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TIME-SPACE OF POSSIBILITIES: TRANSLOCAL GEOGRAPHIES OF LATVIANS IN GUERNSEY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis proposes a time-geographic perspective in order to investigate the circular migration pattern of Latvian labour migrants in the Channel Island of Guernsey. The research makes two main contributions to geographical scholarship on migration. The first is theoretical: the mobilisation of a whole series of concepts such as trajectory and project, the choreographies of time-space corporeal movements, the notion of constraints to mobility, and the time-space of possibilities, all of which derive from or are outgrowths of Hägerstrand's time-geography. The second contribution is place-specific, and this is the documentation of a very specific migration system, that from Latvia to Guernsey, which has never been analysed before, and which exhibits both singular features and certain general characteristics which are potentially applicable to other circular labour migration systems which evolve under conditions of free movement yet are still subject to certain constraints. Latvians are possibly the largest migrant group in Guernsey and since the 1990s have been recruited to work mainly in horticulture, hotels, and other sectors such as cleaning and care work. The insular microcosm and geographical boundedness of Guernsey, as well as the relatively small scale of Latvia, create an effective spatial laboratory of the in-depth study of the possibilities and constraints in time-space of Latvians to attain 'better-life'.

The research is based on qualitative methods: in-depth interviews, observation, and participation in episodes of actual geographical mobility. Fieldwork was undertaken in five phases during 2010–2012. As well as regimes of short-term and circular migration, initially constrained by limited housing and work-permit rights but latterly evolving into longer-term settlement for some Latvians, the thesis studies other contingent or 'enfolded' mobilities, such as visits back and forth, and prospects for a definitive return to Latvia. Theoretically, the research contributes the following fresh insights into migration research. First, it is a pioneering application of the framework of time-geography into international migration and its associated mobilities. Second, the time-geographic approach is articulated through the spatial lens of emplaced translocal mobilities and subjectivities. And third, it combines the time-geography optic with the more phenomenological perspectives of everyday experiences, lifeworlds, mobile *genres de vie,* and wellbeing.

Keywords: time-geography, mobility, translocal geography, Latvia, Guernsey.

CHAPTER 1
RESEARCH INTERESTS, FIELD AND PROBLEMS

Each step in space is also a step in time.

(Torsten Hägerstrand)

My research is situated in and aims to contribute to the disciplinary subfield of social and cultural geography, and to the interdisciplinary field of migration studies. The research site – the Channel island of Guernsey – is a geographically bounded territory (49°27′N 2°33′W), a direct territorial dependency of the British Crown ('Crown dependency'). It maintains its own legislative, monetary and taxation systems, together with its own parliament and a Governor appointed by the British Crown; yet it is neither a part of the EU nor of the European Economic Area. Along with Great Britain and Ireland, it was one of the first places where Latvians went for work abroad during and after the late 1990s (Map 1 and Picture 1). However, there has heretofore been no academic research about the formation of the community of Latvians in Guernsey. This lacuna was an additional stimulus for me to choose this particular research site.

This thesis has a number of unique features. At an empirical level it is the first study of contemporary Latvian emigration to Guernsey. This, it might be said, is no big deal since this is a rather small-scale migratory filament in the grand tapestry of global migration. To compensate this reaction, the thesis has ambitious claims to theoretical innovation. In fact, the smallness (and island status) of Guernsey, and the relatively small size of Latvia, combining to produce a circular migratory system of a few thousand individuals, are precisely the contextual circumstances which enable me to achieve theoretical and methodological depth. My claims to originality in this thesis thus go far beyond the specifics of Latvian migration to Guernsey. What I offer in this text is an innovative epistemological design which combines theory and empirics in a grounded approach in which theoretical notions, key concepts and field research findings remain in a creative ongoing dialogue with each other. The origins of this dialogue started on a plane journey more than ten years ago.

Map 1 **Latvia, the UK and Guernsey on the European map**
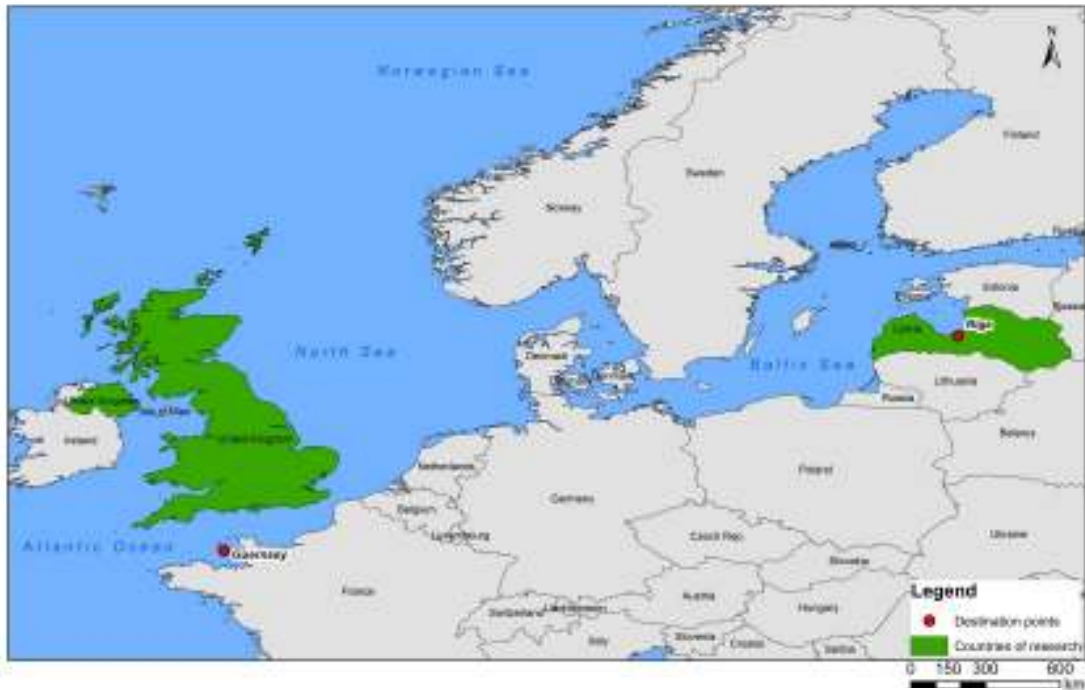
Source: Mapcruzin basis, ArcMap 10 programme, created by Helga Vikmane

Picture 1 **Guernsey, view approaching from the east**

Author's photo, July 2010.

My very first encounter with the story of Latvians in Guernsey dates back to a sunny day in July 2003, when I boarded a plane from Heathrow to Riga. I was sitting next to a Latvian woman who was returning from this British Channel Island. Two-and-a-half-hours on the wings of a British Airways aeroplane was our time-space between Great Britain and Latvia; an outcome, as it were, of multiple factors and intersecting schedules, which had brought us together on that particular flight. For those two-and-a-half hours, the young woman became a storyteller while I was conjuring up images of what she was telling me about this world as yet unknown to me: a small island that can be circumnavigated on a bicycle in a day; a place where there are many Latvians in pursuit of a better future through their hard work in greenhouses, restaurants and hotels.

The young woman told me briefly about the regime that ensures the rotation of migrants – that was why she was on her way home. She was to return back to the island in a couple of months, but unlike in her previous years, this time she was planning to return with her school-going children from her former marriage to a Latvian, as she was going to marry a local Guernsey man. We never met again but I carried her story with me for years, one of the many stories that took me deeper into the themes and lived experiences that I was to research when I first arrived in Guernsey almost seven years later, in January 2010 as a doctoral student starting to carry out my fieldwork with Latvians on the island.

1.1. Research problem and the field

During the past decade, since Latvia joined the EU in 2004, emigration has become one of the defining features of the country: about 213,000 people have left, mainly to work in other EU countries during the past decade (CSB 2012). Great Britain has been the main attraction during these years. Contemporary migration involves a multitude of mobility aspects, which makes it both fascinating and challenging to research. Besides, various forms of short-term return and travel, and local-local moving of accommodation during migration, often cannot be captured well in the available statistics. The need, therefore, is for more research into the various forms and practices of temporal migration and mobility in Europe and beyond. This encouraged me to carry out an original, qualitative methods-based research project on the actual geographical mobility forms that take place nowadays in Europe. The thesis which

follows is the result of that research, anchored in a conceptual space of intensive labour migration.

Therefore the research challenge that I set myself was to create a model, which is both theoretically grounded and methodologically applicable, in order to explain the structural constraints and possibilities for international migration and its attendant mobilities; such a model should also be able to illuminate the human experiences of time-space related to these mobilities.

1.2. Approach to the research and to the presentation of findings

Instead of coming into the field with pre-set ideas to be tested during the research, my ethnographic approach encouraged excavating the realm of migrancy as it emerged in multiple places and during various time-space movements by my research participants. I entered into the fieldwork with a general and flexible research agenda: how do Latvian migrants experience social, political and economic manifestations of transnationalism in their geographical mobility? After reading and re-reading my interview transcripts and continuing to read theoretical literature, I found that a closer scrutiny of interrelated temporal and spatial aspects, such as mobility, locally and across international borders, and human experience during this process, are theoretically and empirically most the promising themes for analysis in order to explain what I found during the fieldwork. Why did these people move out of Latvia? When, for how long and how often did they go to Latvia again? Where, exactly, did they go? Observations revealed that people were not only moving across international borders, e.g. back and forth to Latvia, but also back and forth to other places in the UK and, most notably, were moving on a local-local scale in Guernsey. Preliminary analysis of my field data suggested that geographic mobility was influenced by changing work places, work schedules, contracts, housing regulations, allocated holidays, friends and family reasons, both on the island and in Latvia.

Over my five fieldwork trips to Guernsey during 2010–12, I was able to meet many Latvian women and men who, like my first interlocutor on the plane in 2003, shared their stories with me. An example of how this functioned is offered by Rita, a 50-year-old woman, whom I first interviewed in the summer of 2010 and who became one of my main research participants. Initially, she was sharing a bed with a compatriot woman who was a complete stranger to her. However, Rita soon moved out of the attic

room due to conflicts among the tenants in the lodging house, and had to find somebody else to share a room with, alongside the expenses and a whole world previously unknown to her. We were often in touch via an Internet network, where she posted her timeline for her upcoming visits back to Latvia. Then she was back in Guernsey and moved into a new house and job, but not long after she had to move again, and yet again, so that our second long interview took place in what was effectively her fourth accommodation in less than a year, a rented basement room which she was trying to make more liveable with a few personal things and some other objects picked up from furniture recycling yards or car-boot sales. During my fieldwork, most of my research participants had changed their jobs, employment positions or employers, and with these most had also changed their accommodation. 'Here' and 'there' (Latvia and Guernsey) were constantly changing in different contexts.

I came into the PhD programme in geography at the University of Latvia in 2009 with my main interest in researching current, ongoing mobilities and their complexities. During my first doctoral year, I took a course in methods in geography, led by Prof. Pēteris Šķiņkis. By then I had made already my first, preliminary fieldwork trip and therefore could discuss initial findings, which I wanted to interpret and analyse inductively and saw as better presented in a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973). In our dialogue on theory-method relations and my desire to follow changing and shifting processes, it was Prof. Šķiņkis who came up with the proposition to consult the ideas of Torsten Hägerstrand's time-geography. On the one hand I felt inspired by the breadth of Hägerstrand's scientific worldview and interest in human-nature co-existence; however, I was left perplexed by the lack of time-geography's concrete structural applications to migration studies, a critique which has recently been echoed by King (2012).

There are several grand examples of how time-geography has served as a fruitful basis for theory building: for example, Donn Parkes and Nigel Thrift's (1980) incorporation of time-geography in their chronogeographical perspective on spaces and places. Anthony Giddens' (1984a; 1984b) structuration theory was strongly influenced by time-geography and Hägerstrand's understanding of time, while Hägerstrand's own ideas about time draw on the phenomenological philosophies of Heiddeger (1889–1976), Husserl (1859–1936) and Schütz (1899–1959). Hägerstrand used the notion of lifeworld, or being-in-the-world, as the basis for understanding human movements in

time and space in mundane, everyday situations. The structuration approach has grown as a separate broad strand in migration studies and human geography, trying to capture the complexity of the agency-structure interplay, for instance as demonstrated in the model of dynamic migrant institutions by Goss and Lindquist (1995) and Morawska (2001). David Harvey (1989) used ideas of time-geography, which led him to an understanding of time-space compression in his path-breaking book *The Postmodern Condition*. And there are many other examples of how time-geography has been used as an intellectual perspective open to combinations with other theories. They are too numerous to review here.[1]

My turning point in thinking about time-geography did not happen before I had a chance to attend courses at Stockholm University as an Erasmus programme exchange student. In Stockholm I read the doctoral thesis of the Swedish geographer Thomas Borén (2005; 2009) on Hägerstrand's concept of *landscape courses* using Häbermas's Theory of Communicative Action (1981). Borén's work was important to me not only in his innovative way whereby the concrete idea of time-geography was theoretically combined with social theory, but I found his contribution to the methodology of qualitative research particularly convincing. Borén developed the interlinked concepts of meeting places, spatial transformation and urban identities. He organised his ethnographic findings in a suburb of St Petersburg in a conceptual model and pursued the methodological application of the model through various broad perspectives which remained systematically linked to the general conceptual model. Borén's ethnography was inductive, but the presentation of the research text started with a theoretically and methodologically united model. In this way he overcame the obvious dichotomy of the inductive-deductive approach in transforming the research from the field to text. He reached a panoramic view and simultaneously demonstrated scale-sensitive and detailed attention to everyday life.

Inspired by this, I use theoretical model building as one step, achieved as a result of inductive theoretical dialogue with my collected data. This helps me to break through surface appearances in the data themselves. It is a turning point towards organising my data; the model will provide me with a scientific language and will guide the research trajectory and methodological reasoning. Throughout the sequence

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[1] According to the *Google Scholar* search engine, as of 23 October 2013 one of Hägerstrand's (1970) famous articles in English "What about people in regional science?" was cited 2329 times; the citation rate grows year by year (in comparison, it was cited 1772 times by 1 April 2012) (Shaw 2012:1).

of the thematically organised chapters, which are presented after the methodology chapter, I will 'speak the language' of the model. However, the elaborated concept of the *time-space of possibilities* and how specific wellbeing-guided mobility projects influence translocal movements and time-space experience can be presented only after the analysis of data; and hence this is the task of my concluding synthesis in Chapter 8.

An inductive approach to the research and presentation of data can be described through the model of a funnel: being open to what I find in the field through my reading of wide theoretical studies at the beginning, and then funnelling down the concepts which can be applied to interpret my research question (see Figure 1). When interpreting the findings I applied the opposite principle – openness to new knowledge by actively seeking other theoretical contributions that can help to elaborate my interpretations and help to contribute towards explanation of circular labour migration and its linkages to other mobilities as well as to the crucial role of human experience on the move.

Figure 1 **Funnel approach to the research**
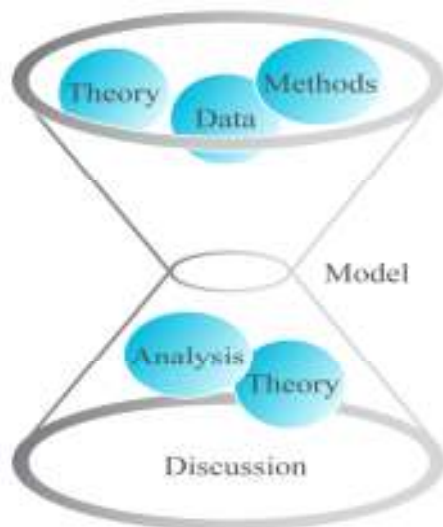
The research presented here is a result of a cyclical round of theoretical studies, fieldwork episodes, analysis of data, revision of theoretical perspectives according to data and synergies made through these alterations. In other words, theory-empirical work was done hand-in-hand with data gathering. I started the writing-up process of this thesis only when the theory-method-results synergies had productively and creatively coalesced in my mind.

My research participants' mobilities unfolded as complex geographical phenomena: spatial politics, the Guernsey regulatory regime (since employment and housing-related laws in a confined or tightly bounded natural space demand rotation on the part of the migrants) and repetitive movements of individuals. It made me think of the notion of being 'settled in mobility' (Morokvasic 2004), meaning that many Eastern European migrants engage in short-term transnational practices to have a better life back home. The whole collective package of 'migrant worlds' (Basu and Coleman 2008: 313–17) moved – in the material sense as well as emotionally, and were imbricated with relational changes in local places, individual mobility projects and with the meta-narratives of Latvia's geopolitical move away from the Soviet past and towards membership of the EU.

The island of Guernsey is a very special case and research site. Islands, indeed, can be seen as spatial laboratories, where some processes can be observed more sharply than in other territories (King 1998). Guernsey has a specific regime of housing regulations, a specific economy where migrant jobs are a structuring feature, different mobile phone networks, and many more distinctive features. Politically being a direct dependency from the British Crown, it was experienced by my research participants almost as a small state on its own (see the Chapter 2 on the specificity of Guernsey). It was thanks to this specificity that I arrived at my key notion of *time-space of possibilities* and geographical paths shaped through constraints and possibilities and different layers of regulations (EU, United Kingdom, Guernsey, Latvia). In the interview narratives and in fieldwork encounters, there were ubiquitous references to expiry dates of housing licences, going back to Latvia for a while, tourism seasons or agriculture production cycles; through these temporal references, intensive work interchanged with idle times. There were tick-tock rhythms of money earned per hour and received weekly (contrary to Latvian rhythms of bi-monthly payment), rolling shifts, tides, diurnal cycles, seasons. Also, there was the counting of weeks and years that bring an individual closer to qualifying for the state pension, and simultaneously counting the years to when children's education will be completed and mortgage loans in Latvia will be repaid, and a permanent return to Latvia could be planned. There was a constant multiplicity of relations that enfolded places together through various paths of mobilities.

As I describe in more detail in Chapter 4 on methods, my research strategy to collect in-depth interviews and observe daily life allowed me to 'stay open' and

concentrate on what emerges as important structuring elements of the mobilities of the people I observed. My methods – always 'open' – nevertheless remained the same, and, in addition, after the first main fieldwork trip in January 2010, I also decided to observe and analyse the modalities of the travel itself between Latvia and Guernsey. I needed new concepts, which could allow me to theorise how various forms of temporary migration, enfolding into circular migration and other mobilities, are constituted, maintained and transformed in interrelations of translocal possibilities and constraints. And further, how is the subjective sense of time-space of possibilities of one's life and one's place in the world created as a consequence of this conjuncture of movement and places?

The theoretical work was further continued through synthesising my evolving ideas and concepts from a time-geography perspective. Time-geography (Hägerstrand 1976; 1982; 1985; 2004) forms the basis of my preferred concept of time-space of possibilities. Since I needed to explain how changes in geographical paths were enacted by my research participants in their everyday lives and how they were experienced, I supplemented time-geography with a *phenomenological perspective* and with *wellbeing approaches to migration*. The third component of the model was the relatively recent notion of *translocal geographies* (Brickell and Datta 2011; Conradson and McKay 2007), which provides scale-sensitive geographic explanations of space, places and mobilities.

As a result, my departure point to systematise my analysis was to create a basic model, set out in Chapter 2, where the *time-space path* (translocal movements individually and collectively) is the main object of the research, while *mobility projects*, in time-geographic understanding, are analytical and conceptual tools to explain the time-space experience on an island which is simultaneously a geographically bounded entity but also a space where the EU labour force can experience freedom of movement.

Derek Gregory et al. (1994: 79) insist that theory should question interpretation, but theory in this process also reveals its shortcomings in specific contexts. Theory should be worked *with*, not 'tested' or 'applied' in qualitative research. Following other examples (e.g. Borén 2009), being faithful to a belief in the synergy, even symbiosis, of theory and methods, I try throughout the thesis provide theoretically- and methodologically-united interpretations. In the next part of the introductory chapter, I set out in a more systematic and schematic format what my thesis aims to achieve, a

framework for operationalising these aims, and a hopefully not too immodest statement about the novelty value of my study.

1.3. Research question, aims and novelties

Given the initial material presented above, the main general research question is as follows: *how do experiences of presence and absence from significant places influence mobility patterns in a geographically bounded territory (island) under conditions of 'free movement' of people?*

The *aims* of the research are to evaluate mobility patterns to and from as well as on the island, and to elucidate the phenomenological time-space experience of these mobilities. From this, a broader aim is to expand the boundaries of thinking how we can apply the intellectual legacy of time-geography and provide new theoretical insights and contribute to existing migration scholarship. With regard to this latter aspiration, my contribution to the enrichment of migration concepts will be particularly achieved in these areas: circular migration, translocal geographies, and migration processes on islands.

In order to achieve the aims set above, I formulated the following *tasks*:

1. To analyse the existing theoretical literature and empirical research that creates a dialogue between evaluation of time-space structures and associated human experiences in the context of migration in Europe and on islands.

2. To create a theoretically grounded and methodologically applicable time-space model.

3. Evaluate the structural constraints and possibilities in time-space, which are significant to shape and re-shape migration paths and types, and to evaluate mobility projects and elucidate mobile 'ways of life' (*genres de vie*).

4. Evaluate the explanatory power of the model after a concluding analysis.

The research achieves both theoretical and empirical novelties:

1. An original *theoretical model* methodologically applied to the mobilities and human experiences of presence and absence in the case of Latvians in Guernsey.

2. A well-developed conceptualisation of *circular migration* and related mobilities, based on a time-geographic understanding of time-space constraints and possibilities.

3. A concrete and innovative study of *translocal geographies* by anchoring the conceptual research field in a geographically bounded territory (the island of Guernsey).

4. New conceptual explanations of time-geographic and phenomenological notions of *mobility ideas* that guide *mobility projects* and the *present horizon,* which serves as a conceptual tool to interpret mobility patterns and the human experience of presence and absence from significant places.

1.4. Organisation of thesis

In Chapter 2 I outline some aspects of the specificity of Guernsey and its housing regime that influence patterns of migration and mobilities of EU migrants working on the island. In Chapter 3 I provide a theoretical synthesis and methodology of how I formed a focus for the thesis, working towards understanding the key notion of time-space of possibilities. I demonstrate how I bridge theory-building and methodology in order to control arbitrariness in qualitative research.

The entwined interactions between time, space and geographic mobility are the main axes of the research. These interactions manifest themselves, *inter alia*, in temporary emplacements during various types of migration, and circular migration in particular. Time-geography with its material ontology, developed by Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, is the platform on which I further build my theoretical conceptualisation. I then provide a discussion of phenomenological geography (cf. Buttimer 1976; 2012; Relph 1976; Seamon 1979; Tuan 1974; 1977) and search for counterpoints where time-space structure and human experience of it can be analysed in a methodologically applicable way. In order to explain the origin of ideas that guide mobility projects, I introduce and discuss the wellbeing perspective on migration (Wright 2012). I use the human geography approach to understand migration on islands (see *inter alia,* Aldrich and Connell 1998; Connell and King 1999; King 1998; 2009; Royle 2001), and analyse recent literature based on theoretical discussion of the concepts of 'translocality' (Brickell and Datta 2011) and 'translocal scale'.

In Chapter 4 I describe the methods which were applied to data acquisition and analysis. I explain how I dealt with research ethics in my qualitative research and the key issue of researcher positionality in the field. Next, I outline the opportunities and limitations of the use of computer-based analysis of qualitative data.

The subsequent three chapters are devoted to the analysis of specific themes, each aiming to provide more detailed understanding and application of the concept of translocal time-space of possibilities. These three chapters constitute the empirical heartbeat of the thesis, always bearing in mind that, following my epistemological preference outlined above, these results are constantly intertwined with theory and concepts.

In Chapter 5 I look at how time-spaces of possibilities were emerging both in Latvia's geopolitical course and in individual life-courses of Latvians. I describe circular migration from Eastern European countries, including Latvia, to their Western European counterparts. I discuss the prevalent geopolitical ideas in post-socialist societies, most notably the transformation from a socialist to a capitalist system and 'a road to Europe', and how these ideas were translated and internalised by my research participants. I discuss the particular type of 'circular migration' that evolved throughout the 1990s and 2000s, and contextualise the embeddedness of socio-economic 'temporal migration' in the transformation processes in Latvia.

Chapter 6 is devoted to an analysis of geographical path and mobility types on the island. I analyse anticipated change, or the things that would feed into my research participants' ideas about how to live well, and contrast these imaginations with the regulatory realities that influence migrant lives. I look in particular at the space-politics, employment and migration patterns, and how amenities become a stimulus for everyday movements and contribute to changing conceptions of wellbeing. I provide a brief history of the Channel Island of Guernsey, analyse the history of migration, and highlight the influence of the conjuncture of legal territorial status and relations with the UK, EU and Common European travel area, which comprises the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. I analyse interview and observation data to explain, first, how hierarchies of migrant jobs, ideologies of temporary dwelling and managing population all intersect in a limited space that is the island of Guernsey. I put forward the notion of simultaneous plurality in islands, as opposed to the existing tradition to see islands as static, bounded and insular spaces. Furthermore, I unpack how housing licences as a time-space structuring force impact on translocal paths and mobility types. The result is a specific mobile *genre de vie,* documented through a specific mobile culture that emerges in migrant lifeworlds.

Still in Chapter 6 I narrow the focus onto the recent chronology of the Latvian migrant community in Guernsey: the beginning of recruitment, sectors of employment,

gendered labour, the phases of widening employment opportunities in various industries, and the production of social hierarchies among labour migrants. My analysis reveals multiple linkages between geographical and social mobility, which in turn produce and change translocal movements. I explain how differentiations are widening due to chronological time, e.g. who came first, origins in various rural/urban locales in Latvia, employment in various sectors, access and striving to climb career ladders and changing family status, as integral parts of achieving wellbeing goals in migration. On the community level, the Latvian labour diaspora can be characterised as in a term coined by Bailey et al. (2002) – 'temporary permanent'. At an individual and family level, people are accepted as temporary residents only, and so at this scale they are constantly moving back and forth and rotating; but there is always a migrant community of Latvians in place in Guernsey. I also look at how this presence of Latvians is inscribed in public spaces on the island, for instance in house names and commercial signboards, and how a mosaic of significant spaces emerges.

Whereas in Chapter 5 I outlined the representational positioning of Latvia on a 'road to Europe', in Chapter 7 I analyse the actual experiences of research participants on routes and roads through Europe. The latter chapter, which is partly based on draft articles prepared during writing up the research (King et al. 2013; Lulle 2014), is situated in the 'trade zone' between migration studies and tourism geographies in order to refine the translocal movement as a time-space of possibilities in line with the broad concept of 'enfolded mobilities' and its more concrete sub-concept 'visiting friends and relatives' (Williams 2006; 2009). Firstly, I look at experiences of return visits and changes of travel directions. Secondly, I analyse aero- and auto-mobilities. I take into account Kathy Burrell's (2008; 2011) conceptualisations of transit places as real points in migration journeys and offer my own empirical analysis on travelling practices of the research participants, and the forces that shape these experiences. In this chapter I calibrate the focus more at the level of translocal subjectivities (Conradson and McKay 2007); ideals, imaginations and disillusions of people engaged in translocal movements. Analysis here involves the environmental experiences of research participants travelling between two or more distant places. I pay attention to phenomenological accounts of what I call the 'space of encounter-displacement'. I argue that senses of time and existential, translocal subjectivities are important in understanding how emotions shape geographical movements and vice versa. I analyse how temporary situatedness in places across borders is narrated as compressed times,

intensive, frantic times – or as slow and empty times and places. I also examine how work/holiday time-spaces are separated in time-space, what are the sources of tiring and exhaustion, and those of resilience and revival.

Finally, in Chapter 8 I provide the main conclusions to my analysis, and discuss my arguments within the various thematic chapters in relation to the main concept of time-space of possibilities. I evaluate the explanatory power and limitations of the chosen combined theoretical and methodological approach, and stress the key contributions that my analysis makes to various conceptual fields. I also include some suggestions for further research, and round off with a summary listing of key findings.

1.5. Main terms used in the research

Here I provide working definitions of the main terms which I am going to use in the text. However, these terms will be further refined through my situated research, which aims to build an understanding and a conceptualisation of translocal movements in the space-time of possibilities. I need to explain briefly what I understand with regard to space, place and locale, and how I use various mobility-related terms, before going into the more specific theory-based terminology which I develop in Chapter 3. The key terms defined below are ordered alphabetically.

Absence is physical distanciation from a significant place and other significant individuals (but also other living beings, nature, things) in time and space. Experience of absence flows into the present horizon and is a particularly characteristic feature of a translocal *genre de vie*.

Genre de vie consists of time and space-specific activities and culture in their natural and human built environment with its possibilities and constraints, which creates a specific way of life. I also use the term *culture* to describe a specific way of life emerging in groups involved in translocal moblities. According to Hägerstrand, culture is an inseparable part of the corporeal world. I see culture, according to Linda McDowell's clear definition, widely used in geographic research, as a 'set of ideas, customs, beliefs that shape people's actions and their production of material artefacts, including landscape and built environment. Culture is socially defined and socially

determined [and sees …] these sets of ideas and values as temporally and spatially specific' (McDowell 1994: 148).

Lifeworld is being-in-the-world, comprising everyday contexts in human life, movements (often routinised), places, spaces and the surrounding environment which are usually taken for granted but they become significant, for example, when they are not available due to displacement. Husserl used the term *homeworlds* (in German – *Heimwelt*); Hägerstrand and Buttimer also often used a related term, 'worldview'.

Mobilities: geographical mobility is a process of personal dislocation, a movement of people in time and space. It differs in terms of distance, length, use of transport vehicles, and aim (work, tourism, recreation). Geographical mobility emerges and changes in close interaction with social mobility, such as a career path. Time, space and mobility thus are intimately entwined.

Migration is a subset of mobilities. I research international migration, that is geographical mobility across national borders. **Types of migration** regarding temporality are divided as follows: temporary or short term, which may involve also a seasonal pattern, circular, and long-term and permanent migration. **Mobility types** also vary **by aim**: labour migration, tourism, visiting relatives and friends, return visits, return migration. The last type may be also included in patterns regarding temporality as a reverse permanent pattern of migration.

Mobility project is a future-oriented action, a goal of an individual or a group, the reason why the *path* (see below) has been taken. Smaller projects, e.g. going to work, to shop, returning home, join together fragmentary situations and events (Hägerstrand 1982: 324). So, it is a projection and action towards something that should be maintained and achieved (e.g. the broader project to sustain a household).

Path in this research is understood in its time-geographic meaning as a schematic representation of movement in time and space of a human (or other living being, or transport vehicles, or other things) that move themselves or are moved; paths emerge in sequential situations, which are influenced by past experience and future projections, or is some instances they can be apparently random and non-determinate.

Phenomenological geography unites geographical research perspectives that have a particular interest in human experience and cognition regarding time, space and the surrounding environment.

Place in this thesis is used both as an abstract term and as a concrete notion. I see **places** and **locales** as *processes*, but I use these terms in a more concrete way than spaces. Places can be countries, towns, villages or workplaces, or home, called 'domains'/'stations' in time-geography. Similarly, in a relational way, my understanding of place is that places are constantly changing and evolving. Phenomenological place is a spatial centre of human and natural environment, where individual and collective lifeworlds are constituted. Place is experientially achieved and embedded in the lifeworld (Relph 1976; Moores and Metykova 2010).

Present horizon is a notion I develop based on what Hägerstrand called 'now-line'. Present horizon is a reflection line where conscious experience, emotional and affective states are reflected upon, evaluating constraints and possibilities of a physical time-space. Present is at the centre of the individual experience while past events and future intentions form contexts of the horizon.

Presence is a physical presence in a significant place and being together with other significant individuals (but also other living beings, nature, things) in one time-space or place, or moving together with others through spaces and places. Nearness and togetherness of processes and things on earth constitute the most fundamental principle of time-geography.

Relational space is seen as a product of relations between spaces places and people. It is simultaneously plural where dissimilar paths co-exist, and it is always in process, produced through embedded practices (Massey 2005: 7).

Space, as a conceptual term, is constituted in this thesis as following the lead of time-geography. In addition to Hägerstrand, other important spatial thinkers who have influenced my own concept of space include Henri Lefebvre (1991), Tim Cresswell (2004) and Doreen Massey (2005). Instead of seeing it as a bounded entity, I approach

space as a process and as something which is evolving and actively produced. Space is both a concrete and an abstract term and comprises a natural space on earth, but this natural space is also socially produced. Coordinates, size, shape, volume, stability, movement, distance and directions in relation to other spaces are attributes of any given space.

Territory is a part of a geographical space which is claimed by institutions or individuals as their own space. Territory comes to existence because it firstly signals something, and secondly comprises a social power (Sack 1986; Storey 2001; Delaney 2005). Thus, territory is created through meaning and power where both are interdependent. Territory is a mental notion that comprises inner and outer, which are communicated through the borders of a territory.

Time-space in this research is understood as a process where physical space and 'lived space' are experienced. Experience is represented through language, continuous reflection of action, emotional and affective states, drawing boundaries in time and space, which distinguish one time-space from another. Time-space boundaries are physical, which can be depicted in nature but moreover are also mental and culturally specific ways of how experience is structured. Time-space experience emerges and changes, when an individual moves through places and spaces and is absent or present in places significant in his/her lifeworld.

Time-geography is a theoretical perspective which studies humans, nature and technology and sees movement of people and things in time and space jointly.

Time-space constraints are of three basic types according to Hägerstrand. **Capability** constraints are, for instance, human needs to sleep, eat, preserve physical and mental strength, and are related to an individual's skills, knowledge, material assets, and tools. **Authority** constraints shape time-space paths through regulations; they are generally imposed upon others in power relations, but authority constraints can be also self-imposed. The third set of constraints is **coupling** constraints, which limit when, for how long and where people can physically meet (Hägerstrand 1970: 12-16).

Translocal scale is a specific analytical construction, which comprises places and locales of origin and destination, and the body, which moves between places and locales. Scale itself is an analytical construction of space, which is co-constructed and changed in relation to other socio-spatial processes. In this research I distinguish body, local, national and international scales. Translocal combines several scales and therefore it allows researching places and spaces through their specific linkages to other places. The translocal optic enables us to probe deeper into human experience and to understand the process through which places become significant during the migration process. Latvians residing in Guernsey are understood as a translocal community in this research: they work and live in a different spatial and cultural setting outside their places of origin in Latvia, and yet they maintain ties and practices, and use frames of reference, which are related to Latvia and specific places in it.

Wellbeing is a set of ideas which I deploy to understand the framing of mobility projects, and involves functional needs such as the housing, work and subjective psychosocial needs such as ability to plan a future, work satisfaction, and feeling well in the various activities in which a human engages.

CHAPTER 2
SPECIFIC MOBILITY CONTROL IN GUERNSEY

The aim of this chapter is primarily descriptive in order to explain certain aspects of the special status of Guernsey which are crucial in understanding the mobilities that my research participants chose to undertake. Any scholar doing research on islands will encounter the specificities of these territories, often bolstered by claims either from islanders themselves, governmental institutions or, indeed, fellow academic researchers, that any island is unique. I subscribe to the view that, through their interconnectedness to other spaces, and their economic, cultural and political ties, it is more useful to see islands as highly specific territories that deserve to be researched as such. According to Hägerstrand (1985), specific places or locales also have their own *pockets of local order,* namely place-specific regulations, both formal and informal. In the case of migration in Guernsey, the most significant of these is the housing regime according to which migration flows and paths of individual migrants are shaped. Therefore in this chapter I shall explain Guernsey's particular position vis-à-vis the UK and the EU as well as local management policies towards intra-EU migrants, prior to presenting my theoretical and empirical chapters.

Guernsey can be conceptually seen as a geographically bounded territory, a 'pocket of local order' in various spatial relations, especially because it is, as part of the UK but not the EU, that Guernsey's government has considerable freedom to assign regulations on how housing and migrant worker flows can be managed. In the meantime, as the direct dependency of the British Crown it is significantly shaped through practices and regulations which maintain a dependency status of islands (Royle 2001). In my approach I follow King's (2009) suggestion that it is fruitful to see islands as specific territorial units and to study important processes in these territories shaped by specific contexts translocally. Nowadays islands can be better captured as nodes in a wider dynamic spatial reality, interconnected through global and translocal processes, and where multi-local ethnography can possibly yield the best results to understand migration processes in islands (King 2009: 77). Just as early geographical research on islands (e.g. Semple 1911; Brunhes 1920) emphasised that small and bounded islands allow the study of relationships between the physical space and human life-course in more detail, time-geography prefers research in small, bounded territories in order to observe activities there on everyday basis. However,

this is not in opposition to the translocal approach. King's proposal to see islands as nodes in dynamic systems rather than as static bounded spaces is also in line with Hägerstand's emphasis that a researcher should pay attention not only to what he/she can find in a bounded space but also to the individuals (humans, other living being, things, transport vehicles etc.) that enter into and leave from that space (Hägerstrand 1993, cited in Borén 2005). Thus, I agree that a translocal approach and conceptually seeing an island as a node in a wider setting is fruitful in my case study. Moreover this strategy is crucial to understand circular migration and human experience thereof, since migrant lives unfold at least bi-locally across international borders.

In Guernsey as a pocket of local order we can see, brighter than probably in some other more regular contexts, how important the category of *territory* is in shaping migration processes (Elden 2013). Territory is the fundamental basis in Guernsey for administrating and controlling status and rights for 'locals' and migrants. Territory must be communicated through what Sack named a *territoriality* – 'a spatial strategy to affect, influence or control resources and people, by controlling area' (Sack 1986: 1). In order to influence spatial interactions such as population movements, territoriality requires also non-territorial actions that support it, such as labour market regulations, or cultural and political place-making practices to maintain and develop certain identities, e.g. to portray an island as a touristic place, protect the rural landscape etc. Thus this chapter, functioning initially as a descriptive basis to understand the specificity of the island, also pursues a conceptual understanding of how territoriality in Guernsey is employed under certain conditions by various actors involved in defining its status, most notably the UK, the EU and Guernsey's government itself.

2.1. Guernsey on a political translocal scale

The Channel Islands are specific and different from the rest of Great Britain in many ways. The Crown Dependencies are not recognised internationally as sovereign states but as 'territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible' (Ministry of Justice, UK 2013). The Crown Dependencies in the UK are: the Bailiwick of Guernsey which includes the islands of Herm and Jethou, Alderney, Sark and the island of Brecqhou; The Bailiwick of Jersey; and the Isle of Man**.** The constitutional relationship of these islands with the UK is through the Crown and is not envisaged in a formal

constitutional document. [2] These Crown Dependencies have never been colonies of the UK like Cyprus or Malta, nor Overseas Territories, like Gibraltar.

Figure 2 **UK, EU and the Common Travel Area**

Source: Map data 2013, Basarsoft, created by Margarita Vološina

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[2] Regarding UK relationships with Crown Dependencies, visit the UK government website where relevant factual information is provided. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/185870/crown-dependencies.pdf (accessed 04.10.2013)

Jersey, Guernsey, the Isle of Man and the Republic of Ireland, together with the UK, comprise what is known as the *Common Travel Area*. There is no immigration control between the UK and the islands or between the islands themselves. The Channel Islands form part of the border for the British Isles as a whole (see Figure 2). Text boxes 1 and 2 summarise key features of the political, administrative and economic life of Guernsey.

Text box 1 **EU-UK-Guernsey relations shaping the *translocal scale***

- Guernsey is not in the EU but is a direct dependency of the UK
- The Queen of Great Britain is the Head of State of the island and the Lieutenant-Governor is the Queen's personal representative.
- The Bailiwick of Guernsey is not represented in the UK Parliament and Acts of Parliament do not apply in the Bailiwick unless extended by Order in Council.
- Guernsey's parliament called The States of Deliberation and is elected by general popular vote in Guernsey. There are no political parties in Guernsey.
- The governmental work of the States of Guernsey is co-ordinated by the Policy Council led by the Chief Minister who is chosen by the States from among the elected deputies.
- Guernsey is not a member of EU nor an Associate Member of the European Union.

Text box 2 **Movement of goods and persons**

- Under Protocol 3, Guernsey is a part of the *customs territory of the EU* and subscribes to the EU common customs tariff, quantitative restrictions etc. Guernsey subscribes to most of the EU regulations regarding free movement of goods (Articles 28, 30, 34-36 and 110 in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU 2010).
- *EU tax instruments do not apply to Guernsey.* The biggest difference to the rest of the EU is that there is no value added tax in Guernsey.
- *Justice and Home Affairs initiatives of the UK or EU do not apply*, nor the Schengen legislation. However, the Islands support improved judicial co-operation within Europe and have also voluntarily applied for recognised equivalent status in a number of laws and policy areas related to border control.
- Under Protocol 3 the authorities in the Dependencies have to treat natural and legal persons of the European Union equally and therefore in a non-discriminatory manner, but it *does not subscribe all EU regulations regarding the free movement of persons and services*. For EU citizens, like Latvians, it means that they can freely search for work in Guernsey and do not require work visas, but they are subject to specific *housing regulations* regarding settlement on the island.[3]

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[3] For more concise information about EU-UK-Guernsey relations visit the website of Royal Court of Guernsey http://guernseyroyalcourt.gg/article/1932/Relationship-with-EU (accessed 04.10.2013)

When the UK joined the EEC (1973), the terms relating exclusively to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man were embodied in Protocol No. 3 of the Treaty of Accession of the United Kingdom to the EEC, signed on 22 January 1972 (UK Accession Treaty 1972). This relationship cannot be changed without the unanimous agreement of all the Member States of the Union.

2.2. Guernsey: urban and rural context

Guernsey's territorial size is 63.3 square kilometres and, according to official statistics, there are around 63,000 inhabitants (Policy Council, 2012). These figures produce an easily calculated but dense population of fractionally under 1000 people per square kilometre. The archaeological findings show that the island was connected to other places via sea routes, and human movements through them, which is also represented in place names: according to Richard Coates (1991) – *ey* comes from Scandinavian *ey,* island; – *hou*, like in Lihou from Scandinavian *hom*, a small island. Place names are predominantly Norman-French (Hocart 2010: 12): for example, *mare* (pond), *mont* (hill), *hougue* (small hill or mound). Today the Normandy French-based Guernsey patois language is spoken by about 1000 islanders mainly over 65 years of age (Hocart 2010: 84).[4]

The distance from the furthest north-east point (Fort Doyle) to the south-west point (Pleinmont) is about 14.5 kilometres. Guernsey lies 45 kilometres from the Normandy coast in France, from where rising sea-level cut Guernsey off about 9,000 to 10,000 years ago (Hocart 2010: 4). The climate, with dominating west winds and strong influence of the Atlantic Gulf Stream, produces mild winters, 1,800-2,000 hours of sunshine each year, and an average yearly rainfall of 91.5 centimetres. Guernsey's natural amenities make it very special: it has an exclusive resource base, including mild climate, early season crops, and an attractive landscape for dwelling and for tourism. Its water boundaries create particular amenities: the tidal range in Guernsey coasts reaches over 10 meters at spring tides, among the most impressive of nature's rhythms that can be observed in Europe.

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[4] For more information and cultural activities to protect and promote the Guernsey language, known as 'Guernsey French' or 'patois', visit the website of the Guernsey Language Commission, established in 2013. http://language.gg/ ; see, for example, a literary fiction masterpiece by Gerald Basil Edwards (1981) *The book of Ebenezer La Page*, UK: Hamish Hamilton, to sense the mixture of English and patois as spoken by the main protagonist, portrayed in his everyday life in Guernsey in the early-mid 20th century.

Such a small territory contains a diverse natural landscape, varied geological materials, rural and urban mix, high standards of quality of life, most of the necessary services and good air and sea connections. Hence, it is no surprise that Guernsey people often emphasise their privilege to live there. Guernsey is divided into ten parishes (Map 2). The small Lihou island, which can be reached on foot at low tide, belongs to the smallest parish of Torteval off the west coast of Guernsey. St Andrew is the only parish which does not have its own access to the sea. Most of my migrant research participants were based in St Peter Port, St Sampson or St Martin parishes, which are nowadays also the more urban areas.

Map 2 **Guernsey's parishes**

Source: Map data 2013, Basarsoft, created by Margarita Vološina. The same basis of the map is used hereafter where explanatory lines according to time-geographic model are added.

Pictures 2 **Diverse landscapes of Guernsey**

Author's photos: From top left corner clockwise: 1. Country road in Torteval parish, June 2011; 2 Fermain bay rocks, St Peter Port and St Martin parish, July 2010; 3. Vazon bay coast, Castel parish June 2011; 4. Port at St Peter Port, November 2010.

2.3. Nationality and Islander status

According to the British Nationality Act 1981, British citizenship is available to be conferred on all those having 'close connections' with the UK, including the Crown Dependencies. However, Guernsey local people are restricted if they want to seek work in the EU. Guernsey has adopted the common format passport with Great Britain; however, according to the Treaty of Accession of the UK to the European Community (1972), there are special provisions regarding Channel Islander status (Article 6 of Protocol 3).

A person who is a British citizen through their connection with Guernsey and who has no connection with the United Kingdom has a special status, which in everyday language is called the *Islander status*. These passports are marked with the words 'The holder is not entitled to benefit from EU provisions relating to employment or establishment' (Royal Court of Guernsey 2013). It applies to persons who were

born, adopted, registered or naturalised in Guernsey, or born abroad and acquired their British nationality through a parent who was born, adopted, registered or naturalised in Guernsey. The islander's status is given to individuals who have long familial history and ties with Guernsey. The holders of these special Guernsey passports do not have the same rights to live or work in the European Economic Area (EEA) or Switzerland as a British citizen who does not have that status. A person with this specific islander's status can seek work similarly as non-citizens in the EU. However, if a person through birth, descent from a parent or grandparent, or five years' continuous residence is directly connected with the United Kingdom (which is increasingly the case), they have full rights of freedom of movement as any other British citizen in the EU.

