areas after ceasing their jobs and/or in later-life (cf. King et al., 2017). Given the transnationality and fluidity intrinsic to migrants' lives, I opted here for using the concept of 'ageing-in-place' in quotation marks as 'in place' means also often, in both material and intangible ways, 'across space'.

Older lifestyle migrants

The category identified as older lifestyle migrants, which has been widely referred to in the literature as international retirement migrants (or, addressing a specific age cohort, ‘baby boomers’), comprises some of the most affluent, active, healthy and innovative seniors. International retirement migration is normally a couple or individual migration project (rather than a larger family undertaking), anchored within the quest for new life(styles) upon relocation (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009; O’Reilly, 2014). Post-migration imaginaries tend to be embodied in three archetypical migration destinations – the ‘seaside resort’ which is visible all across the Mediterranean, especially in the Spanish ‘Costas’ (Oliver, 2008); the ‘rural idyll’ found in inland areas such as Tuscany, Provence or Lot (Benson, 2011); and the ‘island escape’ which I use here to refer to the most remote, isolated and unspoilt islands across a variety of locations, including the Azores (Burholt et al., 2013; Vannini and Taggart, 2014).

The typical routes of older lifestyle migration have traditionally included ‘north-south’ movements which in Europe has meant a significant concentration in the Mediterranean coasts (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; King et al., 2000). In the United States and Canada it has resulted in either seasonal ‘snowbirding’⁸ or permanent relocation to sunny states such as Florida or Arizona, or to warmer, more affordable, Latin American countries (Benson, 2015; Hayes, 2014). Adding further complexity to this type of mobilities, the quest for ‘authenticity(ies)’, seclusion and quietism has also contributed to the formation of a more geographically and conceptually complex set of pre- and post-retirement movements (Benson, 2013; Vannini and Taggart, 2014). Older lifestyle migrants moving abroad tend to develop active social lifestyles and engage in various profitable and non-profitable activities such as volunteering. This has often been regarded as a ‘positive’ approach towards older age (Haas, 2013; Oliver, 2008; O’Reilly, 2000a; Trundle, 2014).

Seemingly a homogeneous group, internal differences among older lifestyle migrants should not be overlooked. Whereas, on the one hand, one may find the most affluent

⁸ Although a less remarked phenomenon in Europe, ‘snowbirding’ has also captured some academic interest (cf. Gustafson, 2001).

middle class, family-oriented and family supported, young-active and healthy seniors; on the other hand, there are the less wealthy, 'empty nested' or without close family ties, and frail 'old old' (cf. Warnes and Williams, 2006). If the first possess available income to invest, are more likely to have children to care for them in advanced age, and may eventually return to their home countries without becoming a burden for the social services and health care system of the retirement destinations (McHugh, 2003); the second group, often with much more limited economic resources and lacking family support, may find themselves 'trapped in paradise' as they transit from 'healthy young old' to 'vulnerable old old' and become dependent on local healthcare systems which often rely on family care (Ahmed and Hall, 2016; Hall and Hardill, 2016). For some, this eventually leads to a (often challenging) return 'home' (Giner-Monfort et al., 2016)⁹. Even so, as noted by Warnes et al. (2004), the 'myth of return' is not always a reality as many international retirement migrants develop strong attachments to their new physical and social environments (and perhaps lack a social grounding in their countries of origin), therefore opting for staying put even in a context of a serious illness, or death of the spouse.

Return labour migrants

Unlike the two previous groups of older migrants, older return migrants – both labour and, in smaller numbers, lifestyle migrants – who move back to their home countries after retirement have, interestingly, captured less academic attention (Warnes, 2004). Given the specific focus of this research, here I draw attention to return labour migrants.

Following their mobility for work, and having spent a good part of their lives abroad¹⁰, labour migrants are faced, especially upon retirement, with the dilemma of a possible return. This is what Cerase (1974) has described as 'return of retirement', although the

⁹ In this regard, as shown by Gustafson (2008), there is a rather overlooked phenomenon of family-joining migration of relatively young retirees who move to care for their parents who have previously migrated in search of amenities.

¹⁰ I specifically consider international return migrants, although the geographical diversity of return migration, which includes also those who migrated within a country from its rural areas to its capital or largest cities, should also be acknowledged.

desire to return may also emerge well before migrants' official retirement age. The expanding of family ties in the host country, through children and grandchildren, as previously noted, often complicates the decision to return 'home' (Ganga, 2006; Zontini, 2015). However, for a variety of reasons, which may include the need to care for older relatives, emotional ties, the possibility of accessing cheaper healthcare (Böcker and Balkir, 2012), or even the fear of becoming a burden for children, return is perceived by many labour migrants as the best choice for retirement. While return has often been analysed in an unproblematic and simplistic manner, given the assumption that integration should be rather simple 'back home', a growing number of studies have called attention to the quandaries and readjustment challenges beyond the decision to return (Barrett and Mosca, 2013; Burholt et al., 2013; Ní Laoire, 2007, 2008a).

The debate on the connections between integration and transnationalism, referred to in the literature as the 'integration–transnationalism matrix' (Carling and Pettersen, 2014), is valuable in understanding the choice for an eventual return. While conventionally integration into the receiving society and the maintenance of transnational ties with the home country have been regarded as conflictual, recent research has convincingly demonstrated that these can be rather complementary (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013). In fact, as noted by Carling and Pettersen (2014), if integration can improve access to resources and information, it can also, for the same reason, facilitate return. Similarly, permanent contact and regular visits to the country of origin can either promote or counter any illusions of a potential life 'back home' (Guarnizo, 1997; Oeppen, 2013). Furthermore, return migration can be understood with reference to Cassarino's (2004) concept of 'preparedness', encompassing both individuals' willingness to return but also their readiness in terms of resources and information gathered.

The previous discussion on the diversity of later-life migrants invites a critical exploration of the reasons for relocating in later-life and/or ageing abroad. This is what I draw attention to next.

2.4.2 Relocating in later-life and/or ageing abroad: imaginaries and motivations

Understanding the intricate set of motivations underlying the decision to migrate or stay abroad in later-life, as well as the inter-related consequences of ageing and migration, strongly benefits from a life-long, biographical approach. The decision to migrate is indeed socially, culturally and spatially embedded in individuals' lives and has implications in later experiences and outcomes (Hardill, 2009; Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

Studying the migration decision-making process (especially in later-life) is an inherently complex matter, as those who move are only a part of a wider context comprising also those who are still actively considering moving and those who, after having considered it, decided not to. What is more, migrants increasingly have the ability of 'tacking' their mobility decisions according to changing circumstances (Knowles and Amit, 2017). In the following, I specifically focus on the first group, the movers. I explore their pre-migration imaginaries, and the motivations and aspirations shaping later-life migration. In doing so, I draw attention to context and individual-related triggers for relocation.

Over the past three decades, since the seminal elderly migration decision models of Wiseman (1980) and Rowles (1986), academic debate on the motivations to move in later-life has focused mainly on individual and environmental factors. Individual-related factors such as health, economic and cultural capital, desire to change one's lifestyle, or critical life events have been pointed out as strong predictors of the decision to move and the destination selected. Contextual variables such as housing market conditions, health provision, or the surrounding social and physical environment have also been identified as key. Later research has demonstrated that the selection of a particular destination is strongly shaped by environmental and contextualising factors such as a warmer climate, scenic landscapes, recreational activities, economic potential (especially for those planning to engage, at least to some extent, in the labour market), lower cost of living, and other community-related characteristics especially valued in older age such as safety and tranquillity (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; Longino et al., 2002).

The quest for a 'lost home' or 'lost community', either through the relocation to a new geographical setting or return to the homeland, can be specifically related to a quest for 'homing feelings' and a 'nostalgic yearning' in which 'community is hailed as a panacea to the ills of modernity and as a representation of social continuity' (Ahmed, 2015: 1). In the specific case of return, the role of memories has been shown as especially important (Ahmed et al., 2003; Ní Laoire, 2007). Overall, there is a search for 'authenticity', often linked to ideas of the 'rural idyll' or the 'off-the-grid', and a desire to engage in lifestyles perceived as 'pure' or 'genuine' (Benson, 2013; Kordel and Pohle, 2016; Sardinha, 2015; Vannini and Taggart, 2014). These dimensions are part and parcel of wider pre-relocation imaginaries (Benson, 2012; O'Reilly, 2014).

On the other end of the spectrum, a harsh winter climate, crime and insecurity, low residential and job satisfaction, congestion, pollution and the high cost of living may represent powerful push factors to leave the previous country of residence (Böcker and Balkir, 2012; Waldorf, 1995). Feelings of insecurity and vulnerability in a 'foreign land' can be especially challenging among older migrants who may wish to return to the comfort and familiarity of the homeland (Razum et al., 2005). Importantly, and as recent research has established (Benson and O'Reilly, 2016; Bolognani, 2014; Kılınc and King, 2017), economic and lifestyle motivations are, increasingly, fundamentally embedded in each other.

The same set of individual and contextual factors identified above can help to make sense of the desire to stay abroad in later-life. De Valk et al. (2004), Ganga (2006) and Zontini (2015), for instance, highlight proximity to family, friendship networks, and rooted community values as important factors to remain in the same place of residence after retirement. Prior or subsequent – individual or family – geographical mobility may add further complexity to this. In this regard, the most transnational migrants, who have acquired further 'transnational capital', either through work, tourism, or other activities, are also those who are better prepared, and possibly more prone to engage in later-life migration (Gustafson, 2001, 2008; Rodriguez, 2001). Relatedly, the risk of social and economic deprivation by moving may represent an important factor for older migrants to stay put (Gardner, 2002; Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt, 2013; Lamb, 2002). This is apparent, for example, in terms of emotional support and care in later-life (Baldassar,

2007b; Zontini, 2007). Notably, later-in-life migration can no longer be simplistically understood as a 'final stop', as migration outcomes can generate new push and pull factors and, thereby, trigger future mobility (Longino et al., 2002).

As older people become increasingly mobile and transnational, the ways in which 'home' is conceptualised, lived, felt and practised become fluid, multifaceted, and nuanced as never before. This is the theme I explore next.

2.5 (Un)making home and home-making practices

The previous sections have sought to set the foundations for a broader understanding of the ageing–migration nexus, highlighting the transnational nature of older migrants' lives whose identity is often complicated by multiple belongings and place attachments. In this section, I focus on 'home' as socially constructed over time; as spreading across space in complex geometries that go beyond the traditional home–host country dichotomy (Ahmed et al., 2003); and as permanently (re)negotiated and *undone* (Baxter and Brickell, 2014). 'Home' and 'homing' are, I sustain, an ongoing venture, one that results from a complex set of experiences, relationships, and affiliations that transcend emplaced realities. I start off by briefly reviewing the existing literature on transnational migration and home in older age. I then move on to explore the intricate links between 'home', identity, remembrance, belonging and place attachment. Finally, I draw attention to migrants' home-*un*making practices.

Despite a growing corpus of research on transnational migration and home, older migrants and their homing experiences have been for the most part overlooked; notable exceptions include Buffel (2015), Gardner (2002), Huber and O'Reilly (2004), Lamb (2002), Rowles and Chaudhury (2005), Seo and Mazumdar (2011), Walsh and Näre (2016), and Zontini (2015). There is then, as noted by Walsh and Näre (2016), a considerable margin for further work on the impact of ageing and transnational migration on the meanings of home.

Memories and reminiscences play a key role in the social construction of 'home' among older people. Imaginaries and recollections of one place, conceived while in

another, and the resulting fusion of experiences and practices, make up an important part of the ways in which transnational home is lived and experienced (Lamb, 2002; Walsh, 2016a). Older migrants' experiences of home become especially intricate because older people continuously reshape the meaning and identity attributed to places through the life course (Cutchin, 2003). For Rowles (1983), this has to do with a sense of 'insideness with place', while Moore and Ekerdt (2011) stress the importance of an unremitting 'cultivation of place'. This exposes 'home' as an ambiguous experience of place which can unleash (be)longing and alienation, intimacy and indifference, proximity and distance. These discussions uncover the liquid and shifting nature of 'home', an idea that is clearly conveyed in Gardner's (2002) work on older Bengalis in Britain and in the recent edited volume on transnational migration and home in older age by Walsh and Näre (2016). As noted by the first, in stressing the importance of the life course in people's relationships and attachments to place, and by observing how place affiliations and imaginaries of 'home' and 'homeland' shift over time, a key question arises:

Where is home? For many elders it seems to be both Bangladesh and Britain, depending upon which element of that bundle of ideas, practices and relationships that constitute 'home' they are thinking of, and the context from which they are speaking. As a set of social relations, home is dispersed between places, spread between Britain and Bangladesh in a way that few people can ever wholly reconcile. (Gardner, 2002: 219)

Notions of home and homeland are indeed not always overlapping, and this distinction can even become an unsettling part of migrants' lives. Intersections of home, memory, identity and belonging are complicated by the existence of multiple 'homes', various affiliations, and diverse home-*un*making practices (Baxter and Brickell, 2014; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). In this, Hunter (2016a) provides an insightful reflection on the notions of 'emotional' and 'instrumental' home, showing how North and West African seniors in France strategically shift between filial attachments to the 'home country' and the access to better quality welfare in the 'host country'. This reveals the geographical elasticity of the concept of 'home', which encompasses a multiplicity of scales ranging from the neighbourhood, to the community, region, or nation-(state) (McHugh and Mings, 1996). The same idea is patent in Buffel's (2015) study of older Turkish migrants in Brussels, for whom ideas of home are based on multiple attachments reproduced both

locally and transnationally through mobility of various kinds – physical (back and forth movements), virtual (telephone contact with family and friends in Turkey), and imaginative (desire and imaginaries of return).

Home-making is, in Eva Hoffman's words, about (re)creating 'soils of significance' (1989: 278). It is also, as captured by Dayaratne and Kellett (2008: 66), a process that 'continues to consolidate itself with events of significance that adds to the sense of home by overcoming the obstacles which may diminish it'. This means suturing affective dimensions of home and the role of remembrance in its making, with the material reality of the objects and places that make up 'home' and 'homing'. In a context of migration, 'homing desires' are not only a product of transnational mobility but are also embedded in daily home-making practices (Fortier, 2003). Unmaking home is not necessarily a negative or emotionally costly process of detachment to place; instead, it can signify recovery and remaking of home (Baxter and Brickell, 2014). Unmaking home is about reclaiming, renegotiating and reinterpreting habits, routines, objects, and histories that have been uprooted (Ahmed et al., 2003), and this is a deeply relational and socially and culturally embedded process (Walsh and Näre, 2016).

The temporalities of home-making are also fundamental to consider, since the appropriation of the domestic space of home evolves at different paces, based on individuals' own subjectivities, experiences and practices. This is revealed, for instance, by how masculinities in the home space become embodied and emplaced in domestic practices, objects, and relations (Walsh, 2011); and in the way 'home as religious space' is inscribed into home spaces through décor, artifacts, and gardens in an ongoing process of ritually appropriating and sacralising the home space (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009). Home can indeed acquire important spiritual meanings, both in life and as 'the after-death final destination' (Escrivá, 2016: 202).

Notions of 'home' as both a physical place and a product of emotional bonding and (trans)national relationships is a key element in ageing care; especially so in the case of the Southern European familistic care culture.

2.6 Ageing care

The central question I seek to address in this section is: how are traditional ideas and practices of ageing care changed through migration and transnational experiences? In the following discussion, based on a variety of contributions from different theoretical groundings and geographical contexts, I explore the various ways in which ageing and care interconnect. I seek to problematise two main ideas: that the care provided at 'home' (this referring both to the 'home setting' and the 'home country') is necessarily better; and that care in later-life is mostly about practical, hands-on, forms of support.

The complex relationship between ageing, migration and care has been analysed from three main vantage points: the need for, and organised recruitment of, care workers (see also Hochschild, 2000 on the phenomenon of 'global care chains'), often female migrants from poorer countries, in developed, ageing countries (Di Santo and Ceruzzi, 2010); the transnational mobility of ageing care (Baldassar, 2007a); and the emerging research on the migration of Western Europeans to old-age care facilities in more affordable countries (Horn et al., 2015). This latter trend has given rise to transnational 'retirement industries' catering for foreign retirees who seek inexpensive social care and an alternative retirement lifestyle in parts of Southeast Asia or Eastern Europe (e.g. Toyota and Xiang, 2012). This growing mobility of care and migrancy of ageing has meant that the traditional forms in which ageing care is provided, received and understood are increasingly transformed. Older people, and older migrants in particular, are not only passive care receivers. They are also, more and more so, prime providers of caregiving for their grandchildren, as shown in Plaza's (2000) study of Caribbean-born 'transnational flying grannies' residing in Britain¹¹. The boundaries between care giving and care receiving in older age are not only blurry, but also increasingly overlapping.

Care cultures have been typically described as the set of ideas that different societies hold about how 'care' and 'care practices' should be provided and received (Escrivá, 2016; Zechner, 2008). Mediterranean countries, including Portugal (and the Azores),

¹¹ Forms of care exchange between older migrants and younger generations also draw our attention to the importance of intergenerational transfers and networks of support, which emphasises older migrants' agency (cf. Karl et al., 2017).

have traditionally held to forms of welfare that are heavily dependent on family, and the so-called familialistic care culture (Moreno, 2006). In this type of care culture, family members, kinship support, and the family home play central roles. Increased mobility, however, has progressively challenged traditional assumptions of family care in the space of home. Ageing care, as we know it today, stretches well beyond the domestic space of home, reaching out to the community and a variety of public and private institutional settings (Escrivá, 2016).

As individuals become more mobile, their life paths also become culturally complex, and meanings of familialistic and intergenerational care become nuanced. As Hunter (2016a) remarks, receiving care away from the family can be a valid option when the quality and diversity of the support available play a greater role. For the African older migrants portrayed in Hunter's study, receiving care in France means a better ageing for them, but also a way to avoid becoming a burden to their families back 'home'. This can be especially the case in a context of family enlargement and changing values and life circumstances among younger generations. Shifting family values and enhanced mobility within the household and extended family have led to an externalisation of the ageing care which private and third sectors have been quick to cater for (Torres, 1999)¹². Concurrently, 'Western-based' ideals of 'active', 'independent' or 'successful' ageing have progressively 'shaken' the familialistic model of care in Southern Europe.

And yet, ageing away from family hands-on support is not always possible, and nor is it always ageing migrants' preferred option; especially if the care resources available at 'home' tend to be of higher quality than those available in the host country. This is an idea clearly displayed in Hall and Hardill's (2016) study on older British migrants in Spain who, away from family and grappling with an unfamiliar healthcare system, see themselves 'forced' to return to the UK when additional care and support are needed. Although it has been shown that co-residence with family members can be beneficial, 'staying together does not always turn out to be desirable or essential' (Escrivá, 2016: 210).

¹² Examples of the externalisation of ageing care include the sunbelt retirement communities in the United States (McHugh, 2000a) or Southeast Asia (Toyota and Xiang, 2012), or the incorporation of living-in caregivers into the household (Da Roit, 2007).

‘Landscapes of care’ – the complex social, embodied and organisational spatialities that result from experiences and practices of care (Milligan and Wiles, 2010) – have progressively become a central concept in the debates of ageing and care, as longer periods of older age, some of them potentially in poor health, prompt the need for some form of health support. Landscapes of care, like care itself, are historically, geographically and culturally contingent (Schwanen et al., 2012b); and, as Milligan and Wiles (2010) pertinently note, physical distance is no longer a presumption of a less socially and emotionally engaged caregiving. In this sense, time-space compression has actively shaped landscapes of care. Relatedly, the notion of ‘therapeutic landscapes’ (Gesler, 1992) shows us how outside spaces such as gardens or lakes (Finlay et al., 2015; Milligan et al., 2004) or the intimate space of home (Williams, 2002) emerge as sites of comfort that can significantly improve physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing in older age.

Care in later-life often involves negotiations that go beyond the material, reaching out to emotional, moral and spiritual dimensions. As Baldassar (2007a: 275) convincingly demonstrates, transnational lives are significantly shaped by ‘economies of kinship’ – this is mobility triggered by the need to provide or receive care rather than the more conventional ‘rational’ economic motivations – which develop and are negotiated within a complex set of layers, including the country, the community, and families’ own biographies. In the ‘economies of kinship’, intergenerational relations, family obligations and, more broadly, power dynamics within the household play a central role. In a period of life in which health care and other social security entitlements gain growing significance, transnational migration and transnational ties inform and maximise individuals’ life strategies in terms of care in older age (Baldassar, 2007a; Escrivá, 2016; Hunter, 2016a; Zontini, 2007) and offer the potential of extending the repertoire of roles available to older people ageing abroad (Torres, 2006). And yet, the multiple advantages of navigating multiple ‘transnational worlds’ in older age does not always expunge the vulnerabilities that a lack of ‘solid ground’ may potentiate (Betty and Hall, 2015). As a whole, this discussion points to the need for a more nuanced approach to care cultures (Escrivá, 2016); one that takes into account mobility, cultural diversity, and individuals’ life transitions.

In the next section, I continue to explore older migrants' 'inner worlds' by looking at their intimate relationships, experiences of togetherness and loss, and how this, too, shapes their ageing process.

2.7 Intimacy and loss

I start by examining feelings of intimacy at three levels – family, friendship, and romantic partnership¹³. The discussion on romantic intimacy in older age links up with broader reflections on loss, death, mourning and its various cultural and geographical meanings.

Intimacy and intimate relationships are culturally contingent and shaped by a variety of social markers including age, gender, class, or ethnic background. For example, considering class, Victor et al. (2000: 412) demonstrate, in their study on loneliness and social isolation in later-life, that whilst family is a predominant type of social contact for lower socioeconomic classes, friendship-based networks are more common among higher socio-economic groups. Expressions of intimacy can indeed take place at various levels – from the family sphere to a large network of friends and acquaintances – often in intricate and overlapping ways that unveil the diversity of ways in which the ageing process is perceived and internalised. This is apparent, for instance, in the importance attributed to family among Indian Americans who speak of ageing as traditionally a family matter (Lamb, 2002), or the evocative meaning of friendship for older lifestyle migrants in Spain (Oliver, 2008).

In a context of transnational ageing, family support becomes a core basis of emotional, affective, moral and material sustenance. The decision to migrate, and support upon migration, often rely on complex household negotiations and familial networks (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010; Ryan, 2004). In later-life, support can emerge in different forms – ageing care, as previously elaborated (Zontini, 2007); emotional, affective and moral support (Baldassar, 2007b); or financial help (Bastia, 2009). As Victor et al. (2000) show, satisfying family relationships are central for the attainment of a 'good

¹³ Intimacy is viewed, throughout the thesis, as encompassing close familiarity, friendships, and sensual and romantic relationships.

quality of life' in older age. The importance ascribed to family also frequently results from the possibility of keeping intergenerational ties which can provide a certain *raison d'être* in older age. This has been highlighted in the literature as both a motive to stay put – as for Italian migrants in the UK (Ganga, 2006) and Spanish, Italian and Portuguese migrants in Switzerland (Bolzman et al., 2006, 2016) – or a reason to return 'home' – as for Spanish (Gualda and Escrivá, 2014) and Turkish return migrants (Razum et al., 2005).

Whilst family is most likely to provide intimate or long-term care-giving, friends tend to play a more central role in terms of emotional wellbeing and life satisfaction (Victor et al., 2000: 413). Indeed, as Roseneil and Budgeon (2004: 135) note, 'much of what matters to people in terms of intimacy and care increasingly takes place beyond the "family"' and 'centring on friendship' represents a key aspect of contemporary cultures of intimacy. Focusing precisely on the significance of friendship for older middle-class women, Jerrome (1981) underscores the variety of friendship strategies adopted in later-life. These include deepening existing relationships; making new friends; becoming a role-model neighbour; or becoming closer to siblings. The author concludes that friendship is a crucial source of support and company in later-life, especially long-life friends, in that they offer 'something unique to the acceptance of ageing and adjustment to changing circumstances' (1981: 175). Making new friends in older age can be challenging though, especially for those who lost their partners at an older age, and allowed close friendships to fade away in the course of life; or those who hold the desire, even in a context of migration, and even if not overtly articulated as such, to be surrounded by individuals perceived as 'similar'. This is what Oliver (2016) identify as 'choice homophily' in older age.

When neither family nor friends are available, religion, religious affiliation or religious beliefs can play an important role in providing emotional and moral support and preventing or reducing feelings of loneliness among older migrants. Several studies (e.g. Fresnoza-Flot, 2010; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2009) have shown that migrants find in their faith in God a daily strength for the difficult times and hardships of migration, and that the religious setting tends to recreate a familiar space that provides migrants with place attachment and sense of belonging. In this regard, Ciobanu and Fokkema's (2017) recent study on older Romanian migrants in Switzerland offers a valuable insight into the

role of religion in protecting ageing migrants against feelings of isolation. And yet, we should avoid falling into the trope of older migrants as vulnerable and destitute ageing bodies; they are, too, striving individuals with needs for intimacy and companionship (cf. Lulle and King, 2016ab).

Beauvoir (1972), Davidson and Fennell (2004), and Segal (2013), among others, stand firm on the idea that neither men nor women lose their desire for intimacy and sensuality as they age. This contrasts with the views of other authors – for instance, Germaine Greer (1991) – who wrote about the ‘relief’ of being ‘free at last’ from the shackles of sexuality and sensual desire; or Eva Figes who found refuge in her ‘grey hair, wrinkles, cultural invisibility and long-gone sexual allure’ (Figes, 1993 cited in Segal, 2013: 94). The desire for intimacy and sensuality is complex and nuanced; especially so in older age when narrow understandings and ingrained prejudices about what is ‘appropriate’ in later-life tend to prevail. Segal (2013: 26) warns against what she describes as a culture of ‘erotic invisibility’ among older people, while Langer (2009: 752) cautions about the need to rehabilitate the obsolete idea that ‘love and sex are only for the young’ which continues to be culturally dominant. Affirmations of appreciation and desire are present throughout the life course, although they may be expressed differently at different life stages¹⁴. For instance, in older age, the absence or loss of a long-life partner can shape the desire and expression of intimacy in fundamental ways. Overall, these debates reveal that only an open discussion and enhanced understanding of late-life’s sensual needs can challenge myths and stereotypes about intimacy in older age and help to map out the ‘erotic’ or ‘sensual’ self within ageing and migration studies.

Transnational migration can play a central role in unleashing a sensual expression of the self, thereby enacting a deep sense of emotional accomplishment and wellbeing. Migration can emerge as a ‘space-time of possibilities’ (Lulle and King, 2016a), a defence against loneliness, and an opportunity to redefine oneself and start afresh (Gambold, 2013; Mai and King, 2009; Oliver, 2008; O’Reilly, 2000b). Migration can represent an

¹⁴ This is apparent, for example, in the growing number of Living Apart Together (LAT-relationships) among older adults in Western countries. This type of relationship uncovers new forms of negotiating partnership and ‘family’ in which lasting relationships are built without sharing a home. While this frees individuals (mostly women) from previous experiences of asymmetrical distribution of household chores and ageing care, it also reveals an appreciation for other dimensions of intimacy and love (Karlsson and Borell, 2002).

important transition point for women and men (although less often the case with the latter, at least in the existing discourses) who have been dismissed as objects of desire, lost their partners, or find it culturally challenging to remake their romantic lives. Migrancy and ageing raise then the challenge of creating intercultural and intergenerational accounts of emotion and intimacy (cf. Conradson and McKay, 2007).

In this regard, Sheller's (2012) concept of 'erotic agency' is particularly enlightening as it moves beyond 'sexual and purely physical relationships to encompass a wider realm of the sensual appreciation of life' (Lulle and King, 2016a: 448). This is a core idea I wish to emphasise in this discussion – the need to consider love, intimacy and sexuality as complex 'tapestries' of emotions and affects that go far beyond desire, pleasure or sex per se, encompassing also feelings of personal empowerment and social transformation. I agree with Lulle and King (2016ab), on the importance of bringing this notion of the 'erotic self', which is both embodied and emplaced and culturally contingent, into the geographies of the ageing–migration nexus. In this, and building upon existing scholarship, I seek to make a clear statement about the need for intimacy in later-life, as in any other stage of the life course.

Like intimacy, also death, loss and bereavement are an intrinsic and indeed inevitable part of everyday life across cultures. Yet, as Stevenson et al. (2016: 157) observe, 'associated social and cultural practices vary by time and place, ranging from sequestered social taboo to an integral part of ongoing social life'. Whereas a growing body of literature on death and loss is emerging within geographical research (Hunter, 2016b; Maddrell, 2016; Stevenson et al., 2016)¹⁵, a number of topics still remain poorly examined: the intersections between emotions and materiality in death; intersectional and intergenerational dimensions of death and mourning; spatialities and emotional geographies of grief, bereavement, mourning and remembrance; memorial landscapes and practices; and, especially important to this research, how loss, grief and remembrance shape the emotional geographies of belonging and 'home'.

An especially sensitive and complex issue for migrants whose lives span across borders, the loss of loved ones can lead to a sense of ambiguous attachments and

¹⁵ Relevant publications have also appeared within migration and cultural studies (cf. Hunter and Ammann, 2016).

uprootedness. Sites of bodily remains often act as a 'continuum of living-dying' and the place of burial often links to happy memories. This is shown, for instance, by Oliver (2004) who remarks on the multiple cultural influences on how British retirees in Spain negotiate and cope with loss and grief. While death, loss, mourning and remembrance are complex topics in themselves, representing the 'varied time-spaces of life, death and all the in-betweens' (Stevenson et al., 2016: 163), they are an even more intimidating research agenda to pursue in a migratory context. Migrancy and transnationalism also raise issues of intercultural and cross-cultural emotional experience and empathy in grief. As Wierzbicka (2004) appositely remarks, the complexities of this emotion in different languages and cultural settings are manifold. Not only does Wierzbicka's work caution us about the perils of generalising or normalising highly subjective and personal experiences and understandings – not only of grief, but also loss, intimacy and other everyday emotions – but it also shows that different lexicons of emotion can generate different emotional experiences and different relations to place.

In the previous three sections, I have outlined the diversity of cultural understandings and meanings that home, care and intimate relationships may acquire in later-life. These reflections draw attention to the cultural complexity and diversity of the ageing process; this is the theme I grapple with next.

2.8 Cultures of ageing

This section holds the individual and her/his broader spatial and cultural context(s) at its core. I start by discussing changing meanings of age and ageing in a context of shift to the self; next, I move on to examine the diversity of cultures of ageing and how transnationalism and transnational ties have shaped ideas about *being* and *becoming* old; lastly, I provide a critical exploration of the concept of 'successful ageing' considering the diversity of ageing migrants I have previously outlined.

Shifting understandings of ageing and later-life are not standalone processes. Rather, they are part of a wider set of economic, political, social and cultural transformations. These can be framed within broader notions of 'post-modernity', 'late modern age'

(Giddens, 1991) or 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000). While late modernity has represented a decisive shift in terms of identity formation and individual reflexivity, Rose (1996) argues that the shift to the self has been historically underway since the nineteenth century, thus stressing continuities and interdependencies rather than disjunctures in the process of 'individualisation of the self'. Relatedly, the 'cultural turn'¹⁶ in the social sciences (Jackson, 1989; Jameson, 1998) and post-structuralist approaches to ageing have drawn attention to the fact that older people's (youthful) personal, subjective and emotional experiences are increasingly detached from their outward (ageing) appearance (Andrews et al., 2009). As a result, concepts related to 'agelessness' and the 'ageless self' (Andrews, 1999; McHugh, 2000a) became widespread in gerontological studies. As part of this negotiation of older age, social descriptors such as social class, gender or (mental and physical) ability have become highly influential in individuals' construction of the ageing process (Biggs, 1993; Pain et al., 2000).

As a collateral result of this process, ageing, too, has become an increasingly individualised, self-reliant and inward-looking experience (Cruikshank, 2003; McHugh, 2000a). Related to this, disengagement theories have been rapidly contested and perceived as unfashionable, giving rise to theories of 'empowerment' and 'active ageing' (Atchley, 1987). While the transition to postmodernism promoted a shift towards the self and foregrounded ideas of 'me time' and 'freedom' during retirement, industrial principles of effective time-use and productivity still guide – perhaps rather alarmingly – much of this period of life (at least in Western societies). Moral judgements about wasting time in idleness and ideas about transposing a 'busy ethic' (Ekerdt, 1986) into later-life reveal the influence of industrial time ideals about elderlyhood, exposing the dangers of transferring the pressures and expectations of active life into older age. Sharing a similar point, but relating this to relative privilege, Beauvoir (1972: 6) bluntly remarks: 'we are told that retirement is the time of freedom and leisure: poets have sung "the delights of reaching port". These are shameless lies'. In her criticism, Beauvoir draws attention to social class as a defining element of old age, stressing that the wretched living standards imposed on older people by society makes 'old and poor' almost a tautology. Historically

¹⁶ A deeper problematisation of the 'cultural turn', especially in the context of geographical research, goes beyond the scope of this research. For a discussion on this see, for example, Barnett (1998).

apposite, Beauvoir's criticism holds an essential caveat under post-modern conditions; that is, the increasing diversity of older age which encompasses, as stressed before, not only some the most underprivileged elders but also some of the better-off seniors.

The intricate nature of the ageing process results in large part from the fact that 'ageing has become more complex, differentiated and ill defined, experienced from a variety of perspectives and expressed in a variety of ways at different moments in people's lives' (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000: 1). The boundaries and interconnections between 'mid-life' or 'active life' and 'old age' or 'retirement' have become increasingly blurred and even meaningless. The fuzziness inherent to 'older age' derives not only from the shifting meaning of ageing over time but also, importantly, from the intermingling of cultures as a result of transnational processes. In this regard, the concept of 'translation', outlined by Bender et al. (2014), proves particularly enlightening to this discussion, as it questions how practices, ideas, behaviours, and institutions, among others, circulate between different transnational social spaces and how, as a result, these are shaped and transformed. 'Translation' holds the potential of widening possibilities but also of further burdens and limitations in older age (Horn and Schweppe, 2015). Overall, this draws attention to the importance of adopting a cross-cultural, transnational lens in relation to ageing.

Among the many emerging concepts to describe older age in late modernity, I focus specifically on the notion of 'successful ageing'. While dependency theories (Townsend, 1981) fail to acknowledge postmodern ideals of independence and self-sufficiency in later-life, ideas of 'successful ageing' tend to overplay ethnocentric notions of ageing, neglecting cultural particularities that go beyond 'the West'. 'Successful ageing' is, as noted by Torres (1999: 36), a necessarily ethnocentric concept, grounded on a 'culturally-specific, American concept of success and failure'. Torres' commentary unveils the deeply contentious nature of the concept; an idea that is also provokingly conveyed by Cruikshank (2003: 3): 'perhaps the concept of successful ageing is popular with gerontologists because of its positive connotations, but it is simplistic and its promise of mastery is false'. In support of these views, Wray asserts (2003: 524):

... what constitutes happiness and fulfilment in later life is not simply related to the ability to cope or have the "right" ... frame of mind. (...) Such an approach is based on

western ideologies of individualism and the responsibility of individuals to care for themselves and exist independently rather than inter-dependently with others. Ultimately this means that ageing “successfully” is based on gendered and ethnocentric notions of what constitutes and facilitates empowerment, autonomy and in/dependency in later life.

Indeed, concepts such as ‘quality of life’, ‘wellbeing’ or ‘happiness’ in older age have often been used rather uncritically, despite their cultural specificity (Fox, 2005). The same idea is patent in Torres' (1999) reflections on the how understandings of ageing-related constructs are inescapably shaped by the culture in which they originate. A variety of empirical evidence supports this: Cook and Halsall (2012); Gardner (2002); Keith et al. (1994); Lamb (2002); Torres (2001). As an example, here I highlight Keith et al.'s (1994) comparative study of Botswana, Ireland, United States, and Hong Kong, in which the authors show that countries with different cultural histories regard and experience ageing in different ways. For example, while American seniors associate successful ageing with self-sufficiency, Hong Kong elders, on the other hand, expect their children to support them through later-life. Gardner's (2002) ethnography of Bengali elders in London, which demonstrates how British discourses of active ageing contrast with Bengali views and expectations for older age; and Torres' (2001) study on older Iranian migrants in Sweden, which draws attention to how transnationalism and the migration experience shape migrants' understandings of ageing and later-life, are further examples.

Biggs' assertion that ‘in old age, disposable income is perhaps the most potent determinant of resources’ (1993: 88), reveals yet another problematic facet of the concept of ‘successful ageing’ – the fact that ideas of ‘positive ageing’ are increasingly tied to individuals’ affluence. This overlooks the immense diversity contained in later-life, since many elders do not possess the economic resources that would allow them to partake in the ‘anti-ageist’ consumerist society that makes promises of ‘good ageing’. This is especially the case for women, who biologically tend to live longer but also accumulate less material resources throughout their active lives which would allow them the chance to ‘age well’ (Bury, 1995; Oliver, 2008; Wray, 2003). Thus, ‘successful ageing risks stigmatising a number of older people who cannot age “positively”’ (Oliver, 2008: 34). At the very core, and in a problematic way, ideas of ‘successful ageing’ have shifted the responsibility for ‘ageing well’ onto individuals, releasing political, economic and social

actors from their accountability to provide better, and less unequal, conditions for individuals to grow older¹⁷. As Katz (2001) cautions, this neo-liberal or anti-welfare agenda on ageing has led to a refusal to acknowledge that many older people are indeed vulnerable and live with dependency, and therefore appropriate resources need to be mobilised. In light of proven growing diversity in older age, it seems rather confusing that global forces continue to promote homogenised perspectives on ageing.

Ideas of 'successful' or 'good' ageing are actively created and reproduced by the consumer culture, and prove especially beneficial to consumerist agencies (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1989). 'Anti-ageist' ideals underlying the culture of 'successful ageing' have been extensively debated (Andrews, 1999; Gibson, 2000; McHugh, 2000a); these authors have raised concerns about 'anti-ageist' liberating promises being, rather ironically, anti-ageing in their nature with their Western obsession with the 'ageless self'. As observed by such authors (Andrews, 1999; McHugh, 2003), in either associating old age with dependence and decline or denying the process of getting older through discourses of active ageing and the ageless self, non-ageist thinking and practices may be impossible to achieve. The puzzle seems to lie 'in our sense that we have some unchanging inner core, making us never able to feel simply the age we are' (Beauvoir, 1972; Segal, 2013: 110). In this, ideas about embracing older age with all its emerging challenges, but also envisaging its manifold positives, seem to play an illuminating role in the debates ahead (Gibson, 2000).

The discussion above has laid out the importance of carefully considering the specific cultural contexts in which individuals age, emphasising how migrants negotiate ageing not only over the life course, but also under the auspices of a transnational era. Keeping in mind that the ageing process is both embodied and emplaced, I next move to examine the connections between place and older people, exploring mutual intersections.

¹⁷ In spite of this, the increasing interest in the role of the state, private and third sectors, relatives and neighbours in the process of care provision for older people points to the importance of exploring these actors' effects in shaping ageing, space and place (Rowles, 1986; Torres, 1999).

2.9 Ageing, place, and older people in place: exploring effects and intersections

In this section, I focus on the complex crossings between the ageing self and place. What guides my interest is how older people affect place and how, in turn, place shapes the individual. The following discussion is built on the premise that ‘places, as much as people, have socially constructed identities and the identities of people and places feed upon each other’ (Harper and Laws, 1995: 214). The concept of place as discussed below embodies a social component as both elements – place and people – are in constant dialogue. Place emerges as an important element of older people’s emotional lives, as the feelings attached to it are an integral part of the geographical experience of place (Andrews et al., 2009). As in other phases of the life course, older people physically, psychologically and emotionally engage with their surroundings as they redefine their embodied (ageing) subjectivities (Fox, 2005). In the first part of the discussion, I focus on older people’s effects on the place they are located in; the analysis is structured around four main themes: the housing market, healthcare, entrepreneurship, and social dynamics. In the second part, I explore a much less debated subject: how older migrants’ identities and perceptions are shaped by their ‘new’ living environments.

In terms of the housing market, the most obvious effect that older migrants bring into the destination areas is a potential rise in property prices (Warnes and Williams, 2006). This is based on the assumption that affluent elderly migrants are more likely to impact the local communities concerning this dimension. Rising property prices generate negative impacts for at least two groups: the youngest local residents who are trying to establish themselves (and their families) locally; and the labour migrants who provide many of the personal and retail services required by wealthy older lifestyle migrants. Several authors (O’Reilly, 2000a; Rodriguez et al., 2005) have highlighted challenges not only for the housing market, but also for overall infrastructures. These challenges can be three-fold: high volumes of traffic on poor roads and unplanned sewage due to fast urban development; design and servicing of the new suburbs based on the assumption, possibly inaccurate in the long-term, that older retirement migrants will be able to depend on their own means of transportation; and risks associated with environmental protection

and conservation (e.g. water supply and green areas) as the urban and suburban areas rapidly expand.

Especially relevant to this research is the need for efficient management of local resources in places where the existing space for urban development and the supply available for consumption are limited. This is often the case in islands and rural settings. The effects of later-life migration in these two geographical settings have been captured by a few studies, including Breuer (2005) on the Canary Islands; Brown et al. (2008) on rural areas in the United States; and Salvà Tomàs (2005) on the Balearic Islands. Whereas the challenges previously outlined are relevant issues locally, it is important to stress that this portrays only one side of the story, as in-coming migrants also contribute to local taxes and do get involved in local causes (Ackers and Dwyer, 2004; Oliver, 2008; Warnes and Williams, 2006).

The complex set of transitions migrants face as they grow older can unleash challenges in terms of healthcare planning in the areas of settlement. This can be the case of labour migrants who return to their home countries upon retirement, or older lifestyle migrants and ‘ageing-in-place’ labour migrants who, initially arriving and settling at a more active age, become increasingly vulnerable and dependent as they age in place. While return and ‘ageing-in-place’ migrants often rely on family care (Ganga, 2006; Zontini, 2015), using also the public healthcare available (Bolzman et al., 2016), lifestyle migrants are those more likely to have a positive effect locally in terms of consumption of private health care, private retirement options and creation of health-related jobs (Gustafson, 2008; O’Reilly, 2000a; Salvà Tomàs, 2005). Exceptions to this have been explored, for example, in Hall and Hardill's (2016) study on vulnerable British older migrants in Spain returning to the UK.

Even though later-life migrants are not traditionally perceived as innovative or enterprising, a number of studies has convincingly suggested otherwise (Ilahi, 1999; Lardiés, 1999; Stone and Stubbs, 2007)¹⁸. While it should be noted that entrepreneurial activities are normally an undertaking of ‘young old’ migrants, and especially prevalent

¹⁸ It should be noted that although touching upon age categories comprising also the so-called ‘young-old’ migrants, none of these studies is specific to ageing. This is, indeed, one major gap in the literature available on migration and entrepreneurship.

among those who are relatively affluent or privileged, (later-life) migrant-led businesses can bring positive impacts to the areas of settlement; especially so in the case of rural areas which otherwise would be bereft of much daily interaction and activity (cf. Stone and Stubbs, 2007). Whereas, on the one hand, some research has directly addressed the entrepreneurial role of lifestyle (Lardiés, 1999) and return migrants (Ilahi, 1999), very little has been written on 'ageing-in-place' migrants and, more broadly, on the intersections between ageing, migration and entrepreneurship. While research on entrepreneurial lifestyle migrants has mainly focused on the complex relationship between economic and lifestyle objectives, highlighting the primacy granted to the search for an alternative living and better quality of life over profit-making goals; research on return migration has drawn attention to the role of entrepreneurship as a social signifier of upward social mobility and social status (cf. Ilahi, 1999 on Pakistani return migration and occupational change). Despite the limited scope of the research available, two main factors warrant the scholarly relevance of the topic: later-life migrants' accumulated economic, social and cultural capital; and the (up until now) tendency for individuals to retire earlier therefore enjoying longer periods of flexible time and good health.

From a social point of view, growing numbers of older migrants pose further challenges in terms of their social integration, belonging, and spatial expression (Warnes et al., 2004). These social dynamics can be analysed through a 'migrant-native' and 'migrant-migrant' lens (the latter alerting us to the need to go beyond the 'majority-minority' dichotomy and acknowledging the diversity of ageing migrants); or in terms of intergenerational relationships. This is visible, for instance, through 'choice homophily' (Oliver, 2016) among older migrants, which may result in spatial divisions based on socio-economic and ethnic categories or, in its extreme, into phenomena of 'ageing ghettoization' or 'age segregation' (Harper and Laws, 1995; McHugh, 2003). While the latter tends to be common in the United States, materialised in enclosed retirement communities, studies focusing on Europe have, on the other hand, identified a tendency for older migrants to spatially integrate (at least to some extent) in the areas of settlement (Bolzman et al., 2016; Casado-Díaz et al., 2004). Whereas return and 'ageing-in-place' migrants tend to blend into the existing residential patterns given the presence

of family or long periods of settlement (cf. Lamb, 2002; Gualda and Escrivá, 2014), older lifestyle migrants, whose networks are, as previously noted, mostly based on friendship ties, often seek to get involved in the communities of settlement through volunteering and other social activities (Haas, 2013; Oliver, 2008). In this case, new spaces of socialisation can be created, thereby transforming established geographies of place.

In drawing attention to the role of place in shaping the ageing self, Peace et al. (2005) allude to the pioneering work of Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) to emphasise that place attachment can be especially significant to older people for three main reasons: keeping the past alive and carrying meaningful memories; maintaining a solid ground in times of change; and preserving a continued sense of capability. As Rowles (1986) remarks, the surrounding environment can impact older people's self-esteem in decisive ways. Place identity is indeed a component of self-identity for older people, and one that can be experienced differently at different social and geographical scales (Peace et al., 2005). It remains unclear, however, if different types of older migrants may develop different kinds of place attachment and if there are any differences regarding younger cohorts.

The previously discussed concept of 'therapeutic landscapes' (Andrews et al., 2009; Gesler, 1992) summarises well the imaginaries and potentially positive effects that specific places or activities (e.g. home, social clubs or the simple act of gardening) can have on older people, therefore creating perceptions of therapeutic value. As noted by Kearns and Andrews (2005: 14), this relatively novel notion has 'allowed an emphasis on the power of place, and how it shapes health beliefs and invokes situated experiences of well-being'. By tangibly and symbolically shaping individuals' biographies, places make a vital contribution to the construction of personal identity (Andrews et al. 2006). Self-identity is then a product and plastic formation of the places individuals have been to, and the emplaced experiences they have acquired throughout the life course. Concepts such as 'imagined landscapes of age' (Blaikie, 2005) – these are the 'imagined' associations that we make between particular places and ageing – and 'landscapes of ageing' (Kearns and Andrews, 2005) – places where social processes take place that can be seen as (re)producing ideas of age and ageing – unveil the intricate psychological links and connotations established between particular places and the ageing process.

2.10 Conclusion: towards geographies of the ageing–migration nexus

As shown throughout this chapter, ageing migrants and later-life migration have tended to pass fairly unnoticed in the existing migration literature, whose main focus has been on young, working-age migrants. While recently there has been a number of relevant publications addressing transnational ageing in the interdisciplinary fields of migration and gerontological studies (Ciobanu et al., 2017; Ciobanu and Hunter, 2017; Horn and Schweppe, 2015; Karl and Torres, 2015; Walsh and Näre, 2016), the ageing–migration nexus remains rather absent from the geographical debate. Furthermore, whereas a significant amount of work has focused on a single group of older migrants, much less has been written about the intricate connections between different groups of ageing migrants. These are two of the major caveats in the existing literature that this thesis seeks to address.

A thorough review of the available literature has uncovered four ways in which geography engages with, and helps to make sense of, the ageing–migration nexus. First, geography gains growing importance in a context in which not only is mobility in older age increasing, but also the complexity of such movements, with ageing migrants continuously redefining their migration paths according to changing circumstances. While migrants' ability to 'tack', this is shifting their course of life in response to developing contexts and conditions (cf. Knowles and Amit, 2017), is deeply rooted in relative privilege and its related geographies, it is also increasingly a product of fast-changing life conditions and disruptions, even in later-life. Secondly, and as a result of increased mobility and transnational ties in older age, 'home' and its meanings and geographies have been transformed in space and time (cf. Walsh and Näre, 2016). Thirdly, geographies of ageing and care have also become increasingly nuanced as experiences of transnational care and migrancy of ageing are now widespread (Zontini, 2007). The frontiers between different cultures of ageing and care are now fuzzy ones, evidenced through the spatial dimensions of bereavement, mourning and remembrance (Maddrell, 2016). Finally, geography helps us to understand how mobility in later-life is decisive to migrants' psychosocial wellbeing, ability to redefine oneself, and start afresh in a 'new' spatial setting (Benson, 2011). This reveals the complex ways in which place

shapes the individual but also the various ways in which migrants transform place and negotiate change with the local populations.

In setting the tone for an emerging field of inquiry – ‘geographies of the ageing–migration nexus’ – this thesis seeks to fill gaps and move existing research forward in four distinctive ways, linked to the original contributions laid out in the introductory chapter:

1. *Shedding light on what a geographical analysis can offer to our understanding of the ageing–migration nexus.* Ageing is revealed as geographically contingent, spatially produced, embodied and fluid, and the role of place is brought to the fore by looking at the production of identities through place affiliation at multiple scales of (trans)national, community, and home and intimate spaces.

2. *Foregrounding psychosocial dimensions of ageing that are frequently discussed in broader geographical work, but have been under-explored from a geographical mobility perspective.* I explore migrant wellbeing in relation to ageing at various levels – micro, meso and macro. At the micro level, I explore migrants’ individual features such as the migration experience itself, their health condition, but also psychosocial elements such as their individual needs and expectations for intimacy in later-life. At the meso level, I look at migrants’ lives within their family and friendship networks and more broadly within their (ethnic) communities. And at the macro level, I draw attention to how cultures of welfare and the socioeconomic conditions in the host country shape migrants’ lives and ageing modes. In this, I recognise that the meaning of wellbeing is itself age and geographically contingent and varied among migrant groups.

3. *Illuminating the manifold social and cultural constructions of ageing resulting from an unprecedented diversity of migration processes and experiences.* While previous works have called attention to the diversity of older migrants (Daatland and Biggs, 2006; King et al., 2017; Warnes and Williams, 2006), I extend and fortify these debates with theoretical and empirical evidence that attends to migrants who are both wealthy and underprivileged; ‘young old’ and ‘old old’; male and female; active and sedentary; healthy and frail; moving alone and as part of a couple; and originating from both the global north and global south. An intersectional approach to migrant subjectivities and ageing experiences is applied throughout.

4. *Unfolding the intricate relations between place, older people and older people in place.*

Rather than static, place is seen as an active agent that transforms older people's lives. While older people actively shape their surroundings, place and the imaginaries attached to it carry, too, an important transformative power.

Chapter 3

The Azores: 'island-worlds' between Europe and North America

For us... native islanders, Azoreanness is the way we affirm ourselves in the world, the soul that we feel in the body that we carry. And in saying this, we are not trying to discover for ourselves a new anthropological pattern... we are Portuguese, we speak the same language... but the Azores are a striking variety of the Portuguese nation developed in half a millennium in the isolation of the North Atlantic Ocean... for us geography is almost as important as history...'

(Vitorino Nemésio, 1932 *in* Açorianidade) [my translation]

3.1 Introduction

A nine-island Portuguese archipelago in the North Atlantic, geographically remote and historically sharing weak social ties with mainland Portugal, the Azores represent a unique hub for the study of human migration. The archipelago is organised in three groups, not only geographically distinct, but also socioeconomically diverse: the Eastern Group (*Grupo Oriental*) of São Miguel and Santa Maria Islands; the Central Group (*Grupo Central*) comprising Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial Islands; and the Western Group (*Grupo Ocidental*) consisting of Flores and Corvo Islands (figures 3.1 and 3.2, next page). According to national statistics, in 2015 São Miguel – the largest and most populated island of the Azores – concentrated 56 per cent of the population in the archipelago (Statistics Portugal, 2015). Table 3.1 sets out basic population data for the islands.



Figure 3.1 Map of the Azores



Figure 3.2 Images of the Azores islands

Starting from the upper left corner and following by rows: Lagoa das setes cidades ('lagoon of the seven cities'), São Miguel Island; view over the city of Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira Island; Horta marine, Faial Island; view over the vineyards and Pico mountain, Pico Island; São Lourenço bay, Santa Maria Island; Fajã of Santo Cristo ('Holy Spirit strip'), São Jorge Island; Nossa Senhora da Ajuda ('Holy Mary') belvedere, Graciosa Island; waterfalls of Poço da Alagoinha ('well of the little lagoon'), Flores Island; Caldeirão ('cauldron'), Corvo Island.

Source: Visit Azores (2015)

Table 3.1 Selected demographics of the Azores (2016)

Islands	Number of residents	Population density (pop/km ²)	Percentage of people aged 65 or more
<i>São Miguel</i>	138,138	185.5	11.7
<i>Terceira</i>	55,955	139.8	15.4
<i>Faial</i>	14,759	85.3	16.6
<i>Pico</i>	13,834	31.1	19.9
Santa Maria	5,653	58.3	13.6
Graciosa	4,301	70.9	19.2
São Jorge	8,491	34.8	19.5
Flores	3,692	26.2	18.9
Corvo	460	26.9	17.2
Total	245,283		

Source: Statistics Portugal (2016)

Note: in italics, the islands where interviews were conducted

In this chapter, drawing on a diverse set of literature on islands, islandness, identities and culture – some relating directly to the Azores – I organise the discussion around five main areas. First, I introduce a broad discussion of place, islandness and migration. I debate island idiosyncrasies and challenge reductionist ideas of islands as spatially bounded places. Secondly, I outline the history of emigration and return to the Azores. I review the main historical factors shaping the mass exodus from the archipelago, exploring the islanders' desire to return and the main features of those who made their way back home. Thirdly, I discuss the 'migration turnaround' in the Azores and its lure as both an economically and culturally attractive place for 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants, and for migrants in search of 'the good life'. I address the cultural miscegenation resulting from these new migration inflows, also tapping into questions of immigrant integration

and current immigration trends in a context of economic recession. Fourthly, I critically reflect on the concept of 'Açorianidade', Azoreanness. I unpack the main Azorean idiosyncratic features in a relational perspective, exploring the linkages between people, place and culture. I finish by addressing the shifting social and cultural landscape of the Azores. Inspired by Appadurai's concept of 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai, 1996), I examine how mobility and transnationalism have prompted changes in how the islander identity is socially, culturally and spatially reproduced.

3.2 Venturing into the 'island-world': place, islandness and migration

Islands are much more than strictly physically bounded, bordered spaces. Rather, I see them as spaces of social, cultural and emotional production and exchange where islanders, and non-islanders, engage in different kinds of performativity as a means to revive and preserve (consequently also reshaping) their culture and identity. As a result, I suggest that islands should not be portrayed or essentialised as places only pertaining to *bona fide* islanders (cf. Baldacchino, 2012: 59). In this discussion, I use the concept of 'island-worlds' as mirroring the uniqueness and singularity of islands as holding seemingly well-defined particularities, yet acknowledging the profound connectedness that also characterises insular spaces. My understanding of islands is informed by geographical concepts of interrelatedness, interdependency, and of bridging together global and local as outlined by the works of Harvey (1990) or Massey (1994). I see islander identities as revolving around ideals of conservatism, traditionalism and familism; reminiscence, pastness and selfhood; sense of belonging and place attachment; feelings of intimacy, trust and closeness; and a very own sense of time. As Lowenthal (2007) justly remarks, islands produce contrasting images of both paradise and prison. Islands are perfect examples of a spatial paradox.

I agree with Hay (2003, 2006) regarding the exceptionality and irreproducibility of islandness, but I hold more moderate views on the tautness of island identity in a context in which places and people can be deeply rooted, but yet also multiply connected. Despite conceding, with McCall (1994), on the role of place and the island environment in shaping

their inhabitants' personality traits, I am reluctant to accept geographical determinism as an imperative of island societies and cultures. I find indeed little convergence with McCall's (1994) nissology¹⁹ motto of studying islands 'in their own terms'. Yet, I recognise that our distinct understanding of islands and islandness is possibly related to time and space contingencies; this is the geographical context and time frame considered in our analyses. I believe McCall's work, like Shell's (2014), fails to embrace a more relational approach. Despite their commendable efforts to bring island studies to the fore, these authors risk, in the first case, furthering old schisms and tensions between islands and continental mainlands by looking at them in opposition; and in the second case, of implying that island spaces are isolated, bounded, and self-defensive landscapes. Rather than seeing islands and mainlands as physically and emotionally detached, I stand for ideals of relatedness and interdependency, supporting Hau'ofa's (1994) call for a more holistic perspective in which islands, as individual elements, are seen in the totality of their relationships. I also embrace Baldacchino's plea to move beyond 'an epoch of comfortable oppositions and binary thinking that position insiders against outsiders, openness versus closure, roots versus routes, global versus local' (2012: 60), thereby adopting a relational approach to island studies.

Importantly, and as recent island studies research has pointed out, it is crucial to pursue 'a decolonial island studies that rethinks the ways in which island development research can end up marginalising Indigenous voices at the same time it seeks to understand "islands on its own terms"' (Grydehøj, 2017: 3; Nadarajah and Grydehøj, 2016). The attempt to study islands 'on their own terms', as a way to oppose hegemonic mainland discourses, has often inadvertently pushed aside issues of colonialism and colonality which shape islander culture in profound ways. This is visible, for instance, in the tense relationship between mainlanders and islanders, or in the resistance to change coming from the outside.

Building upon a variety of works such as those of Denning (1980), King (2009) and Massey (1994, 2005), I see islands as playing a heuristic role as 'spatial laboratories' of permeable cultural boundaries and transnational influences. As Baldacchino (2005: 248)

¹⁹ Nissology can be defined as the study of islands and islandness (McCall, 1994).

observes, ‘an island is a nervous duality: it confronts us as a juxtaposition and confluence of the understanding of local and global realities, of interior and exterior references of meaning, of having roots at home while also deploying routes away from home’. The imaginary of islands, as well as their enhanced connectivity, signal important social changes – from a migration standpoint, it opened the opportunity for islanders to experience outside places and, simultaneously, this meant the arrival of old and new incomers. As Péron (2004: 331) remarks, the lure of the island is primarily a historical invention of Western culture which idealised islands as mystical, unchanging and ageless places where one can find a ‘world that is complete in itself’. Indeed, ‘today’s lust for islands is unmatched in scope and avidity’ (Lowenthal, 2007: 203).

Alongside islanders who tend to share strong emotional ties to the land and hold intimate experiences of place, new waves of incomers add diversity, but also complexity, to long-standing power relations and established social orders (King, 2009; Marshall, 1999)²⁰. The group of incomers includes *return migrants* who may have returned temporarily or permanently; *immigrants from relatively wealthy countries*, also called *lifestyle migrants*, often in or close to retirement age; and *immigrants in search of job opportunities*, normally from less privileged countries. While for lifestyle migrants there is a yearning for seclusion from modernity and a quest for quieter, amenity-friendly environments, labour migrants see in small islands’ flourishing economies the opportunity to find jobs in often remote and less appealing areas to mainlanders. Return migrants, on the other hand, despite having spent long periods of their lives abroad (often having been eager to leave the islands), tend to be enthusiastic restorers of the island lifeways (or what they re-interpret as the island life). The island space becomes then a product of a multitude of social interactions, what Lefebvre (1991) and Massey (1994) have described as a complex social and ideological construction of space which affects spatial and social practices and meanings.

²⁰ Given the scope of the study, my focus is only on permanent migrants. Temporary visitors (for instance visiting emigrants), and tourists are therefore not considered here.

3.3 'No man's land': emigration and return

Emigration is deeply entrenched in Portuguese and Azorean history²¹. The Portuguese historian Magalhães-Godinho (1974: 253) describes it as a 'structural phenomenon of Portuguese society' while Rocha (2008: 288) posits that 'the history of the Azores is also its history of emigration'. In fact, emigration is also a feature commonly associated with islands, especially remote ones. The Azores has indeed historically experienced, almost as a DNA, a culture of emigration. After the archipelago's discovery, in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Azores quickly attracted settlers from the Portuguese mainland. While the islands' agrarian economy and commercial relations rapidly developed, core issues such as a poor land distribution led to stark social and economic inequalities between the noble aristocrats – a small number of families who owned the land – and the great majority of the islanders – the peasantry – for the most part left to poverty²².

Although the first information about Azorean emigration dates back to the seventeenth century, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that an organised exodus from the islands began to take shape. The first great wave of Azorean emigration was directed to the most southern regions of Brazil – Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, and closely linked to the whaling industry, Azorean migration changed its direction to North America, especially the United States. Following a significant decrease in migration outflows due to the first world war and the economic crisis of 1929, a new chapter in the Azorean migration unfolded at the beginning of the 1950s. The returnee participants in this study are part of this emigration wave and subsequent return since the mid-70s.

²¹ Although acknowledging the long-standing history of emigration from the Azores, which dates back, in significant numbers, to the nineteenth century, I focus here, for the purpose of this research, on the contemporary period of Azorean emigration between the 1950s and the 1970s. This helps to understand the more immediate and relevant historical context under which the participants emigrated from the islands.

²² In this regard, in São Miguel Island the cleavages between aristocrats and farmers were particularly acute. Testimonies from that period give account of the contrasts between a small number of very rich families, 'the owners of the island', and a vast number of proletarians without property or industry (Ávila and Mendonça, 2008).