Table 1 **Key economic and demographic indicators in Guernsey**

Population (March 2011)	62,915
Total number in employment (March 2012)	32,109
Registered unemployment rate (March 2012)	1.3%
Employment rate at March 2011	female 69.5%, male 82.4%, total 75.9%
Median annual earnings - all employees 2011	£28,340
GDP 2011	£1.9bn
GDP growth 2011	1.1%
GDP per capita 2011	£30,112
GDP per worker 2011	£58,484
Average inflation 2007-2012	3-3.5%

Sources: Policy Council reports 2007-2012; Population bulletin 201

Life expectancy, which is an important indicator of quality of life, is among the highest in Europe: 82.1 years (in 2009-2011), typically higher for women (84.5 years) than men (79.7 years). Comparatively, life expectancy at birth in Latvia is almost ten years less: 73.9 (women 78.8 and men 68.6) (Eurostat 2013). Meanwhile, migration to and from Guernsey is seasonal due to the labour-demand specificity of economic sectors, especially agriculture and tourism. This seasonality produces high turnover via in and out flows, but relatively low net migration residuals, which are nevertheless positive reflecting net in-migration to Guernsey.

Tables 1 and 2 provide basic data on Guernsey. Registered unemployed are defined by the standardised measures of the International Labour Office (ILO).[5]

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[5] ILO definition of unemployment is as follows: the unemployed comprise all persons above a specified age who during the reference period were: (1) without work, that is, were not in paid employment or self-employment during the reference period; (2) currently available for work, that is, were available for paid employment or self-employment during the reference period; and (3) seeking work, that is, had

During 2011 the average number of registered unemployed was 458 (Policy Council 2012: 28). The unemployment rate has increased over the past decade: in 2002-2006, according to the ILO definition, there was practically no unemployment; rising to just 0.7 % in 2007 to a still-very-low 1.3% in 2012. In 2011 a Census round took place in many EU countries, but in Guernsey population enumeration was based on a fully electronic system for reporting population data, sourced from administrative records in 2010. Therefore there is no publically available detailed census information as there is, for example, in the UK or Latvia.

Table 2 **Population in Guernsey March 2011, %**

Age group	Male	female
0-9	10.5	9.3
10-19	11.4	10.7
20-29	13.8	12.9
30-39	13.0	12.7
40-49	16.0	16.1
50-59	13.8	13.5
60-69	11.1	11.0
70-79	6.8	7.6
80-89	3.1	4.9
90+	0.4	1.3

Source: Population bulletin 2012

Most of the short-term and circular migrants are probably not represented in Table 2. Guernsey's government chose not to reveal publically data by nationality (see more discussion on this in Chapter 6). Thus, Guernsey as a 'pocket of local order' employs territoriality 'as a strategy [...] can be turned on and off' (Sack 1986: 1). Moreover, statistics on short-term migration and those involved in circular movements can be 'turned off' in communication for specific audiences; for example, for the local population and migrants themselves not to evoke anti-migrant sentiment or negative attitudes related to overpopulation on the island. The employers whom I interviewed did not provide specific numbers of people they have employed throughout these years. 'Many Latvians' was the typical answer. Due to rigorous data protection, some

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taken specific steps in a specified recent period to seek paid employment or self-employment. International Labour Organization (ILO) Resolutions Concerning Economically Active Population, Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment Adopted by the 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, October 1982, paragraph 10.

employers stated that they were also asked to destroy any records containing information on individual migrant workers.

Let me answer here the question, how do I approach the numbers and flows of Latvian nationals in Guernsey in this research? What we can say for sure is that 701 Latvian citizens in Guernsey voted in the referendum against the recognition of the Russian language as a second language in Latvia in February 2012.[6] According to my interviews and personal correspondence with the Guernsey state authorities, in 2007 '706 Latvian workers are believed to have arrived in Guernsey which included around 350 who had worked in Guernsey previously'. What really characterises the flows originating from Latvia is that 'there is a large movement of migrant workers in and out of Guernsey each year'.[7] I treat the lack of exact figures for the number of Latvians in Guernsey as a signifier of the temporary and volatile nature of migration flows. They are a dialogical construction of both the Latvian migrant community in Guernsey, and local politics, whereby coming and going imply both a strict control but also provide some space for manoeuvre in alliances between the state, employers and migrant employees.

Some of my research participants themselves (i.e. migrant workers) believe 5,000 to 8,000 to be the average over the decade 1997-2007 (replacing each other). The numbers declined in the later 2000s, but started climbing again in 2010 with the impact of the severe recession in Latvia, while the issuing of housing permits is flexibly reduced or relaxed according to unemployment rates among the permanent population on the island. According to various interviews with employers and representatives of non-governmental organisations, depending on season there might have been 1,500 to 2,000 Latvians present on the island annually during the years 2010-2012. These numbers crop up in many interviews and conversations, yet I have not established firm sources for them, and neither do I insist that exact numbers are a fundamental cornerstone of the Guernsey story. On the contrary: chasing the numbers is a

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[6] A constitutional referendum on the 'Amendments to the Constitution of Republic of Latvia' was held on 18 February 2012. The referendum's question was 'Do you support the adoption of the Draft Law "Amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia" that provides for the Russian language the status of the second official language?' 74.8% voted against the proposed changes. Usually very low numbers of Latvian citizens abroad vote in elections and referendums. However, this ethnically mobilising referendum attracted many voters. All together 54,685 persons with rights to vote were registered outside Latvia's territory. Based on this number, the turnout abroad was 72.7%. However, it is difficult to assess real numbers of Latvian citizens staying abroad; econometric assessments and the last Census indicated that at least 213,000 have emigrated since 2001.

[7] Electronic correspondence with a representative of the Social Security Department, States of Guernsey 20.04.10. And see Table 3 for the official figurēs on in and out migration, including all nationalities.

counterproductive research task in this particular context and for my research aims. Space is 'a story-so-far' (Massey 2005: 8), where various trajectories co-exist and various agents represent the space/place and movements according to dominating ideas in their projects. For me these numbers are a veneer of on-going representation of space which hides more powerful theoretical puzzles: how is the *scale* of Latvian migrants on the island perceived, and how is this scale thus produced by the migrants themselves in their pursuance of their translocal mobility projects? I will address these questions more in detail in Chapter 6.

Table 3 **Migration trends in Guernsey 2008-2012***

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Net migration
2008	5,622	5,179	443
2009	5,297	4,860	437
2010	4,482	4,468	14
2011	4,631	4,249	382
2012	4,220	4,177	43

Source: Policy Council, States of Guernsey 2012

*Nationalities are not specified in publically available statistics

2.4. Housing licences

Housing regulations during my fieldwork were based on the Housing Law adopted in 1948 and the related legislative package (Housing Law 1994). In brief, all available housing in Guernsey is divided into the local market (about 94%) and the open market (about 6% in 2012). The Channel Islands were occupied during the Second World War and an emergency evacuation, especially of children, took place just a few days before the Nazi German forces established the occupation regime on the island (Sanders 2005). In order to guarantee rights of the evacuated Guernsey people, and those who lived on the island before the occupation and their relatives, to return to their homeland, the local market is protected: only people with local licences have rights to reside there. Local residents can rent their property or a part of their property – a room, or a half of the house or a flat to tenants, including temporary labour migrants who have rights to work and reside in the local market in Guernsey. This is a specific regulation related also to the limited size of the island; similar settlement restrictions can be found on many islands and small territories in Europe and globally. However, since the renovation and new construction of buildings continued throughout the past

few decades, some housing was turned into open market, which is freely available for rent. Housing regulations on the island allow non-working family members to join a migrant worker only if the family chooses to live in the so-called open market, where rental prices are at least 50% higher than in the 'local market'.

Certain aspects regarding the availability of social allowances should also be emphasised. The biggest difference from most of the state provisions in Europe is the lack of social allowances for migrants and their children; in particular, access to childcare allowances is limited due to the status of temporary migrant. When the migration trajectory to Guernsey was launched in the mid to late 1990s, there were no conceptions to improve life with the help of social provisions related to holiday pay, sickness or pensions. After nine months (or shorter periods) of work in Guernsey, residents of Latvia could apply to receive back their taxes paid in Guernsey; however, not all knew and did it.

It is not possible to compare housing licences in detail for the period 1997-2004 due to lack of available information and different methods of how housing licences were classified. Besides, in these years Latvian migrants had to obtain work visas to be able to work on the island. However, total numbers of 'essential' licences issued for work purposes averaged 193 in the years 2001-2004, while short-term licences ranged from 2634 to 3203 in the same time period. Additionally, there were about 350 licences issued for family reasons each year, which allowed remaining on island. Table 4 provides much more detail.

On 31st March 2011 there were 5271 live housing licences: 1604 of these were essential employment licences, of which 26% were held by people employed in the finance sector. Some 30% of the short-term employment licences were held by employees working in the hostelry sector (Policy Council 2012: 56).

At the end of December 2011, there were 26,052 domestic property units in Guernsey and average rental payments have increased by 12% during the last decade. Of these, 94% were local market and the remaining 6% were open market part A units. Open market accommodation is divided in several parts, of which B, C and D units cannot be freely occupied by non-locals for an unspecified time. Only in A units can migrant workers stay without leaving the island, for example, after choosing labour sectors.

Table 4 **Housing licences per sector**

Essential	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Hostelry	155	153	151	161	134	132	112	121
Finance	367	406	458	555	423	440	417	412
Professional	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	205	203	234	199
Public	92	93	80	90	113	113	111	112
Education	204	230	251	251	228	238	231	219
Human health	231	238	244	275	268	280	287	296
Other	126	221	224	259	227	213	212	252
Essential total	1175	1341	1,408	1,591	1,598	1,619	1,604	1,611
Short-term	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Agriculture	141	161	126	205	107	114	169	114
Construction	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	249	181	141	191
Wholesale	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	256	181	484	167
Hostelry	426	533	452	570	569	508	494	488
Finance	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	100	106	104	75
Other	496	491	379	683	335	331	260	260
Short-term total	1063	1185	957	1458	1616	1,421	1,652	1,295

Source: synthesis from Policy Council reports, States of Guernsey 2004-2012.

2.5. Opening work possibilities for Latvians in Guernsey

Specifically to Guernsey the mobility was facilitated and enabled by a recruitment institution and existing migrant networks through which information was transmitted about work and earning opportunities. These two channels of migration possibilities eased *authority* and *capability* constraints as the recruitment agency, in cooperation with employers, initially paid for the quite expensive flight tickets and did the paperwork for work permits, or sometimes relatives and friends lent money to undertake the actual trip. These two mechanisms allow us to capture the interlinkages between the macro-economic and social contexts in Latvia and Guernsey, as well as to incorporate subjective conceptions about what is a good wage, and how improvement in life can be achieved. Having provided the important context of how the authority constraints to cross borders were gradually removed, and bringing in the dominating ideas about circular migration, I next turn to a detailed analysis of mobility projects to Guernsey.

Latvians form probably the largest ethnic group of East European migrants in Guernsey. Starting from the mid-1990s, Latvian nationals have typically worked in horticulture, warehouses, cleaning services, care homes for the elderly, factories,

hotels, restaurants and cafeterias, various shops and services, construction and other domains. A few are employed in the education sector, banks, financial companies and even governmental institutions, and several have established their own small businesses. As noted above, some Latvian migrants themselves believe that 5,000-8,000 compatriots have worked on the island, replacing each other over the period 1997-2007. The numbers declined after 2007, but started climbing again two years later with the impact of the severe recession in Latvia. Given the lack of statistical data and reliable quantitative evidence on this highly mobile Latvian migrant community in Guernsey, consisting of some people who arrive and work a few months, while many travel back and forth in constant transnational shuttle for several years, a qualitative approach provides more powerful insights enabling us to increase our understanding of the causal forces of this migration.

By tracing the chronological stages of migration to Guernsey, we can begin to give answers to questions relating to why people moved to Guernsey instead of other places. We can also identify what were the most typical migration channels in various periods of time, which facilitated entering into this particular insular space of possibility.

2.5.1. Organised recruitment: horticulture, 1997-2001

In the mid-1990s Guernsey's employers in the horticulture sector were seeking migrant labour from their previous source, the island of Madeira, which was rapidly growing into a tourist destination and could no longer provide a sufficient number of workers. Madeira is a part of Portugal, which joined the EU in 1986 and was entitled to receive generous funds from the EU to improve its economy. This also enabled Madeira to create more workplaces domestically. Guernsey's employers therefore decided to establish contacts with another suitable source country. At the same time Latvia was on its way to a 'return to Europe', undergoing profound restructuring, and had just applied for accession to the EU.

Since 1997, at the first stage, only women were recruited to work in the horticultural sector (greenhouses and related seed-packing factories or individual farms) on Guernsey island. Recruitment was carried out through a private agency in Latvia, but was paid for by Guernsey's employers. Housing and working licences were issued for nine months per year, stipulating a constant change-over of migrant workers. Thus, the pioneer migrants, who established the trajectory to Guernsey, almost

exclusively went there through the channel of a formal recruitment process. Besides, the recruitment agency played as an important role in the selection of 'hard workers', as was found in the recent study by Findlay et al. (2013). My participants constantly referred to their impression that they were evaluated by ambiguous criteria, not only in respect of how good workers they are but also by their personal characteristics.

Many of the gendered labour markets where women work, such as domestic and elderly care and seasonal sectors in agriculture and hospitality, also operate around the idea that migrant workers are just temporary. They are expected to leave when businesses no longer require their labour. Also, developments in labour markets in the EU in the 2000s showed an increasing demand for female migrant labour and a preference for temporary migrants (Kontos 2009). This is particularly true in Guernsey.

2.5.2. Adding the tourism and hospitality sector since 2001

The tourism sector (work in hotels and restaurants) was opened for Latvian nationals around 2001. Recruitment for this sector was also organised by the same recruitment agency. Due to the regulations of the migration regime, some people returned to Guernsey each year and also new migrants joined them. It should be highlighted that the hospitality sector was specifically opened for Latvian nationals since employers in the horticulture sector already employed migrants from this country and had gained the required knowledge about how to manage the requirements of immigration and the work-permits' system for Latvian nationals. Besides, several employers either openly or implicitly acknowledged in interviews, that they had become somewhat familiar with the Latvian culture and that also played an important role in their wish to recruit more Latvians.

On the eve of joining the EU, recruitment for the horticultural and tourism sectors continued, and various other sectors were also opened up for both men and women. More diverse housing and work permits were also issued for periods ranging from nine months up to five years. More Latvians started working in the hospitality sector as well as in shops and in care homes for the elderly, in warehouses, construction, factories and in other work.

This migration stage can be the best characterised as rapid growth of the migrant community due to the opening of other employment sectors and providing more diverse housing licences, due to both the demand for labour and its increasing supply through formal recruitment and emerging migrant networks (see e.g. Heering et

al. 2004). Besides, some people, mostly women, also got married in Guernsey to people who held local licences. Parallel to the agency's work, recruitment through social networks spread widely – settled Latvians invited their relatives and friends to work in Guernsey. Thus, de Haas (2010) is right when he says that the endogamous peak of migration, which he calls a 'herd effect', becomes a social structure as it has a measure of causal power to shape migrants' dual decision: whether to migrate, and where to search for work abroad. We can assume that some part of those who went to Guernsey would have chosen other destinations if migration had been be a purely individual and rational decision.

2.5.3. Latvia joined the EU: 2004-onwards

Some of those who had started working in Guernsey in previous years continued to travel back and forth; many changed employment sectors several times and climbed the career ladders on the island. Despite Guernsey not being a part of the EU, it does subscribe to part of the regulations on free movement of the workforce within the European Union and European Economic Area. As I noted already, migrant workers have typically worked in horticulture, warehouses, cleaning services, care homes for the elderly, factories, hotels, restaurants and cafeterias, various shops and services, construction and other domains. In the 2010s recruitment is very heterogeneous: agency recruitment still continues for the horticultural sector, social networks have been a particularly strong channel to obtain work on the island, also among previous workers, due to the information circulating through cyberspace and social networks. For example, the social internet portal *draugiem.lv*[8] is often used by potential migrants to inquire about work opportunities abroad.

2.6. Conclusion

To sum up, this overview chapter provides a basis to understand some general socio-economic trends in Guernsey and the possibility-constraints for migrants: availability of jobs on the one hand, and housing restrictions on the other, form a backbone of these conditions. Seeing an island as a node in a wider interconnected spatial setting, we can reveal how the insular specificity of Guernsey operates through locally defined regulations and territoriality as a strategy, which is shaped by the special freedoms that

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[8] Latvian internet based social portal, website www.draugiem.lv and its discussion forum 'Latvians in Guernsey'.

the Guernsey government can enjoy, through dependency relationships to the UK and a strategy to open up its labour market for the EU citizens. As a *pocket of local order,* Guernsey maintains its specific housing regime to control the population on the island: a local territorial strategy which is historically sensitive to the use of confined space (Sack 1986: 3). By combining relations to the UK and the EU and its own labour market needs, Guernsey gradually increased possibilities for Latvian migrants to look for jobs there. This description provides us with a better understanding of the specific conditions and dynamics under which people's own subjective conceptions about their mobilities are constituted. Besides, it will help to understand migrants' way of life on the island and how Latvian migrants give meaning to Guernsey as a place: for example, referring to gendered migration and greenhouses, which will be the core aspect of analysis in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 3
ARRIVING TO THE NOTION OF TRANSLOCAL TIME-SPACE OF POSSIBLITIES

In this chapter I will explain how I arrived at the idea of *time-space of possibilities* and the guiding principles of methodology for this geographical inquiry and exploration of *translocal movement*. The chapter is organised as a dialogue between two main theoretical domains: the deployment of *time-geography* and a *phenomenological perspective* to develop theoretically and methodologically justified approaches to analyse contemporary conditions of circular mobilities. I follow Stephen Castles in his distinction between methodology and methods, as the former 'is about the underlying logic of research', in other words it is a bridge between theory and methods in which concepts, procedural tools and principles of analysis should be systematically applied to various research situations (Castles 2012: 7). Taking this into account, my approach is also a 'welcoming dialogue' which is deliberately open to various theoretical traditions, with a strong reliance on interdisciplinarity in order to reach an epistemological breakthrough. Seeing migration as a part of wider transformations in Latvia, Guernsey, Europe and globally, I need a methodology in which concepts related to mobilities and those of human experience can be applied in scale-sensitive way. Thus, I follow what Lenntorp (1998 cited in Borén 2005: 19) called 'excerption' logic in human geographic research. In order to develop new theoretical ideas when reading widely and not reducing a researcher's tools to only a certain theory or a perspective, a geographer 'excerpts' important parts from other research of other empirical reality with the aim to strengthen the main argument in a geographic perspective. I see this openness as an opportunity to be taken, not as a danger that weakens arguments within the discipline of geography.

Castles (2012) underlines that each qualitative migration research initiative should develop concepts and use methods which allow understanding of, first, how individuals are linked to social structures in changing historical contexts and, second, what are the 'prevailing character types' or dominating ideas in each society. Besides, research should build on 'layering past intellectual work', in other words, new knowledge is created on existing knowledge, and this, in turn, requires broad theoretical enquiry, which encourages me to distinguish gaps in theoretical interpretation and come up with new propositions (Castles 2012: 8; 23).

3.1. Theoretical and methodological justification

Methodology sets out principles for controlled interpretation: concepts and analytical tools are embedded in interpretation of the background theoretical framework and play the decisive role to generate valid analysis, which both answers research questions and generates further insights into the phenomena under scrutiny. Ability to justify results in qualitative research is not based on a representative sample but on logical conclusions as to how categories and sub-concepts allow justifying the broader argument at various scales.

The foci of this research are existing and emerging structures of constraints and possibilities in time-space for Latvian circular mobilities to develop. Therefore, in my case, time-geography creates a valid basis to evaluate existing notions and arrive at new ones in a situated research encounter (Lenntorp 1999). Time-geography provides us with the understanding of what is *given*; what time-space constraints should be taken into account in order to perform any kind of mobility. These we can see as objective and functional possibilities and constraints, which of course also change continuously. Characterising *objective* as given, I primarily define these structures as existing outside a subject's attitudes and feelings. In other words, they are manifest in a *material* world, according to Hägerstrand's discussion of three interlinked worlds which I will present shortly in more detail. As soon as a subject engages in mobility, he/she creates a subjective experience and therefore the objective and the subjective combine in specific ways in a situated research. With the phenomenological approach, I try to excavate these new emerging structures through researching my participants' human experience of time-space. Thus, synthesis of both – time-geographic and phenomenological – approaches are at the centre of the methodological problematique of my research.

David Harvey (1996) argued that economic liberalism in the post-socialism region has generated fundamental changes in how people relate to time, space, and perception of their environment. Migrants necessarily step out from previous environments and their *lifeworlds* or, using Husserl's term, their *homeworlds* adjust objectively and are subjectively experienced (Steinbock 1995). Evaluations of various mobilities thereby allow closer understanding of exactly how economic and social transformations have changed perceptions of environment historically in a post-socialist society, and how such perceptions continue to change during various circulations between the previous home area and a distant work place across national borders.

The term *space of possibility* was coined by feminist migration scholar Mirjana Morokvasic (2004) who famously stated that the newly opened border to the EU and their new and relatively stable legal status as EU citizens offered a space of possibility for Eastern Europeans. These 'new' EU citizens became free to leave, free to return and free to use the European space through transnational mobility in order to help them to adjust to changes in post-socialist countries. Based on theoretical considerations of time-geography and phenomenological approaches, I incorporate and extend her argument. Combining these approaches allows me to justify how a mobility project to the island of Guernsey was guided by a dominant idea in transforming post-socialist society, namely how to 'live better'. Rapidly emerging ideas of radical individualism as the route to material success, and the growing inequality of opportunities in Latvia, are crucial for understanding how working abroad was conceived as a time-space of possibility. The main idea for engaging in migration was time and place-specific: moving away from Latvia for a while to earn money was a chance to improve material conditions in Latvia faster. Or, in the typical words of my research participants, in Guernsey they could earn in one week what would have taken at least a month in Latvia. Simultaneously there are many other ideas which individuals wanted to pursue when engaged in migration, and they too will be presented throughout the analysis. But before that I must explain how and why I insist that a dialogue between time-geography and phenomenology is crucial for understanding the human experience of time-space and a mobile *genre de vie* in order to provide new insights into circular mobilities.

I agree with Buttimer (1976: 287) that a movement in time-space, which in time-geography can be depicted as a trajectory, is just a 'visible tip of an iceberg'. For people who live 'alternately' and who move between two or more distant places, 'a space is constituted as a mosaic of significant places' (Buttimer 1976: 282). Therefore time-geography should be supplemented with methodology and methods, which allow the explaining of movements in the physical space.

I argue that it is crucial to understand human experience during actual movements and in significant places in order to explain circulatory mobility patterns. Mobilities are this 'tip of an iceberg' which moves in wider objective and subjective spatial structures within a bounded territory and an interconnected space of free movement of people. The argument involves all the main elements I am going to explain throughout this research: circular mobilities, experience of presence and absence from significant places, bounded territory and an interconnected space. I will,

first, explain how I approach circular mobilities as a departure point for further scrutiny of their manifestations in a bounded territory and a space of free movement of people and identify gaps which can be filled by explanations of how objective and subjective constraints and possibilities combine together. Second, I will synergise time-geography and phenomenology to inquire how the dialogue of objective structures and translocal subjectivities can be created. I propose to analyse it through the notion of *way of life* (*genre de vie*), and thereby to elucidate how specific mobilities and cultures emerge among those engaged in circular mobilities. Third, I will develop the notion of 'present horizon' in order to provide better insights into how presence is experienced as a dynamic subjective reality and how past and future mobilities are evaluated and imagined as seen from this horizon.

Certain elements of the argument will be given a more central role in the following chapters in order to justify them in more detail. The combination of a bounded territory and a space of free movement of people and the more subjective perceptions of the openness of space for circular mobilities as seen from Latvia will be described in more detail in Chapter 5. The way of life emerging in the bounded territory of Guernsey will be described in Chapter 6, while this will be further elaborated through analysis of various circular mobilities, including visiting friends and relatives and other travels, as part of my participants' subjective evaluations of their socially and geographically expanding lifeworlds between Latvia and Guernsey in Chapter 7.

3.2. Time-space of possibilities for circular mobilities

Mobility is often seen as a secondary set of processes to the prime concern of spatialities in human geography (Creswell 2006; 2010; 2011). I agree with Cresswell and other scholars of mobility research that mobilities are of the same fundamental importance and conceptual depth as space is. For some, mobility has become a major resource in the 21st century, according to Cresswell (2010: 22). However, not all people are and can be mobile; therefore it is important to remain both open and critical to the 'mobility turn' and examine the constraints, inequalities and power relations that decrease certain individuals' ability to be mobile (Massey 2005). In a broader sense, we need to be open to criticisms of the theoretical assumptions of an increasingly mobile world (Franquesa 2011).

In migration theory, circular migration is distinguished as a specific type in the migration cycle. Yet it is not clearly defined and therefore remains in need of more empirical justification and theoretical elaboration towards a better understanding of this type (see e.g. King 2012; Skeldon 2012). Circulation of people (but also goods) was the most important phenomenon I found in my fieldwork, therefore 'circular migration' is clearly among the central aspects I am interested in regarding the role of migration theory. In order to reach a broader theoretical view I begin with stepping back and approaching circular migration as a simple form of mobility. There are multiple ways we could analyse recent migrations in Europe and, simultaneously, it is almost impossible to use just one theory in migration research. The 2000s are characterised by the 'mobility turn', urging researchers to see mobilities and migration as an integral part of social life (Sheller and Urry 2006). Meanwhile human geography's special interest in mobilities is related to spatial processes, especially place, scale and territory (Samers 2010). People move back and forth, and create new spatial formations and processes; what Harney and Baldassar (2006) have named as 'migrancy'. It involves physical movement, changes during migration stages, and changes in the life-course and in cultures of migration. Choosing the mobilities approach for explaining circular migration I also justify by pointing to the theoretically important emphasis by Venturini (2008) that circular migration derives from and belongs to a paradigm of flexible economic relationships. Such relationships give a preference to fast recruitment and lay-off of employees, and provide quick solutions in cases of fluctuating labour demand and supply. In other words, this implies that circular migration is fundamentally linked to other mobilities: transport, tourism, social mobilities between employment sectors etc., to name just few. Moreover, since circular migration and other 'elastic' types of migration such as short-term and seasonal migration were often mentioned together or interchangeably in research in the early 2000s about migration in Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Iglicka 2001), or questioned if this is a new manifestation of the phenomenon of guest-workers in Europe (Castles 2006), there is a need to think more widely about this phenomenon in order to understand both its essence and its details.

After EU enlargement, short-term and circulatory patterns from Eastern European countries to Germany, Greece and Great Britain were analysed by several researchers both as regular and irregular migration (Morokvasic 2004; Duvell 2006; Triandafyllidou 2006). In earlier research, when trying to define circular migration, some authors initially linked circulation to irregular migration and noted later that

circularity is characteristic also of regular migration (Salt 2005). The migration and development perspective often characterises circular migration as a triple-win solution: for sending and receiving countries, and also for migrants and their families (Ruhs 2006).

As of the mid-2000s, European as well as global institutions started paying more attention to circular migration as a specific type of migration (EC 2005a; 2005b; IOM 2005; United Nations 2006; World Bank 2006). For example, the European Commission (EC 2005a) does not define circular migration; however, it indirectly notes that circularity comprises regular moving between two or more countries, and encourages governments to ensure conditions that people who move regularly across international borders can keep their workplaces.

Newland was among the first who tried to define circular migration as a 'continuing, and flexible type of human mobility in a space which becomes increasingly more connected economically' (Newland et al. 2008: 2; Newland 2009). Also, she and her associates pointed out that people are circulating between two or more countries not only due to economic reasons but also due to education, needs to meet family members etc. Other authors try to distinguish circular migration from other short-term types of migration, and specify that, in the case of circulation, an individual moves between the source and destination countries two or several times a year, whereas during a time period of several years it can involve also changes in employment sectors (Dayton-Johnson et al. 2007). Ron Skeldon particularly emphasises *free* movement: people move back and forth between two or more countries and are free to return to their home country *at any time*. He notes that flexibility and circularity are the main characteristics of these movements, where people engage in 'regular and repetitive outward movements between an origin and a destination or destinations; and that the circular migrant is free to return at any time' (Skeldon 2012: 47). Whereas in another definition the following characteristics are particularly emphasised: circular migration is international, short-term, repeated migration which is continued mainly due to economic reasons (Triandafyllidou 2010; 2013).

In my reading of these definitions two issues are necessary to expand our thinking about circular migration as a specific form of mobilities and as a migration type. First, we have to question the emphasis on free movement, and the time-geography with its clear understanding of the structural constraints for people to move in time-space. Second, when moving back and forth in more or less regular patterns, we

can assume that people develop some kind of specific way of life or culture (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003). Therefore I prefer to place circular migration in a wider understanding: I see it as crucial to explain circular mobilities and the associated way of life not only in terms of the economic interconnectedness of spaces and people, but within a broad geographical understanding of human lives in the natural and built environment, connected through technologies and infrastructures that enable moving back and forth between two or more distant places. Although often emphasised in transnationalism studies (most notably starting with Basch et al. 1994), these have rarely been done in geographical approach – for exceptions see Burrell (2008; 2011) about return visits and experience of air travelling, and Moores and Metykova (2010) on environmental experiences of young transnational intra-EU migrants.

In human geography, time-space is both physically constrained and also socially structured: each object occupies space, each movement requires time, and there are authority and coupling constraints which determine when people can access certain places and rules, who can move and how long they can be present in certain places. In my opinion, a more detailed research on human mobility, into how people try to achieve wellbeing goals and how these goals change during absence and presence in significant places, is of crucial significance to explain various types of migration, including efforts to provide wider definitions for circular migration. In Table 5, I set out the criteria which help us to explain circular migration in relation to existing literature, and in particular to the gaps which I identify as needing to be filled to expand this understanding. This table can thus be regarded as a summary of the multiple theoretical perspectives that need to be considered in order to arrive at a more complete and nuanced understanding of the essence of circular migration.

3.3. Expanding thinking on circular mobilities: a dialogue between time-geography and phenomenology

One of the underpinning ideas of my thesis is the dialogue between time-geography and the phenomenological approach. I want to see how explanations of human experience can contribute to a better understanding of mobility trajectories and of how objective and subjective structures combine together in a lifeworld which changes during translocal movements and emplacements in two or more distant places. Moreover, time-geography, from its beginning, has insisted that pathways are

undertaken by thinking, feeling humans (Hägerstrand 1970; 2004; Lenntorp 1999), and this emphasis encouraged me to develop new ideas about the corporeal significance of translocal living.

Table 5 **Explaining circular migration: theoretical considerations**

Current criteria in defining circular migration	
Categories	Main criteria characterising circular migration
Space	International migration under conditions of free movement
Time	Short term, more or less regular, repeated migration
Reasons	Mostly economic, seldom other reasons such as education or family are mentioned (see for exception Newland et al 2008)
Gaps identified in current definitions	
Space	Insufficient explanations on constraints to human movements in time-space
Time	A need to probe deeper into possibilities and constraints which shape when and for how long people engage in migration
Reasons	Insufficient explanations on diversity of reasons and *ideas* in paradigm of flexible economic relations (Venturini 2008), which would allow researching other types closely related to circular migration, research workplaces and their regulations, change of employment sectors etc.
Scale	Insufficiently theorised (and later practically analysed) places and a country of origin which are a constitutive part of circulatory movement in time-space
Theoretical and methodological supplementations needed	
Time-geographical perspective for mobility studies	Capability, authority and coupling constraints as objective constraints in time-space locally and translocally to research diversity of co-existing trajectories
Phenomenological geography	Mobility experience moving between two or more places, *genre de vie*, subjective experience in places and during mobilities
Ideas in time-space	Diversity of wellbeing ideas and perceptions, where and how long does it take to reach wellbeing goals in circular migration
Translocal scale	Significance of several places in experience of presence and absence

Source: Author's synthesis based on Buttimer 1976; Hägerstrand 1985; Dayton-Johnson et al. 2007; Venturini 2008; Newland et al. 2008; Brickell and Datta 2011; Skeldon 2012; Triandafyllidou 2010; 2013.

3.3.1. Corporeality in time-geography

The material reality of time-geography forms the theoretical and conceptual backcloth of the research, but it does not mean that I have to see it in a reductionist way, as if people are just objects moving in time-space. This alleged too-physical view was the main critique of time-geography as it was seen in the 1960s and 1970s (Buttimer 1976). However, the critique can be refuted on the following basic premise: human geography is a study about people on the earth, and people do follow paths that can be depicted graphically in the notation system of time-geography; but people themselves are not just paths – as Hägerstrand himself has always insisted (Hägerstrand 1982: 324; Ellegård and Svedin 2012). Hägerstrand was open to grand philosophies, and he was open to both a dialogue with natural geography, and within human geography. His many years of long collaboration with Anne Buttimer, working in a phenomenological approach, is just one proof of that. I see interdisciplinarity as a knowledge production process which allows an open flexibility of approaches to answer the research questions; in my opinion, this is indispensable in migration studies.

My main interest is directly grounded in how and why individuals move in and between places and link to each other: how they encounter each other, stay together and leave places and/or each other. Translating this interest in the time-geography language, it is *the path*, *the project, constraints* and *domains*/*stations*, which are at the centre of investigation together with experiences of mobility. These terms will be further defined and exemplified shortly.

Since time-geography was established in the 1950s, geographers have been urged to think about time, space and movements of people *together,* and *differently* than they have been represented in geographical research before. Corporeality, and linkages between society and nature constitute the basic ground of time-geography (Hägerstrand 1976; 1985: 193-4; 2004: 321). Referring to the neurophysiologist and Nobel prize winner John Eccles (1903–1997), Hägerstrand based time-geography on a discussion of what he called the *three worlds*. The first world is the realm of inorganic (such as matter, energy), biological and artificial material, physical objects and states; the second – mental states, cognition, subjective knowledge, perception, memories and emotions; while the third is the realm of cultural products, including works of art, technologies, theories, theorems, stories, myths and so forth. These three worlds are interrelated so that they condition relations and events between and within each other.

None of these worlds can stand alone; Hägerstrand highlighted that all three should be seen together and as a precondition for a formation of a theory. This trinity is also reflected in *togetherness* as one of the fundamental principles of human geography, and it is opposite to the approach which picks on a phenomenon, a problem and researches it a-spatially, wherever it appears (Hägerstrand 1985: 195).

Since its beginnings, time-geography has been an open philosophical perspective, to see societies' and individual biographies as they are evolving in places and through time (Hägerstrand 1963; 1969; 1970; Thrift and Pred, 1981; Shaw 2012). To understand the process of space-time relations, a researcher needs a set of concepts and a method through which these relations can be represented verbally, numerically, and visually. Hägerstrand's influence in developing his own concepts and time-space trajectory models came from music and its notation system (Ellegård and Svedin 2012). A notation system is a useful visualisation tool; however, it is a 'rather poor reflection of a rich world-view', as Lenntorp (1999: 156) has acknowledged whilst simultaneously reminding us that time-geography has never aimed to reduce the richness of the world merely to trajectories in space and time. In the 1970s, researchers working within this perspective developed a notation system originally applicable for studies in rather small places, across short distances and portraying everyday movements. Amongst other things, my research shows how this set of terms of time-geography can be applied also to the study of international migration (see Malmberg 1997; May and Thrift 2001; King et al. 2006; King 2012 for concise overviews of time-geography and migration studies available in English). For sure, the promises given at the beginning of time-geography have not lost their value also today, fulfilling the predictions of Nigel Thrift and Alan Pred in the early 1980s. They stated that not just the time-geography graphs as 'neat pieces of art' but rather the ability 'to use [time-geography's] language of the path and project as *a way of thinking about themselves and the world* [...] will we believe be the lasting legacy of time-geography' (Thrift and Pred 1981: 284, emphasis added). This is very much the case nowadays, when cheap flights and the internet have changed our understanding of distances in time-space paths so profoundly.

For me what is the most important is that time-geography's approach to the dimensions of time and space provides a frame of analysis of people's lives not only together with each other in a social world but, irreducibly, living in a physical world. Hägerstrand himself made considerable efforts to extend time-geographic approaches to

situate human activities in the broader context of the physical environment. In his last posthumous publication, he highlighted again the call for relational thinking as the origin of time-geographical approach: 'The main purpose of the approach which came to be called time-geography was to open up a related perspective from the outside in which the main issue is how the myriad of objects in our lifeworld, i.e. all that existing upon the earth's surface, get placed or place themselves through contact with one another during the lapse of time' (Hägerstrand 2004: 323). For me, this so-called 'relational thinking' in human geography, and in migration studies in particular, has become so powerful that it underpins many current theories and ongoing research on space, time and mobility, Doreen Massey's (2005) theory of relational space being one of the most widely known. However, to my surprise, she does not refer even once to time-geography in her book *For Space*, where so much work is devoted to a discussion of thinking about time and space together. This omission of the rich potential of time-geography is also endemic to many standard texts on migration (King 2012).

3.3.2. Main terms of time-geography

One of the time-geography's basic principles in order to understand human mobility is that living bodies are indivisibles and cannot be in two distant places at once. In the age of migration and proliferation of cyberspace, frequency of human interaction and virtual co-presence can be at least partially fulfilled with the help of internet-based technologies. However, recent assessments of mobility research across the globe indicate that proximity and physical co-presence remain a persistent need to maintain social ties (Urry 2003).

In a close observation of migration through individual biographies, as Hägerstrand did himself in his own research, 'a record can be kept of each individual [...] describing the sequence of events in which he/she is involved' (Hägerstrand 1985: 199). However, it is important not to mistakenly see time-geography as a kind of time-demography, as Nigel Thrift (1996) named it. Time-geography is precisely about the togetherness of various trajectories in nature and society (see also Borén 2005: 43 for a critique of Thrift's judgement).

In his various texts available in English, Hägerstrand used terms the *path* and *trajectory* interchangeably to describe an individual's movement in time and space. On a collective level we can see typical trajectories that are distinctive from others as a mobility type. Social media bridge spatial movements, together with the rich immaterial

world, in socio-cultural systems and imagined worldviews, and a path becomes like a 'weaving dance through time-space' (Pred 1977; Hägerstrand 1985: 195; Ellegård and Svedin 2012).

I understand *path* and use it further in this thesis as geographical mobility and, in my more focused investigation, as a translocal movement of my research participants. This understanding of movement is evident in recent geographical literature, especially in mobility studies (e.g. Cresswell 2006; 2010; Adey 2010c; Brickell and Datta 2011; Cresswell and Merriman 2011). I distinguish movement and trajectory; the former is a much broader term, a meta-concept in mobility studies. *Trajectory* has a direction and also implies various more specified notions in space theories (Massey 2005) and in mobility studies, such as a vector in avio-mobilities (Adey 2010c).

In time-geographical understanding, the *project* is a routinised (everyday) or future-oriented action, the goal of an individual or a group, and the reason why a particular path has been taken. Smaller projects, like going to work, or returning home, join together fragmentary situations and events (Hägerstrand 1982: 324). Thus, the project becomes a projection towards something that should be maintained and achieved (for instance the broader project to support a household or plan for the education of one's children). According to Hägerstrand, projects are led by *ideas*. As Giddens (1984a) rightly pointed out, it remains unclear where these ideas come from that guide people's movements in time and space. However, by leaving aside explanations about ideas, time-geography remains open to be applicable in contemporary contexts in different societies. Therefore, probing deeper into the epistemology of certain ideas that guided the mobility projects of my research participants allows situated explanations of where these ideas come from and how they change. Regarding the explanation of ideas, it should be highlighted that Hägerstrand did not ignore the immaterial world; on the contrary, he insisted that all *three worlds* are related and cannot exist separately. He noted that thoughts, desires and values influence projects; however, drawing on Alfred Schütz (1899-1959), he distinguished between different *manifestations* of the immaterial (inner) world in the material world. For example, a certain action such as moving away from Latvia is real in the material world if it is undertaken. On a different occasion if an individual thinks about leaving Latvia, the outer material world does not change, at least not immediately (Hägerstrand 2009: 162, 238, cited in Ellegård and Svedin 2012). In order to materialise his/her

thoughts and desires, an individual should carry out certain actions, e.g. obtaining tickets and then moving.

When several paths or trajectories come together, they create a *bundle*, which can be observed in certain locales or *domains*, such as the workplace or home (Hägerstrand 1970: 14). In these domains where people involved in projects come together, there exist *pockets of local order*; in other words, space and time-specific rules and orders agreed upon by individuals or imposed on them (Hägerstrand 1985). These, as well as path and project, are related to *constraints*, which are of three basic types. Enlarging my account beyond the brief definition given at the end of Chapter 1, *capability* constraints include the physiological human need to sleep, eat, preserve physical and mental strength, and are related to an individual's skills, knowledge, material assets and tools. *Authority* constraints shape time-space paths through regulations; for example employment, working hours, or rights to reside in a certain place. They are generally imposed upon others via established sets of power relations, but authority constraints can be also self-imposed, based on internalised assumptions of how, for instance, a gendered, classed subject should behave. There are interesting research studies emerging which aim to capture feelings and emotions, using the concept of authority constraints as imposed by individuals themselves, while using public transport to move from one domain to the other (e.g. McQuoid and Dijst 2012). The final set of constraints is *coupling constraints,* which limit when, for how long and where people can physically meet (Hägerstrand 1970: 12-16). I found the definitions of these three sets of constraints a clear layout for building an understanding of agency during various mobility types and events. Specific examples from Latvia and Guernsey will be given later in this thesis.

3.3.3. What about agency in time-geography?[9]

Hägerstrand's colleague Bo Lenntorp (1999: 158) has acknowledged the view that time-geography has rather little to say about human agency, but he rejected the criticism that it denies a space for research on agency and urged researchers who work in a time-geography perspective to incorporate agency in their situated research and concept-building.

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[9] Mirroring the title of one of Hägerstrand's (1970) famous paper 'What about people in regional science?'

The definition of agency proposed by Emirbayer and Mische (1998) has become a standard reference in migration research and I find it a synergetic and compatible supplement to understanding in time-geography, not least due to its emphasis on time and consideration of relations between various possible paths. They define agency, presented as relational (in terms of the temporal), as:

> The temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – temporal relational contexts of action – which through the interplay of habit, imagination and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 970).

These authors do not say anything about human lives in natural and social environments, but this aspect can be incorporated into the emphasised 'structural environments'. In time-geography, with its focus on material reality, it is important to specify how I understand 'imagination' in this research. According to Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 970), *projectivity* (hypothesisation of the future) is an important internal structure in agency, which can be methodologically traced through *narrative constructions* as temporal framing resources helping to define mobility ideas. Projectivity, therefore, is closely linked to what Hägerstrand called 'ideas', which guide projects. Overcoming constraints that can be physically overcome requires active agency. It is not always rational, but can also be emotional, and temporarily scarifying, breaking away from previous bundles and domains.

3.3.4. Wellbeing-guided mobility projects

Ideas of a better life have been emphasised in migration theory from its very beginning (Ravenstein 1885). People move to another place, guided by ideas that there they could achieve a better life: higher incomes and/or better career prospects (labour migration), better and/or cheaper education (education migration), joining together with significant people in their lives (marriage migration, family reunification), or people may see a better environment for their lifestyle in another place with its natural amenities, attractive built environment and fascinating culture (lifestyle migration). Concrete ideas guiding mobility projects were possible to understand only when analysing data – how research participants themselves explained why they engaged in migration. These were not only the ideas of improved welfare or coping strategies to escape poverty.

According to my data, ideas of wellbeing were specific to the broader transformations that Latvian society went through after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and moreover these ideas were changing through experiences of circular mobilities between Latvia and Guernsey.

Time-geography's emphasis on *projects*, which are guided by *ideas* and *constraints* to achieve goals in time and space, opens up time-geography for its co-reading together with concepts of wellbeing in migration with the following intersections. First, Hägerstrand's (1973) classical work on (step-wise) migration was based on following individual biographies and sequential events in human life. This is a research pathway that links time-geography and wellbeing from life-course perspectives. Second, ideas-guided projects are the critical points where time-geography creates synergy with wellbeing approaches to migration. Wellbeing emphasises what people need to live well and in a satisfying way (Wright 2012). Subjective wellbeing is related to needs for autonomy, competency and meaningful relationships, and having goals of personal growth and greater good for others, for example family members, especially the next generation, even if this involves temporary hardships (Wright 2012).

Third, in wellbeing studies an emphasis is made on the distinction between objective and subjective wellbeing. Drawing on Wright (2012), who studied Peruvian migrants in London and Madrid, *functional* dimensions of human wellbeing in migration are related to such objective conditions as welfare, standards of living and working, income, employment, housing, language learning in a new setting, finding employment and housing. Functional conditions such as insecure employment status, insufficient income, lack of language knowledge or poor health are important constraints from the time-geography perspective as they limit individual freedom to move from one place to other and hence impact a person's wellbeing. *Subjective* wellbeing is related to experience and ideas of what it means to live well for migrants and for the significant people of their circles. Subjective constructions also involve values and psychological states such as self-esteem and relationships, and links individual experiences to the broader social realm (Ryan, Huta and Deci 2008; Wright 2012). Importantly, subjective wellbeing is globally interconnected and it also refers to culturally embedded understandings where frames of reference are place-based and can become transformed during the international migration process (Wright 2012: 10). In research terms, then, it is crucial to integrate objective circumstances and subjective

constructions as they allow identifying what people need to achieve their goals in particular places.