The contemporary massive exodus of Azoreans to North America was shaped, not only by the poverty on the islands, but also by natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions and earthquakes²³, and an authoritarian regime ruling Portugal until 1974 (Rocha et al., 2011a; Williams and Fonseca, 1999). Unlike the Portuguese mainlanders, Azoreans did not take part in the waves of migration to North-West Europe during the 1960s and 1970s, which is partly explained by the Azores' past as a territory on the margins of Europe. The United States, Canada and, in smaller numbers, Bermuda, were, instead, the main destinations for Azorean contemporary emigration. A major push to Azorean migration flows was also related to the passage of the Azorean Refugee Act in 1958, by Senator John F. Kennedy, following the eruption of Capelinhos Volcano, and the beginning of the Azorean emigration to Canada since 1953. According to Rocha-Trindade (2000), the starting point of the Azorean migration journey to Canada was prompted by the recruitment of a small contingent of migrants to work in the country following an agreement between Portuguese and Canadian authorities. In the case of the United States, Azorean migration would be later fuelled by family reunion and 'cartas de chamada' (invitation letters) from extended family members and acquaintances. The heyday of contemporary Azorean migration to the United States and Canada took place between the 1950s and 1970s²⁴, gradually decreasing thereafter (figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3 'Os Emigrantes' [Emigrants] by Domingos Rebelo (1926)
Source: <http://museucarlosmachado.azores.gov.pt/osemigrantes>

²³ Capelinhos' volcano eruption and earthquake in Faial Island in 1957, and the earthquake in São Jorge Island in 1964, to mention the historically most important ones.

²⁴ According to Rocha et al. (2011a: 47), between 1950 and 1960, approximately 31,000 Azoreans left the islands, a figure that outnumbered by more than three times the total of 9,000 emigrants recorded in the 1930s and 40s. Furthermore, Ávila and Mendonça (2008: 22) report that emigration from the Azores reached its highest point in 1974, when 7,822 Azoreans left the islands.

More specifically, and much linked to established family networks, emigration from the Azores' Central Group – especially Terceira and Faial islands – was mostly directed to the West Coast of the United States. Emigration to Bermuda, on the other hand, is traditionally a Micaelense (from São Miguel) phenomenon. The Azorean emigrant community overseas, including both emigrants and their descendants, is estimated to be around 1.5 million individuals (Teixeira, 2010). Two main clusters of Azoreans were formed in the United States: one in the northern part of the Eastern Coast of the United States around the industrial textile centres – New Bedford, Fall River, Taunton, and Providence in Massachusetts and Rhode Island – and the other in California – San Jose and San Joaquin valleys, Oakland and San Francisco areas. While on the East Coast, Azoreans were mostly employed in the fishing industry and in factories, in California they found job opportunities in agriculture, livestock, and dairy farming (Ávila and Mendonça, 2008).

In Canada, on the other hand, the Portuguese (and Azorean) community was, and still is, most visibly concentrated in Toronto, which accounts for approximately half of the total, followed by Quebec, British Columbia, and Manitoba (Teixeira and Rosa, 2000). In Canada, Azoreans engaged mostly in agriculture, dairy farms, mining, railroads, the lumber industry, and services. Emigration to Bermuda, most prominent during the 1960s and 1970s, assumes different contours given its mostly temporary nature. This was mainly a male outflow characterised by stricter visa and family reunion policies. Bermuda is today the most active route of Azorean emigration with young Azorean men still embarking on seasonal migration to work in construction, hospitality, restaurants and gardening. The deceleration of Azorean emigration since the 1970s was both a product of improving living standards on the islands and increasingly stricter immigration policies in the main receiving destinations.

A common feature of Portuguese emigration, particularly relevant in the case of the Azores, is a deep sense of nostalgic longing and yearning for the homeland, which in Portuguese is described as '*saudade*' (Brettell, 2003; Klimt, 2000). 'While loosely translated as "longing" and "nostalgia", *saudade* is in fact a cultural construct that defines Portuguese identity in the context of multiple layers of space and (past) time' (Feldman-Bianco, 1992: 145). Numerous authors have drawn attention to the fact that Azorean

migrants, in comparison with Portuguese mainlanders, are more prone to keep traditions and links – both physical and emotional – with the home territory while abroad (Monteiro, 1994; Rocha et al., 2011a). In this, a parallel can be found with other studies (Kenna, 1992; Marshall, 1999) that relate islandness to a stronger sense of home and community. The fact that Azorean migration normally comprised entire families, and the settlement tended to be within the Portuguese (often Azorean) community, helped maintain, or even reinforce, a strong sense of belonging to the homeland. At the same time, an often fragmented or failed integration in the host country, marked by economic, social and legal challenges abroad, made sure the desire to return never faded away (Williams, 2005). Attachment to place is indeed one important factor promoting the return to the Azores, especially upon (or close to) retirement when the islands' slow pace of life regains its appeal.

Unfortunately there is a lack of detailed and fully accurate statistics regarding emigration and return to the Azores. This is mostly due to the complexity added by 'back and forth' movements (and even re-emigration in some cases); individuals who were born in the United States and Canada and moved to the Azores (for instance, lifestyle migrants), but are not linked, either directly or through family history, to the Azorean diaspora; and individuals who returned to the Azores, but have passed away before the census. In spite of this, Rocha et al. (2011a: 140) estimate that in recent times²⁵ the highest figures of return were registered between 1986 and 1991, when approximately 4,730 individuals returned from North America: 65 per cent from the United States and the rest from Canada. Return flows continued to be significant throughout the 90s and early 2000s – for instance, between 1996 and 2001 for every 100 legal emigrants, 152 individuals who previously resided in the United States and Canada settled in the Azores (2011b: 141)²⁶.

The increasing number of returns among Azorean emigrants during the 1980s and 1990s is mostly linked to migrants' approaching the end of their active lives or the accomplishment of their migration project and ability to secure a few years of pre-

²⁵ In the twentieth century, an earlier wave of return to the Azores took place between the late 1920s and the mid-40s.

²⁶ It should be noted that these data may include a small number of Azoreans who might have only United States or Canadian citizenship.

retirement back home before officially entering retirement. According to Rocha and colleagues' survey (2011a), the population of returnees in the Azores, at the time of their study, was composed 60 per cent by individuals over the age of 60, and 80 per cent over the age of 50 years old. About 60 per cent of the returnees surveyed described themselves as pensioners. For most returnees, the desire to return was rooted in the migration project from the outset, and the longing for the homeland tended to be more pronounced among men – this is a theme I will come back to in chapter 5. Even if at a slower rate nowadays, return to the Azores has not ceased. According to the most recent data available from the census 2011 (Statistics Portugal, 2011), 854 individuals who previously resided in the United States, and 515 who lived in Canada, moved to the Azores (migration referring to the period from 31/12/2005). Relocation figures to São Miguel Island, specifically, can be related to the specificity of short-term emigration to Bermuda and subsequent return, and the deportation of Azoreans from North America²⁷.

3.4 Reversing paths: the 'migration turn' and contemporary immigration to the Azores

If islands tend to be seen as platforms of emigration, they are also often portrayed (even mythicised) as places of escape and idyll. Following a centuries-long history of emigration, the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century brought about a profound change to the Azores' migration patterns. In the context of the wider national trend, the archipelago experienced a notable increase in its number of foreign population. This new set of arrivals comprised two distinct types of incomers – *labour migrants* and *lifestyle migrants*. Given their distinct motivations and socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, I will look at each of these migrant groups in turn.

While the first labour migrants to the Azores arrived in the mid-70s and early 80s, following the Portuguese decolonisation process, since the late 90s the number of foreign residents in the Azores has more rapidly increased (AIPA, 2011; Rocha et al., 2011b). This transformation in the regional mobility patterns cannot be dissociated from broader,

²⁷ The phenomenon of deportation of Azoreans from North America goes beyond the scope of this thesis. For more on this topic please refer to recent study conducted by Rocha et al. (2017).

country-level socio-economic and political transformations, such as accession to the European Union in 1986 and subsequent economic improvement marked by a boom in major construction projects, development of the service industry, and flourishing job opportunities regionally²⁸. For migrants from former Portuguese colonies, linguistic and cultural affinity and the presence of family and acquaintances in Portugal facilitated relocation. Labour migrants in the Azores tend to share the same features as those in mainland Portugal in terms of countries of origin, motivations and professional incorporation into the labour market. Migrants from the Portuguese former colonies in Africa were the first to arrive, followed by Eastern Europeans and Brazilians. Considering the year 2000 as a baseline, the largest number of immigrants arriving in the Azores was registered in 2005 and 2006 (SEFSTAT, various years). Brazilians are currently the most numerous nationality of labour migrants in the archipelago. Cape Verdeans, traditionally the second largest group of migrants on the islands, are now the third, after the recent influx of Chinese (SEFSTAT, 2015). Not surprisingly, labour migrants are largely concentrated in the four most populated Azores islands – São Miguel, Terceira, Faial and Pico. Similar to mainland Portugal, there are more male immigrants than females, although the latter have been increasing. Men work mostly in construction, fisheries and, in the specific case of the Chinese, in small self-owned businesses such as shops and restaurants²⁹, while women tend to be employed in hotels, restaurants, cleaning and other related activities.

More recently, the economic crisis in Portugal and in its Autonomous Regions³⁰, felt strongly in the construction sector, led to a drop in the number of migrants arriving in the Azores. The number of migrants living in the archipelago between 2008 and 2014 has

²⁸ Natural disasters such as the 1980 earthquake in Terceira Island and the 1998 earthquake in Pico and Faial Islands also contributed to the growing demand for labour force to help in the reconstruction process.

²⁹ It is important to highlight that the Chinese community is especially visible in the most populated island of São Miguel. Given the recent nature of this migration, these migrants are normally young or middle-aged adults.

³⁰ In Portuguese, 'regiões autónomas'. This broadly corresponds to a special political-administrative status created for Portuguese island territories, the Azores and Madeira. The Portuguese autonomous regions status was created bearing in mind these regions' geographical, economic, social and cultural specificities as well as the historical autonomy aspirations of its island populations. Despite its political-administrative autonomy, the Portuguese constitution specifies both a regional and national connection and highlights the importance of national unity (Assembleia da República Portuguesa, 2005). In broad terms, the Azores enjoy the same health and welfare system as that available in the Portuguese mainland. Nonetheless, the Azores regional government has discretionary power in terms of, for instance, social support and benefits available on the islands.

been kept more or less constant, from a total of 3,513 migrants in 2008 to 3,536 individuals in 2014, with a slight decline in 2015 (3,361 individuals) (SEFSTAT, various years). This has also cast doubt on the future mobility plans of more mature, yet still working-age migrants who had planned to settle permanently in the Azores. There is indeed a general tendency for migrants to settle and stay in the region for significant periods of time (Rocha et al., 2011b). This is particularly the case among migrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries who have set roots in the Azores for more than three decades having, in some cases, even lost contact with the 'home country'.

In his study of the Cape Verdean community in São Miguel Island, Mendes (2008) highlights the positive correlation between the period spent in the Azores, the formation and/or consolidation of the migration and life projects, and the desire to stay put. Also for other immigrant communities, such as the Brazilian and Ukrainian, it has been found that mixed marriages and family formation in the Azores represent important factors shaping migrants' desire to stay (Mendes, 2015). As noted in a recent report on immigration in Ponta Delgada, in São Miguel Island, there is a general tendency, among the migrants surveyed, to want to remain in the archipelago (37.9 per cent) (AIPA, 2011: 182). For those wishing to return, the return project tends often to be an idealised idea rather than viable one. The studies mentioned above are not, however, specific to later-life migration. There is thus an urgent need for studies addressing later-life migration and 'ageing-in-place' migrants in the Azores – a gap this research seeks to address.

A different strand of migration which has gained increasing relevance in the Azores comprises middle and older-age migrants in search of the 'the good life', mostly from North West-Europe and North America. These arrivals cannot be separated from a steady economic growth experienced by the Azores since the 1980s and the rising appeal of the archipelago as a tourism destination. Lifestyle migrants relocating to the Azores at a later stage of their lives tend to hold island imaginaries that can be related to forms of post-materialistic escapism and the search for more 'alternative' and 'authentic' lifeways (cf. Brito Henriques, 2009; Vannini and Taggart, 2014).

Rocha et al. (2011b), in their comprehensive analysis of immigration to the Azores, call attention to the fact that most of the immigrants living in the archipelago (at the time of the survey) came from Europe (around 37 per cent), with 19 per cent corresponding

to European Union (EU) nationals. Among European Union countries, Germany accounted for the largest percentage (3.6 per cent). Drawing on recent data from the 2011 Census, a more detailed analysis can be provided. Among European Union nationals, Germans continue to represent the largest group, becoming more numerous (9.4 per cent). Nationals from Spain³¹ and the United Kingdom come next, each accounting for over 2 per cent of all EU nationals in the Azores (Statistics Portugal, 2011). Analogous patterns were found in 2015 (SEFSTAT, 2015). Nationals from EU-27 countries are those displaying an older profile with almost half of them aged 50 years old or more (48.3 per cent). Among these, the Germans and the British are the ones showing more mature profiles – 59.0 and 75.4 per cent aged 50 years or more, respectively. Inflows from these countries tend to be gender-balanced as migration in middle and older age is mostly a couple's project.

Similar results have been presented by Rocha et al. (2011b), who found that almost one quarter of the European Union citizens in the Azores were aged 55 years old or over, with a slight predominance of women (56 per cent). Even for those who decided to relocate to the islands at a younger stage of their lives in search of new professional and personal experiences, settlement in the Azores seems to be part of 'their plans for a new phase in their lives – retirement' (Rocha et al., 2011b: 160). In terms of migration trajectories, European Union nationals reported having moved directly to the Azores, with only a small proportion having lived in other regions of Portugal before relocating to the archipelago. The Azores seems then to act as a more or less independent migration platform in regard to the Portuguese mainland, for both Azorean emigrants and lifestyle migrants.

3.5 The islander identity: a critical exploration of Açorianidade / Azoreanness

Within the Portuguese context, the Azores is often pointed out as a rather unique geographical and cultural milieu. Yet, looking at the Azores as a whole, the Azorean reality

³¹ Unlike most of other EU nationals, the increasing number of Spaniards in the Azores is not related to (pre-) retirement relocations. Spanish migrants tend to be mainly working-age and are normally engaged in activities related to the sea, namely research and tourism.

is far from homogeneous. Various authors, including Rocha et al. (2011a), have rightly pointed to the heterogeneity of the Azorean people, warning against a tendency to overly focus on the ‘main’ island of São Miguel and applying conclusions from there to the rest of the archipelago. Indeed, Azorean identity needs to be understood at different scales – while at the level of the archipelago islands can be individualised as ‘island-worlds’, in a context of international migration the Azorean culture emerges as a coherent unit that finds in its linguistic and cultural affinity a ‘survival strength’ (Almeida, 2000). This social solidarity overseas, based on the triad of religion, family and homeland (or ‘islandland’), seems to lie at the core of what the Azorean poet and novelist Vitorino Nemésio (1932) has coined as ‘Açorianidade’, Azoreanness. These are indeed the three main pillars of the Portuguese-Azorean cultural identity described for instance by Ávila and Mendonça (2008) and Da Silva (2008): Roman Catholicism – faith, morals and the church (e.g. Holy Ghost Festival³² and other religious celebrations); family – a generally patriarchal and extended family system; and homeland – social stratification and land ownership, feelings of isolation and desire to ‘break free’ from the island life, yet holding strong place attachment and rootedness. The geographical isolation of the islands, their vulnerability to natural disasters, and the presence of an authoritarian, economically dominating, elitist class helps explain the strong, even fearful, sense of religiosity and culture of emigration among the majority of the Azorean population, for centuries kept in poverty and subservience. Reviewing these core values will later help us to understand how Azorean culture and Azoreanness shape migrants’ lives on the islands.

Views on Azoreanness, in relation to some of the moral values mentioned above, emerged strongly in some of the narratives of the local interviewees. In order to illustrate and add empirical evidence to the ideas discussed in the literature, which I have thus far tried to summarise, I introduce here some of the thoughts of the local research participants. Whereas Márcio and Mónica share narratives that support ideas of Azoreanness, linked, in the first case, to the ‘islander cultural exceptionality’, and in the

³² The Holy Ghost Festival is one of the most ancient Roman Catholic cults to the Holy Spirit, deeply entrenched in Portuguese, and especially Azorean, folk culture. It has been remarkable in shaping Azoreans’ identity, both on the islands and in the diaspora, and bridging the two worlds. The Holy Ghost Festival plays a vital role in Azorean religious, cultural and social life, especially among the older generations (Leal, 2009).

second case to ideas of family lineage, Rafael, in the third quote, questions the deterministic assumptions underlying the concept.

We are islanders [*ilhéus*], we have to see the ocean, and there is always a part of us that stays here. We always leave family behind... because we live in such a small community, we are very attached to family; we are very attached to certain traditions... certain things that always bring us back. That's why I say that there are three things – family, religion, and bullfighting³³, especially in Terceira [Island].

(Márcio, early 30s)

My family is rooted on these islands for 400 generations [sic], since 1400 and something... the 'Silva' branch is from here. The other family branch came later, 1600 and something. Yes, this is where I am from. My family, on the side of the 'Silvas' [referring to the family name], their history started in Santa Maria [Island].

(Mónica, early 70s)

I question that [Azoreanness] everyday. I think I use the word just to remind myself that it exists, but also to deny it, because I don't believe in geographic determinism... my life experience around the world tells me that what determines my 'Azoreanness' is the fact that I like to live here, and not because the earth is black, because my hair is dark, because there are seagulls, because I like to stare at the skies, because the lagoons are beautiful, because I like to go hiking... no. The concept of Azoreanness as it has been 'sold' in the last couple of years is too... politically correct. The idea has been used to pretend that it does indeed exist here... the Azorean people, a yearning for self-determination, a desire for emancipation from Europe and Portugal... when in reality the Azores has always been dependent, people always emigrated... I think the 'Espírito Santo' [referring to Holy Spirit Ghost festival] brings us all together; it's the only thing that really unifies us, that is the only symbol of 'Azoreanness'.

(Rafael, early 50s)

In addition to an individual sense of home and place attachment to the islands, there is also an institutional-led component to the Azorean sense of 'community' that Rafael briefly hints at, and that must not be overlooked. In his book on the myth of return among Portuguese mainlanders in the United States, Monteiro (1994) reflects on how North American and Portuguese institutions purposely revived a sense of 'Portuguese communities' and promoted a certain 'folklorisation' of the home country's culture.

³³ Terceira is the only island of the Azores holding a tradition of bullfighting. This includes the traditional form of bullfighting in the arena, but also 'tourada à corda' [bullfight by rope], specific to Terceira Island, and one of the oldest recreational traditions of the archipelago.

According to the author, this cultural revival, resulting from media and institutional manoeuvring of cultural identities, was thought to benefit the home country through remittances and investments and by indirectly inviting a potential return 'home'. Also at the island level, it is possible to find politically-driven appeals to the Azorean identity and the pride of being Azorean (figure 3.4). Rather than a clear appeal to return (which is indeed unlikely for many Azorean emigrants due to family and economic reasons), these campaigns seem to aim at strengthening the regional identity and the links between the Azoreans on the islands and those in the diaspora.



Figure 3.4 'Que bom é ser Açoriano' [It's good to be Azorean]

A comparable point was raised in the focus group organised on the islands, with participants highlighting not only the politically-driven revival of regional traditions such as the 'Holy Spirit Ghost', but also the resulting consequences of 'folklorising' the Azorean communities abroad while generating an idea about the distant homeland that did not match the social and economic changes experienced locally:

... but there wasn't such Holy Spirit coronation as there is today. This was a revival of 5 or 10 years ago, to try to recreate here in the Azores something that had already naturally disappeared or had followed its natural course... the politics were towards creating an Azorean identity related to the coronation of the Holy Spirit, which augmented this idea of Azoreanness experienced in the communities [abroad]. It isn't that it wasn't genuinely from here, but it was also encouraged so that it became indeed 'being Azorean'. So, what I think is that this didn't help the idea that the Azores was changing.

In a context of globalisation and cultural miscegenation, Azoreanness gained a new impetus across space. In the cultural exchange between the Azoreans in the islands and those in the diaspora, who lack the everyday face-to-face contact that facilitates social and cultural reproduction, Azoreanness can be linked to Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of 'imagined communities'. Azoreanness holds the singularity, though, of representing a regional culture, an islander culture, rather than a national identity. I agree with Silva (2010) that Azoreanness is diatopically, diachronically, and diastratically shaped, in that it is experienced differently in different islands, at home or in the diaspora, over time, and among different social groups. In doing so, I dismiss geographically deterministic assertions of 'Açorianidade' as an absolute, spatially-bounded cultural feature. In supporting the exceptionality of the Azorean culture, I see the Azorean identity as permanently (re)imagined and (re)constructed over space and time by a multitude of actors, both Azoreans and non-Azoreans. A shift in traditional assumptions about Azorean culture and its social and cultural landscapes is underway.

3.6 The Azores at the crossroads: changing social and cultural landscapes

In his influential work on the cultural dimensions of globalisation, Appadurai (1996: 48) postulates that 'the landscapes of group identity – the ethnoscapas – around the world are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogeneous'. Burholt et al. (2013: 1), referring specifically to island contexts, note that since migration flows are a necessary characteristic of islands, 'the construction of islander identity is likely to shift continually and be recreated'. In the same vein, I argue here that in one relatively culturally homogeneous place (such as the Azores), through globalisation forces such as the mobility of people, goods, ideas, social and moral values and many other intangible dimensions, various cultural layers become entwined in a continuous process of cultural re-interpretation and miscegenation.

I posit that the Azores, like many other 'insular worlds', are at a crossroads, having experienced, more intensively over the last few decades, an important shift in how the islander identity is socially, culturally and spatially reproduced. As people move, resettle

in new locations, and reconfigure their life stories, cultural boundedness assumes a more volatile, slippery, multi-local, and deterritorialised nature. For islanders, this process of resetting conceptual boundaries is often an unwitting one. In this framing of things, notions of space, place and community have been re-engineered and locality and its production have been challenged in unprecedented ways. In other words, what I am getting at here is that, despite all its merits, the social and cultural boundedness of Azoreanness, its virtual 'untouchability' as it has sometimes been described, should not go unchallenged.

Through transnational cultural flows and mobility, the links between space, stability, and social and cultural reproduction that Appadurai (1996) and Lefebvre (1991) refer to have necessarily changed. As Jorge Duany (2002, 2003) has noted for Puerto Rico, transnational ideas and practices (derived from migration relations between Puerto Rico and the United States) have shaped and transformed cultural identities in place in an enduring manner which, in the particular geopolitical case of Puerto Rico, have given rise to forms of cultural nationalism. The shifting of the Azores social and cultural landscape is both material and immaterial, visible in the brand-new and renovated homes and businesses created, but also in the ethnic diversity and inter-cultural encounters prompted. Two small vignettes from my fieldwork in the Azores illustrate well what I am trying to say.

One, my very first arrival to Pico Island. As I descend from the boat that had brought me from Horta, in Faial Island, to Madalena, the main town in Pico Island, I follow a handful of people as they leave the port. I end up in Madalena's main square, just a few meters from the port, where two little cafes and a bunch of tables outside gather folks of all kinds. To my astonishment, I find myself in a cosmopolitan setting populated by locals (perhaps some who had lived abroad at some point in their lives) and foreigners – some resembling Northern Europeans, a mix of tourists and residents I imagine, and others who I quickly identify as Cape Verdeans. Locals and Cape Verdeans sit on the same tables and benches, playing cards, smoking, chatting. A second story takes place during one of my first interviews in Horta. As I arrive at a café close to the beach and wait for one of the research participants, I sit down and look around. I surprise myself with the diversity of people coming in and out – a mix of locals standing at the counter for a quick coffee

before starting their work journey; I can hear Brazilian Portuguese at the back; and I see a group of older Northern Europeans who I later learn had chosen to meet in that café precisely because of its 'local ambiance'.

Inspired by the work of Lefebvre (1991), Massey (2005) and Soja (1989), I assert that space is not an inert, neutral entity, but rather an on-going (re)production of social relations that transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities. As a result, representations of space and identity are increasingly complex, multi-layered, and imagined. In the specific case of the Azores, return migrants are often seen as bearers and guardians of the traditional Azorean culture, while new arriving migrants are seen as bringing novelty to the local culture (this is an assumption I will further problematise in chapter 7). Rather than conflictual, these forces are confluent in that both represent a re-imagination of the Azorean culture. I agree with Appadurai (1996) that fantasy is an increasingly relevant social practice, giving rise to new and more complex kinds of collective expression. For instance, ideas of 'rural idyll' or 'post-modern escapism' among lifestyle migrants, or imaginaries and memories of the long-left homeland among return migrants, are part of a wider process of spatial and cultural re-interpretation of the Azores. Furthermore, mixed marriages and the formation of interethnic families (cf. Mendes, 2015) pro-actively shape and positively challenge traditional assumptions about Azorean social and cultural identity.

Later-life migration to the Azores, and the social and cultural diversity it has brought to the islands, has been decisive to transform the 'ageingscape' of the Azores; that is, the sites where older people live, engage in active social and cultural exchanges, and experience forms of care and support in later-life. The concept of 'ageingscape' which I introduce here, builds on the conceptual strength of Appadurai's (1996) 'ethnoscapes', and thematically, more specifically, on Katz's (2009) notion of 'elderscapes' and Cohen's (1998) 'landscapes of aging'. The two latter concepts encapsulate the growing diversity of retirement, ageing experiences, intergenerational support, and ageing care. As Sokolovsky (2009: xxiv) notes, in a specially relevant way for this thesis: 'what is particularly important about the elderscapes and new cultural spaces created within them is the continuing engagement of old adults in shaping the very context of their lives'. In the Azores, migration and transnationalism have transformed the social and cultural

ways in which *being* and *becoming* older is articulated, negotiated and performed. The ageingscapes in the Azores have gained new meanings and expressions through migrants' complex aged, gendered, classed and ethnicised subjectivities.

3.7 Conclusion

In her influential work on *Space, Place and Gender*, Doreen Massey (1994) tells us about Dorothy Carrington's portrait of Corsica, *Granite Island*, in which Carrington travels the island in search of the roots of its character. Massey concludes that 'it is a sense of place, an understanding of "its character", which can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond. (...) What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place' (1994: 156). In this chapter, I have sought to highlight precisely the interconnectedness of place in which various cultural influences intermingle in an enduring process of identity shaping. I have aimed to contextualise and sketch out the Azores' history of migration, hence providing a useful background for the empirical material and discussion of the following chapters.

I have argued here for an understanding of islands as 'nodal locations', as bridges between 'different worlds' rather than geographically isolated, spatially confined, narrowly defined places. Islands, and specifically the Azores, are not homogenous or hermetic entities. They result from an amalgamation of multi-stranded influences, social relations and cultural interchange. Azorean identity, in all its cultural strength and exceptionality, is not an 'untouched territory'. Rather, it is the result of a centuries-long process of transatlantic mobility, of 'coming' and 'going', of 'here' and 'there' in which island culture has been re-interpreted and re-shaped, perhaps at a slower, yet not necessarily less effective, pace. This is patent in the Azorean history of emigration and return, and subsequent migration inflows to the islands. In this, I stress the rootedness but also the connectedness of island societies in which the Azores is no different. I re-state Burholt et al.'s (2013) argument that older people play a central role in the formation and sustainability of islander identities.

Drawing on Appadurai's (1996) concept of 'ethnoscapes', Katz's (2009) notion of 'elderscapes', and Cohen's (1998) notion of 'landscapes of aging', I have introduced the idea of 'ageingscapes' as referring to the migration and settlement of middle and older-age migrants who transform places in both apparent and subtle ways, at a faster or at a slower pace, bringing about new kinds of social interaction and cultural exchange. As I see it, the multiple material and symbolic influences the Azores has experienced – visible in its shifting socio-cultural landscapes – have considerably enriched the islands yet without being large-scale or dramatic enough to compromise the core Azorean identity. Following Hay (2006: 24), it is clear that, despite the islands' openness to the outside world, 'enough remains constant for the island to persist'.

Chapter 4

Methods and data collection

Our medium, our canvas, is ‘the field’, a place both proximate and intimate (because we have lived some part of our lives there) as well as forever distant and unknowably ‘other’ (because our own destinies lie elsewhere).

(Nancy Scheper-Hughes, 1992: xii)

4.1 ‘Talking the talk’: a methodological overview

In this chapter, I offer a detailed review of the data and methods used throughout the research. This also seeks to be a useful guide to the empirical chapters that follow. The chapter is structured in three main parts. I start by reviewing the main research techniques used – a multi-migrant approach with in-depth life narrative interviewing at this core. This is followed by a broad discussion on critical issues related to engaging in the field, selecting the research participants, and the challenges associated with the data analysis and writing up. Lastly, I cover issues of positionality and ethics.

4.1.1 ‘Geographical ethnography’? A multi-migrant approach through the lens of geography

While Cloke and colleagues (2004) have argued that ethnography is a long-standing and distinct geographical practice, Herbert (2000) has observed geography’s neglect of ethnographic practice. A rising number of ethnography-oriented studies in the field of human geography seems to suggest that a methodological shift is underway – for instance Carling (2002) on involuntary immobility in Cape Verde; Lulle and King (2016a) on Latvian women’s ageing experiences; McHugh (2000a) on ageing and identity in sunbelt retirement communities; and Walsh (2006ab) on belonging and transnational homing. In light of complex spatio-temporal shifts and repositionings – variously labelled as ‘speed-space’ (Virilio, 2006), time-space compression (Harvey, 1989), space-time distanciation (Giddens, 1991), or power geometry (Massey, 1991) – ethnographic-led

studies represent an effective strategy for exploring increasingly nuanced forms of mobility and migration (McHugh, 2000b). Representing an extended, detailed, 'immersive' and engaging methodology, ethnography holds the power to unpack the linkages between society and place in their intricate physical and emotional bonds (Cloe et al., 2004; Herbert, 2000). Ethnography is indeed as much about what people *say* as about what people *do* in and out of place. It is about the routine, the mundane, the banal, the everyday (Dewalt et al., 1998). In the particular context of this research, inspired by ethnographic practice, I carried out in-depth life narrative interviews, complemented and supported by other ethnographic methods such as participant observation, a lengthy focus group, and visual methods such as photography.

As a geographer embarking on an ethnographic-inspired journey, I faced multiple questionings about the 'seriousness' and 'rigour' of my ethnographic endeavour, and the extent and ways in which ethnographic methods played a part in my thesis. I grew to understand that ethnographic research methods are exceptionally diverse and compound – 'for some [ethnography] refers to a philosophical paradigm to which one makes a total commitment, for others it designates a method that one uses as and when appropriate. And of course there are positions between these two extremes' (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994: 248). Rather than aligning with a specific approach, here I seek to learn and draw from the most suitable methods. This research seeks to observe ageing and migration and their mutual interactions through the eyes of those who experience it. In this regard, the ethnographic lens proves especially apt by foregrounding the '*processes and meanings*' that are '*both place-bound and place-making*' and grounded in social life (Herbert, 2000: 550).

In my research, then, I adopt a multi-migrant approach – which includes labour, lifestyle and return migrants – through the lens of geography. Such an approach proves especially valuable in a context in which geographic and social spaces are increasingly enmeshed and relationships between places become as important as the relationships within places (Hannerz, 2003). In the case of the Azores, influences from migrants' countries of origin, places of transit, and places of emigration interlace in multiple 'island-worlds', producing nuanced forms of identity. Drawing on the works of Dahinden (2009) and Jackson et al. (2004), I explore fluid understandings of space as both physical and

unbound and permanently shaped by various types and intensities of transnational ties. I suggest that the Azores acts as a meeting point between different, sometimes overlapping, transnational social spaces; hence I argue for a comprehensive analysis of the diversity of migration stories found in the complex ‘migratory tapestry’ of the Azores.

4.1.2 (Non-)migrants lives in the first person: in-depth life narrative interviews

Life narratives, life stories, and ‘small stories’ more generally, have gained growing recognition within the fields of human geography and migration studies, in the broader context of the ‘cultural turn’ in the social sciences (Cameron, 2012)³⁴. The ability for stories to touch upon relations between people, places and things has deeply engaged the geographical thinking (Lawson, 2000). Furthermore, life stories offer ‘unique glimpses of the lived interior of migration processes’ (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994: 14). Their focus is on the self, the small, the personal, the intimate, the particular (Gubrium and Holstein, 2008). They act as biographical compasses as they both anchor and orient, participating in ‘the materialization of new realities’ (Cameron, 2012: 580).

Within the wider notion of ‘small narratives’, two closely related (sometimes even used interchangeably) concepts emerged: ‘life stories’ – focused on the interplay between social change, individual (and group) lives and agency – and ‘narratives’ – centred on the stories as recounted by the teller (Gill and Goodson, 2011: 158; Goodson, 2006). Two interconnected reasons have drawn social researchers towards the second approach. First, life narratives are essential for individuals to build coherence in their lives in a changeable and adaptable manner, as (dis)continuities are integral part of the life course; and secondly, life narratives allow for providing direction and unity to individuals’ life paths, which are, by nature, higgledy-piggledy (Gill and Goodson, 2011). According to Polkinghorne (1992: 7), the life narrative consists in a ‘storied autobiographical account of a person’s life, or a fragment of it’. It may refer to an entire life course or to a specific

³⁴ Despite the broadly recognised value of life stories, narratives, and storytelling within geographical research, a reference should be made to the work of authors such as Braun (2008) and Price (2010) for calling attention to the largely unproblematised manner in which narrative and storytelling have been incorporated into geographic scholarship. Much of the criticism levelled has been linked to associations of narratives with concepts of power, discourse and ideology, and the need to make the interconnections between these concepts more intelligible.

period or aspect of it, such as the migration or ageing experience. If elicited through interviews, it should result in an interactive relationship of ‘collaboration’ between the interviewer and the interviewee and an ability to bring about the ‘narrative capital’ present in the individuals’ accounts³⁵ (Christou and King, 2014; Goodson, 2006).

Life narratives are not factual. Rather, their value lies in the subjectivity and ‘narrative truth’³⁶ – permanently wrought and negotiated at the individual and collective level – of the interviewees’ life experiences, perceptions and ideas (Eastmond, 2007; Riley and Harvey, 2007). Yet, subjectivity has been considered one of the major challenges in the analysis of life narratives. In response to positivist criticism, oral historians have argued that the subjectivity of memory intrinsic to narratives is also their strength, and hence oral history is distinctive in that it discloses relationships between past and present, memory and personal identity, and individual and collective identities (Andrews et al., 2006; Riley and Harvey, 2007; Rosenthal, 2006). Individuals’ perceptions and narratives are indeed highly subjective, never stationary, and profoundly shaped by social markers such as gender, age, ethnicity, or social class (Byrne, 2003; Miller, 2000). Life narratives can thus be seen as embodied, emplaced, emotional and affective social performances. In response to the argument that life narratives provide nothing but a story, Plummer (2001: 153) has stressed that this completely misunderstands the nature of a research, ‘where insights, understandings, appreciation, intimate familiarity are the goals and not “facts”, explanations or generalisations’. Venturing into migrants’ lives opens up the possibility of delving into the interstices of life negotiations and subjectivities.

The relevance of life narratives within ageing and migration scholarship is visible in the shared meaning attributed to concepts such as ‘life trajectories’ or ‘life course’ (Apitzsch and Siouti, 2007; Gardner, 2002; Thomson, 1999, 2005). Several authors have emphasised the benefits of taking a biographical, life course approach which allows for understanding the antecedents and long-term consequences of the migration project ‘in their temporal, geographical and socio-political contexts’ (Warnes and Williams, 2006:

³⁵ While cultural capital is associated with the larger social structure, narrative capital is more individually and socially constructed and permanently (re)shaped (Goodson, 2006). This is a form of capital that Christou and King (2014) add to the ‘family of capitals’ discussed by Bourdieu and others.

³⁶ As asserted by Lieblich et al. (1998), ‘narrative truth’ can be strongly related to, loosely connected, or fairly different from ‘historical truth’.

1273). In agreeing with Christou (2009a: 144) in that stories of the self are necessarily stories of a '*gendered, ethnicised and classed self*', I argue that life narratives are intrinsically 'aged' as well. I contend that age, and time more broadly, play a central role in the stories narrated since accounts are (re)constructed, (re)imagined, (re)told, and re(shaped) in light of past events, memories, experiences, places, and interactions with the outside world. Rather than a passive subject, the migrant is an active player in her/his narrative.

The fluidity intrinsic to life narratives is also necessarily emplaced. As aptly summarised by Christou (2009a: 144), '(...) the storied life transforms into a catalyst (...) where the *ethnos* meets the *topos* and where the stories are constructed around a perception of self, contextualised in past and present constructions of home and leading, in response, to a revaluation of the future'. Furthermore, and more specific to this research, place shapes and is shaped by the emplaced lives and experiences of older people (Andrews et al., 2007). Acknowledging that 'the real experts on migration are the migrants themselves' (King et al., 1998: 159), it is also crucial to note that the real story of migration can only be puzzled out by putting together both migrant and non-migrant renditions. As Castles rightly points out (2000: 16): 'migration is not a single event (i.e., the crossing of a border) but a lifelong process which affects all aspects of a migrant's existence, as well as the lives of non-migrants and communities in both sending and receiving countries'. Resonating with this, locals' narratives, a central piece to understand migrants' accounts and experiences in place, are also included in the discussion. The following section introduces the protagonists of this thesis.

4.1.3 The study groups: outsiders, semi-insiders and insiders

The richness and depth of this research partly arise from the diversity of groups included in the analysis. This section attempts to briefly summarise, and rationalise, the selection of the study groups. Unlike previous island migration studies, including that of Marshall (1999), which draws a contrast between insiders and outsiders (including return migrants among the insiders), I posit that the reality of the Azores tends to be more nuanced. As a result, I identify here three different groups of research participants: 'outsiders', 'semi-

insiders’ and ‘insiders’. In agreeing with Marshall (1999) that islandness leads to the formation of a distinctive culture and a natural separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, I argue that returnees occupy a third space of in-betweeness (*semi-insiders*) amid the deep-rooted non-migrant islanders (*insiders*) and the incoming labour and lifestyle migrants (*outsiders*). By including a group of local Azoreans³⁷ in a migration project, I seek to go beyond traditional, to some extent fragmented, approaches to migration, asserting that a full understanding of the migration processes is necessarily incomplete without including the local population. Acknowledging that migration and transnationalism affects migrants and non-migrants alike, this also aspires to provide a more complete and all-round understanding of the ageing–migration nexus in the Azores. For convenience my four research groups are henceforth labelled ‘*labour migrants*’, ‘*lifestyle migrants*’, ‘*returnees*’, and ‘*locals*’.

Cognisant of the intricacy of defining ‘later-life’ (Bytheway, 2000, 2005), and bearing in mind the fluidity of late modern or postmodern lifestyles (Bauman, 2000; Featherstone and Hepworth, 1989; Giddens, 1991), it was particularly challenging to establish a clear-cut profile of the participants to be included in this study. Hence, a more loose understanding of ‘later-life’ – not limited to chronological age and life transitions such as the passage from active life to retirement (Bytheway, 2005) – and transnational lifestyles – not only circumscribed to ‘material’ forms of transnationalism (Jackson et al., 2004) – was taken. A minimum threshold of 50 years old was set for the interviews³⁸. An admittedly arbitrary cut-off, this had the advantage of accounting for migrants’ diverse experiences of later-life and allowing for a relational understanding of age and ageing (cf. Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Herein, I agree with Bytheway (2005) in that more than establishing strict age categories, it is important to explore how accounts of age (and ageing) are shaped throughout the interviews.

³⁷ For simplifying reasons, the terms ‘local’ and ‘non-migrant’ are here used interchangeably. Please bear in mind the choice for the use of the word ‘local’ outlined in the introductory chapter.

³⁸ Other studies of ageing migrants have also adopted similar age thresholds (see e.g. Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; or Lulle and King, 2016ab).

4.2 'Walking the walk': fieldwork in the Azores

My first visit to the Azores as my field site took place in March 2014. Still in the early stages of my PhD, and as a non-native of the islands (although I had been there before), I wanted to make sure I immersed myself in the place (at least to some extent) before finalising my first-year research outline. This preliminary reconnaissance visit was also an attempt to anticipate potential challenges locally and plan ahead some of the logistics and practicalities of the fieldwork (Parker, 2001). My short stay in São Miguel, the largest and most populated island of the Azores, proved extremely useful to make initial contacts with regional government institutions, local associations, and community 'gatekeepers'. It allowed me also to run a few pilot interviews with migrants, which later helped me rethink some of the questions in the interview guide, and get a first glimpse of the island life.

The main phase of fieldwork took place between June and December 2014 (see appendices 1, 2 and 3 for consent form, participants' information sheet and interview guides). During this period, I was mainly based in São Miguel Island while also travelling extensively between other islands (mainly Terceira, Faial and Pico Islands, but also including short trips to the westernmost islands of Flores and Corvo). Practical reasons dictated my 'unsettled' lifestyle during the first three to four months in the Azores. Indeed, from October onwards, once winter rains and winds start whipping the islands, flight connections within the archipelago become more capricious and heavily dependent on weather conditions (figure 4.1, next page). From October to December, I was permanently based in São Miguel where I completed the data collection. Starting from the less urban, more sparsely populated islands where social networks are still very close-knit, although more challenging upon arrival, proved to be an advantage as the interviewing process progressed. Furthermore, travelling between islands by ferry and plane allowed me to get familiar with migrants' and local Azoreans' own travelling experiences and feelings of 'islandness'.



Figure 4.1 Travelling between islands

On the left: in Terceira Island waiting for the ferry to São Miguel Island, an over three hours journey; on the right: in Faial Island waiting to board to São Miguel Island after my flight had been delayed due to bad weather conditions.

Living in the Azores through such distinct seasons, such as summer and winter, gave me the chance to see and experience, first-hand, the multiple facets of the islands – the joy of the summer when the islands are flooded with emigrants and tourists alike and enlivened by a profusion of local, mostly religious, festivities; and the gloominess of the winter when the cloudy, rainy days follow one another, and islands can be inaccessible for days. This is, indeed, when the ‘real’ everyday life begins (figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2 The Azores over summer and winter

On the left: Holy Ghost Festival in Ponta Delgada, São Miguel Island, in July 2014; on the right: one of the main streets of Praia da Vitória, Terceira Island, in October 2014.

Throughout my fieldwork journey, I was often assailed by practical questions such as ‘when is enough, enough?’ and ‘how short or long should my fieldwork be?’ (cf. Marcus, 2007; Small, 2009). With no pre-set answers to these questions, the closing of the fieldwork in the Azores came about more or less naturally once I could easily identify common patterns and overlapping threads in the new narratives collected (Guest et al., 2006; Suárez-Ortega, 2013). In this regard, I share Marcus' (2007) understanding of social research as being necessarily marked by a norm of ‘incompleteness’, and echo Faubion's (2009: 163) assertion that the practice of fieldwork will always take time:

Yet, I can see no reason for concluding that the time it takes must in every case be spent in its bulk in a physical fieldsite. I can see no reason, for example, to expect that... who is already fluent in the language and mores of the places to which she takes her question of investigation should need to spend as much time in those places as someone who has neither linguistic or cultural fluency (...) in short, [one] yields no methodology a priori concerning the appropriate duration of a project. Everything hinges on the terms and requirement of the question of research itself.

After returning to Sussex, the process of transcribing and analysing the interviews brought to life an earlier discussion on the possibility of returning to the field and conducting some follow-up interviews. On this, I was enthused by O'Reilly's (2012) work on ‘ethnographic returning’³⁹. My return to the Azores took place in January 2016, when I re-visited the main field sites – São Miguel, Terceira, Faial and Pico Islands – and re-interviewed, in a manner of informal conversations, nine interviewees who had shared highly engaging and thematically rich interviews and had therefore been selected as portrayals. On this occasion, I also conducted a focus group with prominent local actors (appendix 4) which allowed me not only to discuss key themes arising from my research with local experts, but provided me also with the opportunity to give something in return by sharing some of the preliminary findings. The hindsight gained allowed me to observe transformations in places and people and further delve into themes that had not been explored in enough detail during my main period of fieldwork. It also gave me the chance to address topics that were initially only lightly touched upon but which emerged as important during the analysis, and to re-assess my own presence in the field through

³⁹ Returning to the field to follow up on particular research leads can be mistaken as an easy, uncomplicated task. Yet, it is important to emphasise that it requires a significant amount of planning, digesting the information previously collected, and deciphering what topics are worth exploring further.

reflective practice which can only be fully attained by distancing oneself from the fieldwork setting. Specifically, I was able to see how my perceptions of the islands (and of my interviewees) had changed over time and gain new understandings of how the participants perceived me⁴⁰. Christou and King's (2014) discussion on 'reflexive breaks' and Blair and Deacon's (2015) insights on 'reflective practice' were especially enlightening in this regard.

4.2.1 Selecting the research participants and the interviewing process

The 'whys' and 'hows' of selecting study participants can be a deal breaker in a research project. As a way to overcome the broadly discussed limitations of snowball sampling – for instance the risk of collecting an overly homogeneous sample (Rosenthal, 1993) – a combination of recruiting methods was used. This included my own prior networks and contacts, intermediaries such as local institutions and associations, contacts through daily interaction and (participant) observation, and snowballing. I firstly identified 'seeds' (here I borrow Heckathorn's, 1997 terminology) from the different study groups who then introduced me to other participants from their network of contacts. I also made sure this was not biased by the size of the participants' social networks. Despite my initial fears that it would be difficult to find research participants due to the modest number of migrants in some of the islands – as in the case of labour migrants – or due to their remote location – as for the lifestyle migrants – the snowballing process developed consistently throughout my fieldwork in the Azores. This was mostly thanks to the close-knit social networks locally and, importantly, participants' compassion and willingness to help.

Bearing in mind the risk of choosing migrant interviewees whose narratives intuitively fitted into expected or previously known storylines, there was a conscious effort to select a wide, yet balanced, range of research participants. The selection process was also guided by key themes combining both the topics defined prior to entering the field and the themes that emerged as the interviews unfolded. The key themes that emerged throughout the interviewing and analysis process were the following:

⁴⁰ In this, I share similar experiences to those of Kenna (1992) in her multiple returns to the Greek island of 'Nisos' and Teerling (2014) in her trips back to Cyprus.

- Life prior to the Azores;
- Motives for relocation;
- Paths and challenges to (re)adaptation;
- Transnational ties and transnational practices;
- Meanings of 'home' and place/home-making practices;
- Intimate relationships;
- Migrant / non-migrant interactions and mutual perceptions;
- The self in relation to place (as mutually constitutive);
- Aged, gendered, classed, and ethnicised subjectivities.

The interviews took place mostly at the migrants' homes, but also in other convenient sites such as local associations, the offices of the Azorean Regional Directorate for the Communities, or close-by public spaces. This made the interviewing process as easy-going and effortless as possible. Aiming at further reducing power relations during the interviews, I made available in advance, whenever possible, an information pack containing a short description of the research, a brief introduction of myself, and my contacts. In offering general information about the study but not specific questions, I sought to prevent a situation whereby the interviewees rehearse a narrative beforehand or are eventually tempted to follow a pre-destined story format (Christou and King, 2014; Goodson and Gill, 2011). This is what Bourdieu (1986) has described as the 'biographical illusion'. Yet, in providing general details about the research, I aimed at fostering and directing participants' reflections towards specific topics, also giving them the opportunity to clarify and discuss any relevant issues before the interview.

For the group of local Azoreans, the sampling process processed in a similar fashion to that of the migrant groups. One major concern was to ensure that I included the views of a diversity of local Azoreans from different socio-economic, cultural, and geographical backgrounds, and with different levels of interaction with the migrant study groups. The local interviewees were identified through my own prior networks and contacts, participant observation, and snowballing. For the latter, contacts were gathered either through migrants suggesting locals from their own daily interactions (e.g. lifestyle migrants suggesting gardeners or housekeepers; labour migrants indicating co-workers; or return migrants suggesting neighbours), or locals recommending other locals. The

group of local Azoreans included in the thesis encompass, then, a diversity of age cohorts, multiple living and ageing experiences, and various perspectives from the different islands where interviews were carried out. As with the migrant groups, interviews took place at the interviewees' homes or other convenient locations. The 30 interviews with local Azoreans are used intermittently throughout the thesis to illustrate and nuance the various themes explored.

During the interviews, I adopted a free-flowing approach while also keeping in the backdrop a set of questions I wished to cover for later cross-comparison. This was based on the belief that life narratives should be, above all things, about the narrator telling her/his own story. As Chanfrault-Duchet (1991: 128) notes: '(...) the most crucial information does not reside in the answers given to specific questions, but rather in the narrative organization itself'. With the participants, this approach received mixed reception – while for some the discourse flowed easily and almost without any intervention, for others specific questions and clear guidance were essential. I remember one occasion, when Elena, one of the lifestyle migrants interviewed, suddenly paused her account to ask me whether 'this was what the interview was about', requesting to see the interview guide. She later apologised for her suspicion. In Elena's case, a free-flowing approach proved difficult to achieve at first. As the interviews progressed, I realised that the style of the narrative was often related to the age of the interviewees – whereas the 'youngest' participants (sometimes still in working age) would prefer to answer clearly directed questions and would be more concerned about the length of the interview, the oldest ones would more easily dwell at length without interruptions. Also, participants' educational level proved relevant in better understanding the research focus and methodology followed, therefore providing more directed accounts. In this context, following a loose approach but also, simultaneously, holding a set of guiding questions as a backdrop had three main advantages: i) keeping the flow of the narrative whenever the interviewees were reluctant or unsure about how to proceed, thus allowing for a better understanding of the participants' 'narrative map' (Christou and King, 2014); ii) making sure that all relevant themes were addressed; and iii) making certain that there was an overarching analytical structure common to all interviews which later facilitated the analysis.

4.2.2. Beyond data collection

A total of 138 interviews were collected – 36 each with labour, lifestyle and return migrants, and 30 with local Azoreans (see appendix 5 for a full listing of the research participants)⁴¹. It should also be noted that many of the interviews, especially with lifestyle and return migrants, were not conducted with single individuals but with couples (or even the larger family, in the case of some Azorean returnees). Hence, this thesis expresses the ideas and gives voice to a larger number of migrants. The interviews had variable lengths ranging from one hour to a few hours or an entire morning or afternoon. In some cases, the interviews extended into coffee, tea or a meal. Although I did not ask for this, I was also sometimes offered a tour of the interviewees' home or areas of the house. Understandably, this was more common among lifestyle and return migrants than with labour migrants. The interviews were mostly conducted in Portuguese – mainly with labour and return migrants – and mostly in English with lifestyle migrants. Given the large number of stories collected in different islands, I knew the nature of my encounters with the research participants could be sometimes fleeting. Yet, in about a fifth of the cases, I kept a continuous relationship with the interviewees by meeting up with them occasionally at events, attending the same cafes or bars, or, in more sporadic cases, by establishing a closer relationship. Table 4.1 summarises the basic biographical features of my research participants.

⁴¹ For anonymity reasons, participants' island of residence is not disclosed, unless relevant to the discussion. Overall, approximately 50 per cent of the interviews were conducted in São Miguel Island, 20 per cent in Faial Island, and the remaining evenly distributed between Terceira and Pico Islands.

Table 4.1 Biographical characteristics of the three migrant study groups

Main features	Labour migrants	Lifestyle migrants	Return migrants
Gender			
Male	14	8	15
Female	21	19	14
Other (couples/siblings)	1	9	7
Average age (min-max)	58 (50-72)	61 (50-90)	68 (50-85)
Year of arrival to the Azores (average / min-max)	1995 (1974-2012)	2001 (1988-2013)	1994 (1978-2013)
Number of years in the Azores (average)	19	13	20 ¹
Main countries of origin/emigration	Cape Verde, Brazil and Eastern European countries ²	Germany, United Kingdom and the Netherlands	United States, Canada and Bermuda
Total	36	36	36

¹ On average, Azorean returnees spent 25 years abroad.

² This includes, in broad terms, Poland, Ukraine, and Russia. Georgia is also included in this group.

Despite their many methodological strengths, life narratives can sometimes fall into the risk of performativity. Self-narratives are indeed profoundly shaped by time, space, and specific dynamics between the interviewer and the interviewee(s) (Byrne, 2003). Bearing this in mind, the narratives collected were complemented by fieldnotes⁴²,

⁴² During my fieldwork in the Azores I jotted down two main kinds of fieldnotes: post-interview annotations containing main impressions from the interviews and other contextual details considered important; and notes from events attended, engagement in activities with the study groups, or other daily encounters. For reasons of length, these notes are not directly included in the empirical chapters although they naturally inform the discussion.

photographs⁴³, relevant newspaper articles from the local media, participant observation, and a focus group with key local actors. I also took part in local events and celebrations involving the study groups. This included large Azorean religious celebrations such as Festas do Divino Espírito Santo [Holy Ghost Festival], smaller events such as Dia do Emigrante [Emigrant Day] in Terceira island and Dia do Imigrante [Immigrant Day] in Terceira and São Miguel Islands, and other local festivities (e.g. the running of the bulls, and the parade in the Praia da Vitória, Terceira island) and kermesses to celebrate religious events in the various parishes of the islands (figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3 Events attended in the Azores

On the left: Emigrant Day celebrations; in the centre: Immigrant Day celebrations in Terceira island; on the right: Cape Verde's Independence Day celebrations in São Miguel island.

The interviews were transcribed and analysed following an iterative-inductive process (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; O'Reilly, 2005), which consisted in hovering between research questions and the narrative accounts. Throughout the data analysis, I was faced with three main quandaries: first, the comparability of answers from different groups to the same set of questions; secondly, the geographical nuances arising from each island's specificities; and thirdly, the difficulties related to the translation and cultural meaning of the same questions for different groups of migrants. The interviews were then thematically analysed using NVivo (version 11). While these techniques proved essential as a first foray into the narratives collected, such a large array of narratives

⁴³ Despite the trust-based relationships established with the interviewees, I felt at times that I would be overstepping boundaries by asking to photograph home objects or private spaces. This included, for example, a wall hanging embroidery of Bermuda, an altar in gratitude for having made a better life abroad and having returned home safely, and many photograph albums that the participants kindly shared with me.

demanded a more detailed analysis. In response to this, and inspired by the works of Christou and King (2014), Goodson (2006) and Goodson et al. (2010), I decided to adopt a portrayal approach as a way to make sense of the rich, yet intimidating, set of data I had collected.

While in studies with a smaller number of interviewees (Christou, 2006; Teerling, 2014), giving voice to all or the majority of accounts collected is a viable task, I soon realised that the same approach would be impractical with 138 interviews. In this, I share Christou and King's (2014: 73-74) view that having tried to include all the participants in the thesis manuscript 'would have led, at best, to a fragmented account in which the "personality" of each narrator, and their "biographicity", would have been lost'. Following from this, the thesis is framed around a selected number of thematically rich case-studies or biographies deemed representative of the key themes outlined above. While the portrayals act as a 'guiding stream' to the empirical chapters, dozens of other voices, both from the interviews and focus group, are also added in whenever relevant to the discussion. This is meant to nuance, corroborate and contrast the stories selected.

In selecting the portrayals, I was faced the inescapable dilemma of how many stories would be enough. While having a larger number of portrayals would have offered more detail, it would also inevitably lead to a more fragmented reading of the accounts. Ultimately, a set of nine particularly rich narrative accounts were selected. While without a group of locals the analysis would be necessarily incomplete, and whereas their role in providing a fuller understanding of the ageing–migration nexus in the Azores should by no means be overlooked, the main focus of this research lies on the migrants and their ageing experiences. For that reason, the portrayals selected only concern the three migrant groups included in the study.

4.3 Getting to know the stories: an introduction to the portrayals

Three portrayals were selected for each of the three migrant groups – labour, lifestyle and return migrants. The portrayals selected represent typical, yet diverse, case-studies and aim to illustrate as much as possible the information collected. More than

representing a perfect sample in terms of gender or age groups, the choice of the portrayals was based on two main criteria: thematic density and the nature and style of the narrative. In terms of thematic density, I selected stories that cover, in important ways, the themes identified as relevant for the research. Concerning the nature and style of the narrative, I chose accounts that offer different perspectives on the life experience in the Azores, often displaying different levels of discursive emotionality and fluidity.

In broad terms, the narratives selected tend to fall into three categories: ‘narratives of contentment’ (#1 in each group); ‘hybrid spaces of renegotiation and transitionality’ (#2 in each group) and ‘narratives of discontent’ (#3 in each group) (cf. Sampaio, 2017). Before venturing into the narratives selected, a short comment should be made about potential generalisations: given the limited number of portrayals that can be included in the thesis, no direct associations should be made between biographical characteristics such as migrants’ country of origin or country of emigration, and particular life features portrayed (e.g. in the returnees’ portrayal #1, Albertino, the fact that the Azorean men tend to be more prone to return to the Azores when compared to their female partners should not be linked to the Azorean emigration to Canada in particular). Table 4.2 summarises the biographical characteristics of the nine portrayals selected. I now turn to introducing each one of them, also providing a short background summary for each group.

Table 4.2 Biographical characteristics of the portrayals

Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Country of origin/emigration	Year of arrival to Azores	Main occupation (while active)
Labour migrants					
Mayra	Female	Early 60s	Cape Verde	1979	Fish market worker
Davit	Male	Late 60s	Georgia	2001	Construction worker
Lucas	Male	Mid-60s	Brazil	2000	Construction worker
Lifestyle migrants					
Carrie	Female	Late 60s	United States	1999	Auditor
Jessica and Ethan	Couple	Mid-50s	United Kingdom	2013	Lawyers
Markus and Klaudia	Couple	Mid/early 60s	Germany	2008	Technicians
Return migrants					
Albertino	Male	Late 60s	Canada	1988	Construction worker
Silvina	Female	Mid-80s	United States	2005	Factory worker
Fernando	Male	Late 50s	United States	2000	Fisherman / Factory worker

Given the diversity of participants included in the study, and in order to ease the reading of the following empirical chapters, I include some useful information after each quote which allows the reader to clearly identify each participant – type of migrant (e.g. LB for labour migrant; LF for lifestyle migrant; R for return migrant; and LC for local), age (e.g. mid-60s), country of origin or return as appropriate, and date of arrival in the Azores.

Taking Carrie, one of the portrayals, as an example: Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999. Narrative extracts from follow up interviews with the portrayals are signalled with '21' (second interview).

4.3.1 Labour migrants

Mayra, Davit and Lucas epitomise three typical stories of labour migration to the Azores, simultaneously offering nuanced experiences of ageing in place. Mayra portrays the archetypal case of a Cape Verdean migrant who despite her strong home identity knows, especially as she grows older and becomes increasingly vulnerable, that the Azores offers the possibility of a better ageing. Davit embodies the case of a man who in spite of his chronological age is reluctant to accept the societal verdict that he is now an 'older person'. This somehow contradictory self- and hetero-perceptions of ageing and older age, led him to remain in the Azores in search of work, which he still feels capable of doing. And yet, this seems to be part of a negotiative liminal phase which converges towards a permanent relocation 'home', to Georgia. Just like Davit, Lucas also does not accept the conventional idea that he has become 'aged by society'. Adamant of the fact that he is still active and able to work, and disappointed with the lack of jobs in the Azores, Lucas is clear in this yearning for a homecoming to Brazil. Considering the overall sample of 'ageing-in-place' migrants, the selected portrayals tend to be slightly older than the average and more focused on men's accounts prioritising, in this instance, the thematic density of the narratives selected. The stories are however consistent with the wide-ranging period of arrivals of labour migrants in the Azores mostly from the mid-70s to the early 2000s.

Mayra

Mayra is a Cape Verdean woman in her early 60s who arrived in the Azores in 1979. Born and raised in a fishing family, Mayra started working at an early age. She first left Cape Verde for Italy where she worked for two years as a cleaning lady. Later, when her husband, a Cape Verdean fisherman, moved to mainland Portugal to work she joined him.

After a short period living in a fishing village in the 'Continent', Mayra's husband was offered a work contract on a trawler in the Azores. Mayra's migration path, linked to her husband's work in fisheries, portrays a typical case of Cape Verdean migration to the Azores, where many of the fishermen are of Cape Verdean origin. On the islands, Mayra started by working in the fish market, later staying home with her five children – two sons and three daughters. Once her children were brought up she resumed her working life. Mayra has a solid family network in the Azores: not only do all her children live on the islands but also one of her brothers and her brother-in-law (the latter working in fisheries too).

I first saw Mayra at the celebrations of Cape Verde's independence, and was later introduced to her through a common acquaintance. Mayra's interview took place in her home, where the smell of fresh *cachupa* (typical Cape Verdean dish) hung in the air. A well-respected figure among the Cape Verdean community in the Azores, Mayra is closely linked to the Cape Verdeans living in other Azorean islands. In a thematically rich and powerful narrative, Mayra reviews at length her life in the Azores since the period she owned a Cape Verdean cafe, a family business where she used to cook traditional dishes from 'home', to the moment of the interview when she is already retired (due to disability).

Mayra's thoughts on her ageing process seem to shift between the realisation of being older and physically vulnerable, especially after a recent surgery, and the desire to keep active. Reflecting on the ageing differences between the Cape Verdeans and the local Azoreans, she confesses that local people tend to complain a lot, while, in her words, 'black people are tougher'. Fortright in stressing her Cape Verdean roots, Mayra portrays herself as a contented woman who despite the initial estrangement of being 'one of the only black women in the Azores', is satisfied with her life on the islands, which she considers now home too.

One year later, I talk to Mayra in the same week that she is back from a long-yearned, long-delayed trip to Cape Verde. After more than a decade away from the homeland, this was the first time that Mayra's two daughters had visited Cape Verde. Mayra tells me that this was the most important event of her whole year. Despite Mayra's strong attachment to Cape Verde, the country is mostly depicted, in her narrative, in 'idealised'

terms as she admits that she could not grow older away from her offspring, all living in the Azores.

Davit

Originally from Georgia, Davit is a man in his late 60s who arrived in the Azores in 2001. Davit's migration path can be framed within a larger influx of Eastern European migrants who arrived to a fast-growing Portuguese economy in the early 2000s in search of job opportunities. Trained as a forestry engineer, but experiencing the economic uncertainties of a post-Soviet Union Republic, Davit decided to embark on a journey to Europe. Pragmatically, he decided he would settle in the first place he was able to get a job. He first arrived in Lisbon where he was told that he could easily find a job in the Azores. With good work prospects in mind, he bought a plane ticket to São Miguel Island where he indeed rapidly found a job in construction. He was then aged 55. After moving between different islands for work, he finally settled in 2008. Davit had travelled to Europe alone leaving behind his wife and two grown-up children – a daughter now in her 40s and a son in his 30s. In 2011, at the age of 65, he was made redundant by the construction firm he used to work for and was offered a return ticket to Georgia. He felt however that he was just too young to stop working and so he decided to stay in the Azores. He has been unemployed ever since.

The contact with Davit was facilitated by a local association in the Azores. For convenience (Davit, like many other single labour migrants, shares a room in a house), the interview took place in a quiet room provided by the association. In an open and vivid narrative, Davit talked about his life in the Azores as a transitional period, stressing the role of age and ageing, and the absence of family in the Azores, as fundamental pieces of his decision to return. Reflecting on his life trajectory and ageing process, Davit's account shifts between ideas of not feeling old (despite his chronological age), and the acknowledgment that he actually feels older now and he would like to go back to the comfort and familiarity of the homeland: 'I ventured, I left my country to come here and it was good [...] but I'm older now, it's time to go home'.

Davit's life has changed substantially over the last year. He is now four months away from returning to Georgia. This time, his narrative is a nostalgic, even romanticised, one. On the one hand, for the life in the Azores, that he embellishes, and on the other, for the life he will have back home with his family. This was an emotional account in which Davit reminisces about the friendliness and safety of the Azores and the ability to have a retirement pension, but then comes to the realisation that, ultimately, one's country is where one's family is.

Lucas

Lucas is a Brazilian man in his mid-60s. He is part of a larger inflow of Brazilian migrants arriving in Portugal in the late 1990s and early 2000s in search of a better life, finding jobs mostly in the construction and hospitality sectors. Having worked most of his life in construction back in Brazil and having heard about good job opportunities abroad, Lucas decided to try his luck in Portugal. He arrived at the age of 49. Besides the economic lure of Europe, he is plain in admitting that moving abroad was also prompted by his divorce and re-gained freedom to embark on new life experiences. After making his way to Lisbon he was told that the easiest place to get a job would be the Azores. That same week he flew to Faial Island where he started working in construction right away. After staying on Faial for five years, and with no job prospects, Lucas moved to the 'main' Azorean Island, São Miguel, in search of work, yet unsuccessfully. This was where I met Lucas, who was introduced to me by a local association. The interview took place in a local cafe, not far from his shared home.

Despite being long-term unemployed (since 2010), and close to retirement age, Lucas continues to keep active, particularly with his fishing, and refuses to think of himself as 'useless': 'still today, I do work that 20, 25-year-olds cannot do'. In an engaging and lively narrative, Lucas reflects on how his life changed over the years in the Azores, stressing that his current 'quieter lifestyle' has nothing to do with growing older, but rather with the fact that most of his Brazilian friends have left the island and the money available to go out is scarcer and scarcer. Lucas' outlook is clear: he wants to return to Brazil since there is 'nothing left for him' on the island. In highlighting his strong physical

and mental condition and active lifestyle, Lucas frequently resorts to comparisons with the local Azoreans of his age, whom he perceives as more passive and less ambitious towards life.

After several unsuccessful attempts to reach Lucas on the phone in 2016, I approached the local association which had initially put us in contact. I was then informed that after an extended period of waiting, Lucas had finally been given assisted voluntary return. Unable to get in touch with Lucas, who did not leave any contact in the Azores, I am led to believe that two main forces might have determined his return in later-life – the lack of job opportunities and the absence of family in the Azores. In this case, homecoming represented the psychological and social anchor Lucas yearned for in later-life.

4.3.2 Lifestyle migrants

Carrie, Jessica and Ethan, and Klaudia and Markus convey a similar narrative of lifestyle-driven relocation to the Azores, but three different ageing experiences. For Carrie, the Azores emerge as a place of multiple possibilities, first with her husband, and later by herself. In this case, the islands opened unforeseen opportunities for self-discovery and self-actualisation in a non-age-segregated context. Although representing a relatively young couple in the context of this research, Jessica's health condition plays a central role in the couple's negotiations of home and transnational mobility. This shows how the quality of life provided by the Azores, especially in later-life, can be offset by its remote geographical location and lack of specialised healthcare treatments. Finally, Klaudia and Markus portray a typical case of a couple who spent most of their lives in the home country and, after several years of spending holidays in the Azores, decided to relocate permanently upon retirement. This is also a paradigmatic story in the sense that despite finding it hard to adapt to the local norms and behaviours, which they are mostly critical of, Klaudia and Markus also recognise the practical advantages of ageing in the Azores. In terms of the overall sample of lifestyle migrants, the selected portrayals tend to be

consistent with the average age and gender balance found and slightly above the average regarding the year of arrival in the Azores.

Carrie

Carrie is a woman in her late 60s who moved to the Azores in 1999. Originally from the East Coast of the United States, Carrie and her husband, like other lifestyle migrants in the Azores, used to spend holidays in continental Europe before deciding to go off the beaten path and relocating to the Azores. It was when Carrie's husband had a heart attack at the age of 42, being hardly able to work afterwards, that they decided it was the right time for a change in their lives, thus relocating permanently to the Azores. Following her husband's death in 2007, and despite not having any family on the island – Carrie's two children and grandchildren live in the United States – she never considered moving back.

I met Carrie for lunch during her weekly grocery day, when she comes to the market to get fresh produce for the week. Fluid and engaging, Carrie's narrative is a confident and outspoken account framed around one main event – the death of her husband – which led to a period of self-redefinition and the outlining of a 'new chapter' in her life. The narrative gains particular impetus as Carrie starts delving into her choice of staying in the Azores by herself after the loss of her life-long partner and the opportunities unleashed for self-discovery and self-fulfilment, in a place she considers safe to grow older. Strong and forthright in her words, Carrie tends to adopt an optimistic view towards ageing, highlighting the pleasures of being older – being free, outspoken, and regaining control over life. As the narrative unfolds, it becomes a joyful account in which Carrie describes the range of activities she is involved in, how engaged she is in the local community (after an initial period of interacting mostly with the 'expat' community), and how living and ageing in the Azores has remarkably improved her quality of life.

With Carrie, I was able to keep closer contact through social networks after I completed my fieldwork. When I interviewed Carrie a second time, she seemed even busier, sharing her time between the theatre, radio, and tourism-related projects. Carrie's narrative reveals a woman increasingly rooted in the Azores, for instance through the remaking of her romantic life with a younger Azorean man. Yet, this is also an account

in which she reflects on the way she still feels, and in her words, 'will always feel', an outsider in the Azores: 'yes, I do want to grow older here and I do have many friends, but I still feel like I'm an outsider looking in'.

Jessica and Ethan

Jessica and Ethan are an English couple in their mid-50s. Part of the second largest community of lifestyle migrants in the Azores, the British, Jessica and Ethan found out about the Azores through Ethan's father who once had spent a holiday there. In 1998, when Ethan turned 40, curious about these 'uncharted islands', the couple decided to celebrate his birthday there. This was followed by a family trip in 2002, with their two teenage boys at the time, and the 'officialisation' of their bond with the Azores in 2003 when they bought a plot of land and started visiting the island every year. In 2013, they moved permanently. Both trained as lawyers, Ethan decided to take early retirement after he was made redundant, while Jessica still keeps a long-distance part-time job for a law company in the United Kingdom (UK). Although it was hard to leave behind their two sons of 23 and 21 years old, the couple felt the urge for a lifestyle change, especially after Jessica was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis.

I met the couple in their home, after we had been introduced by previous interviewees. In an engaging and thematically diverse narrative, Jessica and Ethan share their experiences as a 'young' couple among the older-age expat community on the island, revealing that although 'young' they feel 'old enough' to aspire for a slower pace of life. Relocating to the Azores was, indeed, the 'perfect escape' from the couple's stressful life: 'my job [Ethan's] was a 24 hour, 365-days-a-year job [...] so, for us, the attraction here is that it's sort of quiet, slowed down...and it's safe too'. As a result of Jessica's recently diagnosed health condition, the renegotiation of 'here' and 'there' emerges frequently in the couple's narrative.

One year later, uncertainty is still present in Jessica and Ethan's account, but their narrative also denotes further attachment to the island life and less openness, at least discursively, to a potential return (especially for Ethan). The youngest among the lifestyle migrants selected as portrayals, Jessica and Ethan are those who have experienced

further changes to their lives over the last year. One of their sons got married and tried to make a living in the Azores, soon realising that the islands were 'no land for young men'. He has since returned to the UK. The desire to cease working completely and fully embrace the life on the islands is, this time, more manifest in the couple's narrative.

Markus and Klaudia

In their mid and early-60s, Markus and Klaudia represent a fairly common type of international retirement migration to the Azores. Both had stable and well-paid jobs in Germany, and no children. After considering other retirement options in Spain, which they found too hot in the summer, they travelled to the Azores where they spent holidays for several years. In 2008, they relocated permanently to the islands after having faced a somehow uneasy process to finish their home, which lasted for seven years.

Markus and Klaudia's narrative does not follow a particular thematic or chronological order, rather focusing on aspects that constantly challenge their daily life in the Azores. After briefly highlighting the reasons for relocating to the islands, 'the flowers, the peace and quiet', the couple's account unfolded in a more critical tone stressing the 'excessive bureaucracy', the 'general inefficiency' and the 'disorganised southern European way' found in the Azores. Despite their criticism of the local institutions and backward behaviours from the local villagers who never take their advice, Markus and Klaudia also acknowledge the advantages of growing older in the Azores in comparison with Germany.

In a thematically rich narrative, the couple reflect on the future as they grow older, dwelling at length on crucial issues such as healthcare options and the possibility of enjoying affordable home care in the Azores. In a mix of criticism and empathy, Markus and Klaudia explore their cultural differences from the local people of the same age, reflecting on differences in terms of education, skills, and self-care, thus explaining why it is hard for them to establish closer relationships with the local Azoreans, especially in their village. Despite the general tone of criticism, the couple's narrative tends to move towards a sense of compliance as they acknowledge that the local dynamics will ever hardly change and that they will eventually have to adapt to the local culture if they are willing to stay.

One year later, I met Markus and Klaudia, as in our first meeting, in their home overlooking the cliffs and the sea. They welcome me with a smile, telling me straightway that nothing has really changed since we last spoke. I find many similarities with our first interview – the same tone of discontentment towards some of the locals' demeanours – but I also notice a more reconciled narrative. Despite the occasional reproaches, this time Klaudia and Markus tend to focus mostly on the benefits of relocating to the Azores and the advantages of growing older in an ageing-friendly environment: 'here there is more heart in all things. The youngest respect the oldest'.

4.3.3 Return migrants

Albertino, Silvina and Fernando portray three typical emigration narratives, yet conveying different experiences of return. Albertino represents the archetypal case of the Azorean man for whom homecoming and the ability to achieve a comfortable life back home markedly improved his ageing experience. Silvina epitomises the permanent divide between 'here' and 'there' upon return, between the familiarity of the homeland and her son who remained abroad. One of the oldest returnees interviewed, Silvina reveals how, as she grows older, she increasingly finds the comfort of home in the Azores. Finally, Fernando embodies the case of the migrant who experienced a somehow bittersweet return to the homeland, complicated by local bureaucracies and challenges to re-adjust to the island life. Considering the overall sample of return migrants, the chosen portrayees tend to be consistent with the average age and gender balance found, with a slight predominance of men being matched by the portrayals. There is also a general consistency in terms of the variety of periods of return to the Azores.

Albertino

Albertino is an Azorean returnee in his late 60s who left the Azores for Canada – the second main destination for Azorean migration – in his mid-20s and returned in his 40s, in a sort of pre-retirement move. Illustrative of the story of many Azorean returnee families, also in Albertino's case the man triggered the return process while the woman

tended to be more reluctant to return. Indeed, during his time abroad Albertino always cherished the idea that he would eventually return home although his Azorean wife, whom he met and married in Canada, and their only-child daughter were much less keen. Back in the Azores for more than 20 years at the time of the interview, Albertino's links to Canada gradually weaken over time, especially since his two passions are both on the island – his family (wife, daughter and two granddaughters) and his vineyard.

I met Albertino in his home. Although not directly part of the interview, Albertino's wife, Dina, busy preparing dinner, kept attentive to our conversation, chipping in with her opinions (often disagreements) every time we talked about the decision to return and the life on the island. Albertino's narrative flows in an easy and spontaneous way with few stops or hesitations. This is a narrative of true belonging to the Azorean homeland and of a long-planned return to the dream of a comfortable farming life only made possible by the hard-working life abroad. Rich in detail, Albertino's account highlights the importance of keeping active in later-life, reinforcing the idea that retirement is a reality far from inactivity. Cognisant of how the tough period of work abroad was instrumental in enabling him to return and comfortably enjoy the time with his family and his passion for wine making, Albertino's narrative tends to highlight in a positive way how migration enhanced his ageing experience back in the Azores. Material comfort seems then to be intimately related, in Albertino's account, to the ability of keeping active in later-life, in his chosen 'leisure activities': working the land, feeding the animals, and making wine.

In Albertino's opinion, the Azoreans who emigrated tend to be harder workers than the locals who never left the island, often described as spending their days in idleness. Albertino believes, then, that although he did not contribute massively to change the island, his experience of migration certainly helped him and his family to improve their life back home. Unlike other returnees (including his wife) who experienced difficulties re-adjusting to the slow pace of life back home, Albertino comes across as a contented man who relishes his dream of a quiet life on his island: 'I didn't experience any shock at all [about returning]', he says.

When I visited Albertino, one year later, the friendliness of his welcome was heart-warming. His life had not changed much. His narrative, similar in tone and rhythm, was mostly framed around family, as it had been in our first meeting. His wife had had two

strokes from which she had successfully recovered. His only daughter had finally found a job locally, and his two granddaughters were doing well in school. The conversation with Albertino emerged almost as a perfect replica of his interview one year prior. Albertino sets out – at points, literally in the same words⁴⁴ – the reasons why ageing in the Azores was such a good choice and why Canada is not the place for an old couple: ‘it’s good to be here as an old man. It’s quiet. A person with a good pension... here I have my house, my land’.

Silvina

Silvina is an Azorean woman in her mid-80s. She emigrated to the East Coast of the United States in 1959, following the Capelinhos volcano eruption. She is therefore part of the largest contingent of Azorean migrants who left for the United States, the main destination for Azorean emigration. Although Silvina and her husband had a comfortable life in the Azores – her husband owned a restaurant and the couple had their own house – once the United States and Canada opened their borders to ‘Azorean refugees’, Silvina’s husband was keen to try his luck in North America. Silvina, on the other hand, was always reluctant to leave. Yet, she felt compelled to support her husband’s endeavour, especially since they had been denied the right to emigrate to Canada because she did not pass the aptitude tests.

After almost 30 years of a laborious life in the United States, and with an only-child son born in that country, Silvina’s husband unexpectedly died from a heart attack. After her loss, and already retired at that time, Silvina found it hard to stay permanently in the United States, even with her son and his new family close by. Silvina decided then to return to the Azores for three months. However, far from her closest kin, and assailed by loneliness, she decided to go back. During the time back in the United States, she visited the Azores every year before she decided to return permanently in 2005.

I met Silvina, who was introduced to me by a neighbour, also a return migrant from the United States, in her home. In a very emotional narrative with occasional pauses to

⁴⁴ With Albertino, as with other interviewees, this seems to indicate a pre-rehearsed narrative and a certain level of performativity.

recall events and dates, Silvina rationalises her return as linked to the high cost of living abroad and her growing unfamiliarity with the pace of change in the United States. However, implicit in her account is the sorrow resulting from the fact that neither her son nor her daughter-in-law had the time to provide care or assistance as she became older.

With two sisters and other relatives in the Azores but the rest of her close family – her son, daughter-in-law, granddaughter and, recently, a great-grandson – in North America, Silvina's narrative is one of solitude but also one of acceptance and realisation of life course transitions. Despite intermittent feelings of loneliness and a permanent sense of 'incompleteness', throughout Silvina's account it becomes clear that the Azores, for its familiarity, safety, and quietude, is the best place for her to grow older: 'at my age, I'm better off here ... I can go outside and I'm not afraid'.

Being one the oldest and most vulnerable interviewees, I knew it would be challenging to meet Silvina again. After several failed attempts, I met her neighbour who told me she had become increasingly ill lately and had therefore moved to her sister's home. This leads me to believe that Silvina's coming years will be in the Azores, as was her wish. As her health condition deteriorates, and despite the emotional challenge of living apart from her son and granddaughter, the Azores emerges, in this case, as a 'safe port' in later-life.

Fernando

Fernando is an Azorean man in his late 50s. Born into a family of emigrants – his grandfather on his mother's side had emigrated to Brazil and his paternal grandmother was an emigrant in the United States – and living in a poverty-stricken Azores, Fernando cherished the idea of emigrating since early age. This finally happened in 1975, when Fernando emigrated to the United States. He started by working in the fishing industry, a well-paid job at the time, later being employed in a factory. When, by the late 1990s / early 2000s, a profound crisis hit the manufacturing industries in the East Coast, Fernando, married to an Azorean woman and with one small child to rear, decided to return to the Azores.

The family's return took place in the early 2000s, and it was far from a straightforward process. Having returned, unlike he had expected, before reaching retirement age, Fernando knew he had to find a job in the Azores. With this in mind, he brought from the United States a small boat suitable for tourism, planning also to run his own taxi on the island. Regrettably, none of these projects worked out. Fernando felt let down by the local authorities who, through complicated bureaucracies and paperwork, made it impossible to pursue any business in the Azores: 'I mean, they made my life so miserable that after a certain point I just gave up'.

At the family level, things were not easy either. Fernando's wife, who had moved to the United States as a child, missed her family and found it hard to readjust to the life on the islands. Fernando considered returning to the United States, but he felt he would lose face by going back to the community he had left for his much-yearned homeland. The material and emotional negotiations of (un)doing return took its toll on Fernando's wife's health as she became increasingly depressed and ill, later dying from a stroke.

I met Fernando in a warm summer day in the Azorean Regional Directorate for the Communities, where our contact had been initiated. In a fluid and thematically rich narrative, Fernando presents himself as a positive and hopeful man, who despite some life misfortunes has managed to achieve a comfortable life for him and his daughter, now a teenager. While maintaining that the United States is, still today, a land of opportunities for the youth (including for his daughter), and despite his many critiques of the Azores and its inefficient bureaucratic system, Fernando is not oblivious to some of the advantages of living in the Azores at a later stage of life, namely the safety of the islands: 'even today, you can be home with your doors unlocked'.

I easily recognise Fernando one year later, as he gets out from his 'American style jeep'. Fernando's life, and his account, have not changed substantially since we last spoke. Familiar expressions, and a similar discourse regarding a potential return to the United States, if it was not for the investments made in the Azores, are still important elements in his narrative. With Fernando, I sense that his emotional and discursive switching between the Azores and the United States provides him with a sense of security arising from having multiple possibilities (even if idealised ones) for the future.

4.4 Setting myself in the field: reflections on positionality and ethics

Having reviewed at length the details of my fieldwork in the Azores, I now turn to my own positionality in the field and some of the ethical concerns arising throughout the research. The insider-outsider divide has often been present in scholarly debates, yet oftentimes discussed through an over-simplistic dichotomous lens (Carling et al., 2014; Merriam et al., 2001). In this, I support Ryan's (2015) endeavour to go beyond the ethnic lens and engage in more dynamic rhythms of positionalities that include also (but not only) age, gender, professional status, or migratory experience. In my case, I knew right from the outset that I would be, to some extent, a 'misfit' in the Azores. On the one hand, I would be a Portuguese young woman sharing the same language and a similar culture with the local Azoreans, while on the other I would be a 'mainlander'. As some of the locals (mostly in São Miguel Island) kindly, yet honestly, many times jested: 'being a mainlander here is almost like being a foreigner'. In fact, as soon as I landed on the islands to start my fieldwork, and as soon as the local people realised I was a mainlander (which was fairly obvious from my accent), on my own, and not on holiday, they would forthrightly ask me what had brought me to the Azores⁴⁵. After a short explanation of what my intent on the islands was, I would almost invariably get the same questions: 'so what is your link to the Azores?'; 'if you are from the mainland, why are you coming all the way to study the Azores?'. Having been asked these same questions so many times in different islands, I could not but avoid feeling somehow an outsider, while I initially thought I would be, more evidently, an insider.

In a positive light, this had the advantage of putting most of the interviewees at ease to fully express their anxieties about the life in the Azores since I was not in any way related to the islands⁴⁶. This became clear in one of my conversations with Markus and Klaudia. After a somehow 'contained' start of the interview, Markus stopped his account and asked me some personal questions, including where I was from (since my accent did not sound 'Micaelense' – from São Miguel Island) and whether I had any links to the

⁴⁵ In that, I share a similar experience to Kenna's (1992) in her descriptions of being asked the same questions again and again when she first started her fieldwork on a Greek island in the 1960s, presumably to check up on the consistency of her story.

⁴⁶ This was useful in all islands, but especially beneficial in São Miguel where the social hierarchies are especially entrenched in the island life.

island. As we resumed the interview, I experienced a much more 'open' Markus and Klaudia who spoke about their setbacks on the island and the 'strange islander habits', which they still could not make sense of. In no time, not only had I established a deeper rapport with the interviewees, but I had also gone from 'one of them' to 'one of us'. In other instances, I noticed this to generate curiosity among potential research participants who would be more willing to meet for a first conversation. My 'bipolar' positionality in the Azores meant that I felt at times closer to the Azorean returnees by sharing the same language and similar cultural traits, on other occasions more related to labour migrants' stories given my previous working experience with labour migrants and my own experience as a migrant in the UK, and sometimes more in tune with lifestyle migrants' interests and life views.

The relationship between the research participants and the interviewer in a research project are inevitably complex, multifaceted, and created in a situational manner (Arendell, 1997; Shinozaki, 2012). Often, in migration research, variables such as ethnicity, gender or age can be strongly influential in the course of the study and in the researcher's positionality (Byrne, 2003; McDonald, 2011). In the case of this research, the age variable was especially crucial given the obvious 'age gap' between the research participants (all of them necessarily already retired or close to retirement age) and myself. I was conscious that this could (directly or indirectly) influence the so-called 'triangle of the narrative approach' (Miller, 2000): the interviewees' subjective views; the way in which I perceived the narratives collected and positioned myself in the field; and the relationship between the research participants and me. With no definite solution for this, I tried to attenuate (or hopefully overcome) this challenge through a process of mutual recognition and rapport. Furthermore, I made a conscious effort to avoid prejudice related to ageist conceptions of later-life. This proved especially important bearing in mind the diversity of later-life migrants – in chronological age and also in understandings of 'what it is to be old'. Accounting for this, questions such as 'what is old age like for you?' were side-stepped as they consolidate a sense of difference. Instead, questions such as 'how do you experience growing older [in the Azores]?' proved more revealing of some of the migrants' later-life lived experiences (Bytheway, 2005). Even though I do not want to exaggerate power relations, it would be also naïve to believe that

age differences and gender did not play a role in my research. Correspondingly, I am also aware that my own 'life baggage' – my life experience, cultural practices and beliefs, and world views – has shaped my fieldwork journey and is certainly imprinted in the thesis.

Alongside age, gender and gendered power relations were other important dimensions shaping the interviewing process. As a general pattern, the male participants tended to disclose less emotion in what seemed to be a way of conveying ideas of rationality, autonomy, and control (cf. Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2011). While the emotional bond between the 'woman interviewer' and the 'women participants' can rapidly evolve to almost 'sisterly bonds' (Reinharz and Chase, 2011), men's emotional distance (especially in regards to the female interviewer) are a key part of 'signifying a (hegemonic) masculine self' (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2011: 62). This is what the authors, citing the work of Jack Sattel (1976), identify as 'the inexpressive male' through which men conceal emotions to mask vulnerabilities. This makes the case for the importance of emotions 'in the production of knowledge' and as a way to 'add power in understanding, analysis and interpretation' (Holland, 2007: 195).

Regarding information on the study and interview consent, considering that a large number of the research participants, especially labour and return migrants, had only attended primary school (in some cases they did not know how to read or write), I favoured explaining the study in person which also allowed me to build trust through an initial face-to-face contact. In that sense, I share a similar experience to Hunter (2011a) in that many of the participants were completely unfamiliar with the idea of academia, which made the interviewing process, at least at first, more challenging. I believe four main factors played a crucial role in facilitating the access to the research participants: i) being a young woman with what seemed to be a non-intimidating presence; ii) being brought by or put in contact through a person of trust of the interviewee⁴⁷; iii) exploring a generally non-sensitive topic (I found some exceptions to this, especially among the oldest and loneliest interviewees); and iv) addressing a study group – later-life migrants – who in most cases had flexible schedules and an eagerness to share their stories.

⁴⁷ The small size and close-knit community of the islands also helped to spread the word about my study and my own identity!

For anonymity and confidentiality reasons, pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis to hide participants' identity (Atkinson, 1998). Furthermore, aware that fieldwork is a product of a dialectic process between how questions are asked and how the researcher, myself, interpreted the information shared by the research participants, I sought to incorporate in the thesis detailed quotes from the interviewees as a way of minimising appropriation and avoiding misrepresentation of their accounts (cf. England, 1994). Despite all attempts to gather a rich and diverse set of life narratives, this thesis does not (and cannot) claim to be representative of all later-life migrants in the Azores. Its biggest endeavour is, instead, to provide a critically sound, theoretically and methodology-grounded, analysis of these migrants' ageing experiences in the Azores.

Chapter 5

Narratives of transition: motives for relocation and (re)adjustment paths

5.1 Introduction

Aspirations to move or settle abroad at a later stage of life are socially, culturally and spatially rooted in individuals' intimate personal and family biographies. Furthermore, these imaginings may contain nuanced cultural idiosyncrasies for different groups (Benson, 2012; Benson and Osbaldiston, 2016; Hardill, 2009; Hopkins and Pain, 2007). Decisions to relocate in mid or later-life often encompass additional layers of preparation and negotiation. Cultural differences among different types of older migrants help explain the emphasis on a more individual/couple-based decision – as in the case of lifestyle migrants – or a much broader, family-based negotiation process – as in the case of return or labour migrants (Warnes et al., 2004; Warnes and Williams, 2006). Teasing out the intricate set of motivations underpinning later-life mobilities, as well as their outcomes, strongly benefits from longitudinal, biographical and life course perspectives (Warnes and Williams, 2006).

‘Arriving in a new place means joining up with, somehow linking into, the collection of interwoven stories of which that place is made’ (Massey, 2005: 119). In this chapter, I focus on the motivations, desires and aspirations underpinning participants' decision to relocate to the Azores. I explore their imaginings of the islands and reflect on the variety of meanings that place holds for them. In doing so, I look into space and time as structural forces shaping older migrants' aspirations for later-life and ‘the continuing dialogue that migration establishes between the old and the new, the past and the present’ (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004: 227). By examining participants' pre-migration motivations, I pave the way towards understanding their everyday – public and private, local and transnational – post-migration lives (Boccagni, 2010; Lamb, 2002). I seek to understand, like Comaroff and Comaroff (1999: 294), how individuals ‘construct their intimate, everyday life-worlds at the shifting intersections of here, there, elsewhere,

everywhere'. Following from this, I explore migrants' post-migration lives in the Azores, their (re)adjustment challenges, and ambiguous belongings. I tap into transnationality as daily practice, and as an integral part of migrants' lives and of those who may not have experienced migration directly but whose lives have also been transformed by it. In this, I distance myself from earlier understandings (cf. Portes, 1997) of transnationalism as mainly related to the migrants themselves and cross-border exchanges, drawing closer to meanings of space and place as discussed by Appadurai (1986), and looser understandings of transnational belonging that include, but are not restricted to, the social worlds of transnational migrant communities (Jackson et al., 2004). In the analysis that follows, I examine both material – home belongings, foodstuffs, etc. – and symbolic – ideas, morals, behaviours – forms of transnationalism that connect geographically (dis)continuous places and people.

In this first empirical chapter, I highlight the importance of adopting an intersectional lens to illuminate the complexities and nuances of later-life migration. I expand on Benson and O'Reilly's (2009, 2016) notions of 'the good life' and a 'better life' among lifestyle migrants, discussing this in the context of labour and return migration. I argue for an inclusive analysis that looks at different types of migration as an interlinked continuum, even an overlap, of experiences that, rather than being separate, feed into each other. I explore the relative privilege that characterises some of the participants' motivations, migration paths, and current lives in the Azores, relating this to different levels of agency, and broader notions of class and social status, both explicitly and implicitly present in the narratives collected (cf. Benson, 2015; Hayes, 2014 on class and privilege within lifestyle migration). Concurrently, reminiscence (cf. Brah, 1996; Ní Laoire, 2007), gender and 'gendered geographies of power', and their role within the migration project and migration decisions, are also addressed throughout the chapter (cf. Croucher, 2013; Pessar and Mahler, 2003).

The chapter is organised in two main parts and respective subsections. I start by unpicking the motivations and aspirations underlying participants' relocation to the Azores. I structure these in three categories, each looking at the strongest element guiding participants' desire to migrate – nature, 'homecoming', and work opportunities. Although separated for analysis purposes, these categories are deeply interrelated. I then

move onto exploring participants' ambiguous lives in the Azores, their (re)adjustment challenges, and everyday forms of (trans)nationality.

5.2 'Not the most obvious choice': motives, desires and aspirations

Building upon Benson and O'Reilly's (2009) assertion that imaginaries of place and of the lives available there play a central role in lifestyle migrants' decision-making, I expand on this argument and apply it to other forms of migration (see also Bolognani, 2014; Kılınc and King, 2017). For most participants, as I shall show henceforth, symbolic – social, cultural and even economic – imaginaries of the Azores, were at the very core of their decision to relocate. In the discussion that follows, I organise the motives, desires and aspirations underpinning participants' relocation to the Azores in three broad (deeply interconnected) categories that I will analyse in turn.

5.2.1 *The lure of nature and the quest for the untapped*

We thought, where should we settle? What could be a nice place to live? We looked at several islands in the Caribbean. We even bought a piece of land that we still keep. The main reason to look around was the climate. Before, I liked weather around 30 or 32 degrees [Celsius]. The older I am, the more the heat bothers me. So we started looking at some places where the climate was milder. Our friends, Jack and Molly, they moved here and invited us to come to Faial. We booked a flight and came here for holidays. When we arrived our first impression was: this is amazing, the nature. You can see the ocean everywhere. We spent 3 weeks, met people, heard stories. There is hardly any crime here. In the Caribbean, you have to lock all doors. Here you can leave the keys in the car. So safety, nature and climate were the main reasons... also people are wonderful...friendly and welcoming. You don't feel like a stranger or intruder.

(Sophie, LF late 60s, Netherlands, 2010)

Sophie's narrative aptly summarises the set of elements particularly valued by lifestyle migrants in the Azores. Among these are the lure of the nature and the quest for the 'untapped' or 'untouched' expressed in many of the participants' narratives. Sophie

arrived in the Azores in 2010, together with her husband. Dutch by birth, Sophie spent the last few years, before settling in the Azores, sailing in the Caribbean. She is part of an important community of sailors (especially visible in Faial Island – figure 5.1) who got to know the Azores through sailing and were fascinated by the lush nature and largely unspoilt charm of the islands. Sophie’s emphasis on safety, nature and climate echo the findings of earlier studies on lifestyle migration (Benson, 2011; King et al., 2000; O’Reilly, 2000a) and resonate also with more recent, island-focused, research highlighting the quest for the ‘off-the-grid’ and the ‘new quietism’ (Vannini and Taggart, 2014).

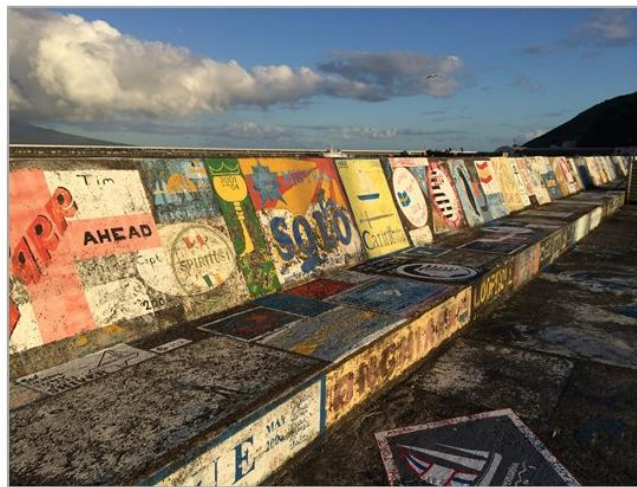


Figure 5.1 ‘Sailors’ mural’ in Horta, Faial Island

Following on the same lines, Carrie – earlier introduced as one of the portrayees – vividly expresses the search for ‘the non-perfect’ and ‘the unpretentious’:

And it wasn’t perfect. Like, when you travel in France and you go to these little countryside villages, they all try to be so perfect. Even have little signs about like ‘the most beautiful little village’. This was rural which we wanted, but it was just people who lived here, farmers, and there was nothing artificial.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Sophie and Carrie’s accounts can be framed within a desire for a ‘post-modern escapism’ but also, especially in Carrie’s case, the quest for the ‘authentic’. As a general pattern, participants did not have an extended experience of tourism on the islands. This seems to single out the Azores from the overall bulk of studies which establish the link between continuous tourism experiences as a step towards permanent settlement (cf. Rodriguez,

2001; Williams and Hall, 2000). Unlike other studies (Gustafson, 2008; Warnes et al., 2004), I also did not find, among my participants, connections between their prior geographical working spheres and the Azores. This does not mean, however, that participants who were relocating mostly for lifestyle purposes had not enjoyed a past of intense mobility and transnational attachments. Indeed, these were often some of the key factors explaining their higher propensity to relocate abroad in later-life.

While the natural environment is certainly an important element in lifestyle migrants' choice of relocation, I wish to challenge the assumption that 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants are more likely to overlook this dimension in their mobility considerations. Oliwia, who I introduce below, is a Polish music teacher who found a satisfying match between a job opportunity in the Azores and the islands' scenic beauty. The imaginary of the islands emerge in Oliwia's discourse as a decisive feature in her decision to relocate and envisioned post-migration life (cf. Benson, 2012; O'Reilly, 2014 on social imaginaries in lifestyle migration).

Of course work was important. In Eastern Europe, we were under a crisis like the one we have here now. At the time, people wanted to find better opportunities to make money so the offer to come and work here was very good. Nature was very important too. I saw beautiful photographs from a colleague of mine, a young pianist from Katowice, who had come here to give a few concerts. I saw the photos and I fell in love with the nature. They were beautiful photos, with palm trees. The truth is that I created an idea of the island that was a bit different from reality.

(Oliwia, LB early 60s, Poland, 1993)

Relocation abroad often results from an intricate intertwining of push and pull factors. If, as noted above, the natural attractions of the islands act as an important allure, the quest for change is often combined with a desire to escape from a monotonous or stressful life. The congested city life, the overpriced housing market, the growing crime rates and, ironically, the rising number of immigrants (a factor mostly referred to by lifestyle migrants) are often pinpointed as triggers for relocation (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; Longino et al., 2002). The accounts of two of the portrayees – Albertino and the couple Jessica and Ethan – originate in different migration experiences and express a common 'narrative of escapism'. With Albertino, his description of work in Canada is used not only to stress a life of sacrifice abroad, but also to emphasise the benefits of relocating

to the Azores once he got older. Here a parallel can be drawn with the returning Turkish migrants portrayed by Razum et al. (2005), who perceived the weather in Germany as unhealthy because of the cold and damp.

The thing is that the winter there was very harsh and I used to work outside. The lorry would start at 7am and would finish by 5pm when we could go inside and warm ourselves up. If we didn't wear gloves and touched the steel, we would burn ourselves instantly.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988)

For Jessica and Ethan, the hectic pace of life in England was becoming an unbearable burden which took its toll on Jessica's health and prompted the desire for a change in lifestyle:

It was a six to seven day a week kind of job. It's pretty tough and challenging if you're working in a professional firm or as a professional in the UK. Yeah, it was too much really. You can't live with that pace forever without getting ill and, in fact, that's what happened which is also part of the reason why we came. I [Jessica] was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis so we decided that we needed to make some lifestyle changes so that's one of the reasons why we made the decision of coming here.

(Jessica and Ethan, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

Ethan and Jessica's narrative suggests the significance of 'life turning points', discontinuities, or 'fateful moments' (Giddens, 1991) as triggers for a life transformation expressed through spatial relocation to quieter and environmentally more pleasing settings. Also in Carrie's case, her husband's severe heart attack at the age of 42 made her contemplate relocation as a means to improve his quality of life in what could be his final years:

And I was very worried about him and thought that if I didn't do something to give him some inspiration and reason to live, he was going to die very shortly. So I thought this might save his life, which it did for a lot of years.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

But health issues are not the only 'life trigger event' prompting relocation abroad. For another of the portraitees, Lucas, it was becoming unemployed and the ending of his marriage that encouraged him to embark on a 'new life' away from Brazil.

I was married for 19 years, but then we got separated, and it was about that time that I came here. One year later. I was unemployed for some time and it was getting hard to find a job. I had nothing holding me back in Brazil.

(Lucas, LB mid-60s, Brazil, 2000)

The above narrative excerpts support earlier findings signalling the importance of critical life events in the decision to move (Rowles, 1986; Wiseman, 1980). In considering life-changing events it is important, however, to account for change over time, as migration itself and its outcomes can generate new push and pull factors and thereby encourage further moves. In light of enhanced mobility and transnational experiences across the life course, mobility at a later stage of life can no longer be assumed to be ‘the end of the line’ (Gardner, 2002; Giner-Monfort et al., 2016; Longino et al., 2002). This is an idea that I explore further in chapter 6.

5.2.2 The lure of ‘homing’: re-bonding and re-grounding

The main reason I’m here is because my parents were getting older. I knew they would get ill at some point and would end up... I thought I should devote some years of my life to be closer to them, to see if they would regain some will to live. This was one of our [Inácio and his wife] first reasons [to relocate]. Another one was because Canada is a very good country to work and the houses are good, but the cost of living here is much cheaper.

(Inácio, R late 60s, Canada, 1999)

Inácio’s views on return resonate with many of the narratives of relocation among Azorean returnees. As he saw his parents (who had also been emigrants in Canada) growing older and vulnerable, he decided it was time to take pre-retirement, renovate his village home, and try to establish his life in the long-left homeland (Inácio had left in his teenage years). This type of return experience seems to counteract cases in which permanent contact and regular visits to the country of origin offset any illusions of a potential life back home (Guarnizo, 1997; Oeppen, 2013)⁴⁸. Instead, the narratives

⁴⁸ In both cases referenced here, one should bear in mind the social and economic development gap between the destination country – United States – and the origin countries, Afghanistan in Oeppen's study

collected are consistent with results showing that ‘resource mobilisation’ and ‘preparedness’ – both material but also emotional through the establishment of meaningful relationships and networks back home – can effectively prompt migrants return (Cassarino, 2004).

Either clearly articulated or through the use of examples and metaphors, ideas of place attachment, homing and sense of belonging come out of the great majority of participants’ accounts, hence showcasing the connections between ‘ageing’, ‘place’ and a ‘quest for anchorage’ in later-life (Corcoran, 2002; Gilleard et al., 2007; McHugh and Mings, 1996). For the participants, the island community acts as a mechanism of ‘worlding’ (Thrift, 2008) and home is seen as a ‘place in the making’, whose meanings are continuously re-defined and re-constructed (Cristoforetti et al., 2011). These findings echo those of Barrett and Mosca (2013) who found attachment to the local community to play a key role in the decision to return among Irish migrants. Relatedly, an important aspect emerging in the participants’ accounts, as in Barrett and Mosca's (2013) and Burholt et al.'s (2013) studies, is the lure of the island life and allegiance to a strong, never lost islander identity. The narrative excerpts of two of the portrayals, Albertino and Silvina, express their attachment to ‘the land’ through comparisons between the country left behind – often perceived as alien or unsafe – and the familiar space of the homeland.

Here is just peace and quiet. We leave the house; the doors are left unlocked and nothing happens. In Canada, it wasn't like this.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988)

I didn't want to stay there [in the United States] anymore. Even the street I used to live, it was so different. Because at first, we were the owners of the houses, but then the owners started dying, and the children started renting the houses to build new ones [in the suburbs] (...) now there's only one neighbour that I used to know. She's 86 and when we talk she says: ‘Silvina, this is not the street it used to be. The Puerto Ricans have destroyed everything. You can't go outside, they want to steal your purse and all that...’. Here I can walk outside safely, sit in the park, enjoy.

(Silvina, R mid-80s, United States, 2005)

(2013) and the Dominican Republic in Guarnizo's (1997). Both cases are very different from the Azores in that the latter has undergone a profound modernisation process since the mid-80s.

Practices of re-bounding with the homeland may assume different contours according to migrants' inter-generational concerns. Alongside narratives of care and support for older generations, for a smaller number of participants, return is related to responsibilities towards children. For these participants, homecoming with their school-age children represented both the return to culturally valued norms and the safety and familiarity of a close-knit community (Gualda and Escrivá, 2014; Ní Laoire, 2008b). In these cases, return means reuniting place and culture. And yet, this can sometimes be an ambivalent decision. Idalina and Inês, below, shared stories of return as related to their children. In both cases, they were reluctant to return and unsure about whether raising their children back in the Azores would be the best choice. These narratives reveal gendered power relations in the decision to return – a theme I will come back to in the next chapter – and leave implicit a tension between 'a desire for conformity and a desire for autonomy' (Ní Laoire, 2007: 343).

I came because my husband's parents were here and one of our sons, 5 or 6 at the time, was having trouble progressing with his speech and language, and so we thought he was getting confused from interacting with both Portuguese and Americans. I knew it wasn't that... I had been to a psychologist and other specialists. But my husband said it would be better, he would go to school here and learn only in Portuguese.

(Idalina, R early 60s, United States, 1993)

I came back because my husband convinced me that we were leaving Canada because of drugs, so our sons wouldn't get into drugs.

(Inês, R early 60s, Canada, 1992)

Within narratives of 'homecoming', reminiscence and childhood memories are also recurring themes. The concept of 'home' assumes differentiated yet also blurred meanings for the research participants. While for return migrants, the Azores represents a physical, clearly spatially-defined home, for lifestyle migrants the Azores is depicted as their 'chosen nest', a place that combines a set of material and emotional features that makes them 'feel at home'. I refer to this as 'concrete' and 'abstract' notions of home, drawing parallels with Brah's (1996) 'homing desire', as distinct from a desire for a specific homeland. I will revisit and expand on this discussion in the next chapter.

For Katja, in the narrative excerpt below, memories of a lost rural life in Germany, but found almost intact in the Azores (figure 5.2, next page), was one of the triggers for a spatial and emotional relocation to the islands. Katja and Uwe's feelings of 'home' can be understood in relation to Wheeler's (1994: 99) notion of 'postmodernity as longing to come home' and the author's emphasis on migrants' 'affective needs'.

What you see [in Germany], especially in urban cultures, is that the caring for people, the empathy towards people, is getting lost. This was something we first found out coming from a very small town, and rather rural area in southwest Germany, and many things I saw here just reminded me of my childhood in a small farm.

(Katja and Uwe, LF early 60s/early 70s, Germany, 2006)

The same comforting feeling of relocating to an 'emotional home' is present in Jessica's eagerness to reconnect with the island life of her childhood:

I was born in Singapore, in a tiny island, surrounded by sea, so for me an island community was something I really wanted to get back to.

(Jessica LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

On the whole, these are narratives of nostalgia and quest for a sense of community. For these migrants, then, relocating in (or close to) retirement 'symbolises a movement back in time as well as across space' (Ahmed, 2015: 1).





Figure 5.2 Images of the 'Azorean rural idyll'
At the top: Faial Island; at the bottom: São Miguel Island

5.2.3 The lure of 'the land of opportunities': working and ageing in the Azores

I came to the Azores because of my husband. He was offered a contract to work as a fisherman in the Portuguese mainland. I was working in Italy for two years, came to visit him on a holiday and never went back. We stayed on the mainland and then I followed him to the Azores in 1979, when he moved here to work.

(Mayra, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 1979)

Mayra, one of the portrayees, offers a typical story of migration among the Cape Verdean community in the Azores. For many Cape Verdean men, the Azores emerged as a place of opportunities in the fishing industry. Some came directly from Cape Verde to fish in the Azores waters while others, like Mayra's husband, settled first in the Portuguese mainland. A smaller number of Cape Verdeans holding more economic capital even bought their own boat fleets. Women and children followed, often working in fishery-related activities, as in Mayra's case for part of her life.

Another frequent account of relocation to the Azores in the quest for work is shared by two of the labour migrant portrayees, Lucas and Davit. Lucas' narrative below conveys the need for a life change and the imaginary, at the time, of Portugal and the Azores as a 'land of opportunities'.

At the time, we emigrated as a group of nine men. We saw the ad [in the newspaper] and everybody got excited about coming here [to Portugal]. When we arrived at the airport in Lisbon, four managed go through [passport control] and the rest was stopped and sent back to Brazil. I managed to get through, but I came as a tourist. I stayed a month in the 'Continent', where I worked for two weeks in a cafe. One day, I spoke to this mate who looked like he worked in construction. He told me to try the Azores [for work], I asked where the Azores were. He said I needed to go to the airport and take a flight. I was surprised, 'is it that far?!', I said. As soon as I landed in Faial Island, I got a job in construction. There had been an earthquake in 1998, and there was still a lot to rebuild.

(Lucas, LB mid-60s, Brazil, 2000)

Davit's story follows the same lines of that of Lucas, although in this case the desire to emigrate was rather forced by the economic collapse of the former Soviet Republics. Unemployed at the age of 55, with a wife and two children, and suddenly no money in the bank, Davit shrugs his shoulders as he tells me 'what else could I do?'

I thought I was going to Europe and wherever I'd get a job, I'd stay. France, Germany... it was difficult. In Germany, they told me: now 'the door is open' in Portugal. In Lisbon, it was just the minimum wage, food, a place to sleep, and no overtime pay. 'Now there's a lot of work in the Azores', I was told. I didn't know where the Azores were. I arrived in Ponta Delgada [city in São Miguel Island] and even before lunch time the day after, I had a work contract in a construction company.

(Davit, LB late 60s, Georgia, 2001)

Portraying the Azores as a 'land of work opportunities' may lead to a hasty association with labour migration. Yet, labour migrants are only one of the groups to whom relocation to the Azores represented an opportunity to bridge, often in a fuzzy way, pre- and post-retirement aspirations. Simon and James, below, voice an account that intertwines a quest for 'the good life' and the lure of 'the land of opportunities'. Tired of a hectic life in England, the couple saw in the Azores, where they stopped by chance during a cruise destined to the Caribbean, the opportunity to make a long-term plan for retirement by setting up a small business that would provide them with the freedom to enjoy the life on the islands:

But we didn't want to come here and just lie by the beach or do nothing. We wanted to create a new, self-sustaining business. That wasn't too bad because we got involved in a business at the time that not many Azoreans were doing, which was related to tourism. We could see the attraction of the Azores as a future tourism

destination which was why we were prepared to make the investment. Because we both travelled and we knew that there were very few places in the world that were still as unspoilt as the Azores are, so we knew it had a great potential over a period of time to become a more popular tourism destination.

(Simon and James, LF early 60s/late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

Like Simon and James, Lucília, an Azorean returnee who followed her husband's desire to return, felt too young and active to 'retire', unlike her husband. In her narrative, Lucília vividly explains how she found a 'business niche' in a small island and turned it into a successful one:

And so we arrived, and I was still feeling full of life and energy. I started noticing abandoned houses from people who had emigrated, and started thinking that it could be interesting to buy those walls – it was literally walls, run down walls, with trees inside. I thought it was interesting to buy those abandoned houses, restore them, and start hosting people who visited us, tourists... help them. It was a way to fulfil myself, talk to people... and that has been my world here since then.

(Lucília, R mid-70s, United States, 1997)

These narratives have in common the fact that most migrants seeking opportunities in the Azores fit into what Philip et al. (2013) have described as the 'young-old at the retirement transition'. This is not surprising, given the energy needed to engage in work activities or set up a business, especially in a foreign country. For the research participants, investing in a business in the Azores is perceived as a long-term plan for retirement on the islands. A stark difference lies, however, between those who were able to engage in paid jobs during the 'golden years' of the Azores (mid-90s to mid-2000s), and those who possessed enough economic resources to set up their own businesses, combining profit-making and quality of life.

Bearing in mind the crucial role of the local labour market in the notion of 'land of opportunities' as outlined here, I also include in the discussion individual forms of resource maximisation through migrancy. This is an idea closely related to notions of relative privilege, and one that comes about clearly, for instance, in Domenico and Gaetana's understanding of how the Azores allowed them to reach a certain standard of living that would have been otherwise unattainable in Switzerland. Reflecting on their motives for relocating to the Azores, the couple highlights:

The nature, and the possibilities the islands offer in terms of land and houses to buy at a good price, especially a few years ago. In Switzerland, if you have a house and a plot of land like this you are a millionaire.

(Domenico and Gaetana, LF mid-50s, Switzerland, 2004)

Thus far, I have outlined some of the main reasons for relocating to the Azores and related these to migrants' pre-migration imaginaries. I have emphasised the role of nature and the quest for the 'untapped', the need for re-grounding and 'homing feelings', and the search for a new work-life balance, job opportunities and resource maximisation. In the next section, I move from pre-migration aspirations to post-migration realisations, exploring migrants' (re)adjustment paths and (trans)national lives in the Azores.

5.3 'A good place to grow older but...': ambiguous belongings, transnationality and (re)adjustment paths in the Azores

I feel great happiness [when arriving to Poland]. You know, it's a very different place, I used to live in a big city like Lisbon, so after staying in the countryside for so long, it's a pleasure to arrive in a big city. Take the train, take the tram, walk on the streets where nobody knows you. Because here sometimes it is frustrating. We always go on the same streets, we see the same faces, we speak to the same people, and everyone knows about our life, what we do, how we live. And then there is family, because my mom is there and it's always a worry to me, if she's alright. Although my son is there, she is getting older and needs more and more attention (...) When we go and we stay like a month in this hustle and bustle we are happy, but if we live there all the time we get tired, and we need to get out to relax, calm down, enjoy the nature, so then we can go back to that buzz again.

(Oliwia, LB early 60s, Poland, 1993)

Oliwia's account clearly conveys the idea that many of the promises of the island life are also its pitfalls. Other studies have highlighted precisely this paradox (cf. Ní Laoire, 2008a; Teerling, 2014). Indeed, as appositely noted by McHugh (2003: 166): 'far from being inert backdrops, both real and imagined spaces and places are socially produced and charged with contested meanings'. With Oliwia, the imagined and real meanings of the island life seem to produce a 'haziness' of feelings of both 'wanting to be here' and 'running away'.

The ambiguity of relocation at a later stage of life frequently rests on what is left behind, for instance family members, especially older parents or grandchildren. Women tend to be more prone to feelings of ‘emotional incompleteness’ or ‘in-betweenness’ given their greater reliance on family and friendship networks. Women are also more likely to suffer from moderate or severe isolation upon return (Barrett and Mosca, 2013). In fact, following from Idalina and Inês’ earlier accounts, gendered agency within the migration project emerges as a theme on its own regardless of migrant group. As a general pattern, females tend to be more reluctant to move, either in a context of relocation to a new place or return to the homeland. In the case of return, this can be understood in light of the economic and social freedoms women have gained abroad and the fear of losing them by returning to a socially conservative environment back ‘home’ (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000; Böcker and Balkir, 2012; de Haas and Fokkema, 2010). Contrary to conventional understandings that women are often ‘the guardians and custodians of socio-cultural ties and traditions’ in migrant life (Christou, 2009a: 151), female participants who returned to the Azores tend to act as ‘cultural gate-openers’, incorporating manners and behaviours from the country of emigration. Also for this reason, they tend to be the ones facing further challenges re-adjusting to the life back ‘home’.

In women’s accounts, I relate the reluctance to move to the Azores to the high value assigned to meaningful relationships, a fulfilling social life, and access to a wider set of amenities. These views are highlighted, for instance, by Angela and Dina – Albertino’s wife – to whom I have referred earlier.

We have a friend who discovered the Azores in the 70s through diving. He invited us to come here, to his house that he had recently rebuilt. My husband came and loved it. I was unsure. Men like islands better than women. They prefer fishing and being outside. They dream of the simple life but their dream does not always come true. Women come along.

(Angela, LF early 60s, Germany, 2007)

This is not a place with a future. This is a sad place, there’s nothing here. This is the end of the world, darling. A big city like Toronto ‘gives you life’. You have to work a lot. I worked seven years, day and night, as a housecleaner but I had joy. You work, you get your money, you can buy whatever you want, you have plenty. Here, you go

to the small supermarket and you have to look around, look around... you buy almost nothing and it's 100 Euros or more. You buy almost nothing! Isn't this backwards?

(Dina, R mid-60s, Canada, 1988)

These narratives resonate with those of Phillips and Potter (2005) for the Caribbean, Ní Laoire (2007) for Ireland, or Vlase (2013) for Romania. Thinking about re-adjustment challenges upon return, gender roles and gender power relations within the household add a special relevance to the discussion (cf. de Haas and Fokkema, 2010). Challenges to re-adapt to a traditional patriarchal society, and the 'loss of gendered autonomy' after years of self-empowerment and an active economic and social role abroad, can be particularly acute for women (Ní Laoire, 2007: 339). Added to this, the shock of relocation is often worsened by a geographical and cultural transition from urban to rural and potentially socially-isolating contexts.

Privacy and the wish for anonymity, an issue raised in Oliwia's account, proved to be a concern for many participants, especially those non-Azorean born. Jacqueline and François, a French-Swiss couple, expressed their surprise once they realised how 'invisible' were the boundaries between public and private space in the Azores. For this couple, who had long fantasised about 'the island life', this was a challenging realisation and one that required negotiations over time:

Jacqueline: At first I was shocked by the attitude of the people here. They would come in without asking...

François: It was one family who used to do that. It took us some time... we had no idea it would be like that. They would come in and comment about things... then we had a quarrel, and we stopped talking to them. We didn't expect things like this.

(Jacqueline and François, LF mid-60s/early 50s, Switzerland, 1991)

Feelings of ambiguity and frustration can also arise from daily struggles with the local bureaucracy and a culture of preferential treatment to those 'of the island'⁴⁹. Affirming some of Markus and Klaudia's experience with the local institutions and authorities, earlier introduced in the portrayals' description, Simon and James depicted their own

⁴⁹ I purposely use here the expression 'of the island' ('da ilha') as mirroring a local culture of privileging those who are from the islands and have never left. This may refer to upper-middle classes and those who, by never leaving, were able to build a strong network of contacts locally.

challenges upon relocation and a mixed welcome from the local people. In this, the islands' hierarchical structure, to which I have referred to in the previous chapter, emerges as a powerful force locally (though one that has weakened over time).

Simon: And even when we started building our project we ended up on the front page of the newspaper with quite a vitriolic attack. A nasty piece of work anonymously written saying things like 'the English royals who want to build their castles here in the Azores should go back to their own country', so it was quite a negative piece. So initially I think there was animosity towards foreign people coming in here because in those days there weren't for example direct flights from the UK. It was a much more insular island and whereas there had been a lot of Azoreans who emigrated from here, there were relatively few people who would come from abroad to settle here, and particularly to start businesses.

James: But this was certain social classes where the rich came from. The working classes, all they could see was money and wages and, obviously, this would be construction and it would mean they would get some money. This resistance was from the middle classes.

(Simon and James, LF early 60s/late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

But challenges with the established island powers and institutions should not be assumed to be only an issue for 'outsiders'. Simão and Fernando, although living in different islands, express similar feelings of impotence, disappointment and 'not quite belonging' (Ní Laoire, 2008a). For these two Azorean returnees (the latter, one of the portrayals introduced earlier), who had drawn a pre-retirement relocation plan based on setting up a small business locally, the many obstacles faced turned their dream of return into a bittersweet one (cf. Sampaio, 2017). In their accounts, feelings of both 'insider' and 'outsider', 'newcomer' and 'homecomer' become apparent, paralleling those identified by Sussman (2000) for sojourners and repatriates, and Ní Laoire (2008ab) for Irish return migrants.

When I first arrived, they [at the local institutions] said I should have stayed in the United States, instead of trying to do a better job. I'm not saying there aren't hard-working people here, I'm not the only one. But in general it's bad, the government, the institutions. They don't work for the customer. They do whatever they want. They stay on the phone while we wait.

(Simão, R early 50s, United States, 1992)

...and then things there [in the United States] started to get worse and worse [in terms of jobs] and so I decided it was better to come back...I was only 43 back then.

I brought with me a little boat with the idea of starting a tourism business here but it didn't work out. My initial idea was actually to buy a taxi but here they simply hold you back, anything you want to do becomes a problem, a difficulty... at last I gave up.

(Fernando, R late 50s, United States, 2000)

The vulnerabilities (some) migrants face in the Azores are, however, only one part of the story. For others, their relative economic and cultural privilege clearly work to their advantage. In this, Ley and Kobayashi's (2005) notion of 'strategic switching' and Hayes' (2014) concept of 'geographic arbitrage' are especially enlightening. The first describes the ways in which migrants navigate the system and take advantage of difference places at different stages of the life-cycle. The second refers to the strategic mobilisation of economic capital and resources accumulated in one place to achieve a better life(style) in another. Accounts of health care among some of the participants reveal the ways in which they 'capitalise their foreignness' through transnational mobility and transnational practices. Jorge's account, in particular, unveils an additional layer of complexity to Ley and Kobayashi's study of return migrants who negotiate their lives between Hong Kong and Canada, by placing the (Portuguese) mainland as an intermediate space – both physical and emotional – between the 'home' and 'host' societies. After having undergone surgery three times in the Azores, always unsuccessfully, Jorge, an Azorean returnee from the United States, decided to ask for advice in a hospital in Lisbon. Since then, he has switched medical care to the mainland and, if necessary, he also plans to move there permanently to enjoy his older age in a better-quality nursing home unlike those, according to him, available on the islands:

You get to a certain age when you cannot work, and it is good to have some comfort in life. Now we [Jorge and his wife Matilde] are here, this is our life. I have a free life, I go here, I go there... But the thing that is really lacking here is healthcare. I have been going to Lisbon, from my own pocket, to have surgery.

[...]

We have no family, no children. In Lisbon, there are good nursing homes, really good ones, where you pay 3,000 or 4,000 euros per month with doctor and everything (...) In case I need it, I would prefer paying 3,000 or 4,000 euros for a nursing home where I can have my own little space. Now, what is available here, the nursing homes of Santa Casa [da Misericórdia] [Portuguese charity] [frowning his face] ... after all I have worked I don't want to go to that.

(Jorge, R late 60s, United States, 2004)

Material, but also emotional and symbolic forms of transnationalism, come out in different ways in the participants' narratives. For some interviewees, and in many other 'anonymous' homes across the Azores, the symbolism of the two flags – the Portuguese, often the Azorean, and that of the country of emigration – displays mixed affiliations and affections, acting also as a statement of social status within the community (figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3 Azorean homes symbolically displaying the family's past of emigration
 On the left: Canadian and Portuguese flags and the Northern goshawk, the main symbol of the Azores flag, inscribed at the top of the house's entrance; on the right: United States and Portuguese flags hierarchically positioned with the flag of the homeland displayed on top of that of the emigration country.

For Emília, who returned from the United States in the mid-1980s, the 'emotional hole' left by almost two decades living on the West Coast of the United States is filled by the foods that both her and her children miss. After our interview, Emília, her mother – who was also an emigrant in the United States – and I had tea in the kitchen. While we chat, Emília shows me some of the 'American' cooking products she uses as a way to reconnect with part of their past life. This includes, for example, a 'taco powder' she gets from the American military base shop so she can make home-made tacos. Emília is also a volunteer at the 'Emigration festival' in Terceira Island, which I took part in. Together with other local women, she prepares 'donetes' (Azorean for 'donuts') which they sell at the festival to the enjoyment of migrants and non-migrants alike. In this, there is a desire to bridge memories from a life abroad with objects and foods, blending multiple cultural influences and identities in everyday life (figure 5.4, next page).

And then we always kept many of the things we used to have [in the United States], so they [Emília's children] never missed the food very much. We always had those ingredients, those things that give the flavour 'of there'. For example, the hot dogs, we still go and get them from the base [American military base in Terceira Island], because they don't like the ones people make here. Neither do I, to tell you the truth.

(Emília, R late 50s, United States, 1985)



Figure 5.4 American (-influenced) foods

On the left: Liberty Store [American store] in Praia da Vitória, Terceira Island; on the right: traditional 'donetes' [donuts]

Source: <http://www.lojasliberty.com/lojas/>

Like Emília, also for Mayra, cooking 'cachupa', a slow cooked stew and one of the most traditional Cape Verdean dishes, as well as other typical snacks, is expressed as a way of 're-bonding with home away from home'. For her, cooking is also a way to pass on the culture of her country of origin to her grandchildren.