3.4. Time-space of possibilities for translocal way of life

Hägerstrand (1985: 195; 2004) suggested that in order to understand a given phenomenon under scrutiny in a scale-sensitive way, a researcher should look at the research site and accept all that which is found in a place and during the lapse of time of observation (including what is entering and leaving while observation is going on). 'The lapse of time', (Hägerstrand 2004), in which given reality was observed, was my fieldwork and in-depth interviews during 2010-2012. The relatively new concept of 'translocal geographies' (Brickell and Datta 2011) seems particularly apposite to understand the 'way of life' of migrants and mobile people.

3.4.1. Translocal circulations

The transnationalism approach to migration studies allows us to shift away from bipolar identities of circular migrants to a wider perspective where one place is not opposed to the other, but multiply linked (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Burrell 2003). The transnationalist perspective has created an avalanche of research in the past 20 years. However, geography has certain views and long-standing interests in what is still sometimes unclearly packed under the umbrella of 'transnational'. What is important to underline is that multiple ties stretch across borders, and networks transgress national spaces, but ties are not only transnational (Samers 2010: 280). The neglect of this multiplicity not directly related to transnational processes has provoked a justified critique of the very name 'transnationalism' for this approach.

Several authors have recently started theorising travel culture and return visits among Eastern European migrants as a constitutive part of intra-EU migration processes (Morokvasic 2004; Sheller and Urry 2006; Burrell 2008; 2011; Jeffery and Murison 2011; Parutis 2011). Therefore I see various circular mobilities such as the return visits of my research participants as located and constituted in the intersection between the EU free movement of labour, national politics in Latvia and Guernsey, and individual trajectories manifested as a work-life division expanded in time and space.

Trans*locality* in geography stems from a so-called 'grounded' understanding of transnationalism (Mitchell 1997), or 'rooted' transnationalism, seeing diasporic

communities as simultaneously emplaced and mobile (Katz 2001: 724). In its basic understanding, the 'groundedness' of transnational processes should be grasped in materiality as spatial practice. So, translocality can be analysed as a mode of multiple emplacement 'here' and 'there'. I should note here that this interpretation differs from some literature, notably the cultural theorist Homi Bhabha (1994), who saw transnationalism as residing somewhere a-spatially in a hybrid third space, and prominent anthropologists Arjun Appadurai, who coined the term 'translocality', and Ulf Hannerz, another important theorist on translocality, anchoring its understanding in fluidity, deterritorialised social spaces and networks (Appadurai 1996a; 1996b; 2005; Hannerz 1996; 1998; Smith 2011: 185). In contradistinction to these eminent authors, I agree with Samers (2010: 119-120), who argues that relationality in terms of the intersection of scales, territories, structures, social and migration networks and differentiations of gender, ethnicity and class, should be critically engaged with in order to develop progressive conceptions of translocal practices.

The approach of translocal geographies sees people as temporarily emplaced and place-based (Brickell and Datta 2011). By deliberately combining local and trans-(regional, national, statal, cultural etc.), these authors came up with a valuable concept, which allows the examining of spaces and places through their situatedness and connectedness to other locales. The concept is well suited to everyday local-local movements, and how other spaces and places become significant during movement and migration (Brickell and Datta 2011: 4). They can range in scale from the place where movement originated, to the body, which moves across spaces.

I found the translocal approach to be key to the spatial practices of my research participants. I look initially at intra-EU mobilities, which simultaneously are movements also across national borders, blurring the distinction between internal and international migration. Beyond this, the translocal approach is especially suited to the small size of Guernsey and the specificity of its position in relation to the UK. Moreover, the people whom I interviewed lived, worked and moved to specific locales in Guernsey and elsewhere, and returned to specific places in Latvia. Personal experiences and narratives linked places and spaces at different times and geographical scales. Furthermore, the translocal approach pays special attention to translocal subjectivities, connections and emotions, suggesting that movement through places plays a major role in the on-going constitution of an individual's identity and negotiations of local-local in relation to other scales (Conradson and Mckay 2007).

These subjectivities shape circular mobilities. In short, without the translocal optic it would be simply impossible to explain how the pathways of my research participants have been changing during circulatory movements. The translocal scale is the centre of inquiry, but it is necessarily imbricated by global, transnational, national and regional scales too (Brickell and Datta 2011: 6). Without going into a long history of how scale has been applied as a category in human geography, even to calls to abandon the category of scale (Agnew 1997; Marston et al. 2007; Herod 2011), I see and use scale as a necessary analytical construct to understand geographical movement and also the production of space (cf. Lefebvre 1991).

3.4.2. Absence and presence translocally

Lifeworlds are dynamic, full of varied experiences, rich with thoughts, ideas and intentions. During his long collaboration with Buttimer and drawing on Martin Heiddeger (1927), Edmund Husserl (1973) and Alfred Schütz (1973), Hägerstrand incorporated the notion of lifeworld in the basis of time-geography. *Dasein* (life-time), literally from German *da sein* – 'being there', explains Hägerstrand's unremitting emphasis on the complexity of environments within which movements can take place. Thus, his interest in the phenomenological explanation of time and space, which has a paramount importance in spatial history (Elden 2001; Thrift 2011), is evident.

A phenomenological approach permits us to reflect upon human experience and explain its meaning in the 'lived world' where physical and cultural environments shape daily lives and where time and space are dynamically experienced (Buttimer 1976: 280). Buttimer is perhaps the most vocal promoter of a dialogue between time-geography and phenomenology. While the latter's emphasis is on explaining the common conditions and forces that shape human experience, the former can help us to explain the physical and social constraints which have to be respected (or resisted) in everyday life and which thus significantly influence our experience in time and space.

In order to understand the practical and emotional experience that emerges, and changes, when moving between places or being temporarily absent from the original area, I find very useful the notion of *body subject*, introduced by Merleau-Ponti (1945) and subsequently integrated into geographical research by David Seamon (1979; 2013). Intentionality of a body subject helps to explain how a human body engages into direct relations with a surrounding world. Seamon emphasised that a mobile 'sense of place' is constituted when we move, when we use transport vehicles, and when we routinely

move in space so that this 'space on the move' becomes familiar to us. Seamon called these familiar movements a *place ballet*, which can be individual but is also collective as we observe routinised human movements in public places. Recognising the need to incorporate feelings in explanations of human experiences in the environment, Seamon (1979: 70-71) also introduced a related notion of the *feeling subject* which permits a better incorporation of human feelings when bodies move in space (see also Moores and Metykova 2010). Seamon's work gives us a chance to better understand how the human experience changes during circular mobilities: the first impression of a new place, gradually becoming more familiar through repeated movements there, the emergence of a characteristic new way of life, and then how changes are experienced and felt when people move back again to their places of origin.

Emotions have become increasingly incorporated into academic interpretations of human spatial behaviour as constitutive, and no longer considered just as attendant aspects of geographical mobility (Davidson et al. 2005). Various affects manifest themselves both on a day-to-day basis and as constituent aspects of large-scale socio-political circumstances (Thrift 2004a; 2004b; Thien 2005; Condradson and McKay 2007). Recently McQuoid and Dijst (2012) have called for the 'emotionalisation' of time-geography, demonstrating that a person's everyday movements are saturated by emotions and shaped by both self-imposed and external authority constraints. Indeed, the path of my research participants was emotionally narrated, and durations and frequency of visits were ingrained by senses, gestures and emotional references. Senses[10] are an obvious corporeal dimension of human experience, and I argue that through the more detailed understanding of corporeal co-presence, time-geography provides an intellectual basis for studying senses and emotions in translocal mobility.

3.4.3. Genre de vie

The notion of translocal mobility is particularly well suited to researching changing lifeworlds because such mobility allows participants, and the researcher, to see more

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[10] Living in different places and moving between them constitutes *sense of place* with a wide range of emotional and affective results. Edward Relph, for example, has incorporated sense of place in his complex model of how people experience their 'insideness' or 'outsideness' in places (Relph 1976: 55, see also Seamon and Sowers 2008). However, I do not analyse Relph's work in detail here because I insist on the corporeal dimension as a necessary basis to understand movements between, and life in, places. In my reading, for some interesting parallels of phenomenological experience and its modes in *sense of time* in migration (not so much sense of place as in Relph's writing), see also Cwerner (2001).

sharply what had been taken for granted previously. As a result a concrete place becomes known; a person 'knows' and 'feels' the place. The natural and built environment creates opportunities for developing *genre de vie* – a certain way of life and culture. This notion was coined by Paul Vidal de la Blanche (1845-1918) within the human geographical perspective of possibilism. Although posited more than a century ago, this was a huge leap away from environmental determinism. Yet possibilism as a perspective is also out-dated nowadays as it still carries a heavy influence of determinism. However, I agree with Buttimer (1976) that the notion of *genre de vie* can be a very useful building block in a dialogue between time-geography and phenomenology. 'Each *genre de vie* analytically can be seen as a world on its own terms but existentially they are related and constitute a common horizon of time and space' (Buttimer 1976: 290). Acknowledging that the current interconnected European spaces for travel and circular labour migration provide conditions for a mobile *genre de vie* on the translocal scale, two or more significant places also have their own specific conditions and therefore we have to understand how people experience presence and absence from these places.

According to Hägerstrand, the world of *culture,* seen here as a set of temporally and spatially specific ideas, customs and beliefs that shape people's mobilities (McDowell 1994: 148), is an inseparable part of the trinity of the corporeal world. Research participants move between two or more places, which are separated by international borders; they live and work in concrete places outside their place of origin but they also maintain ties to that place and travel back to it. In place-making practices in a new place, people tend to use material things that are related to their place of origin. Thereby they create cultural frames of reference, reproaching and comparing processes in distant places. Following Brickell and Datta (2011), I define such a way of life as translocal.

Importantly, the translocal scale also refers to a body which moves between different places across international borders and lives in absence from a place of origin. Moreover, other processes on other scales such as local, regional, national and international unfold on the body scale. Therefore translocality as a process creates a specific way of life where the material scale of a body moving across borders and living in different places helps us to grasp the continuity of significant places in a lifeworld.

3.4.4. Present horizon

As time-geography emphasises, the orientation of a path is influenced by past experiences and future projections (Hägerstrand 2004). In other words, a path is never purely present, but is simultaneously also a product of before and after. To capture this, in line with interpretations of Hägerstrand (2004), May and Thrift (2001) and Massey (2005), I interpret a time-space as a continuous system of events. In corporeal co-presence, when people, who were separated in the past, meet, and simultaneously anticipate a separation in future, the collapse of certain time axes gives rise to affect and emotions. I use the phenomenological concept of 'field of consciousness' (Gurwitsch 1964) to show how affect and emotions in these events shape trajectories. The field consists of the 'present-horizon' and 'fringes' or contexts. The conscious present-horizon is the focal point of experience, and of my interest here, but 'unawareness' as well as the past and the future are also attendant on the fringes of consciousness (Gurwitsch 1964; Throop 2003).

In order to come closer to an understanding of embodied experience along any trajectory in time-space, I emphasise the importance of corporeal co-presence also in the phenomenological approach. Presence and absence from places are experienced in the body. These experiences provide rich material, which can be both observed and subjectively expressed in narratives. Therefore I argue that, broadly understood, the experience of circular mobilities is absence and presence simultaneously, ebbing and flowing into one other, and recognisable in the notion of the present-horizon. The significance of a place from which a person is absent for the time being has an impact on material reality and can shape the path of a lived life and any subjective interpretation of it in a place where he/she is present.

3.5. Conceptualising together: circular mobilities and the human experience in time-space

After the somewhat dense theoretical discussion above, I arrive now at a departure point for closer scrutiny of my research data, which can be presented in the form of a general model. The time-space of possibilities under conditions of bounded territory and free movement of people gives rise to a concrete expression of a dominant mobility pattern that is *circulation*. The model (Figure 3) lays a basis for conceptualising and

understanding the lived experiences of circular mobilities. Translocal movement is depicted in one basic form of moving between two distant places and changing, for example, workplace and accommodation in one place. Wellbeing ideas are the force that guides mobility projects from Latvia to Guernsey as a temporary workplace, but wellbeing ideas influence mobilities also on the island itself.

Figure 3 **Model of time-space of possibilities**
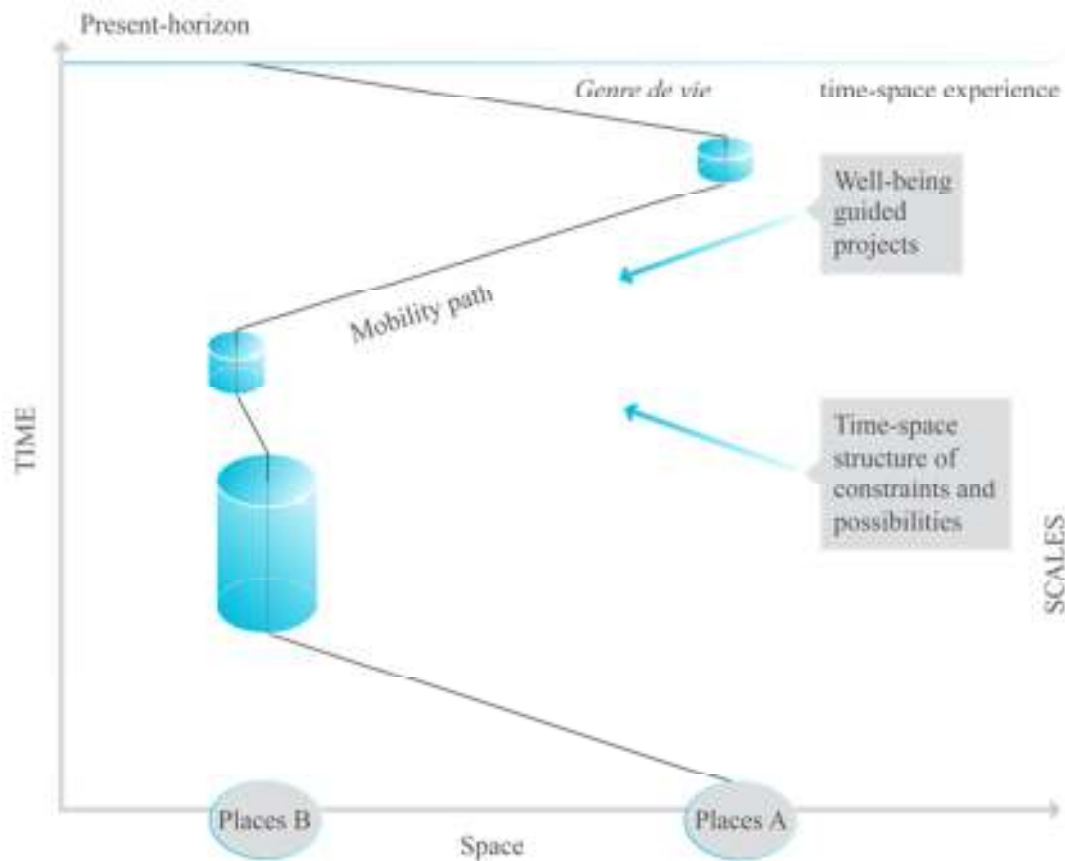
Time-geography helps us to understand which structural constraints in nature, society and transport networks should be taken into account when engaging in translocal mobilities, which then may develop in circular patterns. On an individual and social level, wellbeing approaches do not ignore the structural limitations that explain what people lack and how their capabilities could be expanded, but it argues that subjective evaluations are of paramount importance to yield a more nuanced understanding of how people can achieve goals in their lives (Wright 2012). Again, time-geography is well suited to consider *together* structural constraints with aspired-for goals and hence develop deeper subjective constructions of how to improve life through mobility. Thus, time-geography and the concept of wellbeing meet in a productive synergy for both approaches: mobility projects and geographical trajectories

are constrained in various ways but these projects and trajectories are undertaken by people who enact their agency and evaluate their paths on an everyday basis, against the whole life-course and inter-generationally. Aspirations to attain certain wellbeing outcomes constitute experiences of time-space, and a specific way of life with its characteristic types of mobilities.

The model in Figure 3 depicts movement form place A, which can be understood as a concrete place in Latvia on a local scale or a whole country on a national scale, to a place B, here understood as Guernsey and concrete places there. Movements of humans and goods across international borders and locally are influenced by structural possibilities and constraints and guided by particular wellbeing ideas. Individual trajectories can be aggregated into group mobility patterns by certain factors that have shaped them similarly in terms of directions, rhythms of movements, a developing way of life, common frames of reference and shared ideas of how wellbeing can be pursued through mobility.

CHAPTER 4
METHODS

There is a growing body of geographical scholarship which demonstrates the advantages of ethnographic and multi-method research (Hoggart et al. 2001: 266), especially in translocal studies (Brickell and Datta 2011) and societies undergoing fundamental social changes (Hörschelmann and Stenning 2008). Such an approach provides the potential for in-depth interpretation of detailed, multi-scalar connections and interrelations, which could be otherwise difficult, if not impossible, to attain (DeLyser and Sui 2013). Since I aimed to capture the circulatory pattern of migration and its attendant mobilities *and* experience that underpin various mobilities, throughout my data collection I also adopted a flexible approach in order to 'respond to lessons from the field' (Castles 2012: 16), which thus allowed a continuous elaboration of my ongoing research strategy and research questions. I combine methods: I use available quantitative data where possible to contextualise mobility trends; however, my core methods for data acquisition were qualitative in-depth interviews, and I also used simple observations and my own participant observation during personal episodes of mobility. All these methods allowed me to grasp both the co-existing multiplicity of mobilities and changes in migration trajectories and types over time. The fieldwork was carried out across the years 2010-2012 in five fieldwork visits to Guernsey. I also met with many of the research participants in Latvia and was communicating with them via internet-based networks throughout the two years of my empirical investigation.

4.1. Applying qualitative methods in mobility research in human geography

It was decided from the beginning of the research that a qualitative approach would serve me better as there were no available high-quality statistics on Latvians in Guernsey which might feed into some kind of advanced quantitative analysis. This became even clearer after the first stage of the fieldwork in January 2010. Statistical information was not publicly available and any attempt to carry out my own survey would not be appropriate, for several reasons. Most importantly, if there was no public information on numbers, I could not construct a representative sample. The Guernsey government did not want to communicate such information, and I had to respect its

will. Second, many migrants were staying for a short time and returned again to Guernsey in very diverse mobility patterns. Hence, once again, any notion of constructing some kind of fixed sample to represent the fluidity and diversity of these mobility patterns would have been illusory. Individual interviews and observations create much better insights into actual geographical mobility patterns, which were, I repeat yet again, always dynamic and changing. During the second stage of my fieldwork in Guernsey, in summer 2010, I tried a pilot short-interview survey with 48 respondents, but this method rather confirmed the importance of the inter-contextual and situated factors which produce geographical movement internationally and locally. The importance of the meanings attached to such movements got lost in a survey of this kind, even with open-ended questions and space to express respondents' own opinions. But these various overlapping contexts were especially important to understand changes in geographical paths locally and transnationally. As I explained in Chapter 1, I did not start the data collection with a specific hypothesis to be tested, but entered into fieldwork with an open-minded the inductive approach. Therefore, at the beginning I had flexible research questions and, after I gathered and transcribed the first interviews, and carried out my first observations, I continued reading theoretical literature and other relevant research, and was thus able to continue refining concepts which were relevant to describe migrant lifeworlds, and which would inform later rounds of interviews and fieldwork.

Qualitative, place-based geographical research does not aim to be repeated in different times and places to obtain the same results. This would be against the fundamental principle of time-geography, that a research phenomenon can best be understood in its specific spatio-temporal context (Hägerstrand 1976).

In the qualitative approach in human geography, the focus is on relations between various processes: the interrelations between social and geographical mobility with the aim of understanding the *meaning* of certain behaviours in certain environmental and social contexts (Hägerstrand 1976; 1985; Hoggart et al. 2001). A qualitative (and probably any) research cannot be neutral in its interpretative approach: a researcher makes a decision on what to study, and which theoretical concepts to choose, in whatever kind of qualitative, quantitative or mixed-methods research. However, in all approaches a researcher should avoid to judge research subjects; neutrality remains of fundamental importance.

Lifeworlds are not natural 'objective' facts, but are dependent on an individual's relations with places, people, things, and environment (Hoggart et al. 2001: 28). A place is constantly changing; therefore an ethnographic approach allows deeper involvement with research participants *in place* as well as appreciating their various rhythms and patterns of mobility (Thrift 1996; McHugh 2000). But qualitative research is not a voluntary speculation. Rigorous interpretation can be achieved in various ways, for example through triangulation of methods and comparisons. For the latter, I must emphasise the importance of theoretical synthesis: therefore I discuss other research findings widely throughout my work in comparison with my case. There is important work done in geography on travel cultures and return visits of recent intra-European migrants (e.g. Burrell 2008; 2011; Brickell and Datta 2011). There is a wealth of literature which emphasises certain aspects of my research interest: restrictive housing and work permit regimes in islands or other specific territories (e.g. Smart 2006 on border regimes and migrants in Hong Kong, research on circulating migrant workers in the Middle East, and research on islands and other small territories with specific legal regimes regarding migrants' possibilities with imposed constraints to settle – Bailey et al. 2002; Collyer 2007). Existing research on the geographical mobility of migrants from Latvia also provides important bases for comparison of specific aspects (Apsīte-Beriņa 2013; Krišjāne 2007). There is also a growing literature on translocal research; therefore my interpretation and findings can be judged against what has been found in researching recent Polish migrants in London and their geographical paths (Datta 2011).

To my knowledge, there is no concrete example of research which conceptualises and analyses from a qualitative time-geographic perspective, the translocal paths of migrants, incorporating their time-space rhythms and the transformation of their wellbeing jointly. This is the angle which I pursue in this thesis. However, my idea has not arrived from nowhere: labour contracts, migrant networks and recruitment strategies have been widely researched; and more specifically the interrelations of social and geographical mobility, strategies to synchronise transnational care, life-course and transnational embodiments, and spatio-temporal geographies of rhythms are the more-recently growing research fields which have informed my approach. More detailed reference to these research areas will be made during the course of my three main 'empirical results' (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) and in the subsequent more general analytical-theoretical discussion (Chapter 8). Synthesis of

what has been seen separately so far, and applying this in systematic way, alongside my own empirical investigation, is my necessary task to contribute to migration scholarship. Thus, theoretical dialogue is an in-built control mechanism in my qualitative methodology. I aim to maintain a constant dialogue with existing literature in my ensuing account. Its theoretical value can be judged, and the possible arbitrariness of the approach and interpretation can be minimised, if researchers who have read the same theories or researched the phenomenon in different contexts, are constantly referenced (Borén 2009; cf. Herbert 2000).

4.2 Ethics

I followed to the Code of Ethics of the Association of American Geographers which emphasises respect for persons and communities, and the principles of equity beneficence and 'no harm' (Cutchin 2002). Explicit informed consent was obtained for interviewing and recording, along with the right of individuals and groups to be informed that they are research subjects, and to be given adequate information so that they are in a position to give informed consent as research subjects. According to equity principles to 'share research results, to the extent that this is practical and legal, with individuals and communities affected by the research', I sent my draft texts (papers and thesis chapters) to several research participants – both recent migrants within the Latvian community and permanent residents of Guernsey of other nationalities. I also sent my earlier drafts of articles to government representatives I interviewed for the research. The beneficence principle means that I have tried to carry out the fieldwork and interpret the data so that my work can provide not only theoretical and empirical research insights, but also practical and emotional benefits to my research participants. I did not ask research participants about their legal status regarding housing permits, as this was not my research aim, and in any case during the migration process any person can slip in or out of formal status as defined by some authorities, often through no fault of their own.

All interviews were given with explicit informed consent and I was open about my research aims throughout the informal conversations. I also gave a leaflet to my research participants in Latvian or English with my and my university's contact details. I also published a statement about my research interests on a website discussion group of Latvians in Guernsey in www.draugiem.lv (popular social network in Latvia). In

2010, after receiving the consent of an administrator, I also joined a discussion group on this website. I received permission from my key research participants to follow their photo albums on this website. This turned out to be a very useful method, especially with regard to understanding how visiting friends and relatives either in Guernsey or in Latvia is closely entwined with local tourism practices.

Research participants were asked to choose their pseudonyms if they wished so, but in most cases it was left up to me to decide what fictional name I use in the following text. In fact, most of the migrant workers, and also employers, said they did not mind if their real name is used. Some, in a partly humorous way, insisted that the real name be used. 'And you should write that Maris will not go back to Latvia!' one of the research participants, Maris, insisted, when he explained his disappointment with ruling politicians in Latvia. Other details that could compromise the anonymity of the research participants have been changed. In my several articles in Latvian and English I change fictional names of the research participants to ensure protection of their private data and biographical details. Likewise, I have sometimes changed the fictional names in certain quotes within this thesis research to ensure anonymity and not to reveal the place and year of arrival, which is explained in the list of interviewees in the Appendix. These minor changes do not distort the meaning or interpretation of the results.

Guernsey is a small place, there are few employers and recruiters, but all my research participants agreed to participate and were interested in the research. Due to the specificity of place, I took extra care to anynomise data. However, I think that silencing some issues as they were remembered and interpreted by my research participants is not a valid research strategy. Employers and governments are in power relations, where they superimpose constraints on those with less power, depriving them of the opportunity to raise their voice. I see the deliberate silencing of some issues which are significantly shaping geographical movement as a disempowerment of those who live mobile lives. Yet, I have avoided discussing issues which would harm the vulnerable and instead I tried to describe the diversity of experience and not to reify stereotypes.

At an early stage of data collection I contacted the National Data Protection Bureau in Latvia. Data protection issues are set out in the Law on Protection of Data of Physical Persons, Paragraph 10, section 2, which stipulates that 'data should be analysed only according the envisaged aim and scope'. Accordingly, I analyse my data

only for academic purposes for this thesis, and for associated academic articles and presentations. Besides, I keep my data in my personal computer, which has a password known only to me, and a copy of the interviews and my diary notes I store in a flash card, which has an encrypted security key with a password. In case my computer or flash card gets lost, another person cannot access my research data.

Most of the interviews were transcribed by myself, but I gave seven to transcribe to another person due to lack of time. In this case, I explained to the transcriber that transcripts and audio files should be erased after the work is done and we secured our aim to protect data in a written informed consent.

4.3. Positionality

I agree that, in any research, and that related to the qualitative investigation of migration in particular, it is important to state and explain the researcher's positionality in the field (Carling et al. 2013). Since my approach is qualitative, and I spent considerable time together with the people I researched, and kept in touch with many of them via internet media, I call them 'research participants'. In quantitative research (and sometimes in qualitative studies too), it is traditional to name them 'respondents', while in many pieces of qualitative research they are named 'informants'. In my case, however short our conversations have been (but most were lengthy and repeated), they were not just responding to my questions nor informing me. I tried to make sense of their mobilities and way of life, and the results presented here are fundamentally based on their experience and the reflections they were willing to share with me.

There are several aspects which taken together were important in my positionality: my age and the fact that I am a mother, my ethnicity, rural-urban mixed background, my work vis-à-vis the types of work done by my research participants, my personal experience of living abroad and, the finally, the funding for my research. I positioned myself as an academic researcher from the beginning of my research. I am a Latvian, female, in my mid-to-late 30s during the fieldwork, living in the capital city of Riga for the past twenty years but originally coming from a small town in rural Latvia. I often travel there to visit my parents and enjoy rural life and networking in a small community. Therefore I dare to say that I have everyday knowledge of the differences between life in a capital city and in the small places which are distant from

the main economic and cultural centres in Latvia. I am a mother, and my child was 3-5 years old during the fieldwork. This was very important in cases when I interviewed and observed research participants with children; I was 'one of them' in a sense and, moreover, I have lived outside Latvia for some time and was often separated from my small child and ageing parents. Moreover, I was also studying in Stockholm University for a semester in 2011 and also had an internship in the London Metropolitan University Working Lives Research Institute for 3.5 months. I raise a bilingual, bi-national child, and due to work and family arrangements I often travelled and was absent from places and people in Latvia. The fact that I have my personal experience in transnational relationships was very important for most of my research participants, especially for those whose spouses were not from Latvia and who were raising children in mixed families.

It was important for me to state clearly who funded my research whenever research participants asked me about this issue. I received a European Social Fund scholarship for my doctoral studies and my trips were partly covered by this scholarship. However, I had to add a considerable amount of money from my own savings. I did not receive any money from policy-related projects during my fieldwork[11] and this was an important aspect to build trustful relationships with my research participants. I was able to truthfully claim that I do not have a political agenda, for example to promote the idea of return migration. Some research participants also asked whether I intend to write journalistic articles about Latvians in Guernsey. This was partly related to my own professional past as I worked as a journalist in 1999-2004 in Latvia, and also simply due to the fact that the final products and accessibility of academic writing were not often clearly understood, whereas journalistic articles were.

As I explained, on the one hand, I was one of them, a Latvian; but on the other hand I was different and distant, because I did not work in a paid job in Guernsey. I had to prove in practice that I am ready to invest my time and effort to wait for a moment when it was possible for the research participants, not me, to have a long, open talk or an interview. The bond of trust gradually strengthened through repeated visits, experiencing everyday activities in Guernsey and by sharing travel experiences

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[11] In late 2013, more than a year after I had finished the fieldwork, I was contracted as an expert to draft a concept paper on cooperation with the Latvian diaspora abroad. My expert fee was paid by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Latvia but this task and payment were not related to funding my doctoral research.

between the island and Latvia; this was interpreted by some as proof of my enthusiasm and devotion to understanding the complexity of the mobile lives of my research participants.

4.4. Process and methods of data collection

In this section I will discuss the various methods which were chosen to provide a reliable data and sampling technique to lead to valid results. I used several methods with the aim to encompass the diversity of migrants' way of life on the island and on the move, gathering both textual and visual information.

4.4.1. Travel

I made series of fieldwork trips to Guernsey between 2010 and 2012 and all together spent three months there. My mobile ethnography consisted of several methods of data gathering, one of which was travel itself.

This strategy of researching 'on the move' and making multiple, relatively short research trips, rather than spending a single consolidated period of fieldwork in Guernsey, was chosen for both epistemological and practical reasons. Such a strategy suited my conceptual stance of interleaving theoretical insight with on-going data collection in an iterative, mutually informing way. And second, my multiple responsibilities outside of this thesis, both as a teacher and contract researcher, and the mother of a then-small child, meant that fieldwork time had to be fitted in wherever possible into shorter spells.

Already during my first visit to Guernsey, I noticed that legal requirements and a wish to leave the island from time to time significantly shaped the pathways of my research participants. Therefore I decided to pay special attention to acting as a mobile researcher myself, travelling back and forth. The importance of mobile fieldwork has been highlighted by several authors (see e.g. Burrell 2011 on the air travel culture of recent Polish migrants). In addition to Burrell's important research, which has some obvious parallels to my own work on Latvians, see also Adey (2010c) and Cresswell (2006) for 'fieldwork on the move', Cwerner et al. (2009) on aeromobilities, and Ferguson (2009) and Sheller (2004) on auto-mobilities. I will come back to some of these mobility forms in Chapter 6, when explaining travelling and visiting in detail. For me, being mobile was a necessary methodological requirement to understand the lives of my research participants as they travelled

between Latvia, Guernsey and other places. It allowed me to experience and inter-subjectively share 'life on the move'. Like them, I was spending days comparing travel prices and connection routes, I experienced worries as to whether I would make a connecting flight due to adverse weather conditions, and risk passing long hours in airports or staying short overnights in London. I visited Guernsey five times. Four times I went on roundtrips by plane, changing flights from Riga to Guernsey in Gatwick and Stansted airports in London, and one time I joined in a car trip in summer 2011. By travelling together with the migrant workers, I was able to observe their spontaneous emotions.

In Guernsey, like most of my research participants, I was mainly walking or using public buses. Not many recent Latvian migrants have their own car in Guernsey, but some did; whereas most of those who were settled longer-term had their own cars and did not use public buses. I will discuss these mobilities more in Chapter 5 on everyday life on the island. Sometimes my research participants took me to some places by car and occasionally I used taxis to move around where buses were not available.

4.4.2. Interviews

I created my non-representative, purposive sample with a snowball method, aiming to reach diverse research participants along the criteria of length of stay in Guernsey, age, gender, recruitment channels and employment sector. The snowball started with several initial contacts I established on the website www.draugiem.lv in early 2010, when I was still in Latvia. I developed it further by asking interviewees to give me a couple of contacts of people they knew. The snowball grew quickly but I also soon noticed that there were several circuits that do not cross: some had more relatives in Guernsey, some socialised mainly with their co-ethnic workmates, others had friendships more based on age and class background. As the sample grew, I was able to strategically choose the next interviewees, which would enable me to build a more diverse group. The most difficult challenge at the beginning was to reach migrant workers who stayed in accommodations provided by certain employers in 'fulfilment industries'[12] further out of St Peter Port town. I first had informal conversations with

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[12] Fulfilment industries were specific to the Channel Islands economy up to 2012, based on the favourable tax regime. There was no value added tax and therefore many entrepreneurs established companies for packing CDs, video tapes, perfumes, medicines etc. which are sold via internet orders. In

five women in their accommodations during my first fieldwork stage, and it was thus easier to reach these groups in the following stages.

Interviews were conducted between January 2010 and September 2012. My migrant interviews in Guernsey plus one in London, comprise 90 (58 women and 32 men) in-depth accounts carried out in Latvian, English and Russian, translated and transcribed by myself. I also interviewed people who had temporarily returned to Latvia from the Channel Islands, as well as their relatives; however, the 89 migrant interviews in Guernsey are the core data. Most of the interviews were audio-recorded, but when a research participant did not wish to have the conversation taped, notes were taken instead. With 14 key research participants I carried out several repeated interviews over two years. These participants were not chosen by me deliberately but became the key participants as they had broad knowledge about migrants' life in Guernsey, experience of travelling back to Latvia, and sometimes working in other European countries as well. Besides, they were willing to share their experience and feelings, to meet me several times, and maintain a regular communication tie with me. Two of my key research participants were British and one was a French-origin local Guernsey person. I kept contact with these key research participants because I valued their broad knowledge about the island and willingness to cooperate with me for research purposes.

I usually started the interviews with migrants with an open question, not precisely formulated, such as 'Do you remember how it was that you came to Guernsey?' This general opening question usually then led into a longer narrative, produced by the research participants, giving his/her own significance to subsequent events in their migration experience (Halfacree and Boyle 1993; McHugh 2000). I asked my migrant research participants to choose the language they felt the most comfortable in (Latvian or Russian), and the place where they likewise felt the most comfortable for the interview. We mainly chose my room in a guest house, or a public cafeteria, but sometimes also their workplaces or we had the interviews at their homes. I sometimes paid for a coffee or a snack for my interlocutors, but sometimes they insisted that they want to pay for my coffee. I brought them small presents from Latvia, e.g. recent magazines, books or sweets.

2012, Great Britain closed this tax loophole, nullifying the favourable business conditions for this type of activity in the Channel Islands.

Women were on the whole more explicit in their narratives; they emphasised more their longing for their home area and talked about actual experiences while at home. Men emphasised more their sense of disillusionment at home when they run out of savings, and were more revealing about their adventures when travelling away from Latvia and arriving in Guernsey. I interpret these gendered differences as culturally learned or perceived ways as to how far a man can open his emotions to a female researcher and how to frame the narrative in a masculine way. Similarly, differentiation worked along the age and family-status axes: narratives of older research participants were more ingrained with existential sorrow compared to younger people free from care obligations. With some of research participants I stayed in touch for more than two years, more or less frequently communicating in social networks and meeting them in Latvia while they were visiting their home areas. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the areas in Latvia of the research participants: a cluster in and around Riga but also a broad spread throughout much of the rest of the country. Table 6 gives a socio-demographic overview of the sample of migrant interviewees and I also provide some useful summary about contextual economic information about wage levels and rents. A full listing of interviewees is given in Appendix 1.

Figure 3 **Original home area of research participants from Latvia**
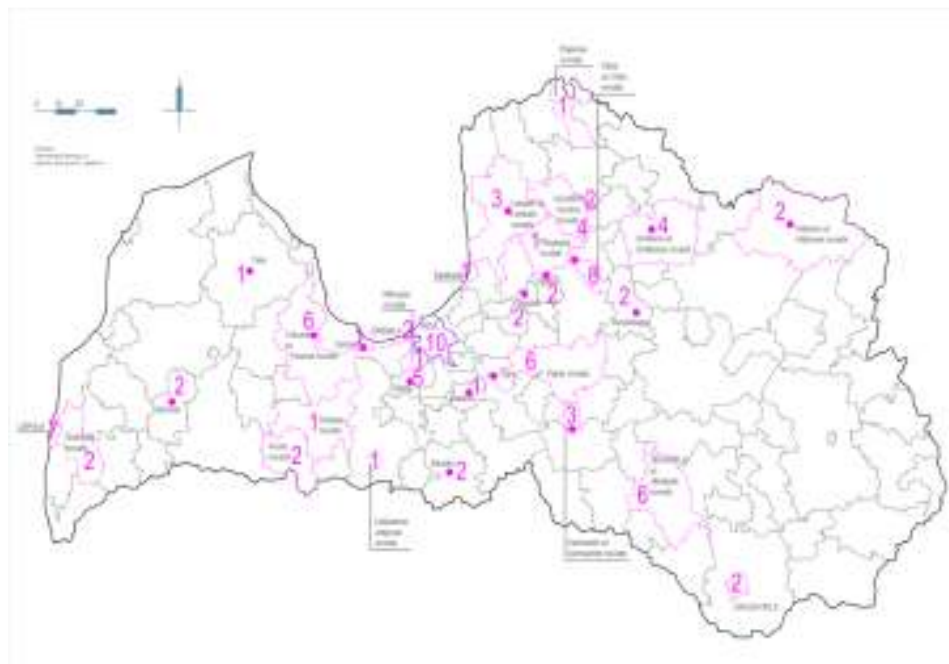
Source: Map of administrative territories in Latvia, created by Margarita Vološina

Table 6 **Socio-demographic characteristics of research participants**

Gender	
Women	58
Men	32
Ethnicity	
Latvian	74
Russian	16
Lithuanian	1
First arrival to Guernsey	
1997-2011 (only women recruited)	15
2002-1 May 2004 (joining the EU)	7
2005-2007 economic growth in Latvia	16
2008-2011 economic crisis in Latvia	38
Age group	
15-27	27
28-40	26
41-55	30
56-65	7
Education (before leaving Latvia)	
Higher education	16
Not completed higher, interrupted studies	10
Vocational education	30
Secondary education	20
Basic education, not completed secondary or vocational education	6
Did not say	1
Typical income in Guernsey, per hour	
1997-2001	Starting from 3,25 Guernsey pounds
2001-2010	Starting from 5,00 to 9,00 Guernsey pounds
2010-2012	Starting from 6,10 to 9,00 and more Guernsey pounds
Typical rent paid in Guernsey, per month per person or a couple, typically for one bedroom	
In local market	Starting from 300 to 600 Guernsey pounds
In open market	Starting from 800 to 1600 Guernsey pounds

I did not give information about my research participants' legal status in Table 6 because slipping into irregular status due to delayed housing permission can happen from time to time. The research participants themselves sometimes spoke about situations when they had to circumnavigate housing controls, but these cases are not analysed here due to data protection reasons. Similarly, when analysing the mobility of goods and material things I did not inquire about smuggling of drugs, alcohol or larger amounts of cigarettes than officially allowed. Such stories circulated as suspicions and gossips among the research participants on some occasions, but this is not the focus of my research.

I also interviewed employers and recruiters, government representatives and representatives of NGOs such as associations of other established migrant groups, 16

interviews together. The listing of these interviewees is provided in Appendix 2. Most of this latter group of interviews were in English. All together 96 recorded hours were transcribed, as well as interview notes which were written by hand during interviews, when a person did not want to be recorded. All transcripts were then transferred into the NVivo10 database.

4.4.3. Participant observations

I approached the fieldwork partly as a place study – a method of case studies used in human geography already for many decades (Hartshorne 1939). This means that I was trying to gather diverse information about the history, economy, natural and human built environment on the island, its population characteristics, its transport system and so on. During my stay in Guernsey, I was temporarily present there and also mobile on the island as I was moving around with my research participants and having numerous conversations during everyday activities, acquiring important data through observations and conversations, especially when walking together (Latham 2003; Anderson 2004; Hitchings and Jones 2004; Wylie 2005; Ricketts Hein 2008; Merriman et al. 2008; Middleton 2009). During everyday walking to various places I usually had frank, open, mundane conversations with my research participants and simultaneously I learned a great deal about concrete places and activities people were engaged in while in Guernsey. Moreover, while walking together we encountered other Latvian migrants and I gradually learned how research participants are socially connected to each other or how they sometimes avoid other compatriots due to various reasons, most notably through class or age divisions, which I describe more in Chapter 6. I tried to both immerse myself in everyday life and carry out in-depth interviews. I also went to museums, spent time in libraries, especially reading the local press since 1997.[13] Direct interviews and my observations on site remained the main data sources, however.

During the first fieldwork stage I was intensively writing down the initial principles of snowball sampling and the development of the networks of potential research participants. I also noted my own senses and emotions in this mobile field (Crang 2003; Paterson 2009). My initial feelings and impressions in Guernsey became important after I visited the island five times in different seasons and had already

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[13] I also collected articles in the Latvian press, where interviews were given by migrant workers in Guernsey or more general articles about Guernsey appeared. These journalistic sources provided useful background contextual data. However, I have not used these materials directly in my thesis as these sources are not the best for my research interest on how interrelated everyday rhythms shape a geographical path.

forgotten how I felt at the beginning; keeping a field notebook and photo archive also helped me to understand better the memories and emotions of my research participants. In later research stages I more used my diary to start coding and linking conceptual ideas.

Observations in all seasons were important to understand the diversity of mobilities and whether and how the seasonality of circular migration unfolds. It was thanks to the fact that I was mobile myself that I was able to better understand how significant were related mobilities to that of labour migration. Therefore I supplemented the observation method on the island with mobile participant observation. Research participants left the island not only due to the restrictive housing regulations, but they went back to Latvia to renew passports, sign a new mortgage loan agreement, to visit friends and relatives, have medical treatment; and they themselves were visited by friends and relatives, received and sent back to Latvia various goods and so forth.

During the several episodes of travel I kept a researcher's diary and noted down my observations as well as took pictures. In order to make observations on the island, I tried several strategies that allowed me to be close to research participants and at the same time to have my personal space. During the first fieldwork trip in January 2010 I stayed at a hotel situated in the very centre of the St Peter Port. During the second trip in July 2010 I stayed at a guest house at the beginning and then stayed with residents of Guernsey in their family house in one of the outlying parishes. During the other three fieldwork visits in November 2010, June–July 2011 and April 2012 I stayed again in a guest house, where most of service personnel were from Latvia. During the whole fieldwork period I regularly carried out the following observation activities:

- Spending time in public places – cafeterias, shops, hotels, guest houses, observing everyday mobilities of people, listening to switching of language usage, visiting research participants at their homes, going together for shopping.
- Observing specific practices of shopping such as going to car-boot sales, second-hand stores, searching for discounted goods and food products.
- Walking and travelling by car around the island.
- Attending concerts and exhibitions where research participants were involved.

- Using personal services offered by Latvians in Guernsey (manicure, dress-making, food sales etc.)

During the fieldwork I also often went to the so-called Latvian bar *Pieces*, especially if there was live music performed in Latvian and Russian, as these leisure activities provided rich sites of observation. I engaged in numerous conversations with the spouses of my research participants, representing diverse ethnicities, and I also developed some close acquaintances with local Guernsey people, which was invaluable for understanding better the nature and rhythms of everyday life on the island from various angles. Several events were observed in order to learn more about specific aspects of translocal life:

- November 2010 – celebration of Latvia's independence day;
- 2011 celebration of midsummer;
- 2011 summer – four days of participant observation during travelling, the aim being to observe in closer detail the specificity and significance of delivering goods across the borders;
- 2011 summer – voluntary work in greenhouses and in a bar;
- 2011–2012 – observation and participation at various car-boot sales.

My sample had become more 'saturated' by the fourth fieldwork stage in summer 2011; therefore I paid more attention to making observations, such as walking together with research participants, shopping together, especially in car-boot sales and second-hand stores, which I also continued during my last fieldwork visit in 2012. I was also using services provided by research participants such as manicure, dress-making or ordering a home-made honey cake. Always I insisted on paying the full price, although I was proposed a discount in some cases.

4.4.4. Photography

I took pictures from the plane, and in various places on the island, while walking in Guernsey, and during various events. Pictures include people's activities, the landscape and architecture. Some pictures I gook in research participants' home areas, while they were visiting their relatives in Latvia.

Photography was an important tool during mobile fieldwork, while travelling by car across Europe. When I was awake, I took pictures each hour, sometimes several times in one hour. All together I had more than 500 pictures from all fieldwork stages;

these were mainly used to remember events, materiality, nature and environment, but some are used here also to illustrate the research.

I also took 12 short videos, mainly in order to memorise songs and record the atmosphere in the Latvian bar and to remember weather conditions: sudden wind and heavy fog in particular, as these were often mentioned by my research participants.

4.5. Methods of data analysis

I triangulated results gathered through various methods for two main reasons: first, to increase accuracy as various methods facilitate answering a research question from different angles; and second, some methods were more applied in certain research stages to get better insights into the sub-questions relating to the production of translocal geographical trajectories. Although triangulation is not always the best solution to overcome the qualitative–quantitative divide, it is very useful in translocal research, where various relations between people and places need be taken into account and cannot easily be grasped with one method (Flowerdew and Martin 2005).