I make 'cachupa', coconut cakes, fish cakes, tuna cakes, pork sausage, just like we do in Cape Verde. I even order 'ponche' [grogue]⁵⁰ from Cape Verde... the secret [of Mayra's food] is in the seasoning... my granddaughters love it and for me it is like travelling back home.

(Mayra, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 1979)

The above narrative extracts reflect a cultural facet of transnational living that can be understood with reference to Vertovec's (1999: 450) 'type of consciousness', a form of transnationalism characterised by 'dual or multiple identifications', 'decentred attachments' and being simultaneously 'home away from home'. As noted by Appadurai

⁵⁰ Grogue is a typical Cape Verdean alcoholic beverage ('aguardente') made from sugarcane.

(1986: 5), and especially apposite in this case, ‘... it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context’.

Symbolic dimensions of transnationalism can also be created by association. Perceptions of the place and its people, and contrasts drawn to oneself in terms of one’s life values and morals, also often help to shape feelings of belonging to an ‘imagined’ or ‘symbolic community’ while promoting feelings of ambiguity about the Azores. The Azorean torpor or ‘*fado*⁵¹ mindstet’, as described by Angela below, is pitted against ‘Western cultures’ (such as the German or North American in Angela’s words), perceived as more initiative-led and problem-solving oriented. Despite treasuring many aspects of her life in the Azores, the foreignness of some of the Azorean values seems to enhance Angela’s feelings of ‘Germanness’ and her yearning for a true sense of belonging. Living in the Azores means then the need to recreate an emplaced sense of home, community and belonging. This is what Huber and O’Reilly (2004) have described as the German concept of ‘*heimat*’ – a sense of security and belonging that migrants’ seek to create by linking both their former and new ‘homes’. In the same vein, Markus in the second quote below offers a critique of some of the Azorean lifeways, placing the Azores within his broader notion of ‘Southern Europe’, a chaotic realm, by opposition to a, yet unstated, idea of ‘Western Europe’ as bureaucratically and logistically more advanced.

People-wise, mindset-wise, the way people feel... Germany is my home in that case. Here the way people deal with dogs... They don’t keep promises... they always say yes, but they don’t do what they promise. They will start [a job] until they make a mess. They don’t say ‘I can’t do this. I’m sorry’. They don’t say ‘I can’t come tomorrow’. They just don’t show up. So, I feel home as the opposite side.

(Angela, LF early 60s, Germany, 2007)

Markus: it’s the Southern Europe way, the organisations are not handled the same way at all [suggesting a comparison with Germany]. It’s Southern Europe, there’s a bit of confusion everywhere, and even in the hospital, once you go in, you don’t know what to do. There are hundreds of people running around and you don’t know where to go.

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

⁵¹ Fado [literally translated: faith, destiny] is a traditional Portuguese music characterised by melancholic music and lyrics. The word is used here as a metaphor for living life as destined and unalterable.

Embodied in the previous accounts, and present in many other narratives (especially those of lifestyle migrants), seems to be an underlying 'narrative of patronisation'. This can be related to Benson's (2015) notion of 'performance of privilege' as a product of class and/or racial privilege, and local, national and global power dynamics.

5.4 Conclusion

Following Warnes et al.'s (2004) call for comprehensive studies that look at the diversity of older migrants, this first empirical chapter has sought to bring together labour, lifestyle and return migrants for a collective understanding of their relocation trajectories and (re)adjustment paths in the Azores. I have shown that boundaries between different groups of later-life migrants are fuzzy and even meaningless. This is especially true in light of increasingly reflective migration projects. Return migrants' aspirations for a calmer, safer, and ageing-friendly environment in later-life converge, and often overlap, with lifestyle migrants' desires and motivations to move abroad. In both cases, migrants seek a lifestyle turnaround and their aspirations are oftentimes anchored in reminiscence and childhood memories. Participants seem to tie up old and young age through their life experiences in the Azores. Later-life seems to bring the dormant desire to re-experience what was once familiar. This is achieved either by returning to the familiarity of the homeland or through relocation to a place that to some extent resembles the emotionally idealised 'home' of childhood (Cristoforetti et al., 2011). This highlights a quest for comforting and familiar spaces in later-life.

Lifestyle changes also prove important for some 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants and Azorean returnees. These findings reinforce Green (2013) and Benson and O'Reilly's (2016) discussion on how the economic reasoning intersects with lifestyle in migration and vice-versa; and Bolognani (2014) and Kılınç and King's (2017) findings on the importance of lifestyle motives within (second-generation) return migration. As a result, I argue for a more holistic approach in which migration motivations and aspirations are explored as an intertwined whole rather than in isolation, and concepts such as 'the good

life' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009) are further critically analysed in the context of various forms of migration.

In the exploration of participants' (re)adjustment paths in the Azores, I have shown how some of the features that attracted migrants to the Azores – for instance the close-knit community or quietude – are also, ironically, some of the elements that challenge their living on the islands. The ambiguity migrants experience in making the Azores their home is often related to what is left behind, for instance family or friends, and unpleasant realisations upon relocation, for example the complexity of bureaucratic processes or feeling a 'stranger'. A central finding of this chapter is indeed that relative privilege in some respects may co-exist with vulnerability in others (cf. Botterill, 2016).

For the participants whose narratives I have examined in this chapter, the relationship between geographical space and identity has been further challenged by the decision to relocate in mid- or later-life. Although transnational ageing can be considered a multiclass phenomenon (Horn and Schweppe, 2015), I have demonstrated that economic capital and relative privilege are important explanatory factors of participants' ability to engage in transnational practices and networks. The decision to relocate, and life post-migration, cannot be fully understood outside gendered and spatialised relations of power. By adopting a fluid and unbound lens, I was able to grasp some of the material and symbolic forms of transnationalism (for instance through objects and foods) that participants engage in.

In this chapter, I have discussed the main reasons behind migrants' relocation to the Azores and their (re)adjustment paths on the islands. I have started to open up some of the key themes in the thesis – home and homing feelings; intimate relationships; health and healthcare; and cultural perceptions of ageing – laying the foundations for the discussion that follows in the next chapters. Bearing in mind Benson and O'Reilly's (2016: 11) assertion that 'understanding the motivations and meanings of migration provides insights into the lives the migrants envisage leading following migration', I now turn to the living and ageing experiences of migrants upon relocation.

Chapter 6

Putting down roots: living and ageing in the Azores

Nothing should be more expected than old age: nothing is more unforeseen.

(Simone de Beauvoir, 1972: 4 *in* Old age)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter departs from the central proposition that spaces and places are more than passive containers of social life (Laws, 1997; Soja, 1989). Looking at society and space as inter-related and mutually constitutive, I am particularly intrigued by the relationship(s) between place and individuals in an ageing and migration context. Like McHugh (2003: 166), it concerns me that: ‘paradoxically, geography is oftentimes rendered invisible; that is, the spaces and places of our everyday lives are taken for granted or “naturalised”, with little heed for interpreting what geography can tell us about society and culture’.

Having reviewed the participants’ motives for relocation and their (re)adjustment paths in the Azores in the previous chapter, I now move on to explore their ageing experiences and ageing-related constructs in relation to place and culture. Two main questions guide this chapter. How do participants experience ageing in the Azores? And how does place and culture shape their meanings of ageing? In pursuing these questions, I show that for most individuals ageing is far from a unitary experience (cf. Gilleard and Higgs, 2000). In a context of renegotiation of identities over the life course, ideas of ‘masquerades’, ‘personae’, and ‘recycling identities’ play a central role throughout the chapter and draw attention to the fact that the ageing experience is an increasingly nuanced process and, for some, is subject to choice. By bringing together accounts from both migrant and local participants, I also address Rowles’ plea for a ‘holistic conceptualization’ of the ‘evolving societal values that account for the contemporary geography of growing older’ (1986: 511-512).

Walsh and Näre appositely call attention to the ‘diversity of experiences of home encompassed by the broad term *migrant*’ (2016: 9, emphasis in the original). This is exactly the subject I grapple with in the first section of this chapter, by exploring the varied ways in which participants *live, feel* and *make* their homes. In doing so, I seek to flesh out how transnational imaginaries and homing practices shape, and are shaped, by migration. In my transnational approach to home and homing, I echo McHugh and Mings’ (1996) and Ahmed et al.’s (2003) remarks on the need to move beyond a unitary conception of home in that ‘*being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed; being mobile is not necessarily about being detached*’ (2003: 1, emphasis in the original). I argue that home – in both its physical and affective meanings – is a fluid and continuous process that often transcends ‘here’ and ‘there’. Yet, I also note that, for most participants, ‘here’ and ‘there’ are neatly portrayed, as if ‘compartmentalising’ or ‘labelling’ parts of their lives would help them in making sense of their experiences of migrancy.

Bearing in mind the importance, but also the neglect in scholarly research, of social contacts and intimate relationships in building a sense of home (cf. Lamb, 2002), I then turn to explore participants’ social lives in the Azores and their desire for intimacy and emotional satisfaction. This section, along with one on active ageing, health care and wellbeing, is aimed at problematising two recurring ageing tropes: those of social isolation and sedentarism. Regarding the first, I highlight the role of family, especially among return and labour migrants; and friends and romantic relationships mostly for lifestyle migrants. As regards the second, ideas of ‘productivity in later-life’ are discussed, as I unveil gendered understandings and spatialities of keeping active, and further unpack notions of ‘strategic switching’ in terms of access to health and care. In these sections in particular, I take a closer look at how participants’ socio-economic positioning, and broader changes at the local level, shape their meanings and experiences of ageing in the Azores. I explore ageing subjectivities and their fluidity, moving beyond the traditional Cartesian division of the (ageing) self. Throughout my analysis, I follow Andrews (1999), Gibson (2000) and Segal (2013) by stressing the importance of normalising and embracing ideas of *being* and *becoming* old with all the positives and challenges that come with it.

The increasing diversity of older migrants (and non-migrants) translates into different cultures, perceptions and expressions of ageing (Torres, 2013; Warnes et al., 2004). Cultures of ageing and their shifting nature are the central theme discussed in the second part of this chapter, as I examine different modes of ageing among the three groups of migrants. In this discussion, I include also the views of local Azoreans. My central argument is that migrants' experiences of ageing are necessarily wrought by their experience of migration and transnational practices, as cultural values and life morals are shaped by varied and multiple cultural influences. I problematise the concept of 'successful ageing', as I sustain that Western ideals of 'success' and 'failure' in later-life may not only lead to 'performed modes of ageing', but also add up to other challenges and pressures that arise with age. In this, I concur with Andrews' (1999: 309) assertion that 'in western culture, "ageing well" is often code for minimalisation of the ageing process', overlooking, I would argue, the different cultural meanings that ageing and later-life hold for different groups of individuals. I stand, then, for a transnational cross-cultural understanding of ageing and later-life which foregrounds both the exceptionality and the mutually constitutive nature of cultures and places.

6.2 Meanings of home and home-making practices

I feel good here. I feel better here than in the United States. At my age, I'm better off here. If I was young, if was still working, if I had my husband, it would be different, but alone all these years, I feel better here. I can go outside and I'm not afraid. I'm not a person to go outside at night. When the evening comes, I get into my home and I stay here, doing my little things.

(Silvina, R mid-80s, United States, 2005)

This is a really great place to live as an older person because there is very little age discrimination here socially, compared to the United States (...) It's also very safe here for being an older person, especially women, and that's a very, very big important thing for me. I don't worry about leaving the city at 2 or 3 o'clock in the night and walking to my car by myself. There are very few places in the United States where I would do that. That's a really important reason for my staying: the whole thing of 'no fear'.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Silvina and Carrie's narrative excerpts embody an important premise, also present in Ahmed's (1999) work, that home is a multidimensional, unbounded concept that encompasses both feelings of familiarity and strangeness. Home, then, is a plastic formation of 'home' and 'away'. For Silvina⁵² and Carrie, 'home' is a combination of a multitude of features and feelings – safety, calm, and an ageing-friendly environment (cf. Blue, 2000; O'Reilly, 2000a). For these portraitees, as for other participants, 'home is the lived experience of locality' (Brah, 1996; Mallett, 2004: 79), and the place, the Azores, is socially and emotionally charged with feelings and experiences that are especially valued in later-life (cf. Ganga, 2006). Rather than home as strictly 'homeland', these narratives exemplify Brah's (1996) broader concept of 'homing desire', the desire for a sense of belonging and attachment.

As Massey (2005: 124) comments, 'nostalgia constitutively plays with notions of space and time' and 'imagination of going home so frequently means going "back" in both space and time'. Childhood memories of a 'lost rural idyll' associated with ideas of 'purity', comfort and security seem to tie together the life cycle and improve wellbeing in later-life. Similar to Katja and Uwe, whose account of childhood memories in the German rural countryside I have earlier referred to, Petra, below, also stresses the role of the Azores in providing her with a temporal linkage to pleasant memories, a specificity that she could not find in other urban settings in Germany.

I was brought up, not at home with my parents, but by my grandmother. She had a big plantation where she used to grow fruit and vegetables, but it was abandoned when I was a child so I had huge pieces of land at my disposition. So, I was brought up in this atmosphere which I find back here and it is good because it gives me back some good memories of my childhood as well. This is a place that makes me feel much more at home than when I was in a city like Frankfurt or so.

(Petra, LF early 60s, Germany, 2004)

⁵² In Silvina's case, as with other Azoreans who decided to return leaving their children behind, their decision of homecoming is also related to the fact that second and third generation Azoreans in North America tend to move out of the Azorean and Portuguese communities, sometimes even relocating regionally, which for older Azorean parents with limited language skills and overall low social and cultural integration in the host country proves very challenging. Returning to the Azores, even if only to reunite with extended family and old neighbours, appears, in this context, a more desirable option.

For Albertino, on the other hand, it was the memories of the *festas* [festivities] and the life on the islands that made him long to return.

I used to live in 'Little Portugal', my neighbours were all Portuguese. Sometimes, after a day of work, I would say: 'ah come here, let's go to the "wine cellar"'. And we would go downstairs to have a drink. In no time, we would make a feast, we would sing... I missed the parish *festas*, the killing of the pig, the wine making.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988)

'Home' is also often linked to family, especially in labour and return migrants' narratives. In these cases, home is portrayed as where 'one's family lives' (Ahmed, 1999: 338). Home is not a singular place, but rather one(s) that hold(s) specific significance for the relationships it embodies and emplaces. Let's take the now-familiar case of Mayra to illustrate this idea. For this Cape Verdean woman, despite the attachment to the extended family left in Cape Verde, home is where her children were born and the next generations will most likely be raised. The importance ascribed to family is materialised, in the domestic space of home, in the countless photographs which link parts of family spread across space.

I feel at home, in my home [in the Azores]. Part of my heritage is here, that's where my children were born, of course I have roots here. I also feel a bit Azorean, more than Cape Verdean, because I have lived here for longer than I have in 'my land' [referring to Cape Verde].

(Mayra, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 1979)

Escobar's assertion that for most people 'culture sits in places' (Escobar, 2001), despite to some extent overlooking the degree to which place and culture are progressively imbricated, is nonetheless useful to refer to some participants for whom home always represented, unequivocally, the 'mythical place', the perfect overlap of the emotional and physical homeland. For those who experienced a single event of migration, and modest levels of integration abroad, home continued to be defined according to their country of origin throughout the life course. This is experienced in similar ways for different types of migrants. For Angela, whose strong attachment to Germany I have previously highlighted, there is a clear link between 'home' and 'homeland' ('*heimat*'; cf.

Huber and O'Reilly, 2004) as a spatially concrete realm which evokes ideas of familiarity and emotional belonging:

If you are really sick, you want to be at home. If my husband has a heart attack, I would prefer to go home. It's a feeling, it's not rational... emotionally I'm at home in Germany. I lived there for 43 years of my life, I socialised there.

(Angela, LF early 60s, Germany, 2007)

Also for Albertino, who relayed a contented narrative about return, after almost two decades in Canada, home remained a relatively hermetic and concrete reality to return to with his family:

Home is here. After I left Canada, 'bye-bye'. Never again have I had that feeling... not even to return for a visit.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988)

While in his account Albertino clearly portrays Canada as a past chapter of his life, home objects that travelled overseas, such as furniture and kitchen appliances (for other returnees, cars as well), act as perennial memories of the life abroad. Within the domestic space of home, returnee women often keep an 'old' and a 'new' kitchen; one for visitors, the modern kitchen, markedly influenced by the experience abroad, and other, the traditional one, reflecting the intimacy of home-cooking, only used by the family⁵³. In the words of Carolina, one of the local participants:

In the [returnees'] home there is the kitchen, adorned with laces, curtains with laces... always very clean, and then there is the home annex where the real kitchen is, where you can get things dirty, with little smells of grease and fried [stuff]...

(Carolina, LC mid-40s)

Day-to-day tasks can also assume spatial meanings which can be related to home-making practices, cultures of domesticity and domestic material culture (Gregson and Lowe, 1995; Walsh, 2006a). Care for grandchildren, especially among returnees and

⁵³ Although this is also a common practice in rural Portugal, the fact that the Azorean modern kitchen often holds elements from the life in North America – e.g. the large size fridge; the appliances from American brands; or the American foods imported from North America or acquired in the American military base in the Azores – makes this a unique feature of the Azorean returnee's home.

labour migrants, and the work with animals, the land, and gardening help in attributing meaning to place, enhancing feelings of place attachment and rootedness⁵⁴. Home-making practices and their spatial expression are by no means static. Indeed, they may shift over time accompanying individuals' personal transformations, but they may also be experienced differently by different types of migrants. This idea is clearly conveyed in Markus and Klaudia's account (a recurring one among lifestyle migrants) on home-planning in the Azores:

Markus: initially we wanted to buy a house, but we couldn't find one because the people here on the island, they think differently. They don't want to look at the ocean, they want to look at the streets, and the rooms face the street not the sea; to the sea is the bathroom and the kitchen so it wasn't what we wanted.

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

Distinct sociological and geographical constructs of 'home' are related to locals' (including most returnees) and lifestyle migrants' subjective home-planning preferences. For the first the ocean has been historically associated with the 'unknown' and the 'fearful', and the local community has been seen as the core of the island life. For the second, the ocean is one of the main attractions of the islands while the community is often regarded as a 'threat' to their privacy and autonomy.

Within the domestic space of home, alongside family photographs and household everyday objects, religious elements also play a central role in the home-making practices of the returnee participants. Symbolically related to the many sacrifices faced throughout the migration journey, the ability to build a better life abroad, and the safe return home, religious objects and images are profusely displayed in return migrants' homes. These objects are often found in prominent positions alongside family photos. This can be understood with reference to Mazumdar and Mazumdar's (2009: 264) notion of 'home as religious space', suggesting that 'religion, beyond affecting homes in tangible/physical ways, helps create a sacred ambiance and ethos, which in turn facilitates a multi-layered

⁵⁴ The importance attributed to these activities in later-life, and the sense of therapeutic value they have for older people, can be understood with reference to the concept of 'therapeutic landscapes' (Andrews et al., 2009; Gesler, 1992) discussed earlier.

experience of place'. The significance of religion in the participants' lives, especially among women, is vividly expressed in Teresa's words:

I was always a person of faith and a churchgoer, here and in Canada. We [church group in the Azores] have our meetings and preparations followed by readings of the bible... I have a figure of the Virgin Mary over there [she points] and the sacred heart of Jesus over there. They always protected us in our migrant lives... you can see I'm a 100 per cent catholic, proudly I am.

(Teresa, R late 70s, Canada, 1991)

If for returnee participants home is mostly portrayed as 'homeland' or 'place of birth', for others, the Azores is 'home by choice'. They idealise and re-create home as an emotional locus that goes beyond traditional conventions of the physical motherland. For Adriana, in the excerpt below, the Azores represent a 'home-in-process' where despite the initial adjustment challenges, through the establishment of meaningful relationships, and an active role within the local community, the islands became a 'definite home'. Also for Annika, who moved from Denmark with her husband, the adoption of the Azores as home was a conscious decision: ideas of place attachment, belonging and even 'loyalty to place' are expressed through the desire to live and die in the Azores.

And I feel very happy here, and that's why I say I'm at home. Today, I feel the Azores as home. In fact, for some years now I feel at home here. Nobody chooses the place they are born, but I chose the place to live.

(Adriana, LB early 60s, Angola, 1977)

Home is here – heart, spirit and head. We felt it from the beginning. No doubt. It seems hard because we have been here only for 5 years, but it seems we have always been here. People welcomed us so nicely and we were nice to them as well. We created a cosy house for ourselves. We like it here. In our spirit and mind, home came with us in the plane from Denmark. We will die here. This is our home. Definitely. When we moved here, my husband said 'we are not going to move again, ever'. We are mentally tired. You are young, you have to see the world....it must sound odd to you...we felt that we had been in many places, we had a stressful life, we want to enjoy and be happy. That is what we find here. We did our part in the past, so we enjoy now, and that is good.

(Annika, LF early 50s, Denmark, 2009)

But home and homing feelings are not always unequivocal. For some participants, making home in a transnational context often entails negotiating multiple 'homes', affiliations, and belongings. Jackson et al.'s (2004: 7) observation that 'our surroundings, our places of settlement, our belongings in the literal sense of material culture, are all constituted through much wider flows and circuitries', is particularly apposite in these cases. Inácio and Arina, for instance, demonstrate in their narratives that regardless of the phase in the migration project, similar challenges to define 'home', resulting from a permanent feeling of 'in-betweeness', can be experienced:

Now our home is here. The only thing is that as an emigrant... something I found very hard is that you don't have a country. In Canada, I always felt treated like a Canadian, for work and all those things, I'm Canadian. Sometimes when a customer would come in though, I would give my [business] card or would write down my name... [and the customer would say] 'but this isn't Canadian'. They had no idea I wasn't Canadian until they saw my name. And then when I came here, even if my origins are Portuguese, everyone would treat me as a Canadian, as an emigrant... 'oh, he came from Canada, he's here for holiday, he came to enjoy, he has money...'. There were times I felt I didn't have a 'home'.

(Inácio, R late 60s, Canada, 1999)

In my country people accept me in a different way, here I'm still not a 'true' Portuguese... I have the Portuguese citizenship. Emigration is always hard; roots are important for people. A person can never cut her/his roots; that isn't natural. Here is good, I'm thankful, they accepted me, they gave me the opportunity to work. At the same time, I carry some sadness, which is natural for emigrants. Despite the better life here, I always hold special feelings about my country. I don't know where my home is... home isn't just a place, is where you feel good, with family, with friends, and people around.

(Arina, LB mid-60s, Russia, 2004)

For some of my most mobile participants, notions of 'home' were transplanted across space and time, and the 'homeland' eventually diluted into 'new homes' and vice-versa, in a process of permanent (re)shaping of the meanings of home. For these footloose migrants, 'home' is a rather puzzling word:

Miguel: We're homeless [he laughs]. One day we were talking and somebody comes speaking to us, and he goes 'what the heck, you lived there, you live there, now here... what made you move here?'. I say 'I don't know, we're trying to find home', and then he goes 'where is home?', and I go 'I don't know yet'.

(Miguel and Florbela, R mid-50s, United States, 1997)

What a mystery word, home. You are speaking with somebody who didn't spend long, as anywhere else than here, in my life. I moved first when I was 6, then at 15. Here is the longest time I have ever been in a place. To say where is home, is tricky. Until I was 6 years old, where my dad lives, got more a pull, comparing with other places. But once he is gone, he is 87 years old...

(Sharon, LF late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

Much of the intricacy in defining home results from the fact that 'home' is not fixed; and neither are people's lives. 'For the truth is that you can never simply "go back", to home or to anywhere else. When you get "there" the place will have moved on just as you yourself will have changed' (Massey, 2005: 124). Home emerges as a multi-layered, fluid concept, (re)imagined and (re)defined throughout the life course, both in and out of place. Catlin, a Swedish woman in the Azores, and Virgílio, an Azorean man who returned from the United States, reflect on the mutability of 'home' and, eventually, the impossibility of ever being able to 'go back'.

Strange, strange [about going back to Sweden]. It's not my home anymore. It hasn't been for several years. This is our home. I don't feel like a tourist [in Sweden], of course I don't, but I don't feel like home. I think it feels a little bit like going back to your former office when you quit a job, you should never go back. People say 'yeah, yeah, come and visit...' but it's awkward, it just doesn't work, because nothing is the same. People are involved with their own things; places change. You don't feel comfortable. (...) I know I won't ever become totally Portuguese, one reason is that I sit here speaking in English with you, I mean... but we will eventually die here.

(Catlin, LF early 60s, Sweden, 2002)

It's not because home changed, it's because you have changed, right? We change, so you can't go back home because you're not the same person, it's not possible... it's not possible for me to get to Terceira [Island] and feel excited about many things, because they don't mean much anymore. Maybe I would be more excited, or feel more emotional, if I was going to California.

(Virgílio, R early 60s, United States, 1991)

Notions of home are often associated with the place one lives in at present and the concept of 'homeland' or 'motherland' implicitly entails ideas of allegiance and reverence. This need for conformity and what is 'thought to be right' is voiced, in different ways, by some of the participants. For Davit and Malam, two 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants in the Azores, there seems to be a need to 'justify' their attachment to their home countries (perhaps also revealing a certain performativity during our conversations), emphasising their 'loyalty' and thankfulness to the Azores, and Portugal.

I like it here and I like it in Georgia. Why do I like Georgia? Because it's my homeland. Portugal is also a good country, I made my life better here. That is why I also like it here.

(Davit, LB late 60s, Georgia, 2001)

Home is in Guinea. But in the world, if Guinea-Bissau didn't exist, then Portugal would be my home. And it's not only me thinking like this, it's all Guineans⁵⁵.

(Malam, LB early 60s, Guinea-Bissau, 2001)

Similar feelings emerge in Raquel's account – an Azorean woman who despite having returned from Brazil more than 30 years ago – still proudly carries her acquired Brazilian accent, holding strong attachment to the country of emigration where part of her family still lives. A relatively uncommon feeling among Azorean returnees, Raquel reluctantly confessed during the interview:

Ah, I'm not going to say it... I'm going to sin against my country, but I feel more Brazilian... but this is a sin, don't write any of this! [she laughs]

(Raquel, R early 80s, Brazil, 1978)

While 'home' tends to be understood as an emplaced reality, it also holds an important emotional and imaginative component: 'homing experiences of migrants involve the materiality of everyday life that is both imagined and lived' (Christou, 2009b: 109). If home can be regarded as the place 'where one best knows oneself' (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 9), Valério's narrative points to the notion of home as 'an imagined

⁵⁵ Malam's account should, moreover, be framed within a past colonial relationship between Portugal and Guinea-Bissau. In Malam's case, this is expressed through feelings of reverence and respect towards the 'imagined historical metropolis'.

community', one that is not necessarily materialised in place but rather spread across a transnational social space, that of the Azorean emigrants (in the United States):

My home is in the United States. My culture, my way of thinking is American. My way of life is that of an emigrant in the United States. It's there that I feel completely in my environment, that it feels natural to me... with all the good and bad that comes with it, because there's a lot of both...

(Valério, R early 70s, United States, 2005)

Imaginaries, meanings and experiences of home and belonging are crucial in shaping participants' lives and social networks on the islands, as I explore below.

6.3 Challenging ideas of social isolation: (re)embedding in the local social life

At my age, it's better to be here because everything is close by while in America you have to get a car to go anywhere... here I can talk to my sister, I can just go and sit in the park in the afternoon when it gets cooler, and the neighbours are kind too.

(Silvina, R mid-80s, United States, 2005)

We play golf, and we have fun, and I would say that we have far more friends here than we had in Sweden. I think partly because here we have more time, but also partly because maybe the international group has a need to have closer relationships with other people. We need help from each other. Not help, help but, you know, 'social help'. Because we have left behind our relatives and friends, and that makes us more connected to each other, I think.

(Catlin, LF early 60s, Sweden, 2002)

Silvina and Catlin's accounts summarise three key dimensions that make migrants' social lives especially gratifying in the Azores: family, friends and a sense of community (figure 6.1, next page). Differences should be drawn, however, between return migrants, for whom family constitutes the core of their social life, and lifestyle migrants to whom, given their geographical mobility, friendship networks are especially important. In Silvina's case, as with many of the returnee participants, the presence of a 'social field' (Condon, 2005), that is, a network of family, friends, or at its loosest, a sense of community or place where one is 'known', played a decisive role in her decision to relocate, but also, notably,

in her successful (re)immersion into the local social life (Sampaio, 2017). Rowles' (1983) concept of 'insideness with place', as expressing older people's sense of belonging and place attachment, is particularly apposite in this case.

Among the participants who returned, there is a 'quest for anchorage' (Corcoran, 2002), a feeling normally heightened over the life course. The fact that return to the Azores is often carried out as a family project tends to ease the transition back to the homeland, therefore avoiding feelings of loneliness and social isolation. However, even in cases in which participants returned alone, as in Silvina's case, neighbours and relatives on the islands naturally play a re-integrating and accompanying role, especially for the oldest migrants.



Figure 6.1 Spaces of social living

On the left: park where Silvina normally sits in the afternoon; on the right: golf club where Catlin and other lifestyle migrants play golf

Source: <http://www.visitazores.com/en/experience-the-azores/golf>

For lifestyle participants, time availability, resulting both from being (pre)retired and away from family and long-time friendships, seems to determine their openness to establish social contacts locally (yet, not necessarily with locals). This visibly contrasts with labour migrants, who are in most cases still engaged in working activities. Thus, labour migrants tend to stand in-between returnees and lifestyle migrants, engaging both in family networks, when family reunion or family formation took place, and friendship networks. Interaction with local Azoreans is generally facilitated through work contacts or neighbours. The small number of immigrants in some of the Azores islands also tends to ease migrants' local integration, as shown by one of the portrayals, Davit, below. And yet, as it is often acknowledged by both migrants and locals, the cultural tightness of the

Azorean people, language barriers, and perceptions of race and class tend to set migrants and locals apart.

Portuguese friends, I have many. Friends who live nearby, I see them almost every day or every week. I talk to them, they are good folks here. In Terceira [Island], people are kinder than in other islands... Here is good, people are good, and I have many friends. I live alone, but I always have somebody to talk to, somebody to go drink a coffee or a beer.

(Davit, LB late 60s, Georgia, 2001)

Place emerges as a locus of conviviality and familiarity that allows people to come together; it suppresses feelings of isolation and loneliness. In Hermínio's case, as with other participants, especially those alone on the islands, religion constitutes an important element rooting and configuring life in the Azores. This parallels ideas of the church as a centre of collective identity and source of empowerment, as discussed by Fresnoza-Flot (2010) in her work on the role of the Catholic Church in the lives of irregular Filipina migrants in France. Furthermore, it resonates with Ciobanu and Fokkema's (2017) findings on the role of religion in protecting older Romanian migrants from loneliness.

I don't have my family here, but there are 'many types of family'. I don't have my family of blood here, but I have 'many families' and friends, and I'm happy in the church. I know the church family is kind because nobody is cousins there, we are brothers. We are all sons of the same father.

(Hermínio, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 2001)

Carrie, one of the most outspoken portrayees, offers an energetic account of her active social life locally. In the extract below, she reflects on how age and growing older shaped her approach to social life and freed her from social constraints and pressures to conform. Her redemptive approach to later-life seems to echo that of Lynne Reid Banks (2017) in her understanding of ageing as freedom.

I say exactly what I want to say. That is something that happens with age, you just don't give a shit anymore. You don't have to. Whatever I'm doing, if it's boring or whatever, I say 'oh, I have to go home' and that's how I do most of my life now, which is great.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Related to this liberating approach to later-life, Carrie muses on her transition process from an 'estrangeiro'⁵⁶ ('expat') network of friends to a much stronger interaction with the local people through her participation in local activities and 'festas' (festivities). Carrie's experience can be tied to that of the British retirement migrants in Spain in that 'breaking free' from an 'estrangeiro' social net is perceived (and experienced) as a liberating and stimulating new discovery (cf. Oliver, 2008). As Korpela (2014: 30) aptly remarks, this is 'a question not only of mirroring the self against the "others" but of constructing a self "on its own"'. Having said that '...the expats, they were my friends at first and now they are just people I know. I don't see them much', Carrie continues by highlighting her natural propensity to establish relationships with younger Azoreans, culturally closer to her than older locals (this is, moreover, a common trend among lifestyle migrants). Carrie's account also lays bare the social contrasts between ageist conceptions in the United States and the reality in the Azores:

Most of my friends, my women friends, are in their 30s, because I have much more in common with them than I do with women my age. Women of my age here are much more traditional than I am in general and here you aren't segregated. In the United States, a person over 40 doesn't go to a bar full of people in their 20s and, you know, you are very much separated. But here, I think because there is so much less people, you choose your friends among people you like, not because there are in your same age group, because there wouldn't be enough people to be friends with.

While for Carrie the social transition between 'expat' and 'local' friendships was facilitated by her fast improving command of Portuguese, for other lifestyle migrants such as Eva (who mostly speaks Dutch with her partner and lives in a relatively isolated village), language issues and cultural barriers are highlighted as obstacles to build meaningful friendships locally, despite her concerted efforts to belong:

It's not easy. It's not about ...it's about things that you miss...homesickness. You don't speak the language; you miss friends...you can't speak about feelings [she cries]. The first year was really hard. I wanted to talk about it, my feelings. Nobody wants you, that was my feeling. No, it's not that. People are friendly. Your words are...you need more vocabulary....

[...]

⁵⁶ Literally translated as 'foreigner', the word 'estrangeiro' as used by lifestyle migrants refers to the 'expat community'.

My doctor told me not to go to ‘matanças’ [pig killing] because people want something from you [referring to free help or knowing about one’s life]. I don’t have that feeling. I go there because I want to be part of the social life. I enjoy it. I like the food. But there are differences between women and men here. It’s easier being a man. With women, it’s different. The way they look at me... maybe as competition. It’s harder to be accepted as a woman than as a man.

(Eva, LF early 50s, Netherlands, 2010)

The social shifting between different social networks earlier described by Carrie can, in other cases, be more aptly described as a form of ‘strategic social switching’ in which migrants make the most out of their social networks as they navigate between different social worlds of both foreigners and islanders. This is well-illustrated by another lifestyle migrant portraitees. In my first meeting with Markus and Klaudia, while Klaudia started by depicting their activities among the ‘estrangeiro community’, Markus tended to emphasise the couple’s involvement in the local community and contribution to the parish festivities of the Holy Ghost Spirit. From there, Klaudia continued. Markus and Klaudia’s narrative seems to reveal a certain ‘performativity of belonging’, disclosing also a feeling of flattery for the attention received by local (elite) Azoreans (cf. Benson, 2015):

Klaudia: Once a month we play cards, each month in a different house. We are five ladies and it’s very nice. Once a year we go out for a big meal, a big dinner, so it’s a nice group. We lead an active social life. Here, I need it. If you live in a foreign country... we need friends around us, we cannot stay alone...

Markus: ... and here we are well-known in the village because if there is a festivity, like ‘Mordomo’ [referring to the Holy Ghost Spirit festival], and we are members of the committee. There’s a big flag, and we pay our money when we sponsor that.

[...]

Klaudia: Also, in the city there’s a big shop, ‘Casa Cristal’, and the owners invited us for Christmas. It was a big feast, family. We are very proud of it because it’s an honour. We had a big meal, it was only the family. We were the only foreigners. We are very glad that we were invited. We aren’t so good with the language but it helps us to be in that environment. You have to speak and listen to the language. It’s good for us, they only speak Portuguese.

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

The same desire to ‘integrate’ in the local community is patent in Jessica and Ethan’s excerpt below, which also unveils the desire to distinguish themselves from ‘the others’ – migrants in other ‘mainstream’ international retirement migration destinations.

Ethan: The whole point of coming here was to try to involve yourself with the local community rather than living in this sort of bubble, like the British bubble in Costa Brava where you don't get outside of the complex and it's like sort of being a 'Briton in the Azores'. What's the point? Our life here is about doing things locally, it's about getting involved.

(Jessica and Ethan, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

All in all, and particularly obvious with three lifestyle migrant portrayees – Carrie, Markus and Klaudia, and Jessica and Ethan – close contact with local Azoreans seems to be perceived as a way to showcase migrants' 'successful' immersion in the island life, thereby suggesting the 'authenticity' of their lifestyle, and differentiating themselves from 'others' (Benson, 2013; Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014; Kordel and Pohle, 2016).

On islands with a strong past (and present) of social hierarchies, class is another important element shaping migrants' social lives in the Azores and their contacts with the lower and upper-middle classes. From all migrant participants, only the lifestyle migrants seem to be able to navigate the whole social stratum. Both labour migrants and Azorean returnees, despite the economic capital accumulated in the latter case, generally occupy a distant position from the elite and privileged island groups. Dwelling on his interaction with the local Azoreans in his village, Domenico says:

If I go out anywhere, I want to talk about the problems I have with my goat, but I also want to talk about the problem with the Islamic State, the problem with pollution...I like wide-ranging conversations. I like to talk about the everyday, but also like to talk about philosophical concepts, and that you can't do with the people we know here in the parish. Practically nobody in the parish can have this type of conversation. Sometimes we feel that the people here have too much respect for us, because we are foreigners, because of this, because of that...it's almost that classical behaviour in the parishes when you see the doctor: 'good morning' [intoning reverence]

(Domenico, LF mid-50s, Switzerland, 2004)

If social contacts with the lower classes can be hindered by feelings of reverence and the lack of cultural capital, interactions with the islands' most privileged social classes can happen in various ways and take different shapes. Catlin and the couple Laura and Max, below, share two different types of encounters, in two different islands, with the Azorean elites. While for Catlin, playing golf positioned herself within the island's upper social stratum in a rather unexpected way, for Laura and Max the supremacy role of the local

elites in certain events and social circles sounded archaic, and prompted feelings of discomfort.

I think people here, in my age, are more aware of class difference, and I'm not sure it's a general thing but because we play bridge and golf, which is associated with the upper class, most of the people I know, socialise with, are from the upper class. And I think most of them have problems with socialising in a natural way with the lower classes. I mean, it's unthinkable to have a party with people from the lower classes. Neither would feel comfortable which to me it's just people... and I think for all Swedes would be the same. But this isn't only related to age either, although it happens more with older people. It's more of a cultural thing. In Sweden, everyone can play bridge or golf, so when I came here I didn't understand this straight away.

(Catlin, LF early 60s, Sweden, 2002)

Max: There is the carnival celebration... for members only. The ladies wear fancy dresses and they freeze to death. They have to move around.

Laura: It's only attended by old people...and we don't like it.

Max: You have to belong to a certain social layer to be a member of that society, and we are not dazzled by it.

Laura: It's a society with important families, with important jobs... they think. They never come to our opening exhibitions. They only spend time with each other. They organise their own parties in the theatre.

(Laura and Max, LF mid-70s, Netherlands, 2010)

In these accounts, "good taste" and the choice of "cultured" leisure activities is an assertion of class difference by those who partake' (cf. Pain et al., 2000: 386). Selected sport and cultural activities are a 'reserved field' only available to some. They are identifiers of social and economic differentiation.

While perceptions about wellbeing and happiness across the life span are often linked to a busy, and implicitly fulfilling, social life, this is an idea that should not go unchallenged. In fact, for some lifestyle migrants, personified here in the voices of Flip (figure 6.2, next page) and Klara, there is an overt desire for seclusion and quietness in later-life.

Sometimes friends also want to come along [on Flip's sailboat], but I don't want it. I want to be alone, please. Wander around alone. Trips between islands, that isn't a problem, but longer trips, yes. I prefer to be alone. That's what my boat [Flip's home] is prepared for.

(Flip, LF early 60s, Netherlands, 2002)

Klara: To us, it's not like the Portuguese family, sticking together. His [Wolfgang] brother lives abroad as well. The connection is made via media, email. No Facebook. Occasionally. It's the German attitude.

(Klara and Wolfgang, LF early 50s/mid-70s, Germany, 1998)



Figure 6.2 Flip's home: the symbolism of freedom

Finally, understandings, desires and expectations for one's social life are also shaped over the life course. Melanie, a British South African woman in her early 90s, reflects on how over the years her hopes for a fulfilling social life have been readjusted as a result of her health condition and mobility constraints. This is a narrative of acceptance, or possibly resignation, with the fact that social life and social networks may naturally shrink with age:

I don't have so many friends now, because I'm getting too old, and they are starting to think they can't be bothered with me. But I have been to dinner with plenty of people, Portuguese people and 'estrangeiros' ['expats']. That side of life is good enough.

(Melanie, LF early 90s, South Africa, 1995)

For some participants, especially those alone in the Azores – either by having migrated alone or having later become widowed or single – the desire to socialise is closely tied to the search for romantic partnership, as I show next.

6.3.1 Intimacy and romantic partnership

In the participants' narratives, gender and age emerge as powerful forces shaping the desire to socialise, but also ideas about intimacy and even the remaking of one's romantic life. As an overall pattern, women tended to show greater concern than men about their surroundings and social milieu, and a readier openness to express intimate feelings and inner anxieties. Admittedly, and as previously noted, this may be, too, a product of my own positionality as a young female researcher, and the resulting gender dynamics during the interviews.

Sabine and Lisa, whose narratives I introduce below, share two personal accounts on their desire for intimacy and romantic partnership despite the cultural challenges faced on the islands. Interestingly, these similar narratives result from rather different life experiences – Sabine as a footloose lifestyle migrant and single woman who moved to the Azores on her own, and Lisa, a married woman who lost her husband after relocating to the Azores.

I tried to find a man here, but it wasn't a success. Because women here spend their time cooking, and I can't ...so...I really tried. I was in a relationship three times, as a secret, otherwise you have to meet the family, and that is too much. You see, that is the only moment I'm absolutely different. The cultural difference, it doesn't work. They were from here, they didn't understand me. Because of that it was impossible. They were a bit younger, and I wasn't married, I was a free woman.

[...]

A woman who lives alone is not very popular. People live in couples, in all societies. Although less and less so. I met a man, he is very funny. Finally, there was this man. I love to dance... not Portuguese music. I forget everything and I dance. This man danced a lot. We danced together. Next day, I thought I was too wild, but it happened. He is old and fat. It is too much for me. I'm not interested anymore.

(Sabine, LF mid-60s, Netherlands, 2000)

I'm 51 years old. I don't want to live my life alone. Here it's difficult to find somebody, it's difficult ... being integrated here means being invited, but that is not happening. I'm living a lonely life (...) In Germany life has changed a lot. Maybe I will have to go back there, because I would like to meet somebody. I'm a free woman. I want to go anywhere I want. It is called trust... they [referring to Portuguese men] don't trust themselves, that is why they don't trust me. In Germany, I would have the courage to speak to men. Here I saw nobody who attracts me.

(Lisa, LF early 50s, Germany, 2001)

In their quotes, Sabine and Lisa echo a quest for self-determination and bodily and emotional re-bonding with others. They seek a certain 'sensual appreciation of life' which can be understood with reference to Sheller's (2012: 244) concept of 'erotic agency' and its liberatory power; and they challenge traditional assumptions of older age as 'desensualised' (cf. Lulle and King, 2016ab; Segal, 2013).

Carrie's forthright narrative, below, exposes some of her own ingrained prejudices about older age, the remaking of one's romantic life after the death of a spouse, and the engagement in relationships that go beyond the 'naturalised' or expected age cohorts:

I should say here, though I don't know if this can fit in here [in the scope of the interview], that I do have a 'male friend' who is a little bit younger than 40 and I was like... oh, this goes with age segregation: 'why are you interested in me?' and he's like 'I don't have a problem. I don't know why you have a problem' and, you know, I said it's an easy thing to just fall in and just do things [like everybody else].

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999 – 21)

While the previous narrative excerpts are all from lifestyle migrants whose migration decision and life in the Azores are nested in a context of relative (white) privilege, older labour migrants' emotional struggles and desire for intimacy are often muffled by the urgencies of daily life. Fortunata and Oliwia are an exception. In their accounts, these women reflect on the gendered dynamics within intimate relationships, and within Azorean society more generally. Whereas Fortunata narrates the painful experience of being left for a younger woman, but also the freedom and opportunity for reinvention and renewal afterwards (figure 6.3, next page)⁵⁷; Oliwia, a divorced woman alone in the

⁵⁷ Fortunata's experience seamlessly echoes the gendered cultures of ageing discussed by Beauvoir (1972) and Segal (2013). The first, in particular, reflects on how older women gradually lose their appeal as an object of desire by men because of their ageing bodies. Disruptions of identity, changes in bodily image, societal pressures to 'age well', and fluctuating self-esteem can be particularly acute for middle and older-

Azores, shares her concerns about privacy and private life. In doing so, she draws attention to the fact that the migration experience can be empowering for women but also, in some cases, deterring and disempowering:

Once we reached a stable life here, he said: 'you're old, you're fat, go away'. Men... The midlife crisis, you know? He entered the 'crisis of the 40s', saw a girl of 26, or 24, or 25... I can't remember... the thing is that now she is worse than me [she laughs] (...) When I had a husband it was different, I had to say 'I go here; I go there'. Not now, now I do what I want. God gave me this freedom, let me enjoy it and live it to the fullest.

(Fortunata, LB early 60s, Mozambique, 1975)

If I was in Poland, I wouldn't be concerned if, for example, a male student comes by to my place, whether people could think it is a non-professional meeting. I think here there is a bit of this fear. Because we live in such a small place, we end up changing a little bit as well. We start having fears we didn't have, the importance of being well-regarded by society. Maybe with me it is worse because I live alone. If I was in a couple I wouldn't have this concern.

(Oliwia, LB early 60s, Poland, 1993)



Figure 6.3 Fortunata dancing with friends at a local festival: rupture as an opportunity for self-actualisation

aged women. Fortunata's account, placed within the specific context of patriarchal societies, lays bare the entrenched inequalities between women and men and gendered power relations within the household, extended from young to middle and older age.

Unlike women, and the women in this research in particular, men tend to be more guarded and reluctant to express their feelings or needs for intimacy, often perceived as vulnerabilities. William, like most of the single men interviewed, produces a discourse of self-reliance and of being comfortable 'as one'. In his account, intimacy and private life take a back seat in the context of a busy life in the Azores:

When I arrived, I had a girlfriend also from South Africa, but after 6, 7 months she left. She didn't like it here, there were no supermarkets... then I had a German girlfriend here, but her dad died, her mother was alone and she decided to return to Germany. I have two children in South Africa, but I got divorced when they were babies. We keep in contact, but it's not a very close relationship... but with the life I lead here [referring to the busy schedule with his business] it's not easy to sit in a bar or have a girlfriend.

(William, LF early 60s, South Africa, 1998)

William's narrative seems to echo those of the British expats in Spain working full-time, who say they have no time for 'forging quality friendships' and find 'little time for intimacy' (O'Reilly, 2000b: 243-244). Having explored migrants' social worlds in (and out) of the Azores as well as their expectations and desires for intimate encounters and romantic partnership, next I examine the trope of vulnerability in later-life.

6.4 Challenging ideas of vulnerability in later-life: active ageing, health care and wellbeing

Ideas about active ageing in Western societies have emerged in response to increases in longevity and shifting views and expectations towards older people and their role in society (Avramov and Mašková, 2003). Active ageing is a recurring theme in the participants' narratives, as vividly expressed for instance in Albertino's account:

To stop is to die, to work is to live. I have to wake up every day at 5 am; I just cannot stay in bed. Even today, at 5am I was drinking my coffee... then my grandchildren come at 7.30 to go to school... I go feed my animals, my chickens, and then I go to my vineyard. Today I went to the farmlands to work the land... I always have something to do.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988)

Albertino's description of his busy daily life can be understood with reference to assumptions according to which active ageing is positively associated with 'other ethically highly appreciated values such as personal autonomy, enhanced health, life satisfaction and quality of life in general'⁵⁸ (Avramov and Mašková, 2003: 24). Albertino's claim of 'always having something to do' can also be interpreted as diverting from ideas of stagnation, apathy or boredom, often associated with decline in later-life. This type of narrative is far from a single example among the participants – João and Ethan, building on different migration experiences, produce similar discourses. While for João work on the land is pictured as a positive way to keep active in a context of unemployment, Ethan – like most lifestyle migrants interviewed – proudly describes his active routine which includes a combination of physically and mentally stimulating activities.

There is an abandoned plot of land, which is managed by the Social Security, and we [João and other people in need of social support] were given permission to cultivate it. Now I go there with my wife every day. There's somebody who buys the potato seeds and brings chickens to raise, so we can work, talk... Because working the land is better than staying at home with problems, or in the café or bar drinking and getting into trouble.

(João, LB late 50s, Cape Verde, 2007)

I'm retired from work. I was a company lawyer in the UK, so I gave that up and now I am a pensioner [giggling]. But I also do various sort of things here. I help friends and neighbours with their gardens because I enjoy gardening. I joined a group who cleans plastic off the beaches. I walk the dogs. There's a variety of things to do and I'm also sort of researching the old harbour railways as well so, there's interesting things on the island to be found. Everyday has something in it at a rather slower pace than we were used in England, which is the nice thing about it.

(Ethan, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

Working the land, animals, and the garden emerge predominantly as masculine spaces. Outdoor work is especially valued by male participants, who contrast the possibilities found in the Azores with their previous countries of residence where snow and rain dictated a largely indoors lifestyle for much of the year. While for Azorean

⁵⁸ Ideas about active and 'successful' ageing, and the social pressures to conform to those in later-life, are shown clearly in Flip's account. Having said initially that he had a secret he could not disclose, later during the interview, in responding to my question about his past working life, and in 'justifying' his absence from work for the last 20 years, he finally revealed: 'I had an illness and could not work... this is my secret. [he laughs] This is my secret... this is my problem'.

returnees work on the land is linked to memories of their younger years on the islands, for lifestyle migrants work in the garden and the contact with nature seems to fit into a logic of emplaced performance of pre-migration imaginaries. This is overtly articulated in Ethan's appreciation for the 'rather slower pace' of everyday life in the Azores.

While men keep mostly busy in the fields, home is a female space par excellence. This is especially the case among female returnees who, despite sometimes facing initial re-adjustment challenges, end up, too, reproducing, either deliberately or not, traditional gender roles⁵⁹. Housekeeping and looking after grandchildren are the archetypal activities keeping Azorean women busy upon return. Interestingly, female returnees often portray themselves as 'inactive' or as 'only doing a few things around the house' in a clear observance of traditional values that tend to lessen the importance and demanding nature of household chores. For Madalena and Emília, feeling active and well psychosocially is much related to their 'productive role' within the household. In these cases, as with other female return and labour migrants, ideas of happiness and self-fulfilment in later-life are framed within the broader context of family rather than as an individual process.

Now my life is mostly around the house, I'm retired... I'm 69 already. For two years, I was on sick leave when I broke my hip, and then I got retired when I was 62. We have a big house and here it's very humid, so it's a lot of work to clean. I cook, and if needed I take my grandchildren to school or pick them up. If any of them get sick, I go and take care of them while their parents are at work. This is my life... and then my husband has a pig, chickens, but he is the one taking care of all that.

(Madalena, R late 60s, United States, 1985)

I prepare lunches and dinners... I take care of my grandchildren. With the little one everything has its own timing: he eats lunch, then in three hours he wakes up, then he eats again, then changing diapers, then he wants to go outside...

(Emília, R late 50s, United States, 1985)

⁵⁹ In this, it is interesting to reflect on how, through the migration experience, returning Azorean women find themselves 'betwixt and between' two societies – on the one hand, they are more open and modern than the islanders of their generation who stayed put, while on the other they also keep their traditionalism by reproducing conventional social norms. Here we can see again a dialectical opposition between social conformity and individual autonomy (cf. Ní Laoire, 2007).

Whereas ideas about keeping active in later-life are strongly encouraged by Western societies through their association of a sedentary life with ideas of illness or 'sad living', these same social, economic and political forces are also often those deterring older individuals from engaging in an active (working) life. While consumerist lifestyles, embellished through ideas of 'active living', are increasingly promoted in later-life, keeping active through engagement in the labour market is often out of reach (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000; McHugh, 2003). These concerns, as well as the contrasts between self and external perceptions and evaluations of what it is 'to be old', are present in both Davit and Fortunata's accounts below, as they share their experiences of being unemployed at a later stage of their lives, but still feeling strong enough to work. With Davit and Fortunata, this can be regarded as a period of 'liminality' in which 'the individual is ambiguously "betwixt and between" two statuses' (Oliver, 2008: 27), pointing also to the ambivalent role of the aged worker in (Western) societies (Beauvoir, 1972):

When the building was finalised, the company didn't have any more jobs. I was 65 back then. The company asked me what my plans were: 'you're a competent worker and everything, but now you're in this situation [65 and jobless]'. It was all over. The engineer arrived and told me 'you sign here and we give you a compensation, all the money you need'. The company bought me a plane ticket and sent me back to Georgia... this was in 2011... I knew what I was signing because the former engineer called and told me 'Davit, now you are 65, construction is a laborious job, and there isn't much work anymore...'. I told him 'I'm in this company for 10 years. I am older, 65, and at this age you retire, but what I have worked here isn't enough for me to retire. I want to continue working because I still have the strength'. So now I'm 68, don't I have the same strength as at 64 or 65?! I want to work, the thing is that there's no work, and the company didn't want me, and employers don't want me. I tell you what I want: I would like to get my retirement pension here, which means another 5 years [of work].

(Davit, LB late 60s, Georgia, 2001)

I'm 61... and on that there's discrimination from our government. Because yes, there are these programmes [temporary occupational programmes for the unemployed] ... and of course I'm thankful that they [the government] have been supporting me with a basic welfare allowance [rendimento mínimo de inserção social]. But I'm still strong enough to work, and what I want is to work. But it's the government itself that discriminates. The social worker had found me a job, and I was going to get a bit more than with the welfare allowance, but the government said it is only for people aged 55 or less. Do you understand? If this is the government saying, imagine private employers. It's difficult. If I want to retire, I'm still working age; if I want to work, they

don't give me a job because I'm too old... I mean, you end up thinking 'what am I good for now?'

(Fortunata, LB early 60s, Mozambique, 1975)

Davit and Fortunata's accounts show that time and its institutionalised structuring constitute a crucial element for individuals' wellbeing, and unwanted situations of unemployment can be particularly psychologically challenging, not only in adulthood (cf. Haworth, 1997), but also in later-life. This was indeed the case with Fortunata, for whom not being able to get a job took its toll on her mental health. She later decided to volunteer at a nursery as a way not to 'be at home doing nothing, because I start getting nervous and thinking about things I shouldn't... so I need to keep busy'.

Mayra, too, muses over the importance of work as a structuring and orienting force, also in older age:

I used to be busy with work all the time, but now that I had my [leg] surgery, I'm at home and I feel stuck, I feel dull... Imagine, since young girl of 10, 13 years old working, up until now at 61 and completely stuck... I'm older but I still miss working.

(Mayra, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 1979)

Whereas, for most returnees and labour migrants, keeping active – either through paid work, work on the land, or family – is an imperative, the narratives of lifestyle migrants can differ significantly. If for the women in the first two groups wellbeing results from engagement in family activities, including inter-generational care, as a source of self-worth, Klaudia and Carrie – two of the lifestyle migrant portrayees – show, on the other hand, how their sense of happiness in later-life results from having regained control over their time and schedules, and freeing themselves from socially expected family roles and family duties. For these women, later-life is seen as a period of 'me-time' and 'new-found liberties' (cf. Oliver, 2008; O'Reilly, 2000b).

... and once a year my mom comes but we are not used to have her here. We are not used to have somebody with us from morning to evening, so it's very... challenging. My cleaning lady, she can't understand me because for her the mother is part of the family, but my mother is only visiting for two weeks and we are not used to that. My cleaning lady thinks that it's a sad moment when my mom leaves, but it's also a relief!

(Klaudia, LF early 60s, Germany, 2008)

It's really fun to be... this is the first time in my life ever that I don't have a husband, I don't have 'a house', I don't have a job, I don't have children around, and I just... I have no schedule. Like this morning, I was up at 5.30 am but for instance when Isabel [Carrie's maid] wants to make the appointment, I don't like it to be early because what if I don't want to rush, or if I want to just do something before that... I often sleep in three different shifts for a night. I eat a meal or five meals in a day. I do nothing that's according to what you are expected to do.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Notions of wellbeing in later-life also become increasingly tied to health and care. Here I expand on my discussion on health care and 'strategic switching' (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005) in the previous chapter. I now bring in the narratives of Markus and Klaudia, and Andrea, who share their negotiation strategies regarding healthcare as a way to enhance wellbeing in later-life. These accounts demonstrate the role of place and migrancy in improving migrants' possibilities of ageing care, either for themselves or for older relatives (cf. Böcker and Balkir, 2012). According to Markus:

Markus: We are thinking...me, especially, I'm thinking that I'm getting older and what will happen then. Even if it's poorly regulated here, you have this healthcare at home that can help you, and here you can even afford to... you can pay somebody for everyday care which in Germany we couldn't afford. It's impossible, it would be thousands of euros.

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

In Andrea's case, the availability of cheaper, yet reliable, health care for her mother and mother-in-law was a decisive factor to relocate to the Azores. In her early 50s at the time of the interview, Andrea and her partner decided to take early retirement in Germany and devote themselves almost exclusively to their respective mothers' care – both in their 70s, suffering from Alzheimer's in one case, and bone disease in the other. In the Azores, Andrea is able to have two local ladies helping her at home, and full access to the Portuguese health care system (as a European Union national). In describing her and her partner's desire to allow their mothers a 'second spring', she tells me:

For Henriette, she can walk in the garden... in Germany she would be six months indoors because of the weather. So our idea was to ... in Germany *lares* [nursing homes] are very expensive. It's 3,000 euros a month so people have to ask for state support. They can't afford it. We checked up to five *lares*. Here we have a big house, no stairs, very accessible for the wheelchairs, and a special handicap toilet. They will

die in our place. My mom does not want to go back. She fell in love with the ocean. She wants her ashes thrown in the ocean.

[...]

In the beginning, we had no patience. We go to a private doctor, if we can't wait. If we can wait, we go to the *centro de saúde* [health centre]. We have [health] insurance, we pay in Germany, so it's a European Union contract. My mom needs a new hip. My friend from Sweden needed a new hip and she told me it was okay here. Dermatologist, you have to wait... many papers... the screening test for *cancro cervical* [cervical cancer], they don't do it here. I went to the hospital and they told me to return in three years. I was surprised. People with no money can't enjoy the same health care.

(Andrea, LF early 50s, Germany, 2010)

The second extract in Andrea's account above raises similar concerns to those mentioned by Carrie, below. The specificity of Carrie's account lies in the nice way that it unveils moral reflections and concerns about inequalities between those who can afford private health services – including herself – and the majority of the local population who has to endure long waiting lists for surgery in the public health system.

I use both [public and private healthcare]. Whenever it is advantageous, one or the other. I use whichever I like. If the system is willing to provide a free mammogram because I'm part of the health system, it's stupid for me to go pay for the same exam privately. But if I have to wait three months for an exam in the public health system then I pay for it. I paid 4,000 dollars for an eye surgery a year ago, because I didn't want to wait three years to be able to see. So, I'm lucky that I have this money and I use it for things like healthcare. (...) I don't really approve the whole idea, although I take advantage of it, that I can have better healthcare than local people because I have the money. But anybody who has money has that advantage. But it seems to defeat the whole idea of a universal healthcare system that the wealthy still get better care than the poor.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

While lifestyle migrants appreciate the advantages of the local healthcare system but are also critical of some of its limitations, labour migrants see the health care provided in the Azores as highly superior to that available in their countries of origin. This is the case for Malam and Cesária, both 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants originally from Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. For Malam, suffering from eye cataracts, and Cesária, whose leg has been amputated, having access to health care in the Azores at a later stage of their lives is stressed as a decisive factor leading to a better quality of life and wellbeing in older

age. This brings interesting nuances to Ley and Kobayashi's (2005) concept of 'strategic switching' – ie. migrants' ability to navigate the system and take advantage of different places at different stages of the life course – showing that it may encompass multiple geographies and mobilities. In this, my findings resonate with those of Hunter (2016a) on North and West African seniors in France who shift between the 'emotional' and 'instrumental' home according to their needs for health care (available in France) and family and emotional support (available in Morocco and Senegal).

In Guinea [Bissau] it's much worse. If you're sick it's better to take care of everything here before you go. Because in Guinea, there might be doctors, but there are no medicines, no equipment. If they don't have the resources, how can they work? They can't. That's why I didn't return yet, because I know what's there. Because if I'm like this, it's better to be here than to go back. Here we have doctors and medicine. In Guinea, for any serious illness, they send the patients to Portugal or Dakar, in Senegal. For a person like me, who doesn't have the money, how could I do that? I can't. I would die there because I don't have the means to come to Portugal, or to go to Senegal. At least in Portugal I can get my treatment because I'm here for so many years working, I have my social security card.

(Malam, LB early 60s, Guinea-Bissau, 2001)

When I was in Cape Verde [last time she visited in 2011], because I'm asthmatic, I felt my heart beating very fast, and I felt very tired. In Cape Verde it's complicated for treatment, you have to wait long, six months, a year... if you go to the emergency room, it's the whole day. To see a doctor sometimes you have to go at eight in the morning and you leave at midnight, one o'clock, and it isn't for free. Here it's just *taxa moderadora* [small fee paid at the health centre or hospital], but because I'm a pensioner I don't pay.

(Cesária, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 2002)

Throughout this section, I have shown how migrants' different social, cultural and economic positionings shape their perceptions and expectations towards ageing, health care, and wellbeing. In doing so, I have started unpicking different cultures of ageing, a theme I explore in detail next.

6.5 Cultures of ageing, place and their (dis)continuities

In this section, I document and analyse participants' nuanced views on ageing, exploring crossings and intersections between culture and place. In doing so, I include both migrant and non-migrant perceptions of ageing – both regarding their own ageing process and that of other groups. The analysis is organised in three main subheadings: care in later-life; morals, values and behaviours; and body, identity and self-care.

6.5.1 *Care in later-life*

Cultures of care in later-life and their related geographies can be strikingly contrasting. This has been shown by various studies (Gardner, 1999; Keith et al., 1994; Torres, 2001), which draw attention to the differences between views of ageing as a self-reliant process independent from children (to whom parents would indeed feel as a burden), and care in later-life as a natural responsibility for children who are socially expected to care for their parents.

Amélia and Silvina, below, offer two different perspectives on ageing and care. While for Amélia, a woman originally from Guinea-Bissau, it is an expected duty for children to care for their older parents, Silvina, on the other hand, shows concern about not becoming a burden for her son in the United States. These accounts echo de Valk and Schans' (2008) findings on perceptions of filial obligations among immigrant and Dutch older people. While the former expected care and potential cohabitation with children in older age, the same expectation did not take place in the case of the Dutch.

My daughters are here, they are working, they are going to care for me... the grandchildren that I'm helping to raise are men. André [her youngest grandchild who stays with us during the interview] is going to be a big football player here on the island. What else is there for me to do? I just sit down and they will look after me.

(Amélia, LB early 50s, Guinea-Bissau, 2005)

I don't want to go live with my son because he lives with his wife, his daughter and his grandson, and I don't want to disturb anybody. You know, you get to a certain

age when the younger people don't want you anymore, and you just keep going...I don't feel despised because I don't need anyone. I have food to eat, I have my life all organised, I don't owe anything to anybody.

(Silvina, R mid-80s, United States, 2005)

With lifestyle migrants, the differences tend to be even starker, not only given their more prominent self-reliant approach to later-life but also because most of the lifestyle migrants interviewed did not have children, which naturally shapes their perceptions and expectations about family care. Lifestyle migrants are also the group that most often contrasts the approach of ageing care in the Azores with that of their countries of origin. Andrea, and Markus and Klaudia, whose narratives I introduce next, openly contrast the ageing culture in Germany, perceived as an ageist society, with the Azores, a more inclusive and ageing-friendly setting (cf. O'Reilly, 2000a for a similar distinction between Britain and Spain among British international retirement migrants).

When we came the second time, we visited places for them [referring to her mother and mother-in-law] ... here the family works as a family. In Germany, old people are *desprezados* [rejected]...In restaurants here you can see families. It's another culture. We didn't want them to be in a *lar* [nursing home] in Germany where they don't care about the old people. They just give them a pill to sleep, don't take them outdoors, etc.

(Andrea, LF early 50s, Germany, 2010)

Markus: The thing we noticed at once is that the young people here accept old people and that you don't have in Germany. Old people are old people, they are junk, they don't work anymore, they are for nothing. But here, when you see the families, there's a grandmother, they love the grandmother, she's a member of the family.

Klaudia: In Germany, nobody likes old people. They are old and they are over.

Markus: In Germany, we no longer have these [extended] families. The mother is living alone in an apartment. The daughter is living maybe one kilometre away but they don't see each other very often because everybody has their own problems. Even the grandchildren don't have the time. They have so many things, they go on the computer and play games. They don't have time for old people.

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

Andrea and Markus and Klaudia's⁶⁰ accounts evidently convey the diversity of perceptions of ageing and care between Germany and the Azores, hinting also, in the first case, at the idea that "good" care is the care given at home, in an environment where you are supported by your life's accumulated material possessions and by relatives' (Escrivá, 2016: 201). The care provided in the home setting is then pictured as a product of multiple, ongoing and ever-changing relationships and attachments (Escrivá, 2016; Mallett, 2004).

6.5.2 Morals, values, and attitudes

A second recurring theme denoting different cultures of ageing among the research participants is related to morals, values and attitudes in (and towards) later-life. Contrasts are mostly outlined by lifestyle migrants whose cultural and educational capital greatly differ from those of the local Azoreans of the same age. Adriana comes out as an exception, although as a school teacher she also occupies a relatively privileged position in comparison with the locals of her age. For Adriana, different attitudes towards later-life are related to the nature of the place – the cultural tightness of the islands – which results in conservatism and resistance to change:

People of my age they don't... they are very conservative, and their attitude towards life isn't the same as mine. Well, who was born in a closed environment, was born in a closed environment. It's a cultural matter. The difference is precisely that. I was born in a place [Angola] where 'there was no horizon'. The climate is different, at 5 in the morning the sun is warm already, we lived on the streets, we had barbeques outside, very warm days, we would sleep on the beach. Not here. Here the weather is unpredictable, there's the winter, the days are humid, there's the helmet [referring to the 'helmet' of clouds that often sits on top of the islands with no direct sunlight for days]. People like to stay at home.

(Adriana, LB early 60s, Angola, 1977)

⁶⁰ In this, it is interesting to draw the contrast between Klaudia's earlier feelings about caring for her mother while she is in the Azores and her general thoughts about care in later-life. These two contrasting passages call our attention to the paradoxes in migrants' discursive rhetoric and practice.

Like Adriana, Simon and James also put emphasis on the nature of place as a decisive factor for the different cultures and attitudes towards ageing. In their account, they highlight the contrasts between urban and rural areas, where morals, values and ways of living can be frankly different, even within the island's small geographical setting. They also reflect on the strikingly different educational levels and life opportunities that set them a world apart from the locals of their age. Simon and James' joint narrative, like others that follow, should be understood with reference to the historical context of the Azores that I have outlined in chapter 4. A long period of dictatorship ruling Portugal until 1974, which resulted in state-induced low educational levels⁶¹, allied, in the case of the Azores, to profound economic asymmetries and unequal access to resources, are key aspects to be considered. The fact that most participants in this sub-section live in rural areas helps illuminate the differences outlined, although this does not represent a full explanation. Commenting on how they compare themselves to the local Azoreans of the same age, Simon and James say:

Simon: The difference is massive.

James: It's huge... one of the reasons is because we are from a city and these are rural, country people. That's the most important thing. Then our education has been very, very different. Our experience of life has been... Simon and I have travelled the entire world, we know so much about other cultures and living there, and people here are just, they are so naively poor in terms of that sort of experience. They don't know anything about the world.

Simon: A lot of them, they say that the rest of the world is just like here, but they haven't been there, so why should they know? The family here is much more important than in the UK, and that is both a positive and a negative thing. People of our generation here tend to be much older in their attitudes and so on.

(Simon and James, LF early 60s/late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

The lack of formal education among the older islanders and an entrenched unequal class system, which partly explain the later process of development and change in the Azores, sets the background for Florence narrative below. Here the emphasis is on the different set of opportunities, for instance in terms of geographical mobility and access

⁶¹ During the dictatorship years, especially in rural areas, formal education would not go beyond primary school (four years of schooling), and often the need to work the land or help in the household would hinder any formal education at all.

to basic innovations, that locals of her age had in comparison with the same age cohort in Germany.

It's different, the farmers are different because they have a different life. They look older, they are older in every way, I think. The other ones no. Our neighbours here, the better educated, I think it's the same, the same way of thinking. Okay, they have their own culture, this is the different thing, but normally it's the same. We have Portuguese friends from here, they are about the same age, and it's good. You have people here, of our age, they have never been out of the parish. And our neighbour here, Rosalina, she is 80 years old, and she never been to the port in the next village. You can't understand... Yeah, that's the big difference. I think until 1974 they didn't have electricity here. This farmer told me that when they saw the first light bulb they thought: 'oh, this is God!' They didn't know about electricity...

(Florence, LF early 60s, Germany, 2005)

Comments and remarks on different ageing cultures are most often produced by women. This gender component can be related to women's further openness to talk about the cultural dimension of their migration and ageing experience, but it results also from the fact that women are normally the ones facing additional challenges in a male-dominated patriarchal society such as the Azores, in which traditional gender roles still play a strong part within the community, and more so among the elderly. The traditional role played by older women in the Azores, whose lives revolve mainly around family and housekeeping, and whose existence tends to be devoid of a sense of individuality, self-care and self-enjoyment, is contrasted with Petra, Carrie and Sharon's accounts:

Women who live on their own that's different, but women who have their families they are so settled in the family life that... I find them... It's interesting because I'm that age but I find them much older than me. In their thinking, in the way they don't allow themselves things, you know. (...) If you have a family, you would never go out with another woman because that's not done. They go out with the family and the families go with them. Very strange here. I think it's very traditional, very 'men's world', you know, 'macho'⁶².

(Petra, LF early 60s, Germany, 2004)

The big difference is that when I was at university it was the beginning of feminism and women's liberation in my country, and here it didn't hit for about 20 more years.

⁶² Petra's perception of the island as a 'men's world' concurs with the views of Klaudia who described her village as a 'macho-land'. This was a view shared by Markus as well, who jokingly commented that he felt 'treated like a king'. Important to emphasise here is also the fact that this takes place in two different Azores islands.

So the women of my age are still running home to prepare dinner and iron the shirts for their husbands and I never did that in my life.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

My neighbour from the old house, she is 59 years old, and she is a housewife. She has health issues. She exists only to do the house things, cooking and laundry. She is not fit. She will probably die young. Although I love her dearly and she is a good friend, I just can't see any parallel in our lives. She told me: 'our house without children is a sad house'. 'Sorry, I don't agree', I said. She exists for her family. Although I adore my family, they are in England. I don't want to live in their pockets.

(Sharon, LF late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

In the previous narratives, which are mostly from lifestyle migrants, education, cultural capital and access to economic resources play a crucial role in shaping understandings of ageing. In the next two narratives, voiced by the portrayee Lucas and Fortunata, ageing differences result mainly from an individual's perspective towards life. In the opinion of these two labour migrants, local Azoreans of the same age tend to be more passive and sedentary, which contrasts with their eagerness to lead a more positive and pro-active lifestyle⁶³.

Here people who are 45 or 50 years old are retired already, or sometimes they are not even retired but they spend their days doing nothing. They don't have the energy to do things, they are just too sluggish, too quiet... I'm 64 and I always try to move, to do something. If I stay home I start feeling restless, I need to get out of the house, do something. If I'm doing nothing, I go fishing, I go walking on the rocks... When I go to the dock, there's a bunch of men fishing there, and I say 'there's no fish here, the fish are near the rocks' and they simply reply 'do you think we'll go fishing on the rocks, you must be crazy, we don't want to be walking up and down the rocks. Here is much quieter, you sit here, you spend your time'. Okay. So they don't want to catch fish, what they want is to kill time.

(Lucas, LB mid-60s, Brazil, 2000)

People are very negative when they get to a certain age... They get to 40, 40 something: 'oh, I'm old...'. I don't feel old. I mean, I still can... for example, earlier today I took some of my knitting work, I knit, I make lace, I sew... I knitted a few beanies and scarves and took them to the college because they are running a sale to

⁶³ In this, it is interesting to note the communalities between Lucas and Fortunata's accounts and those of some of the Azorean returnees interviewed who also drew stark contrast between their active lifestyle and a more sedentary and less aspiring way of living among the locals who never left the islands.

raise money. I like to help, and I still feel the strength to do it. It's like volunteering... I don't do any less than the young ladies working there.

(Fortunata, LB early 60s, Mozambique, 1975)

From a local perspective, Carolina, below, offers a careful reflection on lifestyle migrants' ageing culture compared to that of the local Azoreans:

Foreigners, especially those from the 'North', they seem to be young until they die. Not the Azoreans. Maybe because the Azoreans are a people who have suffered, they face old age in a different way. As we say, 'old age is a status in life'. And they take it too literally. With the foreigners, it's different, they are cheerful, they like to laugh and play, they look young.

(Carolina, LC mid-40s)

As a whole, local participants tend to perceive migrants' effects in shaping their ideas, aspirations, and desires towards ageing as very limited. Soraia is an exception. In a rich and engaging narrative, Soraia shares her thoughts on lifestyle migrants' perspectives towards ageing, how she compares it to the local population, and how lifestyle migrants' have shaped her own views on ageing which she contrasts with return migrants' influence.

I feel much more positive regarding the third age, because they [older lifestyle migrants] are an example. People here who are 70, 60 something years old, they are 'old old', but these people, they are young. They think about travelling, they show photographs of their trips, they go skiing, roller skating. It's fantastic. I'm much happier because I have this positive outlook on ageing. No doubt.

[...]

The differences are cultural [between older lifestyle migrants and local Azoreans]. People here love to talk about illnesses. I don't even say 'how are you?' anymore, because if I say it, they start complaining. This is a culture in which it looks good to have illnesses to talk about. I'm Azorean and I don't think like this, so I increasingly say this is cultural. There are people who overcome this.

[...]

The emigrants who returned, on the other hand, they don't influence me in the sense that they didn't evolve, they are still the same people... I don't see much difference in my parents for the fact that they have lived in the United States. My uncles and cousins who returned, because they were so enclosed [in the Azorean community], they didn't bring much [in terms of culture].

(Soraia, LC late 50s)

For Soraia then, the difference is clear between lifestyle migrants – who have significantly shaped her own perceptions of ageing and later-life – and return migrants – whose cultural mixing and advancement abroad was limited hence leading to little social and cultural innovation brought back to the islands. Her narrative unveils the crucial role of transnationalism and cultural exchange in shifting understandings of ageing among migrants but also, importantly, among non-migrants.

6.5.3 Health, bodily appearance, and self-care

Linked to ideas of active ageing previously articulated by Lucas and Fortunata, some participants express their concern about ageing well physically, taking care of their body and physical appearance. For sisters Augusta and Lurdes, both returnees from Canada, in their early 70s and late 60s, thoughts about ‘ageing well’ are related to keeping healthy and bodily active.

Augusta: I think people here should be more concerned about their health. For example, going to fitness classes here is just 20 euros per month, that’s nothing. I’m always the first in class, I don’t care whether there are children, youth... I’m the oldest and I’m fine with it. I always go twice a week.

Lurdes: Yes, people here don’t really look after themselves...

Augusta: I find it strange. Why don’t they go? It’s so good for your health. Even if you can’t do the exercises at a faster pace, you do it slower. People here don’t want to do a thing.

(Augusta and Lurdes, R early 70s/late 60s, Canada, 1981/2013)

A similar vantage point is shared by Rogério, who vividly contrasts his healthy habits with those of the local Azoreans, stressing his efforts to convince friends to adopt a healthier lifestyle, which he finds paramount in later-life.

Compared to them, thank God, I’m in good shape. Because most of the people here they are ‘dead’, knocked down...you think they are 80, and they are younger than me. (...) I tell them [his friends]: ‘let’s walk, let’s do exercise, you can do it, let’s eat good stuff’, but no, all they eat is *bifana* [steak sandwich], and they have to eat fruit.

(Rogério, LB early 60s, Brazil, 1999)

While the previous accounts focus on exercising and healthy eating, Francisca and Violeta, on the other hand, draw attention to aesthetics, attractiveness and body appearance, an issue especially sensitive to women as they grow older (Bernard, 2000; Segal, 2013). Despite their different cultural background and migration experience, these women concur that local Azoreans tend to neglect their looks, especially in older age. Their perception of ‘bad ageing’ among local Azoreans is contrasted with their concerns about ‘keeping themselves young’ and aesthetically attractive. Along with the previous narratives, these accounts suggest that, under postmodern conditions, even the ageing body can be subject to malleability (cf. Featherstone et al., 1991).

My friends who went to school with me are all old. I find them old, and they are even younger than me. For 71 I can't complain. I don't use hair spray, when I go out I only use a little bit of blush and lipstick, that's all. The lady at the grocery store asked me about my secret to look young. She is 50 or so.

(Francisca, R early 70s, United States, 1997)

I don't like to feel old. I forget I'm 60 years old. I don't like to dress like old people, I prefer young people's clothing and my daughter helps me a lot. I like to put some lipstick on every now and then. I have my little creams that I like to use. If I don't look after myself, nobody will.

(Violeta, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 1983)

In connection with Violeta's account, Mariana, a local Azorean, highlights the importance of labour migrants, mainly the women, in changing locals' ideas about aesthetics and self-appearance in later-life:

We can talk about the Cape Verdeans, but other Africans would be the same. They like to make themselves look pretty, they like to wear makeup, they like to smell good. If you pay attention, you'll notice it. You can see that it has influenced even the old ladies on the island.

(Mariana, LC early 30s)

Mariana's narrative draws attention to migrants' role in shaping local understandings of ageing, bodily appearance and self-care, hence unveiling important aspects about changing notions of age and ageing in a transnational setting.

6.6 Shifting cultures of ageing in a transnational space

This section follows from the basic premise that ‘identities in general, and aged identities specifically, are fluid and constantly renegotiated’ (Laws, 1997: 91). Here I explore the role of migration and transnationality in shaping participants’ cultures of ageing and identities in later-life, and seek to answer the central question: how does the migration experience and inhabiting a transnational social space shape participants’ perceptions and experiences of ageing and later-life? Specifically, I focus on those participants who overtly refer to the role of migration and transnationalism as having influenced their ideas about growing older. As a result, this section revolves almost entirely around the experiences and accounts of return migrants.

For Azorean returnees, being in-between cultures facilitates the contact with ‘foreign’ ideas about what represents (a good) old age (cf. Torres, 2013), resulting in a complex fusion of cultural traits and hybrid cultures of ageing with no ‘pure’ origin. This means a permanent renegotiation of old and new values and behaviours, and ‘rethinking one’s sense of self and identity’ (Percival, 2013: 207). Two main themes emerge from the analysis: physical wellbeing, self-appearance and care in later-life; and morals, values and attitudes towards ageing.

6.6.1 Physical wellbeing, self-appearance and care in later-life

A sharp line of distinction is set between older Azorean returnees and the locals of the same age in terms of healthy habits and bodily appearance. Fernando, one of the returnee portrayals, below, makes a rather frank assessment of the differences between his ideals of keeping active and healthy, and those of his local countrymen. Fernando’s account seems to embody what Paulson (2005) identifies as a ‘culture of fitness’, expressing his subjective experience of the ageing body based on specific understandings and discourses on health and wellbeing. Ideas of the ‘ageless self’ (McHugh, 2000a) can also be pulled out of this narrative. For this man, exercising routines started abroad when, after leaving work at night, he would go to the gym:

People here don't look after their health. It is bad among women, but it is even worse among men. For men, it's the smoking, alcoholism and overeating – they 'eat like pigs'. They eat, eat, eat...can't you see those bellies? Abroad you see people in their 70s and 80s all healthy and fit because of their eating habits. They say in the United States is all fast food, hot dogs, junk food, but Americans are much healthier.

(Fernando, R late 50s, United States, 2000)

Sisters Augusta and Lurdes, too, show their concern about keeping active and exercising in later-life. Specifically, they draw attention to their changed views on dressing and aesthetics:

Augusta: The mass day it's like a funeral day. Ah, those clothes...

Lurdes: Everyone dresses in dark clothes. People here dress in very dark colours... this is strange for me.

Augusta: Not us, not us. We dress in white trousers, and all our clothes are for young ladies... we don't have that 'old lady' type of clothing.

Lurdes: And the people here, they also don't look after themselves. They don't care. They don't care about their skin... Not us, we take care of ourselves differently. But the people here...

(Augusta and Lurdes, R early 70s/late 60s, Canada, 1981/2013)

For Valter and Regina, a couple back from the United States, ideas about care in later-life were significantly shaped by their own experience of providing transnational care to Regina's mother followed by their permanent (and undesired) return to the Azores to accompany her throughout her final years. This couple's experience seems to aptly illustrate Baldassar's (2007a) concept of 'economies of kinship' discussed earlier. For Regina, the experience of (trans)national caregiving and her life in the United States taught her about independence and self-reliance in later-life, shaping her views of family as the prime care provider in older age:

Regina: I can tell you one thing, taking care of an older person is a lot of work. Your children want to go out, they want to enjoy life, they are young. My daughter is 50-something, she is still young, and God forbid me from becoming a burden for her. I'm mentally prepared to go to a nursing home if I need to. If I get to a point when I need it, if I'm unable to care for myself anymore... I don't want to be a burden for my children and stop them from living their lives.

(Valter and Regina, R early 80s/late 70s, United States, 1991)

Importantly, it must be observed that these more independent views on elderly care, resonating with those of Jorge in the previous chapter, are necessarily related to, and shaped by, the ability to generate savings or a retirement plan which allows freeing the family from care duties.

6.6.2 Morals, values, and attitudes

Return migrants' experiences of migrancy and transnationalism have significantly shaped their values, morals and attitudes in terms of mentalities and keeping a 'busy ethic' in later-life. Lucília and Virgílio, below, draw attention to locals' contrasting mindsets, cultural narrowness and resistance to change. In these accounts, the role of education and cultural exchange is especially highlighted:

Of course, I feel the difference. I even see these narrow-minded views in our youth. It's a shame, because people here just cling to their own ideas. One used to say 'discussion brings enlightenment', you don't see that here. Here is more: 'it's like this because I think it's like this, and it will continue to be like this regardless'. (...) I'm 74 years old and I don't feel this age. I don't want to feel old. People here, not by nature, but because they have fixed ideas, they grow older early. They feel old. I don't think age should rule our lives, age cannot stop us from learning, from living the life we wish to live.

(Lucília, R mid-70s, United States, 1997)

Well, it is very hard to establish a conversation or an open dialogue with the people of my age who never left the islands. It is completely different from the people who had been or come from abroad, we almost don't need words to communicate profoundly with one another. Just a word, an idea... it's not the same here because in this 'narrowness', in this anxiety to belong to the world... the islander needs to be assured he belongs to the world, he doesn't accept his geographical seclusion, and what he thinks is his cultural isolation. I think this is mostly due to a lack of education, a certain way of seeing the world...

(Virgílio, R early 60s, United States, 1991)

A second strand of narratives focuses on active ageing, a 'work ethic', and the desire to keep an active 'working life' in older age. Interwoven with earlier discussed ideas of keeping physically active in later-life, some participants counterpose ideas of return

migrants as 'hard workers', 'daring' or 'persistent' with views of locals as 'non-ambitious', 'remiss' and 'day-by-day'. The extension of certain cultural values related to time-management and time-discipline to older age, and the eagerness to 'work' that return migrants claim to keep in later-life, when compared to local Azoreans, is manifest in the accounts of Jorge and Albertino. For them, retirement does not represent the 'end of the line', but rather a liminal phase leading to further life achievements. Ideals of independence and 'prescribed productivity' in later-life are present throughout:

I'm going to be honest with you. There are people here who don't aim much for their lives. They get their tiny pension, and they don't aim for more. The ones who come from abroad, who 'fought' and came back, these are more active and willing than those who never left. That's the truth.

(Jorge, R late 60s, United States, 2004)

There are people here who is just 'day-by-day', they don't care... I see so many people in this parish whom I have no idea how they manage to get by, they have no money... I tell you this, in Canada we were not in cafes and bars like they are here. In Canada, you work. They should go [to Canada] to learn to value work and having some money.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988)

Dinis, below, discusses specifically how the migration journey and the opportunity to learn a profession abroad unleashed a set of new experiences and fostered a more ambitious approach towards life. The 'foreign land' is pictured in Dinis' account as a place for learning as opposed to the islands and their more constraining and apathetic life. In his narrative, Dinis ties together Lucília and Virgílio's ideas about cultural narrowness, and Jorge and Albertino's views on work ethic:

There are differences of course. The foreigner, even if he didn't study much, has a knowledge associated with his profession. When I left the islands, I didn't have much more than primary school. Being lucky enough to emigrate, to live in a country like Canada, you are exposed to new things, you want to move forward in life. The people of my age here, they didn't strive as I did, they aren't open-minded as I am.

(Dinis, R early 60s, Canada, 2013)

Oliver's (2008: 67) remarks about 'ingrained orientations of industrial time as a valuable resource' which urge people 'towards productive time-use long after paid productivity ceases' resonate with these cases. Principles of productivity carried from a period of

diligent working life to old age are strongly bound up with previously discussed ideas of physical wellbeing, independence and self-reliance (Blaikie, 1999; Cruikshank, 2003).

As life principles are wrought throughout the life course so are values and attitudes in and across space. Cultures of ageing shift in place as traditional ideas of respect and reverence for older people, who are fully incorporated into society, are transformed in light of broader, world-wide transformations. In spite of the focus of this section being on individuals' shifting cultures of ageing, I close the discussion by showing how cultures of ageing also shift in place. This idea is nicely conveyed by Vince, who reflects on how mentalities and attitudes towards older people have shifted in the Azores, even if slowly, over time:

In 25 years [the time since Vince is in the Azores] you grow older a lot, your friends, and the people you know. My friends started having problems in going out, some used to go out every weekend. The changing mentalities started making them feel older... one night we stopped by a *tasca* [a little bar that also serves food] and to pass through there's a little alley, and there was a group of youngsters standing there. We, foreigners, needed to walk through, and so one of them said in a jokey way 'watch out the old men'. He didn't know that we spoke Portuguese, and I noticed he was embarrassed, because we still had to walk through... and then he apologised. But this is to say that, it's people's behaviours that are starting to make the difference between the young and the old. This was two weeks ago. They were 16 or 17.

(Vince, LF late 50s, Belgium, 1988)

Vince's experience finds an echo in Laws' (1997: 91) observation that: 'our metaphorical social position also varies with increasing age as old age is peripheralized (its immense disadvantage) into discrete locations, while "youth is everywhere"'. This also calls attention to how increasing social and spatial mobility fractures the traditional spaces of ageing, introducing new socio-spatial dynamics (cf. Andrews et al., 2006).

6.7 Conclusion

Following Warnes' (1990) encouragement for geographers to focus on the relations between older people and place in its multiple spatial and temporal dimensions, this chapter has examined migrants' experiences of ageing in the Azores and shifting

understandings of *being* and *becoming* older. I have shown how migrants' ideas about age and ageing, and their self-identification with older age, are situated in, and shaped by, specific class, gender and cultural contexts. Migrants' differing perspectives and experiences of ageing are crucially anchored in their ability to transform economic and cultural capital to their advantage in later-life.

I started by exploring participants' meanings of home and home-making practices, underlining the role of reminiscence and homing feelings in the production of home as a socially-embedded process. I have argued that home is a fluid, ongoing, and highly subjective construct, showing that 'it takes time to feel at home' (Ahmed et al., 2003: 9). Home-making practices, often linked to meaningful dimensions such as family, friends and religion, come out as bridging elements between places. For most participants, home acts as a stronghold in older age. Home and home care (as opposed to institutional care) are perceived as a 'safe port' in later-life and a site where a sense of independence can be maintained.

In sections 6.2 and 6.3 I have grappled with two commonly replicated ageing tropes – social isolation and vulnerability in later-life. I have also delved into the largely overlooked theme of intimacy and romantic partnership in later-life, disproving ideas of older age as 'de-sensualised'. I have shown that place – in its familiarity, tranquillity and safety – plays a decisive role in reducing patterns of social isolation and loneliness in later-life, such as those portrayed in other studies (cf. Barrett and Mosca, 2013; Victor et al., 2000). Furthermore, participants' desire for a sensual appreciation of the self and re-bonding with others, as both friends and lovers, evidences older people as powerful agents of their own destinies. Only by doing so, will we dismantle old-established prejudice and taboos about love, sexuality and older age. As in any other phase of the life course, individuals are social, but also affectionate beings. In this, Hopkins and Pain's (2007) ideas about thinking age relationally could not be more relevant.

Moving beyond dependency theories, my findings find a closer match to studies that have started unpacking later-life as 'the new spring years' rather than a necessarily destitute period of life (King et al., 2017; Lulle and King, 2016ab). And yet, I do not wish to engage in an over-celebratory narrative of independence, freedom and choice over

the life course⁶⁴; nor do I wish to reduce the ageing experience to a binary logic of progress or decline (Ahmed and Hall, 2016; Segal, 2013). Age, gender, social location, ethnicity and other individual markers make imaginaries, aspirations, and experiences of later-life a deeply subjective and highly personal matter.

The importance of participants' social and economic positioning in shaping their ageing experience is demonstrated, for instance, in their ability to 'strategically switch' between social and health care spheres in order to achieve a more enjoyable older age. In this, I have further problematised Ley and Kobayashi's (2005) concept of 'strategic switching' by unveiling a more intricate set of geographical mobilities that include both 'north-south' and 'south-north' dynamics. Although sympathetic with Blaikie (1999) and Gilleard and Higgs' (2000) ideas of ageing as actively constructed by individuals, I also see ageing as constrained by external factors such as the social organisation of care, older people's social and economic location within society, and welfare arrangements. Alongside relative privilege, I have also stressed inter- and intra-gender differences in experiencing social life and active ageing. This is visible, for example, in the sharp contrast between women for whom later-life is a 'me project' – mostly lifestyle migrants – and those for whom later-life represents a 'family-project' – mostly return and labour migrants. In this, cultural capital proves, once again, a fundamental explanatory element.

The body and the self, either overtly or implicitly referred by the participants, emerge as core elements in the analysis. A youthful façade – kept through exercising, dressing up, makeup etc. – seems to be used as a 'disguise' for the ageing self. Participants' shifting attention to the body and self-appearance, that they contrast with the local culture of bad eating and lack of exercising, can be linked to a broader political, socio-economic and cultural transition to postmodernity and, more specifically, a gradual 'reflexive turn to the self' (Giddens, 1990, 1991). Their 'masquerade' seem to lie at the intersection of the apparent, the desirable, and the authentic (cf. Biggs, 1997).

I have displayed how participants create new and complex forms and understandings of ageing through their transnational experiences. This clearly shows that the way ageing

⁶⁴ In this regard, and in the context of increasing societal pressures to live and age in the 'right way', it must be acknowledged that, to a certain degree, each narrative presented may hold some 'performativity of ageing'.

is lived and reproduced is temporally, spatially, gender, and culturally contingent. Through the entanglement of cultures in place, I suggest that understandings of ageing and the strategies migrants employ as they grow older become increasingly porous and fluid rather than place-bounded. Dichotomous ideas of ageing and care overtly show the different meanings that 'successful ageing' can hold for different types of migrants. For instance, cases such as those of Amélia remind us that, as aptly noted by Zontini (2015: 12), 'successful ageing does not necessarily mean staying independent for as long as possible; interdependency and strong reciprocal bonds with kin and co-ethnics both locally and transnationally are perceived and experienced [...] as positive ageing'. This seems to lay bare the insufficiencies and contradictions of 'successful ageing' as a useful concept in cross-cultural analyses. By questioning and challenging normative assumptions about *being* and *becoming* older, return migrants actively contribute to interpret, define and shape notions of 'growing older', 'ageing well', 'ageing successfully' or 'ageing healthily'.

Having examined the living and ageing experiences of migrants in the Azores, in the next chapter I explore place-related effects of later-life migration, including migrants' desire to be transformed by the place.

Chapter 7

‘Upside down, inside out’ – Ageing, place, and older people in place: exploring effects and intersections

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I draw attention to the ways in which participants help to re-shape the Azores and, simultaneously, are transformed by place. Rather than seeing the place as an inert and passive backdrop, I argue that growing older is increasingly marked by a diversity of place-based circumstances and experiences where ‘age relations are constituted in, mediated by and constrained by spaces’ (Andrews and Phillips, 2005; Laws, 1997: 98). Departing from the understanding that migrants’ performed lifestyles actively shape the destinations, two questions guide my analysis: what are the socio-cultural and economic effects of later-life migrants in the Azores; and how does the place, in turn, shape these migrants’ lifeways?

Whilst research on retirement migration and its effects at the local, county, and state level has been profuse in the United States (cf. Brown et al., 2008; Shields et al., 2003), offering a variety of quantitative and qualitative studies, research in Europe is gradually moving beyond more explorative analyses towards more in-depth critical approaches. Seminal works on international retirement migration in Southern Europe (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; King et al., 2000; O’Reilly, 2000a) have started to unpack the local effects driven by older migrants. Yet, almost two decades later, there is still a lack of research aiming to bring together an increasingly diverse set of older migrants and their impacts in place. Exceptions include Böcker and Balkir (2012), Daatland and Biggs (2006), Warnes et al., (2004) and Warnes and Williams (2006).

Older migrants have traditionally been seen as ‘bearers of tradition’ rather than ‘agents of change’ (Jefferys, 1996; Westerhof, 2010). This is an idea I wish to challenge in this chapter, reflecting on affluence and cultural capital as crucial dimensions in shaping participants’ potential to generate change locally. The role of economic and cultural

capital, and their ability to affect place, also help to explain why lifestyle migrants make up a significant part of this chapter while labour migrants emerge as an almost ‘invisible group’ in both migrants and locals’ accounts. This chapter’s promise of originality lies precisely in its ability to discuss local effects through the lens of migrants and locals, hence providing a comprehensive overview of the reality found in the Azores. While this chapter includes most the now-familiar portrayals, other participants offer especially rich accounts regarding this theme, thereby contributing to broaden the range of narratives used.

I argue that, in light of the increasingly self-centred nature of migration projects, activities and contributions at the local level are often perceived in a self-fulfilling manner, and as a way to successfully accomplish pre-relocation aspirations in the destination. In doing so, I reflect on the concept of ‘selfish altruism’, as discussed by de Waal (2008), according to which, through making oneself available to help, one also seeks to benefit oneself. Concurrently, and inextricably linked to migrants’ local contribution, I explore their desire to embrace a new life in the Azores and to be transformed by the place rather than changing it. This discussion opens an interesting line of research on the importance of place in shaping the self and fleshes out the interconnections between pre-relocation imaginaries and post-migration lifestyles.

The chapter is organised in four parts. First, I examine the participants’ range of socio-demographic and cultural effects in the Azores which can be partly regarded as place-making practices and a desire to embed in the local community. I relate this to Rowles’ (1983) concept of ‘insideness with place’, exploring also some of the obstacles faced by migrants in their attempts to promote change locally. Secondly, I explore migrants’ economic effects in place, critically discussing not only the effects for the local community but also the specific role that (lifestyle) entrepreneurship plays within participants’ migration projects and post-migration lives. Thirdly, I bring together migrants and locals’ perspectives on the effects of the migrant community in the Azores, teasing out converging and contrasting patterns. Finally, I analyse migrants’ narratives on embracing the local *modus vivendi*, focusing on the role of place in shaping the self. I view place as an active agent of change in both witting and unwitting ways, emphasising the evolving nature of time-conceptions over the life course. In doing so, I illuminate how

notions of time are culturally produced and wrought by place hence addressing Adam's (1990: 9) claim that much empirical research seems to overlook the time element, perhaps because it is such 'a deeply taken-for-granted aspect of social life'.

7.2 Later-life migration and socio-demographic and cultural effects

The socio-demographic and cultural effects of later-life migration to the Azores can be of various kinds, thus making it particularly challenging to shed light on all their nuances. In the following, then, I pick out the most recurring themes in the participants' narratives. I start by referring to migrants' demographic contribution, moving then to discuss their potential effects in shaping locals' morals, values and behaviours. As a third and fourth point, I focus on migrants' effects on housing and the domestic spaces of home, and their effects in terms of foodstuffs. At the end of this section, I also briefly address the challenges faced by migrants in their attempts to introduce new social and cultural influences on to the islands.

In-migration represents an obvious opportunity for population growth in the receiving areas. This is certainly important for rural areas experiencing population loss, as is the case for most of the Azores islands. In their accounts, Malam and Petra incisively stress the positive socio-demographic effects that migrants have brought into the islands in terms of re-population potential. This echoes the findings of Philip et al. (2013) who have pointed to the valuable role of 'young old' in-migration to the Scottish Isle of Bute as a countering force to young-adults' out-migration.

Just the fact that I'm here is a contribution because I count as an Azorean resident. If you ask me if I'm an Azorean, I say 'sure'. I'm part of the society here. Many came here, formed family, had children, and those are Azoreans. Not in my case, but immigrants contributed in that way as well.

(Malam, LB early 60s, Guinea-Bissau, 2001)

Because so many young people leave the Island we also contribute to the population balance. The population is decreasing and the foreigners help to keep the Island populated, so it doesn't get deserted. Even though we are older people, so the average age is not lower because of us.

(Petra, LF early 60s, Germany, 2004)

Following on a similar line to Malam, Adriana draws special attention to the importance of mixed marriages, which she experienced herself:

In terms of culture, all the cultures, the foods, the dance, the music, the folklore, and other things that people follow and like. It [in-migration] represented an 'added value', people are more tolerant, people got enriched, learnt more. The more we learn, the more we grow. And so, the local Azoreans, they gained a lot. And then, a lot was gained from their relatives getting married to foreigners, because that cultural mixing is an enrichment for the family, it has an extraordinary potential. It's a shame that so many people can't see that.

(Adriana, LB early 60s, Angola, 1977)

Migrants' social and cultural contribution in the Azores is often related to the skills and expertise they have acquired during their working lives. This includes a variety of activities that directly or indirectly affect the lives of local Azoreans, and reflects a desire to contribute to the local community and keep physically and mentally active. While lifestyle migrants stand out for the activities they organise locally, often related to the cultural resources they possess, some labour migrants and returnees also shared narratives of active contribution locally. Adriana and Annushka, two skilled 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants in the Azores, tell their stories of social involvement in the islands:

I work in a solidarity project to help disadvantaged people, I'm the president of an association that I founded myself, and I'm the vice-president of another one related to arts and crafts. I also participate in the migrant association... this allows me to help a lot of people.

(Adriana, LB early 60s, Angola, 1977)

I worked seven years on that... studying support for college and university students. My husband was involved in the project as well and that gave him the opportunity to work in his field – physics and mathematics. It was a pioneer project. There wasn't anything similar in the [Portuguese] mainland.

(Annushka, LB mid-50s, Russia, 2002)

For Vasco, a return migrant from Canada, the desire to reconnect with the place of emigration, and to create emotional bridges between the two worlds, led him to start a Facebook page and a TV channel in which he posts photographs and videos of the religious ceremonies taking place on the island (figure 7.1). This initiative plays an important role in connecting the Azores with the Azorean diaspora by fostering emotional ties through collective memory and reminiscing. This can be regarded as a negotiative strategy that places Vasco 'between worlds', thereby compensating for feelings of emotional incompleteness and enhancing his wellbeing and happiness in later-life (cf. Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt, 2013):

I write, take photos, make videos. I spend many hours on Facebook and I have my own channel on the satellite television... it has more than 200 videos and people quite enjoy it, especially the elderly.

(Vasco, R late 60s, Canada, 1996)



Figure 7.1 Religious photographs posted online by Vasco

While in Vasco's case there is a desire to re-connect worlds, lifestyle migrants are more prone to develop and engage in activities based locally. This can be perceived as a process of negotiative belonging and reflects a desire to embed themselves in the culture of their 'chosen home'. A variety of initiatives and activities can be listed, ranging from free patchwork and quilting classes, research about the Azores, various scientific and non-scientific publications about the islands, art exhibitions and other artistic representations. For reasons of space, I here highlight two (below): Vince's artistic work (figure 7.2, next page); and Angela and her husband's book project on the history of whale hunting in the Azores.

For example, when I started painting the hearts, as time passed, everyone started seeing hearts around the Island... I posted it on Facebook and everybody saw it was very productive. What happened was that people who had already set their brushes aside, started painting again. Everybody used to greet me with respect, but now with the hearts it's different... I'm well-known here, they treat me differently because I brought something good to the Island.

(Vince, LF late 50s, Belgium, 1988)



Figure 7.2 Vince's art work

This [the book] was to promote the Island. We love the Island. People can see what they can do here. The past must be accepted, they killed whales to survive. We also eat meat and kill animals. We celebrate the islands through pictures, showing that the Azores is a special spot with history.

(Angela, LF early 60s, Germany, 2007)

Angela and her husband's contribution to celebrating the history and tradition of the Azores shows how lifestyle migrants can play an active role as 'bearers of local traditions'.

Miguel and Florbela, a couple who returned from the United States, draw attention to the work ethic they believe to have brought to the islands and passed on to their employees. In this case, Miguel and Florbela can be perceived as carriers of social change, and their role upon return can be linked to Cerase's (1974) concept of 'return of innovation'.

Miguel: We encouraged a different way of working. It was hard to implement. Teaching people to be responsible and be at work on time. It's not like here where you set up a meeting with three people, and two are late. [he laughs]

Florbela: Jobs in Europe aren't the priority. The priority is your social life. In the United States, it's the other way around. First is your job, then your social life.

(Miguel and Florbela, R mid-50s, United States, 1997)

As I stay for dinner, the couple tell me about the support they provide, in money and goods, to local children's initiatives. They reflect also on the lack of a volunteering culture among Azorean returnees who, despite an extended period living abroad, and enhanced financial status, have not brought significant social and cultural advancement to the Azores. A similar point was raised during the focus group, with the participants drawing the contrast between the Portuguese mainland return migrants, portrayed as socially and economically more proactive, and the Azorean returnees, depicted as generating limited impact locally. As remarked by one of the focus group participants:

They [Azorean returnees] could have acquired some North American [United States] or Canadian ways, where there are associations for anything and everything, where associations are created and the volunteering [culture] is very strong. But they didn't acquire that cultural side of the North American society. They don't take part in associations, they don't contribute. Very few invested, and if so it was on a cafe.

The next set of narratives focus on migrants' positive effects in improving the quality of life on the islands and, potentially, contributing to a gradual shift in terms of local attitudes. Let's turn first to the familiar case of Klaudia, below, who draws attention to the issue of animal rights, a topic of especial concern among lifestyle migrants in the Azores, who have been involved in starting up local animal rescue groups in some of the islands. Not only does Klaudia raise awareness around the island⁶⁵, but she also rescues, finds owners (mostly in Germany), and flies street cats and dogs over to their new homes:

I run around the village, asking people: 'please castrate your dog. You only need to do it once and the problem will be over', but they don't do it. [I say] 'I have an agreement with the vet, it's very cheap, I can help you', but nobody wants to do it, because after castrated the dog it's not a real dog. 'We like to have a macho not a castrated dog', they say. It's so stupid, but... they don't change their minds.

(Klaudia, LF early 60s, Germany, 2008)

⁶⁵ This is especially the case in small villages and rural areas and among the oldest locals who still keep very poor standards of animal treatment.

The same commitment with animal rescue comes out in Jessica and Ethan's narrative. For this couple, and for Elena, another crucial issue locally is the garbage collection:

Jessica: Well... I think Ethan brought something in terms of his passion for cleaning the Island... also, his passion for the land because there's so much land here and there's not enough people to look after it, so I think Ethan has brought a lot here. The other thing we have contributed to is the treatment of animals, animals that probably wouldn't have had a life if we hadn't rescued them, and taken them on, and that's got to be good. I would like to think that the Azoreans seeing us walking our dogs might one day realise that there are different ways of treating animals.

(Jessica and Ethan, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

Every month I clean the road because people throw away cigarettes, boxes, bottles, paper. They just throw it out of the window... I go up and down the road and I'm happy. There is a lot of traffic so they can see that I clean the road because of the rubbish. I try to keep it clean so they can see it can be clean.

(Elena, LF late 50s, Germany, 2001)

The activities above can be described as place-making practices which foster a strong sense of belonging; 'insideness with place' (Rowles, 1983), place attachment, and a collective local identity (cf. McHugh and Mings, 1996). Brian Hoey's (2010: 256) assertion that, for lifestyle migrants, 'preservation of places as anchors to identity, as moorings to sense of self, is critically important as a defence against the corrosion of persistent change', proves to be especially true in these cases. Place-making practices among participants can be further viewed as a practice of 'selfish altruism' in that in being altruistic towards the local community, migrants also ensure that 'the place' they relocated to, and the way of living attached to it, is kept immaculate. Furthermore, in keeping a proactive attitude towards protecting and valuing the islands, there is also an implicit desire to showcase their commitment to the local community, enhancing feelings of 'insiderness'. The social engagement from older lifestyle migrants in the Azores, in contrast with the Azorean returnees, was also a discussion topic in the focus group, where one of the participants noted that:

It seemed to me [referring to a study conducted in the Azores] that these people [older lifestyle migrants] were more integrated and had a more active role in their communities, that weren't 'theirs', and sometimes was recent immigration, than the emigrants who had returned and were more passive in the daily living of their own communities.

Carrie and Oliwia's accounts, which I introduce next, reveal an interesting gender component, which consistently tends to emerge in some of the female migrants' narratives. While Carrie dwells on values and morals around sexuality and sexual choice in a small village, Oliwia reflects on her potential contribution to broaden the minds of traditional local women.

I think I can, I do change the life of the people, and of course I think for the better. I'm thinking particularly of one woman, friend of mine, from the village, who is, how old would she be? She's in her mid-40s, and she has a very severe depression, and when she's in a depressed mood, she knows she can call me. I helped her getting through the trauma of discovering that her son was gay, that kind of thing that rural, local women would go 'oh, I can talk to you about it but I can't talk to my other local friends'.

(Carrie LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

For example, here some older women are afraid, they feel embarrassed to go to the beach. But then I started saying 'ah, come with me...', and in the beginning, they would sit with their clothes on. Now they've decided they can tan their legs as well. They started changing their ways... and they also started paying attention to how they dress, because people here like dark colours, but they are starting to use more colourful ones. I think they are happier, more open, more relaxed.

(Oliwia, LB early 60s, Poland, 1993)

In a similar narrative, James describes the ways in which his cleaning lady, Manuela, through her work outside the home and contact with foreign ideas, underwent, at least to some extent, a process of 'shifting away from cultural roles rooted in traditional belief systems towards new economic and social roles' (Dunn, 1998: 58)⁶⁶.

Manuela is a modern woman now. When she first arrived, she was a shy, young mother, she 'wouldn't say boo to a goose', she wouldn't answer back. Now she controls our household with an iron fist, she is much more confident, she's a completely different woman... a completely different woman. And that's because of what she sees, what she has picked up.

(James LF late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

⁶⁶ James also highlighted how Manuela, in turn, has facilitated his integration locally by inviting him to the 'marcha popular' [popular marches] in the parish. These mutual and ongoing cultural encounters and exchanges between migrants and non-migrants echo Jackson et al.'s (2004) idea of 'transnationalism in between' and Dahinden's (2009) notion of 'network transnationalism'.

Whilst migrants' narratives often portray transformation promoted at the local level, their effects can also, conversely, be manifest in preserving the local culture, as I previously mentioned with Angela's book project. In other cases, cultural preservation can take place through the maintenance of traditional architecture (figure 7.3, next page). Below, Elena represents the archetype of the lifestyle migrant who acts as a 'tradition bearer' by valuing and keeping the local culture and the traditional architecture. Lucília's account, on the other hand, is rather exceptional among return migrants. Indeed, as previously noted, unlike lifestyle migrants, returnees tend to build modern homes, often 'North American inspired'. This is not the case with Lucília who has invested in buying and restoring old ruins according to the traditional Azorean architecture.

We renovated this house. I tried to keep it as it was. At the beginning a lot of people told us we should do it differently: 'you must make "reboco" [plasterwork]', this and that. You must make it modern, not like an old house. It should be a new house. But we said no, 'it is an old house and we wanted an old house'. Right, we have electricity, we have a bathroom, that is modern, but the style is the old one. Locals and German people said that. Now they say it is 'very good, very good'. And the tourists here, everyday they take a picture of this house. They like it. I think we brought this idea that you can have a ruin, make it nice, but it's an old house, not a new one.

(Elena, LF late 50s, Germany, 2001)

I brought something, definitely. Maybe people don't even understand it very well, but I think I show it in my business. Because my business here, I have restored the houses I bought, everything, inspired by how it was like in the past. How we used to live. Because I'm older now and so I have the experience, in the way I was raised. I think, because of that, it's easier to tell people how it was in the past. The way we lived in the past.

(Lucília, R mid-70s, United States, 1997)



Figure 7.3 Homes renovated by migrants

On the left: Elena's *casa paraíso* [paradise home]; on the right: Lucília's renovated cottage

Moving inwards into the domestic spaces of home, cultural change is also promoted by the research participants in the foodstuffs they prepare and consume. As with people, also the movement of goods across borders and social spaces shapes the lives of migrants and non-migrants alike. Resonating with Emilia's narrative in chapter 5, Domenico and Gaetana, as well as Florence, highlight in their accounts their cultural influence on the islands through the introduction of products and techniques from their countries of origin. While the first recalled their experience of opening a shop and introducing Azoreans to some of the most popular Italian foods – panettone, buffalo mozzarella, and pesto – Florence, below, talks about her husband's technique to smoke fish, a typical way of preparing fish in Germany, regretting the fact that there was no interest from the locals to learn the technique or pursue the business.

My husband hot-smokes our own fish, he is a fisherman, so he hot-smokes eels, trout or whatever. We used to hot-smoke wild salmon just for friends before we came, so we thought: 'okay, we could make a business out of this, because this is something they [Azoreans] don't have... smoked wild salmon'.

[...]

We said we could show everything, we could teach. It's a business, it's a very good business but up until now nobody took the chance. It's a pity, and there's plenty of fish here. You see what people miss here for not wanting to learn, and yes, we really tried.

(Florence, LF early 60s, Germany, 2005)

In addition to bringing novelty, lifestyle migrants have also made a remarkable contribution to the revival of traditional agricultural practices, which they fuse with modern concepts of biological agriculture and healthy and sustainable preparation of foods. Ideas of ‘return to the roots’ or ‘back to basics’ emerge in the narratives of many participants, including Domenico and Gaetana, and Lisa. In their concerns with growing and preparing foods in a traditional way, yet coated in modern, Western ideals of ‘biological’, ‘home-made’ and ‘sustainable’, participants reinvent local practices and habits. For these migrants, pre-migration imaginaries and expectations are embodied and emplaced in the lifestyle they lead in the Azores⁶⁷ (cf. O’Reilly, 2014).

Domenico: With the animals, we sell eggs, we make cheese, which is mostly for us and our friends. Then, this year, Gaetana started with the kitchen garden. It’s interesting because our guests [from the homes the couple rents] are always looking for local, natural products. In the cities of nowadays you can’t find that anymore. Here we grow everything biologically.

(Domenico and Gaetana, LF mid-50s, Switzerland, 2004; see figure 7.4)

They can eat burgers with lentils [in the place where Lisa cooks], and locals really like it. I suggest them different foods... I’m the first person on the island doing *bolinhas de grão de bico* [chickpea balls].

(Lisa, LF early 50s, Germany, 2001)



Figure 7.4 Animals in Domenico and Gaetana’s farm

Although diluted over time, the effects that return migrants had on the islanders’ diet were more widespread and noticeable. Specifically, this represented a tremendous

⁶⁷ Here, too, there is a clear link to ideas of ‘selfish altruism’. While contributing to diversify traditional ways of growing and preparing foods, this is also part of migrants’ choice for a ‘slow living’ and a way to ‘draw gratification from their lifestyle’ and appreciate the simple pleasures of life (Vannini and Taggart, 2014: 201).

change from the late 70s up until the 90s, when many Azoreans returned and the islands, especially the smaller ones, were yet to experience much modernisation and economic and social enhancement⁶⁸. Afonso and Madalena, two pioneers in opening restaurants serving traditional 'American food', narrate the novelty and success of their enterprise and how it culturally shaped the lives of the Azoreans who had never left the islands.

Nobody had heard of burgers. Nobody had heard of grilled chicken. Several things we started and nobody knew about, had heard of. Not even grilled fish. Everything was new in 1975. Everything I started was new, nobody had seen this before.

(Afonso, R late 70s, United States, 1984)

The idea of the pizza was brought from there [United States], because that's where we got to know it... and then we started making different types of pizza, we had a lot of variety. This was the first pizza place to open on the Island. Now there are many, it just takes one to start... but this was the first pizza place, opened in the early 90s. In America, everyone ate pizza, it was a normal thing, you would get a slice of pizza and you would eat it with your hands. Here we had to lay out plates and cutlery because people would ask. It was a novelty and everybody wanted to try.

(Madalena, R late 60s, United States, 1985)

The stories described above resonate with Ilahi's (1999) findings on occupational change among Pakistani return migrants. In this case, as with return migrants to Southern Europe (King, 2015), the savings acquired through emigration become 'a critical determinant of occupation choice' towards non-farming activities (Ilahi, 1999: 184). Moving from a farming to a non-farming activity, and especially owning a business, has an important impact in terms of upward social mobility and social status; particularly so in the small island context.

7.3 Later-life migration and economic effects

The economic effects of migration have traditionally captured much academic interest, perhaps for being easier to measure and assess in comparison to socio-cultural influences

⁶⁸ For a parallel, see for example Kenna (1993) on the development of tourism and the role of return migrants in the social change of the island of Anafi in the Cyclades.

(Shields et al., 2003). In analysing and making sense of the information henceforth presented, a basic distinction between production and consumption should be considered. While labour migrants are still, in many cases, engaged or in search of paid work, return and lifestyle migrants tend to occupy a more flexible position as consumers while optionally creating their own jobs which help them to support their chosen later-life lifestyles (Stone and Stubbs, 2007). Age (being 'young old' vs. 'old old') and relative affluence play a decisive role in understanding the potential economic effects that migrants bring to the Azores.

The economic effects brought to the islands by migrants are indeed frequently mentioned. Simon and James, for instance, stress lifestyle migrants' important contribution in terms of the housing market and everyday consumption (while they also do not draw any benefits away from the country):

James: I would say most of them [lifestyle migrants], their primary contribution to the Azores is in fact that they bring lump sums of money to the Azores, to buy property, and then they spend money on doing up those properties. And then of course they are living here, and they are spending, and they don't actually get any social benefits like unemployment subsidies like the local people here. So, that would be the biggest influence, in my view, that we have brought here.

(Simon and James, LF early 60s/late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

Carrie's narrative, below, follows the same lines, highlighting the importance of (lifestyle) migrants' economic contribution, yet casting doubt on the potential cultural influence of the group:

Economically, yes. I think economically it helped a lot of families, just the fact that we each live on, you know, anywhere from 20,000 to 50,000 euros a year, on an island of this sort, it's a lot of money, and it always helps. The more money there is in a community, the more there is to spread around and pass around and all. I don't think culturally very much... globalisation and television has more to do with it than from the foreigners, because I don't really think the foreigners do influence much. I guess my final decision is that maybe we do on a smaller person-to-person basis but I do not think that we influence whatsoever the general culture.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Considering specifically land buying and homebuilding, Fernando's account, below, expresses a common idea among return migrants, that of their economic investment and 'added-value' to the islands:

The Azorean emigrants brought many things to the islands. They bought plots of land, built houses, bought cars; even those who didn't return permanently. All that brought development to the islands. This was mostly until the 2000s, because then the euro came and the dollar got weaker and weaker.

(Fernando, R late 50s, United States, 2000)

Unlike Hayes (2014: 1967), who found that relatively wealthy North Americans relocating to Cuenca, Ecuador, 'act[ed] as gentrifiers, distorting prices in local real estate markets and transforming the urban landscapes', the same phenomenon does not seem to have yet reached a similar scale in the Azores, mostly for two reasons. First, due to the still modest numbers of lifestyle migrants relocating to the islands; and second, because of the distinct property types and markets that lifestyle migrants and locals search for. This is an idea clearly expressed in Ethan and Sharon's accounts:

The only problem, if any, is in the cost of land and cost of property because if you've got a restricted supply of property available then the foreigners can generally afford to pay high prices. That doesn't seem to happen here, perhaps with the exception of the most touristy areas... foreigners, us excepted, generally speaking, want to have an old stone house, so in many ways there is no conflict between the two because there is enough tumbled down cottages to support hundreds of people wanting to buy them, if you could ever find who wants them. So, I mean, although in some places there may be some more expensive building plots, I don't get the feeling that being either widespread or particularly marked, and there's no evidence that suggests that there are two competing property markets, they are sort of complementary.

(Ethan, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

Local people wouldn't do this. They wouldn't restore a house. This is a positive impact. We picked up ruins and restored them. Why would you restore a house? they think...For less money? So, probably the biggest effect we had on their lives, was the housing market. (...) The locals thought the prices would go up. No, we weren't going to do this. We asked them what would be the price for the houses, not generating inflation. So, I like to think that we helped to stop what could have been...we arrived in an excellent time, to start the prices were good for the sellers. Then there was the recession, but all the way through we helped them to sell and buy houses, keeping prices reasonably [stable]. We tried to positively affect the island by not allowing the inflation of the houses.

(Sharon, LF late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

Although I heard, in informal conversations, concerns about the changing housing market prices, the local interviewees, including Ricardo, a man born and raised in the parish that contains the largest number of lifestyle migrants in São Miguel Island, shares a similar opinion to that of Ethan and Sharon:

I must tell you that the parish developed a lot. It developed very much due to the investment those migrants [lifestyle migrants] made by restoring properties. They invested in building their homes, and other houses for rural tourism. Maybe today those properties wouldn't exist, or wouldn't have been restored if it wasn't for them.

(Ricardo, LC early 40s)

Besides the inflow of economic resources into the housebuilding and renovating market, lifestyle migrants, in most cases, but also a few return migrants, create job opportunities within the space of home – cleaning ladies and gardeners, mostly, but also handymen and pool cleaners. I first introduce Lurdes, whose short, yet evocative, statement represents an exception among female Azorean returnees who are generally (often proudly) responsible for the household tasks. Lurdes' commentary illuminates the idea of a 'well-earned rest' in later-life⁶⁹:

Here I have a cleaning lady. I have worked enough in my life!

(Lurdes, R late 60s, Canada, 2013)

Sharing a common position to that of Lurdes, Carrie and Jessica – two of the female lifestyle migrant portrayees – specifically highlight the importance that home jobs have for local rural women, often reliant on their husbands' availability to drive them, and who would otherwise struggle to find a job in the city.

Almost everybody I know has a person who works in their house, maybe once every two weeks, or once a week, or whatever, as well as a gardener who takes care of some parts of the hard work either once a week or once a month. If you think just about these things it helps. And I know that the local women for instance who normally do cleaning work here in the city, if they don't have to take the bus into the

⁶⁹ Some (male) Azorean returnees also mentioned hiring locals to help them work the land. Although an uncommon narrative, Jorge shares his own contribution to provide jobs to the villagers: 'first I had big areas of land, but then I leased part of them, and kept only a few to keep myself busy. I have a couple of men helping me, working for me on the land.'

city for that amount of time which ends up being an hour each way by the time they are done, they are really happy to have the foreigners to work for.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

We had a cleaning lady starting yesterday. I wasn't looking for one but one of the 'estrangeiros' ['expats'] in the village said that she had a brilliant cleaning lady, and next thing I knew this woman was knocking on my door saying 'can you help me out?' So, we talked about it and she started.

(Jessica, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

While migrants' economic contribution is often looked upon from a consumption perspective, this is the services they consume and the people they employ, migrants, even at a later stage of life, can also actively contribute to the islands' economy through their enterprises and their own work. This is an idea present in Davit narrative, below, which draws attention to the importance of immigrant work in the 'making' of the islands.

The Azores is isolated and far from everything. Not everybody wants to come here. We, immigrants, we built schools, roads, bridges. I contributed with my work to develop these islands.

(Davit, LB late 60s, Georgia, 2001)

Small, local-level businesses set up by migrants represent another source of economic input to the islands. These are normally undertakings of 'young old' migrants, not yet retired. Birgit, Camila and Yolanda (figure 7.5, next page) provide three different accounts of how their small businesses – horse riding and hospitality, cleaning, and catering – prospered on the islands, allowing them to expand and eventually hire additional workers – both locals and other migrants. Birgit, whose narrative excerpt I present first, offers an interesting reflection on the value of working with local people.

You have to have locals. It is essential. They help you to understand the history and traditions of the island. Otherwise you are lost. We have about 60 to 40 per cent local people. They know the people from the island, and have local knowledge. Without them it doesn't work. Why are you in a foreign country if you don't have locals working with you? You have to knock on their doors. You have to integrate in the community.

(Birgit, LF early 50s, Sweden, 2001)

It's a small business but it's growing... the girls are all Cape Verdeans. No, four Cape Verdeans and two Portuguese, and I'm also part of the labour force. I'm the company and I'm the working force.

(Camila, LB early 50s, Brazil, 2002)

Everyone loves my food, so they were happy that I finally opened a restaurant. I cook Cape Verdean food, and people coming to the restaurant are from all sorts of backgrounds... the restaurant works with reservations and it's always full.

(Yolanda, LB mid-50s, Cape Verde, 1980)



Figure 7.5 Typical Cape Verdean food at Yolanda's restaurant

On the left: traditional sausages and fried yam; on the right: 'cachupa'

Of the three migrant groups, lifestyle migrants are normally the ones holding a stronger entrepreneurial spirit, encouraged and enhanced by the availability of material resources. Their projects, mostly in the tourism area, are often an individual or couple undertaking, which although contributing to promoting tourism on the islands, is mostly intended to allow them a desired post-migration lifestyle, especially if they have not reached retirement age yet. Implicit in the following two narratives from Carrie and Micaelo, is not only the desire to achieve some economic profit but also, more prominently, the ability to redefine work-life balances and be able to choose enjoyable, rewarding, and time-flexible activities. In short, be 'free individual agents' (Korpela, 2014: 30). This echoes Stone and Stubbs' (2007: 433) findings on entrepreneurial expatriates in rural Southern Europe for whom 'self-employment is shown to be the most effective available mechanism for supporting lifestyle objectives'.

I rent a cabin as Airbnb all summer and so I have people who stay in this little cabin which has a bedroom and bathroom. It's more like staying in my house for the summer time, so I have guests all summer. It's fun the people that come and stay,

they are interesting people from all over the world... then I went to Prague for a week and I blew all the money that I made all summer [she laughs].

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Because I always grew up with this idea... it never crossed my mind to work eleven months and rest only one. I couldn't understand it. I used to ask my parents when I was little 'why do you work eleven months? It should be six, and six at most'. And since 2002, we are closed for five months [period during which Micaelo travels and writes].