In my interpretation I was looking for the theoretical potential of migrant stories which is widely used and recognised as valuable in human geographic research (Lawson 2000; Bailey 2009; McDowell 2009). Observations, which are a core method in anthropology, actually have been an important method throughout the history of geographic studies, especially in place-studies. Nowadays this method is used more widely again (see e.g. Borén's (2005) thesis, fully based on observation). Ethnographic methods in geography are increasingly accepted (McHugh 2000) as they allow gathering very detailed and diverse data. Also non-representative theory (Thrift 2007; 2010) provides important insights into how use the geographical potential of observation. Space and mobilities are also sensed and felt; these feelings are expressed beyond words. They are lived through and thus this 'lived space' can be captured through observations as more-than-representational space.

4.5.1. Interpretation of interview data
Textual data were used in two ways: first, I transferred transcripts to the NVivo 10 programme, which permits the analysis of large-scale textual data much faster. I was meantime reading through all the transcripts and notes, and making primary *nodes* which allowed me to develop analytic and thematic categories and their linkages. Then I worked with interview excerpts ordered according to categories and themes. Second,

throughout the analysis and writing-up stages I was reading the printed transcripts as a whole several times. This was crucial to find the interlinked thematic lines which help to contextualise how various mobilities are linked to life-course and life events and how, for example, gendered perceptions emerge in a narrative construction.

Interview data were supplemented by observations as these latter help to triangulate and increase validity of data. Observations deepen one's understanding of specific ways of life, and of ideas that guided translocal and local mobilities in diverse ways. These observational insights add nuances which would not have been possible to depict only through interviews.

One example of this was my observing of the shopping practices in charity shops and car-boot sales, sending goods across borders, and corporeal experiences of using air and auto transport, which in the case of the latter can take several days. Observations revealed free, mundane practices which were not imparted by formal interview data. Observations and informal conversations, for example, provided very relevant data about experiences and practices of boundary-drawing in time-space as well as about sensory experience, such as the importance of the natural environment and places that in Guernsey reminded participants about Latvia's nature. Observations and conversations were irreplaceable because they facilitated a more organic and natural development of mutual trust. In these informal encounters, research participants reflected much more in detail about particularly sensitive experiences of absence and presence, and the variable yet usually profound impact on their mobility path of occurrences such as the death of close relatives, their own terminal illness or serious illness of people significant in their lives. Physical absence and distance from places and people in Latvia are revealed more sharply in such situations, especially if this kind of fieldwork 'event' combines with other constraints such as cancelled flights due to adverse weather conditions, lack of money or inability to reach a mutual agreement with an employer to undertake an unforeseen trip back home.

4.5.2. Analysis of migration, everyday mobilities and genre de vie

I started with coding interview data and developed *in vivo* categories – significant words, actions, and places as they were named and narrated by my research participants. The strategy to distinguish these categories was carried out according to two main principles: the significance my research participants attached to some phenomena, and the frequency with which these phenomena were emphasised in

relation to migration experience, everyday moblities on the island, travelling back and forth between Latvia and Guernsey, and other places in Europe. In order to track these codes in spoken language and in particular genres of language, informal conversations and observations were crucial. My aim was to excavate what was important to the research participants themselves and find out their conceptions and framings of their own working lives and mobilities. Hence it was crucially important to 'plug in' to the speech genre, usage of some words, place names, and their internal jargon which signified shared understanding of factors that shape translocal life.

To start with, the very name of the island was differently pronounced in Latvian: *Gērnsija, Gensija, Genzija*. I use the officially accepted transcription in Latvian, *Gērnsija;* however, different usage of the place-name indicates that the island is not very known and spoken about in the Latvian language. Therefore, research participants justified differently why they use a certain linguistic form in Latvian: for example, *Genzija* by some was emphasised as the closest phonetic transliteration of the way that native English speakers pronounce it. There were several common yet specific English words which were used by research participants, just applying Latvian grammar; for example *hauzings* (housing – regulations determining where and how long a person can stay on the island), *lokālmārkets* (local market accommodation), *opens* or *openmārkets* (open market accommodation)*, bizis* (busy – intensive work, long working hours, many customers to be served etc.)*, splits* (split work schedules, work shifts)*, pārttaims* (part-time work)*,* and *holideji* (holidays, usually referred to annual holidays or the compulsory requirement to leave the island due to housing regulations, also usually referred to the time which was spent in Latvia). The frequency, contexts and significance that people attached to these words, directly 'implanting' them into the spoken Latvian language, signified how important housing regulations and work arrangements are on the island and how they influence the experience of time spent on the island or in Latvia. Positive meanings attached to the word *bizis* are connected to why migrants are proud of being able to work even 90 or more hours per week and how the island was seen as primarily as a place for work, whilst Latvia remained as home.

Part-time jobs are typical for the economic organisation of labour on the island. Moreover, obtaining them was crucial to increase significantly working hours and earnings. Frequent usage of English words for certain jobs such as *klīnings* (*cleaning*), or *keipī* (*kp – kitchen porter*), not only revealed typical migrant jobs and the

hierarchical structure of migrant labour, but also revealed how unskilled jobs and those which may be considered as 'dirty' were linguistically made foreign, alienated and thus made more 'decent' whereas in the Latvian language they would carry a direct meaning of a dirty, unskilled job.

Research participants often did not name the type of the job they were doing but were saying that they work for Neil, for John (pseudonyms), thereby signalling the importance of personal relations between migrants and their employers. Moreover, several employers owned numerous businesses and could allocate their workers, for example, from a job in greenhouses to cleaning or from retail to catering etc. The way that a specific employer treated his/her workers was therefore a very important factor to undertake a certain job.

I purchased an individual licence of the NVivo 10 software from the QSR International Company. I created a single-user project as I had a single person's licence. The design of NVivo integrates observations, interviews, and literature reviews in the forms of field notes, transcripts, scanned documents, photography or short videos. I kept textual data in NVivo project folders, while tapes, photography and video I coded as external links as these were too heavy to be processed swiftly in the NVivo programme. The biggest advantage of NVivo is that I can access and code text accurately and fast; with printed transcripts it would be a much more time-consuming process. A second advantage is that NVivo has tools for linking ideas, codes, concepts and data in many ways and to synthesise them (see Figure 5 for an example relating to the key topic of housing). It is also very useful and user-friendly for continuous recoding of data. However, in cases when I had to establish inter-contextual relationships and the meaning a person attaches to geographical mobility, I was reading and re-reading the whole print-out of a transcript.

I marked places which were often mentioned by research participants and studied what meaning they attach to these places: St Peter Port was usually called just town, the same way as local Guernsey inhabitants call it. The bar Pieces was called also a Latvian bar because the manager was Latvian, usually migrants from Latvia went to this bar and there was also live Latvian and Russian music played weekly. A disco dance club Follies was usually called Folīze, and was a place where both migrants and locals go out.

Figure 4 **Housing: Example of word frequency analysis in NVivo**
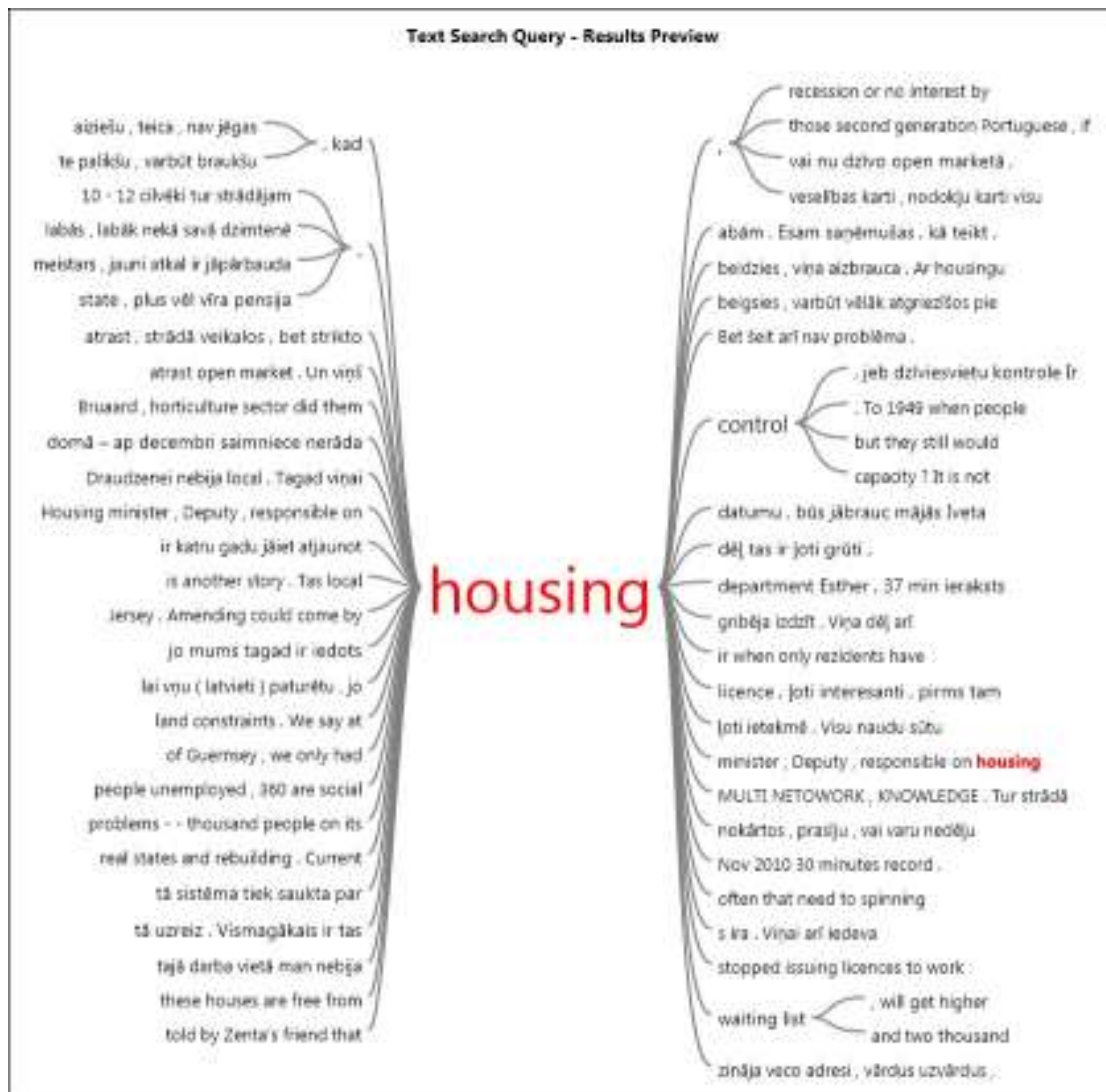
Popular places were the grocery store *Jānīši,* which sells Eastern European food, and a seaside cafeteria *Guernsey Pearl*, which provides a typical Latvian menu on Sundays. *Skip* (a recycle yard) was also often mentioned along with car-boot sales, called *Kobo tirdziņš* (meaning small-scale market), after the most popular one in Cobo parish on Saturday mornings. Since there is no car-boot sale culture in Latvia, it was likened to practices of shopping in a market, which are usually placed in open-air squares in Latvia. Research participants sometimes were particularly proud in telling and showing me what valuable things they have found in 'skip' for free, or the good bargain they got at the car-boot sales. Similarly, the word *Krustiņš* was used for the Red Cross charity stores.

Research participants also often mentioned *baseini*, swimming pools, meaning the closest beach at St Peter Port, and *rezervāts* – a water reservoir at St Saviors parish

which is a popular place for 'escape walks' – was mentioned because the reservoir is surrounded by a pine forest and for many this landscape reminded them of places in Latvia.

In order to understand migration dynamics, I placed migration situations chronologically in the narrative of an each research participant because during the in-depth interview people emphasised their mobility experience rather according to its significance and not chronological time.

In the transcripts I paid attention to periods of silence, noted particularly emotional expressions, as well as laughter and sighs. In the narrative excerpts that will recur frequently in the following chapters, I mark silences with three dots inside parentheses (. . .). In cases when some parts of a quotation have been omitted, I mark the omission with brackets [. . .]. If certain words were emphasised, I use capital letters; terms or emphasis are in italics and in special cases. If addition emphasis is needed, I use bold letters.

According to the terminologies used in time-geography, phenomenology and mobility research, I paid special attention to territories, where or between which people moved, what transport vehicles they used, and to actual and perceived distances between places. I also paid attention to how they narrated their mobilities and their feelings in terms of presence and absence from significant places. Another set of narrative categories was related to time – as divided by the calendar chronologically, time divided by capitalist production rhythms such as working hours, production cycles and intensive seasons, and time events unfolding along the life-course. In situations when it was necessary to explain some specific phenomena, I created categories, based on *in vivo codes* and explained their meaning. This was particularly related to aspects of time-space experience, such as naming some time as *empty time,* opposite to *busy time* during intensive work, and *holideji,* which was a time-space usually spent during the return visits in Latvia. These categories are used to explain the dynamics of migration between Latvia and Guernsey in three thematic chapters about how the trajectory to Guernsey emerged (Chapter 5), various geographical and social mobilities on the island (Chapter 6), and visiting, travelling, and returning to Latvia (Chapter 7).

Thematic groups were created after ordering and re-ordering emerging themes and sub-themes. These themes comprise the most significant experiences of almost all the research participants; whereas some separate themes, such as relations between

geographical path and ageing as a life-course trajectory, are significant to one group of research participants but not to all. These separate themes, important as they are in and of themselves, do not 'qualify' for treatment in a separate chapter, but are incorporated in the above-named three thematic chapters as adjunct material which helps to explain certain forces which shape working lives, mobilities, family relationships and translocal subjectivities in certain cases.

All of the data was reviewed several times, exemplifying my preferred focus on 'grounded' transnationalism (Mitchell 1997); that is, actual geographical movement across the borders and local-local movements by migrants as specified in translocal methodologies. Through the process of iterative review, conjoint meanings of translocal paths emerged. I differentiate excerpts from interviews and fieldwork notes in this thesis. My qualitative dataset permits exposition of long-term dynamic processes of geographical mobility and wellbeing as I have collected interviews from participants whose migration experience stretches back more than 15 years, as well as those who were in Guernsey just for one month.[14]

4.5.3. Data visualisation

Drawings of the basic notation systems used in time-geography to visualise time-space paths were produced in the Microsoft Visio programme, while charts and graphs were drawn with Microsoft Excel or NVivo 10 tools, which allows creating and editing a graphical representation link and grouping them visually or in a Microsoft Excel programme. Maps were mainly produced with ArcGIS software, and I have acknowledged the authors who produced the maps for my research throughout the text.

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[14] In fact, there are other mobilities prior to the 1990s which were also highlighted by some research participants – these were the social and geographical mobilities during Soviet times. Some of these references are also considered relevant to my analysis as they strengthen the construction of new post-Soviet spaces of possibility.

CHAPTER 5
ENTERING INTO TIME-SPACE OF POSSIBILITIES

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of how the Latvian migration trajectory to Guernsey started. Theoretically, I aim to provide a detailed explanation of how the time-space of possibilities was objectively created and subjectively experienced resulting in large-scale outward mobilities from Latvia in the 1990s and 2000s, including the pathway to Guernsey.

First, I distinguish the objective structures which enabled these mobilities: firstly, Latvia's accession to the EU; secondly, the available transport and rapidly decreasing prices for long-distance coach and air tickets; and thirdly, increasing outward migration which soon became a Latvian societal structure.

Second, I analyse the initial conceptions of my research participants as to why migration to Guernsey was a strategy worthwhile to be undertaken. These include the perception of the *openness* of space to go abroad; ideas about temporary escape from a rapidly changing environment that, for many, depresses their lifeworld or decreases their future chances; and finally an appreciation of better chances to pursue wellbeing goals abroad.

Thus, this chapter provides a basis to understand the initiation of the migration trajectory to Guernsey, and lays a foundation for further analysis of how geographical trajectories and conceptions of wellbeing change in interplay with each other.

5.1. Openness of space: objective structures and subjective perceptions

As Hägerstrand pointed out in his various writings (1976; 1985; 2004), *togetherness* is a fundamental principle of human geography: society and nature are woven together in processes of togetherness. 'What is all the time resting, moving and encountering is not just humans or natural items in between themselves but humans, plants, animals and things all at once' (Hägerstrand 1976: 331-2).

> Seen from within one could think of the **tips of trajectories** as sometimes being pushed forward by forces behind […] and sometimes having eyes looking around and arms reaching out, at every moment asking "**what shall I do next**?" *If things are seen in this perspective we need not look upon Nature and Society as universes apart. Humans and their society is just a pattern in the big tapestry of Nature*

which history is weaving. (Hägerstrand 1976: 332, emphasis in italics original, emphasis in bold added).

Hägerstrand described this 'tapestry of nature' as *collateral processes,* which 'accommodate themselves under the **pressures and opportunities** which follow from their common coexistence in terrestrial space and time' (1976: 332, emphasis in bold added). Here then are some highlighted crucial elements for building my argument: 'tips of trajectories' form a 'ravelled now-line', where translocally connected processes started as decisions of what to do next. Importantly, in geographical understanding, connections are not reduced to interconnected networks of communication but are collateral processes in nature and society. This principal difference is taken further in Ingold's (2011) interpretation of time-geography and in particular his conception of movements in the environment as tangles of *lines* in a *meshwork.*[15] He captures the idea of a meshwork in the following beguiling analogy of a spider, a fly and a web:

Although the value of the web for the spider is that it catches flies, the line of the web does not link the spider to the fly, nor does the fly's 'line of flight' link it to the spider. These two lines rather unfold in **counterpoint**: to the one, the other serves as a refrain. Ensconced at the centre of its web, the spider registers that a fly has landed somewhere on the outer margins, as it sends vibrations down the threads that are picked up by the spider's super-sensitive, spindly legs. And it can then run along the lines of the web to retrieve its prey. Thus the thread-lines of the web lay down the **conditions of possibility** for the spider to interact with the fly. But they are not themselves lines of interaction. If these lines are relations, then they are relations not *between* but *along.* (Ingold 2011: 84, emphasis added in bold, that in italics in original).

The notion of *conditions of possibility* allows us (and Latvian migrants) to concretise collateral processes within which the idea of mobility abroad emerged, while

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[15] Ingold (2011) emphasises that he borrowed the term *meshwork* from Lefebvre's (1991) observations on how movements and rhythms of humans and non-humans in the environment are registered in lived spaces of everyday life. Meshwork is set in contrast and as a critique to *network*, the central concept in the actor network theory (ATN) of Latour (1987). The main point of critique is based on the principle that ATN derives from science and technology studies and communication and insists on lines in the network which are connected to each other. However, in environmental perception, as Ingold emphasises, more important is the togetherness of lines, which may be not connected. This is the main principle also for the time-geographic perspective.

the *counterpoints* refer to the 'tips of trajectories' which can be grasped by a researcher as significant points enabling a particular trajectory from Latvia to Guernsey .

I argue that migrants' initial decisions to go to Guernsey involved *entering into a time-space of possibilities*. First, *entering* into this time-space of possibilities was made possible due to various trajectories on different scales moving towards a certain direction to achieve a certain goal (e.g. Latvia's aspirations to join the EU). Individual lifeworlds unfold within these transnational and national-scale trajectories and people made a choice to go to Guernsey. Second, the term *possibilities* refers to human openness to temporal and spatial *change* in a twofold way: individuals became open to the possibility of dislocation individually, and there were changing collective perceptions of openness of the increasingly interconnected European space. And third, the argument implies counterpoints of constraints and possibilities. I define counterpoints in the *body subject's* intentionality which expresses itself in particular moments when the decision to go Guernsey was made and executed. Projects, grounded in the past and present and guided by particular ideas for the future, entwine into conditions of possibilities like the 'vibrations picked up by a spider' in the quote by Ingold above. But these moments are embedded in continuous lifeworlds, filled with interwoven lines of a meshwork.

I describe how this particular space of possibility was conceived in following steps: I start with contextualising the objective conditions that limit or enable geographical mobility and analyse the structural forces promoting emigration in the country of origin and also the structural opportunities and constraints in Guernsey. I next discuss how this space of possibility was opened up on transnational and national scales, most significantly through free movement of people in the EU. I present the main characteristics of Latvian migration to Great Britain and to Guernsey, noting the complete absence of research on migration to Guernsey. Statistics and quantitative data help to contextualise the functional dimension and dominating ideas in Latvian society related to the migration project. I present the guiding idea of my research participants; what exactly this time-space of possibility meant for them and how this space initially was often conceived as an abstract space – *abroad* – and then, subsequently, as a concretised, real space, the island of Guernsey. I also examine, through some examples, what were the temporal expectations about participants' engagement in migration. Further, I distinguish counterpoints in individual subjective constructions of why

international migration was seen as a preferable trajectory to achieve certain wellbeing goals compared to opportunities in Latvia.

5.2. Latvia's accession to the EU

In order to contextualise how the constraints to migration possibilities were removed, I need to describe briefly Latvia's ideological trajectory towards the EU. Latvia's recent history is one of markedly uneven development, whereby periods of social turbulence and accelerated 'catching-up' with Europe have replaced the previous stasis. In the late 19th century Latvia passed rapidly through the phases of traditional peasant society to an industrial revolution and modern culture at the beginning of the 20th century, a process which took several hundreds of years in many other European regions.

Latvia was an independent state for only 22 years between the two World Wars (1918-1940). Only one generation experienced what it meant to build wealth in one's own country, and the hope that one's investments would bear fruit in the future. The Soviet period, which lasted for half a century after the Second World War, replaced the brief interlude of independent statehood. The previously growing middle class with its entrepreneurial individualism was fragmented and replaced by a state ideology based on the celebration of the collectivism of the working class – the backbone of the Soviet class structure. After the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the geopolitical repositioning of Latvia as a former Soviet republic entailed the aspiration to 'return to Europe' – itself being an example of idea-guided spatial projectivity.

On 4 May 1990, the first time the since 1930s, the freely elected Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic parliament (Latvijas PSR Augstākā Padome) adopted the declaration of freedom from the USSR and introduced the transition period to full restoration of freedom. On 21 August 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and an unsuccessful *coup d'état* of pro-communist forces in Moscow, the restored Latvian parliament (Saeima) ended the transition period and announced the independent Republic of Latvia, based on the same main political institutions as during the inter-war period.

On 27 August 1991 the European Economic Community (EEC) recognised the independence of Latvia, and already in 1992 the Latvian government started signing various trade treaties with the EC. The prevailing geopolitical ideas in post-socialist societies, most notably the transformation from a socialist to a capitalist system and 'a

road to Europe', thus intertwined with the idea to move away from economic and social backwardness, now associated with the Soviet past (Heuschel 2007). In 1995 the Latvian parliament adopted a new foreign policy conception and stated its priorities to join the EU and NATO, and on 27 October of that year the Latvian government submitted an application to launch accession negotiations with the EU. The official negotiation process with the EU started in 2000 and in 2002 the European Commission announced its decision to recommend Latvia as a new EU member along with nine other countries. On 20 September 2003 Latvia held a referendum to join the EU and 67% of citizens voted for, which was among the lowest support for joining the EU.[16] Interestingly those contrary local concerns about joining the EU were partly related to the fear of potential high in-migration due to the EU's policy of free movement of people. These concerns should be understood in the broad context of intra-USSR mobilities, which had a dramatic impact on ethnic population proportions in Latvia due to the history of inward migration of workers and military personnel from the Slavic Soviet republics. In the late 1980s Latvians comprised just 53% of the whole population and were a minority in all seven biggest Latvian cities (Eglite and Krisjane 2009). At the end of the 1980s, when the so-called 'awakening' process started followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union and Latvia's subsequent independence, a key legal measure (Regulations 1989) to prevent inward migration was enacted, creating long-term consequences. As a result, and given the dismantling of borders at that time, since 1990, migration flows changed significantly, turning to a negative balance of migration; in other words more people left than came to the country (Lulle 2009).

However immigration was very low also during the economic boom that occurred as soon as Latvia joined the EU in 2004 and lasted up to 2008. According to data of the Migration and Citizenship Board, at the beginning of 2009 there were about 15,000 people with temporary residence permits in Latvia (PMLP 2009). The hallmark of joining the EU was high emigration to the three countries (UK, Ireland and Sweden) which did not restrict free movement of labour from the new EU countries. As will be explained in the following section, in 2004 the UK was the most attractive destination, followed by Ireland, while Sweden became more popular only in the late 2000s.

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[16] Other accession countries, where referendums took place, had 77% – 92 % 'yes' vote, except Estonia (like Latvia, 67%) and Malta (54%).

Already in 1993 the Latvian government signed a visa-free treaty with the United Kingdom (LR-UK 1993). This agreement allowed citizens of the Republic of Latvia to visit the United Kingdom visa-free as tourists; however, if Latvian citizens wanted to work in the UK, they needed to obtain a work permit, while non-citizens of Latvia had to obtain a visa also for tourist visits.[17] There are no reliable statistics available on how many Latvian citizens went to visit the UK as tourists and overstayed their visas during this period, or who worked for a short time on a tourist visa and returned to Latvia. Stable legal status as citizens of a future EU country, and after 2004 as citizens of an EU member state, provided a good basis for entering and looking for work in other states and territories which subscribed to the free movement of labour.

Circular migration became a dominant type of migration not only from Latvia to the UK but also from other A8 countries to the so-called old EU member states throughout the 1990s and 2000s, and circulation back and forth became a resource for how to achieve goals back home. Circulation was a desirable strategy for various groups: for the highly-skilled, those from the state bureaucracy, but also for those who worked mainly as manual labourers abroad. Only the latter are analysed in my thesis. However, I deliberately draw attention here to the fact that free borders and accession to the EU opened different possibilities for different social groups in a rapidly changing society with rapidly increasing inequality. Thus, it is even more important to understand the subjective constructions of wellbeing of those who had fewer opportunities to improve their lives in Latvia. Individual determinants and the need for assessment of subjective economic wellbeing are particularly emphasised in the Eastern European context of geographies of wellbeing (Hayo and Seifer 2003; Aslam and Corrado 2012). Labour emigration was not widely discussed on the political agenda in Latvia in the 1990s. As I will also demonstrate later in excerpts from the interview material, information about possibilities of extra-local work (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003) circulated in informal networks, providing ordinary people with crucial knowledge about how to enter the 'space of possibility' of free movement of labour in the EU.

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[17] When Latvia restored its independence in 1991, it adopted the Citizenship Law, which stated that only those who lived in the Latvian territory before 1940 and their descendants can obtain the Latvian citizenship. Those who arrived in Latvia during the Soviet time through free movement of people in the intra-USSR regime and allocation of workforce in various Soviet Republics, were given non-citizen passports and had to pass the naturalisation exam. Joining the EU was a stimulus for those non-citizens who wanted to work or study in other EU countries to pass the exam and along with the Latvian citizenship to obtain the rights of free movement in the EU.

5.3. Recent emigration flows to Great Britain

The scale of recent emigration for such a small country as Latvia is vast. About 213,000 people left between 2001 and 2011, leaving the Latvian population hovering around 2 million (CSB 2012). Until accession into the EU, moving abroad was constrained by work permit restrictions and high prices for travel and communication (Wallace and Stola 2001). Besides, relocating with the whole family creates higher costs both in terms of money and adjusting to a new environment, for instance with regard to accessing schools (Hazans 2011: 71). Therefore, many Latvians engaged in short-term and circular migration to Western European countries as single adult migrants (Krišjāne 2007). Similarly to other Eastern European countries, poor opportunity structures in Latvia's labour market pushed people to look for work abroad (Morokvasic 2003; Collum et al. 2013). As mentioned, a pattern whereby people do not intend to relocate permanently, but rather to move back and forth between the UK and their home countries, was observed among migrants from Eastern Europe (Somerville and Sumption 2009). Hence, migration from the so-called A8 countries had a more temporary or circular nature both throughout the 1990s and after EU enlargement in 2004 (Pollard et al. 2008). Although these observations did not allow predicting future settlement and mobility patterns, research findings confirm the strong presence of the idea to maintain homes in their country of origin. My data also confirm this trend and, in addition, provide detailed evidence on how this idea changes over time.

There is limited academic research in Latvia about recent labour migration to the EU countries prior to 2004. However, what there is provides some important findings that informed my research. In 2003, economist Hazans (2003), combining econometric analysis with an internet-based survey, found that the main driving force for emigration derived from pull factors abroad, most notably higher wages, and not so much such push factors as unemployment in Latvia. Also, most of his respondents expressed a wish to stay abroad for a short time and then return to Latvia again.

In 2004, Latvian geographer and economist Eglīte together with her colleagues carried out research on time management among recent migrants. The survey comprised 871 working-age respondents including both those who had experience of work abroad and those with experience only in the Latvian labour market. The answers of (temporary) returned migrants (n=190) showed that most of this group wanted to work abroad again and engage in circular migration, motivated by the idea to improve

their living conditions back home. They worked abroad for relatively short times in order to earn money for everyday expenses in households in Latvia, to raise money for studies, and to buy a property or other important goods that would improve their quality of life. Time spent abroad, for example in Ireland or the UK, was mainly associated with work, and time spent in Latvia was devoted to leisure, rest, improvement of living conditions and housing (Eglīte et al. 2006: 17–20; see also Krišjāne 2007: 109). Eglīte (2010: 287) emphasised that in future research it is important to research time management in relation to future plans and people's attitudes towards time. I have incorporated this plea in my research.

Another regional study found similar trends of circular migration as a dominant migration pattern and the most appealing idea among migrants themselves and those who were just considering migration as a strategy to improve their lives. Sociologist Menšikovs and his associates (2004) surveyed youth in the eastern Latvian city of Daugavpils (n=600) and found that only 5-8% of the respondents wanted to emigrate for good. After joining the EU, a qualitative research study was carried out in Ireland, also a popular destination country of Latvian migrants, and this research too found that most respondents intended to return to Latvia in the near future, i.e. within five years (Indāns et al. 2006; see the review of this and other research in Lulle 2010).

After joining the EU, the emigration flows from Latvia increased significantly. The economy was booming, but even during the boom years not everyone was enjoying the fruits of the capitalist way of life. The most significant drivers of the fast GDP growth in the mid-2000s were consumption and mortgage loans rather than investment in industrial enterprises. Many Latvian migrant workers looked for employment abroad because they had to repay mortgage loans at home.[18] The pattern of circular migration remained the dominant one, especially to Great Britain and Ireland. One of the most comprehensive surveys of the geographical mobility of the Latvian labour force (n=8005) was carried out in 2006 (Krišjāne 2007). This study of emigration assessed that about 86,000 Latvians were working abroad by 2006. The difference in the level of wage remuneration was the main driving force, and those who engaged in international migration were more likely to come from places outside the capital city of Riga, which indicated the combined roles of regional inequalities of work within Latvia and better

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[18] Although I do not see it possible to apply Zelinsky's (1971) hypothesis of mobility transition in the direct context of EU migration, his theory predicted the increase of emigration in times of economic boom and proved to be right also in the context of Latvia's accession to the EU.

earning possibilities abroad. The survey was based on a representative sample of Latvia's inhabitants who provided answers to questions about their relatives living and working abroad. The answers revealed that relatives in Latvia received detailed information about the plans of almost all their relatives in Great Britain and Ireland, which indicated intensive contacts and co-evaluation of possible future trajectories (Krišjāne 2007: 60). The main destinations for recent migrants were Great Britain and Ireland and the majority of respondents intended that their migration would be short-term. There were no specific questions asked about the Channel Islands as a destination country. Respondent data showed that 58% of those who were working in Great Britain or Ireland for less than two years, wanted to return to Latvia within one year. Thus, the results once again confirmed a preference for temporary and circular migration. However, the will to return decreased if longer time was spent abroad. Accordingly, only 22% of those who had worked or studied outside Latvia for more than two years said they would return back to Latvia in one year.

In terms of employment characteristics, 38% of those who went to Great Britain and Ireland were unemployed in Latvia (Krišjāne 2007: 61-62). This trend, however, changed during the crisis in 2008 and onwards, when unemployment became one of the most important push factors (Apsīte-Beriņa 2013). Interestingly, while all emigrants analysed together mirrored similar age groups as in Latvia's labour market, data about Great Britain and Ireland revealed that emigrants were significantly younger (Table 7).

Table 7 **Age groups of migrant respondents**

Age group of respondents (years)	All countries (in %)	Great Britain and Ireland (%)	My sample in Guernsey (in numbers)
15-27	27	**43***	27
28-40	23	**35.3**	26
41-55	29	20.3	**30**
56-65	9	1.4	7

Sources : Columns 1 and 2, Krišjāne (2007: 63); column 3, author's research sample.
Note: Since my sample was not intended to be representative and my emphasis is on qualitative interpretations, I do not provide a proportional divide in percentages. What I want also to emphasise is that the age distribution of my respondents allows me to qualitatively investigate more deeply the understudied group of middle-aged and ageing migrants.
* Numbers in bold highlight the biggest age-groups in the samples.

In education terms, migrants to Great Britain mostly had obtained secondary or vocational education in Latvia. This corresponds also with my findings in Guernsey. In class terms, the core of my research participants could be characterised as would-be

working class who had few structural opportunities left in Latvia's rapidly changing labour market, as many industries were dismantled and growing regional inequalities deepened unemployment problems outside the capital city.

Great Britain has remained the main destination country since Latvia embarked on the road towards accession to the EU, accounting for more than 40% of all emigrants during 2000-10. It is important to highlight that in Hazans' (2011, see also Hazans and Philips 2009) assessment of emigration from Latvia during 2001-2010, a significant counter-stream to emigration was accessed; between the years of 2004 and 2008, 40% returned. Hazans' data indicated that return migration was sharply gendered: women were a minority amongst returnees (39% versus 61% for men), even though they were a majority among emigrants (57% during 2001-2008, rising to 60% during 2009-2010).

The country was profoundly affected when the global economic crisis hit in 2008. GDP growth of more than 10% per year in 2005-2007 dropped to −14.8% in 2009, and then began to climb, reaching 5.9% in 2011 (Eurostat 2012a). Although emigration was thought to be a temporary phenomenon in the early 2000s, the profound crisis in Latvia, which started in late 2008 when the Latvian government sought support from the European Commission and the International Monetary Fund to maintain the state budget and adopted severe austerity measures, removed prospects of fast return. Unemployment skyrocketed from 6% to 19%, two-thirds of the unemployed did not receive any unemployment benefit, and for those in work salaries were cut by 25-30% (Hazans 2011: 73–76). During the crisis there was a steeper increase of migration to Great Britain, accounting for 60% of the total, and estimated to be at least 100,000 by 2011 (Hazans 2011: 79).

The existing literature suggests that demand for migrant labour significantly shapes these intra-European migration trajectories (e.g. the classical work of Piore 1979). However, while literature emphasises labour demand in destination countries, an alternative supply-driven perspective also needs to be acknowledged. Given the importance of the legally free border regime for labour migration in the EU, migration from new EU member states should also be seen in the context of social change and labour market opportunities in source countries (Kurekova 2011).

5.4. Conditions of possibilities and wellbeing ideas

The recruitment of Latvians to Guernsey was launched in 1997 and administered through one recruitment agency in Riga. Figure 6 depicts the three important structures that facilitated the migration trajectory to Guernsey: until 2001 only women were recruited and almost exclusively to work in greenhouses. When the Guernsey labour market was opened up to both men and women in the hospitality sector, also the recruitment and the paperwork were facilitated through the same agency up to 2004. After Latvia joined the EU, it was easier to travel individually as there was no need for the work visa any more. Therefore the recruitment agency was the main structural facilitator to enable migration; however, information about this agency was mainly distributed through interpersonal networks. After joining the EU and due to more frequent publicity and discussion about work abroad in the Latvian press as well as due to fast development of the web-based social network draugiem.lv (Latvian equivalent of Facebook), the media environment emerges as an important structural force that encouraged the search for information more widely.

Figure 5 **Significant structures that enabled the initial migration trajectory to Guernsey**

Source: Author's drawing based on interview material.

Better income compared to what could be earned in Latvia, was emphasised as the most important motive for seriously considering the strategy of migration. Behind

this simple, 'rational choice' statement lies a more nuanced interpretation. Subjective constructions are crucial to understand, for instance, *why* better income was needed in relation to other projects in life. Besides, migration also allows individuals to live through many experiences, and represents a shift in their perception of social and biological age and phenomenological time. Thus, the motivation for migration was equally an inner urge to become a 'different' person. In relation to and apart from higher wages compared to Latvia, other important counterpoints were emphasised. These constraints and the imagined possibilities to ease them through migration are interrelated and overlapping; however, they are not necessarily always directly connected to each other. Using the conceptual terminology introduced earlier, they are saturated counterpoints in a meshwork (Ingold 2011); or bundled-together trajectories in an individual's lifeworld (Hägerstrand 1976; 1985; Buttimer 1976; 2012).

5.5. Increasing migration abroad as a societal structure

Almost all research participants arrived in Guernsey because they had learned through their social networks about the possibility to get work in this place. Only two respondents were exceptions, one of them was sent to Guernsey on a highly skilled contract from London, while another came to Guernsey as the spouse of a British citizen, who obtained a specialised licence issued for essential workers. My findings confirm the paramount importance of social networks as facilitators of chain migration and the rapid emergence of new labour diasporas in certain places. The recruitment agency was established in Latvia in 1997, led by Latvian recruiters but funded by Guernsey employers. The agency did all the paperwork related to work permits and bought flight tickets. This was an important factor for most of the participants whom I interviewed. However, the agency applied additional charges prior to departure: according to interviewees, 20 lats per month (about 28 euros, 25 pounds) to be worked in Guernsey, and for some it was difficult to gather money for this payment. Only in 2004, when a Latvian worker who was recruited through the agency submitted a complaint against her Guernsey employer in a court in Guernsey, did the employers learn about these additional charges asked in Latvia, and they terminated the agreement with this particular recruitment agency and established a new one, which mainly recruited for work in horticulture and fulfilment industries (packaging of seeds, perfumes and CDs for sales on the internet).

Information flows in social networks were in some cases narrated in wording such as 'somebody mentioned/suggested/was talking about', or a potential migrant was actively searching for information about how to go abroad. Social networks also led to information about the particular agency, the main channel of recruitment until 2004. 'I heard that others have possibilities [to get more money]', 'It was a boom, when everyone was going abroad' – these were typical expressions already of those who left in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Yet, going abroad should also be concretised in terms of time-space and mobility constraints: many of those who went to Guernsey in the early years did not speak English fluently, and flight tickets were too costly. These formed conditions that led to a concrete place, Guernsey, and concrete workplaces, where these constraints did not preclude them from initiating the translocal mobility project.

> I initially thought I could go to Ireland, but I was asked to pay for my own, expensive, airline tickets, about 450 lats or so, huge money that time, it was impossible for me. Since I did not have that type of money, I accepted a proposal to go to Guernsey, because the flight was paid for by the employer and the money was deducted from the salary there later. (Santa, late 40s, in Guernsey since 1998).

Over years going abroad became a more and more popular strategy to boost income and initiate changes in life; a strategy in fact that had arisen from everyday life. As Ivita, in her 40s, who left through the help of social networks in 2001 explained:

> I wanted to get out of that vicious circle of struggling to make ends meet. One leaves, then another, and a third one already for the third time. And then in one moment one proposes to go abroad, then another one proposes and I simply agreed. I am from the countryside, otherwise it just went round and round; you mill and mill around and at some point you jump out of it all.

Summing up, temporal relational contexts of action for individual agency (Emirbayer and Mische 1998), the existence of social networks that facilitated agency, institutionalised recruitment agencies, and the possibility to go directly to Guernsey after 2004, were some of the key conditions of possibility that, in practice, allowed participants to execute the decision to move to this very particular place.

5.6. Subjective perception of openness of time-space for translocal mobilities

In their narratives the research participants usually generated longer accounts about how various overlapping *everyday constraints* prevented them from achieving the idea of a better life in Latvia. These constraints, in most cases, were reflected upon *together* with possibilities abroad. Having described the context in which achieving goals through migration was made possible, I now turn to explore the conceptions of my research participants as regards what were the goals and ideas which guided their mobility projects. I contextualise these in counterpoints that characterised the conditions of possibility that enabled the migration trajectory abroad and specifically to Guernsey.

5.6.1. 'I didn't decide to go to Guernsey, I decided to go abroad'

In most of the interviews, when asked about their lives and how they decided to go to Guernsey, research participants stressed that they had not heard about Guernsey before, and could not even locate it on the map. 'I wanted to go abroad to earn money', was the most typical answer. It was an 'x space' somewhere in Europe. In Text box 3, I take the case of Sarmīte; her mobility path is mapped à la Hägerstrand in Map 3.

Text box **3 Sarmīte's trajectory**

> *'A thought was spinning in my mind all the time: how I could possibly not use such an opportunity to go abroad and earn money!' as 51-year-old Sarmīte remembered her first try to find work abroad. The first time she went to the UK was with her two friends, all school teachers, in summer 1998. They went on a bus trip, which took more than two days. Schools have three months break in Latvia and it coincided with the visa-free time-period of 90 days, which they could spend in the UK as tourists. They wanted to reach a small town, which one of teachers had visited in previous years, and try to find some seasonal work there. However, the women were not allowed to continue their trip – as suspicious subjects of, possibly, prostitution, Sarmīte had thought, due to the way that they were dressed (in high heels). Plus the fact that they did not speak English and could not explain whom they want to visit. Besides, they had forgotten the name of the town in England! The border guards in London instructed them to go back home but the women decided to go straight to Germany, where they knew some Latvians. They found employment berry-picking for two months. From the money she earned in two months, Sarmīte bought a washing machine, a new fridge, and was able to sponsor her daughter's studies at university.*
> *Sarmīte returned to her village in Latvia and continued her previous work. She went abroad again in 2005 with her husband. They went first to London but since they could not find any employment through agencies within two weeks, they went to Blackburn where some acquaintances worked.*
> *In 2007 she returned to Latvia, but soon after joined her husband who was already in Guernsey. Since she lived in open-market housing, she could choose when to take vacations and usually went to Latvia at least for two weeks each year and also invited her friends and relatives to visit her in Guernsey.*

Map 3 **Sarmīte's trajectories in Europe**
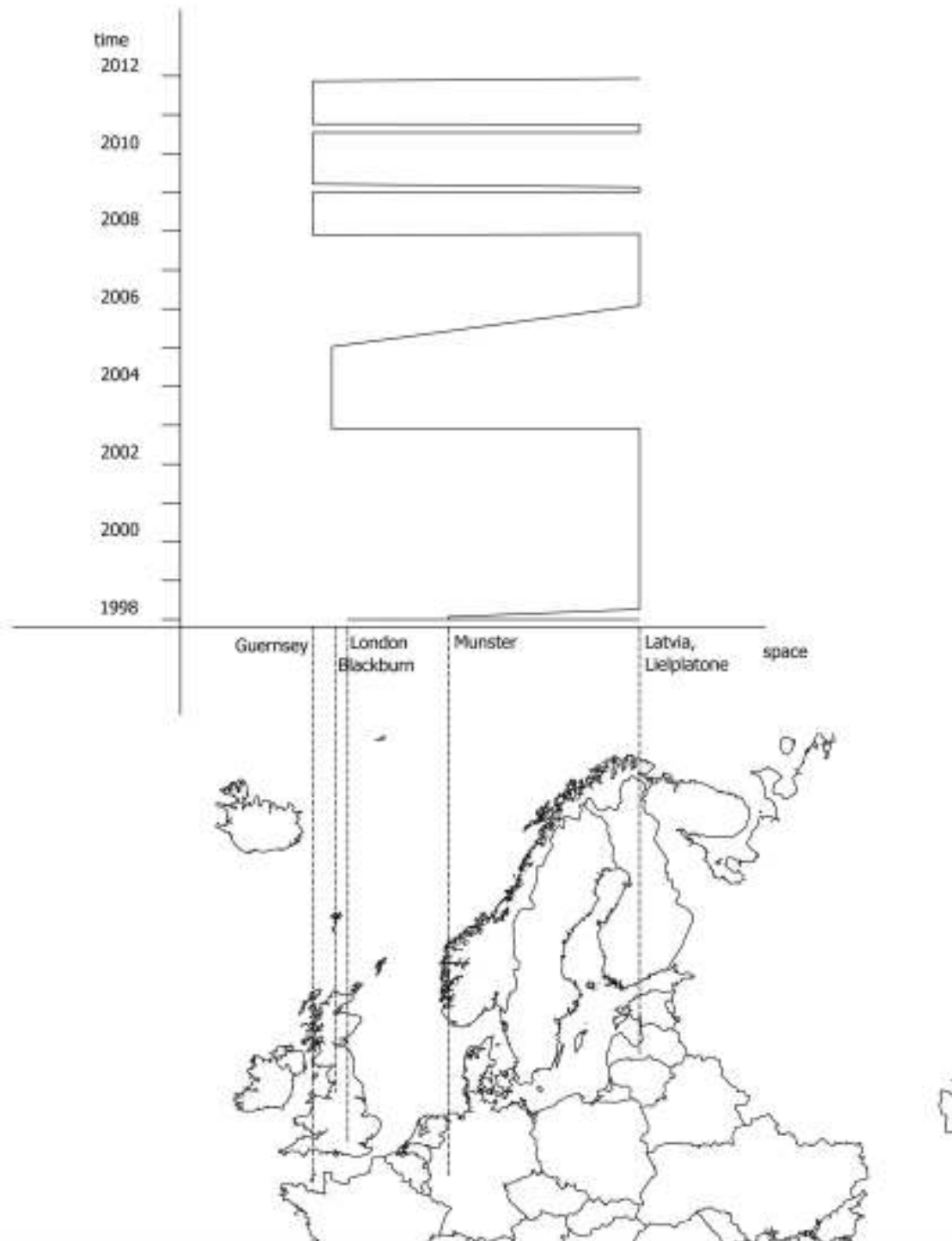
Source: Basis of the Europe's map here and hereafter created by Margarita Vološina

Sarmīte emphasised that she wanted to use the opportunities that the newly opened borders provided. In order to reach what she aspired – temporary employment – she *tried,* first, to enter into the space of possibility that was England, but was denied

entrance. All her subsequent mobilities were facilitated by information received through social networks. Risk-taking and trying are important dimensions of the space of possibility: it can also turn out as failure, followed by trying again.