(Micaelo, LF early 50s, Italy, 1994)

In an indirect manner, lifestyle and return migrants (mostly) are also responsible for bringing new people into the island as visitors and, potentially, as future residents (see for example Rodriguez, 2001 for a discussion on tourism as a recruiting mechanism for international retirement migration). This idea is conveyed, for instance, in the following account from Evelyn who had friends relocate to the Azores after a visit. Similar experiences were shared by other participants, such as Sophie (see chapter 5) or Elena, who moved to the Azores after a visit to friends.

We've got lots of friends who live here, who bought houses and came because we were here. They came to visit and they liked it very much so they bought a house and stayed. Some live here, and for others it's just holidays.

(Evelyn, LF late 50s, South Africa, 1992)

Having looked at the diversity of migrants' effects on the islands, I now turn to compare their views to those of the local Azoreans. In doing so, I seek to identify discursive nuances, and converging and contrasting patterns.

7.4 An inside-out look at migrants' effects in the Azores: openness and resistance

As previously noted, changes in the cultural landscape of the Azores are often hard to pinpoint and frequently overlooked in the narratives of migrants and local Azoreans. Yet, for Diogo, a man in his late 30s who has lived in the Azores all his life, American influence was a constant during his early years, both through the American military presence in the Azores and the Azorean returnees. One of the things that fascinated the most during my

conversations with Diogo was his vivid descriptions of the excitement, during his childhood and teenage years, of having Levi Jeans, videotapes and CDs long before the kids in the Portuguese mainland. Even though he was on a relatively isolated island back then, the *barris*⁷⁰ sent over from North America and the distinct influence of the American military base in Terceira Island, shaped many of his life experiences. Perfectly illustrating Dahinden's (2009) central argument that not only migrants are 'transnationals', Diogo has experienced transnationalism throughout his life in both his subjective belonging to a transnational social space and his transnational social networks:

And even the military base... here we have an American military base and that influenced me and many others. So, you have an idea, us, in the whole of Portugal, we were the first to get CDs. For example, all the films that were premiered in America, the blockbusters, everything, were screened here too... and this was in the 80s (...) I had school friends who would buy cheap Levi jeans and sell for double and triple price in the [Portuguese] mainland. I mean, for such a small place, we were able to have much more modern stuff from what was going on in America, compared to the mainlanders.

Unlike Diogo, Isa and Márcio⁷¹ perceive as limited the potential of change, especially culturally, brought by return migrants. Cerase's (1974) notion of 'return of conservatism' helps us to make sense of these narratives, which convey a dominant discourse about returnees that refuses to bestow privilege on them. The assumption that return migrants do not transform the Azores in any significant way appears to be partly rooted in the stereotypical notion of old people as old-fashioned, 'clinging to the past', or averse to change (cf. Jefferys, 1996 for a critical discussion of these issues).

⁷⁰ In English, barrels. 'Barris' were small containers sent to the Azores by family and friends emigrated in the United States and Canada. They would usually contain clothes, sweet treats and foods not available in the Azores at the time.

⁷¹ With approximately the same age and living on the same island, it is interesting to note the contrasting views of Diogo and Márcio, which seem to highlight individuals' highly subjective biographical experiences, even in the same geographical context.

The returnees no...they didn't bring any change. But then also, what did they learn that was new that they could bring back? They clung to traditions... in the end education is fundamental. An Azorean who returns from America after retirement, who left with no education and returns the same way, what can she/he bring us? Maybe if it was somebody who achieved success in a certain area, but I don't think it's the case in this island. But if there was somebody like that, she/he could come and introduce changes. But in general, you don't even notice them.

(Isa, LC early 50s)

They easily return because they keep the same way of living abroad – the same culture, the same religion, the family. When they return it's simply 'ah, I have been abroad for a while but I'm back now'.

(Márcio, LC early 30s)

Much less common among local interviewees is the reference to more positive influences brought by labour migrants. In one of the few allusions to labour migrants' role in shaping Azorean identity, Mariana is keen to highlight:

I like their foods very much. Different foods, different flavours. I like it. I end up trying the recipes they give me, things that are typical of their countries. I feel influenced in that way... also the music, all I listen to now is African music. True!

(Mariana, LC early 30s)

Considering all types of migration, Jacinta stresses the importance of new arrivals in prompting change locally, even if unwelcome by some fractions of society in terms of long-established powers and the status quo (cf. Burholt et al., 2013).

The society evolved a lot thanks to people who came from the outside. Mainlanders, immigrants, emigrants who returned, they brought a different dynamic... it only gets complicated when they mess with the social structures, the established status quo... otherwise everything is alright, even if everything is all wrong.

(Jacinta, LC early 60s)

Simon and James' account, below, focusing specifically on lifestyle migrants in the Azores, underscores a similar idea to that of Jacinta in that it is easier as a migrant to 'keep one's head down' and interfere the least possible with the institutionalised powers and social classes on the island. The couple's discourse can be better understood with

reference to their earlier account on the challenges experienced with the island's upper classes upon relocation.

James: Probably the impact of migrants to the island hasn't been large enough to significantly change the culture of the Azores. Quite the opposite, because it has been a small-scale immigration, there's more of a pressure to embed yourself in the existing culture than the other way around, you can't really change it. The Germans may want to change it but they can't, because there aren't enough of them and they are not rich or powerful enough to change things... I think most of them have been submerged by the existing power of what is a strong cultural identity. Here there's a particularly strong cultural identity and you tend to be submerged by that. We often say: 'best just live here and get on with our life and not stick our head over the parapet' because you don't cause tensions or draw attention. You want to integrate in a quiet manner, not causing any problems.

(James, LF late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

The previous narrative unveils elements related to a certain resistance to change locally, which seems to be often the case in insular contexts (cf. Marshall, 1999). Drawing attention to this, I relay Wolfgang and Klara's two vignettes of their failed attempts to promote small changes locally – first with their gardener's working ways and secondly by starting a petition to clean a local water spring. In their narrative, the couple reflects also on feelings of 'outsiderness'.

Wolfgang: An example, our gardener...we are not very friendly and we tell him: 'how many times did we tell you to do this like this'... 'sim, sim' [yes, yes], he says. You turn around and he does what he wants. This drives us nuts. The Azoreans don't change their way of thinking, they keep their identity, their power and strength. We have to accept this.

[...]

Wolfgang: This is the negative side of people from islands, this behaviour [in the context of local inertia to clean a water spring]. No influence from the outside... people who try to change, they knock their heads.

Klara: We are visitors, we accepted that.

(Wolfgang and Klara, LF mid-70s/early 50s, Germany, 1998)

In this, effective integration into the receiving society emerges as a central factor to be able to contribute or produce change locally. Yet, the strong island identity can often hinder migrants' ability to shape the 'island ways' (Burholt et al., 2013; Marshall, 1999).

The same idea of incoming migrants as ‘outsiders’ is evident in Mónica’s narrative, which reflects on how the Azorean upper-middle class – which she is part of – tend to perceive lifestyle migrants as potential ‘intruders’, fearing the changes these ‘privileged migrants’ may bring into old-established local power dynamics.

My friends are a bit critical... my friends from college times think I get along too much with foreigners. For my birthday dinner, I made the effort to... it took me two hours to set the table so I could put together those who can speak a bit of Portuguese and those who can speak a bit of English. But there’s always those who keep the distance. They speak English but are elitists.

In stressing her close relationships with some of the lifestyle migrants on the island, Mónica is also adamant about preserving the island culture and its lifeways, vehemently noting:

We are open to them but when they want to do things their way we say ‘no, this is the Azores. In Rome, do as the Romans’.

(Mónica, LC early 70s)

Adelaide, too, overtly recognises the presence of a certain blockage to change on the islands. These narratives reveal the presence of a strong islander identity, suggesting reluctance to change, and the importance (even necessity) for ‘newcomers’ – and nonetheless ‘homecomers’ – to adjust to the local culture and local ways.

I think they [immigrants] try to implement things, but it’s not very welcome... so I feel things can’t progress. The ideas aren’t well-received, so no... it seems like what comes from abroad doesn’t... ‘they think they come here and have all the ideas and we know nothing’. That isn’t what the people who propose new ideas are thinking, but that’s what people here think. There is a certain ‘brake’... [to change]

(Adelaide, LC late 30s)

In closing this section with reflections on resistance to change, I seek to link the discussion to the debate that follows next – the significance of place and local culture effects on the self.

7.5 'If you're here by choice, you embrace what is here': identity and place effects on the self

Rubinstein's (2005: 115) premise that identity is defined by 'an indivisible link between place and person' lies at the core of this section, which is rooted in the understanding that 'place plays a major role in the ongoing constitution of identity, especially for those who migrate across national borders' (Gu, 2010: 689). In the following, I argue for the role of place as a powerful force shaping participants' identities, and explore the processes of their negotiated belonging⁷². I start by examining participants' desire to 'fit in', rather than generate change, which emerges as part of their ongoing re-negotiations of identity and place attachment. As stressed earlier, women's narratives tend to be especially rich in terms of thoughts on integration and embeddedness in the local culture. Eva and Klaudia's reflections, below, foreground ideas of 'acceptance', 'equality', and 'adaptation':

I don't want to change them [locals]. I see things that can change, but I don't want to be 'the wise guy'... I don't want to influence them.

(Eva, LF early 50s, Netherlands, 2010)

Klaudia: I'm sure we can't change the people. As we said before, we know that people here are different and that we shouldn't try to change them. You have to accept, otherwise you're not happy.

(Klaudia and Markus, LF early/mid-60s, Germany, 2008)

Time is the 'keyword' in this discussion. As I delved into participants' narratives on how their identities and lives were shaped by the island space, their changed perceptions of time emerged not only recurrently, but also centrally, in the analysis. The accounts that follow uncover the multiple and interrelated ways in which participants negotiate new notions of time, and the value of time in different societies and across the life span. Participants' experiences resemble, yet in the opposite way, those of the Indian Americans studied by Lamb (2002). 'India is the land of intimacy and of time' (Lamb, 2002:

⁷² Here again, the discussion revolves mostly around lifestyle migrants' experiences. This results from two main factors: first, their greater ability to articulate thoughts on how they feel influenced by the place; and secondly, the fact that their narratives tend to be, in general, more reflexive.

300), and so it seems to be the case with the Azores. Catlin neatly reflects on how notions of time were shaped by her life in the Azores:

But also socially, I find that... and I don't think it's a Portuguese thing, I think it's an Azorean thing, that if you invite people, and they will come an hour and a half to two hours late, they will get very surprised if you are already sitting at the table... but I learnt to live with that and I find sometimes that I'm becoming more Azorean in that way: 'we should have got there 15 minutes ago, but let's not hurry, I can still take a shower...'

(Catlin, LF early 60s, Sweden, 2002)

Jessica and Ethan, on the other hand, perceive time, and time readjustment, as part of embedding into a desired post-migration lifestyle and sustaining positive ageing self-identities (cf. Oliver, 2008). For them, part of the 'success' of their migration project seems to lie precisely in their ability to disengage from their previously time-constrained life, and embrace flexible, unconstrained and unhurried notions of time.

Ethan: The pace of life here is infinitely slower than that in the UK. It's generally okay, except if you want something done quickly, you have to sort of be prepared for everything to take a long time, but slowing down has been part of the aim of moving so...

(Ethan and Jessica, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

In a similar fashion, Markus and Klaudia reflect on self-adaptations to time, like Catlin above, as a way to blend into the local culture, improve their quality of life on the island, and reduce the cultural clashes they have experienced since relocation.

Markus: We settled down here and we don't care about things. Maybe we even try to think more and more the 'Portuguese way'; we really try to do it. It's not easy, but we try it.

Klaudia: It's easier to think 'if it's not today, it's tomorrow'. It's easier that way of thinking. We are in the right track, I think.

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

A second strand of thoughts, present in the narratives of Katja, Helga, and Jacqueline and François, sheds light on ideas of 'self-discovery' (sometimes an unsettling process), 'carpe diem' and 'go with the flow'. Also in these cases, time plays a central role as a

period for 'self-searching', 'seize the day', and enjoying every moment on its own terms. In short, these narratives highlight the imperative of 'living for today':

Katja: ... And there's also another thing; because there aren't many distractions on the island, at one point you are confronted with yourself. Not everybody likes that. Not so much shopping, not so many other people around, there's only you, and that's hard.

(Katja, LF early 60s, Germany, 2006)

I was always kind of working and I felt like running on a 'never ending wheel'. That's was how I felt. I felt I didn't want to live like that. Here we live in the present. We live the today. In Sweden, I was always looking forward to vacation, looking forward... here we live *carpe diem* you know, it's the day that is important... I'm really at peace here. I think this is paradise.

(Helga, LF late 60s, Sweden, 1996)

Today the weather is good, we're going to work in the garden. Tomorrow the weather is bad, let's do something inside. Today it's really terrible weather, we don't feel like doing anything. Let's see... here we can have a free life.

(Jacqueline and François, LF mid-60s/early 50s, Switzerland, 1991)

Katja, Helga, and Jacqueline and François' narrative excerpts can be further understood with reference to Giljeard and Higgs' (2000) assertion that in the postmodern era the ageing process is increasingly focused on the self, and Oliver's (2008: 70) observation that ideas about spontaneity and 'seeing how things go' can be regarded as part of a generalised 'retirement plan' that shows awareness for 'a time left to live'.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed migrants' socio-demographic, cultural and economic effects in the Azores, as well as the role of place in shaping the self. I have emphasised the more individualised, person-to-person nature of migrants' effects on the islands, showing that it is rather difficult to talk about island changes as a general pattern. In this, I share similar views to those of O'Reilly (2000a) who has noted, in her study of British retirement migrants on the Costa del Sol, that although it was possible to identify areas in which

migrants' effects were noticeable, it was hard to establish consistent trends. I also restate the OECD's (2008: 163) findings on the limited macroeconomic effects of return migration on the countries of origin, which rather boosts growth that is already underway. This chapter has indeed fleshed out the effective power of change prompted by world-wide, globalising forces and their temporalities. This was made evident, for instance, in the novelty that American foods represented to the islanders in mid-70s until the 1990s.

Throughout the chapter, I have argued that the economic and cultural capitals acquired through the life course are decisive for the migrants' ability to affect the place in significant ways. I have summarised the various forms in which migrants introduce new cultural elements to the Azores or help in shaping, in fairly modest ways, the local way of life. Migrants' place-making practices and their commitment to preserve and cherish the islands' natural resources and culture can be further interpreted as a practice of 'selfish altruism'. It encapsulates both a desire to contribute locally but also a yearning to keep 'the place' they relocated to as immaculate as possible. The aspirational ideals underpinning the migration projects of some of the participants seem to uncover contradictions between their desire for social participation and engagement and, on the other hand, the strong individualism lying at the core of their migratory experience (cf. Oliver, 2007).

Relative economic privilege is also an important element which shapes the ways in which locals perceive migrants' impacts on the islands. Thus, of the three migrant groups analysed, labour migrants tend to be those least mentioned by local participants as having affected the islands in significant ways. Yet, I have shown successful cases of local enterprises run by labour migrants (recall for instance the cases of Camila or Yolanda). Lifestyle migrants, on the other hand, tend to be most often pinpointed as the migrant group promoting change on the islands in more noticeable ways. Their impacts are visible, for instance, in the housing market, through the restoring of old houses and ruins, which hold the potential for rehabilitating the islands' built landscape. For the time being, housing and land pressures still assume little effect in the case of the Azores. This is, however, a reality that may change in the future with the increasing opening of the Azores to the outside, and certainly one that requires continued monitoring.

Guided, too, by the enlightening accounts of local Azoreans, this chapter has revealed how migrants fit into (or are perceived to fit into) different 'hierarchical levels' on the islands. While labour migrants are evaluated according to the skilled or unskilled nature of their work, lifestyle migrants tend to be automatically incorporated into the highest levels of the social stratum, yet not without some discomfort from the local elites. Return migrants are possibly the most ambiguous group for local participants. Despite their higher economic capital, they are mostly perceived as 'novos ricos' (nouveau riche) who lack the cultural assets and lineage that would place them at an elevated position socially⁷³. An important distinction between groups of migrants is also related to their main engagement in 'production' (labour migrants) or 'consumption' (lifestyle and return migrants) activities. It is not that participants who relocated primarily for lifestyle reasons, or those emigrants who returned, are 'absolutely wealthy', but rather that they managed to mobilise resources and capital in a manner that allows them to realise their migration aspirations and achieve a better life in the Azores.

I have specifically highlighted that the creation of small-scale businesses on the islands, mostly among lifestyle migrants, represents a crucial mechanism to achieve long-term lifestyle aspirations. As observed by Stone and Stubbs (2007: 444), these are 'constructed incomes for lifestyle objectives', and tend to have very little direct economic impact on the lives of local Azoreans. Self-employment among the lifestyle participants unveils re-negotiations of 'free time' and 'productive time' which can finally take place in a context of relocation. I have related these redefined conceptions of time to ideas of flexibility and spontaneity, but also the realisation, as the participants grow older, of the finitude of life and 'what is still left to live'.

One of the serendipitous findings of this chapter is the ways in which migrants – especially lifestyle migrants – stress their desire to embrace the Azorean culture and be shaped by the place rather than prompting any change locally. This appears to be part of their identity re-negotiations and reveals a quest for grounding and attachment to place. The transformative power of the Azores seems to be especially important in re-shaping

⁷³ These perceptions of the Azorean returnees, often identified by the derogatory term 'calafães' [the one who returns to the archipelago], parallel those found by Gonçalves (1996) in the North of Portugal, where locals perceived the Portuguese returning from North-West Europe as 'exhibitionists' and 'over-pretentious'.

migrants' notions of time. This discloses the multiple ways in which time can be *lived, felt* and *experienced* in later-life, leaving the door open to explore how older migrants understand their present and conceive their future.

Chapter 8

'Is this all there is?' Unpacking the determinants of later-life (im)mobilities

It is not true that people stop pursuing dreams because they grow old, they grow old
because they stop pursuing dreams.

(Gabriel Garcia Márquez, 2006 *in* *Memories of My Melancholy Whores*)

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I suggest that thoughts and considerations about ageing and future (im)mobilities result from intertwined and intricate 'time-spaces of possibility' (Lulle and King, 2016a; May and Thrift, 2003) that participants continuously reassess as they grow older. In the following, I seek to illuminate what determines future later-life (im)mobilities among participants; and how their mobility aspirations (and abilities) are transformed as they grow older in the Azores.

I draw attention to the key determinants shaping participants' (im)mobilities, reflecting on how ideas about planning and relocation in later-life are wrought by understandings of life's finitude and death. In doing so, I explore the role of gender, age, and place in participants' thoughts about the future. I foreground the role of place and its attached meanings – family and friendship networks, access to healthcare, financial stability and others – as promoting, or hindering, feelings of 'insideness with place' (Rowles, 1983). I argue that homing feelings are fundamental in making sense of participants' mobility aspirations for the future, hence supporting Ahmed et al.'s assertion that 'making home is about *creating* both pasts and futures through inhabiting the grounds of the present' (2003: 9, emphasis in the original).

(Im)mobility in later-life is an inherently multifaceted and fluid phenomenon. Therefore, rather than looking solely into participants' discourses about future mobilities, I relate these to broader life dimensions and factors emerging as structural in their narratives. I bear in mind the performative and aspirational nature of participants' considerations about the future, conceiving later-life (im)mobilities as the outcome of

both discourses and practices. While younger age is often characterised by long-term planning, later-life is rather perceived as a period of permanent re-adjustment in light of a multitude of individual and contextual circumstances which may change unexpectedly. I strive to emphasise the mobile and re-adaptive nature of later-life migrants, which although necessarily shaped by economic, social and cultural factors, is a dimension that has often been overlooked (or at least underappreciated) in the existing literature. Exceptions include Daatland and Biggs (2006), Warnes et al. (2004), Warnes and Williams (2006) and Zontini (2015).

The analysis unfolds as follows. I start by discussing three key determinants of later-life (im)mobilities – health, family (and friendship) networks, and economic context. I highlight the liquid and inextricably interconnected nature of the dimensions examined, showing how the same dimension can shape migrants' lives in distinct manners. I also consider broader narratives that do not necessarily fit into the previous categories and reveal migrants' deep fondness of the life in the Azores. I move then to explore the unplanned nature of later-life, drawing attention to participants' reluctance to plan ahead and their desire to 'live for today'. I relate this to ideas of life as a finite experience and the perceived possibility of death, which gains importance as individuals grow older. Death, gender, and considerations about future (im)mobilities make up the last theme explored in this chapter. In this, I focus on the search for emotional support and physical togetherness in light of the loss of a spouse and how this is experienced for women and men. I show this to be a particularly sensitive event in a migration context, especially so for lifestyle migrants whose reliance on 'coupledom' tends to be greater (Mullan, 1993).

8.2 Determinants of later-life (im)mobilities

In the following, I examine some of the determinants of later-life (im)mobilities, fleshing out the recurring themes in participants' thoughts and narratives about the future – health, family (and friendship) networks, and economic context. For a smaller number of participants, which I identify as 'settlers by choice', the Azores are depicted as an 'elected

place’ or a ‘place of idyll’ in broader terms. Rather than being seen in isolation, the themes portrayed in each sub-section are fluid, intertwined, and mutually inducing.

8.2.1 Health

Health – both in access and quality – is a theme frequently mentioned by the participants, especially the oldest ones. While, as previously noted in chapters 5 and 6, the availability of cheaper healthcare in the Azores represents a solid reason for relocation and staying put thereafter, distrust of the available health care and of specific treatments, coupled with the comforting feeling of being treated in one’s native language, may constitute decisive factors to return to the country of origin. Resonating with my earlier discussion on ‘strategic switching’ (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005) and ‘geographic arbitrage’ (Hayes, 2014), Melanie and Carrie express their preference for growing older in the Azores in light of the inexpensive and satisfactory healthcare. Lifestyle migration emerges then as a comparative project, where various spatial and mobility strategies are considered and deployed.

[The future] is right here, getting more and more decrepit by the day. I only see myself here. That’s all I want as long as there are medical services here. What more do you want when you get up to my age? I think it’s amazing what is here for a small island. I really do.

(Melanie, LF early 90s, South Africa, 1995)⁷⁴

Carrie’s narrative, in particular, highlights the possibility of enjoying home care on the islands, hence transforming the ageing process into a more intimate and less anonymous experience:

I’ve talked to a bunch of friends. We’ve talked about if we kind of could make our own nursing home. If you have three friends who sell their houses and move in together, you have a lot of money for hiring people to take care of you around the clock... In talking with my maid, for instance, me expressing concern about old age, she has said to me that there are so many women in the village who have children in school who would love the job of, while the kids are in school, to work anywhere

⁷⁴ For a better understanding of Melanie’s story, and expectations for the future, it is important to note that she lives with, and enjoys support from, her daughter who had previously settled in the Azores.

from three hours to the whole school day. So, if you get dinner made for you, your house cleaned, someone to help you in to the shower not every day, and if they want that kind of job, so that to me is much better than most of other options in most other countries because I could afford it here. I do not live here because it's cheap but that's a lot of the advantage.

[...]

United States doesn't even exist [as an option for later-life] because old age is very, very expensive in America. Medical care I wouldn't have, and nursing homes go through 20,000 dollars in a year. Think about how much care you can get from local people [here], unless you need to be hospitalised in which case is a different thing. But if you just need people to take care for you, then it's affordable in this situation and actually comes out as an option that I don't think many people realise it's such a better one compared to the American choices.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

Healthcare can also represent an effective reason to stay – or at least not to leave completely – for labour migrants. This is convincingly demonstrated by Hunter (2011ab) in his study on migrant worker hostel residents in France, and this seems to be also the case for some of the labour migrants in this research. In both contexts, this strengthens the idea of 'strategic switching' as a phenomenon of 'multiple geographies'. Like Cesária, whose narrative I have discussed in chapter 6, Liliana, below, shows her concern about the healthcare available in Cape Verde, clearly expressing her desire, unlike her husband, to remain in the Azores. When asked about the future, she says:

I see myself here. Not in Cape Verde. My husband wants to go. He says he wants to end his days there. But I don't want to, because of health issues... I'm afraid because I got really sick when I was there [when she visited], and I had to be flown back as an emergency to get a surgery. If I had stayed there I would have died.

(Liliana, LB late 50s, Cape Verde, 1977)

For Liliana, the healthcare in the Azores is perceived as superior to that of her country of origin. Petra, and Jessica and Ethan, propose a different narrative. For these lifestyle migrants, the limitations of the healthcare available in the Azores, especially in the more remote and less developed islands, and the emotional soothing of being treated at 'home' at a vulnerable period of one's life, play an important role in their option for an eventual return. In Jessica's case, as previously noted, having been diagnosed with rheumatoid

arthritis represented not only a reason to relocate abroad but it is also a factor that might limit her future stay in the Azores.

The only thing I'm worried about is that as I'm getting older, I may also get handicapped in a way. That's one big point because the medical care here is really bad. The doctors are not very good in diagnosis, and it's a long way to get into some specialist treatment. You have to go to the doctor's house and, you know, people die because they are not transferred, or they get transferred too late because there's no hospital here... I'm thinking if I get old very soon, then I might have to go back. But that would be the only reason for going back maybe only for a certain time, for health reasons. Because the treatment up to now, I think the treatment is much better in Germany, much, much better. Here I wouldn't know where to go or what to do. And I would always have a place to stay with my mother-in-law or with my sister [in Germany].

(Petra, LF early 60s, Germany, 2004)

I honestly just don't know [about the future]. I really can't tell you. I just don't know how the disease is going to progress. It killed my cousin. So, I don't know how it's going to be with me. I might be like this for the rest of my life or it can get a lot worse. If it gets a lot worse, I can't envisage how we could make it work if I need to see a consultant more regularly and if there isn't care here on this island... so we might have to go back, simply for the medical care that is available in England. I don't want to go back but if you're in constant pain, you may be forced to make a decision that leads to that.

(Jessica, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

Soraia, a local Azorean whose close friendships include several lifestyle migrants, relays the same idea by saying:

They [her German friends] always have their check-ups in Germany. Here they only do small things... as a matter of fact, those who had surgeries, it was all in Germany. They get really surprised when they go to the hospital here and it takes so long. I mean, they see much difference in terms of healthcare. In comparison with our national healthcare, they much prefer the German one.

(Soraia, LC late 50s)

The previous set of accounts resonate with the recent findings of Betty and Hall (2015) and Giner-Monfort et al. (2016), but also those of earlier studies including Dwyer (2000) and O'Reilly (2000a) on international retirement migrants in Europe and British retirement migrants in Spain, for whom the need for health care and/or social care were important factors in re-considering return to their home countries. Inextricably linked to

the need for health care is also the importance of family who, as noted in Petra's quote, may be able to provide support in later-life. This is the theme I turn to next.

8.2.2 Family

Family is, among return and labour migrants, one of the most significant pull forces to remain in the Azores. It is, moreover, as previously noted, one important trigger to return to the Azores in the first place. Madalena's extract, below, echoes many of return migrants, whose decision to stay in the Azores in the future is determined by the presence of strong family ties on the islands:

I don't want my children to stop working to care for me. They would better put me in a nursing home, but my youngest son always tells me: 'mom, you will never go to a nursing home'. My granddaughter, my son's daughter, says: 'grandma, you will never go to a nursing home, I would never put you in a nursing home. We're going to take care of you'... My final days will be here on the island, even if I have to go to a nursing home... I prefer that here to America [United States]. In our nursing home, here on the island, old people are well treated. I've been to nursing homes in America, and old people are not better treated than us here.

(Madalena, R late 60s, United States, 1985)

Madalena's account hints at another important element grounding the decision to grow older in the Azores as a return migrant – the fear of becoming a burden for children abroad. In these cases, paradigmatically illustrated by Silvina, the 'desire to stay' is also embedded in the 'desire not to go':

Now I have my home here. I'm going to stay here. I don't know once I die if I'm going to be buried here or there, that hasn't been decided yet... my son has all his life organised in the United States and I don't want to go and disturb that.

(Silvina, R mid-80s, United States, 2005)

Unlike the phenomenon of socially isolated 'elderly orphans' identified by King and Vullnetari (2006) among elderly Albanians left behind by migration, some Azorean return migrants do rather opt to be 'elderly orphans by choice', possibly influenced by Western understandings of ageing and old age acquired through migration and transnational

experiences. In this, the participants in my research are more akin to those portrayed in Bolzman et al.'s (2006) study, in which most Spanish and Italian immigrants in Switzerland refuse to become a burden to their children because Swiss society does not provide the material support that would enable them to take responsibility for the heavy burden of care. Similar concerns about care in older age are also voiced by Francisca whose two daughters live in the United States. Alongside her desire to remain on the island in later-life, there is also the possibility of being cared for in the familiarity of the home space. Francisca's feelings about ageing and care, expressed in a strong statement, match those expressed earlier by Carrie, and by Markus and Klaudia:

Who wants to go to a nursing home? I told my daughters, if none of them wants to come here to care for me, I find a young couple [who can do it]. I just want to be well treated, all clean, eat all I want, and I'll leave them everything [her belongings]. If they [her daughters] don't want to come here to care for me, I won't go to the United States. If I was to go there, I know they wouldn't care for me. What I want is to be in my home, die here, be quiet here, with somebody around to care for me... I don't ask for more.

(Francisca, R early 70s, United States, 1997)

For labour migrants who have been settled in the Azores for many years, having brought or formed family on the islands, the desire to return to a long-left homeland has been diluted over time. Tito's candid assertion: 'I don't leave anymore. And, like me, many other Cape Verdeans', clearly illustrates the deep-rooted belonging that many labour migrants feel towards their adopted home. Like Tito, a Cape Verdean man in his early 60s, who settled in the Azores in the 70s and formed his family on the islands, the familiar voice of Mayra echoes a similar story of place attachment materialised, among other things, in the strong ties to family:

I really enjoy living here [in the Azores]. Of course, I was sad when we came back [after her last trip to Cape Verde], but then, here I have my home, my family, my children and grandchildren. Truth is, all my family is here now.

(Mayra, LB early 60s, Cape Verde, 1979 – 21)

These findings echo those of Mendes (2015) on the importance of immigration and mixed marriages for the diversification and miscegenation of families in the Azores; and also chime with those of de Haas and Fokkema (2010) and de Valk et al. (2004) by highlighting

how family reunion (or formation) in Europe plays a decisive role for migrants to stay put. This discussion, then, points to notions of belonging and 'home' as 'constructed in relation to an emotional attachment to the closest members of the family' (Ganga, 2006: 1409). Yet, unlike de Haas and Fokkema's (2010) study, the generally low socio-economic status of labour migrants in the Azores, coupled with their limited ability to generate savings, dictates their lesser engagement in forms of back-and-forth migration. The settled nature of some labour migrants on the islands is also observed by some of the locals interviewed. According to Rute, who lives on one of the islands with the largest community of Cape Verdean migrants:

No, they [Cape Verdean migrants] don't return. The largest part doesn't return. This woman I know, she goes to Cape Verde every four years or so, but the trips are very expensive. She goes because she has her mother there, but once her mother dies, and she is old, maybe she won't even go anymore. There is always that longing for the homeland that stays with you, I imagine... maybe some will try to return, but life there is too complicated....

(Rute, LC mid-40s)

Family ties may also draw migrants away from the Azores, as the stories of Davit and Valério suggest. Presently at different stages of the migration project – Davit as an immigrant in the Azores and Valério as a return migrant – mobility decisions are shaped in both cases by the desire to be closer to family. While in Davit's case, family reunion never took place, with Valério, the presence of family in the United States, and his non-Azorean wife, help explain a rather uncommon mobility pattern among return migrants.

Once I get my retirement pension I think I will go back. I'm old now and then what will I do here by myself? In Georgia, I have my children, my grandchildren, everyone...here I have nobody. And then, I need a home. I don't have a home here and I cannot afford to buy one. As soon as this is over [the waiting time to get his retirement pension], I think I will go back.

[...]

Here is good, no one troubles you. But staying here alone... if I die at home, it will be two or three days until somebody comes and finds me. I don't want that to happen when I have family, children, grandchildren.

(Davit, LB late 60s, Georgia, 2001)

We are talking about buying a house there [in the United States] that has a main house and a guesthouse. We [Valério and his wife] stay in the guesthouse, the

smaller one, and they [his daughter and son-in-law] can expand their family in the main house⁷⁵.

(Valério, R early 70s, United States, 2005)

Family bonds across space not only lead migrants towards inhabiting transnational social spaces but also, often, generate ambiguous feelings and quandaries about belonging, place attachment, and physical settlement (cf. Gardner, 2002 or Hunter, 2011ab). As in Bolzman et al. (2006, 2016) studies of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese migrants in Switzerland (the latter group only included in the second article), also for a limited number of labour migrants in this research, the option of moving between countries is perceived as a means of maintaining ‘cultural, symbolic, concrete and affective ties with both countries’⁷⁶ (2006: 1359). Camila archetypically voices one of those cases:

The next few years will be here because I will never leave my daughter behind. My plan [once retired] is to spend the summer here, then three months in Brazil, and then I come back and spend another five or six months in the Azores. That’s my plan, to go to Brazil more often because I know my son and granddaughter miss me. My parents are older now and I also want to be closer to them. But this surely doesn’t mean leaving the Azores.

(Camila, LB early 50s, Brazil, 2002)

For labour and return migrants, family is clearly an important anchor in later-life; for lifestyle migrants, it is friendship networks that appear in some accounts as a major defining element for (im)mobility in older age. In the next series of interview extracts below, Helga, Sophie, and the couple Laura and Max, all highlight the importance of the ‘social net’ they have formed in the Azores as a means to sustain an active, interesting, and fulfilling later-life. The reluctance that participants show about relocating once more, and the fear of losing the life they have created in the Azores, can be paralleled to that of Roger, a British retiree in Spain portrayed in Oliver's (2008: 150) ethnography: ‘to move

⁷⁵ Valério's decision to relocate back to the United States was also prompted by the birth of his first grandchild.

⁷⁶ However, in some cases this can be understood as a performative ‘wishful thinking’ rather than a concrete, achievable future reality. The ability to mobilise enough social and economic resources that would allow for further mobility is fundamental in these cases.

back would be like giving up wouldn't it? Like admitting, well that's it, that's your life gone'.

I don't know [about the future] but... I think we have a more interesting life here than we had in Sweden. We had our friends in Sweden, but it was the same friends all the time. Here we have... it's not everyone that comes to stay on a remote island, often people with interesting backgrounds come. So, it's a very interesting community here. The foreign ['expat'] community is interesting.

(Helga, LF late 60s, Sweden, 1996)

I hope to stay here for a long time. My husband and me. Here we have a 'social net'. When we were sailing, we did not know when we would see our friends, but here is different. Lovely in that sense.

(Sophie, LF late 60s, Netherlands, 2010)

Dora: What about the future?

Laura and Max: It's here [they reply in unison].

Max: Participating in the social life, contributing as well. Having friends mostly younger than us. Not to be lost as old people. Not sitting and saying: 'in the old times, things were better' [he laughs]. That isn't the truth. If you are younger it's better, but you can't be 40 years old all your life. You have to enjoy.

(Laura and Max, LF mid-70s, Netherlands, 2010)

In a rather different tone, and re-stating some of her earlier anxieties about loneliness and the difficulty of integrating into the social life in the Azores, Lisa holds less positive views about her social networks. For her, having lost her husband while in the Azores, leaving the islands is seen an opportunity (possibly the only one) to remake her romantic life:

I really think about it [the future]. I have a stable life on the island. In Germany, life has changed a lot. But maybe I will have to go back there, because I would like to meet someone. I am a free woman.

(Lisa, LF early 50s, Germany, 2001)

The above accounts flesh out dichotomous perceptions of the Azores as either a space of social enjoyment and liberation, but also, in cases such as that of Lisa, as a space of isolation and constriction.

8.2.3 *Economic context*

The most prevalent assumption, locally, regarding labour migrants in the Azores, is that of a return to their countries of origin or a re-migration elsewhere because of the shortage of jobs nowadays in Portugal and, even more so, in the Azores⁷⁷. This recurring narrative is one present in the familiar voice of Lucas. For this Brazilian man, unemployed since 2010 when he was laid off from his job in construction, the inability to get a job in the Azores, which he contrasts with the faster-growing economy in Brazil (in 2014), fosters his aspirations of return (cf. Sampaio, forthcoming):

My unemployment benefits end in 2015... what am I going to do with my life? My intention is to go back, but I never managed to gather enough money, 1,400 euros for the plane ticket. It's complicated... and in Brazil there are jobs (...) This idea of going home doesn't get out of my head. I simply can't ignore it. I need to go home because I don't have a job here. I have been planning and preparing things to go.

(Lucas, LB mid-60s, Brazil, 2000)

Lucas' account can be understood with reference to Cassarino's (2004) concepts of 'preparedness' – migrants' willingness to return – and 'readiness' – their ability to put together tangible and intangible resources to allow return. Effective return results, then, from matching these two dimensions. Carling's (2002) aspiration/ability model is also very useful to understand Lucas' narrative, as it draws attention to the fact that migrants' mobility aspirations, in this case of return, are not always matched by their ability to do so. For Lucas, this proved to be a 'real' narrative of return, as I found out when I returned to the Azores in early 2016 and tried, unsuccessfully, to reach him.

As Waldorf (1995) shows in one of the pioneer studies on determinants of international return migration intentions, job satisfaction proves to be a decisive factor prompting the desire to return. However, unlike Waldorf's (1995) and Cassarino's (2004) studies, participants aspiring to return have remained in the Azores for significant periods of time (with no exceptions, over ten years), which contrasts with Cassarino's notion of 'short stay' for those who wish to return. This 'delayed return' can be linked to the

⁷⁷ Mostly due to their 'younger' age and greater dependence on the labour market, labour migrants are the research subjects mainly portrayed in this section.

context of economic recession in the Azores, which has decreased migrants' ability to mobilise resources to return promptly, but can also be hypothesised in light of their more advanced age and resulting greater reluctance to move (cf. Sampaio, forthcoming).

The set of narratives that I introduce next portray a less debated, yet still relevant, migration future for labour migrants in the Azores: the desire to stay due to better economic conditions. In saying this, it is important to highlight that participants sharing this type of narrative are, by large, from African countries, compared to which the economic situation in the Azores is indeed considered favourable. As with the Moroccan migrants portrayed in de Haas and Fokkema's (2010) study, also the limited social and economic opportunities in Cape Verde or Guinea-Bissau decisively shape labour migrants' desire to stay put. While Amélia highlights the possibility of getting a better retirement pension in the Azores, Cláudia, on the other hand, perceives the return to Cape Verde, much cherished by her husband, as a potential fall-back after a life of sacrifice and economic and social enhancement in the Azores. On this score, Cláudia and Adalberto (Cláudia's husband) lay bare, throughout their interview, a common intra-household dilemma, that of the man's desire to return while the woman, having experienced significant social and economic development abroad, opposes going back (cf. de Haas and Fokkema, 2010).

To spend my older in age in Guinea [Bissau], I don't see it ... you never know, but I don't see it, because Guinea isn't a stable country, we don't have good conditions, [social] support... Here I'm entitled to a retirement pension. In Guinea, I don't have one, or I do, but it's tiny. Here is better.

(Amélia, LB early 50s, Guinea-Bissau, 2005)

I'm not going to mess up my life by returning to Cape Verde. I have nothing in Cape Verde. I left my country so young, I built my life here, not there. Would I go foul up my life? Never. Because it costs you to work to pay a house... I raised my kids always fighting this and that, to help them. Many times, I was mother and father, because his [her husband also present in the interview] life was in the sea. I worked so hard to go ruin my life? No way. I will go to Cape Verde one day, but on a visit.

(Cláudia and Adalberto, LB mid-50s, Cape Verde, 1979)

Labour migrants' desires to stay put in the Azores, even in a context of economic crisis, are analysed in similar ways by the locals interviewed and the key local actors in the focus group. As one of the participants in the focus group remarked:

They [labour migrants] feel more protected and supported here than in their countries of origin, so they prefer to stay. They feel Azoreans already.

Lúcia and Zélia, two local participants, discuss, in particular, the possible rationale behind labour migrants' desire to remain on the islands, even if unemployed and facing relative precarity. In the first quote, Lúcia talks about the enormous differences in terms of earnings between Portugal and some African countries. In the second excerpt, Zélia draws attention to the fear of what Cerase (1974) describes as 'return of failure', an especially heavy burden for African migrants who emigrate to Europe in search of 'Eldorado' and for whom returning to their home communities 'empty handed' can be extremely socially damaging.

There are many people coming here, but why? We are for the Guineans what the United States was for the Azoreans 50 years ago. Earning 500 euros here today, would be earning 2,000 dollars in the United States. There are people who are here for more than 30 years. For instance, this man from Cape Verde, he's here for a long time... now he has no job, but he doesn't go back to Cape Verde. He is more Azorean than he is Cape Verdean.

(Lúcia, LC mid-20s)

It's really a matter of necessity. Because despite us living in a bad situation, we do live in a better one compared to them, and that is what makes them stay, the majority of them... what keeps them here is the economic support, is the fact that the situation in Portugal is more favourable... and then the return to their country is almost a matter of dignity and respect. They left and now they want to go back and do something different, although they know that in their situation they won't do anything... but many say they feel the need to go back and honour... when is that day going to come? That we don't know...

(Zélia, LC mid-20s)

But the idea of 'return of failure' is not exclusive to labour migrants. Fernando, who experienced cultural shock and feelings of regret and non-belonging upon return to the Azores, confessed his thoughts about returning to the United States. Yet, the fear of losing face or damaging his reputation discouraged a potential decision to re-migrate:

My decision was to start over again back here. I sold everything I had in the United States, I put everything in a big container and brought it here. I could not simply sell everything again and go back [talking about the shock faced upon return] ... and it's not only that... I felt I would lose face by going back after saying for so long that I was going back to my homeland.

(Fernando, R late 50s, United States, 2000)

While in the last narrative excerpts the Azores emerge as a place 'not to leave', in comparison with the other options available, for other migrants the Azores is pictured as their 'first choice'.

8.2.4 'This is the Mecca of the world': the uniqueness of the Azores

For the participants in the previous subsections, the desire to grow older in the Azores is cemented in a clear rationale, often a single main reason. For others, normally the most transnational or 'footloose' ones, the desire to stay put in the Azores, although resulting from one or several of the dimensions previously laid out, is much more rooted in their perception of the Azores as a unique place to grow older and engage in a process of 'self-discovery', 'homing', and 'self-actualisation' in later-life. This type of narrative is, by and large, found among lifestyle migrants.

The imaginary of the Azores as the perfect 'home' to grow older is the common theme in the three narratives I present next.

I will carry on here. I will stay here forever, that's for sure. 'This is the Mecca of the world', and if I'm going to look [for other places] it will be 'hmm... expensive, hmmm cold...'.

(William, LF early 60s, South Africa, 1998)

I have absolutely no desire to move anywhere. This house is fine, the view is fine, the neighbourhood is fine, everything is fine. I don't want to be anywhere else. Here is perfect.

(Catlin, LF early 60s, Sweden, 2002)

I want to stay here. I chose the Azores... or the Azores chose me. I chose to stay here for the rest of my life, I emigrated here. I am not only living here, I emigrated here. I feel more Azorean than Dutch. More Portuguese, but more Azorean. Here I feel at home. In the Netherlands, I'm more of a foreigner. Once I thought: 'what a pity I wasn't born here', 'what a pity this isn't my country...yet'. It will never be. It will never be in a way...

(Flip, LF early 60s, Netherlands, 2002)

The selection of the Azores as 'the place to grow older', or even 'the place to die', as Catlin and Annika have previously stated, is also often related to comparisons drawn with the country of emigration or 'country of origin'. Albertino's and William's narrative excerpts below illustrate this perfectly.

Here is where I'm happy and here I can go anywhere I want. In Canada, it's not as safe and it's too cold. I'm not used to that anymore. These islands are a little 'corner of heaven'.

(Albertino, R late 60s, Canada, 1988 – 2I)

Here I don't lock my door; I don't lock my car... a person who doesn't know what is to feel threatened 24 hours a day cannot understand how wonderful it is here. It's absolutely fantastic here. In South Africa, I had four stolen cars, I was assaulted 4, 5 times, I was chased in the night with knives, guns, by groups... and they just didn't kill me because I spoke a bit of Zulu and spoke to them, and gave everything I had of course...

(William, LF early 60s, South Africa, 1998)

Equally remarkable in the accounts above is the fact that most of these migrants tend to hold relatively loose kinship ties (with the exception of Albertino) and are highly appreciative of their 'free selves'. The ethos of freedom and breaking the shackles from past-life constraining environments is indeed central to the lives and self-narratives of these migrants. As in other spatial contexts – for instance in rural France (Benson, 2011) or India (Korpela, 2014) – moving abroad is perceived as 'a step to freedom' (Korpela, 2014: 32) and an opportunity to start afresh and define oneself from scratch. In a way, place emerges as a 'rebirthing site'. And yet, the role of age and age negotiations in these narratives should not be overlooked. As Ahmed and Hall (2016: 112) rightly remark, exercising freedom and autonomy later in life is not always possible and, in the final stage of their lives, migrants are often 'no longer agents in their own lives'.

8.3 'When you make too many plans, God laughs': later-life as 'living for today'

Following the last chapter's reflection on time-use and time conceptions over the life course, this section draws attention to what I have previously described as 'living for today', the desire to enjoy each moment without further planning. This perception of time is, as earlier noted, inextricably related to the growing awareness, as individuals age, of the finitude of life and the desire to embrace every instant in the 'time that is left' (Adam, 1990; Oliver, 2008). Short answers to my question 'what about your plans for the future' such as those of François: 'I don't imagine the future, I live the future' or Joanne – an American woman in the late 60s: 'stay alive, have fun', seamlessly convey the idea of 'one day at a time'. While participants within different groups shared similar ideas about a 'non-planned' future, lifestyle migrants, possibly due to their more reflexive accounts, are those more frequently articulating this type of reflection.

The first two narrative excerpts I present – from Sharon and Sabine – reflect two stories of medium-time planning, leaving the distant future open for changes as life events take place. In both cases, the fluidity of the life course is expressed through potential spatial relocation, which on the one hand puts into perspective ideas about later-life as a more immobile life period, but can also be perceived as holding a certain 'hopeful performativity' that the future will be self-reliant and adventurous.

Here, in the next 10 years. I don't plan my life, my life happens. Of course, we planned the restoring of the house. We remain open, things happen. If you close yourself to the world... being available is important. I always loved Spain. Who knows?

(Sharon, LF late 50s, United Kingdom, 2001)

In 10 years, I will leave this place. Not now. I will sit in a train and go around Europe. The train will be my house. That will be another experiment. What is Europe, I would like to experience it by train, from the north to the south, to discover Europe. Reading in the train. Yes! But I will come back. My friends live here. I won't sell this house.

(Sabine, LF mid-60s, Netherlands, 2000)

Miguel and Elena's narratives, below, deviate from those of Sharon and Sabine in that there is no set plan, at least in their 'performed discourse'. While Miguel reflects on shifting time-planning notions over the life span, Elena muses over the search for

meaning, and possibly change, following the unforeseen life-changing event of the death of her husband. Her quoted extract reflects, above all, uncertainty, with her repeated use of the phrase 'I don't know'.

One day at a time. You know there's a saying: 'when you make too many plans, God laughs'. When you're young you make plans for the next five years, as you get older it goes to three years, then one year, and then when you get a little bit older, it goes to one day at a time. And from thereafter, you just go.

(Miguel, R mid-50s, United States, 1997)

I am getting older and older, but I think maybe it's getting better and better. Tomorrow is tomorrow. I cannot start crying because of tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. I cannot change it (...) I'm thinking about that [the future]. I don't know. At the moment, I'm happy and I'm busy but it isn't enough. I don't know. I need to find something special. I don't know. Maybe I will change something, but I don't want to change. I don't know what to do in the future. Now I have started to calm down, and something new needs to come but I don't know what...

(Elena, LF late 50s, Germany, 2001)

The freedom and openness to change expressed in many of the above extracts is both embodied and emplaced, and the liberty participants experience in the Azores is undeniably a product of their relative privilege. Yet, with freedom comes risk. As Korpela (2014) – borrowing from the work of Beck (1999) and Bauman (2005) – remarks, increased freedom means decreased security, especially, I would add, in later-life when negotiations need to consider not only living in a foreign country but also the limitations that come with age. The omission of 'risk' in the participants' discourses, especially so among lifestyle migrants, can be interpreted as a way to convey control and reinforce ideas of self-reliance in later-life. Elena's account, in particular, unveils a dimension that gains enhanced relevance over the life course – thoughts about, and re-definition upon, death. This, in relation to gender and considerations about the future, is what I explore next.

8.4 Death, gender, and considerations about the future

Wondering about plans for the future often unleashed thoughts about death and resulting life re-adjustments. For return and labour migrants, whose life in the Azores relies not only on the couple but also, often, on a larger family base, the death of the spouse is a less recurring theme and one leading to few relocation considerations. But for lifestyle migrants, whose migration project is also often a couple's project, the death of the spouse emerges as a more restructuring life event (cf. Mullan, 1993). For most of these migrants (as well as some return migrants), death is often imagined as a fuzzy event in a distant future, and drawing attention to it carries the risk of casting doubt over what they perceive as a busy, exciting and fulfilling present (cf. Oliver, 2008). The narratives below summarise participants' most common views on death and its negotiation.

The accounts of the two couple portrayees – Jessica and Ethan, and Markus and Klaudia – reveal a recurring gender pattern related to thoughts about death and relocation – in face of the death of a spouse, while women tend to seek the emotional comfort and familiarity of 'home'⁷⁸, materialised in a relocation to the country of origin, men tend to share more self-reliant accounts and the desire to remain abroad on their own.

Ethan: I think we cannot go one step over. We certainly discussed this, if one of us dies. If Jessica died, I would almost certainly stay here. But if I die, I think she would probably go back to England.

Jessica: I would probably then go back to be with family, because although I love it here, I've got two boys whom I'm expecting to have children at some point in their lives and, unless one of them was to come over here and live here, and the economic climate here isn't conducive to that, I don't think the younger one would get work here easily, and I wouldn't want him to take a job away from an Azorean person who needs it. But so, unless I was to have one of my sons and grandchildren in the island... if they were in England, my grandchildren, and he [Ethan] wasn't here, then I might go home.

(Jessica and Ethan, LF mid-50s, United Kingdom, 2013)

⁷⁸ As noted by Gardner (2002), among women the need to be physically close to family upon the death of a spouse is understood as spiritually and emotionally vital, especially in older age when the nature of their transnational lives becomes particularly difficult to manage. Interestingly, my findings seem to counter those of Wilde-Menozzi (2003: 158-59) who observed that the majority of lifestyle migrants (although not necessarily the elderly) who stay in Italy on their own are women.

Klaudia: ... I don't know if something happens to Markus, my husband, maybe, I don't know if I stay here. I don't know. I have no idea if then I would go back or not. Maybe I would go back if I was alone here.

Markus: But the other way around, no. If it happens that she dies before me, I stay here. I won't leave, ever. I think I would find somebody to help me with the house. It's easier to find someone here, and the medical things are good. There's no reason [to go back].

(Markus and Klaudia, LF mid/early 60s, Germany, 2008)

Even in Sharon's case, who previously gave an optimistic and self-reliant account about the future, even mentioning the possibility of a future relocation to Spain, ideas about re-grounding in later-life, and potential (either real or imaginary) vulnerability in older age, are manifest when she admits that: 'If I'm on my own, it [the future] will be in England'.

Ricardo, reflecting on the future of the lifestyle migrant community in the Azores, shares a similar perspective on the intersection between gender, death and relocation:

We already had foreigners dying here, the oldest ones die here. Normally they are cremated⁷⁹... it's even curious because those two situations of death I remember of, I think it was the wives who survived, and then they ended up returning. Because none of them had their children here, so they returned home.

(Ricardo, LC early 40s)

Place is necessarily *felt, lived, experienced* and *embodied* differently in life and in death. As previously discussed in the opening theoretical chapter, perceptions of death are often dual: either death is associated with fear and individuals permanently worry about their death and that of their loved ones; or death can be portrayed as the unknown and therefore 'the unmentioned' (Rainwater, 1989 cit. by Giddens, 1991). Tobias, whose narrative I introduce next, shares a rather intimate and symbolic account of the loss of his partner. By remaining in the Azores after his wife passed away, Tobias seeks emotional closure and physical togetherness (Gardner, 2002) until he is finally reunited with his wife in the same 'campa' [grave]. In this case, the burial place reveals attachments to the

⁷⁹ Normally the most common choice among lifestyle migrants who die abroad, cremation represents the cheapest option, but holds also the symbolism of the ashes as mobile subjects on their own that can be cast into the sea, or return to the 'home' country (cf. Oliver, 2008).

locality and the people (Francis et al., 2000 cited in Oliver, 2004), and the importance attributed to being closer to the remains emerges as a way of continuing the marital bond after death (Oliver, 2004):

Nobody thinks that your partner will die. Being old... the time comes. I think that possibly I will die here. But I don't want to die. I stay here, but I don't want to. The first months after the death of your partner... I was busy... bureaucracies... but I cried. The dog makes noise, otherwise there is silence. I'm not going back to Austria. She is here on the island and I'm here. I will be in that *campa* as well.

(Tobias, LF early 70s, Austria, 2003)

Likewise, Inês reflects on the fact that she would like to visit Canada once again, but, simultaneously, she cannot imagine herself 'far from her husband' who died after their return to the Azores. In Inês' narrative there is a deep sense of loyalty and faithfulness that she materialises, as in Tobias' case, in geographical proximity and closeness:

I go to the cemetery three times [a day]. Even at 8 in the evening, I go there, I'm not afraid. Death is something really bad. We shouldn't die, we should always be young, not old. I feel old, and more now that my husband is gone.

(Inês, R early 60s, Canada, 1992)

Tobias and Inês' accounts reveal the intricacies of living with loss and its interconnected spatialities. They lay bare how death and loss can set the foundations for settlement and belonging, resonating also with some of my earlier discussion on the nuanced geographies of dying, death and mourning (cf. McGowan, 2004; Stevenson et al., 2016). Underlying Tobias' and Inês' narratives, especially that of Inês, are also ideas about the 'seductiveness of agelessness' (Andrews, 1999) and 'flags of resistance' (Segal, 2013) towards ageing and death. Both narratives reflect the hardship of coping with the loss of security and the sense of completeness that a life-long relationship can provide.

Carrie, on the other hand, experienced the death of her husband, with a mix of pain, but also 'opportunity' to 'start afresh' and bravely embark on this new phase of her life:

I had no idea what I would do after that [her husband's death]. Everybody expected me to leave, and I realised at that point that I had no interest in leaving at all, that I much preferred the life here. This is a really great place to live as an older person...

[...]

I was 19 when I started living with my husband so to go for like 40 years as part of a couple to alone involves a lot of... I was never an adult before by myself. I thought I would be lonely, but I'm not. I thought I would have nothing to do, just kind of sitting around in the house, but I'm not (...) I still get very sad sometimes when I'm in places that are full of old memories and I avoid things that are painful.

(Carrie, LF late 60s, United States, 1999)

The complicated and varied negotiations of mortality and old age seem, then, to be strongly contingent upon individuals' own life histories and subjectivities. Furthermore, age differences at the time of the spouse's death, also help illuminate, at least partially, the nuanced ways in which death and loss are experienced in an ageing and migration context and coping strategies as a single individual.

8.5 Conclusion

Thoughts and aspirations about future (im)mobilities, although necessarily indicative, are good pointers of participants' experiences in the Azores and transnationally, providing also useful insights about the need to rethink local (and transnational) ageing policies. The main themes identified – health, family (and friendship) networks, and economic context – act as fluid and interconnected parts of a unified whole. Across the board, it has been shown that the same dimension may influence and shape migrants' desire to move, or stay put, in rather different ways. This is visible across and within groups, as demonstrated for instance by the fact that healthcare in the Azores can be perceived as both a reason to stay put or a motive to return 'home'. In the case of lifestyle migrants, the dilemma seems to lay between the attractiveness of home care in the Azores and, on the other hand, the lack or quality of specific treatments. Overall, these considerations have been proven to depend most decisively on individuals' own subjective perceptions and experiences.

Ideas about (im)mobility in later-life are significantly shaped by economic and cultural capital, age, gender, and space. Although 'young old' migrants tend to be those holding more positive and welcoming views towards further mobility, as would be expected, economic and cultural capital have been found to constitute the most

important factors shaping aspirations and abilities to engage in additional forms of mobility. Gender-wise, in line with previous research findings (cf. Gardner, 2002; Oliver, 2008), women tend to be those most willing to seek the comfort of physical closeness to kin in older age, especially so in light of the loss of a spouse. Death emerges indeed as a recurring theme in this chapter, revealing a growing consciousness about the finitude of life and the 'urgency' of 'living for today'. Interestingly, reactions to the loss of a partner in later-life can be highly subjective for different migrants – while for Tobias and Inês there is an emotional and physical devotion to their deceased spouses, Carrie, on the other hand, experienced her husband's passing with a mix of pain and 'opportunity' to start over again.

In this chapter, space and place emerge as a dualised theme on their own. Perceptions and comparisons between the Azores and the countries of origin are often at the very core of migrants' thoughts about the future. This has been shown for all groups, being especially manifest among 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants. The option of staying put in the Azores is pictured in these cases as 'the best choice available'. Levels of social and economic development back 'home' prove crucial in labour migrants' considerations of return, and explain why those willing to stay are, by large, from Portuguese-speaking African countries.

Ageing has been portrayed here, especially among lifestyle migrants, as a process of 'rebonding with the self'. Participants' thoughts and narratives about the future illuminate the growing individuality and shifting focus to the self over the life course, aptly captured by Hockey and James (2003: 107):

Within this changed environment, individuals, necessarily therefore, become anchored in the project of the self... rather than obligations ... individual fulfilment is the guiding rationale – or vocabulary or motive – for choice and decision making.

While adult migration is mostly driven by the outside context – job availability, global economy, cultural features – later-life migration, on the other hand, revolves mostly around the individual's health, family, and economic and social welfare. 'Choice' and 'time', holding different meanings and possibilities for different groups of older migrants, are two words that gain especial relevance in the participants' thoughts about the future. Later-life is then seen as a period of 'well-deserved rest' and 'retreat to oneself'. After an

extensive period of life ‘lived for the outside’ – in demanding jobs, and with social and family responsibilities – plans for later-life are mostly drawn around broad notions of wellbeing and quality of life. As aptly summarised by Joanne, ‘stay alive, have fun’.

Having closed the empirical discussion exploring death, its meanings, and associated vulnerabilities in later-life, Joanne’s positive statement reminds us that later-life is also, and increasingly more so, a period of multiple transitions and continuous learning. Later-life is a chapter that unfolds rather than one that closes, as I shall show in the following concluding chapter.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: closing and opening paths

9.1 Introduction

‘Don't call people “old” until death is near’, says Sarah Harper in a recent talk at the Hay-on-Wye festival (Brown in the Guardian, 2017). ‘People should not be called old until they are seriously frail, dependent and approaching death’, she continues. ‘It’s great being old. I can be eccentric, self-indulgent – even offensive’, writes Lynne Reid Banks (Reid Banks in the Guardian, 2017) in an enthused reflection on the pleasures of older age. These two short commentaries speak very closely to this thesis: in their open challenge to normative assumptions about ‘old(er) age’, and in how they articulate the increasing diversity, and cultural complexity, of ageing experiences.

In this thesis, I have analysed the living and ageing experiences of three different groups of later-life migrants – labour, lifestyle and return migrants – including also the views of a group of local Azoreans. This has been a thesis that, I suggest, responds to geographers’ (and other social scientists’) calls to explore the complex set of intersections between older people and place; and to further examine the geographical dimensions of ageing. Moreover, the thesis pursues a relational approach to ‘geographies of ageing’; and works towards intersectional studies on ageing and migration that put in dialogue migrants and locals (Ciobanu and Fokkema, 2017; Cutchin, 2009; Harper and Laws, 1995; Hopkins and Pain, 2007; Warnes, 1990). Adopting a relational lens to transnational ageing, and using the methodological strength of life narrative interviewing, I was able to discursively document experiences of later-life in the Azores, exploring the complex intersections between migration, place and older people. Stemming from, resonating with, and moving forward from several key studies that have examined the complex intersections of ageing and migration (Ciobanu et al., 2017; Ciobanu and Hunter, 2017; Horn et al., 2013; Horn and Schweppe, 2015; Karl and Torres, 2015; Walsh and Näre, 2016; Warnes and Williams, 2006), this thesis has striven to make a clear statement on the need to break with, or critically rehabilitate, old-fashioned views of older people as

necessarily immobile, inactive or dependent. This thesis does not, however, deny vulnerability in later-life; it is, instead, a plea for scholars, as well as policy-makers, to acknowledge and incorporate diversity in studies of older age.

In this closing chapter, I start by summarising the main, cross-cutting findings of the research. The discussion then spreads out into four core themes emerging from the narratives collected: *'home' and ambiguous belongings; cultures of ageing and ageing care; ageing in specific relation to place; and intimacy, loss and their negotiations*. Building upon a detailed summary of the main conclusions, I then outline the main achievements and limitations of the research, also identifying avenues for future research. I conclude with some personal reflections on my own research journey.

9.2 Living and ageing 'on the edge': later-life migration in the Azores

Two main questions have been at the centre of this research. The first dealt with the *living and ageing experiences of later-life migrants in the Azores*, while the second looked at the *effects and intersections between older people and place*. The first question was mainly addressed in chapter 6, which also revealed important clues for answering the second question, mainly tackled in chapter 7. Chapters 5 and 8 played a crucial role in helping us to make sense of the participants' narratives, acting as a prologue and epilogue to the migrants' 'life tapestries'. Before delving into the four core themes emerging from the analysis, I briefly summarise four key, transversal findings.

Later-life (migration) is a fundamentally diverse phenomenon. I have striven to capture the diversity of ageing experiences of labour, lifestyle and return migrants, bringing also into discussion the views of local Azoreans. Migrants' varied narratives of ageing expose their gendered, aged, classed and ethnicised subjectivities. Diversity in older age is visible, for instance, in the ways that 'home' is perceived and experienced; in the varied understandings of what is to *be* and *become* older; in meanings of ageing care; in a variety of social and intimate relationships (including feelings of loss and grief); and in relation to place. Whilst diversity is a strong feature of later-life, the three groups of older migrants portrayed in this study, as well as the group of local Azoreans, also share

commonalities, including similar challenges and vulnerabilities, as they grow older. In adopting, then, a diversity lens to older age, I hope to have shed light on the importance of understanding the ways in which different flows of migration interplay and feed into each other (Benson and Osbaldiston, 2016; Castles and Miller, 2009).

Ageing is an iterative process. This research has emphasised that ageing is a fluid and ongoing social construct, and a product of a variety of experiences accumulated through the life course (cf. Hopkins and Pain, 2007). It is then crucial to look at different ageing groups in interaction, rather than in isolation, in order to unravel interconnections and shifting meanings of older age through the life span. Dismantling fragmented ideas about age and ageing is essential to reflect older individuals' shared needs for social engagement, intimate relationships, and desire to belong over the life course. In this, a life narrative approach, which follows migrants' ageing experiences as they transition between life stages, is a fundamental methodological strategy.

Later-life (migration) is not necessarily a vulnerabilising experience. In this research, I have consistently challenged common assumptions of ageing as leading to social isolation and dependency. I have shown that older age is not necessarily a destitute period of life; some participants convey this vitality through their active lifestyles, social engagement and a sensual appreciation of life. Rather than leading inevitably to a dependent state, older age can unleash opportunities for self-actualisation and promote a deep sense of freedom and self-discovery. While migration at a mature age has often been articulated as a negative and disorienting experience (Daatland and Biggs, 2006; Torres, 2001), this research has illuminated ways in which migration unfolds a set of new and stimulating roles and experiences for later-life migrants (cf. Gambold, 2013; Lulle and King, 2016ab). And yet, with this, I do not wish to downplay the vulnerabilities that tend to arise with age; nor do I wish to reduce the ageing experience to a binary logic of progress or decline (cf. Segal, 2013). Here, too, an intersectional and relational approach to age and ageing is essential.

Later-life migration decision-making is a complex and multi-layered process. This research has revealed that economic and lifestyle motives can no longer be analysed separately, stressing the need for a more holistic approach to migration (cf. Benson and O'Reilly, 2016; Bolognani, 2014; Kılınç and King, 2017). Whereas lifestyle-related factors

crop up, too, in the narratives of some labour and return migrants, the economic rationale is also present in lifestyle migrants' decision to migrate, and in their post-migration imaginaries and aspirations, ways of living, and considerations about future mobility. Combining lifestyle and non-lifestyle related factors, whether as drivers of migration, as shaping post-migration lives, or as influencing ideas about future mobility, has the potential of offering a richer understanding of the migration process.

Building upon these overarching findings, I now turn to explore in detail each one of the four cornerstone themes relating to the participants' living and ageing experiences in the Azores.

9.2.1 'Home' and ambiguous belongings

Transnational home and belonging are two crucial elements in migrants' experiences of later-life. Participants' narratives find an echo in Walsh and Näre's (2016: 14) findings that 'people continue to be active and reflexive in their transnational home-making efforts well into later life, overturning assumptions about the passivity and capacity of people in older age'. Home, place attachment and sense of belonging emerge, in my research, as plain, almost 'crystal clear' concepts for some participants, but also as 'messy' and ambiguous for others. As I have argued throughout this thesis, home is a fluid and highly subjective construct; one that is bound up with temporalities, and negotiated over the life course. Like age, home and its associated meanings are deeply charged with gender, class and ethnic-related practices. Migrants' subjectivities and individual possibilities shape their practices of mobility and home, as well as the degree of agency they are able to articulate and mobilise in later-life (cf. Walsh and Näre, 2016).

Home *un*making is about (re)creating new and old 'homing feelings'. This comes out as deeply related to, and shaped by, both memories and relationships attached to place (cf. Buffel, 2015). Although playing a somewhat different role for return, lifestyle and labour migrants, memories are generally related to ideas of 'closing a cycle' and the desire to revisit 'places of childhood'. Whereas return migrants see the return to the 'homeland' as an opportunity to retreat themselves to familiar sites and faces, lifestyle

migrants find in the Azores the unspoilt countryside of their childhood in North-West Europe and North America and the 'true' neighbourliness and supporting networks already lost in the anomie of the big cities. Home is furthermore a product of family and friendship networks in (and out) of place – this was clearly demonstrated by the importance attributed to family among return and labour migrants, and the crucial role that friendships play in lifestyle migrants' wellbeing and sense of belonging to the Azores.

With this thesis, I have exposed the complex geometries and geographies of home, which are often far more complex and multifaceted than two simple points in space. The *unmaking* of home can be empowering and liberating, as it was for Carrie; but it can also be daunting and uneasy, as it was for Fernando. Even when returning to the 'homeland', the uprooting and re-grounding of home is rarely a straightforward process. In this, home-making practices – grounded on meaningful dimensions such as family, friendship, or religion – are central in bridging multiple places, providing migrants with a *raison d'être* in later-life, and preserving practical and emotional ties both locally and abroad.

Feelings and ideas about home are not only crucial in terms of identity (trans)formation and belonging; they are also fluid and shifting across cultures and central to understanding various meanings of ageing care. This is what I look into next.

9.2.2 Cultures of ageing and ageing care

Ageing is a deeply cultural phenomenon. Consistent with other studies (e.g. Gardner, 2002; Keith et al., 1994; Torres, 2001), the various ways in which ageing is *perceived*, *understood*, and *practised* come out in this research as spatially, gender, and culturally contingent. *Being* and *becoming* old holds different meanings for different groups of migrants, as demonstrated by participants' narratives and perceptions of *being* or *feeling* 'old'. Whilst return and labour migrants often openly talked about their 'tiredness' and 'feeling old', lifestyle migrants, on the other hand, tended to stress an active lifestyle and hardly portrayed themselves as 'old' – quite the opposite indeed. Whereas for lifestyle migrants, later-life is a 'me project', return and labour migrants, especially women, see

this stage of life as a 'family project' that provides them with a sense of purpose in later-life.

Through migrancy and transnationalism, the research participants negotiate meanings and understandings of ageing and older age, which incorporate more than one place. The crossings and intersections between cultures gradually transform the ageing process and the strategies migrants employ as they grow older, which become liquid and porous rather than place-bounded. Shifting morals, values and attitudes towards older age, as well as changed concerns about health, bodily appearance and self-care often leave later-life migrants, especially return migrants, 'betwixt and between' different cultures of ageing. By questioning and challenging normative ideas about ageing, return migrants actively contribute to interpret, re-define and shape notions of 'growing older', 'ageing well' or 'ageing successfully'. Simultaneously, local Azoreans' ideas about, and aspirations towards older age are also shaped in place by transnational influences. Either through a more positive and active approach towards later-life, mostly influenced by lifestyle migrants, but also some labour migrants, or by distancing themselves from the complaining and negative habits attributed to older returnees, local Azoreans experience, too, the negotiative and transformative power of transnational ageing.

Different cultures of ageing are manifest in migrants' nuanced perceptions and aspirations towards ageing care. Whilst for some participants care within the family is a prime indicator of 'good' and 'successful' ageing, and there is a cultural expectation for children to care for their parents; for other participants being cared for by children is bound up with ideas of dependency and there is a deep awareness, even fear, of becoming a burden in older age. Differing understandings of ageing care clearly draw our attention to the inadequacies of notions of 'successful' or 'good' ageing in cross-cultural contexts. This points to the importance of critically examining 'Western-based' ideals of older age, moving beyond the allure of ideas of independence in later-life to embrace the possibility that, for some, ageing does not necessarily mean staying self-reliant as long as possible. Indeed, engaging in forms of family care can be remarkably positive in older age (cf. Zontini, 2015). Furthermore, resonating with the findings of Escrivá (2016) and Hunter (2016a), I have established that the best ageing care is not always that provided by the family or 'back home' – recall for instance the cases of Malam and Cesária.

In this section, I have outlined a précis of the complex intersections between older age and place through the lens of cultures of ageing and care. From here, I move on to provide a broader overview of the research findings on the effects of later-life migrants on the Azores and vice-versa.

9.2.3 Ageing, place, and older people in place: effects and intersections

Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted the negotiative and transformative power of space and place in later-life. Place and older age emerge as profoundly interrelated and mutually constitutive – while later-life migrants shape their surroundings in material and intangible ways, place emerges as a vital force (trans)forming migrants’ ageing experiences and identities. In the following paragraphs, I look at each one of these intersections in turn.

Economic and cultural capital acquired through the life course are two crucial factors in migrants’ ability to affect or shape the place they settle in, often in remarkable ways. Later-life migrants in the Azores tend to have more individualised, person-to-person, effects on the islands; it is indeed difficult to establish general patterns of change (OECD, 2008; O’Reilly, 2000a). One of the most significant effects that later-life migrants have brought to the Azores is the creation of small-scale businesses. This is mostly the case among lifestyle migrants, and it can be understood as part of a life project designed to achieve a desired post-migration lifestyle. These are small businesses grounded in aspirational and individualist ideals, which have little real economic impact on the lives of local Azoreans. This seems indeed to reveal a basic paradox in lifestyle migrants’ migration project: that between the desire to socially engage and contribute to the local community, and the strong focus on the individual, wellbeing and self-actualisation (Oliver, 2007). I have related this to the concept of selfish altruism; that is, through making oneself available to help (e.g. through garbage collection, animal rescue, and other community work), one seeks to benefit oneself (for instance by creating a ‘good reputation’ within the local community or developing a stronger sense of belonging). Through international migration and transnationalism, the Azores emerge as a set of

interconnected nodes, with complex attachment geometries that go far beyond the physical space of the islands. The *boundlessness* of the Azores is visible, too, in the everyday cultural encounters taking place on the islands, which have helped to transform these seemingly remote fragments of land in the North Atlantic, at the extreme periphery of Europe, into a cosmopolitan and culturally complex crossroads.

Migrants' ageing experiences in the Azores are shown to vary across islands. These are indeed important geographical nuances to consider when critically assessing narratives of ageing in the archipelago. As Jessica and Ethan's portrayal vividly demonstrates, the remoteness experienced in some of the Azores islands, can shape, in remarkable ways, ageing expectations and plans for the future. As to illuminate these idiosyncrasies, but also to ensure participants' anonymity, details regarding island of residence were provided only when appropriate. Experiences of later-life are revealed to differ substantially, too, between rural and urban settings. For instance: migrants ageing in rural and secluded parts of São Miguel Island have relayed more comparable narratives to those living in the countryside on other islands. Simultaneously, these were rather distinct accounts compared to those of migrants living in urban areas of São Miguel, whose living and ageing experiences were more alike to those in the city of Horta in Faial Island, for example. Finally, perceptions of ageing, migration, and the island life, among both migrants and locals, should be necessarily contextualised, and relativised, according to a higher or lower presence of migrants. Feelings about home and belonging, social and intimate relationships, and ageing care are dynamically constituted and enacted in place.

I have shown that a fundamentally positive effect of the islands on the lives of older migrants' is the ability to promote a deep sense of belonging to a community. Through the beautiful natural environment of the place, its tranquillity, and safety – features especially appreciated in later-life – the Azores not only promotes a sense of re-grounding and place attachment but it is also decisive in reducing the patterns of social isolation and loneliness in later-life which are portrayed in other parallel studies (cf. Barrett and Mosca, 2013; Victor et al., 2000). An interesting strand of research emerging from this thesis is that related to 'place effects' on the self and migrants' desire to embed themselves into, and be wrought by the local culture. This ethos is aptly summarised in Carrie's words: 'if you're here by choice, you embrace what is here'. The narratives collected have exposed

the various ways in which life in the Azores has shaped migrants' identities and belonging. Their desire to 'fit in', rather than generate change, emerges as part of their ongoing re-negotiations of identity and place attachment. Shifting understandings of time come out as central in migrants' narratives, revealing re-negotiations of 'social' and 'work' life, ways to achieve a post-migration lifestyle based on flexible and spontaneous notions of time, and a 'successful integration' in the local *modus vivendi* (cf. Benson, 2011; Oliver, 2008; O'Reilly, 2000a). Ideas about spontaneity and 'living for today' can be linked to the notion of liminality, revealing a desire to enjoy life to the fullest and disclosing awareness of life's finitude and 'what is yet to be lived'; this is what I draw attention to next.

9.2.4 Intimacy, loss and their negotiations

Following especially Lulle and King (2016b), I have sought to affirm the importance of mapping intimacy in geographical research on the 'ageing–migration nexus'. I have focused on three main sources of intimacy in later-life – family, friendships and romantic partnership – showing that different types of older migrants experience and seek intimacy in different ways. While labour and return migrants' social networks are mostly based on family, lifestyle migrants' lives revolve mainly around friendships and, for those on their own, attention also goes to the desire to re-establish some sense of companionship and romantic life. When neither family nor friends are available, religious affiliation often emerges as an important source of emotional and moral support (cf. Ciobanu and Fokkema, 2017). Intimate relationships ground migrants' lives in the Azores, strengthening their place attachment and sense of belonging and, especially for 'ageing-in-place' labour migrants, helping them cope with the hardships of migration and distance from family.

I have looked into the largely overlooked theme of intimacy and romantic partnership in later-life, overturning ideas of older age as 'de-sensualised' or bereft of an active desire for social contacts and intimacy (cf. Lulle and King, 2016b). This research has uncovered older migrants' desire for a sensual appreciation of life and the importance attributed to re-bonding with others as both friends and lovers. This draws attention to

the importance of challenging old-established prejudices and taboos about friendship, love, sensuality and older age. It furthermore stresses the suitability of adopting a relational approach that sees ageing as an ongoing process that results from a life-long accumulation of experiences. With this, I have striven to emphasise the importance of moving beyond the trope of vulnerability in older age – yet not denying it – and to recognise older migrants as active agents of their own destinies with rightful needs for intimacy and companionship.

Migrants' networks of support in the Azores help to explain the various and complex ways in which they experience intimacy, deal with loss, and conceptualise the future. Whereas migrants who have family in the Azores – mainly return migrants and some labour migrants – are seemingly less vulnerable to loss or the death of a spouse (and therefore more likely to stay put), lifestyle migrants, especially women, tend to become more exposed in the face of prolonged illness or the loss of a loved one. The complexity of these liminal phases, or 'fateful moments' (Giddens, 1991), often leads to emotional and material re-considerations about life in the Azores and may unleash thoughts about relocation. The desire to seek emotional closure and physical togetherness (to the place of burial) can result in migrants staying in the Azores upon the loss of a spouse (cf. Gardner, 2002; Oliver, 2004). Place is, in these cases, constantly negotiated, incorporating new meanings and attachments – often linked to happy memories in the past – in life and death. Conversely, comfort may arise from physical closeness to children (and other kinship) and the possibility of being cared for in later-life; this tends to be a solution mostly sought after by older female migrants. These findings have reminded us, once more, of the diversity of later-life experiences, also regarding loss and mourning. While death can often be perceived as disheartening and disorienting, it can also be experienced with a mix of pain and 'opportunity' to start over again; rather than an end, later-life can represent multiple beginnings.

9.3 Is this all there is to research on later-life migration? Reflecting on achievements and limitations, and avenues for future research

Through its geographical and relational lens, this thesis has produced a number of original theoretical and empirical contributions to the intersecting fields of ageing and migration.

First, it has brought together, under the same theoretical and empirical framework, three distinct types of older migrants, as well as local Azoreans. In doing so, it not only endeavoured to consider together groups of older migrants that have seldom been looked at in a comprehensive comparative manner, but it also sought to put in dialogue migrants and locals, who have been, for the most part, confined to separate analyses in the existing scholarship. More broadly, this thesis represents a wider contribution to the emerging field of ‘geographies of the ageing–migration nexus’, mapping the intersections of ageing and migration in geographical research. Thus, I hope to have successfully addressed the two research concerns laid out at the beginning of this thesis: Cutchin's (2009) plea for furthering the study of geographical dimensions of ageing; and Ciobanu et al.'s (2017) call for more intersectional studies on ageing and migration, bringing into a common frame migrants and locals.

Second, I have sought to strengthen the still modest strand of research on migration on small islands, especially in the European context. Thus, I have addressed Lulle's (2014: 210) request for ‘more empirical evidence on labour in-migration and various patterns of migration on islands that are simultaneously bounded geographical territories and interconnected social spaces’. Building upon King's (2009) work on the intersections of geography, islands and migration, I have striven to highlight the power of geography in capturing and teasing out the deep and complex links between island studies and migration studies. Specifically, I have been at pains to show that the Azores are both remotely located but also profoundly *interconnected*. While the islands hold a strong local culture, in many ways ‘self-protected’ and relatively ‘untouched’, they are also, increasingly, a ‘meeting point’ and a place of social and cultural encounters and exchange between North (and South) American, European, and African cultures.

Third, from a methodological point of view, and in response to Andrews et al.'s (2006: 153) call for geographers to 'consider older people more frequently in their historical representations of social life, place and landscape', I have made a clear assertion on the importance of listening to older migrants' stories as a gateway to exploring their *embodied* and *emplaced* experiences of age and transnational ageing. I have sought to highlight the strength of life narrative interviewing as a key methodological tool to develop novel understandings of migrancy and older age, and its relations to (trans)national place. Concurrently, the multiple 'informal' encounters with the research participants during my fieldwork in the Azores, especially in the smaller islands, and the opportunity to return to the field one year later and revisit some of the stories and places that make up this thesis, allowed me to be part of, and to explore, the spatio-temporalities of participants' lives in both discursive and mundane ways.

And yet, the rich and overarching analysis I have aspired to achieve – a large number of participants scattered across several of the Azores islands – came with the challenge of making sense of such a large and intimidating array of information. How to give voice to, and coherently present the findings of 138 participants was indeed one of the most challenging questions arising throughout this research. While one possible strategy would have been to include in the discussion as many participants as possible (Christou, 2006; Teerling, 2014) – although these studies included a fairly smaller number of interviewees – here I opted to follow Christou and King (2014) in their 'portrayal' approach. By selecting nine carefully chosen portrayals, I made a conscious decision to give *voice*, *personality* and *biographicity* to the narrators, whilst not losing sight of the broader set of interviews. By the end of this thesis, I hope Albertino, Silvina, Fernando, Carrie, Ethan and Jessica, Markus and Klaudia, Mayra, Davit, and Lucas have become as familiar and close to you, as they are to me.

From a geographical perspective, attempting to include in one study the diversity of the Azores islands was also a major undertaking. While I hope to have stressed enough the diversity and exceptionality of the Azores islands, which are both 'one' and 'multiple worlds', I surely realise the limitations of fully capturing and distilling the complexities and particularities of each one of them. Are the results found for the Azores applicable in other island settings? This is certainly a line of research worth pursuing, and an especially

fascinating one for geographers and for island studies scholars. While comparative research in migration studies has flourished in recent decades, comparative analyses at the intersection of island and migration studies, although holding an important research potential, are still limited.

Finally, in adopting a relational approach to age and ageing, with all the strengths I have previously outlined, I realise that my broader understanding of ageing as a process in flux – which resulted in including in this study migrants aged 50 and over – can prove sensitive to some. I am also fully aware that a study focused only on the so-called ‘old old’ could have produced somewhat different results (cf. Ahmed and Hall, 2016). This is another potential avenue for future research. While this thesis has touched upon crucial issues such as home and belonging, ageing care, intimate relationships, loss, and related negotiations, a research focused on the oldest age cohorts would surely reveal further challenges to transnational ageing and mobility considerations (cf. Bolzman et al., 2006; Hall and Hardill, 2016). The fact that a significant number of lifestyle migrants plans to stay in the Azores in their older age, likely without family networks of support; the presence of a long-established ‘ageing-in-place’ immigrant community on the islands, who in some cases have lost contact with their countries of origin; and the existence of a group of older and more vulnerable return migrants whose closest kinship is abroad – all these conditions draw attention to the need of providing effective, migrant-specific, social support and care solutions.

9.4 Reflecting on my own research journey

The end of this thesis is also the terminus of a personal journey. This was a four-year research project that profoundly enriched me both professionally and personally. Coming from a background of working in large research teams, this was the first research project I outlined, developed, and carried out myself; and it involved an important maturing process as a researcher. Secondly, the nature of my fieldwork, and the opportunity to learn from older people’s *life experiences*, *perceptions*, and *affections*, was both fascinating and intimidating. Learning from participants’ certainties in life and observing

their fears and vulnerabilities, taught me, I believe, something larger than can be imprinted in these pages. The motherly/fatherly and protective approach that many of my interviewees adopted towards me was not only kind and generous, but allowed me also the freedom to explore their 'inner' and 'outer' worlds.

Being a migrant myself – both in the UK and then to the Azores – I was easily able to connect with the participants' experiences, challenges and anxieties. I was indeed a '(mis)fit' in the Azores and I often interrogated myself about my 'dual' or 'triple' belonging. While I often sensed a strong cultural affinity towards local Azoreans and Azorean returnees, I could also see myself in the migrant experience of both labour and lifestyle migrants and their critiques to the 'Azorean way of doing things' which I, too, experienced with exasperation at times. All in all, I think that my mixed 'insider-outsider' positionality acted as an advantage as it prompted a sense of 'taking nothing for granted' and enabled me to openly embrace, learn from, and understand a culture that was, but was not, mine. But, like some of the migrant participants, I, too, often felt 'betwixt and between'. As I write these final lines, I am faced with the dilemma of (research) 'incompleteness' that Marcus (2007) talks about. And as I look back at the hard work accomplished, and the lessons learnt, I realise that the 'terminus' that is the end of this thesis can also be a departure-point for a continuing research journey that is yet to unfold.

References

- Ackers, L., Dwyer, P. 2004. Fixed laws, fluid lives: the citizenship status of post-retirement migrants in the European Union. *Ageing & Society*, 24 (3): 451–475.
- Adam, B., 1990. *Time and social theory*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Ahmed, A., 2015. *Retiring to Spain: women's narratives of nostalgia, belonging and community*. Policy Press, Bristol.
- Ahmed, A., Hall, K., 2016. Negotiating the challenges of aging as a British migrant in Spain. *GeroPsych: The Journal of Gerontopsychology and Geriatric Psychiatry* 29 (2): 105–114.
- Ahmed, S., 1999. Home and away: narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2 (3): 329–347.
- Ahmed, S., Castañeda, C., Fortier, A.-M., Sheller, M. (Eds.), 2003. *Uprootings - regroundings: questions of home and migration*. Berg, Oxford.
- AIPA, 2011. *Diagnóstico da população imigrante no concelho de Ponta Delgada. Desafios e potencialidades para o desenvolvimento local*. ACIDI, I.P., Lisbon.
- Almeida, O.T., 2000. Value conflicts and cultural adjustment in North America, in: Teixeira, C., Rosa, V.M.P.D. (Eds.), *The Portuguese in Canada: from the sea to the city*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp. 112–123.
- Amit, V. (Ed.), 2007. *Going first class? New approaches to privileged travel and movement*. Berghahn, New York.
- Anderson, B., 1991. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso, London.
- Andrews, G.J., Cutchin, M., McCracken, K., Phillips, D.R., Wiles, J., 2007. Geographical gerontology: the constitution of a discipline. *Social Science & Medicine* 65 (1): 151–168.
- Andrews, G.J., Kearns, R.A., Kontos, P., Wilson, V., 2006. 'Their finest hour': older people, oral histories, and the historical geography of social life. *Social & Cultural Geography* 7 (2): 153–177.
- Andrews, G.J., Milligan, C., Phillips, D.R., Skinner, M.W., 2009. Geographical gerontology: mapping a disciplinary intersection. *Geography Compass* 3 (5): 1641–1659.
- Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R., 2005. *Ageing and place: perspectives, policy, practice*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Andrews, M., 1999. The seductiveness of agelessness. *Ageing & Society* 19 (3): 301–318.
- Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G., 2000. *Gender and migration in Southern Europe: women on the move*. Bloomsbury Academic, London.
- Apitzsch, U., Siouti, I., 2007. Biographical analysis as an interdisciplinary research perspective in the field of migration studies. [Online] Available from: https://www.york.ac.uk/res/researchintegration/Integrative_Research_Methods/Apitzsch%20Biographical%20Analysis%20April%202007.pdf (Accessed 6 December 2013)
- Appadurai, A. (Ed.), 1986. *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Appadurai, A., 1996. *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

- Arendell, T., 1997. Reflections on the researcher-researched relationship: a woman interviewing men. *Qualitative Sociology* 20 (3): 341–368.
- Assembleia da República Portuguesa, 2005. Constituição da República Portuguesa. VII Revisão constitucional. [Online] Available at: <http://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Paginas/ConstituicaoRepublicaPortuguesa.aspx#art225> (accessed 18 November 2016).
- Atchley, R.C., 1987. *Aging: continuity and change*. Wadsworth, Belmont.
- Atkinson, P., Hammersley, M., 1994. Ethnography and participant observation, in: Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 248–261.
- Atkinson, R., 1998. *The life story interview*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Ávila, J.I., Mendonça, L., 2008. Azorean emigration: causes, waves, and destinations. A brief historical summary, in: Goulart, T.P. (Ed.), *Capelinhos: a volcano of synergies: Azorean emigration to America*. Portuguese Heritage Publications of California, San Jose, California, pp. 17–24.
- Avramov, D., Mašková, M., 2003. *Active ageing in Europe*. Volume 1 (Population Series no. 41). Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Baars, J., 2009. Problematic foundations: theorizing time, age, and aging, in: Bengtson, V.L., Silverstein, M., Putney, N.M., Gans, D. (Eds.), *Handbook of theories of aging*. Springer, New York, pp. 87–100.
- Baldacchino, G., 2004. The coming of age of island studies. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 95 (3): 272–283.
- Baldacchino, G., 2005. Islands - objects of representation. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 87 (4): 247–251.
- Baldacchino, G., 2012. The lure of the island: a spatial analysis of power relations. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 1 (2): 55–62.
- Baldassar, L., 2007a. Transnational families and aged care: the mobility of care and the migrancy of ageing. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (2): 275–297.
- Baldassar, L., 2007b. Transnational families and the provision of moral and emotional support: the relationship between truth and distance. *Identities* 14 (4): 385–409.
- Baldassar, L., Baldock, C.V., Wilding, R., 2007. *Families caring across borders: migration, ageing, and transnational caregiving*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Barnett, C., 1998. The cultural turn: fashion or progress in human geography? *Antipode* 30 (4): 379–394.
- Barrett, A., Mosca, I., 2013. Social isolation, loneliness and return migration: evidence from older Irish adults. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (10) 1659–1677.
- Bastia, T., 2009. Women's migration and the crisis of care: grandmothers caring for grandchildren in urban Bolivia. *Gender & Development* 17 (3): 389–401.
- Bauman, Z., 2000. *Liquid modernity*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Bauman, Z., 2005. *Liquid life*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Baxter, R., Brickell, K., 2014. For home UnMaking. *Home Cultures* 11 (2): 133–143.
- Baykara-Krumme, H., 2013. Returning, staying, or both? Mobility patterns among elderly Turkish migrants after retirement. *Transnational Social Review* 3 (1): 11–29.
- Beauvoir, S. de, 1972. *Old age*. Cox & Wyman Ltd., London.
- Beck, U., 1999. *World risk society*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

- Bender, D., Hollstein, T., Horn, V., Huber, L., Schweppe, C., 2014. Old age care facilities and care-seeking elderly on the move. *Transnational Social Review* 4 (2-3): 290–293.
- Benmayor, R., Skotnes, A., 1994. *Migration and identity*. Transaction Publishers, New Jersey.
- Benson, M., 2011. *The British in rural France: lifestyle migration and the ongoing quest for a better way of life*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Benson, M., 2012. How culturally significant imaginings are translated into lifestyle migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38 (10): 1681–1696.
- Benson, M., 2013. Living the 'real' dream in la France profonde? Lifestyle Migration, social distinction, and the authenticities of everyday life. *Anthropological Quarterly* 86 (2): 501–525.
- Benson, M., 2015. Class, race, privilege: structuring the lifestyle migrant experience in Boquete, Panama. *Journal of Latin American Geography* 14 (1): 19–37.
- Benson, M., O'Reilly, K., 2009. Migration and the search for a better way of life: a critical exploration of lifestyle migration. *The Sociological Review* 57 (4): 608–625.
- Benson, M., O'Reilly, K., 2016. From lifestyle migration to lifestyle in migration: categories, concepts and ways of thinking. *Migration Studies* 4 (1): 20–37.
- Benson, M., Osbaldiston, N. (Eds.), 2014. *Understanding lifestyle migration. Theoretical approaches to migration and the quest for a better way of life*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Benson, M., Osbaldiston, N., 2016. Toward a critical sociology of lifestyle migration: reconceptualizing migration and the search for a better way of life. *The Sociological Review* 64 (3): 407–423.
- Bernard, M. (Ed.), 2000. *Women ageing: changing identities, challenging myths*. Routledge, London.
- Betty, C., Hall, K., 2015. The myth of no return? Why retired British migrants in Spain return to the UK, in: Torkington, K., David, I., Sardinha, J. (Eds.), *Practising the good life: lifestyle migration in practices*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle Upon Tyne, pp. 123–137.
- Biggs, S., 1993. *Understanding ageing: images, attitudes and professional practice*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Biggs, S., 1997. Choosing not to be old? Masks, bodies and identity management in later life. *Ageing & Society* 17 (5): 553–570.
- Blaikie, A., 1999. *Ageing and popular culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Blaikie, A., 2005. Imagined landscapes of age and identity, in: Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R. (Eds.), *Ageing and place: perspectives, policy, practice*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 164–175.
- Blair, E., Deacon, A., 2015. A holistic approach to fieldwork through balanced reflective practice. *Reflective Practice* 16 (3): 418–434.
- Blue, K., 2000. *Midlife mavericks: women reinventing their lives in Mexico*. Universal Publishers, Florida.
- Blunt, A., Dowling, R.M., 2006. *Home*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Boccagni, P., 2010. Private, public or both? On the scope and impact of transnationalism in immigrants' everyday lives, in: Bauböck, R., Faist, T. (Eds.), *Diaspora and transnationalism. Concepts, theories and methods*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, pp. 185–203.

- Böcker, A., Balkir, C., 2012. *Migration in later life. Residence, social security and citizenship strategies of Turkish return migrants and Dutch retirement migrants in Turkey*. Nijmegen Migration Law Working Papers Series (No. 2), Radboud University, Nijmegen.
- Bolognani, M., 2014. The emergence of lifestyle reasoning in return considerations among British Pakistanis. *International Migration* 52 (6): 31–42.
- Bolzman, C., Fibbi, R., Vial, M., 2006. What to do after retirement? Elderly migrants and the question of return. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8): 1359–1375.
- Bolzman, C., Kaeser, L., Christe, E., 2016. Transnational mobilities as a way of life among older migrants from Southern Europe. *Population, Space and Place*. doi:10.1002/psp.2016
- Botterill, K., 2016. Discordant lifestyle mobilities in East Asia: privilege and precarity of British retirement in Thailand. *Population, Space and Place*. doi:10.1002/psp.2011
- Bourdieu, P., 1986. L'illusion biographique. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 62 (1): 69–72.
- Brah, A., 1996. *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Braun, B., 2008. Environmental issues: inventive life. *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (5): 667–679.
- Brettell, C., 2003. *Anthropology and migration: essays on transnationalism, ethnicity, and identity*. Rowman Altamira, Walnut Creek.
- Breuer, T., 2005. Retirement migration or rather second-home tourism? German senior citizens on the Canary Islands. *Die Erde* 136 (3): 313–333.
- Brito Henriques, E., 2009. *Distância e conexão: insularidade, relações culturais e sentido de lugar no espaço da Macaronésia*. Instituto Açoriano de Cultura; Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Lisbon.
- Brown, D.L., Glasgow, N., Kulcsár, L., Bolender, B.C., Arguillas, M.-J., 2008. *Rural retirement migration*. Springer, Dordrecht.
- Brown, M., 2017. Don't call people 'old' until death is near, says gerontologist. *The Guardian* (Tuesday, 30th May).
- Brunhes, J., 1920. *Human geography: an attempt at a positive classification, principles and examples*. Harrap, London.
- Buffel, T., 2015. Ageing migrants and the creation of home: mobility and the maintenance of transnational ties. *Population, Space Place*. doi:10.1002/psp.1994
- Bures, R.M., 1997. Migration and the life course: is there a retirement transition? *International Journal of Population Geography* 3 (2): 109–119.
- Burholt, V., Scharf, T., Walsh, K., 2013. Imagery and imaginary of islander identity: older people and migration in Irish small-island communities. *Journal of Rural Studies* 31, 1–12.
- Bury, M., 1995. Ageing, gender, and sociological theory, in: Arber, S., Ginn, J. (Eds.), *Connecting gender and ageing: a sociological approach*. Open University Press, Buckingham, pp. 15–29.
- Byrne, B., 2003. Reciting the self: narrative representations of the self in qualitative interviews. *Feminist Theory* 4 (1): 29–49.
- Bytheway, 1995. *Ageism*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Bytheway, B., 2000. Youthfulness and agelessness: a comment. *Ageing & Society* 20 (6): 781–789.

- Bytheway, B., 2005. Ageism and age categorization. *Journal of Social Issues* 61 (2): 361–374.
- Cameron, E., 2012. New geographies of story and storytelling. *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (5): 573–592.
- Carling, J., 2002. Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: theoretical reflections and Cape Verdean experiences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28 (1): 5–42.
- Carling, J., Erdal, M.B., Ezzati, R., 2014. Beyond the insider-outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Studies* 2 (1): 36–54.
- Carling, J., Pettersen, S.V., 2014. Return migration intentions in the integration-transnationalism matrix. *International Migration* 52 (6): 13–30.
- Casado-Díaz, M.A., Kaiser, C., Warnes, A.M., 2004. Northern European retired residents in nine Southern European areas: characteristics, motivations and adjustment. *Ageing & Society* 24 (3): 353–381.
- Cassarino, J.-P., 2004. Theorising return migration: the conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6 (2): 253–279.
- Castles, S., 2000. *Ethnicity and globalization: from migrant worker to transnational citizen*. Sage, London.
- Castles, S., Miller, M.J., 2009. *The age of migration*, 4th ed. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Cerase, F.P., 1974. Expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from the United States to Southern Italy. *International Migration Review* 8 (2): 245–262.
- Chamberlain, M., Leydesdorff, S., 2004. Transnational families: memories and narratives. *Global Networks* 4 (3): 227–241.
- Chanfrault-Duchet, M.F., 1991. Narrative structures, social models, and symbolic representation in the life story, in: Gluck, S.B., Patai, D. (Eds.), *Women's words: the feminist practice of oral history*. Routledge, New York, pp. 77–92.
- Christou, A., 2006. *Narratives of place, culture and identity: second-generation Greek-Americans return 'home'*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.
- Christou, A., 2009a. Telling diaspora stories: theoretical and methodological reflections on narratives of migrancy and belongingness in the second generation. *Migration Letters* 6 (2): 143–153.
- Christou, A., 2009b. Emulating the homeland – engendering the nation: agency, belonging, identity and gender in second-generation Greek-American return-migrant life stories, in: Conway, D., Potter, R.B. (Eds.), *Return migration of the next generations: 21st century transnational mobility*. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 101–116.
- Christou, A., King, R., 2014. *Counter-Diaspora: the Greek second generation returns 'home'*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Ciobanu, R.O., Fokkema, T., 2017. The role of religion in protecting older Romanian migrants from loneliness. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2): 199–217.
- Ciobanu, R.O., Fokkema, T., Nedelcu, M., 2017. Ageing as a migrant: vulnerabilities, agency and policy implications. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2): 164–181.
- Ciobanu, R.O., Hunter, A., 2017. Older migrants and (im)mobilities of ageing: an introduction. *Population, Space and Place*. doi:10.1002/psp.2075

- Cloke, P.J., Cook, I., Crang, P., Goodwin, M., Painter, J., Philo, C., 2004. *Practising human geography*. Sage, London.
- Cohen, G.D., 1998. Do health science concepts influence care? The case for a new landscape of aging. *Journal of the American Association for Geriatric Psychiatry* 6 (4): 273–276.
- Comaroff, J., Comaroff, J.L., 1999. Occult economies and the violence of abstraction: notes from the South African postcolony. *American Ethnologist* 26 (2): 279–303.
- Condon, S., 2005. Transatlantic French Caribbean connections: return migration in the context of increasing circulation between France and the islands, in: Potter, R.B., Conway, D., Phillips, J. (Eds.), *The Experience of return migration: Caribbean perspectives*. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 225–244.
- Conradson, D., McKay, D., 2007. Translocal subjectivities: mobility, connection, emotion. *Mobilities* 2 (2): 167–174.
- Cook, I.G., Halsall, J., 2012. *Aging in comparative perspective*. Springer, New York.
- Corcoran, M., 2002. The process of reinvention of self: the experiences of returning Irish emigrants. *Éire-Ireland* 37 (1-2), 175–191.
- Cristoforetti, A., Gennai, F., Rodeschini, G., 2011. Home sweet home: the emotional construction of places. *Journal of Aging Studies* 25 (3): 225–232.
- Croucher, S., 2013. The gendered spatialities of lifestyle migration, in: Janoschka, M., Haas, H. (Eds.), *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 15–28.
- Cruikshank, M., 2003. *Learning to be old: gender, culture, and aging*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.
- Cutchin, M.P., 2003. The process of mediated aging-in-place: a theoretically and empirically based model. *Social Science & Medicine* 57 (6): 1077–1090.
- Cutchin, M.P., 2009. Geographical gerontology: new contributions and spaces for development. *The Gerontologist* 49 (3): 440–444.
- Da Roit, B., 2007. Changing intergenerational solidarities within families in a Mediterranean welfare state: elderly care in Italy. *Current Sociology* 55 (2): 251–269.
- Da Silva, H., 2008. Portuguese-Azorean cultural identity: common traits of Açorianidade/Azoreanness, in: Goulart, T.P. (Ed.), *Capelinhos: a volcano of synergies: Azorean emigration to America*. Portuguese Heritage Publications of California, San Jose, California, pp. 73–84.
- Daatland, S.O., Biggs, S., 2006. *Ageing and diversity: multiple pathways and cultural migrations*. Policy Press, Bristol.
- Dahinden, J., 2009. Are we all transnationals now? Network transnationalism and transnational subjectivity: the differing impacts of globalization on the inhabitants of a small Swiss city. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32 (8): 1365–1386.
- Davidson, K., Fennell, G., 2004. *Intimacy in later life*. Transaction Publishers, New Jersey.
- Dayaratne, R., Kellett, P., 2008. Housing and home-making in low-income urban settlements: Sri Lanka and Colombia. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 23 (1): 53–70.
- de Haas, H., Fokkema, T., 2010. Intra-household conflicts in migration decisionmaking: return and pendulum migration in Morocco. *Population and Development Review* 36 (3): 541–561.

- de Valk, H., Liefbroer, A.C., Esveltd, I., Henkens, K., 2004. Family formation and cultural integration among migrants in the Netherlands. *Genus* 60 (3-4): 9–35.
- de Valk, H., Schans, D., 2008. 'They ought to do this for their parents': perceptions of filial obligations among immigrant and Dutch older people. *Ageing & Society* 28 (1): 49–66.
- de Waal, F.B.M., 2008. Putting the altruism back into altruism: the evolution of empathy. *Annual Review of Psychology* 59: 279–300.
- Dening, G., 1980. *Islands and beaches: discourse on a silent land: Marquesas, 1774-1880*. Dorsey Press, Belmont, California.
- Dewalt, K., Dewalt, B., Wayland, C., 1998. Participant observation, in: Bernard, H. (Ed.), *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology*. Altamira Press, London, pp. 259–300.
- Di Santo, P., Ceruzzi, F., 2010. Migrant care workers in Italy: a case study. [Online] Available at: http://interlinks.euro.centre.org/sites/default/files/WP5_MigrantCarers_FINAL.pdf (accessed 15 January 2017).
- Dowd, J.J., Bengtson, V.L., 1978. Aging in minority populations: an examination of the double jeopardy hypothesis. *Journal of Gerontology* 33 (3): 427–436.
- Duany, J., 2002. *The Puerto Rican nation on the move: identities on the island and in the United States*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Duany, J., 2003. Nation, migration, identity: the case of Puerto Ricans. *Latino Studies* 1 (3): 424–444.
- Dunn, R.G., 1998. *Identity crises: a social critique of postmodernity*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Dwyer, P.J., 2000. Movements to some purpose? An exploration of international retirement migration in the European Union. *Education and Ageing* 15 (3): 353–377.
- Dwyer, P., 2001. Retired EU migrants, healthcare rights and European social citizenship. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law* 23 (3): 311–327.
- Eastmond, M., 2007. Stories as lived experience: narratives in forced migration research. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20 (2): 248–264.
- Ekerdt, D.J., 1986. The busy ethic: moral continuity between work and retirement. *The Gerontologist* 26 (3): 239–244.
- England, K.V.L., 1994. Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer* 46 (1), 80–89.
- Erdal, M.B., Oeppen, C., 2013. Migrant balancing acts: understanding the interactions between integration and transnationalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (6): 867–884.
- Escobar, A., 2001. Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization. *Political Geography* 20 (2): 139–174.
- Escrivá, A., 2016. Transforming conceptions of care at home. Ageing Moroccan and Peruvian migrants in Spain, in: Walsh, K., Näre, L. (Eds.), *Transnational migration and home in older age*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 201–213.
- Estes, C., Biggs, S., Chris, P., 2003. *Social theory, social policy and ageing: a critical introduction*. Open University Press, Maidenhead.
- Eurostat Database, 2016. Table: Population on 1 January by age group, sex and country of birth. [Online] Available at:

- http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_pop3ctb&lang=en (accessed 20 May 2017)
- Faist, T., 1998. Transnational social spaces out of international migration: evolution, significance and future prospects. *European Journal of Sociology* 39 (2): 213–247.
- Faist, T., 2015. Transnational social spaces. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (13), 2271–2274.
- Faubion, J.D., 2009. The ethics of fieldwork as an ethics of connectivity, or the good anthropologist (isn't what she used to be), in: Faubion, J.D., Marcus, G.E. (Eds.), *Fieldwork is not what it used to be*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 145–166.
- Featherstone, M., Hepworth, M., 1989. Ageing and old age: reflections on the postmodern lifecourse, in: Bytheway, B., Keil, T., Allatt, P., Bryman, A. (Eds.), *Becoming and being old: sociological approaches to later life*. Sage, London, pp. 143–157.
- Featherstone, M., Hepworth, M., Turner, B.S., 1991. *The body: social process and cultural theory*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Feldman-Bianco, B., 1992. Multiple layers of time and space: the construction of class, ethnicity, and nationalism among Portuguese immigrants, in: Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., Blanc-Szanton, C. (Eds.), *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: race, class, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered*. New York Academy of Sciences, New York, pp. 145–174.
- Finlay, J., Franke, T., McKay, H., Sims-Gould, J., 2015. Therapeutic landscapes and wellbeing in later life: impacts of blue and green spaces for older adults. *Health & Place* 34: 97–106.
- Fortier, A.-M., 2003. Making home: queer migrations and motions of attachment, in: Ahmed, S., Castañeda, C., Fortier, A.-M., Sheller, M. (Eds.), *Uprootings - regroundings: questions of home and migration*. Berg, Oxford, pp. 115–136.
- Fox, N.J., 2005. Cultures of ageing in Thailand and Australia. (What can an ageing body do?) *Sociology* 39 (3): 481–498.
- Fresnoza-Flot, A., 2010. The Catholic Church in the lives of irregular migrant Filipinas in France: identity formation, empowerment and social control. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 11 (3-4): 345–361.
- Gambold, L., 2013. Retirement abroad as women's aging strategy. *Anthropology & Aging* 34 (2), 184–198.
- Ganga, D., 2006. From potential returnees into settlers: Nottingham's older Italians. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8): 1395–1413.
- Gardner, K., 1999. Narrating location: space, age and gender among Bengali elders in East London. *Oral History* 27 (1): 65–74.
- Gardner, K., 2002. *Age, narrative, and migration: the life course and life histories of Bengali elders in London*. Berg, Oxford.
- Gesler, W.M., 1992. Therapeutic landscapes: medical issues in light of the new cultural geography. *Social Science & Medicine* 34 (7): 735–746.
- Gibson, H.B., 2000. It keeps us young. *Ageing & Society* 20 (6): 773–779.
- Giddens, A., 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A., 1991. *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Gill, S., Goodson, I., 2011. Life history and narrative methods, in: Somekh, B., Lewin, C. (Eds.), *Theory and methods in social research*. Sage, London, pp. 157–165.

- Gilleard, C., Higgs, P., 2000. *Cultures of ageing: self, citizen, and the body*. Pearson Education, London.
- Gilleard, C., Hyde, M., Higgs, P., 2007. The impact of age, place, aging in place, and attachment to place on the well-being of the over 50s in England. *Research on Aging* 29 (6): 590–605.
- Giner-Monfort, J., Hall, K., Betty, C., 2016. Back to Brit: retired British migrants returning from Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (5): 797–815.
- Gonçalves, A., 1996. *Imagens e clivagens: os residentes face aos emigrantes*. Edições Afrontamento, Porto.
- Goodson, I., 2006. The rise of the life narrative. *Teacher Education Quarterly* 33 (4): 7–21.
- Goodson, I., Biesta, G., Tedder, M., Adair, N., 2010. *Narrative Learning*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Goodson, I., Gill, S., 2011. *Narrative pedagogy: life history and learning*. Peter Lang, New York.
- Green, P., 2013. Contested realities and economic circumstances: British later-life migrants in Malaysia, in: Janoschka, M. and Haas, H. (Eds.) *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 145–157.
- Greer, G., 1991. *The change: women, aging, and the menopause*. Knopf, New York.
- Gregson, N., Lowe, M., 1995. 'Home'-making: on the spatiality of daily social reproduction in contemporary middle-class Britain. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20 (2): 224–235.
- Grydehøj, A., 2017. A future of island studies. *Island Studies Journal* 12 (1): 3–16.
- Gu, C.-J., 2010. Culture, emotional transnationalism and mental distress: family relations and well-being among Taiwanese immigrant women. *Gender, Place & Culture* 17 (6): 687–704.
- Gualda, E., Escrivá, A., 2014. Diversity in return migration and its impact on old age: the expectations and experiences of returnees in Huelva (Spain). *International Migration* 52 (5): 178–190.
- Guarnizo, L.E., 1997. The emergence of a transnational social formation and the mirage of return migration among Dominican transmigrants. *Identities* 4 (2): 281–322.
- Gubrium, J.F., Holstein, J.A., 2008. Narrative ethnography, in: Hesse-Biber, S., Leavy, P. (Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods*. Guilford Publications, New York, pp. 241–264.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., Johnson, L., 2006. How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods* 18 (1): 59–82.
- Gustafson, P., 2001. Retirement migration and transnational lifestyles. *Ageing & Society* 21 (4): 371–394.
- Gustafson, P., 2008. Transnationalism in retirement migration: the case of North European retirees in Spain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (3): 451–475.
- Haas, H., 2013. Volunteering in retirement migration: meanings and functions of charitable activities for older British residents in Spain. *Ageing & Society* 33 (8): 1374–1400.
- Hall, K., Hardill, I., 2016. Retirement migration, the 'other' story: caring for frail elderly British citizens in Spain. *Ageing & Society* 36 (3): 562–585.
- Hannerz, U., 2003. Being there... and there... and there! Reflections on multi-site ethnography. *Ethnography* 4 (2): 201–216.

- Hardill, I., 2009. Introduction: geographies of aging. *The Professional Geographer* 61 (1): 1–3.
- Hareven, T.K., Adams, K.J., 1982. *Ageing and life course transitions: an interdisciplinary perspective*. Routledge, London.
- Harper, S., Laws, G., 1995. Rethinking the geography of ageing. *Progress in Human Geography* 19 (2): 199–221.
- Harvey, D., 1989. *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Harvey, D., 1990. Between space and time: reflections on the geographical imagination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80 (3): 418–434.
- Hau'ofa, E., 1994. Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6 (1): 148–161.
- Haworth, J., 1997. *Work, leisure and well-being*. Routledge, London.
- Hay, P., 2003. The poetics of island place: articulating particularity. *Local Environment* 8 (5): 553–558.
- Hay, P., 2006. A phenomenology of islands. *Island Studies Journal* 1 (1): 19–42.
- Hayes, M., 2014. 'We gained a lot over what we would have had': the geographic arbitrage of North American lifestyle migrants to Cuenca, Ecuador. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40 (12): 1953–1971.
- Heckathorn, D.D., 1997. Respondent-driven sampling: a new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems* 44 (2): 174–199.
- Heikkinen, S.J., Lumme-Sandt, K., 2013. Transnational connections of later-life migrants. *Journal of Aging Studies* 27 (2): 198–206.
- Herbert, S., 2000. For ethnography. *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (4): 550–568.
- Hochschild, A., 2000. Global care chains and emotional surplus value, in: Hutton, W., Giddens, A. (Eds.), *On the edge: living with global capitalism*. Sage, London, pp. 130–146.
- Hockey, J.L., James, A., 2003. *Social identities across the life course*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Hoey, B.A., 2010. Place for personhood: individual and local character in lifestyle migration. *City & Society* 22 (2): 237–261.
- Hoffman, E., 1989. *Lost in translation: a life in a new language*. Vintage, New York.
- Holland, J., 2007. Emotions and research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 10 (3): 195–209.
- Hopkins, P., Pain, R., 2007. Geographies of age: thinking relationally. *Area* 39 (3): 287–294.
- Hopkins, P., Pain, R., 2008. Is there more to life? Relationalities in here and out there: a reply to Horton and Kraftl. *Area* 40 (2): 289–292.
- Horn, V., Schweppe, C., (Eds.) 2015. *Transnational aging: current insights and future challenges*. Routledge, New York.
- Horn, V., Schweppe, C., Bender, D., Hollstein, T., 2015. 'Moving (for) elder care abroad': the fragile promises of old-age care facilities for elderly Germans in Thailand, in: Horn, V., Schweppe, C. (Eds.), *Transnational aging. Current insights and future challenges*. Routledge, London, pp. 163–177.
- Horn, V., Schweppe, C., Um, S., 2013. Transnational aging—a young field of research. *Transnational Social Review* 3 (1): 7–10.
- Horton, J., Kraftl, P., 2008. Reflections on geographies of age: a response to Hopkins and Pain. *Area* 40 (2): 284–288.

- Huber, A., O'Reilly, K., 2004. The construction of Heimat under conditions of individualised modernity: Swiss and British elderly migrants in Spain. *Ageing & Society* 24 (3): 327–351.
- Hunter, A., 2011a. *Retirement Home? France's migrant worker hostels and the dilemma of late-in-life return*. Doctoral Thesis. The university of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.
- Hunter, A., 2011b. Theory and practice of return migration at retirement: the case of migrant worker hostel residents in France. *Population, Space and Place* 17 (2): 179–192.
- Hunter, A., 2016a. Emotional or instrumental? Narratives of home among North and West African seniors in France, in: Walsh, K., Näre, L. (Eds.), *Transnational migration and home in older age*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 75–86.
- Hunter, A., 2016b. Deathscapes in diaspora: contesting space and negotiating home in contexts of post-migration diversity. *Social & Cultural Geography* 17 (2): 247–261.
- Hunter, A., Ammann, E.S., 2016. End-of-life care and rituals in contexts of post-migration diversity in Europe: an introduction. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37 (2): 95–102.
- Ilahi, N., 1999. Return migration and occupational change. *Review of Development Economics* 3 (2): 170–186.
- Jackson, P., 1989. *Maps of meaning: an introduction to cultural geography*. Unwin Hyman, London.
- Jackson, P., Crang, P., Dwyer, C., 2004. *Transnational spaces*. Routledge, London.
- Jameson, F., 1998. *The cultural turn: selected writings on the postmodern, 1983-1998*. Verso, London.
- Jefferys, M., 1996. Cultural aspects of ageing: gender and inter-generational issues. *Social Science & Medicine*, 43 (5): 681–687.
- Jerrrome, D., 1981. The significance of friendship for women in later Life. *Ageing & Society* 1 (2): 175–197.
- Karl, U., Ramos, A.C., Kühn, B., 2017. Older migrants in Luxembourg – care preferences for old age between family and professional services. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2): 270–286.
- Karl, U., Torres, S., (Eds.) 2015. *Ageing in contexts of migration*. Routledge, London.
- Karlsson, S.G., Borell, K., 2002. Intimacy and autonomy, gender and ageing: living apart together. *Ageing International* 27 (4): 11–26.
- Katz, S., 2001. Growing older without aging? Positive aging, anti-ageism, and anti-aging. *Generations* 25 (4): 27–32.
- Katz, S., 2009. Spaces of age, snowbirds and the gerontology of mobility: the elderscapes of Charlotte County, Florida, in: Sokolovsky, J. (Ed.), *The cultural context of aging: worldwide perspectives*. Praeger, Westport, pp. 463–486.
- Kearns, R.A., Andrews, G.J., 2005. Placing ageing: positionings in the study of older people, in: Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R. (Eds.), *Ageing and place: perspectives, policy, practice*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 13–23.
- Keith, J., Fry, C., Glascock, A., Ikels, C., Dickerson-Putman, J., Harpending, H.C., Draper, P., 1994. *The aging experience: diversity and commonality across cultures*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Kenna, M., 1992. Changing places and altered perspectives. Research on a Greek island in the 1960s and in the 1980s, in: Okely, J., Callaway, H. (Eds.), *Anthropology & Autobiography*. Routledge, London, pp. 145–160.

- Kenna, M.E., 1993. Return migrants and tourism development: an example from the Cyclades. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1): 75–95.
- King, R., 2009. Geography, islands and migration in an era of global mobility. *Island Studies Journal* 4 (1): 53–84.
- King, R., 2015. Migration and Southern Europe: a centre-periphery dynamic?, in: Baumeister, M., Sala, R. (Eds.), *Southern Europe?: Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece from the 1950s until the present day*. Campus Verlag, Frankfurt-on-Main, pp. 139–172.
- King, R., Cela, E., Fokkema, T., Vullnetari, J., 2014. The migration and well-being of the zero generation: transgenerational care, grandparenting, and loneliness amongst Albanian older people. *Population, Space and Place* 20 (8): 728–738.
- King, R., Iosifides, T., Myrivili, L., 1998. A migrant's story: from Albania to Athens. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24 (1): 159–175.
- King, R., Lulle, A., Sampaio, D., Vullnetari, J., 2017. Unpacking the ageing–migration nexus and challenging the vulnerability trope. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2): 182–198.
- King, R., Vullnetari, J., 2006. Orphan pensioners and migrating grandparents: the impact of mass migration on older people in rural Albania. *Ageing & Society* 26 (5): 783–816.
- King, R., Warnes, A.M., Williams, A., 2000. *Sunset lives: British retirement migration to the Mediterranean*. Berg, Oxford.
- Kılınç, N., King, R., 2017. The quest for a 'better life': second-generation Turkish-Germans 'return' to 'paradise'. *Demographic Research* 36: 1491–1514.
- Klimt, A., 2000. European spaces: Portuguese migrants' notions of home and belonging. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9 (2): 259–285.
- Knowles, C., Amit, V., 2017. Changing tacks: a consideration of the improvisational dimension of mobility. Presented at the conference Migrant cartographies: cities, circuits and circulations, London, 12 May.
- Kordel, S., Pohle, P., 2016. International lifestyle migration in the Andes of Ecuador: how migrants from the USA perform privilege, import rurality and evaluate their impact on local community. *Sociologia Ruralis*. doi:10.1111/soru.12133
- Korpela, M., 2014. Lifestyle of freedom? Individualism and lifestyle migration, in: Benson, M., Osbaldiston, N. (Eds.), *Understanding lifestyle migration. Theoretical approaches to migration and the quest for a better way of life*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 27–46.
- Lamb, S., 2002. Intimacy in a transnational era: the remaking of aging among Indian Americans. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 11 (3): 299–330.
- Langer, N., 2009. Late life love and intimacy. *Educational Gerontology* 35 (8): 752–764.
- Lardiés, R., 1999. Migration and tourism entrepreneurship: North-European immigrants in Cataluña and Languedoc. *International Journal of Population Geography* 5 (6): 477–491.
- Lauer, S.R., Wong, Q., 2010. Transnationalism over the life course. *Sociology Compass* 4 (12): 1054–1062.
- Lawrence, S., Torres, S. (Eds.), 2015. *Older people and migration: challenges for social work*. Routledge, Abingdon.

- Laws, G., 1997. Spatiality and age relations, in: Jamieson, A., Harper, S., Victor, C. (Eds.), *Critical approaches to ageing and later life*. Open University Press, Maidenhead, pp. 90–100.
- Lawson, V.A., 2000. Arguments within geographies of movement: the theoretical potential of migrants' stories. *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (2): 173–189.
- Leal, J., 2009. Travelling rituals. Azorean Holy Ghost festivals in Southeastern New England, in: Holton, K., Klimt, A. (Eds.), *Community, culture and the makings of identity. Portuguese-Americans along the Eastern seaboard*. Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, pp. 127–144.
- Lefebvre, H., 1991. *The production of space*. Wiley-Blackwell, New Jersey.
- Levitt, P., 2001. *The transnational villagers*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Ley, D., Kobayashi, A., 2005. Back to Hong Kong: return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks* 5 (2): 111–127.
- Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., Zilber, T., 1998. *Narrative research: reading, analysis and interpretation*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Longino, C.F., Perzynski, A.T., Stoller, E.P., 2002. Pandora's briefcase: unpacking the retirement migration decision. *Research on Aging* 24 (1): 29–49.
- Lowenthal, D., 2007. Islands, lovers, and others. *Geographical Review* 97 (2): 202–229.
- Luborsky, M.R., LeBlanc, I.M., 2003. Cross-cultural perspectives on the concept of retirement: an analytic redefinition. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 18 (4): 251–271.
- Lulle, A., 2014. *Time-space of possibilities: translocal geographies of Latvians in Guernsey*. Doctoral thesis. University of Latvia, Riga.
- Lulle, A., King, R., 2016a. Ageing well: the time-spaces of possibility for older female Latvian migrants in the UK. *Social & Cultural Geography* 17 (3): 444–462.
- Lulle, A., King, R., 2016b. *Ageing, Gender, and Labour Migration*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Maddrell, A., 2016. Mapping grief. A conceptual framework for understanding the spatial dimensions of bereavement, mourning and remembrance. *Social & Cultural Geography* 17 (2): 166–188.
- Magalhães-Godinho, V., 1974. L'émigration portugaise du XVe siècle à nos jours: histoire d'une constante structurale., in: Labrousse, C.E. (Ed.), *Conjoncture économique, structures sociales: mélanges en honneur*. Mouton, Paris, pp. 253–268.
- Mai, N., King, R., 2009. Love, sexuality and migration: mapping the issue(s). *Mobilities* 4 (3): 295–307.
- Mallett, S., 2004. Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. *The Sociological Review* 52 (1): 62–89.
- Marcus, G.E., 2007. How short can fieldwork be? *Social Anthropology* 15 (3): 353–357.
- Márquez, G.G., 2006. *Memories of my melancholy whores*. Vintage/Random House, New York.
- Marshall, J., 1999. Insiders and outsiders: the role of insularity, migration and modernity on Grand Manan, New Brunswick, in: King, R., Connell, J. (Eds.), *Small worlds, global lives: islands and migration*. Pinter, London, pp. 95–113.
- Massey, D., 1991. A global sense of place. *Marxism Today*, 38: 24–29.
- Massey, D., 1994. *Space, place, and gender*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Massey, D., 2005. *For space*. Sage, London.

- May, J., Thrift, N.J., 2003. *TimeSpace: geographies of temporality*. Routledge, London.
- Mazumdar, S., Mazumdar, S., 2009. Religion, immigration, and home making in diaspora: Hindu space in Southern California. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 29 (2): 256–266.
- McCall, G., 1994. Nissology: a proposal for consideration. *Journal of the Pacific Society* 17 (2-3): 1–14.
- McDonald, L., 2011. Theorising about ageing, family and immigration. *Ageing & Society* 31 (7): 1180–1201.
- McGowan, P., 2004. *Anne Sexton and middle generation poetry: the geography of grief*. Praeger, London.
- McHugh, K. E., 2000a. The 'ageless self'? Emplacement of identities in sun belt retirement communities. *Journal of Aging Studies* 14 (1): 103–115.
- McHugh, K. E., 2000b. Inside, outside, upside down, backward, forward, round and round: a case for ethnographic studies in migration. *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (1): 71–89.
- McHugh, K.E., 2003. Three faces of ageism: society, image and place. *Ageing & Society* 23 (2): 165–185.
- McHugh, K.E., Mings, R.C., 1996. The circle of migration: attachment to place in aging. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (3): 530–550.
- Mendes, D., 2015. *Percursos e práticas conjugais dos imigrantes em contexto insular*. Novas Edições Acadêmicas, Saarbrücken.
- Mendes, P., 2008. A comunidade Cabo-verdiana nos Açores, in: Góis, P. (Ed.), *Comunidade(s) Cabo-Verdianas: as múltiplas faces da imigração Cabo-Verdiana*. ACIDI, I.P., Lisboa, pp. 37–66.
- Merriam, S.B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M.-Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G., Muhamad, M., 2001. Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 20 (5): 405–416.
- Miller, R.L., 2000. *Researching life stories and family histories*. Sage, London.
- Milligan, C., Gatrell, A., Bingley, A., 2004. 'Cultivating health': therapeutic landscapes and older people in northern England. *Social Science & Medicine* 58 (9): 1781–1793.
- Milligan, C., Wiles, J., 2010. Landscapes of care. *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (6): 736–754.
- Monteiro, P.F., 1994. *Emigração: o eterno mito do retorno*. Celta Editora, Oeiras.
- Moore, K.D., Ekerdt, D.J., 2011. Age and the cultivation of place. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 25 (3): 189–192.
- Moreno, L., 2006. The model of social protection in Southern Europe. *Revue Française des Affaires Sociales*, 5 (5): 73–95.
- Mullan, C., 1993. Growing old in Spain—the problems of the elderly British expatriate community in Spain. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 8 (12): 1015–1017.
- Nadarajah, Y., Grydehøj, A., 2016. Island studies as a decolonial project. *Island Studies Journal* 11 (2): 437–446.
- Nemésio, V., 1932. Açorianidade. *Insula*, 8.
- Neugarten, B.L., 1974. Age groups in American society and the rise of the young-old. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 415: 187–198.