The project of 'going abroad' was pertinent not only in the 1990s but throughout the whole of my observation period. Like 42-year-old Inga, who first went to a town in England in 2008, where she knew some friends, said: 'I did not decide that I will go to Guernsey, I decided that I will go abroad', However, due to the difficulty of finding the kind of work offered by the agencies, she could not secure full, stable employment and sufficient income within the first six months, and friends in Guernsey suggested she come to the island, where such work was available, and she went there directly from England in 2008.

One quarter of my research participants had worked outside Latvia prior to arriving in Guernsey, and some had also had worked in other countries between the first arrival in Guernsey and their later return to the island. The case of Sanita (Text box 4) is emblematic of this multiple type of mobility trajectory; see also Map 4 for her time-line mobility map.

Text box 4 **Sanita's trajectory before her move to Guernsey**

Sanita, prior to Guernsey, worked in some Greek islands as part of her internship training in tourism and hospitality studies in 2004. In 2005 she went to London and worked as a domestic carer for a child for one year, but after a year in London she moved to Germany and to Sweden for shorter periods due to personal relationships. After returning to Latvia in 2007, she considered a work vacancy in a regional municipality and was shortlisted for interview but finally decided not to take a job because travelling back and forth between the workplace and her home would involve time and money costs which she considered too high. 'I would not see my children anyway, so I did not even go to the second interview'. Sanita again went abroad, this time to Ireland. Earnings in Ireland and good air transport connections in 2007 allowed visiting home in Latvia often, each month, and she was even able to complete her final study year at college in Latvia. However, after the economic crisis in Ireland in 2008 she returned to Latvia and soon after embarked on the trip to Guernsey to search again for employment.

Map 4 **Sanita's trajectories in Europe**
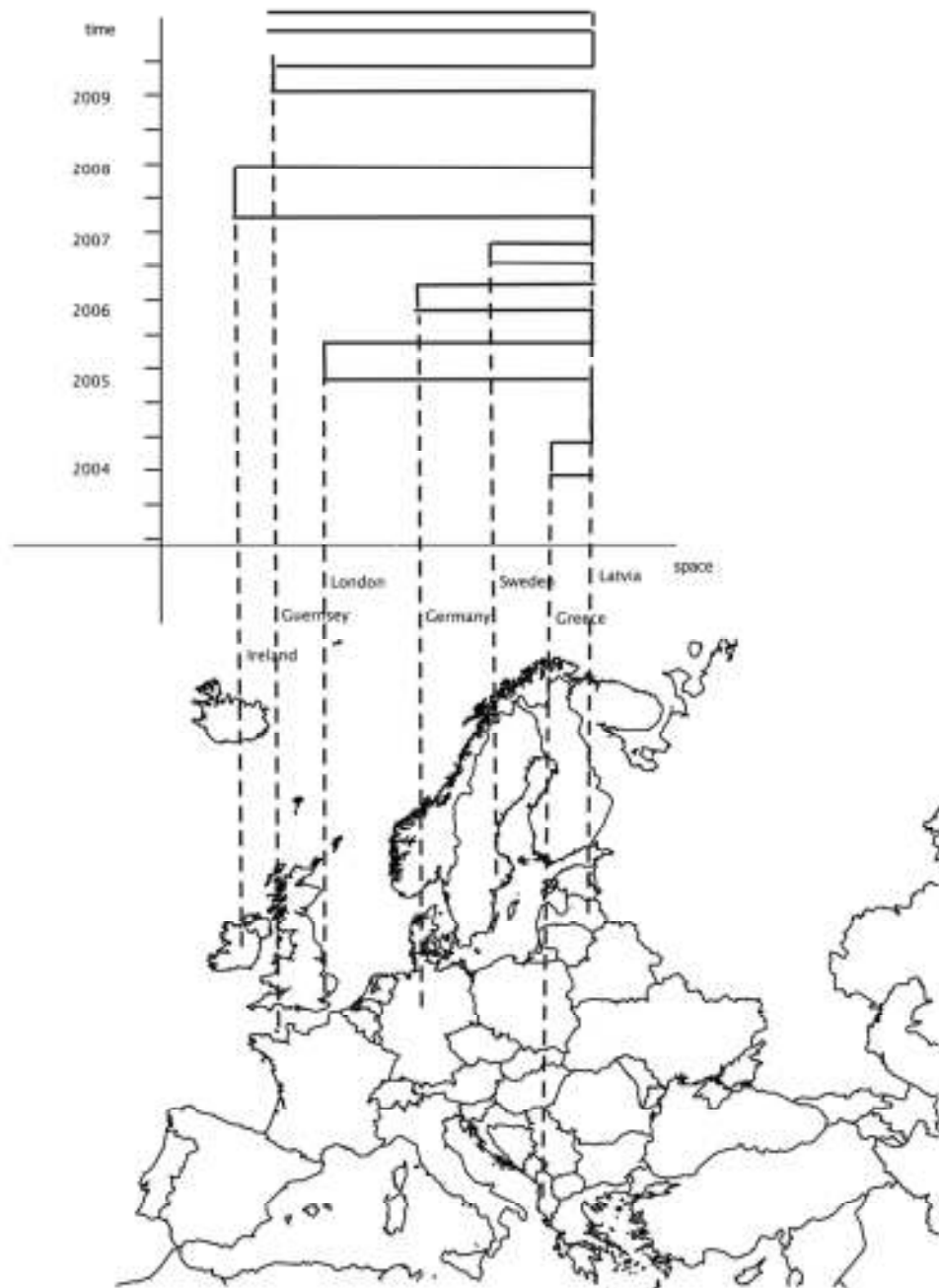
Also for those who did not have previous experience abroad, going abroad was still favoured over an internal migration strategy. Arvils arrived in Guernsey in 2009. Before the crisis he worked in construction in a regional town 200 km from Riga for six years. During the crisis he lost his job, and therefore income, and could not find anything in his region. His wife was officially unemployed and stayed at home with their eighteen-month-old toddler.

We wanted to go wherever abroad together. Riga did not appeal to me. Riga does not mean anything to me because I do not have contacts there. If I went, I would have survived probably somehow, running all the time to cover the bills, but knowing myself I know that I would have burned out. I would have complained all the time.

In summary, free travel and labour mobility on the EU scale provided possibilities to move away from Latvia, return again and then move to other places in the EU or EEA, while labour market dynamics and economic crisis in Latvia, as well as marked wage differences and possibilities to achieve well-being goals (Wright and Black 2011), provided a meaningful context of how the mobility project came to be constructed as one of opportunities in the flow of daily lives of Latvia's inhabitants.

5.6.2. Disturbed lifeworlds

Most significantly, distress was related to inability to plan the future, provide care for children and the elderly in families, to difficulties to cover regular bills for utilities, and to make savings to plan the future. 42-year old Gatis, who came to Guernsey in 2004, was previously working in a regional town, doing a full shift in a security company, and had an additional income from casual work in plumbing. Both workplaces paid salaries under the table, a rather typical situation in many private enterprises.[19] His wages were dependent on the amount of work done; therefore his income was unstable. Gatis emphasised that 'it is very difficult for me as a man, that feeling that you will not be able to pay [for various expenses]'. He described his fluctuating and uncertain income as disturbing his sense of self, his masculinity and his ability to maintain relationships.

Low income was seen as reinforcing social and geographical immobility, together with other constraints, such as lack of education or of relevant skills, which resulted in inability to improve one's life in the locality where the individual lived and precluded searching for work in other regions in Latvia. Care obligations, and a desire to achieve independence as a working woman who can earn enough to support herself and a child, were issues emphasised by Irina, aged 37. Her mother-tongue is Russian and she did not know the Latvian language well enough, which precluded her from

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[19] The shadow economy accounted for an estimated 30.2 % of the total economy in Latvia in 2011, while it was even higher during the first two years of crisis, 36.6% in 2009 and 38.1% in 2010 (Sauka and Putniņš 2012).

moving, for instance to Riga. Prior to her departure she worked in a retail store in a regional town where the majority of inhabitants speak Russian:

> What chances I had – to sleep with some man just to make ends meet? I did not want that. I was living like in fog, it was very difficult to make a decision [to go abroad]. I applied to the agency and got a call in two weeks. It was a difficult decision to leave a child, friends; it will be a different country, different language, but at that time, in 2005, I could not continue like that. I simply could not, I COULD NOT psychologically bear it any more.

Low incomes in Latvia reveal gendered, sectoral and regional differences. Small salaries in particular sectors such as retail stores, personal services (hairdressing, sewing), education or medicine, where my female research participants often worked before departure, generated growing debts for utilities, an inability to provide material support for children, and resulted in poverty and distress in a highly unequal Latvian society. Some of the research participants talked about low self-esteem and the fear that other people would scorn them. Marta, in her 60s, who lived on a small old-age pension, said:

> I was circling around in a market, 2 lats in my pocket and wondering, what I could buy for my five-people family. Others most probably were thinking, 'What's wrong with her, is she a nut, why is circling?'

Care duties, overlapping with other needs, were especially pressing during the economic crisis:

> I came as I did not have a chance, my daughter is four-years-old, very poor chances in Latvia. I was working from home as a manicure specialist but could not get enough clients any more. I have a mortgage loan for a flat in Riga; that does not bother me because I managed to rent it out and moved myself to my sister; it's cheaper to live together. My daughter stayed with my sister, I am rather worried that when autumn comes soon, heating will start, and I must send money so my sister is able to cover the costs. I did not have a choice, I had to go. (Jelena, 30s, went to Guernsey in 2010).

Job losses and salary cuts during the crisis in Latvia affected almost all sectors; however, the most insecure were those who received salaries at least partly in cash and hence could not qualify for unemployment benefits. For male research participants, for

example those in construction or wood processing, the effects of the crisis resulted in unpaid salaries and pressing needs to cover monthly payments for various loans: consumption, vehicles and mortgages. Public sector salaries were cut by 30% in Latvia in 2009. According to Eurostat (2012) unemployment rapidly increased during the crisis: from 7.5 % in 2008 to 17.1% in 2009 and 18.7% in 2010, lowering to 15.4% in 2011. These were/are among the highest unemployment indices in the EU, exceeded mainly by even higher rates in the Southern EU countries most severely hit by the crisis, Greece and Spain.

The negative impact of unemployment on wellbeing has been widely covered in the literature (e.g. Hayo and Seifer 2003). For some unemployed, going abroad was the only remaining option, when all others were exhausted and distress was overwhelming. 25-year-old Jānis, a university graduate, lost his job in a state enterprise in early 2009: 'In the beginning I was searching according my preferences and salary level, then I lowered, lowered and lowered my standards, and looked for ANY job'. After selling his personal goods for survival, moving into parents' flat in countryside, unsuccessful searching in Latvia in different regions and being aware of growing difficulties to find work quickly in places in the UK and Ireland during the recession, he started inquiring with acquaintances on *draugiem.lv* and asked where he could find a place abroad where it is possible to get a job as soon as possible. A distant acquaintance suggested Guernsey.

Overlapping needs and especially care obligations were often emphasised by female research participants as escalating conditions why more money was needed. Raita, in her 50s, a mother-of-two, who left in 2005, explained: 'One of my sons was ill, he needed several operations, and a lot of money went for doctors'. She was working as a teacher, but left the job in a regional town due to the low salary, moved to Riga and worked in several businesses unrelated to education. Raita continued:

> I had to work overtime because so much money was needed for doctors. All went in wisp [work and care duties]. I was too much fixed on work, more money was needed all the time. One day, I re-thought my life, went to check all the agencies in Riga [advertising work abroad] but friends here [in Guernsey] found a good local agency.

Since Guernsey was imagined as a temporary solution, target earning within a certain period of intensive work on the island was often mentioned as an initial conception for

leaving: earning for one's own or the children's studies, to buy a property, or to repair the existing property in Latvia, were among the most common targets.

> I worked for seven years in a foreign investor's enterprise in Latvia, but my salary remained as it had been from the beginning. At the beginning the salary was good, I was very happy that I got that place. There were various intellectual tests, scrupulous recruitment. I was living with my teenage son, but was divorced already at that time. Heating [was expensive], and the windows needed replacing. It was difficult to bear all of the payments [...] So, I decided to improve my quality of life, I had to improve it somehow. (Santa, 40s, in Guernsey since 1998).

Work diligence, and the readiness to work hard and long hours were relied upon as a physical and psychosocial resource to succeed when in Guernsey. Alma, 60s, who left due to unemployment, stressed that she 'was very, very lucky that they [recruitment agency] accepted me. I have never been afraid of work and that saved my life'. People who left through the scheme of organised recruitment for work in horticulture did have some information about the type of work and long working hours. As a former fashion designer in her 50s recalled, referring to 2000: 'I applied through the agency and I was asked if I know where I am going? And that work will be from 7 am and sometimes until 10-12 pm'.

Relationships, especially complicated ones, were mentioned by most of my research participants as a main or additional stimulus to leave Latvia. Unsuccessful partnerships, divorce, a wish to move away from a place where they felt unhappy, all of these were collateral personal factors that led to the UK or Guernsey being imagined as a temporary time-space of possibility to overcome loss and difficulties. These, again, overlap with other conditions. Divorced women particularly emphasised care responsibilities which they could not fulfil with little income. Difficulties in relationships were closely intertwined with monetary constraints.

5.6.3. Immobilising lifeworlds

Boundedness in work and everyday life along with the urge (as typically narrated) to try 'something new and different', also emerged as important conditions of possibility. Going to Guernsey was imagined as a *change* to escape from immobilising routines with *possibly* beneficial outcomes. Escaping from routines implied also an idea of

'possibly easier money, or easier life and work', as Tatjana, in her 30s, put it. This aspect was more often emphasised by younger people in their 20s and 30s.

> Mother was living in Guernsey since 1999. I stayed with my mother's sister, paid bills, I had to leave my studies and start working. And that routine in Latvia, I was bored after two years of work. (Māris, 25, in Guernsey since 2005).

Breaking the routine by 'going abroad' was seen by some as 'holidays from everything in Latvia', as in the cases of Andra, in her 30s, a translator, who went to Guernsey in 2001, or multi-skilled Arvils with diverse employment experiences all over the former Soviet Union.

> I lacked free time in Latvia, my work was not bad, I earned quite good money [in late 1990s, early 2000], 400 lats [per month], but I did not see anything besides work in a photo studio. I woke up at 8 am, 12 hours at work, 2 hours commuting, this is how I spent the last two years in Latvia [prior to departure]. Routine, all the time routine. (Arvils, in his 40s, in Guernsey since 2002).

Routine and the need for more money are also related constraints for personal and professional growth in Latvia. The most important additional possibility, along with better income, among many participants was the idea of learning English among native English-speakers. When reflecting on their initial ideas to leave Latvia, a few interviewees linked their constraints to wellbeing to lack of hobbies, professional opportunities and leisure activities as important needs to live a deeply satisfying life.

5.6.4. Life-course matters

There is a strong tradition in human geography research on migration to analyse life-course (see, e.g. Lawson 2000; Bailey et al. 2002; Bailey 2009). By a life-course I understand an individual's path through life, which implies life-stages with biological constraints, and the notion of life-cycle as the combination of understanding of life-stages and life-path as socially constructed in more or less a chronological sequence. Life-course constraints and possibilities were particularly pronounced for the young, and also, for older, pre-pension-age people. For the latter, the constraints were also sharply gendered: women over 40 often mentioned that they had few or no opportunities for good work in Latvia. Latvia is an ageing society with very low pensions, compared to other EU countries: see Elvira's quote below. The pensionable

age is 62 years for both men and women in Latvia, but will be gradually increased to 65 years (Pension Law, amendments 2012) in future years. The average monthly old-age pension in Latvia was 230 euros (CSB 2011, reference year 2009).

> I was an engineer in a radio factory [in Soviet Latvia]. It was closed. Before leaving I was working in various shops, flowers, groceries. But when I searched for work I was told in Russian: 'We do not offer a job for those aged over 40', despite the fact that I had good papers and experience. (Elvira, 60s, in Guernsey since 1999).

Wright (2012: 15) emphasises that non-material aspects of inequality such as age, gender, ethnicity or social status significantly shape possibilities to pursue wellbeing goals in various places, while inequality levels in the society of origin influence poor and rich in different ways. This helps us to interpret both the quote above and the one following, where, also in Alma's case, overlapping needs, responsibilities and unemployment due to her age were resulting in desperation:

> It is difficult to talk [about my decision to migrate] without tears. It is despair. I worked in retail for 33 years, I was given the best worker's award. I had prizes and bonuses, but then I became a nobody, a malicious squatter. My husband died, our younger son was still a teenager, but I was already 48. I was so lucky that a recruitment company chose me [for a job in Guernsey]. [wiping tears] (Alma, 60s, in Guernsey since 2000).

Lack of opportunities for ageing women in Latvia was widely acknowledged by other research participants. For example, Elza, in her 20s, who joined to her mother in Guernsey in 2008, said:

> Mother was a head of section in a market, but then layoffs started. She went to English language courses, others were ridiculing her, that she is studying a new language at her age. She came to work in hotels, left us with a brother on our own. We were 14 and 17 at that time.

In 2007 Ojars, in his 50s, arrived in Guernsey three months later than his wife, as the couple wanted to be together. He said that he could have made a sufficient income in Latvia, but his spouse, also in her 50s, 'is too old'. I will return to the intersectional age and gender theme in the ensuing chapters and illustrate how culturally mediated age

perceptions significantly influence geographical and social mobility and wellbeing in different places, as well as future plans of return migration.

Meanwhile, for the young, going abroad was often seen as a need to start their career, an opportunity to gain work experience and improve skills, especially English. Latvia has relatively high youth unemployment: 14.% in 2009, falling somewhat to 11.2% in 2011 (Eurostat 2012b), and unemployment is the most pronounced among those without higher education. Considering work abroad immediately after finishing secondary education or during vocational training is a growing trend among young people, including some of my research participants. One of them was Elma, aged 20s, who came to Guernsey immediately after secondary school and started working in restaurants:

> I arrived here for the first time in summer, my 11th grade, to see my friend. It was beautiful weather, nice places, restaurants. [A year later] after secondary school I thought I need to improve my English, gain some experience.

On a similar line, perception of the openness of the European space for work, travel, and a free lifestyle while being young, significantly shaped the narrative of where people have been and where they want to go, as in the case of Elvis (Text box 5 and Map 5 below).

Text box 5 **Elvis's trajectories in Europe**

> *In 2007-2008 Elvis was studying in Riga; his parents paid for his studies but Elvis realised already during the first course that he did not like his studies in information technology and went working in construction. In his free time he was spending many weekends in Riga bars, having a 'spoiled life' as he characterised it himself: waking up at midday, working when needed, not going to the university and hanging out in disco bars. In late 2008 his friends went to the Netherlands and he joined soon, saying that he wants to have a change in his life. However, in a factory where friends were packing tomatoes, Elvis soon felt constrained by work shifts that prevented him from enjoying weekends or evenings out in bars in the nearby Rotterdam. From there he went to Dublin in 2009 and worked in road construction and from there he went back to Riga in 2010 and soon after responded to friends' invitation to join them in Guernsey. He told me in the interview in summer 2011 that he feels already being stuck too long in one place and would like to consider some work and life in another European country.*

Map 5 **Elvis's trajectories in Europe**
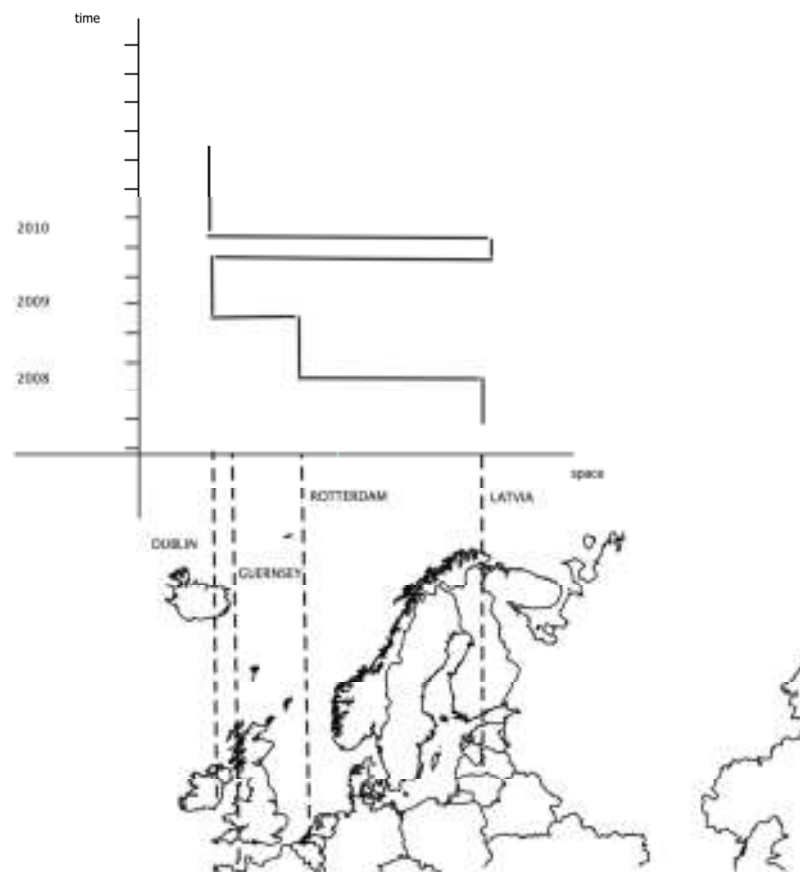
Young students who paid for their studies by working for wages, also emphasised the problem of overload in Latvia. Egita, 20s, came to study in Riga from a regional town. Her parents could not support her and she had to manage both work and study projects in the capital city to support herself.

> I was working in a bank in Riga and went to study economics. I come from a very poor family and I arranged so that I was studying on Sundays; on Saturdays I was baby-sitting my sister's child. All of this together was too much for me and I could not manage in the end.

Excerpts presented above support closely what cultural anthropologist Dzenovska (2012) has argued in her monograph on recent emigration realities in Latvia. She emphasised that it was often the sharp contrast between the hegemonic discourse of economic success of the new EU member state of Latvia (either through the years of economic boom or a 'success story' of how the country managed to overcome the profound crisis in 2008-2011) and the 'lived reality' and grim hope for a better life in future, that was the backdrop against which many made a decision to

pursue a 'liveable life' abroad. However, in my data, in contrast to Dzenovska's ethnography, I find more explicit evidence on how a place abroad (Guernsey) is connected to places in Latvia in multiple ways. My data reveal how the idea of a better life is pursued, or at least aspired for, through mobilities back and forth, including openness to the idea of return. This is partly due to the specific migration regime in Guernsey that helps me to probe deeper not only into the specific phenomenon of circular migration as such but also to broaden our understanding on perceptions of openness of time-space. To exemplify this, I now turn to examine how the actual decision to leave for Guernsey was described by research participants.

5.7. Discussion: on spontaneity

To close my initial analysis of counterpoints and conditions of possibility, I need to discuss the significance of perceptions of time; a particular moment when and how the decision was taken. Let us first consider the words of two women who left for Guernsey via the recruitment agency:

> I applied to the agency and did not hear back for half a year. And then *suddenly* they called, that there is a place in a care home for the elderly. I am a medic myself and I thought that's a 'smell of death' but I had to make up my mind *in one day* and I agreed. (Vita, 40s, in Guernsey since 2002, emphasis added).

And the other example:

> I went [to agency] with a thought that maybe in a month or so I will hear from them as I was warned that people have to wait very long and I will have time to prepare. But they proposed *immediately and I had to make a decision in the same day*, in their office. I am very close to my mother and always consulted with her. (...) The money situation was so bad that I could not pay for a mobile phone, I could receive only incoming calls. And exactly in that moment my mother called [...] it was so important for me to make a decision with her advice. So, we agreed and I (...) *left in one week.* (Evita, 20s, in Guernsey since 2004).

Similarly, many of those who left through social networks emphasised that it was a *spontaneous* decision. Leaving for Guernsey was thus often executed in a rush or at least without enough time to make proper preparations for the trip. Some were trying to reorganise other projects in Latvia: students negotiated with universities when they could continue their studies or take their exams later. If children were left in Latvia,

other close relatives took on care responsibilities. For those who worked, some negotiated their possible return to a previous workplace. During the crisis, employers sometimes were supportive, like in case of Armands (construction engineer in his 20s) who came to Guernsey in 2009. Due to the declining amount of work, salaries often were not paid for several months, but his boss, as soon as he learned about Armands' decision to go abroad, prioritised his former employee's needs and got the money from debtors to pay the last salary in full. When already in Guernsey, his boss maintained phone and email contacts with Armands and both were contemplating several future possibilities for cooperation either in Latvia, Guernsey or other places. These examples of negotiating, distributing, and stretching projects in time and space illustrate that the time-space of possibilities was conceived and, as I will later explain, practised as translocal projects where trajectories stretched across the borders and amplified possibilities in various places and countries.

Why is it important to make such explicit references to spontaneity in my data? 'Spontaneous' are saturated moments of constraints and recognition of possibilities that are interwoven in lines of a meshwork where lifeworlds unfold. As illustrated in some of the above examples, spontaneity was co-constructed through the demand for labour, recruitment procedures and culture. Spontaneous movement was possible due to the newly free border regime, available transport and reduced or defrayed costs for the trip. Spontaneity is a constitutive part of the everyday. I owe this understanding to Lefebvre: he argued that in a regime of rather intense ideological control, 'the members of a particular group discover ideologically saturated values, norms and symbols 'spontaneously'. [...] 'The spontaneous is already a part of social [and] everyday life [and] gives it a place and a consistency' (Lefebvre 2002: 218-219). 'Going abroad' was a recognition of possibilities; an opportunity for each person to compress and achieve his/her individual journey 'back to Europe'. Lefebvre calls this a revelation of the totality of possibilities contained in daily existence and a radical recognition of new opportunities (Lefebvre 1991: 11). This moment is spatially temporal, where temporality is conceptualised as boundaries in time, and space provides the anchor to be pulled up or dropped for temporal and temporary fixity in a geographical location.

Simultaneously, spontaneity is important as a phenomenological perception of time, space and movement: it was a *moment* in one's life, when a new trajectory was initiated and re-evaluated along with the outcomes of this new trajectory later. It was a spatial-temporal moment of transition in a person's life-stage and life-course,

surrounded by the macro-scale simultaneity embedded in the spatial-temporal evolution of the nation's life.

5.8. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed the initial conceptions of my research participants about their engagement in migration. Guernsey was identified as a space of possibility; a time-space in which to pursue their ambition to improve life in Latvia faster. This data-grounded conceptualisation of the space of possibility contributes to a more detailed understanding of the reasons to leave places and the country of origin. To sum up, Guernsey was one of the possibilities in the wider idea of going abroad. In the initial years it was a recruitment agency that provided jobs in this island and in later years Guernsey was imagined as a destination for temporary work more concretely if friends and relatives were already working there or more information about job opportunities was accessible in the media environment.

Latvia's trajectory towards its geopolitical return to Europe opened up previously impossible spatial possibilities: the main structural or institutional possibilities ('relaxed authority constraints' in time-geographic language) were free movement of people in the EU, the evolving EU migration regime, demand for migrant labour in Guernsey, and the money resources for the trip, initially provided by the agency, but later, due to the liberalisation of airspace in Europe and the sharp decline in air ticket prices, available for migrants themselves to undertake the trip. I have also analysed the main idea guiding the mobility projects: work abroad conceived as a temporary possibility to improve material conditions, thereby allowing the chance to carry out other projects, e.g. care of relatives, and achieve personal goals. Simultaneously, the idea of extralocal work was embedded in a dominant idea in society about circular migration, where translocal mobility can be used as a resource to achieve these goals in distant locations. I sketched the principle that in everyday life various projects compete and that work and higher income in another place were prioritised in initial conceptions. I highlighted the importance of perceptions of time and the decision to leave as emerging through saturated moments in daily existence. In the following chapters these initial conceptions will be evaluated further, so I direct attention to the following three questions:

- How are initial conceptions transformed during the geographical trajectory or, directly quoting Hägerstrand (1976: 334) and a question he posed: 'How does the locally woven togetherness fare from place to place?'

- What social and geographical mobilities help to overcome constraints and increase possibilities to live well on the island?

- How does the idea that Guernsey is a temporary solution transform itself over time? What happens when projects are spread out over longer time-space distances and how does absence from one 'local togetherness' and presence into another unfold?

CHAPTER 6
WORKING ISLAND

The objectives of this chapter, the longest of the thesis, are to deepen understanding of the mobility project locally and analyse how temporary presence on the island is used for achieving wellbeing goals at the translocal scale. First, by providing a background intellectual perspective on research of migration on islands, I justify why I approach the island as a node in an interconnected setting. Second, I provide a historical overview of immigration in Guernsey until the early 20th century, based on Crossan's (2008) pioneering research, and identify research gaps about more recent migration trends. After these subsections, I turn to an analysis of local mobilities on the island and their connectedness to translocal wellbeing ideas and to the way of life that emerges among Latvian migrant workers.

I distinguish several significant structures that frame the development of Latvian migrant mobilities and the specific way of life that ensues, where Guernsey is predominantly perceived as a workplace for a limited time. Due to the small size of the island it was easier than probably in other settings to notice how diverse Latvian migrants were. Also, it was easier to trace how initial ideas of short-term mobility and a fast return back to Latvia changed and circulatory patterns emerged along with other types of mobilities and migration: labour contracts were prolonged, people established families with local partners and a diasporic community emerged despite strict housing regulations that favour circular migration. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the various trajectories that co-exist among Latvian migrants and how the notion of convergence could pave a way to a more detailed understanding of territorial and relational processes among recent migrants residing outside their country of origin.

6.1. Boundedness and interconnectedness in islands' geographies

'Due to physical limits of a small island, the mind is able to grasp it and make a picture of it as a whole'. Thus wrote Stephen Royle, one of the most prolific geographers writing on islands, in his monograph on small islands (Royle 2001: 11). Also the famous French geographer Jean Bruhnes (1920: 52, cf. Connell and King 1999: 2) emphasised that 'only by careful study of a small unit can one discern and evaluate relations between physical facts and human destinies'. The small scale of Guernsey goes hand-in-hand with a classical time-geographic perspective with its emphasis on

the togetherness of everyday collateral processes that can be observed in a small territory. Islands differ among each other, and they are distinct from mainland territories. However, one should not be blinded by the *small size* of a geographical research area like Guernsey, with its territory of a mere 63.3 square kilometres. The political geography of *translocal scale*, where relations from global to local unfold, is very complex there, and encourages the questioning of theoretical and practical matters of mobility, space and time in Europe far beyond the concrete territory of this speck of land.

Royle stressed two factors that make small islands special: *isolation* and *boundedness* (Royle 2001: 11). In this chapter, by focusing on the migration realities of Guernsey, I take these factors into account but also question and challenge them. Throughout the research process I was conscious of how an island constitutes a particularly dense fieldwork site for current migration research. Many islands have an 'unusually intense engagement with migratory phenomena' through their *openness* and *interconnectedness* to places beyond (Connell and King 1999: 1).

Islands have been territories for history-turning academic research in several disciplines: let us just mention the works of Charles Darwin (1809-1882) or Gerald Durrell (1925-1995). Also human geographers long ago provided evidence of the special nature of islands and, regarding my focus of interest, their specificity of migration patterns; Ellen Churchill Semple (1911), more than a century ago, drew attention to emigration as a particular demographic pattern found in islands.

In popular perception, however, islands are often linked to ideas of fixed locality, settled population and preservation of an 'island culture'. Especially those with a pleasant climate and rich local culture are portrayed by the tourism industry as isolated paradises and places of escape. The importance of locality indeed is crucial, but I found that *islandness* as *localness* has more to do with an island's interconnectedness, and not so much with isolation. Historically many islands have in fact been major transport and trade hubs involving various mobilities of goods and people. In many islands, like Guernsey, political stability and security are achieved through specific dependency relations and certain freedoms such as different tax regimes and monetary policies. This richness of interconnections and special regimes, as well as the importance of human and natural relations, is among the reasons why in the late 20th century and the first decades of the 21st, human geographers have become again more interested in islands, launching specific journals devoted to studies of small islands: the

Island Studies Journal was established in 2006; another journal, *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures*, was launched in Australia in 2007; while *Insula,* a journal both for popular interest and also including academic articles, has been published under the auspices of UNESCO since 1992 (see the review by King 2009). Articles devoted to islands can also be often found in geographical journals, with special issues dedicated entirely to research on islands (see, for example, *Geografiska Annaler B*, special issue, 2003; *Space and Culture* 2010; *Cultural Geographies* 2012).

As mentioned, *emigration* is widely recognised as one of the typical characteristics for many islands (Connell and King 1999). Yet, there is less research attention paid to *immigration* in islands in Europe beyond lifestyle and retirement migration. More research has been published about islands in South East Asia where the precarious situation of workers in Hong Kong and other islands has been analysed: Smart and Smart (2008) analysed border opening and closing and its impact on migrant workers in Hong Kong. Regarding the British Crown dependencies, the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey have been less researched with the exception, for example, of Prentice's (1990) work on tax havens. Both Boyle et al. (1998: 168-9) and Connell and King (1999: 8) note how the Manx government was attracting new residents in the 1950s to the Isle of Man, but in 1989 introduced legislation to control immigration as this was the cause of high property costs and pressure on local amenities.

6.2. History of migration in Guernsey

Guernsey's migration in the 19th century and until the First World War is well analysed thanks to the exhaustive archival work done by Rose-Mary Crossan (2008). Her analysis starts with the earliest available figures in Guernsey's archives from 1727, when 10,246 islanders were enumerated to assess needs for grain. Almost half lived in the town, St Peter Port. By 1800, the population had increased by 58%, excluding numbers of the British garrison. Guernsey did not take part in British Government censuses in the early 19th century but, according to William Berry (1815: 23-4, cited in Crossan 2008: 14), there were already 21,293 inhabitants in Guernsey in 1814 while the number of regular troops was assessed to be fluctuating between 2000 and 5000 people.

Guernsey, too, has experienced emigration, especially after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars: according to lists published in the *Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, analysed by Crossan (2008: 50), 1,310 people left the island between 1817-1819, mainly for the US and Canada. However, despite emigration, Guernsey's population was steadily increasing and in fact doubled between 1821-1911. Crossan's analysis in terms of gender showed that at least 2,000-3,000 non-native males and 2,500-3,500 females arrived in Guernsey each decade between 1841-1901. Migrants were young, aged 35 or younger on their first enumeration. In special enumerations carried out by the Royal Court in 1827-1830, the birthplaces of migrants revealed classical Ravenstein (1885) laws of migration. Immigrants came from a relatively close distance: 56.5% from England, 11.8% from France, 11% from Jersey island, 5% from the neighbouring islands of Sark and Alderney, while 6.6% were travelling longer routes from Ireland (Crossan 2008: 67-69). Irish migration was rather an exception and mainly concerned refugees from the recurrent famines there.

Interestingly, Crossan's (2008: 81) analysis on migrant occupations revealed that migrants in 19th century Guernsey did not replace locals in the labour market but satisfied a high demand in other sectors of work, especially for female domestic servants. Non-native females were, however, under-represented in such occupations as dressmaking and teaching. The earliest archival record of a greenhouse in Guernsey dates back to 1792 (Hocart 2010). In the 1880s Guernsey people began to grow tomatoes and flower bulbs for commercial sales, and according to the research on immigrant occupations, this niche belonged to native Guernsey people. Non-native males were under-represented only in building and agriculture, whereas they were over-represented in manufacturing, quarrying, general labour and trading, compared to locals. Non-native males were also bringing in crafts and skills needed in the insular space and were working as shoemakers, tailors, and bookbinders. These specialised occupations were filled by migrants of English and French origin; the Irish were mainly working as general labourers (Crossan 2008: 82-90).

Altogether, 'for working men Guernsey was [...] hardly El Dorado, and this perhaps explains why so many departed the island within a few years of arrival' (Crossan 2008: 97). Work conditions for migrants in Guernsey were hard, and the dwelling conditions, according to contemporary press publications, were notoriously low-quality despite high rental payments. However, there was a high demand for labour, and this attracted migrant workers who otherwise might have chosen other

destinations. Those who stayed within the 150 years since the 1760s formed a landless class dependent on wage labour in Guernsey. Crossan concludes that immigration was a product of change in the modernisation process because, 'without the economic changes, Guernsey would never have attracted or retained its migrants in the first place' (Crosan 2008: 277). Also, migrants' presence in urban areas, especially in St Peter Port, was a basis for the Anglicisation of Guernsey, as French geographer Camille Vallaux found in his study in the early 20th century (Vallaux 1913, cf. Crossan 2008: 5).

What we can learn from this historical record? Crossan's research is useful to understand how historical immigration forms the basis for certain continuities in current contexts. First, it reveals a century-long trend that modernisation processes on the island have steadily attracted migrants due to high demand for labour. So the historical memory of the presence of migrants in the insular space has deep roots, and the arrival of migrants was not an unprecedented experience in the late 20th century for the local population. Living conditions were hard more than a hundred years ago and they still were during my research. In fact, Latvian migrants and their Portuguese predecessors, working in horticulture, experienced even worse living conditions (see also discussion on hard work and bad living conditions in the case of migration from Azores to the US, by Williams and Fonesca 1999). Second, research has revealed a long history of feminisation of migrant labour on the island. Moreover there are established trends of migrant jobs supplementing the local workforce and not replacing it. And third, migrants' early settlements being mainly in the town and urban areas and only later spreading through the rural parishes tells us about the rural/urban divide in the migration process.

The small size of the island gave the opportunity to Crossan to carry out a historical study where records can be found almost of each individual, a feature that is specific to small, bounded territories. However, when carrying out contemporary research on ongoing mobility flows, one should take seriously the data protection of people and current sensitivities. Collection of statistical data inevitably has certain aims to assess various needs and exert certain control mechanisms. Detailed and individualised housing records in Guernsey leave little doubt that such personalised information is available to Guernsey authorities nowadays, but it has its rights and obligations towards both migrants and the local population. Population increase in small islands like Guernsey is among the most sensitive of local political and socio-

economic issues. Guernsey's authorities place a special emphasis on protecting and respecting the privacy of people and hence on not revealing data on national groups of temporary migrant workers. Moreover, population increase due to in-migration can create social tensions, therefore seasonal and circular migration is the optimal solution from the viewpoint of the island's population and workforce management. What is specific in Guernsey politically (and very interesting theoretically in geographical research on migration) is its emphasis not on immigration control, including intra-EU flows, but on the control of housing licences as issued to workers in certain economic sectors. The crucial issue of housing recurs throughout my analysis.

The deeply ingrained discourses of uniqueness and peripherality of islands is yet another challenge to be unpacked (King 2009). This has not only importance in portrayals of islands globally but, as Guernsey's case reveals, it has a crucial meaning locally. As early as 1927, a committee known as the Natural Beauties Committee was established in Guernsey (Hocart 2010: 104) and continues its work in the current institutional political context under the Environmental Department of the States of Guernsey. Guernsey people are proud of their specific insular milieu and the lifestyle it can provide. Therefore the need to preserve and protect this diverse natural space is among the most important tasks for the islands' identity. Diversity, inevitably related to in-migration in small places, can give rise to resentment over the rapid changes of place identity (Connell and King 2009: 18).

There is hardly any comprehensive research on recent immigration to Guernsey. The aim of my research is different to Crossan's as I want to look at ongoing mobilities in the current context after EU enlargement. I did not carry out archival work, nor did I envisage any in-depth statistical analysis of immigrant groups on the island, and nor did I launch any kind of household survey. Therefore I will just briefly sketch the context of migration patterns on the island as represented by those who were directly involved in initiating these flows – the employers and recruiters who brought workers in to fill the labour demand in specific jobs.

The island's economy is based on specialisation in certain sectors, and tomatoes were grown and sold large-scale until the 1970s. Their declining profitability was largely related to UK accession to the European Common Market and competing prices provided by Dutch producers (Hocart 2010: 72–74). However, specialisation continued, and remains part and parcel of the economic organisation in many small islands. What I can provide here is an overview compiled from various interviews with

employers about how the recruitment practices led to influxes of temporary workers from certain destinations. In the horticulture sector, most of the Portuguese workers came from Madeira, due to this recruitment channel established by horticulture employers in the 1980s.

Since the 1960s Guernsey started becoming a popular holiday place, especially for British and French tourists; Guernsey provided 20,000 holiday beds in the summer season. Recruiters advertised jobs in local newspapers in the 1980s in Ireland, Scotland and England. Later also Italians, French, Austrians and Germans from specialised vocational schools were recruited to work in catering in Guernsey. In the 1990s Guernsey's employers were bringing in Italians from one catering college in particular, and also French specialists.

In parallel developments, the island emerged in the 1980s as a financial hub which was related to global changes in Europe. The importance of the hotel industry declined as, due to better prices and climate, the potential British tourists rather chose to spend their vacations elsewhere, for example in Turkey. When the Berlin Wall came down, Guernsey's employers were looking for potential workers in the former East Germany because their economy collapsed but they were well-qualified from good catering schools. At the same time, the influx from Portugal continued in the hospitality sector. But in 1986 Portugal became a part of the EU (that time ECC) and by the mid-1990s employers experienced shortages of migrant workers. For the first time, approximate parity of wages between Madeira and Guernsey was reached. For the island to be competitive as a provider of horticultural products and tourism services, employers did not see any other way than to look for cheap labour elsewhere, in places where wages still remained low compared to Guernsey. By the late 1990s it was difficult to recruit also new Italian or French workers since wages were not high enough and English language learning was not attractive enough to persuade them to come for a temporary period of work in Guernsey. Employers started searching further east in Europe: Romania, Lithuania and Belarus were among the countries that interviewees mentioned. In 2000–2001 the neighbouring Jersey's Association of Hotels chose to advertise jobs in Poland. At that time dealing with the immigration bureaucracy was still rather complicated because the Eastern European countries were not part of the EU. Guernsey's employers were asked to choose one main country and since there was already a link established with Latvia to recruit workers in horticulture,

it was continued also in the hospitality sector. And the gateway from Latvia to Guernsey has been open to both men and women since then.

6.3. Guernsey: an island for work

6.3.1. The first years: in the greenhouse

In 1997–2001 migrant women were working in horticulture. It was typical that horticulture employers provided full-time work and, even in cases when there was less work available, they did not allow to add part-time work to this. The employer and the agency paid for flight tickets, arranged living in a dormitory house, provided transport to and from the workplace and a weekly transport to go shopping. Part-time work was allowed only as an exception, even if women were idle during some workdays.

Greenhouse possibility-constraints provided, metaphorically, a translocal greenhouse condition: it was possible to work in this sector even without elementary English skills, since life and work revolved around circles with other Latvians. Local co-workers or those from other countries were few, except the management, a supervisor at work or in a dormitory house. In the early years the middle management was more commonly filled with Portuguese workers from Madeira who were working in the sector already before Latvians. How was the *genre* of 'greenhouse-times' remembered by research participants? From one side, 'terrible', 'horrible', 'unbearable' were the common words. But there was also another side which I will explain later. Let us have a look now at why and what are the time-space aspects of this portrayal of greenhouse work, aided by some direct quotes from the participants.

> Without a single day off, I tell you, horrible, horrible, I would not be able to bear it any more. But that's how we started. All of us, first girls who came. [...] For those who come in these years it is a very different experience. After I returned [to Latvia] I thought, I will never ever come again. But the next year [proposals to work in] hotels started. (Ilga, 50s).

Swollen fingers, rough hands due to work in hot greenhouses and cold refrigerators, allergies due to the chemicals used and their own desire to work as well as possible led to physical exhaustion for some. The greenhouse experience is often also referred to via changes in the bodily scale: some lost weight dramatically due to the heavy workload and the desire to save as much money as possible to bring back to Latvia.

I had a room on my own but others were living like in cattle trucks. But the salary was 100-120 lats a month at that time in Latvia, and [here] they earned it in a week, if working 40 hours, while others were working 80 hours. There was one woman, who was living on 5 pounds a week, she was buying only reduced products, it was visually possible to tell how she was living, because she lost weight dramatically. (Armins, 30s, worked in greenhouses in early 2000s).

Among other needs not emphasised prior to leaving was also the importance of temporary dwelling. In many cases the housing situation was seen as worse than in Latvia, especially if a room had to be shared with other people who were not relatives or close friends. This becomes clear in this longer excerpt of the memories of Maija, who for the first year in Guernsey worked in horticulture.