- Neysmith, S.M., Aronson, J., 2012. Global aging and comparative research: pushing theoretical and methodological boundaries. *Journal of Aging Studies* 26 (3): 227–231.
- Ní Laoire, C., 2007. The 'green green grass of home'? Return migration to rural Ireland. *Journal of Rural Studies* 23 (3): 332–344.
- Ní Laoire, C., 2008a. Complicating host-newcomer dualisms: Irish return migrants as home-comers or newcomers. *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* 4 (1): 35–50.
- Ní Laoire, C., 2008b. 'Settling back'? A biographical and life-course perspective on Ireland's recent return migration. *Irish Geography* 41 (2): 195–210.
- Norman, A., 1985. *Triple jeopardy: growing old in a second homeland*. Centre for Policy on Ageing, London.
- OECD, 2008. *International migration outlook 2008: SOPEMI*. Annual report. OECD, Paris. [Online] Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/internationalmigrationoutlook2008.htm> (accessed 18 November 2016).
- Oeppen, C., 2013. A stranger at 'home': interactions between transnational return visits and integration for Afghan-American professionals. *Global Networks* 13 (2): 261–278.
- Oliver, C., 2004. Cultural influence in migrants' negotiation of death. The case of retired migrants in Spain. *Mortality* 9 (3): 235–254.
- Oliver, C., 2007. Imagined communitas: older migrants and aspirational mobility, in: Amit, V. (Ed.), *Going first class? New approaches to privileged travel and movement*. Berghahn, New York, pp. 126–143.
- Oliver, C., 2008. *Retirement migration: paradoxes of ageing*. Routledge, London.
- Oliver, C., 2016. Later life (im)mobilities and choice homophily. Presented at the Royal Geographical Association annual conference, London, 30 August – 2 September.
- O'Reilly, K., 2000a. *The British on the Costa del Sol: transnational identities and local communities*. Routledge, London.
- O'Reilly, K., 2000b. Trading intimacy for liberty: British women on the Costa del Sol, in: Anthias, F., Lazaridis, G. (Eds.), *Gender and migration in Southern Europe*. Berg, Oxford, pp. 227–248.
- O'Reilly, K., 2005. *Ethnographic methods*. Routledge, London.
- O'Reilly, K., 2012. Ethnographic returning, qualitative longitudinal research and the reflexive analysis of social practice. *The Sociological Review* 60 (3): 518–536.
- O'Reilly, K., 2014. The role of the social imaginary in lifestyle migration: employing the ontology of practice theory, in: Benson, M., Osbaldiston, N. (Eds.), *Understanding lifestyle migration. Theoretical approaches to migration and the quest for a better way of life*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 211–234.
- Pain, R., Mowl, G., Talbot, C., 2000. Difference and the negotiation of 'old age'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18 (3): 377–393.
- Parker, K.C., 2001. Enrichment and frustration in fieldwork. *Geographical Review* 91 (1–2), 168–174.
- Paulson, S., 2005. How various 'cultures of fitness' shape subjective experiences of growing older. *Ageing & Society*, 25: 229–244.

- Peace, S.M., Holland, C., Kellaher, L., 2005. Making space for identity, in: Andrews, G.J., Phillips, D.R. (Eds.), *Ageing and place: perspectives, policy, practice*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 188–204.
- Percival, J., 2013. *Return migration in later life*. Policy Press, Bristol.
- Péron, F., 2004. The contemporary lure of the island. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 95 (3), 326–339.
- Pessar, P.R., Mahler, S.J., 2003. Transnational migration: bringing gender in. *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 812–846.
- Philip, L., Macleod, M., Stockdale, A., 2013. Retirement transition, migration and remote rural communities: evidence from the Isle of Bute. *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129 (2): 122–136.
- Phillips, J., Potter, R.B., 2005. Incorporating race and gender into Caribbean return migration: the example of second generation 'Bajan-Brits', in: Potter, R.B., Conway, D., Phillips, J. (Eds.), *The experience of return migration: Caribbean perspectives*. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 69–88.
- Phillipson, C., Ahmed, N., 2006. Transnational communities, migration and changing identities in later life: a new research agenda, in: Daatland, S.O., Biggs, S. (Eds.), *Ageing and diversity: multiple pathways and cultural migrations*. Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 157–170.
- Plaza, D., 2000. Transnational grannies: the changing family responsibilities of elderly African Caribbean-born women resident in Britain. *Social Indicators Research* 51 (1): 75–105.
- Plummer, K., 2001. *Documents of life 2: an invitation to a critical humanism*. Sage Publications, London.
- Polkinghorne, D.E., 1992. Postmodern epistemology of practice, in: Kvale, S. (Ed.), *Psychology and postmodernism*. Sage, London, pp. 146–165.
- Portes, A., 1997. *Globalization from below: the rise of transnational communities*. ESRC Transnational Communities Programme. Working Paper No. 1 1–27.
- Price, P.L., 2010. Cultural geography and the stories we tell ourselves. *Cultural Geographies* 17 (2): 203–210.
- Rapport, N., Dawson, A. (Eds.) 1998. *Migrants of identity: perceptions of home in a world of movement*. Berg, Oxford.
- Razum, D.O., Sahin-Hodoglugil, N.N., Polit, K., 2005. Health, wealth or family ties? Why Turkish work migrants return from Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (4): 719–739.
- Rebelo, D., 1926. *Os emigrantes*. [Oil on canvas] Museu Carlos Machado, Ponta Delgada. [Online] Available at: <http://museucarlosmachado.azores.gov.pt/osemigrantes> (accessed 21 November 2016)
- Reid Banks, L., 2017. It's great being old. I can be eccentric, self-indulgent – even offensive. *The Guardian* (Friday, 27th January).
- Reinharz, S., Chase, S.E., 2011. Interviewing women, in: Holstein, J.A., Gubrium, J.F. (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: new lenses, new concerns*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 72–90.
- Riley, M., Harvey, D., 2007. Talking geography: on oral history and the practice of geography. *Social & Cultural Geography* 8 (3): 345–351.
- Rocha, G.P.N., 2008. Crescimento da população e os novos destinos da emigração – 1895–1976, in: Matos, A.T., Meneses, A.F., Leite, J.G. (Eds.), *História dos Açores*. Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, Angra do Heroísmo, pp. 265–305.

- Rocha, G.P.N., Ferreira, E., Mendes, D., 2011a. *Between two worlds. emigration and return to the Azores*. Regional Department of the Communities and University of the Azores, Azores.
- Rocha, G.P.N., de Medeiros, O.H.R., Ferreira, E., 2011b. *Profiles and pathways of immigrants in the Azores*. Regional Department of the Communities and University of the Azores, Azores.
- Rocha, G.P.N., Borralho, A., Mendes, D., 2017. *Duplas pertenças: emigração e deportação nos Açores*. Edições Húmus, V.N. Famalicão.
- Rocha-Trindade, M.B., 2000. The Portuguese diaspora, in: Teixeira, C., Rosa, V.M.P.D. (Eds.), *The Portuguese in Canada: from the sea to the city*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp. 15–31.
- Rodriguez, V., 2001. Tourism as a recruiting post for retirement migration. *Tourism Geographies* 3 (1): 52–63.
- Rodriguez, V., Fernández-Mayoralas, Casado-Díaz, M.A., Huber, A., 2005. Una perspectiva actual de la migración internacional de jubilados a España, in: Rodriguez, V., Casado-Díaz, M.A., Huber, A. (Eds.), *La migración de Europeos retirados en España*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, pp. 15–46.
- Rose, N., 1996. *Inventing our selves: psychology, power, and personhood*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Roseneil, S., Budgeon, S., 2004. Cultures of intimacy and care beyond 'the family': personal life and social change in the early 21st century. *Current Sociology* 52 (2): 135–159.
- Rosenthal, G., 1993. Reconstruction of life stories: principles of selection in generating stories for narrative biographical narrative interviews, in: Josselson, R., Lieblich, A. (Eds.), *Narrative study of lives vol.1*. Sage, London.
- Rosenthal, G., 2006. The narrated life story: on the interrelation between experience, memory and narration, in: Milnes, K., Horrocks, N., Kelly, N., Roberts, B., Robinson, D. (Eds.), *Narrative, memory and knowledge: representations, aesthetics and contexts*. University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield.
- Rowles, G.D., 1983. Place and personal identity in old age: observations from Appalachia. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3 (4): 299–313.
- Rowles, G.D., 1986. The geography of ageing and the aged: toward an integrated perspective. *Progress in Human Geography* 10 (4): 511–539.
- Rowles, G.D., Chaudhury, H. (Eds.), 2005. *Home and identity in late life: international perspectives*. Springer, New York.
- Rubinstein, N., 2005. Psychic homelands and the imagination of place: a literary perspective, in: Rowles, G.D., Chaudhury, H. (Eds.), *Home and identity in late life: international perspectives*. Springer, New York, pp. 111–142.
- Rubinstein, R.L., Parmelee, P., 1992. Attachment to place and the representation of the life course by the elderly, in: Altman, I., Low, S.M. (Eds.), *Place attachment*. Plenum Press, New York, pp. 139–161.
- Ryan, L., 2004. Family matters:(e)migration, familial networks and Irish women in Britain. *The Sociological Review* 52 (3): 351–370.
- Ryan, L., 2015. 'Inside' and 'outside' of what or where? Researching migration through multi-positionalities. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 16 (2): 1–17.

- Salvà Tomàs, P., 2005. La inmigración de Europeos retirados en las islas baleares, in: Rodríguez, V., Casado-Díaz, M.A., Huber, A. (Eds.), *Una perspectiva actual de la migración internacional de jubilados a España*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, pp. 221–240.
- Sampaio, D., 2017. 'Is this really where home is?' Experiences of home in a revisited homeland among ageing Azorean returnees, in: Vathi, Z., King, R. (Eds.), *Return migration and psychosocial wellbeing. Discourses, policy-making and outcomes for migrants and their families*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 240–256.
- Sampaio, D., 2017. Ageing 'here' or 'there'? Spatio-temporalities in older labour migrants' return aspirations from the Azores. *Finisterra*, LII, 106, 49–64.
- Sardinha, J., 2015. Idyllic seekers and liminal beings: lifestyle migrants in Central Portugal, in: Torkington, K., David, I., Sardinha, J. (Eds.), *Practising the good life. Lifestyle migration in practices*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle Upon Tyne, pp. 33–51.
- Scheper-Hughes, N., 1992. *Death without weeping: the violence of everyday life in Brazil*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Schwalbe, M.L., Wolkomir, M., 2011. Interviewing men, in: Holstein, J.A., Gubrium, J.F. (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: new lenses, new concerns*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 54–71.
- Schwanen, T., Hardill, I., Lucas, S., 2012a. Spatialities of ageing: the co-construction and co-evolution of old age and space. *Geoforum* 43 (6): 1291–1295.
- Schwanen, T., Banister, D., Bowling, A., 2012b. Independence and mobility in later life. *Geoforum* 43 (6): 1313–1322.
- SEFSTAT, 2015. Foreign resident population in the Azores. [Online] Available at: <https://sefstat.sef.pt/distritos.aspx> (accessed 18 November 2016).
- SEFSTAT, various years. Annual report on immigration, borders and asylum. [Online] Available at: <https://sefstat.sef.pt/relatorios.aspx> (accessed 18 November 2016).
- Segal, L., 2013. *Out of time: the pleasures and the perils of ageing*. Verso, London.
- Seo, Y.K., Mazumdar, S., 2011. Feeling at home: Korean Americans in senior public housing. *Journal of Aging Studies* 25 (3): 233–242.
- Shell, M., 2014. *Islandology: geography, rhetoric, politics*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Sheller, M., 2012. *Citizenship from below: erotic agency and Caribbean freedom*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.
- Sheller, M., Urry, J., 2006. The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2): 207–226.
- Shields, M., Stallmann, J.I., Deller, S.C., 2003. The economic and fiscal impacts of the elderly on a small rural region. *Journal of the Community Development Society* 34 (1): 85–106.
- Shinozaki, K., 2012. Transnational dynamics in researching migrants: self-reflexivity and boundary-drawing in fieldwork. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (10): 1810–1827.
- Silva, A., 2010. Migrações em espaços insulares: testemunhos Açorianos, in: Fonseca, L. (Ed.), *Aproximando mundos: emigração, imigração e desenvolvimento em espaços insulares*. Fundação Luso-Americana, Lisboa, pp. 131–138.
- Skinner, M.W., Cloutier, D., Andrews, G.J., 2015. Geographies of ageing: progress and possibilities after two decades of change. *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (6): 776–799.

- Small, M.L., 2009. 'How many cases do I need?': On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography* 10 (1): 5–38.
- Soja, E.W., 1989. *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory*. Verso, New York.
- Sokolovsky, J., 2009. Introduction: human maturity and global aging in cultural context, in: Sokolovsky, J. (Ed.), *The cultural context of aging: worldwide perspectives*. Praeger, Westport, pp. xv–xx.
- Statistics Portugal, 2011. Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Censos 2011. [Online] Available at: <http://censos.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=CENSOS&xpgid=censos-homepage> (accessed 21 November 2016).
- Statistics Portugal, 2016. Annual estimates of resident population. [Online] Available at: https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0008272&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2 (accessed 18 July 2017).
- Stevenson, O., Kenten, C., Maddrell, A., 2016. And now the end is near: enlivening and politicising the geographies of dying, death and mourning. *Social & Cultural Geography* 17(2): 153–165.
- Stone, I., Stubbs, C., 2007. Enterprising expatriates: lifestyle migration and entrepreneurship in rural southern Europe. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 19 (5): 433–450.
- Suárez-Ortega, M., 2013. Performance, reflexivity, and learning through biographical-narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 19 (3): 189–200.
- Sussman, N.M., 2000. The dynamic nature of cultural identity throughout cultural transitions: why home is not so sweet. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 4 (4): 355–373.
- Szanton Blanc, C., Basch, L., Schiller, N.G., 1995. Transnationalism, nation-states, and culture. *Current Anthropology* 36 (4): 683–686.
- Teerling, J., 2014. *The Return of British-born Cypriots to Cyprus: a narrative ethnography*. Sussex Academic Press, Eastbourne.
- Teixeira, C., 2010. Toronto multicultural e 'little Portugal' ('a décima ilha dos Açores'), in: Fonseca, L. (Ed.), *Aproximando mundos: emigração, imigração e desenvolvimento em espaços insulares*. Fundação Luso-Americana, Lisboa, pp. 193–212.
- Teixeira, C., Rosa, V.M.P.D. (Eds.) 2000. *The Portuguese in Canada: from the sea to the city*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Thomson, A., 1999. Moving stories: oral history and migration studies. *Oral History* 27 (1): 24–37.
- Thomson, A., 2005. 'My wayward heart': homesickness, longing and the return of British post-war immigrants from Australia, in: Harper, M. (Ed.), *Emigrant homecomings. The return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 105–130.
- Thrift, N., 2008. Re-animating the place of thought: transformations of spatial and temporal description in the twenty-first century, in: Amin, A. and Roberts, J., *Community, economic creativity, and organization*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 90–121.
- Torres, S., 1999. A culturally-relevant theoretical framework for the study of successful ageing. *Ageing & Society* 19 (1): 33–51.
- Torres, S., 2001. Understandings of successful ageing in the context of migration: the case of Iranian immigrants in Sweden. *Ageing & Society* 21 (3): 333–355.

- Torres, S., 2006. Elderly immigrants in Sweden: 'otherness' under construction. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8): 1341–1358.
- Torres, S., 2013. Transnationalism and the study of aging and old age, in: Phellas, C. (Ed.), *Aging in European societies*. Springer, New York, pp. 267–282.
- Torres, S., Lawrence, S., 2012. An introduction to 'the age of migration' and its consequences for the field of gerontological social work. *European Journal of Social Work* 15 (1): 1–7.
- Townsend, P., 1981. The structured dependency of the elderly: a creation of social policy in the twentieth century. *Ageing & Society* 1 (1): 5–28.
- Toyota, M., Xiang, B., 2012. The emerging transnational 'retirement industry' in Southeast Asia. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 32 (11–12): 708–719.
- Trundle, C., 2009. Romance tourists, foreign wives or retirement migrants? Cross-cultural marriage in Florence, Italy, in: Benson, M., O'Reilly, K. (Eds.), *Lifestyle migration: expectations, aspirations and experiences*. Ashgate, Farnham, pp. 51–68.
- Trundle, C., 2014. *Americans in Tuscany: charity, compassion, and belonging*. Berghahn, New York.
- United Nations Population Division, 2013. *International migration 2013: age and sex distribution*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York.
- United Nations Population Division, 2015. *International Migration Report 2015*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York.
- Van Gennep, A., 1960. *The rites of passage*. Psychology Press, Hove.
- Vanderbeck, R.M., 2007. Intergenerational geographies: age relations, segregation and re-engagements. *Geography Compass* 1 (2): 200–221.
- Vannini, P., Taggart, J., 2014. No man can be an island: lifestyle migration, stillness, and the new quietism, in: Benson, M., Osbaldiston, N. (Eds.), *Understanding lifestyle migration. Theoretical approaches to migration and the quest for a better way of life*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 188–210.
- Vertovec, S., 1999. Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (2): 447–462.
- Victor, C., Scambler, S., Bond, J., Bowling, A., 2000. Being alone in later life: loneliness, social isolation and living alone. *Reviews in Clinical Gerontology* 10 (4): 407–417.
- Virilio, P., 2006. *Speed and politics*. (2006 ed.) Semiotext(e), Los Angeles.
- Visit Azores, 2015. Visit Azores. [Online] Available at: <http://www.visitazores.com/en> (accessed 19 November 2016).
- Vlase, I., 2013. 'My husband is a patriot!': gender and Romanian family return migration from Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (5): 741–758.
- Waldorf, B., 1995. Determinants of international return migration intentions. *Professional Geographer* 47 (2): 125–136.
- Walsh, K., 2006a. British expatriate belongings: mobile homes and transnational homing. *Home Cultures* 3 (2): 123–144.
- Walsh, K., 2006b. 'Dad says I'm tied to a shooting star!' Grounding (research on) British expatriate belonging. *Area* 38 (3): 268–278.
- Walsh, K., 2011. Migrant masculinities and domestic space: British home-making practices in Dubai. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (4): 516–529.
- Walsh, K., Näre, L. (Eds.) 2016. *Transnational migration and home in older age*. Routledge, Abingdon.

- Warnes, A.M., 1990. Geographical questions in gerontology: needed directions for research. *Progress in Human Geography* 14 (1): 24–56.
- Warnes, A.M., 2004. The diversity of older migrants, in: Warnes, A.M. (Ed.), *Older migrants in Europe: essays, projects and sources*. Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing, Sheffield, pp. 7–13.
- Warnes, A.M., Friedrich, K., Kellaher, L., Torres, S., 2004. The diversity and welfare of older migrants in Europe. *Ageing & Society* 24 (3): 307–326.
- Warnes, A.M., Williams, A., 2006. Older migrants in Europe: a new focus for migration studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8): 1257–1281.
- Westerhof, G.J., 2010. 'During my life so much has changed that it looks like a new world to me'. A narrative perspective on migrating in time. *Journal of Aging Studies* 24 (1): 12–19.
- Wheeler, W., 1994. Nostalgia isn't nasty: the postmodernising of parliamentary democracy, in: Perryman, M. (Ed.), *Altered states: postmodernism, politics, culture*. Lawrence & Wishart, London, pp. 94–107.
- White, P., 2006. Migrant populations approaching old age: prospects in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (8): 1283–1300.
- Wierzbicka, A., 2004. Emotion and culture: arguing with Martha Nussbaum. *Ethos* 31 (4): 577–600.
- Wilde-Menozzi, W., 2003. Grafting on Italian roots. *The Literary Review* 47, 157–165.
- Williams, A., 2002. Changing geographies of care: employing the concept of therapeutic landscapes as a framework in examining home space. *Social Science & Medicine* 55 (1): 141–154.
- Williams, A., Fonseca, L., 1999. The Azores: between Europe and North America, in: King, R., Connell, J. (Eds.), *Small worlds, global lives: islands and migration*. Pinter, London, pp. 55–76.
- Williams, A., Hall, C.M., 2000. Tourism and migration: new relationships between production and consumption. *Tourism Geographies* 2 (1): 5–27.
- Williams, J.R., 2005. *In pursuit of their dreams: a history of Azorean immigration to the United States*. Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, Dartmouth.
- Wilson, G., 2000. *Understanding old age: critical and global perspectives*. Sage, London.
- Wiseman, R.F., 1980. Why older people move: theoretical issues. *Research on Aging* 2 (2): 141–154.
- Woodward, K.M., 1991. *Aging and its discontents: Freud and other fictions*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Wray, S., 2003. Women growing older: agency, ethnicity and culture. *Sociology* 37 (3): 511–527.
- Zechner, M., 2008. Care of older persons in transnational settings. *Journal of Aging Studies* 22 (1): 32–44.
- Zontini, E., 2007. Continuity and change in transnational Italian families: the caring practices of second-generation women. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (7): 1103–1119.
- Zontini, E., 2015. Growing old in a transnational social field: belonging, mobility and identity among Italian migrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (2): 326–341.
- Zubair, M., Norris, M., 2015. Perspectives on ageing, later life and ethnicity: ageing research in ethnic minority contexts. *Ageing & Society* 35 (5): 897–916.

Appendix 1: Consent form



CONSENT FORM FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

PROJECT TITLE:

LATER-LIFE MIGRATION IN THE AZORES: AGEING EXPERIENCES
AND LOCAL IMPLICATIONS

Project Approval

Reference:

I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- Allow the interview to be audio taped
- Make myself available for a further interview should that be required

I understand that *any information I provide is confidential*, and that *no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual* in the reports on the project, either by the researcher or by any other party.

I understand that *full anonymisation of people's names, places and identifiable events* will be done to prevent my identity from being made public.

I understand that *I will be given a transcript of data concerning me* for my approval before being included in the write up of the research.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

The researcher

Name:

Signature

Date:

The participant

I believe that _____ (name) understands the above project and gives his/her consent voluntarily.

Name:

Signature

Address:

Date:

Appendix 2: Participants' information sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

MIGRANT PARTICIPANTS

LATER-LIFE MIGRATION IN THE AZORES: AGEING EXPERIENCES AND LOCAL IMPLICATIONS

Invitation to participate in the study

You are being invited to take part in a research study on later-life migration in the Azores. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. **Please take time to read the following information carefully.**

What is the purpose of the study?

This research study aims to explore **how later-life migrants (aged 50 or over) experience ageing in the Azores and what social and economic effects they bring into place. The individuals included in the study should spend at least six months annually in the Azores. The study will run for approximately 6 months – from June to December 2014 – during which I will be collecting in-depth life narrative interviews.**

Why have I been invited to participate?

You were selected for this interview because someone previously interviewed (or informed about this project) suggested that you would be an interesting case-study for this research. In total this project is planned to include approximately 100 individuals.

What will happen to me if I take part? In what consists the interview?

In this research project I am using a life narrative approach. This means that I will ask you about your life experiences, especially those related to your decision of staying in the Azores at a later stage of your life. My degree of interference during the interview will be minimal and in case I have any additional questions I will ask them at the end. The duration of the interview may be variable as it depends on each interviewee's own narrative, but it should not last more than 1 ½ hours.

What are the possible benefits of taking part? How am I helping?

By participating in this study you will help me to better understand how it is to be experiencing later-life in the Azores and what social and economic transformations you feel you have promoted/are promoting in place.

Who is conducting this research?

My name is Dora Sampaio and I am a geography doctoral student at the School of Global Studies of the University of Sussex (United Kingdom). This project is funded by the Portuguese Council for Science and Technology (FCT).

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS PLEASE CONTACT ME:

Dora Sampaio | Email: d.sampaio@sussex.ac.uk | Tel:

Thank you for your time!

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

LOCAL PARTICIPANTS

LATER-LIFE MIGRATION IN THE AZORES: AGEING EXPERIENCES AND LOCAL IMPLICATIONS

Invitation to participate in the study

You are being invited to take part in a research study on later-life migration in the Azores. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. **Please take time to read the following information carefully.**

What is the purpose of the study?

This research study aims to explore **how later-life migrants (aged 50 or over) experience ageing in the Azores and what social and economic effects they bring into place.** The study will run for approximately 6 months – from June to December 2014 – during which I will be collecting in-depth life narrative interviews.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You were selected for this interview because someone previously interviewed (or informed about this project) suggested that you would be an interesting case-study for this research. In total this project is planned to include approximately 100 individuals.

What will happen to me if I take part? In what consists the interview?

In this research project I am using a life narrative approach. This means that **I will ask you about your life experiences and perceptions, as a local, about later-life migrants – returnees, lifestyle migrants and older labour migrants – ageing in the Azores.** My degree of interference during the interview will be minimal and in case I have any additional questions I will ask them at the end. **The duration of the interview may be variable as it depends on each interviewee's own narrative, but it should not last more than 1 ½ hours.**

What are the possible benefits of taking part? How am I helping?

By participating in this study you will **help me to better understand what are the locals' perceptions of later-life migrants ageing in the Azores.** In addition, your answers will allow me to understand **how do you think these migrants experience ageing in a new or 'revisited' homeland and what social and economic transformations do you feel they have promoted/promote in place.**

Who is conducting this research?

My name is Dora Sampaio and I am a geography doctoral student at the School of Global Studies of the University of Sussex (United Kingdom). This project is funded by the Portuguese Council for Science and Technology (FCT).

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS PLEASE CONTACT ME:

Dora Sampaio | Email: d.sampaio@sussex.ac.uk | Tel:

Thank you for your time!

Appendix 3: Interview guides

Life Narrative Interview Guide

Labour migrants ageing in the Azores

GENERAL INFORMATION

Number of the interview: _____

Place of the interview [*Locality/city/island*]: _____

Date and time of the interview: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Description of the contact [*how the contact was found*]: _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name [*optional*]: _____

Locality/city/country of birth: _____

Locality/city/island of residence: _____

Age: _____

Education level: _____ | First language: _____

Country of origin: _____ | Prev. country of resid.: _____ |

Nationality(ies): _____

Marital status: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the spouse: _____

Number of children: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the children: _____

Children's city/country of residence [*when several start from the older to the younger*]:

Date [mm/yy] of arrival to the Azores: _____

Period of time spent annually in the Azores: _____

Current professional occupation [*when applicable and only if paid work*]: _____

Current living arrangements [*select which applies*]: a. Homeowner / renter
b. Living alone / Living with spouse / Living with spouse and offspring / Living with spouse and parents / Living with other relatives [*specify*] / Other

TO COMPLETE BY THE INTERVIEWER

Information about the interview setting: _____

Attributed pseudonym: _____ | Contact [optional]: _____

INTRODUCTION

- General introduction to the project, its main objectives and importance of the interviewee's participation in the research.
- General introduction to the researcher: my background and why I am interested in studying later-life migration in the Azores.
- Issues of anonymisation and confidentiality are explained. Consent form is signed/verbal consent is given.
- The interviewee is invited to introduce him/herself: background information is completed and the interview begins.

1. REASONS FOR STAYING IN THE AZORES IN LATER-LIFE

Could you please tell me about your decision of staying in the Azores in later-life?

- What were the main reasons for your decision of staying in the Azores in later-life?
- What type of aspirations or wishes led to your decision of staying in an 'adopted homeland' in later-life?
- What type of life experiences did you have in the Azores that may have contributed to your decision of staying?
- Did your family and/or friends play an important role in your decision?

2. EXPERIENCES OF LIVING AND AGEING IN THE AZORES

Could you please describe me a typical day of your life in the Azores?

Could you describe me a typical day of your life in your country of origin?

- How has living in the Azores influenced your way of living?
- Have you ever moved within the Azores? If so, from where to where and why?
- Do you visit your country of origin? If so, how frequently and for how long? For which reasons?
- Have these visits become more or less frequent across time? What has affected the change in frequency?
- Is there any other ways in which you keep in touch with your country of origin? If so, which?
- Do you keep regularly in touch with anyone living in other countries? If so, which country(ies) and why?
- How would you describe your experience when you visit your country of origin?
- How would you describe your experience when you fly back to the Azores?
- Where do you feel 'home' is?

3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF LIVING AND AGEING IN THE AZORES

- Could you please tell me about how do you think your presence in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the Azorean society?

- Could you please tell me about how do you think your presence in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the local economy?

3.1. Social contacts and local perceptions

- How do you feel towards your co-national community in the Azores?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with them?
- How do you feel towards other labour migrants ageing in the Azores?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with them?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with the local population?
- Do you keep contact with any other groups such as Azorean returnees or older expats? How would you describe those relationships (if any)?
- What opinions do you think the local population has about migrants like you living in the Azores?
- How do you think they see your migratory experience and local integration?
- How do you think your experience of migration may have affected/affects the ideas and hopes of the local population towards migration?
- How do you think you have influenced /influence locals' opinions and ideas about ageing and how it is to be and become 'older'?
- What opinions do you think regional and local institutions such as the city council or local associations have about migrants like you ageing in the Azores? How do you think they see your migratory experience and local integration?
- Do you take part in any organisation/association? What type of organisation/association? What do you do there?

3.2. Healthcare and welfare

- How do you see your current health condition?
- What type (if any) of healthcare do you currently need?
- How do you see the healthcare provision and welfare in the Azores?
- Do you usually use public healthcare? If not, which type of healthcare do you use?
- Do you usually go to the doctor in the Azores or in your country of origin?
- What type of difficulties do you think may arise as you grow old in the Azores? What do you feel will be the main differences in healthcare in comparison to ageing in your country of origin?

3.3. Housing and labour markets

- Did you buy, build or paid to build a house in the Azores?
- Do you own any other properties (e.g. for agriculture) in the Azores?
- Do have or had in the past any business? If so, what type of business? Did you have/do you have any employees? If so, how many? Were/are they Azoreans, from your country of origin (family or friends) or from other countries?

4. MIGRATION, AGEING AND PLACE IN THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about how do you think migration in/to/from the Azores has been/still is influenced by its mid-Atlantic position between Europe and North America?

- How do you feel the arrival and stay of labour migrants has influenced and changed the Azorean regional and local economies?
- How do you feel the arrival and stay of labour migrants has influenced and changed the Azorean society?
- How do you think the arrival and stay of labour migrants has influenced and shaped the Azorean identity?

5. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Where do you see yourself in the future? Do you think you will stay in the Azores or do you have plans to move in the future? If so, where to and why?

- What about your family (spouse, children), what are their plans for the future?

FINAL WORDS

- Is there anything else you would like to add?
- Do you feel that there are any other important topics that have not been discussed and that you would like to talk about?
- Do you find this study relevant? Is there any question(s) that you think should have been asked?
- Would you know any other migrants like you that would like to participate in this research?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

LIFE NARRATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

LIFESTYLE MIGRANTS IN THE AZORES

GENERAL INFORMATION

Number of the interview: _____

Place of the interview [*Locality/city/island*]: _____

Date and time of the interview: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Description of the contact [*how the contact was found*]: _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name [*optional*]: _____

Locality/city/country of birth: _____

Locality/city/island of residence: _____

Age: _____

Education level: _____ | First language: _____

Country of origin: _____ | Prev. country of resid.: _____ |

Nationality(ies): _____

Marital status: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the spouse: _____

Number of children: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the children: _____

Children's city/country of residence [*when several start from the older to the younger*]:

Date [mm/yy] of arrival to the Azores: _____

Period of time spent annually in the Azores: _____

Current professional occupation [*when applicable and only if paid work*]: _____

Current living arrangements [*select which applies*]: a. Homeowner / renter

b. Living alone / Living with spouse / Living with spouse and offspring / Living with spouse and parents / Living with other relatives [*specify*] / Other

TO COMPLETE BY THE INTERVIEWER

Information about the interview setting: _____

Attributed pseudonym: _____ | Contact *[optional]*: _____

INTRODUCTION

- General introduction to the project, its main objectives and importance of the interviewee's participation in the research.
- General introduction to the researcher: my background and why I am interested in studying later-life migration in the Azores.
- Issues of anonymisation and confidentiality are explained. Consent form is signed/verbal consent is given.
- The interviewee is invited to introduce him/herself: background information is completed and the interview begins.

1. REASONS FOR RELOCATING TO THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about your decision of relocating to the Azores?

- What were the main reasons for your decision of moving to the Azores?
- What type of aspirations or wishes led to your decision of relocating to a new 'home'?
- What type of images or memories (if any) did you have of the Azores before moving?
In which ways were these a reality, or not, when you arrived?
- Did your family and/or friends play an important role in your decision?

2. EXPERIENCES OF LIVING AND AGEING IN THE AZORES

Could you please describe me a typical day of your life in the Azores?

Could you describe me a typical day of your life in your previous country of residence?

- How has living in the Azores influenced your way of living?
- Have you ever moved within the Azores? If so, from where to where and why?
- Do you visit your previous country of residence? If so, how frequently and for how long? For which reasons?
- Have these visits become more or less frequent across time? What has affected the change in frequency?
- Is there any other ways in which you keep in touch with your previous country of residence? If so, which?
- Do you keep regularly in touch with anyone living in other countries? If so, which country(ies) and why?
- How would you describe your experience when you visit your previous country of residence?
- How would you describe your experience when you fly back to the Azores?
- Where do you feel 'home' is?

3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF LIVING AND AGEING IN THE AZORES

- Could you please tell me about how do you think your presence in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the Azorean society?
- Could you please tell me about how do you think your presence in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the local economy?

3.1. Social contacts and local perceptions

- How do you feel towards migrants like you living in the Azores?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with them?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with the local population?
- Do you keep contact with any groups such as Azorean returnees or ageing in place labour migrants? How would you describe those relationships (if any)?
- What opinions do you think the local population has about migrants like you living in the Azores? How do you think they see your migratory experience and local integration?
- How do you think your experience of migration may have affected/affects the ideas and hopes of the local population towards migration?
- How do you think you have influenced /influence locals' opinions and ideas about ageing and how it is to be and become 'older'?
- What opinions do you think regional and local institutions such as the city council or local associations have about migrants like you ageing in the Azores? How do you think they see your migratory experience and local integration?
- Do you take part in any organisation/association? What type of organisation/association? What do you do there?

3.2. Healthcare and welfare

- How do you see your current health condition?
- What type (if any) of healthcare do you currently need?
- How do you see the healthcare provision and welfare in the Azores?
- Do you usually use public healthcare or do you have a private health insurance?
- Do you usually go to the doctor in the Azores or in your previous country of residence?
- What type of difficulties do you think may arise as you grow old in the Azores? What do you feel will be the main differences in healthcare in comparison to ageing in your previous country of residence?

3.3. Housing and labour markets

- Did you buy, build or paid to build a house in the Azores?
- Do you own any other properties (e.g. for agriculture or for renting) in the Azores?
- Do have or had in the past any business? If so, what type of business? Did you have/do you have any employees? If so, how many? Were/are they Azoreans, from your country of origin (family or friends) or from other countries?

- Do you employ any housekeeper, gardener or any other employee in your house? If so, are they Azoreans, from your country of origin (family or friends) or from other countries?

4. MIGRATION, AGEING AND PLACE IN THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about how do you think migration in/to/from the Azores has been/still are influenced by its mid-Atlantic position between Europe and North America?

- How do you feel the relocation of migrants like you has influenced and changed the Azorean regional and local economies?
- How do you think the relocation of migrants like you has influenced and changed the Azorean society?
- How do you think the relocation of migrants like you has influenced and changed the Azorean identity?

5. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Where do you see yourself in the future? Do you think you will stay in the Azores or do you have plans to move in the future? If so, where to and why?

- What about your family (spouse, children), what are their plans for the future?

FINAL WORDS

- Is there anything else you would like to add?
- Do you feel that there are any other important topics that have not been discussed and that you would like to talk about?
- Do you find this study relevant? Is there any question(s) you think should have been asked?
- Would you know any other migrants like you that would like to participate in this research?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

Life Narrative Interview Guide

Azorean returnees in the Azores

GENERAL INFORMATION

Number of the interview: _____

Place of the interview [*Locality/city/island*]: _____

Date and time of the interview: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Description of the contact [*how the contact was found*]: _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name [*optional*]: _____

Locality/city/country of birth: _____

Locality/city/island of residence: _____

Age: _____

Education level: _____

Country(ies) of emigration: _____ | Number of years spent abroad: _____ |

Nationality(ies): _____

Marital status: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the spouse: _____

Number of children: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the children: _____

Children's city/country of residence [*when several start from the older to the younger*]:

Date [mm/yy] of arrival to the Azores: _____

Period of time spent annually in the Azores: _____

Current professional occupation [*when applicable and only if paid work*]: _____

Current living arrangements [*select which applies*]: a. Homeowner / renter

b. Living alone / Living with spouse / Living with spouse and offspring / Living with spouse and parents / Living with other relatives [specify] / Other

TO COMPLETE BY THE INTERVIEWER

Information about the interview setting: _____

Attributed pseudonym: _____ | Contact *[optional]*: _____

INTRODUCTION

- General introduction to the project, its main objectives and importance of the interviewee's participation in the research.
- General introduction to the researcher: my background and why I am interested in studying later-life migration in the Azores.
- Issues of anonymisation and confidentiality are explained. Consent form is signed/verbal consent is given.
- The interviewee is invited to introduce him/herself: background information is completed and the interview begins.

1. REASONS FOR RETURNING TO THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about your decision of returning to the Azores?

- What were the main reasons for your decision of moving back to the Azores?
- What type of aspirations or wishes led to your decision of moving back?
- What type of images or memories did you have of the Azores before returning? In which ways were these a reality, or not, when you arrived?
- Did your family and/or friends play an important role in your decision?

2. EXPERIENCES OF LIVING AND AGEING IN THE AZORES

Could you please describe me a typical day of your life in the Azores?

Could you describe me a typical day of your life in your previous country of residence?

- How has living in the Azores influenced your way of living?
- Have you ever moved within the Azores? If so, from where to where and why?
- Do you visit your previous country of residence? If so, how frequently and for how long? For which reasons?
- Have these visits become more or less frequent across time? What has affected the change in frequency?
- Is there any other ways in which you keep in touch with your previous country of residence? If so, which?
- Do you keep regularly in touch with anyone living in other countries? If so, which country(ies) and why?
- How would you describe your experience when you visit your previous country of residence?
- How would you describe your experience when you fly back to the Azores?
- Where do you feel 'home' is?

3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF LIVING AND AGEING IN THE AZORES

- Could you please tell me about how do you think your presence in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the Azorean society?
- Could you please tell me about how do you think your presence in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the local economy?

3.1. Social contacts and local perceptions

- How do you feel towards the community of returnees in the Azores?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with them?
- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with the local population?
- Do you keep contact with any groups of migrants, e.g. older expats or ageing in place labour migrants? How would you describe those relationships (if any)?
- What opinions do you think the local population has about the returnees in the Azores? How do you think they see your migratory experience and local integration?
- How do you think your experience of migration may have affected/affects the ideas and hopes of the local population towards migration?
- How do you think you have influenced /influence locals' opinions and ideas about ageing and how it is to be and become 'older'?
- What opinions do you think regional and local institutions such as the city council or local associations have about the returnees ageing in the Azores? How do you think they see your migratory experience and local integration?
- Do you take part in any organisation/association? What type of organisation/association? What do you do there?

3.2. Healthcare and welfare

- How do you see your current health condition?
- What type (if any) of healthcare do you currently need?
- How do you see the healthcare provision and welfare in the Azores?
- Do you usually use public healthcare or do you have a private health insurance?
- Do you usually go to the doctor in the Azores or in your previous country of residence?
- What type of difficulties do you think may arise as you grow old in the Azores? What do you feel will be the main differences in healthcare in comparison to ageing in your previous country of residence?

3.3. Housing and labour markets

- Did you buy, build or paid to build a house in the Azores?
- Do you own any other properties (e.g. for agriculture or for renting) in the Azores?
- Do have or had in the past any business? If so, what type of business? Did you have/do you have any employees? If so, how many? Were/are they Azoreans, from your country of origin (family or friends) or from other countries?

- Do you employ any housekeeper, gardener or any other employee in your house? If so, are they Azoreans or from other countries?

4. MIGRATION, AGEING AND PLACE IN THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about how do you think migration in/to/from the Azores has been/still are influenced by its mid-Atlantic position between Europe and North America?

- How do you feel the Azorean history of emigration and return has influenced and changed the Azorean regional and local economies?
- How do you think the Azorean history of emigration and return has influenced and changed the Azorean society?
- How do you think the Azorean history of emigration and return has influenced and shaped the Azorean identity?

5. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Where do you see yourself in the future? Do you think you will stay in the Azores or do you have plans to move in the future? If so, where to and why?

- What about your family (spouse, children), what are their plans for the future?

FINAL WORDS

- Is there anything else you would like to add?
- Do you feel that there are any other important topics that have not been discussed and that you would like to talk about?
- Do you find this study relevant? Is there any question(s) you think should have been asked?
- Would you know any other Azorean returnees that, like you, would like to participate in this research?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

LIFE NARRATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

LOCAL POPULATION

GENERAL INFORMATION

Number of the interview: _____

Place of the interview [*Locality/city/island*]: _____

Date and time of the interview: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Description of the contact [*how the contact was found*]: _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name [*optional*]: _____

Locality/city/country of birth: _____

Locality/city/island of residence: _____

Age: _____

Education level: _____

Nationality(ies): _____

Marital status: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the spouse: _____

Number of children: _____ | Nationality(ies) of the children: _____

Children's city/country of residence [*when several start from the older to the younger*]:

Current professional occupation [*when applicable and only if paid work*]: _____

Current living arrangements [*select which applies*]: a. Homeowner / renter

b. Living alone / Living with spouse / Living with spouse and offspring / Living with spouse and parents / Living with other relatives [*specify*] / Other

TO COMPLETE BY THE INTERVIEWER

Information about the interview setting: _____

Attributed pseudonym: _____ | Contact [*optional*]: _____

INTRODUCTION

- General introduction to the project, its main objectives and importance of the interviewee's participation in the research.
- General introduction to the researcher: my background and why I am interested in studying later-life migration in the Azores.
- Issues of anonymisation and confidentiality are explained. Consent form is signed/verbal consent is given.
- The interviewee is invited to introduce him/herself: background information is completed and the interview begins.

1. VIEWS ON AGEING AND MIGRATION AS A LOCAL

Could you please tell me your opinion about migration: have you ever lived/considered living abroad? If so, where and why?

- Would you imagine yourself living abroad? Why or why not?
- Would you imagine yourself ageing abroad? Why or why not?
- What do you think are the main advantages and disadvantages of ageing in your homeland? How do you compare this to the Azorean returnees, older expats and labour migrants ageing in a new or 're-visited' homeland?

2. VIEWS ON LATER-LIFE MIGRATION IN THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about how do you think the Azorean returnees, older expats and ageing in place labour migrants have contributed/are contributing to shape the Azores as a place and the Azorean identity?

- How do you feel you have been influenced by the mores and way of living of the Azorean returnees in your perceptions and ideas about what is to be and become 'older'? And by the older expats? And by the ageing in place labour migrants?
- How do you think (these) migrants have contributed/contribute to shape the idea of 'Azoreanness'?
- To which extent and in which ways do you feel that these migrants have influenced/influence your life and identity?

3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF LATER-LIFE MIGRATION IN THE AZORES

- Could you please tell me about how do you think the presence of Azorean returnees, older expats and ageing in place labour migrants in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the Azorean society?
- Could you please tell me about how do you think the presence of Azorean returnees, older expats and ageing in place labour migrants in the Azores has influenced and/or changed the local economy?

3.1. Social contacts and local perceptions

- How would you describe the type of contact you keep with the community of Azorean returnees? And older expats? And ageing in place labour migrants?
- Do you find any differences in the type of contact you establish with each of these communities? If so, how would you describe those differences?
- What type of opinions do you think the local population has regarding the Azorean returnees? And the older expats? And the ageing in place labour migrants?
- How do you feel locals understand these migrants' migratory experiences and local integration? Do you see any differences between these groups of migrants?
- What type of opinions do you think regional and local institutions such as the city council or local associations have regarding the Azorean returnees? And the older expats? And the ageing in place labour migrants? How do you feel they understand these migrants' migratory experience and local integration?
- To which extent and in which ways do you think the mores and way of living of these migrants have affected and changed the Azorean society? Do you see any differences between the three groups of migrants?
- To which extent and in which ways do you think the life experiences of the Azorean returnees may have influenced/influence your ideas and hopes towards migration?
- To which extent and in which ways do you think the life experiences of the older expats may have influenced/influence your ideas and hopes towards migration?
- To which extent and in which ways do you think the life experiences of the ageing in place labour migrants may have influenced/influence your ideas and hopes towards migration?

3.2. Healthcare and welfare

- What do you think about the healthcare provision (especially that for older adults) and welfare in the Azores? Do you see any differences between islands?
- What do you think are the main differences of ageing in the Azores as an Azorean returnee, older expat or ageing in place labour migrant? And in comparison to locals?
- What type of implications do you think that the Azorean returnees have to the regional and local health systems? And the older expats? And the ageing in place labour migrants?
- What differences (if any) do you see between these migrant groups in terms of their implications to the regional and local health systems?

3.3. Housing and labour markets

- What local effects do you think the Azorean returnees bring in terms of the housing market (e.g. buying or building houses)? And the older expats? And the ageing in place labour migrants?
- What local effects do you think the Azorean returnees bring in terms of the labour market (e.g. through the creation of business or job opportunities)? And the older expats? And the ageing in place labour migrants?
- What differences (if any) do you see between these migrant groups in terms of local housing and labour effects?

4. MIGRATION, AGEING AND PLACE IN THE AZORES

Could you please tell me about how do you think migration in/to/from the Azores has been/still are influenced by its mid-Atlantic position between Europe and North America?

- How do you think the Azorean history of emigration, return and immigration has influenced and changed the Azorean regional and local economies?
- How do you think this has influenced and changed the Azorean society?
- How do you think this has influenced and shaped the Azorean identity?

5. PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Where do you see yourself in the future? Do you think you will stay in the Azores or do you have plans to move in the future? If so, where to and why?

- What about your family (spouse, children), what are their plans for the future?

FINAL WORDS

- Is there anything else you would like to add?
- Do you feel that there are any other important topics that have not been discussed and that you would like to talk about?
- Do you find this study relevant? Is there any question(s) you think should have been asked?
- Would you know any other locals that, like you, would like to participate in this research?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

Appendix 4: Focus group information

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

| FOCUS GROUP |

Immigration and Return: ageing experiences and socioeconomic impacts in the Azores



What is this project about?

This research project looks at **how later-life migrants, this is migrants aged 50 years old or more, experience ageing in the Azores and what socioeconomic impacts they bring to the archipelago.**

Who is the leading researcher? Who funds the study?

My name is Dora Sampaio and this project is part of my PhD degree at the University of Sussex, England. This project is funded by the Portuguese Council for Science and Technology (FCT) and also supported by the Azorean Regional Directorate for the Communities. The study is supervised by Prof. Russell King and Dr. Katie Walsh.

What is the main goal of the focus group?

This focus group was designed to promote the sharing of opinions and to foster a deeper discussion of the ageing experiences and local socioeconomic impacts of immigrants and Azorean returnees in the Azores. The discussion partially is based on the information collected over a period of 6 months of ethnographic fieldwork in the Azores during which I interviewed approximately 140 immigrants/Azorean returnees.

Who are the participants? Why am I being invited?

The participants in this focus group are members of governmental institutions, local associations or locally active and engaged individuals, whose ideas, opinions and concerns are particularly relevant to this research.

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

| FOCUS GROUP |

Immigration and Return: ageing experiences and socioeconomic impacts in the Azores



Which topics will be addressed?

The focus group is framed around seven main topics which then branch off into more detailed discussion points. A general guide of the topics to be discussed is provided in the following page.

When and where is the focus group taking place?

The focus group will take place on **January 12, from 10.30am to 12.00pm**, in Cresaçor – Cooperativa Regional de Economia Solidária in Ponta Delgada, São Miguel Island.

What will this information be used for?

The information provided will be treated as strictly anonymous and confidential. The focus group will be audio recorded and an *ipsis verbis* transcription of the discussion will be provided to the participants. The information collected is intended for academic purposes only.

How can you let me know of your interest to participate?

You can confirm your participation until November 30 to the following email address: **d.sampaio@sussex.ac.uk**. Alternatively, and in case you have any other questions, please don't hesitate to contact me by phone: [phone number]. I look forward to hearing from you!

Your participation in this study is very important!





Discussion topics [non-exhaustive list]:

Immigrants and Azorean returnees in the Azores

- Size of the groups;
- Changing patterns across islands;
- Socio-demographic features (age, gender, period of arrival to the Azores; migration paths, sub-groups (if any)).

Later-life migrants (aged 50 years old or more) in the Azores

- Size of the groups;
- Changing patterns across islands;
- Socio-demographic features (age, gender, period of arrival to the Azores; migration paths, sub-groups (if any)).

Migration geographies of the Azores

- Spatial distribution of immigrants and Azorean returnees per islands;
- Different patterns across islands (e.g. do certain groups concentrate in specific islands or areas within the islands?)
- Mobility patterns between islands.

Local integration

- Push factors;
- Pull factors;
- Integration paths.

Ageing in the Azores as a migrant

- Advantages of ageing in the Azores;
- Disadvantages of ageing in the Azores;
- Challenges of ageing in the Azores;
- Programmes or activities (if any) directed towards later-life migrants in the Azores.

Socioeconomic impacts of later-life migrants in the Azores

- Impacts in the local economy;
- Impacts in the Azorean society;
- Impacts in the Azorean culture.

Future trends

- Trends for the upcoming years;
- Factors shaping future trends.

Appendix 5: Profiles of the research participants

Labour migrants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Main occupation	Country of origin	Arrival date / number of years in the Azores
Adriana	F	Early 60s	Primary School Teacher ¹	Angola	1977 / 37
Amélia	F	Early 50s	Cleaner (unemployed)	Guinea-Bissau	2005 / 9
Annushka	F	Mid-50s	Small-business owner	Russia	2002 / 12
Arina	F	Mid-60s	Music teacher	Russia	2004 / 14
Camila	F	Early 50s	Small-business owner	Brazil	2002 / 12
Cesária	F	Early 60s	Kitchen help – retired due to disability	Cape Verde	2002 / 12
Cláudia and Adalberto	F / M	Mid-50s	Orderly / Fisherman	Cape Verde	1979 / 35
Davit	M	Late 60s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Georgia	2001 / 13
Eliseu	M	Mid-50s	Canning industry worker	Cape Verde	2002 / 12
Estela	F	Late 50s	Administrative assistant	Cape Verde	1991 / 23
Fabrizia	F	Early 50s	Teacher	Italy	1986 / 28
Fortunata	F	Early 60s	Housewife (unemployed)	Mozambique	1975 / 39
Gertrudes	F	Early 50s	Housekeeper	Guinea-Bissau	2005 / 9
Hermínio	M	Early 60s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Cape Verde	2001 / 13
João	M	Late 50s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Cape Verde	2007 / 7
Letícia	F	Early 50s	Beautician	Brazil	2007 / 7

Liliana	F	Late 50s	Housewife – retired due to disability	Cape Verde	1977 / 37
Lucas	M	Mid-60s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Brazil	2000 / 14
Luciano	M	Early 70s	Church minister – retired	Cape Verde	1991 / 23
Malam	M	Early 60s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Guinea-Bissau	2001 / 13
Mayra	F	Early 60s	Fish market worker – retired due to disability	Cape Verde	1979 / 35
Neuza	F	Early 60s	Medical doctor	Angola	2001 / 13
Oliwia	F	Early 60s	Music teacher	Poland	1993 / 21
Osvaldo	M	Early 50s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Brazil	2008 / 6
Ousmane	M	Early 50s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Guinea Conakry	2002 / 12
Paulo	M	Late 50s	Food service driver (unemployed)	Cape Verde	1984 / 30
Rafaela	F	Early 50s	Kitchen help	Brazil	1998 / 16
Rogério	M	Early 60s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Brazil	1999 / 15
Rosana	F	Early 60s	Sales representative (unemployed)	Brazil	1995 / 19
Tito	M	Early 60s	Fisherman – retired	Cape Verde	1974 / 40
Valentina	F	Mid-50s	Canning industry worker	Cape Verde	1991 / 23
Vinicius	M	Early 60s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Brazil	2002 / 12
Violeta	F	Early 60s	Kitchen help (unemployed)	Cape Verde	1983 / 31
Yaroslav	M	Late 50s	Construction worker (unemployed)	Ukraine	2003 / 11

Yolanda	F	Mid-50s	Small-business owner	Cape Verde	1980 / 34
Zulmira	F	Early 50s	Cleaner	Cape Verde	2012 / 2

Note: the nine portrayals are shown in orange-coloured boxes.

¹This corresponds to the participants' longest occupation(s) during their active lives.

Lifestyle migrants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Main occupation	Country of origin	Arrival date / number of years in the Azores
Amy	F	Late 70s	Researcher – retired	United Kingdom	1994 / 20
Andrea	F	Early 50s	Engineer	Germany	2010 / 4
Angela	F	Early 60s	Teacher – retired	Germany	2007 / 7
Annika	F	Early 50s	Executive assistant	Denmark	2009 / 5
Birgit	F	Early 50s	Small-business owner	Sweden	2001 / 5
Carrie	F	Late 60s	Auditor – retired	United States	1999 / 15
Catlin	F	Early 60s	Informatics analyst – retired	Sweden	2002 / 12
Domenico and Gaetana	M / F	Mid-50s	Small-business owner	Switzerland	2004 / 10
Elena	F	Late 50s	Social worker	Germany	2001 / 13
Enzo	M	Early 50s	Music teacher	Italy	1991 / 23
Eva	F	Early 50s	Registrar	Netherlands	2010 / 4
Flip	M	Early 60s	Sales representative – retired	Netherlands	2002 / 12
Florence	F	Early 60s	Shipyard worker – retired	Germany	2005 / 9
Heike	F	Mid-60s	Physiotherapist - retired	Germany	1995 / 19
Helga	F	Late 60s	Housewife – retired	Sweden	1996 / 18
Jacqueline and François	F / M	Mid-60s / early 50s	Small-business owner	Switzerland	1991 / 23
Jessica and Ethan	F / M	Mid-50s	Lawyers	United Kingdom	2013 / 1
Joanne	F	Late 60s	Small-business owner – retired	United States	1991 / 23
Katja and Uwe	F / M	Early 60s / early 70s	Publishers – retired	Germany	2006 / 8

Laura and Max	F / M	Mid-70s	Sculptor / designer – retired	Netherlands	2010 / 4
Lisa	F	Early 50s	Secretary / Cook	Germany	2001 / 13
Mark	M	Mid-60s	Diver – retired	United Kingdom	1990 / 24
Markus and Klaudia	M / F	Mid/early-60s	Technicians – retired	Germany	2008 / 6
Melanie / Evelyn	F / F	Early 90s / late 50s	Nurse – retired / Skipper	South Africa	1995 / 1992
Micaelo	M	Early 50s	Small-business owner	Italy	1994 / 20
Petra	F	Early 60s	Public relations professional – retired	German	2004 / 10
Sabine	F	Mid-60s	Painter – retired	Netherlands	2000 / 14
Sharon	F	Late 50s	Small-business owner	United Kingdom	2001 / 13
Simon and James	M / M	Early 60s / late 50s	Small-business owners	United Kingdom	2001 / 13
Sophie	F	Late 60s	Teacher – retired	Netherlands	2010 / 4
Steffen	M	Early 50s	Small-business owner	Germany	1996 / 18
Stephanie	F	Late 50s	Teacher	Canada	1996 / 18
Tobias	M	Early 70s	Engineer – retired	Austria	2003 / 11
Vince	M	Late 50s	Painter	Belgium	1988 / 26
William	M	Early 60s	Small-business owner	South Africa	1998 / 16
Wolfgang and Klara	M / F	Mid-70s / early 50s	Therapists	Germany	1998 / 16

Return migrants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Main occupation	Country of emigration	Arrival date / number of years in the Azores
Afonso	M	Late 70s	Farmer – retired	United States	1984 / 30
Albertino	M	Late 60s	Construction worker – retired	Canada	1988 / 26
Alexandre	M	Late 50s	Factory worker / military base worker	United States	1993 / 21
Augusta and Lurdes	F / F	Early 70s / late 60s	Cleaner – retired	Canada	1981 / 33 2013 / 1
Dinis	M	Early 60s	Farmer – retired	Canada	2013 / 1
Emília	F	Late 50s	Housewife	United States	1985 / 29
Esmeralda	F	Early 70s	Kitchen help – retired	Canada	1991 / 23
Fernanda	F	Early 50s	Waitress	Canada	2012 / 2
Fernando	M	Late 50s	Fisherman / Factory worker	United States	2000 / 14
Francisca	F	Early 70s	Factory worker – retired	United States	1997 / 17
Guilhermina	F	Late 70s	Factory worker – retired	United States	1992 / 22
Hélder	M	Late 60s	Hospitality worker – retired	Bermuda	1996 / 18
Henrique and Gabriela	M / F	Late 70s	Construction worker / housewife – retired	Canada	1983 / 31
Humberto	M	Early 70s	Machinist – retired	Canada	2009 / 5
Idalina	F	Early 60s	Factory worker – retired	United States	1993 / 21
Inácio	M	Late 60s	Sales manager – retired	Canada	1999 / 15
Inês	F	Early 60s	Factory worker – retired	Canada	1992 / 22
Joaquim and Dulce	M / F	Early 70s	Cleaners – retired	United States	1986 / 28
Jorge and Matilde	M / F	Late / early 60s	Small-business owner – retired	United States	2004 / 10

José	M	Late 70s	Hospitality worker – retired	Bermuda	1999 / 15
Júlia	F	Early 70s	Factory worker – retired	United States	1984 / 30
Lucília	F	Mid-70s	Factory worker – retired	United States	1997 / 17
Luísa	F	Early 70s	Housekeeper – retired	Bermuda	2000 / 14
Madalena	F	Late 60s	Small-business owner – retired	United States	1985 / 31
Maria	F	Late 60s	Housewife – retired	United States	1990 / 24
Miguel and Florbela	M / F	Mid-50s	Small-business owners	United States	1997 / 17
Raquel	F	Early 80s	School helper – retired	Brazil	1978 / 36
Rodrigo	M	Early 50s	Accountant	Brazil	1992 / 12
Rosário and Jacinto	F / M	Late 50s / early 60s	Housewife / Farmer	United States	1988 / 26
Silvina	F	Mid-80s	Factory worker – retired	United States	2005 / 9
Simão	M	Early 50s	Fisherman / small-business owner	United States	1992 / 22
Teresa	F	Late 70s	Cleaner – retired	Canada	1991 / 23
Valério	M	Early 70s	Company manager – retired	United States	2005 / 9
Valter and Regina	M / F	Early 80s / late 70s	Construction worker / housekeeper – retired	United States	1991 / 23
Vasco	M	Late 60s	Factory worker – retired	Canada	1996 / 18
Virgílio	M	Early 60s	Teacher	United States	1991 / 23

Locals

Pseudonym	Gender (Female / Male)	Age	Main occupation
Abel	M	Late 60s	Banker – retired
Adelaide	F	Late 30s	Travel agent
Alice	F	Late 50s	Teacher
Ana Rita	F	Early 40s	Housekeeper
Anselmo	M	Mid-50s	Gardener
Antónia	F	Mid-50s	Professor
Carolina	F	Mid-40s	Assistant manager
Célia	F	Mid-60s	Musician
Clara	F	Early 50s	Secretary
Diogo	M	Late 30s	Hospitality worker
Edmundo	M	Early 40s	Salesman
Gervásio	M	Mid-50s	Musician
Isa	F	Early 50s	Pediatrician
Jacinta	F	Early 60s	Teacher
Jaime	M	Late 50s	Sociologist
Jerónimo	M	Early 50s	Yoga instructor
Lúcia	F	Mid-20s	Social worker
Luís	M	Late 40s	Executive Director
Márcio	M	Early 30s	Engineer
Mariana	F	Early 30s	Social worker
Miranda	F	Late 40s	Secretary
Mónica	F	Early 70s	Airport agent – retired
Pedro	M	Early 20s	Student
Rafael	M	Early 50s	Executive director
Ricardo	M	Early 40s	Insurance sales agent
Rute	F	Mid-40s	Technical assistant
Sabrina	F	Late 40s	Secretary
Sara	F	Late 40s	Housekeeper
Soraia	F	Late 50s	Professor
Zélia	F	Mid-20s	Sociologist