When we were still flying the women [who were working there before] were trying to scare us how terrible it will be, that we will be living packed in a horrible room, and the toilet will be almost in the same room behind the curtains. But the most terrible thing was not the living conditions, but that Latvian women can treat each other like this. [...] Nine people replaced each other in my room during 10 months. [...] It was difficult in terms of trust, you have a passport, everything in that room, you do not have a safe box, anybody can open your drawer while you are away, read your letters or your diary [...] At one point I thought I will collapse. Take a shower, somebody is banging doors, real *kolkhoz*. Two people would take a shower together and you have to undress in front of a woman who is not your mother or your sister. It was very hard, really hard, it was hard already for me although I like socialising, but for more introvert and shy people, how much harder it was for them. (Maija, 20s).

Time-geography's focus on the geographical location of various individuals in actual situations in time and space helps us in interpreting the excerpts above and broadens our understanding that circular moves (or other forms of temporary migration) are never free from complexity and the materiality of everyday life in places where people work. Simultaneously, the translocal scale helps us to understand that material reality in one place is compared and evaluated against other distant places and times. So, the 'terrible' was due to various reasons: most notably, the work schedules which actually did not allow many women to even see the island in its diversity, but more than that, negative judgments were especially related to the living conditions. It should be noted here that memories and later experiences of the short-term dwelling

experiences were judged against the existing or previous dwelling in Latvia or in other places and countries they had lived. Besides, 'dwelling' was evaluated according to temporal frames of reference. In later years, when women from the greenhouses moved up the career ladder, still knowing that they are in Guernsey temporarily, renting an expensive apartment with a view of the sea was seen as a rare privilege that had never been in their life before and would not be possible in Latvia. Whereas a small-size single room in hotel staff accommodation was also not always seen as downgrading. For instance, if an individual used to live in Latvia in a house with wood heating and poor sanitary infrastructure, a room with all facilities, fully equipped bathroom and kitchen, despite being shared with others, was seen as improving everyday living conditions. However, if a person had his/her own house or flat in Latvia, newly built or renovated (thanks to money earned abroad) dwelling conditions were judged negatively in Guernsey.

6.3.2. *Where does the strength come to bear the unbearable?*

As most of the research participants emphasised, their work and living conditions in the early years in Guernsey were physically exhausting. How such conditions were tolerated becomes understandable if they are defined in relation with a chosen trajectory of an idea-guided project (Hägerstrand 1982: 325). Primarily, hard work in Guernsey was seen as a chance to speed up changes in personal and family welfare in Latvia due to wage disparities. Besides, as early as after the first year, the intention of a temporary stay in Guernsey changed, mainly due to two reasons: first, the desire and need to continue earning higher wages; and second, new relationships and intermarriages were formed between Latvian women and local residents.

> I was thinking, I have to endure, I have to send money. And then I found the first friend, then the second, and third, and those nine months somehow went much faster. (Santa, 40s).

From the beginning, however, there was also a cultural repertoire of 'hard workers' established. However controversial this may be, many Latvians took pride in being called hard workers (see McDowell et al. 2007 and McDowell 2013 for a critical feminist and neo-Marxist interpretation on how the 'hard workers' from Eastern Europe in the UK are socially produced). Besides, employers actively maintained a

discourse of female migrants' temporality – that temporary status is mutually beneficial.

> It is much better for workers to come for nine months, because they can support their families back home, they send a lot of money back home from their wages. They are here to help us, and I hope we are helping them to support their families. (Employer).

The duality of the 'hard worker' was recognised by Latvian people, yet they saw little space of manoeuvre to resist it due to their temporary migrant status and the positive self-image it simultaneously implies.

> We have a sense of duty, this still comes from Soviet times. We have to do what we have to, we have to adjust otherwise we know that we will be suffering terribly. We are incredibly responsible in this sense, while they [locals may] think that you are stupid. But we will still clean afterwards. And this is especially exploited [...] As locals say, Latvians are very hard workers. (Zinaida, 40s).

Through the example of a 'hard worker' we can see how authority constraints play out as both externally imposed in a concrete bounded space – as it is in the classical interpretation of Hägerstrand's time-geography through short-term labour contracts – and as self-imposed and gendered in a more novel interpretation of time-geography that incorporates emotions (McQuoid and Dijst 2012; Scholten et al. 2012). Thus, authority constraints influence not only how long and where migrants can stay or access various places, but also how 'hard' they should work and have to behave there.

But life in greenhouse-times was also portrayed as fun. It was a time away from home in Latvia and its local orders and problems. Thus, even in severely constrained conditions, my research participants did not draw only and not even primarily on coping or survival strategies, but rather emphasised liveliness and hedonism arising in specific time-space arrangements, for example, as being away from gendered social control at home.

> We did go out. There was a night-club that closed at half-past midnight. I had a mini-van given by my boss. The car did not have seats, so the girls turned the flower buckets up-side-down. I was not allowed to carry passengers in that van so I told them they have to pretend to be potato sacks. And so we went and, thank god, there was no police stopping us. (Santa 40s).

The specific narrative of greenhouse work was repeated over and over among the Latvian migrants in Guernsey. Greenhouses, a specific island economic niche, however, became in very recent years non-profitable and are now mainly left empty, although there are some exceptions (Pictures 3). The same employers as in the greenhouse business were employing people in packaging and also other small companies emerged fast due to tax loopholes for businesses in the late 2000s until the early 2010s.

Pictures 3 **Greenhouses in Guernsey**
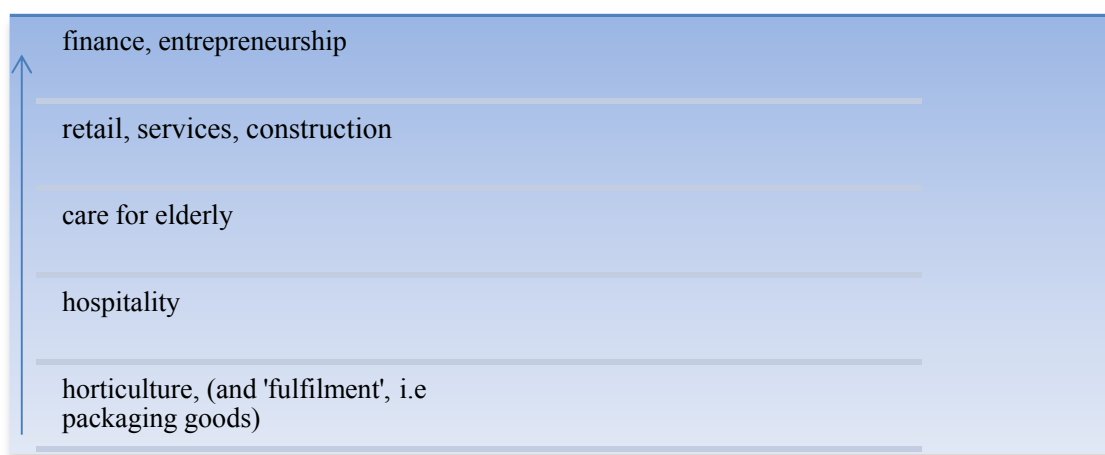
Author's photos: January 2010 (top), June 2011(below)

6.3.3. Opening other sectors and emerging hierarchies

After 2001, when the hospitality sector was opened, Latvian workers could more freely change employers or add a part-time work to increase their capacity for earning, which was even easier after joining the EU. Table 8 sets out a notional hierarchy of employment sectors in Guernsey. Moving to jobs in the more highly-regarded employment sectors is one of the important mechanisms by which Latvian migrants evaluate possibilities to achieve a better life, both in Guernsey and back home in Latvia, thereby demonstrating how geographical and social mobilities both locally and translocally are intertwined.

Table 8 **Hierarchies of employment sectors**

finance, entrepreneurship
retail, services, construction
care for elderly
hospitality
horticulture, (and 'fulfilment', i.e packaging goods)

According to the research participants, the lowest tier in the hierarchy is horticulture (which was the only possible sector for Latvian migrant workers to enter in 1997-2001). In later years, alongside greenhouses, the so-called fulfilment industry, packaging seeds, plants, DVDs, perfumes, pharmaceuticals etc., was also considered to be low in the hierarchy. However, according to some of those who were working in these sectors, whilst they recognised that these sectors are lower than others, they emphasised also the positive sides, which allowed them personally to work abroad which otherwise was not possible. Accommodation was relatively cheap, and people without knowledge of English could work there. Arrangements provided by the Guernsey employers were seen as helping to maintain an increased feeling of security. Workers who had been in agricultural work in Ireland or in other places in Great Britain (for instance in the fields in Lincolnshire), evaluated working conditions in Guernsey as higher than these other areas. A woman who had been in Ireland in 1990s

and was combining Ireland with short-term work in perfume packaging in Guernsey in 2010-2011, said that a Guernsey employer cares for his workers, he buys trolleys so women do not have to carry heavy boxes, while in the workplace in Ireland she could not expect such an obliging attitude.

Workers in horticulture and fulfilment typically received a minimum-wage salary; short-term licences were issued for workers in these sectors. Why other migrant workers placed these sectors as the lowest in the hierarchy can be better understood through attention to mobility constraints: part-time work was seldom allowed so workers had fewer possibilities to increase earnings and were dependent on the business rhythms of the sector they worked in. The extra work, which migrants typically called *bizis* (from English – busy), was usually welcomed. 'If we have eight hours per day we feel that we lack work. *Bizis* is fine, sometimes 10 or up to 14 hours', said Inese, in her 50s, who worked in perfume packaging. Work hours were calculated into money earned, while time free from work in these sectors was usually called 'empty time', representing how the rhythms of capitalist production intervene into the time perceptions of workers.

As soon as Latvia joined the EU, horticulture and packaging seeds and plants lost their attractiveness in the eyes of some migrant workers, and they tried to get jobs in hospitality or retail due to better wages and living conditions. Between the lower tier and hospitality lies also work in a factory: it is better paid, both men and women were working there and also this work (except management level) was possible for those with minimum English skills. Agrita's words reveal how the hierarchy was perceived:

> I have rather good English and I have my requirements. I do not want to sit in
> a factory with my good English skills, better to work in a cafe. My springboard
> is somewhat higher. (Agrita, 40s).

Hospitality is the most diverse sector in terms of internal hierarchies and possibilities for part-time employment. In this hierarchy I include cafeterias, restaurants and hotels. Most of my research participants saw this as one hierarchy, higher than greenhouses and packaging but lower than retail. If people worked in the lower level within this hierarchy, their salary was still the minimum but they had relatively better living conditions, usually a single-occupation room. The hierarchy was made based on housing licences for 3 and up to 5 years, living conditions and work career prospects. Research participants worked in both hotels and restaurants,

where their jobs ranged from auxiliary work in the kitchen, to cleaning, to medium-level management; and work could be combined with part-time work to fit into gaps between split schedules.

Jobs in care for the elderly were mainly taken up by women. Hourly rates reached 8–9 Guernsey pounds (equal to GBP) and more, working conditions were usually better than in the two previous sectors, and it was possible again to combine this with other work. To work in this sector, migrants usually needed to obtain an open market licence which also meant higher rental payments. Retail ranked high in migrant workers' hierarchy: some research participants, mainly women who had worked in lower hierarchies before, considered work in retail as climbing up the career ladder. Wages were usually a bit lower than in care for elderly; however, the work conditions and opportunity to meet various clients were seen as definite benefits and improvements over lower-grade employment types. But work in shops usually has regular working hours during the day, whereas in elderly care or hospitality there is more shift work with early mornings and night work. An opportunity to learn new skills in specialised sales was seen as fulfilling needs for personal growth: learning about jewellery making, cosmetics and providing consultancy on clothing style and fashions – all these were mentioned as factors that increase job satisfaction. Men worked in construction, building, gardening, and in transport. Their wages were more diverse but not much higher than those in retail or care for elderly. In the service sector, women more worked in beauty services, and full-time cleaning services.

The finance sector was at the top of the hierarchy of priority, not only within the migrant community but also among islanders. Three of my research participants worked in this sector – in banks or investment companies, while seven had established small enterprises, on their own or with shared ownership, or through self-employed activities. Those in entrepreneurship evaluated their own activities as the highlight in their career and as a way to achieve wellbeing goals in terms of doing work which they value and where they can learn new skills in retail, construction, carpentry, tailoring, beauty services etc. and learn to be bosses on their own. Entrepreneurs typically had a wider comparative reference outside their own national group. Several individualised occupations not categorised in hierarchies by research participants were comparatively prestigious with the community: the travel industry, airport work, translation, the education sector or state entities, but people themselves in these jobs did not see these as migrant jobs anymore.

6.3.4. Searching for jobs: time-space matters

Those who did not have a job secured by agreements prior to departure from Latvia, usually relied on relatives or friends to get a first temporary accommodation while searching for work. Network ties increased chances to get information or to provide ad hoc translation in negotiations with a possible employer. However, most of those who did not arrive with a secured contract beforehand, soon realised that individual search is the most effective way to find work on the island. Language knowledge, searching strategies, and time-space aspects – most crucially, the seasonality of business cycles – were important too. Also for those who secured work quickly, the first weeks or months were often related to heightened stress: where to live, how to move around by foot, how to use public transport, and how to drive on the other side of the road.

> I was calling everywhere, digging through job advertisements. My girlfriend found [a job] in 2 weeks, I was searching for 3 months. When we arrived, in October, there were much less work available. (Arvils, 20s).

Observing various co-present trajectories of migrant workers, individuals learned how to search for work and improve their competence in this field. Research participants often replied to newspaper advertisements, and went directly to bars, cafeterias and shops asking if there are vacancies. Handing in CVs personally was a widespread practice. On foot, some by bike, or by public bus – searching usually started from the hotels, bars, and shops in the town but also around the whole island as hotels and restaurants are scattered around the touristic spots.

Gerda arrived in Guernsey and for the first two weeks was staying with her friend, but her aim was to find a job as soon as possible, and preferably to move in to an accommodation provided by an employer in the hospitality sector.

> I had an aim to distribute at least three CVs every day. I met Latvians on my way but mainly I was going on my own with a map of Guernsey in my hands for about two weeks. I arrived in March and that was too early as I understood later. In the first week in April I got calls from various places, strange names, I even did not know who is calling, which place it is . (...) I had experience of searching for work in Ireland so it was not a shock for me. But I could not imagine searching for work in this manner in Riga or Valmiera [northern regional town]. People in Latvia are much more scornful, it would not be possible to distribute CVs like here. (Gerda, 40s).

Information flowing through social networks was, however, more important in order to find more specialised and better part-time jobs. I will provide Inga's experience of her social and geographical mobilities at length now in order to better understand the project-trajectory relations:

> As soon as I arrived, I had the main job but I was searching for a part-time one too. So, I was doing dishes in an Indian restaurant [...] I was rubbing really hard all those huge pots and pans, crazy, horrible job! I was thinking, gosh, where am I? I was unhappy, but my [English] knowledge was so humble. [...] When I managed to get into the language, at least to be able to say 'welcome', 'thank you', what is a fork and what is a knife. And I learned at least to understand their accent. It went better. Then I found part-time work in one company, I was working as a waitress. I worked all the previous season and when I returned [after three months in Latvia], a boss provided a job again. I went through acquaintances, somebody suggested, somebody was needed, some big wedding to prepare or so, and asked additional people to help. So I got this job. Sometimes there was work three times a week, but sometimes there were long periods without work. I have always liked working with people, my last job in Latvia was also in a bar [...] and then I got a proposal from a friend suddenly to work in a bar because it was far from the centre and she could not manage transport-wise. That job is on a regular basis Fridays and Saturdays regardless of whether it is busy or not [...] Friday is my most unique day: I am at my main work from 8 to 6.30, then I have a last office for cleaning, after this I change clothes, jump into a car and drive to the bar. And I am back home at midnight. But I have worked also 16 hours per day when I was working part-time as a waitress. And some work even more, my jobs are not the toughest ones. (Inga, 40s).

Let us consider Inga's trajectories: in order to earn more to be able to remit more to her two daughters, sister and mother, and pay for utilities and loans in Latvia, Inga works full-time in a cleaning company. Since she is experienced in driving, she drives a company car as she usually has to go distant places on the island to clean houses and offices. Inga does not have a paid lunch break; she usually eats pre-prepared food while driving to a next customer. Her salary is 8–9 pounds per hour, which is considered to be quite high for a migrant's job. But her payments back in Latvia and the rent in Guernsey are so high that she needs additional income. Therefore

she looked for part-time jobs. Below (Text box 6) is a typical Friday in Inga's working life on the island; and Map 6 sets out this regime as a time-space path.

Text box 6 **Inga's trajectories in Guernsey**

7am waking up (rents a room in St Peter Port)
8am to 5pm travels around the island to serve customers with cleaning services
6pm back in her rented room in St Peter Port
7pm to Forest parish to work in a cafeteria
12pm back to her rented room in St Peter Port

Map 6 **Inga's trajectories in Guernsey**
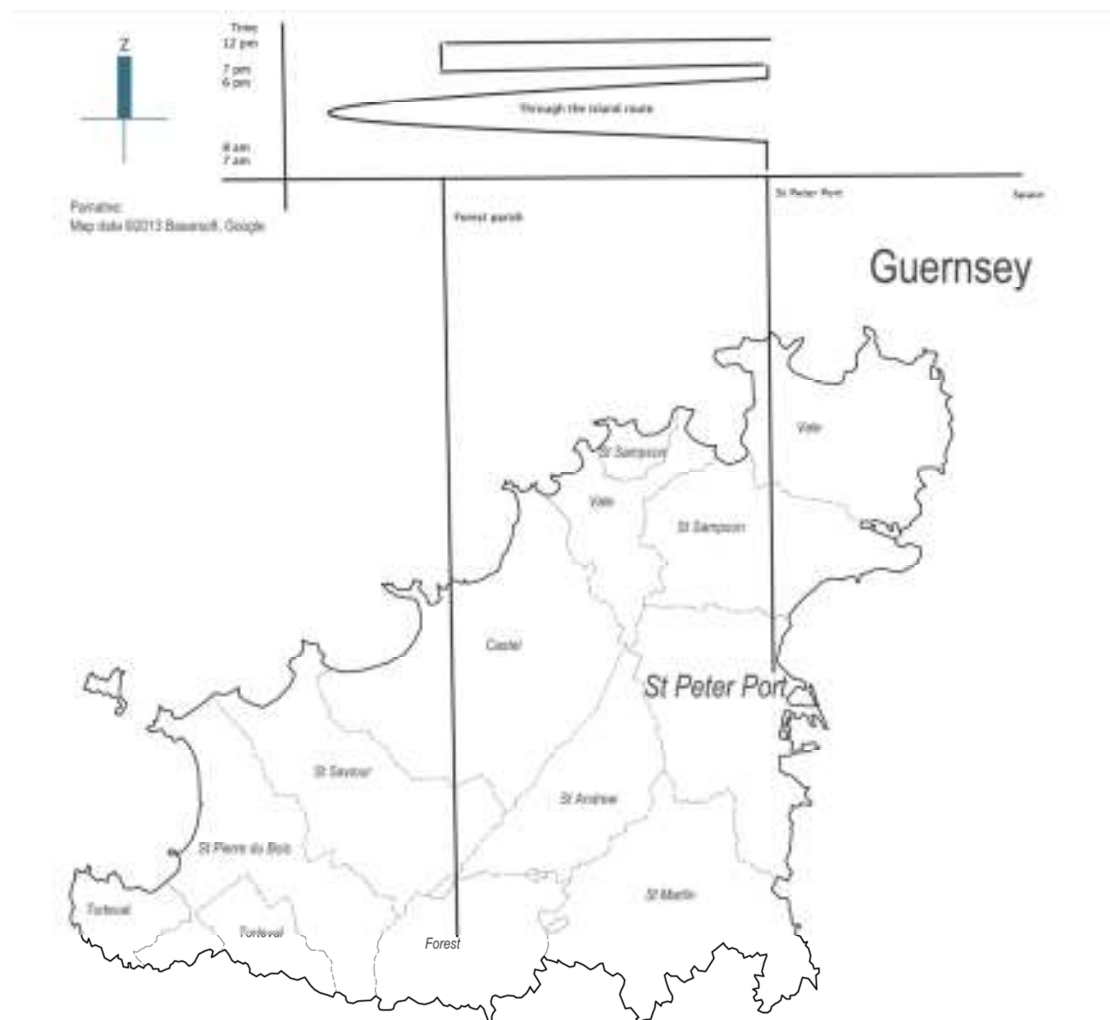
As in the excerpt from the interview with Inga, also in other stories and practices I noticed how people tried to intensify the available time for work. In the words of my research participants themselves, better income and thus a better life on the island depended on 'how much time you can rush together' (in Latvian – *cik daudz laika vari saskriet*) and how much time for work one could 'squeeze out' in limited diurnal time. This was strongly anchored in the perception that Guernsey is a workplace and therefore available time there should be used for work and earning and not for other activities. If research participants had a regular working schedule of 'only' eight hours per day, such arrangements were characterised in the perception of an 'empty time'. This practice of intensifying time, rushing time together for work, is not related to Harvey's (1989) famous concept of time-space compression which characterises unprecedented opportunities to travel and be connected in the globalised world. Squeezing out time combines with squeezing out body resources, as many research participants narrated how they lost weight due to the heavy workload and long working hours, especially during the first year of migration. This practice of squeezing out time and bodily resources to their maximum was physically manifested in Guernsey, but it was clearly influenced by ideas of how to achieve wellbeing goals faster in Latvia.

The synthesis of time-geography and the wellbeing approach encourages us to identify broader and more detailed understandings of how time and space matter in looking for work in Guernsey. Beyond the primary need to land the initial job, two aspects are the most pronounced: first, seasonality. Seasonality does not mean just weather seasons; this does play a role in the tourism sector to some extent, but seasonality in various other ways was also related to broader and interconnected business cycles of production. For example, in packaging, winter-time can be an even more attractive season. Second, and specifically regarding the part-time jobs, work shifts have to be synchronised.

Let me give an example of the last: as I explained in Chapter 5, routine was one of the reasons why some research participants wanted to leave Latvia temporarily. But what some of them found in their working lives on the island was exactly a routine.

> I was already three years in cleaning in hotels; I wanted to change something but if I leave the hotel, I have to leave the island. So, I had to look for an open market [accommodation]. (Raita, 30s).

Changing jobs is closely linked to the translocal project of care and a critical evaluation of one's ability to maintain a good life in Latvia and Guernsey. If the three months spent in Latvia are lived only on savings, this can be problematic:

> Living is significantly more expensive in the open market: I pay 90 pounds weekly for a single room and then it will be 150 for the same-size room [on the open market]. But then I can get better part-time jobs. So I decided in favour of the open market because I still do not have spare money to go to Latvia [for three months]. I know it will be hard not to be with my children for longer but I will go for two weeks. And I will not go into debt during three months in Latvia, this is what I really want to avoid. (Inga, 40s).

A physically demanding job and lack of sleep sharply reminds migrant workers of bodily physical constraints. These boundaries can be challenged but there are limits and consequences. Therefore *bizis* also has its rhythms which are dynamically set against the migration cycle: what was achieved in the first years with longer breaks back in Latvia, was not wanted, accepted or seen as physically possible in later years. Importantly, this evolution goes hand-in-hand with more knowledge about the pockets of local order:

> During the first year I was working until midnight on Thursdays and at 4 am I already had to wake up. [...] Opening one's eyes is really difficult at that hour. One time I was thinking still in bed that I do not need this all, I will not go. But then the duty feeling comes – how will it be if a chef does not show up? I endured last year because it was my first year and I did not know anything. But I cannot work like that this year any more (Aivars, 40s).

One's physical constraints to be able to work fast enough, for example in a kitchen as a cook when orders come in and should be done fast, and a person is not able to do the job, were also common reasons to look for something else. And so was the evaluation of future possibilities to continue physically demanding work.

6.3.5. Time-space strategies to increase earnings

Due to the specific economic organisation of employment sectors in Guernsey, most migrants obtained additional part-time work. Accommodation in the island is very expensive, and for those living in open-market accommodation, one salary is usually not enough to cover all expenses *and* remit to Latvia. Additional part-time work can

thus constitute a second salary. Similarly, those who work in one job are eager to take overtime and increase their working hours for the same reason.

Most typical part-time jobs were in cleaning. Both men and women work in cleaning as their part-time work, but women are working more in the cleaning of private houses while both men and women clean commercial buildings, such as bars or offices. Women typically work in catering as waitresses but men work more in the preparation of events if catering is provided, for example in tents. Both men and women have part-time work in bars and cafeterias, in kitchens as dish-washers, and as cooks and waiters/waitresses. It was more typical for men to obtain more diverse and individualised part-time work, for example providing individual transport services, auxiliary work in gardening, fishing, repair of boats, and painting and repair of houses. Only in few cases were women working in these fields, for example painting houses or decorating the interior.

Formally obtained education, skills learned in previous work in Latvia or other countries as well as skills obtained through practising work as hobbies are important resources to obtain or create more individualised part-time work. Such work entailed, for example, flower design, tailoring, private lessons (e.g. in music), or baking of different cakes than those available in the island's bakeries, for example a honey cake sold by several Latvian migrants. Even in cases when people did not have a formal education but had informally sophisticated skills, e.g. in hairdressing as a hobby in Latvia, they could earn additional money on the island.

Having several jobs is not unusual on islands; in fact, this is a rather typical feature of small islands' economies, where the small scale of the labour market inhibits specialisation and instead encourages multi-tasking. Work in cleaning or auxiliary work in kitchens can be done also without English language skills. Information often flows via migrant networks through those who have done these jobs before but did not want or could not continue them, so the opportunity is passed over to other migrants.

To amplify possibilities, apart from lack of English knowledge, one should take into account also other constraints:

- competence in searching for work, which also includes social contacts on the island;

- distance between living and work place and locations where additional part-time jobs have to be performed; available transport thus becomes an important constraint; and
- synchronisation of work time-shifts.

Although the island's territory is small in size, in order to reach, for example, a particular café, hotel or a private house (to provide cleaning services) at specific required times, for example in early mornings or late evenings, migrant workers are constrained by public bus schedules and, besides, bus routes do not cover the whole island evenly. Everyday biking to and from work was not a widespread practice among my research participants, just a few interviewees used a bike, mainly men; biking was more used for sport and free-time activities.

Apart from the everyday comfort and autonomy that a personal transport vehicle provides, this is also one of the reasons why migrants buy cars on the island or return to Guernsey with their Latvian cars after some home visits. Synchronisation of shifts also demonstrates that precariousness is very much related to one's ability (or lack of it) to define his/her working hours. For example, shifts in the full-time job can vary from 25 hours in one week to 70 hours in another. If a part-time job requires regular weekly hours, for example to clean a private house on a certain weekday at a certain time, and the client is not open to constant renegotiation of timing according to the migrant worker's availability, a chance to continue a part-time job gets lost.

Part-time work also serves as a short-term possibility to remain on the island and find another full-time job if the previous one is lost. Such situations are not uncommon as small enterprises go to bankruptcy, lose their businesses on the island, or the season is not profitable due to weather conditions etc. Besides, due to conflicts in workplaces, when work is too demanding or, at the other end of the continuum of possible constraints, work is too routinised, and due to possibilities provided by low unemployment, changing workplaces is a common practice. Therefore I turn to examine this common practice of changing jobs where social and geographical mobilities are closely intertwined.

6.4. 'Bizis'

Bizis (cf. English 'busy') was one of the buzz words, a trope for *genre de vie* on the island, often referred to by my research participants. *Bizis* is the key to what is possible

to earn if working long and hard and reveals the fluctuation of income. Being busy with work was also a marker that a migrant is doing well regarding his/her income. So, for Juris, who worked in a bar and did part-time work with transport services, doing two or more jobs secured about 1000 pounds in savings per month after all payments were done. He had two cars on the island, paid all expenses related to having them, covered his open market accommodation, was not saving particularly on food but also avoided going out for weekends in order not to waste savings. Similarly, in factory work combining with one or two part-times in bars or cleaning it was possible to save about 1000 per month, while the usual level of savings in one full-time job in a bar could reach 800 pounds a month plus additional compensations added when a person leaves the island for three months in Latvia. Thus, there were also some rather impressive records in saving:

> First year I was working many, many hours. Can you imagine, I earned 32,000 pounds per year. I was really working hard and brought back a lot of money. When the grandchildren want and need something, they know that super-powerful Agita will earn. (Agita, 50s).

However, earnings and hence savings can also significantly fluctuate each month due to the ratio between *bizis* and 'empty time', notably in catering. Part-time jobs were also an important reason for envy of those who did not have them or could not fit them in due to their split and fluctuating work schedules. In short, *bizis* is a specific cultural product of the economic organisation of jobs on the island and migrants' own mobility projects. A chance of part-times and 'being busy' should always be taken as it can amplify possibilities for a materially more secure life when *bizis* is over. Simultaneously, *bizis* is related to the care project: the more one can earn, the more can be remitted and/or saved. 'I believe this is a feeling of happiness when you can do a job you like and you can also help somebody', as Ivita, early 30s, put it. In competing projects, earning and ability to remit are placed the highest, whereas one's own needs are put behind those in need of care. [20]

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[20] Data from the Bank of Latvia (2010) assessing remittances showed that more than half of all migrant remittances (on average 244 million GBP per annum) came from Great Britain (131.5 million GBP). It is estimated that on average half of the British minimum wage is sent back to Latvia, while the other half is spent on the migrant's own daily expenses. Altogether migrant remittances to Latvia amount to about 3% of Latvia's gross domestic product.

Better earning strategies by using time resources for work are also coupled with saving. Saving becomes an important need in translocal mobility where distance and absence from 'real' home again are used as a resource. Reflecting about their own practices, some research participants were critical about their experience when comparatively higher income earned on island was spent carelessly for desired goods, in eating out or spending money on drinks and food in bars.

Saving strategies are used during daily or weekly shopping, looking for reduced-price food, learning how to find second-hand goods instead of buying everything new. Those employed full or part-time in catering learned quickly how to save by taking home food which was not sold or used.

For example, Inga, a mother-of-two in her 40s, paid 400 pounds for accommodation, and about 600-700 was remitted back monthly to Latvia.

> Actually I send all money back home; I divide for payments, loan, to sister for looking after the children, to children themselves and then some small money, 20 lats for some presents. Currently I cannot save anything for myself. But living is not so expensive here, the most important is to pay for the roof above your head. I really like that food is reduced here, which is not done in Latvia.[21] I am not so arrogant that I could not eat food beyond the expiry date. Besides, I have a great opportunity in my part-time work: I can eat in that cafeteria, and in the evening when leftovers are about to be thrown out, I fill food boxes for myself, put them in the fridge. This is very economical: I earn money and plus I still have food for several days.

Spending for the self was related to spoiling oneself, something extra that can be done after other obligations are met. Gunars also said he is paying attention to saving money and this is among the reasons why he avoids spending weekends in bars. 'Still I want sometimes something nice. I buy candies once a week in *Alliance*. When I go there, the shop girls are sometimes already smiling and shouting: "59p candies, 59p candies!" as those are the cheapest candies I usually buy'. Men more than women were also emphasising saving and money management, learning basic principles of personal accountancy, not overspending on entertainment and alcoholic drinks but setting goals to save for a bigger purchase: an audio system, a car, a motorbike, holiday travel, and so on.

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[21] Since 2012 in some retail stores reduced food sections were gradually appearing also in Latvia.

In summary, the interrelated traits in the way of life of being busy and saving very concretely influence how people relate to time and place in everyday life. A migrant's own life in Guernsey is evaluated as hard not only due to work or living conditions but through scrimping and saving it can be deliberately made asymmetrically harder than in Latvia where the fruits of work would be enjoyed in the future.

6.4.1. Valuing non-valued work

Much research has stressed the migratory phenomenon of de-skilling, as migrants are often overqualified for the work they actually do abroad. In Latvia specialised knowledge is generally required and a person without the relevant skills or qualifications would not consider applying for the job. In many migrant jobs in Guernsey, more emphasis is placed on learning by doing. Let us consider Aldis' experience: he was working in Latvia in various companies doing physically demanding jobs such as loading goods in a port. He also worked in his profession – carpenter – and owned a small carpentry business prior to his departure. In his main job on the island he was working in a factory but, like many others, he also wanted to obtain part-time work.

> At the beginning I went there to ask if they need a dishwasher. But they said, they do not need a dishwasher, they need a chef [main cook]. I was thinking, well, laughing, how can I be a chef! [...] Well, I can cook but for myself. They said, you will learn, you will learn; at the beginning I was all the time looking what's written on scrap papers, what and how I have to do. So this is how I worked. All year passed in pure stress, I did not feel summer at all. But [...] I learned to like being a chef! (Aldis, 40s).

Aldis works full-time in a factory, located in St Peter Port, but he rents a room from a local Guernsey person in St Martin's parish. His usual shift work in the factory is from 2pm until midnight and he has two days off per week. In order to earn more, like most migrants in Guernsey, he searched for part-time jobs and found his main part-time job at a cafeteria situated in the Castel parish. He does not drive a car in Guernsey but uses a bicycle or walks on foot (see Map 7). Below (Text box 7) are what Aldis himself described as the busiest day-nights in a week when he has to combine late evening and early morning shifts.

Text box 7 ***Aldis' trajectories in Guernsey***

2pm – midnight, work in St Peter Port
Next day 4am, waking up in St Martin's
5.30am – 12.00, at work in cafeteria, Castel parish

Map 7 **Aldis' trajectories in Guernsey**

However, after the first year of such intensive work, the next year he was searching for a part-time job in cleaning which does not require such long working hours, as he believed he would not be able to bear the workload physically any more.

Also, often, as in this case described above, research participants expressed surprise about the possibilities available and their own bravery in undertaking jobs in

which they did not have any training or formal education. In these situations we can clearly see the nature of the island's economy and organisation of jobs as well as the link to learning and obtaining work competence. Research participants noted that they could not imagine such diverse work opportunities and career dynamics in Latvia. For instance, one research participant, educated as an art teacher in Latvia, started working in greenhouses, shifted to work in shops, administration in hotels, selling pharmaceuticals, then in the flight industry as well as working as a private education tutor. Learning new skills was emphasised also in jobs which are formally classified and addressed as low-skilled and typical migrant jobs. But research participants themselves emphasised learning new skills as a particularly important element of their wellbeing; moreover, this was emphasised cross-sectionally in all kinds of jobs. For example, women stressed that packaging goods to be sold over the internet requires skills of neat and fast packaging, working precisely with scotch-tape machinery; in specialised greenhouses, multiple skills have to be acquired regarding how to plant and cut flowers, pick small vegetables, take into account different soils etc.

Physical work, too, was not seen as de-skilling or shameful. Among my research participants were artists, office workers in various skilled professions and, as in the next quote below, someone who was an accountant in Latvia and a hotel cleaner in Guernsey. She did not see her work in Guernsey as a source of shame but emphasised, in a precise and calculated way, the time-space strategies in changing job, in this case, translocally. She knows she will do the physically demanding job only for a while, and she is free to change work and to return to Latvia. Physical work compared to mental activity was seen as a chance to escape from a routine in Latvia for a while.

> This was a completely different job than [accountancy in Latvia]. Here [in Latvia] I have to work with my head but there it was purely physical work. From one side it is a plus, as we say, if you are tired of work, the best way to relax is to change work conditions. I would not say that it is a dirty or menial job for me. (Tatjana, returned to regional town in Latvia in 2010).

Trajectories as seen through the model of time-space and in reflexive relations to the personal mobility project reveal better understanding as to why people who engaged in physical work on the island are satisfied with this work: satisfaction is formed through the timing component (this work is just temporary) and work is seen as

a radical, but short-term step away from routinised rhythms (Edensor 2010). Also, learning from people representing diverse cultures, and obtaining specialised skills, amplify possibilities to do work that brings satisfaction in future in places in Latvia or elsewhere.

The impact of the crisis in Latvia in late 2008 and the years thereafter, especially up to 2011, revealed that during such times *any* work was valued:

> I was ready to do dishes and to some extent it would have been a relaxation. I had very complicated responsibilities in the previous work [in engineering in Latvia]. But now I am just doing my thing and I do not have any problems – uhuu! (Armins, construction engineer, 20s).

But those who had been longer on the island talked about their work very positively and often in great detail: how they have learned many skills of table-serving culture, how to carry an elderly patient who cannot walk, how to have a meaningful talk with a patient etc. But let us now hear a cook:

> It was very interesting to work with Indians. I asked [one of] them: 'YOU SHOW me!' He was working so skilfully that I could tell from a knife sound hitting the board which part of an onion he is currently chopping right now. We were making our own sour milk products [...] I did everything, I was cleaning the bar too, and I was working up to 96 hours a week. I do not complain! [...] Chef was teaching me, he was teaching a lot, was showing me not only how to make the food technically but a philosophy how to prepare food. He said, if we apply for the same workplace, an employer will anyway take me because I am an Indian (laughs). Basically, I learned the real *art* of cooking only here. In times of turbulence [in 1990s in Latvia] I did try various jobs, but I did not like most of them, I have to do what I like. [..] Now a friend in Riga asks me – come over, give a workshop, show us and teach others what new you have learned in cooking. (Rolands, 40s).

As in the excerpt above, new work skills are related to having an interesting life, and developing satisfaction of a working life. And this process has particular translocal geographical traits: newly gained and sophisticated knowledge can open new possibilities for work in Latvia or elsewhere. I also want to draw attention to Rolands' remark that he does not 'complain' about long working hours. Similar accounts where research participants emphasised that they do not complain appeared also in other

interviews. This marker of cultural practice has a direct impact on time-space possibilities on the island and translocally, and requires a specific theoretical and methodological explanation which I address forthwith.

6.4.2. 'We are not complaining'

'Not complaining' in the above quote and in similar contexts popped up repeatedly in the interview material. For example, Vēsma, in her 40s, used the same emphasis when talking about poor living and working conditions in the greenhouses in the early 2000s. But this practice of not complaining is not only related to keeping quiet about exploitation or the breaching of health and safety regulations by employers. No, these are rather quite complex self-imposed authority constraints and can be understood translocally. Vēsma was the owner of a once-profitable roadside restaurant in Latvia in the 1990s but when her business declined, she decided to go to Guernsey:

> Sometimes it was 60 degree [Celsius] in the greenhouse, girls were fainting, employers were calming us down. In the refrigerator room we were pouring water on ourselves to refresh. [...] I was vomiting from overheating but I went to work. If you tell somebody in Latvia […] they think that money drops from the sky here. [...] But write that we are happy, we do not complain, we are just expressing our feelings. I am glad that I can work for such a good wage here. I am glad that after three months an employer waits for me to come back; that I can afford to buy perfumes, clothes.

The migration literature shows that migrants have various pressures to succeed and tend to portray their experience as a success (see e.g. Carling 2008). Maintaining a positive self-image and resilience to overcome hardships was seen by research participants as an achievement. Besides, due to regulations in Guernsey that a person can stay on the island only as long has he/she works did play a role in explaining why some people were not complaining. Hard working conditions were endured in order to pursue a mobility project guided by the idea of a better income and ultimately a better life. As a result, working conditions, employers' attitudes and wages were constantly compared to those in Latvia. The judgement was always in favour of Guernsey. Amongst Latvians, there is as yet no culture of complaining about work conditions, nor are there strong trade unions where this culture could come from. The neoliberal post-

socialist era with its emphasis on individual success and responsibilities, forms the background of how genres of 'hard workers' and 'we are not complaining' emerge.

Wellbeing approaches should not be blind to exploitation and inequalities as well as self-imposed authority constraints. Although not widespread, individual strategies reveal that there are the means and the potential to improve working conditions and punish dishonest employers. Agency in a sense of ability to act and resisting exploitation in temporary relational contexts (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) is developed also through previously-gained work skills. Established migrants talk about employers and share information about those who have cheated on holiday pay, delayed wages, while newcomers may not know this information yet. As Niks, in his early 20s said, as soon as he realised that an employer is not going to pay a wage as agreed, 'there is one way: immediately to the sheriff!' Below, Ingrīda describes her experience with such an employer whom she and other participants called 'Mister Punch' (pseudonym).

> Mister Punch was a very good lesson. He does not pay wages; he tells you that he gives you a chance to work in a restaurant, he gives you opportunities for growth. But as a result you work 80 hours and receive a salary for 40. Other 40 were education. I never knew whether will I get 300 or 600 pounds next month, no work agreement, nothing. And he is still doing this, he takes people for a couple of weeks, hotel is busy, busy, no time to discuss matters, everything changes so fast. [...] I complained and left. I don't understand why people are so scared and do not complain [...] By each year I live on the island, I understand that I have many rights. (Ingrīda, 40s).

To sum up, 'not complaining' is a practice reflecting a complex translocal setting: it involves authority constraints within *pockets of local order* in Guernsey and is coupled with low awareness of rights to complain. Migrants are not in their own homeland, they are temporary, and come from a country where it is not a common practice to stand up for a worker's rights. From another angle, migrants' projects are competing in time and space and many are obliged to remit at least something. Moreover, losing a job because of complaining may bring the obligation to leave the island. Therefore people are aware when their rights are breached, and they are aware of lower salaries they receive compared with locals on many occasions. 'Your wage is a joke!' Ģirts ironically repeated the words of his local co-worker, who did exactly the same job in a hotel. But Ģirts did not complain; he acted individually and changed job

when it was possible to make a move without endangering his rights to remain on island.

6.5. Setting goals: how to pursue a better life in Guernsey and translocally

Pursuing a better life for oneself, setting goals, saving wisely, learning the language – all these increase possibilities to advance on the island, back in Latvia or elsewhere. Saving and earning go hand-in-hand and open up a new awareness to pursue a better life on the island: one must learn housing regime regulations which are opaque to most at the beginning, but once learned, this knowledge of pockets of local order opens up new possibilities to achieve wellbeing goals.

> I am not satisfied with small things I could get easily. Those who have good English skills are in better position. I had basic knowledge, but unsatisfactory, while my husband did not speak English at all. Two years we spent in restaurants. We had an aim to dig through housing regulations, this is the most important thing here. When we moved to the service sector, to construction, we were living in the open market, we were not satisfied with the small achievement there, we had 1.5 rooms, living conditions were terrible [far from the centre]. We were thinking further, further, further, and now we have achieved so far that although we do not have a house on our own but we pay 900 pounds monthly rent for three bedrooms, we have our own outer space, our kitchen. During the second year we bought a car, the third year – a boat. Slowly moving forward, not wasting money carelessly (Vineta, 30s).

Learning the language and improving language skills are fundamental to achieve wellbeing goals in the long term, especially climbing the career ladder. Besides, the self-evaluation of language skills can change: the longer a person lives in Guernsey and speaks better, the more openly he/she can judge his/her skills in the past; the higher the individual climbs in employment hierarchies and in his/her individual career path, the more work is related to intellectual activity, and the more critically language skills are judged. In less qualified work, language has more an instrumental role; in more qualified jobs better language skills are related not only to more possibilities for accessing a particular job, but also to positive self-evaluation and ability to compete for work with those who are native English-speakers. Thus, self-

criticism regarding English skills was more pronounced not in low-hierarchy jobs but by those who worked in medium-level administration, or in specialised shops, or who wanted to apply for jobs in the finance sector. Therefore they looked for opportunities to improve language skills in time free from work; for example, volunteering in translations needed for the court or police, and this entitled them to attend specialised intensive language courses. Others also went to courses provided in a local college.

6.6. Time free from work

Free time is a term directly derived from the hegemonic logic of a working life as the main structuring force of human daily activities (Lefebvre 2004). Thus I found it productive to look at it first and foremost as time free from work, and Guernsey's case provides an excellent example of this. In order to be able to work, a human needs sleep and food as the very basic needs; beyond this, given Latvian migrants' culture of saving and *bizis* of work hours, we must ask: but is there a time free from work? There is. Let us have a look at what people do in this time, as related to their mobility project. Juris arrived in Guernsey during the crisis in Latvia, as he said 'without any other choice', as he had several loans and no income anymore. He started in one full-time job and soon added a part-time and often was working without a day off. But during the first year in Guernsey he learned through friends in his village that his wife had left him after 24 years in marriage.

> I do have time to go out and when I learned about my wife, I was fully living only for myself. I was thinking that I do not need anything anymore. But now [after two years] I do not go out anymore, it really hits hard in my pocket. I concentrate more on work. [...] I am not 25 anymore; I have to help to my daughter. (Juris, 50s)

The migration-project ideas related to saving, care and return help to interpret the quote above and the choices of what to do in free time. But let us consider another view, this time about 'boredom' whose meaning can be unlocked by another word – 'saving'.

> Guernsey is a fantastic place to live but the most crazy thing is that there is nothing to do, you can just die from boredom. I do not go out. I live at home with my boyfriend; he works, I work many part-times apart from the main job

to pay for being out in the open market. But on Sunday, what can you do, drive around the island, watch TV? That is really boring. In order to go to Jersey or France, you immediately need money, but I want to save something for myself. This is the most difficult here, that there is nothing to do. (Kristīne, 20s).

Going out in the evenings or at weekends, if people were free from work, was a typical practice to spend time on the island for all, regardless of age. But this practice was constantly self-criticised as an unwise spending of time, precisely due to the link to the mobility project idea – to earn and save more money. What they criticised was not the waste of time, but the waste of savings.

However, since there was a bar established by a Latvian man where live music was played on weekends, going out was also related to being together with other Latvians and being in a place where music can create an atmosphere of relatedness, the need and longing for home in Latvia intensively felt by many. After the bar was closed down in 2012, the music was played in other bars thanks to the musicians for whom music was a hobby. This leads me to the issue of time-spaces for hobbies.

6.6.1. Hobbies

Hobbies were not widespread among most of my research participants. However, some and in fact increasingly more during the fieldwork, fitted in time for hobby and sports activities. Usually the need for hobbies appeared on the agenda after a person established himself/herself on the island more securely. So the question was how to synchronise these needs and desires with work schedules. Armīns joined a local volleyball team soon after his arrival as he saw continuing to do sports as an inseparable part of living a satisfying life.

I am working 50 hours a week and I have split schedules, sometimes I need to work also more hours. Usually my hours are from 7 – 11, the day is free and then I start again in afternoons. A day turns out kind of fragmentary but I need also time for sports and I am thinking about attending some courses in college. (Armīns in 20s).

However, for Elga it took years to fit in her hobby, dancing, which she did for decades in Latvia. Her first years went in long hours of working, learning the language and saving all her earnings to be sent back to Latvia.

In my village I was dancing line-dances. I was missing this relaxation at the beginning here very much. But now I found a group also here. [...] I have one day off per week, I start work very early in the mornings and do not have much time for hobbies left. But I also have a garden here. Like any Latvian, I need my garden. (Elga, 60s).

Gardening, regardless of whatever small allotment it was or just a flower bed close to a temporary dwelling place, was highly valued by those who had it. Playing music, singing in a choir, volunteering to help in charity events, joining church activities, jogging – these are the typical hobbies of my research participants. But in relation to my main interest in various forms of geographical mobility, most shared the pleasure of *walking* – a basic everyday activity which became a source of relief and satisfaction during one's life in Guernsey.

6.6.2. Walking

I do not go out, sometimes meet with my friends. But I go for a walk [emphasise], yes, I walk; I have been very, very far along the ocean shore, all the shore. (Guntars, 40s).

Everything on the island is new for a recently-arrived migrant, and the mix of urban built environment, meandering streets and stairways in the town, green lanes in the countryside and the scenic diversity of the Guernsey coast was praised (Pictures 4). People shared their surprise at the natural diversity, always with some blooms, which is very different from the seasonal landscapes in Latvia. Being in this environment was described as a 'feeling of happiness'.

I arrived in March (..) it was fantastic weather, it was possible to walk in short sleeves already while it was still winter in Latvia. Fresh air! Cleanness. And bright yellow magnolias. That feeling of happiness which I had when I arrived in Guernsey the first time, I never had during my life there anymore. (Judite, returned to Latvia in 2010).

The first years, especially, are remembered as full of surprises and enjoyment while walking: all the time finding new places, new details, being surprised that palms are there and also pine trees. The weather is warm, something is in bloom all the time, and the island is green; a very different landscape to that of winter in Latvia.

Pictures 4 **Walking routes in Guernsey**

Author's photos: Typical walking routes by research participants, anti-clockwise from top right: Fermain bay cliff walking route; quiet countryside coast at Vazon bay; walking routes at St Saviour's water reservoir; and the town walks, High street, St Peter Port.

St Saviour's water reservoir was particularly popular and mentioned by many as a place where they feel in Latvia again for a while, as it resembles the pine forests and lakes in Latvia. A couple, Zaiga and Alberts, in their 50s, took me to the reservoir on their day-off. They wanted to show me a 'piece of Latvia', they said. We were walking together for about two hours, not only enjoying conversations but fully being-in-the-world in that place. The couple stopped from time to time, either to observe plants and the bark of trees or to hug a pine. This longing for trees and other plants demonstrates how significant they are in the lifeworld (Hitchings and Jones 2004). This 'arboreal vitality' (Sheller 2012: 189) combines symbolic meaning, social relations and human-nature relations. Migrants enact their agency in selectively choosing not only the social relations they engage in but also where they want to be in the natural environment. The prominent humanistic geographer David Lowenthal (1975) famously stated that nostalgia is a geographical disease, but for my participants nostalgia for a natural world in the home-place in Latvia is not only experienced as a

painful absence. As these examples of walking, finding and creating places that symbolise home reveal, nostalgia is worked with, practically and actively in everyday life. Walking provides an escape too. For example, if a dwelling is not comfortable or has to be shared with strangers, walking is a chance to escape from there at least for a while; a practice which was very often mentioned by research participants. Walking is an example of discovering 'ravelled together' trajectories (as Hägerstrand (1976) called them) in social and natural space. Besides, walking is a gentle way to be present and to get in touch with others without making friendship or closer social ties.

> When I think about money issues or about my daughter, of course I feel sad. But here there is more positivism all around, more kindness. When I walk here I think that not everyone has been given such a gift to be here. Here there are more older people. One can feel it, it is a completely different air here. More positive. For example, when I walk in a morning I see an old lady walking with a dog. She looks at me and smiles. To me, to a complete stranger to her, and my mood immediately improves! (Jelena, 30s).

Not least, walking is a rewarding practice to enjoy special amenities, which are a tourist attraction on the island.

> I adore the sea. The first year I was living close to the coast, it was just absolutely fantastic; high tide, low tide, my god, especially high tide the water comes so close, so powerful, the colours are changing. Walking along the cliffs. [...] And I do not get tired or bored, I catch myself thinking, god, how much I like this island, I like it here! (Inga, 40s).

I will come back to walking in Chapter 7 when analysing visits paid to the island by relatives and friends, but now I want to discuss the importance of learning the local order, which is especially important for those who not only like the island but want to stay there longer and build a better life there.

6.7. Mosaic of significant places

As described above, during everyday mobilites related to work, the saving and earning culture, and free-time activities, a mosaic of significant places emerges. These include: bars where live music in Latvian and Russian was played, especially the *Pieces* bar in St Peter Port (until 2012 when it was closed down), shopping places, especially in the

High Street in St Peter Port and various charity and second-hand stores across the island, car-boot sales in Cobo and other locations, and walking routes. Routinised movements to and from these places on daily, weekly or monthly frequencies constitute a 'place ballet' (Seamon 1979), expressing the ways in which the island is experienced and perceived. Through the routinised choreographies of these mostly regular moments, the island becomes a familiar place through the mosaic of these specific places. Those who had their spouses in Guernsey and were settled permanently and owned properties there, also had a chance to choose house-names. In some cases absence from places in Latvia was turned into a symbolic presence of these places by giving house-names such as *Jūrmala, Vendenpils, Sprīdīši, Jūrmala Cottage* and others (see Pictures 5).

Pictures 5 **Translocal mosaic in Guernsey**

Author's photos: Clockwise from top left: Private townhouses named Vendenpils (the historical name *Vendene* of the Latvian town Cēsis, and *pils* – the castle); Jūrmala, Latvia's resort town; the shop Janishi, pronounced Jānīši, diminutive of the most popular Latvian male name; and the *Pieces* bar, a place where live music was played on weekends.

Place and time are crucial categories in how an individual experiences and remembers emotionally loaded events. Thus the places people move through in Guernsey on an everyday basis can become significant places in translocal subjectivity. For example, I had a conversation with Elga, in her 60s, in Candy Gardens, one of the central parks in St Peter Port; she emphasised how emotional is the awareness of absence from places, significant people, and important events in their lives in Latvia, and how particular places in Guernsey remind her about the these events.

> I remember, it was exactly here in Candy Gardens. Gunta and me, we came out during the lunch break. It was 9 May [Victory Day celebrated in Guernsey, which was occupied by Nazi Germany during the Second World War], there was a firework display, the [British] queen had arrived. We took champagne, barbequed ribs, they were warm, I still remember. 'What a day', Gunta said. 'My granddaughter was born today' [in Latvia]. It felt like sadness and joy all at once.

Gunta knew that her daughter was in labour as the telecommunications collapses distance in time among people who are physically separated in space (Hägerstrand 1985). However, Gunta embodied emotional turmoil because of being absent from her daughter for such an important event. As a result Elga, remembering this event in Candy Gardens, decided to spend longer vacation in Latvia when her own daughter was expecting a baby the following year. Wellbeing on the island was significantly influenced by presence or absence of relatives and friends there. Longing for them was among the most important reasons why people travelled back to Latvia. This example reminds us once again about the importance of physical proximity and co-presence with other significant people in their lives (Urry 2003); while other examples, which will be discussed in the next chapter, prove how important this co-presence is also to nature and landscapes which have been previously taken for granted but become suddenly of increased importance when migrants are absent from them.

6.8. Intergenerational time-space of possibilities

Knowledge about orders in local pockets and their impact on reflexive relations between project and trajectory becomes especially pronounced if we look at such special life-course related situations as the choice of citizenship for a child and examples of women in relationships with a local Guernsey person. Geographical

insularity and distance, and the money and transport needed to overcome it to go to the Latvian embassy in London relates to lack of knowledge of the local order in Guernsey and the translocal order of granting Latvian citizenship to those born outside Latvia and/or in international relationships. Until 2013 Latvia formally did not allow dual citizenship; however, it was an 'open secret' interim solution between parents and the state, that citizenship was granted to children with a view that when they have to obtain a passport (at age 15), if legislation has not been changed, they would be required to choose one citizenship. Since October 2013 Latvian citizens abroad have broader chances to choose dual citizenship for children and also for themselves according to amendments to the Citizenship Law (LR Citizenship Law 1994; Amendments 2013). These life transitions also reveal the importance of emotions in project-path relations and the impact on possible future trajectories of offspring regardless of the newly relaxed constraints introduced by the amendments to the law. Let us have a closer look at three different decisions exemplified in quotes below. Vita and her partner, who is a local resident of Guernsey, consider living in Latvia in the future and even moving to Latvia for good. They continue travelling back to Vita's native town and her house there. They wanted to give both citizenships to a child born in Guernsey, but they did not know how to do it. In contrast, Zane relates her future plans, at least until pensionable age, with a permanent stay in Guernsey. She even did not consider giving Latvian citizenship to her younger child born in her second marriage in Guernsey, while her first child, born in Latvia, has Latvian citizenship. Zane characterised the requirements, imposed on Latvian citizens, parents who travel internationally with their children, as constraining and even denigrating.

> Currently we have only the Guernsey passport. I read in draugiem.lv, but I am not fully convinced, if it is allowed, if I really can choose two citizenships for my daughter. If yes, I would certainly be willing to give her two and then she can choose [at age 15]. I certainly support this [...] We had a situation that we wanted to go home [to Latvia]. But we were not allowed to leave Guernsey only with a birth certificate, we needed to obtain a passport and then we got this citizenship. (Vita, 20s).

> The little one has a British, Guernsey citizenship. Actually, yes, I could say that I even did not have a second thought. To get the Latvian citizenship one must fill out many papers, you have to go to London but we were able to get

everything here in Guernsey. And, moreover, the British passport gives much bigger freedom. I am living with my two children, we all have different surnames, [the first child] has his father's surname, but my current surname is transcribed in Latvian in my passport. The little child is Johnson but I am *Džonsone*. And so it turns out that we all have completely different surnames but nobody has ever asked me [on the Latvian border] why I have a British child with his British passport in my arms. But (bitterly) they have asked me who is Jānis [the older child]. And thank god, he is written into my passport and I can prove that he is my son. I can travel back and forth with a British boy and nobody has ever asked me a marriage certificate or a birth certificate, but the Latvian side asks.[22] (Zane, 30s).

In contrast, Jevgenijs, whose partner is also a Latvian citizen, tried to learn more about the regulations in both Guernsey and Latvia with an aim to increase the mobility chances for his daughter in the future. He managed to get the British citizenship for the child because he himself was working there for more than five years without leaving the island longer than five weeks in the whole period.

We have a dual citizenship [for her], both British, I mean, Guernsey, and the Latvian [...] It does not mean that she is a local resident now. But who knows how the destiny and all will be, but maybe one day it may turn out as a benefit for her. With the Latvian citizenship it went as follows. We did not have a clear thought about that because with this [British] passport she can live anywhere in the world. But we went for holidays [to Latvia] last year and I went to ask [passport issuing authorities] to type her name in my passport. They asked, where was she born and blablabla. I said, there. They asked: [Would you like to give her] 'the second citizenship?' I said, yes, it's better do so. She will have an identity code, when we go to the doctor in Latvia we will not need to pay for the child and, for example, if we stay longer than three months, we will not need to obtain a residence permit as foreigners are

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[22] According to Latvian legislation which is justified as measures to combat possible human trafficking, the Latvian state authorities require that a child's name should be typed into parents' passports. Otherwise, parents should carry with them also a birth certificate and in some occasions also a marriage certificate can be asked to identify adult-children identities and relationships. In cases, when parents are divorced, notary-approved permission should be obtained from the other parent who states that he/she allows the certain person to travel with his/her child. However, due to inconsistencies in how such requirements are explained by passport-issuing authorities, several research participants reported unpleasant, time- and money-consuming requirements to change flight schedules due to the need to obtain the necessary additional documents. Actually, the whole practice, which is different from most EU countries, was interpreted as quite the opposite: these regulations did not protect but punished Latvian parents travelling with children.

required. But we did not have time to wait a month while they [local office] send papers to the Ministry of Interior. So we got papers from the ministry sent to us directly in Guernsey. She does not have a passport yet, but she has a Latvian citizenship, all is officially registered. (Jevgenijs, 30s).

The concept of pockets of local order, as applied here through attention to how research participants themselves learn these time-space orders, enables me to identify how it is possible to re-read time-geography as a good basis to develop understanding of power relations (see the critique of this, for example, by Giddens 1984a). Through competence gained dynamically, even in various overlapping time and space constraints, individuals are able to expand their capability resources and mobility possibilities for themselves and their family members, as in the strategy explained by Jevgenijs. He learned details of the pockets of local order, and the national orders regarding citizenship, through his own mobility and parenthood; broader possibilities of Latvian citizenship as a potential value for his child were learned through the everyday needs encountered or envisaged, such as the possible need for medical services in certain localities and countries and possible situations if their return visits in Latvia are prolonged over three months. The importance of return visits, travelling back and forth, and their relation to increasing competence and thus expanding the time-space of possibilities will be analysed in the next chapter.

6.9. Discussion: convergence of trajectories

According to Hägerstrand (1976; 1985; cf. also Borén 2009), in order to understand how trajectories unfold together in time and space, a landscape or a territory should be observed as a block, all together and without gaps, including movements in and out from it. The translocal scale enables seeing how many Latvians are moving in and out, and how diverse the community is in Guernsey. Diasporas are classically defined as a process of scattering (from the Greek language) – the seeds (individuals) scatter away from a homeland around the world. Diasporic movements are multidirectional, and there are theoretical puzzles regarding whether and how we define differences between old and new diasporas (see for example Van Hear 1998). But should I define recent intra-EU migrants as new labour diasporas or translocal communities? I pose this question given the fact that some travel back and forth between two or more distant places, while others settle in other countries for good; and some engage in community

activities related to the country or specific places of origin, but others avoid such engagements. The ongoing growth of research shows that many geographical aspects of diaspora are both fruitful and challenging tasks for enquiry.

In preparation for the fieldwork, I took care to avoid the traps of the snowball method that can lead to and circle around certain social groups; therefore I started the recruitment from different entrance points right from the beginning. I took into account the assumption of diversity of the community already in my strategies of recruiting research participants and the value of this assumption proved itself throughout the research. This allowed me not only to avoid being associated in one circle, e.g. women of a certain age group, or only people working in certain sectors. Importantly, this enabled me to arrive at a deeper understanding of diversity and the practices of contrasting and differentiation of self from others. I was often reminded by my research participants, that their *own migration story is different* from others. The emphasis on difference occurred so often that I marked it as a phenomenon that cannot be ignored, and so I had to seek the reasons for it.

On the national scale, looking from Latvia's perspective, I could describe Latvians on the island as a labour diaspora (cf. Cohen 1997), but this notion is somewhat one-sided. What was important to my research participants was the specific counterpoints of possibility-constraints when they left Latvia and their projects of why migration was undertaken as a possible trajectory among others. On the translocal scale, this process is rather the reverse – it is a convergence that unfolds when I zoom in on the Latvian community locally, on the island. Therefore the notion of 'jostled together trajectories' may provide a better understanding of the space-time mobilities in such recent communities. Besides, this shift of focus from scattering to convergence processes allows us to unpack project-trajectory relations and their links to wellbeing. Three differentiating references regarding a heightened sense of convergence were particularly pronounced: (1) the migrants' concentration in certain sectors, (2) joining the EU as a turning-point in the time line since Latvians started to go to Guernsey, and (3) in relation to desire and needs for relatedness and friendship. I will look at each of these more closely, recognising too that they are interlinked. Olga, in her 20s, arrived from London as the spouse of a British skilled worker; for her, encountering many Latvians randomly everyday was surprising:

> When I arrived here, the first thing I did I bought milk and bread and all the shop assistants were Latvians. Sometimes I could hear *Jumprava* [a popular Latvian band in the 1980s and 1990s] playing on tape in the background.

Although differentiation was also observable in other sectors, I will use here the example of greenhouses as the most pronounced for differentiation and contrasting of the self to other compatriots. Inese, (20s), at the time of interview was a meso-level manager in a retail business. She said that she does not socialise widely with many Latvians, but she had several acquaintances who also worked at a similar level in the jobs hierarchy and/or had a similar family situation as hers, and she had a stable relationship with a man of Portuguese origin. Throughout the interview she emphasised that her migration story is different from other Latvians. Inese first arrived on the island to work in a greenhouse and worked together with other Latvian women recruited by the same agency in Latvia which provided labour for this particular employer. She lived in a dormitory house (locally called 'villa') with her Latvian work colleagues and remembered this as a 'terrible' experience.

> [Others] were from countryside too, but in principle, there were just very few young girls, others were in their forties, fifties. All had almost the same story: the husband is a drunkard or had walked away, and they went to the island only due to their children, to earn money for their education.

Inese herself came from a small town in Latvia but she had studied in a bigger regional town and also worked in Riga prior to her departure to Guernsey. As we can see in the quote, she especially emphasised the age and life-course related needs of other women. Conflicts that arose were due to lack of autonomy in crowded living conditions, where women of different ages and social backgrounds were sharing one living room, kitchen and showers; but not sharing wellbeing aspirations was what led her to judge her experience negatively. Inese said she walked around with an English dictionary as she wanted to feel more comfortable in an English-speaking society, while other colleagues mainly stayed in their closed circles and did not advance in language, backbiting and gossiping about each other.

Categories of 'countryside', 'age' and women who 'need to care' reappear often in other interviews, including those with employers.

> When the first girls came in [...] they had university degrees. They were young, they
> were keen to work, they were keen to party. That was an impression we got. (...) I
> think [other recruiters] changed criteria for bringing in girls after the first or the second
> year. [Now…] for us it is middle-aged people whom we are using. Probably, because
> they could work harder and are having personal responsibility for the household and
> understand that the more they earn the more they can send back home.

The 'countryside' category is very complex and ambivalent. It denotes a geographical
origin outside the capital city of Riga, a widespread discourse in Latvia, based on
socio-spatial inequalities, lack of strong regional centres, and uneven development.
Among my research participants who had worked in greenhouses, one woman was
from Riga and several were from close proximity to the capital city. However, I cannot
use this criterion quantitatively as there are no data available on the regional origin of
workers in this sector. However, the usual reference to origin from the countryside,
meaning coming from outside Riga, I can use cautiously, as a general trend of Latvian
emigration being more pronounced from rural regions and small towns, at least until
2006, has been found in large-scale quantitative evidence (Krišjāne 2007).
Qualitatively the reference to diverse regional origins reappears in various contexts:

> Limbaži, Tukums, Liepāja but was living in Riga for long time, Salaspils,
> Aizkraukle, Valmiera Ogre, Jēkabpils, Krustpils – our [local] boss could name
> all the places where we were coming from. This is how he called us [in names
> of towns where we were coming from in Latvia]. (Irina, 20s).

A second line of differentiation was drawn between those who first came to the
island, and those who arrived after 2004 EU enlargement and, especially, during the
economic crisis in Latvia. A basic differentiation mechanism observed was as follows:
if a person was living longer in Guernsey, he/she more critically viewed newcomers
and vice versa.

> The contingent here is quite terrible. When we [Latvia] were not yet a part of
> the EU, all of us were carefully screened as to whether there was no criminal
> past. The reputation of Latvian women is terrible. If I am asked where I come
> from, I reply: 'I am from Russia'. The saying goes here: 'Take one and you'll
> get the second for free'. Total shame. They [women] have arrived from

countryside, they have not seen anything. Women from Riga do not get married here. Countryside dictates who we are here. Terrible. (Līga, 50s).

The differentiation in time goes also in the opposite direction: those who have arrived later judge those who are established on the island.

> I do not want to go to the events organised by other Latvians. What I have heard is that in these events, women who have established themselves already for years on the island and are married with locals, they observe and gossip about newcomers: what trousers they wear, how poor they look. (Rihards, 25).

Yet the merging of compatriots was especially emphasised in relation to the need to develop friendship, a fundamental psychosocial need for human wellbeing.

> In Latvia you hang out with your own people. You do not meet people from the deep, deep countryside. But here we are side by side. The level of development (...) I miss friends here and I have tried to develop some friendships but one has a family, others envy you [...]. I have one female friend, she acts like an unchained dog, she has money now [...] I did not have these problems in Latvia, we were living well. (Vita, 30s).

This results in avoiding contacts with Latvians who are perceived as 'different', and also in socialising within one's own group and acknowledging that one national group is very diverse and 'Latviannness' or 'Latvian Russianness' is not enough to develop meaningful relationships abroad.

> In Latvia we have our neighbourhood friends, childhood and youth friends, child-bearing time friends, neighbours. Circles have been created during the lifetime and maybe in five years a new friend comes into these circles. But here we all are strangers, it's seldom that there are people from your village, your classmates; most are people you have never had anything to do with. (Gita, 40s).

As I observed on numerous everyday occasions, people do not go greeting each other publically just because they have heard the other speaking Latvian, but rather treated their fellow-compatriots as any other stranger, or sometimes even masquerading to pretend that they are not Latvians themselves. 'When I walk with my

mom and we see some Latvians, we talk English to each other', as Daiga, in 20s, emphasised. 'Latvians are so many here' was the translocal scale people themselves were producing. These reactions constituted a particular manifestation of the phenomenon of 'permanent temporariness' (Bailey et al. 2002), meaning a legal status which is temporary but continues to be temporary over an extended time. This also includes a perception of time as a kind of dominating presentism, decreasing aspirations, which was particularly characteristic at the beginning when the route to Guernsey was launched with the idea that these will be just short-term mobilities. In order to understand circular mobilities deeper, we cannot ignore these existential collective perceptions of continuous temporariness. Some are leaving, some staying; this constant flux creates a particular existential perception of time and opens up a broad historical and cultural horizon to investigate convergence processes in translocal, transnational communities.

6.10. Conclusion

So what kind of time-space of possibility was Guernsey historically and contemporarily? Since the 19th century covered in Crossan's (2008) research, the trend has been similar: it was a place for *work,* the possibility to work full-time and more. The finite time resources daily, weekly, and monthly were mainly used for work as this meant more money to be saved and remitted, and ultimately this is envisaged as the route to a better future when back in Latvia.

Analysis of the internal hierarchy of migrant jobs on the island permits us to conclude that wellbeing ideas are not only related to higher earnings but also to work and housing conditions, while the emerging *genre de vie* associated with circulating modes of labour migration reveals what structural opportunities on the island people use to pursue wellbeing ideas for themselves and for their relatives in Latvia. In order to earn more, part-time jobs play an important role in 'growing' their income, and the simultaneous combining of a full-time job with one or more part-time jobs creates the sense of work-intensive time, *bizis*. When gradually learning about structural opportunities on the island, migrants develop competence of both how to earn and how to save. The preference is given to a subsidised housing by an employer, especially if a person can secure his or her autonomy: have a single room and decorate it according to their own preferences. However, sharing accommodation can be also a rational choice

by those who lived in the open market as it permits sharing of expenses for the rent and utilities. On the other hand, personal wellbeing is decreased if a person has to a share room and other facilities with other compatriots who are not his or her close friends or relatives.

Guernsey provides work possibilities for those who lack English skills and are ready to start as dishwashers, or in cleaning. It was a refuge place during the Latvian economic crisis as the recession was not so severe in Guernsey and was not felt so acutely in migrant jobs as it was in other places in Great Britain and especially in Ireland.

The background skills needed to fulfil work tasks tended to be accrued during the work, and such skills were less emphasised prior to departure from Latvia. The deeply ingrained hegemonic perceptions of denigrated, exploitative migrant jobs can be challenged precisely by giving voice to people themselves who do these jobs. Moreover, this denigratory characterisation is simply wrong in most jobs in the hospitality sector, starting from cleaning but especially in food preparation which can be highly specialised, demanding expert learning to develop relevant skills.

People travel back and forth and are not living in an information vacuum; they make an effort to improve their earning and living conditions, for instance by changing sectors and moving into open-market accommodation in Guernsey if they do not see yet possibilities in Latvia, while the development of more skills and knowledge about living and working in Guernsey allows them to extend their stay. It has resulted in a diverse human landscape of 'ravelled trajectories' (Hägerstrand 1976): some are leaving, some are arriving, and some are staying for good. But most are travelling to Latvia – either back home or visiting elsewhere. This is the theme of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7
TRAVELLING AND VISITING

In this chapter I analyse how research participants travel back and forth between Latvia, Guernsey and other places. A study case of Guernsey provides rich evidence on how mobilities 'enfold' into each other and how returning home entwines with visiting relatives and friends, return migration and tourism (Williams 2009). Labour migrants are also often visited on the island and visitors themselves can become labour migrants. The diversity of migration histories enables the unpacking of a relational setting of mobilities that goes in both directions, stretches across Europe, and changes over time. Following what is now an established tradition in the tourism literature, I abbreviate the phenomenon of 'visiting friends and relatives' as VFR (Jackson 1990; Baker 2012; Janta et al. 2013).

I first need to distinguish the objective time-space structures that make VFR travel possible, and those which constrain when and for how long people can return to Latvia or travel to other places. The dominant structures include labour contracts and housing regulations in Guernsey, and the free movement possibilities in the EU and European travel area for humans and goods. Second, I need to distinguish what are the subjective structures that encourage or sustain such mobilities, and how they shift over time. Based on the significance that people attached to visiting and travelling, the three key subjective motivations and needs among the research participants were, first, relatedness; second, maintaining and expanding a 'homeworld' across national borders; and third, increasing travel experience in an interconnected space.

Over the years 'returning home' can switch to 'holidays home', as was often narrated by my research participants. Therefore I want to understand what factors dynamically shape return, visiting, and the travelling experience more generally. The most characteristic genres of travelling back to Latvia can be distinguished as follows: (1) returning home as a part of circular migration arrangements, and (2) returning home or to the extended family's home during holidays. These various travel events and visits reveal multiple attachments that otherwise were taken for granted but emerged in sharp relief when absent from Latvia; and they also change over time. As a result, visiting the expanded 'homeworld' can also be an alienating experience. Additionally, travel takes also

the reverse direction when (3) friends and relatives visit labour migrants in Guernsey and, to lesser extent, also (4) migrants' visits and travel stretch to other places beyond Latvia and Guernsey.

7.1. Conceptualising return visits, visiting and travelling

In this chapter I aim to expand the understanding about mobility projects both conceptually and empirically by looking at how geographical trajectories, closely linked to circular migration, expand in space and time. As King has highlighted, earlier migration research categorised the migration cycle into three broad types of permanent, temporary and circular migration, while return visits deserved just a minimal reference as short-term visits home (King 2012; King et al. 2013). However, with the emergence of *transnationalism studies* (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, 1994; 1995; Bailey 2001) and the *mobilities turn* in particular (Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007; Adey 2010c), studies on circulation back and forth to the home area have flourished, showing how crucial it is for migrants to attend family events or spend annual holidays in a homeland. The advent of the mobilities turn has a very geographic basis in material realities: expansion of motorway networks, cheap air and long-distance coach travel, and diminishing authority constraints for free movement of people and goods in the EU.

As I mentioned in my earlier discussion of circular migration (Chapter 3), *return* is a definitive element in attempts to understand this type of migration. Therefore we need to know more in detail when, for how long and why people return to their home area. Return visits and visiting relatives in the homeland can also be important for reasserting the ethno-national identities of migrants' children and eventually enabling more mobility choices for them in future (see Chapter 6 on choosing citizenship for children). Also, return visits which themselves are 'enfolded' mobility projects into a larger project of working abroad, are fundamentally a relational practice, a temporary 'event of place' (Massey 2005: 140-141), where such events are anticipated, experienced, and remembered. Although Hägerstrand himself did not use the notion of a 'relational space' in his writing, in my reading of his concepts relational thinking is present throughout his work. Return visits and VFR are dramaturgical encounters with more-or-less predefined choreographies: timing should be synchronised with the protagonists' own duties in at least two distant places, and with the schedules of others; tickets must be bought, travel routes planned etc.

Instead of being a marginal aspect of the phenomenology of migration, return visits of various kinds are very much constitutive to the migration experience (King et al. 2013). I suggest that through these visits we can reveal how the homeworld expands across borders but also how it changes when people do not take practices they were used to for granted and start questioning them against changing ideas about their wellbeing goals.

Drawing on Blunt and Dowling (2006) and Blunt and Varley (2004), I understand home as a place created and maintained by the embedded practices of everyday life. Embedded practices are things we are used to, that we do routinely and feel comfortable with; e.g. hearing their first language spoken everywhere, especially for my research participants, was something they longed for. Whilst it is true that hearing Latvian in the street and in certain workspaces in Guernsey had become part of the auditory geography of the changing island, it was not the same as in Latvia, where the native language completely enfolds all aspects of life, from the everyday to the official bureaucracy. Yet return visits which are filled with multiple reconnections and estrangements can also be a space-encounter of unhappiness and emotional congestion. Accordingly, multiple relations at home confirm the relevance of the friction of distance (Ellegård and Vilhemson 2004). However, during home visits co-presence is simultaneously filled also with unexpected distances. Home visits in Latvia can be narrated and felt as an empty time-space, especially if they are 'forced' by a necessary absence due to Guernsey housing regulations, and if work is prioritised during the given period; the anticipation of soon returning to work abroad strongly influences this perception.

Moreover, we can identify the emergence of a specific way of life where tourism and migration are interlinked. The concept of *enfolded mobilities* (Williams 2009) is very useful to understand these links by 'reading' them time-geographically. The concept explains how various forms of mobilities link together and enfold into each other and in the mobilities of other people. Williams (2009: 315) distinguished five-fold links, namely *discovery mobility*, when a migrant discovers a new place and its opportunity structures for labour migration; *accompanying mobility*, when, for example, relatives or friends accompany a pioneer migrant; followed by *visiting friends and relatives* (VFR) travel. The concept includes also linkages to *servicing mobility*, when, for example, mobility of the highly skilled is linked to mobilities of semi-skilled and non-skilled migrant workers and, finally, the concept also explains

how *post-work mobility* or retirement migration is linked to other mobilities, either work or tourism related. In order to explain both the objective time-space structures of various patterns of circular mobilities, I found the following two emphases in this concept particularly useful: first, how visiting friends and relatives can create 'search spaces' for new labour migration; and second, how people develop mobility competences (Williams and Hall 2002; Backer 2012; Janta et al. 2013).

In order to expand our understanding on the human experience of circular mobilities, I will take into account further aspects of travel and mobility competences and incorporate also *senses* and *emotions* as important subjective structures that characterise these mobilities and the associated way of life. The complexity of processes that come together in the body provide multiple vantage points for how a researcher can make sense of the path and affect in transnational movements (Dunn 2010). Hence in this chapter I seek to investigate how phenomenological interpretations may provide a bridge between time-geographic understandings of movement, on the one hand, and senses and emotions, on the other hand. In order to do so, we have to focus on corporeality. However, having said this, I do not reduce affect to emotion: they both emerge in encounters with people, places and things, but affect in current geographical scholarship is conceptualised as transpersonal, non-cognitive, yet layered in to modalities with pre-cognitive (feelings) and cognitive (emotions) (see e.g. Anderson 2006; Pile 2010). Therefore emotions and feelings are also tied to corporeal affect, and can be captured as sometimes verbalised, sometimes non-representative, vulnerable embodiments (Thrift 2004a; Harrison 2008).

The material in this chapter is divided into two main parts. I begin with a description of the objective time-space structures which shape the travelling and visiting practices of migrants and what types of mobilities can be distinguished. Second, I describe the various modalities of how 'home' is experienced in absence and when being temporarily present there again.

7.2. Seasonality of work and tourism on the island

Statistics on passenger movements to and from the island clearly reveal the existence of a seasonal peak that starts in late spring and continues until early autumn, reaching the highest numbers in summer. It is particularly so in passenger movements by ferry,

when tourists, mainly from France, Great Britain and Germany, visit the island for one to several days, often during a longer cruise trip (Table 10).

Table 9 *Passenger movement to Guernsey by air and sea transport*

Month/year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
January	57,670	58,844	56,430	57,066	59,291	56,605	52,729	58,191
February	68,958	63,223	60,621	62,185	69,996	62,119	65,277	66,141
March	79,123	83,212	72,674	81,222	83,039	76,740	82,521	80,640
April	108,609	101,585	103,543	104,821	102,914	102,560	91,749	113,221
May	122,889	124,392	108,588	118,767	127,768	122,547	124,211	124,230
June	135,930	133,622	127,482	128,660	124,831	122,078	125,361	130,216
July	155,948	150,936	139,199	140,005	148,234	145,057	147,477	153,939
August	175,851	166,917	165,227	168,736	164,856	164,445	168,432	166,555
September	129,176	126,475	126,665	131,095	122,115	127,301	122,854	133,665
October	106,378	106,879	101,726	109,631	103,125	102,788	103,398	111,979
November	75,683	72,547	74,977	77,933	73,081	75,312	75,667	77,567
December	75,633	74,284	76,019	76,219	73,593	75,603	67,306	74,927
Total	1,291,848	1,260,916	1,211,151	1,256,340	1,252,843	1,233,245	1,226,974	1,286,271

Source: Author's summary, based on data from the Commerce and Economy Department, and Annual Statistical Reports of the State of Guernsey. Arrival to Guernsey airport and port includes passenger movements from Jersey and Alderney but excludes shorter-distance trips from the nearby islands of Sark and Herm.

For migrants working in hospitality sectors – hotels and cafeterias – this is the most intensive working season. However, many research participants engaged in local tourism themselves, travelling either to Sark or Herm for one-day trips or for slightly longer-distance trips to Jersey and France. These tourism activities by migrants themselves were often made when their friends and relatives from Latvia visited them in Guernsey. Thus, migrants themselves become simultaneously the hosts of their visitors and tourists together with them, exploring Guernsey and places close by.

7.3. Aero and automobilities

Use of transport is one of the broadest research fields in geographical mobilities, and time-geography provides a strong conceptual basis for qualitative research to better understand translocality as well as human trajectories as entwined in other technology-based trajectories and in nature. Most often, research participants used air transport to return to Latvia. However, automobilities were also becoming more popular, especially due to the possibility to carry more goods to both directions and use the travel time also for touristic purposes.

Up until 2004 flight tickets from Riga to Guernsey were relatively expensive and for most migrants it was a big advantage if the Guernsey employer could pay for the tickets in advance, deducting the expenses later from their Guernsey-earned wages. After liberalisation of the EU air space, the price of tickets dropped remarkably, and new low-cost airlines entered the market. When travelling from Latvia, one must make a connecting flight. In the late 2000s and onwards the most popular connection was via Gatwick airport where there are direct Flybe flights to Guernsey and direct everyday flights by Air Baltic to Riga. However, due to considerable fluctuation in prices due to season and other reasons such as marketing campaigns, and especially due to the very the competitive prices of Ryanair, the trip can be organised also via Stansted airport in London. This airport has also provided direct flights to Guernsey with the Auringy company since 2011. Other connections were also possible via Manchester and then Ryanair flights to Riga. However, in all cases, connecting flights involve more risks of losing tickets to the next connection due to unforeseeable technical reasons and weather conditions.

The actual physical trip that must be undertaken, to move away from Latvia or to return home again, is a constitutive part of my research participants' lives. Above all, the process of transporting the body itself is an affective process through which we sense place and construct emotional geographies (Davidson et al. 2005; Hannam et al. 2006: 14). When visits take place, temporal contexts influence actions taken during these visits, as well as the sense of home. From my interview data, I found that nervousness about travel is a matter of social class, gender and migrant status. Most of my research participants live on rather tight budgets and loss of tickets or delay during the trip will affect the wider interpretation of one's life on the move. Gunārs told me about his frantic return to Guernsey after the Christmas break in Latvia. Due to blizzards, connecting flights were cancelled for two days and his travel route was re-directed via France.

> When the last flight was cancelled in France, I went to a hotel nearby. One of my bags was lost in England. The second suitcase got lost in France. It was snowing and it was such a torment to reach [a hotel] and then at 6 o'clock in morning I had to wake up, arrive again to the airport, still crumpled up. The next night I slept at the airport as I had a ticket for the next day's flight. In Jersey I was not allowed to get into the plane, they [airport security] took my passport, stripped me almost naked, and asked me, what I am going to do in

Guernsey. I did not speak English […] I felt such indifference in that moment. I thought, if I do not make this plane, then that's it. I will not go to Guernsey anymore. (Gunārs, 44, Guernsey, January 2010)

Stories of the trips back and forth are linked to interpretations of the whole migration experience and serve as intensive illustrations of emotional and bodily labour that one goes through to reach home and vice versa. As Kathy Burrell (2011) points out, travelling, especially flying, is often romanticised (see also Cwerner et al. 2009; Adey 2010b). However, low-cost airlines have not only made travelling affordable for many, but through ticket ordering regimes, luggage restrictions and making passengers queue before boarding, they also work as effective and sometimes humiliating disciplining agents that influence the experiences of those who use them. Hand-luggage is publicly examined for size and weight in front of the queuing crowd waiting for the flight to board and take-off. Waiting passengers are herded like animals into pens and kept there until boarding time, then the headlong rush, elbowing, striving to claim a better place among the non-numbered seats.[23]

Cheap tickets are non-refundable and low-cost airlines tend to use to distant airports, and schedule early-morning or late-night flights. This adds an extra expense to reach the out-of-the-way airport, and stretches the boundaries of bodily capacity to endure the constraints of spending a sleepless night at the airport. The trip is interwoven with anxieties about whether it can actually be undertaken at the exact date and time specified by the purchased ticket. Since trips are often taken for holidays or for urgent matters such as attending funerals, time lost in transitions has an impact on how people are able to relate to home-spaces when they finally do reach their destination.

7.4. Travelling goods

Not only people have their evolving trajectories but also goods are moved and make their path in time and space. Therefore we have to take into account constraints in physical space to move these goods and overcome the friction of distance. A human living in society needs at least a minimum set of material gods, while dominating ideas in consumer culture encourage people to acquire more goods that may signify a certain

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[23] In late 2013 Ryanair announced that it will change its policy and allow two pieces of luggage, and also will improve its practices of making passengers queue before boarding.

level of material wellbeing. Since many Latvians in Guernsey work only for a short time, they have to move back and forth a considerable amount of goods. In case they choose to move to a third place, all belongings should be moved too. Due to price differences, especially for clothing and in cases when the mobility project abroad was primarily related to a need to provide means for daily existence, buying goods was an important activity. Foreign goods have an additional symbolic value, as has been described in research on cross-border shopping (Spierings and van der Velde 2008).

Since most airlines impose stringent luggage restrictions and additional high fees for extra luggage, *ad hoc* small transport companies saw these constraints as good business possibilities. Thus these fast-growing transport services to deliver goods emerged as a counter strategy to the constraints imposed by flight companies. Private deliverers and small companies usually asked one to three GB pounds per kilo of goods to be delivered to either central places in Latvian regions or directly to the home of a migrant or their relatives. Going the other way, remittances in goods from Latvia were mainly related to the needs for relatedness: familiar foods, goods needed to maintain hobbies, such as sewing machines, and things needed for work such as kitchen equipment and instruments for construction the person used to work with. Map 5 shows the most common overland route across Poland, Germany, Belgium and France used by migrants and transport vans plying between Latvia and Guernsey. The route indicated refers to a specific trip taking nearly three days in June 2011.

Map 8 **Travelling goods between Latvia and Guernsey, June 2011**

Source: Europe's transport routes, Bing maps, created by Oskars Beikulis

In order to overcome distance, all the constraints identified by Hägerstrand (1985) exist also on the body scale: a driver needs to rest and sleep in order to renew the body's capacity to continue the mobility project; a car needs fuel and for that a driver needs money. Besides skill in driving, a driver needs to know how to work with maps and geographical positioning technology, how to deal with customs, how to communicate with people along the travel route through several countries with diverse languages in case there are unexpected problems such as a need for technical assistance to repair a vehicle.

Pictures 6 **Shopping and packing goods packed to be sent to Latvia**

Author's photos: From top left: Shopping at Cobo car-boot sales market; packing goods in a minivan; squeezing in more goods; negotiating taking extra goods on the next trip due to lack of space in the minivan. Photos taken in June 2011.

The set of pictures in Photos 6 are a brief pictorial review of some of the points made above. Buying cheap goods in Guernsey, e.g. at car-boot sales, and sending them home was sometimes an additional strategy to either boost income by selling them on, or to demonstrate material gain. The most common goods sent to Latvia in this way

were clothes, items of furniture, home appliances, bicycles, and presents to be given to relatives and friends.

To sum up, I reiterate that sending goods is simultaneously both an integral part of translocal mobility projects in the time-space of possibility, and also a phenomenon worthy of separate attention. Synthesis of time-geography and wellbeing approaches enables a more detailed analysis of the strategies that people deploy to overcome also intimate distance: although personal goods and presents do not replace physical co-presence of people, they can be used as additional means of expressing and maintaining emotional ties through material things.

7.5. Returning to Latvia

In the following sub-sections I will describe the various distinctive patterns of return visits, and the sources from which the different patterns derive. As we have seen, return visits are shaped by housing regulations and labour contracts in Guernsey; these factors influence how much time people can afford to spend in Latvia and how they perceive this time-space in the home area. Looking from the viewpoint in Latvia, visits are predominantly shaped by the subjective wellbeing needs of relatedness.

Amongst the most commonly used phrases to describe these home visits were 'going to Latvia', or naming the concrete place in Latvia or 'going for holidays [*holidejos*]', or simply 'go back' or 'went back'. I interpret these linguistic references as signifiers of the time–space discipline of housing regimes and contract labour in which choice and freedom of movement are constrained. For circular migrants on three-month contracts, the 'compulsory' three months in Latvia (or outside Guernsey) were often narrated as 'empty time' – an idle time-space of waiting for the start of the next contract-season. As Gunta (40s) put it, 'You simply enjoy life, you do nothing, but actually, it is not an enjoyment […] you do nothing'. In this instance, the rhythms of migration and visits home coincide: nine months of hard work in Guernsey, three months 'doing nothing' in Latvia.

Hence the preferable regime for many is more frequent, shorter visits, during which the migrants not only 'do' VFR but also preserve and solidify their links to 'home' – retaining their Latvian residence, carrying out health checks there, sorting out bureaucratic procedures etc. Indeed it is almost as if the relationship between migration and visiting is reversed. Instead of work in Guernsey being interrupted by visits home,

it is rather a collective statement about 'being at home' being interrupted by working visits to Guernsey. As Rita (40s) narrated it, 'My home will always be in Latvia […]. I have always seen Guernsey just as a place to make money'.

7.5.1. Anticipating a return visit

Migrants frequently return home while being 'on holiday' in the countries where they work (Hannam et al. 2006: 10-11). Return to Latvia is often implicitly narrated as a return to 'normal life' after the compressed work time-space of Guernsey. An approaching departure for such a holiday was often narrated as an intensively felt bodily preparation, which requires enduring emotional pain for the greatly anticipated trip home:

> During the final month before my departure for home, my longing grew more intense every day. I could not wait to be at home; it was so difficult […] it was almost unbearable. (Sanita, 30, Riga, May 2010).

Similarly, previously taken-for-granted senses of, for instance, smell in particular seasons, especially the short Latvian summers, of tastes, familiar landscapes, and sounds and physical encounters with people – all these are part of anticipation for the home visits and narrated in various ways as a need to re-charge senses. The sense of a 'holiday at home' is influenced by the season when the trip takes place. The usual season for a holiday is summer, and the most desired return visits are for the midsummer festival, *Jāņi.* Family and friends gather together, reaffirming their national identity, their Latvianness, often by wearing national costumes, by eating traditional food, and by their proximity to nature at the time of longest daylight and highest seasonal blooming in the Latvian countryside. Other holiday times in high demand are Christmas and New Year, important celebrations, sitting around rich food tables. These are the times during which we show appreciation for the important people in our lives, evaluate what has been, and plan for the future.

These are not the only emotional anticipations for return. Since most of my research participants interpreted Guernsey as a work-place, not a place where they live fully, bodies are also trained and prepared to function there in an intensive working regime. One of my interviewees, working on a pluri-month contract, showed me a plastic bag filled with antibiotics she had brought with her to address any unexpected health problems effectively. This dichotomisation of a place for work and a place for

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life also meant that anticipation for the trip back to home could involve enduring physical pain. Operations on backs, joints, varicose veins, dental care, and physiotherapy were put off until 'holidays', when vital functions and a capability for work would be recharged due to familiarity with the medical system and the hope of a good result for a better price.

Some trips home are also inevitably related to emergency, illness, and death. 'My sole thought from the time I woke up, while I worked, and when I went to bed was of my mother [...] I was trembling each time the phone beeped' (conversation with Alma, 60s, Guernsey, March 2012). When her mother died in 2011, her boss immediately bought expensive tickets on her behalf, and Alma embarked on her dreaded, yet still unexpected, 'holiday' home. On the other hand, some research participants stressed that sometimes they do not want to go to Latvia and would have not done so, had not their guilt feelings towards ageing parents or some other obligatory task (e.g. a court decision) intervened, evoking anger, unsettlement and distaste.

Home nostalgia can become a powerful driving force to decide go back to Latvia. However, it still remains as an open form of the return. Let us consider how longing for home, friends and relatives influenced Robert's (20s) trajectories: Text box 7 and Map 7 provide the descriptive and time-line details of his particular case.

Text box 8 **Robert's trajectories**

> *In 2006 he left a vocational school, not finishing the last grade, and went to Boston in England where his father and several of his acquaintances from his hometown were working. However, in 2008 he said he 'felt so homesick' that his three other friends and he went back to Latvia by car, thinking that they will spend just a long weekend there. However, he stayed almost a year. In 2009 he left Latvia again and this time he went to Guernsey as his father had relocated there during this time.*

Map 9 **Robert's trajectories**
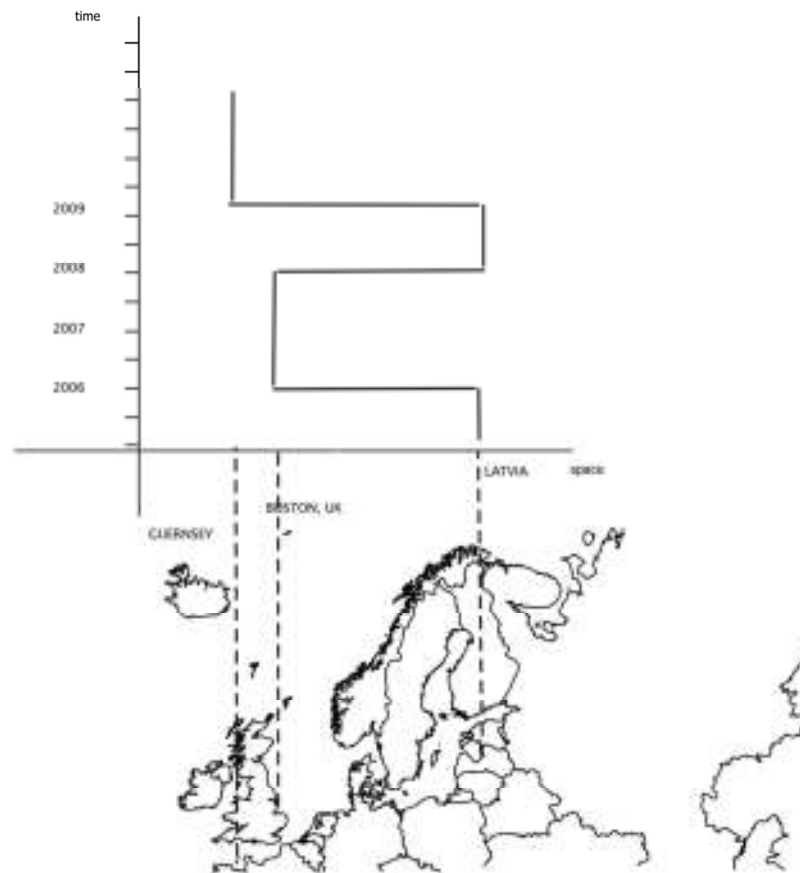
However, by routinising the movements back and forth and due to changing contexts and growing attachments with places outside the previous home area, over time the intensity of longing for home often fades away. But it can appear again, unexpectedly, from the fringes, evoking flashes of belonging and nostalgia.

> During the first year it was terrible, I was longing awfully for home. And I still had that love, that boyfriend, and I could not decide whether to return or not. It was really difficult. I was longing, so much longing for home, but now I do it less and less. I do not long for home anymore. However, anyway, each time, when the plane is landing and I see Riga, I have a such FEELING, such [deep breath], I cannot describe it to you. HOME. (Baiba, 27, Guernsey, January 2010).

Accordingly, I interpret senses and emotions during preparations for and anticipation of the visit as an irreducible element in the whole migration experience and in the particular contexts within which visits take place.

7.5.2. Longing for being in Latvia's natural environment

Time-geography emphasises that the lifeworld is shaped in natural and societal environments; therefore with relocation the lifeworld is radically disturbed. It is most noticeable when people talk in detail about longing for the natural environment which they associate with fully being in their own homeworld. Moreover, these narratives are very emotional, as I will demonstrate in the excerpts below: unrelated research participants talking, for example, about mosquitos in Latvian summers. Or, like Marita, who, when talking about her future ideas and a possible return to Latvia in retirement, put the greatest emphasis on the environment, flora and fauna in Latvia as the things she is longing for the most. More or less detailed, depending on age and gender (men and younger people were usually less explicit on this), Latvian nature was a crucial topic for almost all research participants: 'Lake, fog, angling, this is what I miss the most here', as Gaidis, 50s, said along with otherwise positive remarks about his experiences and feeling at home in Guernsey. Landscapes in Guernsey are constantly compared to those in Latvia; most were longing, for example, for forests. Typically, the older the respondents were, the more they emphasised the nostalgic crucial role of the natural environment:

> I want that spaciousness [in Latvia's countryside] and mushrooms. I want my own garden with berries, apples and with all those terrible mosquitos. THOSE ARE MY MOSQUITOS! Hedgehog, fog, roe, all what you probably did not appreciate before. Yes, you can go to Italy, Spain, somewhere in Poland. That is closer already but IT IS NOT LATVIA. (Marita, 40s).

Liega (30s) emphasised that she wants to develop her career in Guernsey and does not plan to return to Latvia. However, she anyway emphasised longing for the natural environment in Latvia and, again, 'mosquitos' symbolised her memories of corporeal immersion in the natural environment in Latvia in comparison to that in Guernsey.

> In Latvia, I miss nature, and my relatives. Nature in Latvia; grass, forests, birds. Here there are birds, too, but they are different, they are English-singing birds [laughing] (…). [...] But I like it that here are no mosquitos. That I really disliked in Latvia (Liega, 30s).

Senses, which were previously taken for granted, for example, in short Latvian summers, can provoke emotional reaction, *vicarious* insidedness as Relph (1976: 52) called it. The syndrome involves feeling part of Latvia's natural environment while being absent from it. Let me refer to what Judīde said in an informal conversation, spontaneously remembering what she enjoyed several days ago. While she was working indoors, a Latvian colleague of hers came mysteriously and invited to go outside but did not say why. 'While still walking I felt that it smells like Latvia. Freshly cut grass!' (Diary notes, June 2011). These are air- and earth-bound senses that remind one about home (Bunkše 2007). 'Smells like Latvia' is a bodily, sensory experience of a homeworld which is missed while being absent from it, and then a sudden shifting of these sensory stimuli into the present-horizon can be particularly moving.

7.5.3. Landing in Riga, arriving home

The corporeal dimension of return was significant in many stories of the arrival home. Alma remembered a sight-touch encounter with one of her daughters at the airport:

> There was just this big head of curly hair. My Anna had lost weight, so skinny, there was no body to hug, just bones and skin. It was such a shock! (Alma, 60s).

Alma knew that her daughter was separated from her husband and had left work, but only in her physical presence could she could assess how these changes were inscribed in her daughter's body.

A physical encounter after a long absence can therefore be shocking. The way people look and talk is not how we remember. The human voice sounds different in person than in the digital echo of *Skype* conversations. For Alma, learning that Anna actually liked her new body and wanted to be slim, meant making an effort to catch up with the changes in other people's lives — understanding and appreciating that home, once abandoned (even temporarily), constantly changes and that the person who has just returned home, has also changed.

The intensity of encountering the homeworld after absence from it was often narrated literally and expressed bodily. This can be seen in the following excerpt from an interview with Ivita on her first arrival home after an emotionally complicated period changing employers in Guernsey. Initially she was planning to stay abroad for

nine months, but she returned home after only four months. After seven months in Latvia, disillusioned by scarce employment opportunities, she embarked on another trip to Guernsey.

> I wanted so much to go home, but I could not [due to obligations to send money]. I have children, family [to care for in Latvia]. I fell on my knees and was praying to God. I so much wanted to go home, just four months had passed here. And I felt such strong currents in my body as if I had received an answer to my prayer. [...] A new boss bought me a ticket home after a week [...] The emotions when I arrived in Latvia (...) a scream came out of my mouth, my children, I had not embraced them for so long. That feeling when I embraced my children [opens up her arms as in embrace]! I had the feeling that I wanted to hug and caress all the people in Latvia. (Ivita, 40s, Guernsey, November 2010).

The movement towards home was filled with multiple sensing and affect (Adey 2010a; 2010b). It depends on the weather, the seat on the plane, how much one can see through the window when the plane prepares to land in Riga. The feelings experienced during encounter-touch can vary due to context, but are often expressed as bodily memory:

> When the plane touches the Latvian ground, I feel like a mother when she takes her first-born and nurses it. (Aina, 60s, in an email to me, February 2010).

Physical arrival is a salient moment for creating opportunities for re-connection, but also misinterpretation due to the partial obfuscation of contexts that takes place during physical absence. Bodily togetherness erases geographical distance, but also results in disillusionment — some of the ideas and feelings directed homeward are revealed as false. Co-presence requires the renewed interpretation of the contexts and margins that converge on the present-horizon, as I shall demonstrate with examples in the next section.

7.5.4. Three months home

In those cases when people had short-term contracts in Guernsey and leaving the island for at least three months per year was an obligatory requirement, most chose to relax and spend time with family members as much as possible while waiting for the next

year's contract. Skaidrīte, 30s, who periodically worked in a seed packaging company in Guernsey, did not work when she was back in Latvia. 'I live at home with the children, take them to school, and then back home. The money has been earned and it should be distributed during those months [while back home]'. On the other hand, Inga (40s) said that she was willing to work but was trapped due to lack of transport from her rural homestead to places where short-term work could be available.

> I searched for work, I really wanted to work because I went home with the last salary in savings but I simply could not because I did not have a car in Latvia so it was not possible to commute between home and work. Besides, I wanted also to stay more with the children.

The importance of co-presence, prolonging a stay in order to be longer with children, especially if they go through important life-course transitions, reveals how returning home produces a mosaic of time-spaces, where Guernsey is practised as an intensive work time-space in absence from family and children, combined with shorter months in Latvia, a time-space for domesticated motherhood.

However, if the return was for longer, some used time at home also for work. Usually the inability to find work in Latvia was justified with reference to transport restrictions, or an employer's lack of interest in providing work knowing that a person will soon leave again. For both men and women, especially without children, staying at home three months without work was rather seen as a negative experience, a 'waiting time' which deterred the individual from searching for employment in Latvia:

> I repaired my room, made furniture, I did not have a real job but I had some smaller piece-work, the main thing was that I knew that I must go back to Guernsey. (Arturs, 40s).

But most of my research participants did not want to work in Latvia for a wage which was several times lower than in Guernsey. However, living three months without work was seen as too long time without strong attachments in Latvia: savings usually would not be sufficient to cover this 'empty time', and not participating in the labour market expands into a wider feeling of non-belonging to the place.

> It was a very unpleasant feeling being in Latvia those three months; I had nothing to do, running out of money, feeling like a foreigner. (Kitija, 30s).

Those who tried to work during three-month break at home usually described it as a negative experience due to the comparison over wages. Reinis, 20s, was working as a cook in Latvia and in Guernsey. During his temporary return to Latvia he worked in his previous workplace for one month. After his experience in Guernsey, where he not only earned significantly more but also lived close to his workplace, the combination of difficulties to commute and a moderate salary was the reason why he immediately accepted the next contract in Guernsey.

> I went to Latvia, all my savings melted away after two months, and I looked for work. Actually it is easy for a cook to find work in Latvia but it is difficult in that work is usually in late evenings. Therefore people can find something better [abroad]. I earned less per month in Latvia compared to what I get per week here. […] I got a call from a previous boss in Guernsey that I have a job there and I resigned in two days.

Returning home can also enfold into return migration: several research participants decided not to return to Guernsey after their three months break in Latvia, especially during the economic boom in 2005-2007, and either found employment or established businesses themselves. For instance, Kristīne, 20s, and her boyfriend implemented a business idea from Guernsey and provided window washing services in Latvia. However, during the crisis, the business declined and she went back to Guernsey again.

There were some exceptions which could be seen more as an 'ideal type' of circular migration in migrants' own conceptions, namely a more harmonic distribution of work-life in distant places and countries. Some kind of ideal model of circular migration occurred in cases of friendship-based employment or small family enterprises. Rolands, 40s, who is a cook, circulating already for more than 10 years, engaged in work in Latvia immediately after he came back from Guernsey. The boss is his friend and a former business partner: they tried to establish a café business together when Rolands returned to Latvia during the economic boom for two years. However, due to the crisis, in late 2008, he hit the known road to Guernsey again. Rolands has also helped to find work in Guernsey for a relative of his boss. Another case of harmonious integration of working in the two places is Jelena, who switched her professional roles as a young accountant in Latvia and as a cleaner and a chamber maid in Guernsey for four years:

Only for the first time I worked all nine months in Guernsey. I came back [to her hometown]; and I still had my old workplace, I have a very nice boss in Latvia who is my mom! I worked for a half year and then I said I want to go [to Guernsey] again because I cannot earn enough to buy a flat here. So I did that for four years – a half-year in Guernsey and a half back home. (Jelena, 20s).

Jelena returned to Latvia in 2010 but did not rule out that she may go abroad again. These cases manifest how family and friendship ties in employment amplify and harmonise possibilities in both places. However, in other cases, the majority, circular migration is an asymmetric experience: intensive work in Guernsey and lack of work in Latvia. Three months just on savings often use up possibilities to satisfy wellbeing needs and, moreover, work is the most powerful attachment to feel emplaced into wider social circles while back home. Besides, during three months at home family conflicts often arose due to such asymmetric arrangements of work abroad and non-work and staying at home in Latvia. A migrant better opts for shorter visits, which was the most characteristic migrancy genre among my research participants – going home 'for holidays', usually up to one month per year in total.

Physical distance allows us to manipulate information, to filter what can be revealed and what can be hidden. Even if the phenomenon of co-presence through being in touch by means of modern communication devices reduces this barrier, recursive evaluation may intensify feelings of self-blame about what has happened during the absence:

When I left [Latvia, in winter], I did not know because I went abroad to earn money soon after it started. When I called, he [Santa's partner] did not pick up the phone but the others [family members], they said, he is busy somewhere. And it was almost summer when they told me that he was in hospital, that he has an illness... So they suggested that I do not even come back, but continue working. There was nothing I could do. So I did not leave everything here, but stayed all nine months. I do not know what would have changed if I had come, maybe it was my egoism; my thoughts are spinning sometimes so. (...) Then I went home for those three months, we were together, he was at home (...) Yes, I went to Latvia, but those three months were terribly difficult [crying]. (Santa, 40).

A return might also be instigated by other obligations, including bureaucratic formalities required by political or financial systems. They are often described as nerve-wracking, humiliating fights with the state or municipality representatives: dealing with banks or the passport agency, or an uphill battle for the transcription of a new surname after marriage abroad. In addition, many social meetings are planned, both out of moral obligation and a desire to spend time with friends. For some the combination of these needs results in a hurried and stressful time at home, and consequent bodily exhaustion.

The feeling of being back home varies both according to the length of time spent home, and changes during the period itself spent at home. During these visits the migration project is subject to co-evaluation by other family members. Therefore the modalities of feeling range from the thrill of reconnection to the pain of increased emotional distance, like in the following excerpt, when a woman returned to Latvia for three months:

> It was quite hard. The first thrill of meeting-up again after so long, for one and a half years I had not seen my children, my sister, my mother, nobody [in Latvia]. But then very serious conflicts arose because I was away so long and I did not arrive with the suitcase full of money. (...) I even fell out with my mother, she was quite angry. Family problems, you know, they really, really do not understand, if you have not gone through this you cannot un-der-stand [emphasised]! (Inese, 40s).

Due to these conflicts Inese decided to cut her next visits shorter and not allow anger and disappointment to destroy the sense of holidays with her children and relatives. For others, like Alma, who rushed back home due to her mother's death, the return visit was an emotionally painful recovery from loss followed by the need to return back for seasonal work in Guernsey. This time, she saw the departure from Latvia as an opportunity to physically distance herself from this painful experience and revive herself again for her own life.

7.5.5. Negotiating time for 'holidays home'

On an international scale, free movement of people allows easy border-crossing; good transport connections and relatively cheap airline tickets enable travel which was not possible several decades ago. However, attention to time-space constraints allows us to appreciate that migrants are not free-floating agents who can return home whenever

they wish without serious consequences such as losing a job. Quite the opposite: return visits are severely constrained by available money resources and, most importantly, by the obligations an individual has a worker. Besides, the translocal realities of distant work and home places remind us of the importance of distance. This can be best seen in cases when a person needs to visit family for urgent reasons. Let us consider Maija's experience. Aged in her 20s, she arrived in Guernsey and started working there but had not yet gathered a work time length which qualified for vacations when a death occurred in the family:

> My dearest grandmother died in August [...] I was searching for tickets to go to Latvia, but could not go. I wanted a week off, but the boss said: 'Do you think that you can do whatever you want just because you are a Latvian?' (...) But it really hurt me that I was not able to go to funerals. (...) I went later in the autumn, I had a week off. I did not tell anybody that I was coming. I arrived with presents, I saw my dad crying for the first time in my life. Mom even did not talk to me, she turned her back and started crying. And then they told me that the other grandmother is in hospital. I went to the graveyard, but mainly spent time in hospital visiting my grandmother, met friends just for a few hours [...] went out on Friday night, met friends again on Saturday and had a flight to Stansted on Sunday, waiting very long there for the next day's flight at 6 am. On Tuesday my mother called and said that grandmother died on Monday. [...] It is very hard not being able to go to funerals and say the last good bye.

There can be other urgent needs that require going back to Latvia, and so the conditions under which a migrant worker is allowed to be absent from work must negotiated with an employer. Although the interviews reveal a generally high degree of understanding and individualised attitude by employers towards the needs of migrant workers to go back home, flexibility is not limitless, not least due to easily available replacement as other migrant workers are constantly searching for jobs. Urgent home visits can cause conflicts with employers and in some urgent cases a migrant worker may have to resign from work. Like in Ginta's case: she had a pre-planned annual leave but received a wedding invitation and also wanted to combine the visit home with a health check she thought to be more specific for her condition than she could receive in Guernsey. Going just for a weekend for the wedding was too expensive for Ginta but negotiations with an employer to change her annual leave dates failed:

> The boss said there is no person who can replace me, which was just pretence, anybody from our company could replace me, but she simply did not want to show me a human attitude and let me go for just two weeks. So, I resigned.

Also, in Ilmars case, he had to resign in order to go to Latvia just for few days but he was suggested to apply for the same job again when he is back.

> I was working for three, four months so I could not get days off but I really had to go to Latvia for three days to change the loan agreement. Therefore I submitted my resignation. [Employer] said you can come back again. I arrived and thought I will search for two weeks and will go back only if I don't manage to find something better. (Ilmars, 50s).

These situations reveal that a migrant worker can end up in precarious employment conditions, where visits home can endanger his/her ability to continue working abroad.

7.5.6. Holidays home

In cases when work and annual leave rhythms are stabilised, it is easier to plan 'holidays home', although they are also not free from constraints. For example, when the visit can take place and for how long is a compromise between an employer and an employee, relatives and friends in Latvia, the ability and will to allocate money resources for the length of stay in Latvia, and tickets when prices fluctuate significantly according to popular travel seasons. This often results in short and intensive 'holidays home'. Darja, 30s, said that as soon as she arrives for a week in Latvia, 'the running starts: doctors, friends, interviews, no time for a real talk. And then it is over and I feel tired'. This pressure was similarly expressed by many research participants, especially women, who wanted to combine as many tasks as possible in Latvia:

> I always manage to go just for a short time, everything is pre-panned, doctors, cosmetologists, friends, dressing up and going to theatres, to meet an aunt, other relatives. But time is so limited, and it is expensive, especially when exchange rate [pound/lat] is bad. (...) I want to have a real vacation, in Latvia it is all the time running, everybody wants to talk to you but I cannot even afford to go for a full month [stops talking to stifle tears]. (Daiga, 50s).

Men also emphasised a need to carry out health checks in Latvia and see friends and relatives. However, the latter was not highlighted as a time-consuming and

desired task, but rather as taken-for-granted milieu or even emphasising how autonomous and individual they have become during migration: 'I am responsible only for myself […] I go to Latvia just to visit my relatives but mainly to doctors, a doctor who first operated my back is there and I regularly keep in touch with him also from here', as Juris, in his 50s said. I interpret these differences in significance attached to family networking as a gendered practice where women still try to carry out, much more than men, a traditional role of nurturing family networks in a new translocal setting (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002).

Several men used 'holidays at home' for 'coding' against alcoholism: 'I go home on 1st December; my code expires on 4th', Rolands emphasised his main tasks as soon has he arrives to Latvia. This is a familiar and believed practice in Latvia that a 'chip' is inserted into a person's body which then causes alcohol intolerance. These coding procedures should be repeated over several years.

Health checks are important needs that compete for time which should also be allocated for VFR and therefore visits home are often narrated with an emotionally heightened sense of lack of time, 'all the time in running', 'frantic'.

> When I go, I usually have a list of tasks I should do. I also had many, various things-to-do on my list when I was home last time. One of the most important is dentist [...] a couple of years ago I ended up in a hospital, I had an accident. So I was not allowed to return [as planned]. But usually I go to beauty therapists, I visit relatives. But I lack time. And I want to be more with my people. Three, four times I go for sure [per year]. This time I had a bit more time and I invited my mother to a theatre. She did not feel well and even did not want to come. I go, go [back home] but I never have enough time (Daina, 40s).

Return visits are also used for studying: several research participants continued their education in Latvia, two of them obtained full education in a distance-learning college, where physical presence was required one or two times per year. Shorter, specified courses are undertaken to improve skills – intensive language learning and private English lessons because, due to the heavy work load in Guernsey, there was paradoxically no time to study language in Guernsey. This has changed over time, thanks to agreements between the States of Guernsey and employers that migrant workers have rights and should be encouraged to attend language courses. Even so,

some continued studying with Latvia-based teachers during their holidays. Also, holidays are used for improving or adding new professional skills. Zane, in her 30s, usually chooses her longer vacations during the winter, because this is a time when she could earn less in Guernsey. After one of her visits to Latvia she returned back with a new diploma:

> I am studying all the time, I managed to complete all three levels in a make-up school in Riga in two weeks. I did not have any other choice, I had to find a teacher who agrees to take me [on my timing conditions]. She took me under her wing and I was studying from 9 am sometimes until 4 am [...]. This year I wanted to go for hairdresser's courses, but those were postponed until July but I usually go for Christmas.

Holidays home are often implicated with feelings of temporality and pressure; Janis, 20s, drew parallels with his recent study experience:

> The feeling was all the time like at the end of the study term: you should submit your work, the deadline is coming; so the date when I had to leave was coming closer and closer.

However, the differences in how people narrate their emotional experience during return visits are closely related to their future orientations. Three axes of differentiation emerge: towards possible permanent return; relational homes, where a permanent home is in Guernsey but there is another holiday home in Latvia; and possible permanent settling outside Latvia.

'Holidays home' are used by some research participants to look after property, buying or selling property, and carrying out renovation. Investments in property and positive experience at home in their own property are closely linked to the desire to return and settle back in Latvia, even if the time is not specified when this would happen. Like Ilmārs, 50s, emphasised: 'I have my own house in Latvia. I have people to look after it but I cannot ask them to do it indefinitely, therefore I should go back myself'. Guernsey for him was a 'refuge' time-space during the economic crisis in Latvia, but during his short vacations he returned to his real home where he prepared to return permanently.

> I like going home and to become A HUMAN. Then I can afford ANYTHING.
> Only two weeks, I understand that it is not wise, but at least there I can afford
> anything. (Ilmārs, 50s).

Similarly others who had their own properties and wanted to return negotiated with relatives and friends who will look after their property while they are working abroad.

> I pay for my flat in Latvia, I need my own place, I did some repairs. Others
> say, why don't you rent it out? But I don't want to do that, I need a clean place
> just for myself. (Daiga, 40s).

Different relations emerge when people have their permanent homes in Guernsey but want to stay also in Latvia in their own place during holidays and use it as base for VFR, rather than stay in the homes of these relatives and friends. A case in point here was Elga and her Guernsey-born husband.

> We want it so, that we live some three months in Latvia per year. We are
> searching to buy our own flat. [...] When we both have our pensions, maybe
> we will move there. [...] He likes Latvia, he loves Latvian cooking, we have
> such harmony. The only difficulty is that my brother does not have a common
> language with him and they cannot speak to each other. But he [husband] has
> learned some Latvian already. And he is talking to his relatives about Latvia a
> lot, shows them pictures. And they are happy that he is happy. (Elga, 60s).

In the Latvian-Guernsey context I see relational homes in this research differently from what has been described in recent literature: for example, Erdal (2012) found that Pakistani migrants in Norway were building houses in Pakistan even though they are not planning to return. She conceptualised these houses as relational places in practical and symbolic ways: in other words, both as a practical place to stay during return holiday visits, and as a symbolic statement of the migrant family's material success and their continuing connection to their 'home' community. In the Latvian case, when people stressed that they do not want to return, they tried to sell or rent out their property for the long term, usually for practical reasons, although during the economic crisis this was very difficult. However, some did not rule out that they might buy a property in future if they change their mind and decide that they do want to return. In short, there were more temporary attitudes towards the 'house' in Latvia: the positive attitude towards property ownership in Latvia was only in cases when a person

wanted to return, whereas it was also symbolic in a few cases when a desire to return coincided or was strengthened due to the historical value of a family property owned for several generations.

In cases where a migrant did not plan to return, at least not in the foreseeable future, they said they felt rather like strangers in the homeland (cf. Tsuda 2003). Shrinking networks of relatives and friends in Latvia heightened this sense of non-belonging:

> I do not feel good here and also not good in Latvia. Something has been broken, disappeared, all my friends in Latvia, [most are dispersed abroad]. Oh my god, that is the biggest loss. When we reach certain age we do not make such strong friendships anymore, that is the greatest loss (Mārīte, 40s).

Others placed more emphasis on their acute sense of non-belonging that surfaced when facing the presence of the wider environment in Latvia.

> I was staying in Valmiera [Northern Latvian town], a couple of days with friends, two days when I wanted to walk alone. I lacked a feeling of attachment, I felt like a tourist on vacation. That feeling that you do not belong was very strange. I stayed with my parents for some five days and there I felt like on a different planet in the small village where they live. Very, very strange feeling, everything so small, so different. As soon as I landed, I took a bus to my parent's place, it was three hours on the bus. That was a real adventure! I had forgotten all those shabby brick houses because the views here [in Guernsey] are beautiful. And people in Latvia, in the countryside, how they look, fatality in their faces. Here older people are nice, smiling. Of course, I understand, that all is related to [lack of] money. (Janis, 20s).

This impression of a 'very strange feeling' signifies how the lifeworld gets disturbed when actually returning to the home area. This may change quickly as soon as a person emplaces himself/herself back home. But this was the non-willingness to return, or existential or practical doubts about return, which underpinned any number of similar expressions. Such ambivalent or negative expressions were particularly pronounced in repeat interviews where selective attitudes to positive or negative, and feelings of fear as to whether a person would be able to adapt to the social environment in Latvia again, were expressed hand-in-hand with changing ideas about return or non-

return. Many were talking about their fear that 'strangers' could give them grief in public spaces, or will push, or cheat, etc.

> I was at home [...] I was again shocked, after one week I wanted to escape from there. All people like angry (…) [like] dogs! You walk and look at faces and you understand that you are scared, you fear from those faces. I will never ever go back there. (Gita, 40s)

However, in other cases, research participants paid a special effort to visit their home in Latvia as often as possible. Gundega (50s) described her preferred rhythm of movement:

> I am home every third month. I don't immerse myself here [in Guernsey], I don't want to get attached to my tiny single room here. I have my kitchen and bathroom in Riga. I buy tickets already [i.e. well in advance] so they are cheap. Other people say it is foolish to go back just for two days. No, it is not foolish. How much money do they waste on cigarettes or in pubs? I spend the same amount on flight tickets. And I see my family and friends […] Hairdresser, beauty therapist, doctor – all these things I only do in Riga.

In this quote above, 'home' means a dozen things and practices, above all the everydayness that Gundega missed while in Guernsey: her own kitchen and bathroom are in Riga (the implication is that these are shared with others in her cramped accommodation in Guernsey); and again how she maintains familiar practices in Riga as her homeworld. Later in her interview, Gundega revealed how, during the time-space events of being back in what she clearly sees as her 'real home', she goes to theatres, takes walks in Riga Old Town, travels to the Jūrmala resort area etc. However, back home she is constantly positioned as a 'migrant' who no longer 'belongs' to Latvia and who just comes to Latvia to visit relatives and spend money. This positioning is embedded in the metanarrative informed by a sedentarist ideology of 'migrants versus stayers' in modern-day Latvia, and a kind of general 'disgrace' in public debates expressed towards migrants and their practices of making money abroad.

> We are often blamed that we don't pay taxes, and that we use cheap doctors subsidised by the state. No, we don't, there are no such doctors available. Wherever I go I pay for the doctor, the dentist. Teeth are fixed for my parents,

for my children, grandchildren; all that is done by money earned abroad. And I am paying taxes for all these services. […] We visited our relatives recently and they kind of humiliated us, saying that we are vagabonds, wandering the world. They are well-off people in business, but they pay half of the salaries to their employees under the table. Who is the patriot here at the end of the day?

Deciding not to return to Latvia permanently does not mean that visits become less frequent or less meaningful. Rather, it is that their meaning changes. Visits tend to become more routinised, and the migrant-visitor more clearly fulfils the role of 'guest'. Key moments for the timing of such visits were school holidays, especially during summer (a special time in Latvia, given the long and cold winters), shorter 'real snow' breaks to highlight (e.g. to children) the difference with the mild and usually snowless Guernsey winter, annual celebrations to do with birthdays, name-days, remembrance of the deceased, family reunions at weddings and funerals, and other family and homeland celebrations of 'Latvianness'. Two examples from the interviews illustrate these points. The first emphasises the importance of 'placing' important life celebrations (in this case a birthday) in the home country.

> We celebrated my husband's birthday in Latvia. Even if we could afford to buy tickets for all 40 guests to come here [to Guernsey], it wouldn't be the same. What could we do here? Go to a restaurant, that's all. But in Latvia we hired a big boat, we went on a lake, it was a real party. Mentality (…) culture (…) all that is inside you and you cannot tear it away; it remains inside you [referring here to 'Latvianness']. (…) (Liega, 30s).

> We are already here for seven years; for us, Latvia is (…) [searches for the right word] (…) we go for *holidays* [said with emphasis, with 'holidays' said in English]; it is not a 'home' feeling. […] We are aware that we are guests there. We don't discuss how or what, we fly there automatically. […] Now, since our child is born, we will try to go for a month every year for the summer. Actually it is important for both [sets of] grandparents. To see them and also that he [the child] can hear them (Olegs, 30).

In the second excerpt, above, a young father stresses that he goes to Latvia now for holidays, using the English word. This, and several other words relating to work rhythms, housing regulations and migrants' mobilities, are continuously used in their non-translated form in the interviews, which are otherwise, as noted earlier, all in Latvian or Russian. The emergence of this 'jargon' is a signifier of specific cultural

practices stemming from the migration regime experienced by the participants, and are common in other migrant discourses as well.

The joy of reunion, catching up and sharing stories, and the distribution of presents are characteristic especially of the early days of each visit. This happy state of affairs can be prolonged according to the availability of money to continue consumption practices that otherwise would be out of reach. Participants said how much they enjoyed taking their relatives or friends out to restaurants, spa centres and cultural events that would otherwise be out of reach price-wise; or going to visit other relatives in distant parts of Latvia, combining this with excursions to the countryside. All these activities require extra cash, of course, and sooner or later this runs out. As Rita put it, 'At the beginning it's fine, you have money, but then you stay longer, and you run out of money, and nobody needs you'. Olegs described his own adaptation to the reality of life in Latvia and not paying sufficient attention to things:

> The holiday money runs out and then you understand that the reality is different. At the beginning I was shopping there and overfilled the basket with everything that we wanted and did not check the receipt. But then, a week before the holidays were over, I bought a card and checked the expiry date and it was the 28th [the same day]. No warning, no discount, nothing: I was so angry. After living here [in Guernsey] I had got into the habit of not checking on such things (…) I forgot where I was.

Lines were also drawn between the common and preferred practices in Guernsey on the one hand and Latvia on the other; in Latvia no smiling faces, only angry ones, especially on public transportation; the aggressive driving culture; the heavy bureaucracy etc. – all are aggregated together to alienate people from the place they once called home (and some still do). Some are deeply annoyed by the contrast; others understand and tolerate it. Rita, for example, said 'I understand why people are so nervous, so angry' – simply because life in post-socialist, post-crisis Latvia is a struggle for most people.

7.6. Travelling to Latvia with Guernsey relatives and friends

Many participants were spending holidays in Latvia together with their friends, spouses and relatives from Guernsey (or broader networks, if a spouse was also a migrant in Guernsey himself/herself). These visits reveal how migrants perform at least

a double role: they visit their friends and relatives, are guests in their own homes, but they also act as 'tourism agents' and introduce the country and culture to their new relatives and friends.

> I arrived with a girlfriend [local from Guernsey] without prior warning that I am coming; relatives were speechless. Before [the trip to Latvia] I was carefully studying weather forecast, I so much wanted to show her real snow. But it happened so that when we left there was snow in Guernsey and no snow in Latvia in 2009 (Reinis, 20s).

In other cases, while a Latvian migrant is staying in Latvia for a longer time due to short-term contract restrictions or other reasons, friends from Guernsey come to visit them in Latvia, like in Gunta's case: shortly before her departure to Latvia she met her future husband in Guernsey. 'I was staying for four months in Latvia and during this time he visited me two times'.

Travel to Latvia together with a non-Latvian spouse is also used as a co-evaluation, or testing of possibilities if the couple could move to Latvia:

> When we were living there [in Guernsey] we did not appreciate what is valuable in Latvia. My husband says: 'We can buy a country house in Latvia and live there like in a paradise'. Fishing, picking mushrooms in the forest. He is the one who gives me that evaluation of Latvia, how good it is (Inese, 40s).

In these cases, holidays in Latvia were seen in a more positive light: even if local VFR networks have shrunk over time, new friends and relatives from abroad may have revitalised the sense of belonging in Latvia and opened up an ongoing co-evaluation about possible home-making there together. Like in Zinta's family, where she and her Guernsey-born husband make investments in the house Zinta has inherited and shares with her mother, and developing it as their secondary home:

> My husband also counts time: two months, one month left until we go to Latvia. Then he starts packing bags already, makes a list of what we should buy in Latvia [for ourselves] and that we should buy firewood for my mom (Zinta, 20s).

Because labour migration from Latvia is relatively recent, visits back to places and homes there are still a widespread practice and many migrants' attachments remain

strong. However, different forms and locations of VFR travel are also evolving, implying different linkages to international migration and tourism.

7.7. Reverse mobilities: travelling to and visiting Guernsey

Links between circular migration and VFR travel can be identified in all directions but they are most pronounced when people visit their friends and relatives on the island.

> I remember very clearly, we were here for holidays for the first time. My aunt was working here and her husband and daughter. The husband decided to return by car, they told us about car-boot sales, many things you can buy very cheap and clothes of course. It was summer 2006. We made a group so we can share fuel expenses and on top of that we had an excursion. We spent four days here but it was too short, much too short. That island turns you on because is it exclusive, I really think it is exclusive; maybe we have got used already and do not appreciate it everyday so much anymore but those who just arrive, they feel it (Ilze, 20s).

A year later, when Ilze and her husband could not make ends meet in Latvia anymore, they remembered their relatives and their trip to Guernsey. They decided to go to Guernsey, but this time to look for work.

> The usual visiting time is summer when college and school-age children have vacations; parents and other relatives come with the idea to give a helping hand to look after grandchildren, but they themselves sometimes become labour migrants due to easily accessible seasonal jobs. Jekaterina's experience is a characteristic example:

> I had one and half months off and I wanted to visit mother and then go back to Latvia. The idea was to work a bit too, perhaps. Mom said that many do so, that they arrive and it is not difficult to get a job. On the second or the third day my mom said: 'Let's go for a walk, I'll buy new boots for you!' I replied that I don't need anything, but we still went. We went into a shop, mother stayed on the street and [noticed an advertisement in a window] and was shouting through the opened doors: 'Hey, they need a shop assistant!' and there was already one Latvian working in the shop, mother asked her and she confirmed that another shop assistant was needed. She called the manager, we went to his office upstairs and he asked me if my English was OK. All was fine and he said: 'You can start working on Monday!' I was in such a shock. It

was my very first job abroad, and it was the very first place I went in Guernsey.

Participants referred to the presence of friends and relatives in Guernsey as part of their everyday lives, and indeed some interviews and conversations took place when visitors from Latvia were present. A notable 'event' might be the arrival of grandparents at the airport to greet their new grandchild for the first time. Visitors might be taken to the island's picturesque sights or on trips to adjacent islands or the nearby French coast. On such occasions, the migrant worker becomes a tourist and a host simultaneously, and this also gives them the opportunity to see the place they now live in from new and multiple perspectives. In most cases, those who live in open-market accommodation are not legally restricted in terms of who can come to visit and stay with them, as long as the visitors remain within the stipulated three-month limit for tourism and visiting purposes. Below, Lauma and Lāsma relate their respective experiences of this kind of exploratory visit, both of which had a clear work-finding objective:

> I already had friends here and I came with the idea to find work within one week. I had dry soups with me and money to survive for only ten days. If I didn't find anything, I would have had to leave. But I found a job on exactly the last day (Lauma, 50s).

In the case of Lāsma (20s), her visit to her mother triggered a more general desire to move there:

> Mum was already working in Guernsey when I visited her. […] I came back with a completely different view of the world. And from that moment I knew I wanted to get out of Latvia.

Accompanying mobility as described above can be enfolded with other types of mobility and be a source of labour for the wage economy (Williams 2009: 315). Visitors from Latvia who work range from grandparents who come to lend a hand looking after grandchildren, thereby releasing both parents onto the labour market, to the school-age children of migrant workers, as well as brothers, sisters, cousins etc. Children come to visit Guernsey mainly in the summer, when they are officially on school holidays in Latvia, and they pick up short-term and casual work, as related by one of the employers interviewed.

If children visit their parents for the summer, it is not a problem; we provide them with a spare room if possible. But we also employ children who have grown up and come and start working for us.

Thus, visiting and meeting friends and relatives abroad, whilst not so deeply embedded in networks as they are in Latvia, are still frequent and meaningful practices, and are multiply linked to both international migration and tourism, most notably as 'search time-spaces' for work and migration under cover of tourism.

7.8. Travelling to third spaces

When talking about visiting and travel experiences in the 2000s, some research participants mentioned their 'search' mobilities in Great Britain, Ireland and the Nordic countries. However, after the opening up of access to the labour market in Germany in 2011, several participants who did not talk about possible relocation due to work reasons, mentioned that they have been visiting friends and relatives in Germany. Usually they were combining the return trip to Latvia or coming back to Guernsey with longer excursions and loops in the travel route for visiting purposes. This was one example of a travel path which took in 'third spaces' for VFR or touristic purposes.

While observing migrant people in their everyday lives, it is clear that keeping in touch with relatives and friends in various countries is a constant concern. Communication by means of internet-based chatting platforms and phone calls keeps networks of friends criss-crossing the whole of Europe in touch with each other. Some of the research participants had been abroad to visit friends, and some had had work experience in other countries prior to living in Guernsey.

Narratives of travel to visit relatives and friends in other countries were expressed in terms of adventure and curiosity – not only curiosity for seeing important people, but also for discovering the place and environment in which those people are currently living. Moreover, such visits can be combined with holidays and travel through Europe, as one of the research participants explained: she returned home to Latvia via Tenerife because a friend of hers from Latvia was working there. Staying with her friend made it possible to save money for a week while vacationing in a sunny destination. The visit was also a trial visit; if she liked the place and the working conditions, relocation from Guernsey might be an option. And finally, when booking flight tickets, the route to Riga via Tenerife turned out to be cheaper than the usual

two-step travel via London, so her decision was easy. This directly echoes to Williams' (2009: 315) explanation of how VFR travel can overlap with leisure tourism with free accommodation.

Another research participant, Aina in her 60s, shared her feelings of bitterness due to years wasted in poverty and precarious casual work in Latvia since the 1990s. She finally obtained a pension which was extremely minimal, especially when compared to the empowerment that work opportunities in Guernsey have brought her. Then she turned her story to travel practices. She explained how she likes to travel back to Latvia and shared her joy in planning and anticipating a trip:

> I never go directly to Latvia. This time I will travel via France as my sister is working there, in a place close to Spain. I had never even dreamed to see these places with my own eyes. I always study carefully well in advance, how can I reach the places where I want to go? (…) Last time I was visiting my son in Sheffield [UK] [...] He took me to a Chinese restaurant where you can eat as much food as you want, all for five pounds. I ate so much that at the end I almost could not stand up from the table. I literally went out from the restaurant bent like a question mark and holding my belly [demonstrates a bended back]. [...] Next time, I have decided, I will be smarter. First, I will take pictures of all those foods and then will slowly choose. (Aina, 60s).

Following Williams' (2009: 316) explanation that those engaged in this type of post-employment mobility often may have gained self-confidence and knowledge through previous mobilities, the example given above, and others in my dataset, illustrate how international migration opens up new opportunities to transgress a place-specific discrimination and, further, is linked to discovery mobility and VFR travel. An individual who is categorised as a non-working pensioner in Latvia and could not find a work due to her age, was empowered by her experience as a labour migrant, which, in turn, boosted her self-confidence, resources and curiosity to travel, a social and cultural practice that is out of reach for most pensioners in today's Latvia.

7.9. Concluding discussion: present-absent homes

Changing rhythms of visits reveal the dynamism of interpersonal relations across the 'space-timeness' of all spatial mobilities. Whereas in some cases return visits grow less frequent and shorter because of decreased networks of friends and relatives back in

Latvia, in other cases, on the contrary, they can be regularised again, especially in cases when families want to enable their children to enjoy a translocal life and broader mobility choices in future.

In this chapter I have sought to analyse the 'enfolded mobilities' (Williams 2009) of Latvian migrants together with the help of the phenomenological concept of the present-horizon, explaining how presence and absence flow into each other during return visits. I illustrated how corporeal co-presence is always situated in concrete contexts of the past and influenced by tentative possibilities in the future. Senses and emotions in my proposed conceptualisation constitute an important and necessary element which complements the material ontology of time-geography. Affect, feelings and emotion shape individuals' pathways in the material world.

Return to Latvia can provide temporary opportunities for linking places through mobilities, but they can be also exhausting, and are often narrated as painful, dystopian, and frantic – an alienation from the previous homeworld. Circulation for work abroad and periodic return home constitute a means to achieve wellbeing goals, but this is not the way most of my research participants ultimately want to live for the rest of their lives. Repetitious movements are endured through hope for a better future, either personally or inter-generationally. These observations speak against the celebrated assumptions of circular migration as a triple-win solution including the 'win' for individuals and their families.

All visits home are influenced by the anticipation of leaving again soon. This anticipated future is often referred to through expressions of contempt for home, including comparisons to better socio-economic standards in the West and/or a retrograde memory-influenced judgement of an unsuccessful past. Everyday senses are deployed to express orientations of where one wants to be: 'I like Guernsey milk. When I was in Latvia last time I noticed that even the milk you buy in cartons smells of a cow's udder', a young woman told me, expressing emotionally that she does not want to go back to a 'stinky place' (in Latvia) where she felt unvalued, poor and unhappy.

In contrast to visits home, return as final settlement resolves the ontological insecurity of current wayfaring. 'Some day', 'in five years', or most often 'in retirement I will (definitely) return' are the typically expressed time-tropes noted down in my fieldwork diary. An increasingly dominant element in the discourse among those whom I interviewed is a permanent return after their active working lives, an ideal

home-coming that is free from obligations and materially driven desires. Latvia is seen as a desirable home, but only for autonomous subjects who are independent from the state. In terms of path and bodily affect, these homecomings are imagined as reconciliation with the protagonists' own previous pathways. Imagined return in old age signifies possibility and longing for new emotional relations with the previous home.

Return visits, visiting friends and relatives and other mobilities are interwoven in the whole migration process in today's Europe and they are a constitutive part of circular labour migration. Travelling and visiting takes diverse directions: returning to home area, inviting friends and relatives to Guernsey, or meeting in third spaces that are relationally linked to Guernsey and Latvia through the network of friends and relatives. Synthesising what has been documented and interpreted in this chapter, we can distinguish the following types of return mobilities:

(1) Returning home that typically lasts for three months: part of the rhythm of labour and housing contract patterns;

(2) Return migration, not as a final act in closing the migration cycle but leaving the possibilities of further migration open for an unspecified time in the future;

(3) Visiting their own homes or those of relatives during annual leave, typically from one week up to one month per year.

These return pathways, for their part, are enfolded into other mobilities which link tourism to circular migration and expand possibilities for new mobilities, emerging ways of life and ways of pursuing wellbeing goals. In Figure 6 I map out some of these linkages between migration, return, and tourism, thereby demonstrating some of the ways they are enfolded into each other.

Considering return visits in their diversity and their linkages to other mobilities, we can analyse circular migration in more diverse ways both theoretically and empirically. Moreover, considering links between tourism and labour migration, we can see how different mobilities emerge as structuring elements in a mobile *genre de vie* and what role they play in pursuing wellbeing ambitions. Besides, returning and visiting reveal how perceptions of wellbeing change over time where other localities across the national borders become significant in a lifeworld.

Figure 6 **Linkages between mobilities**
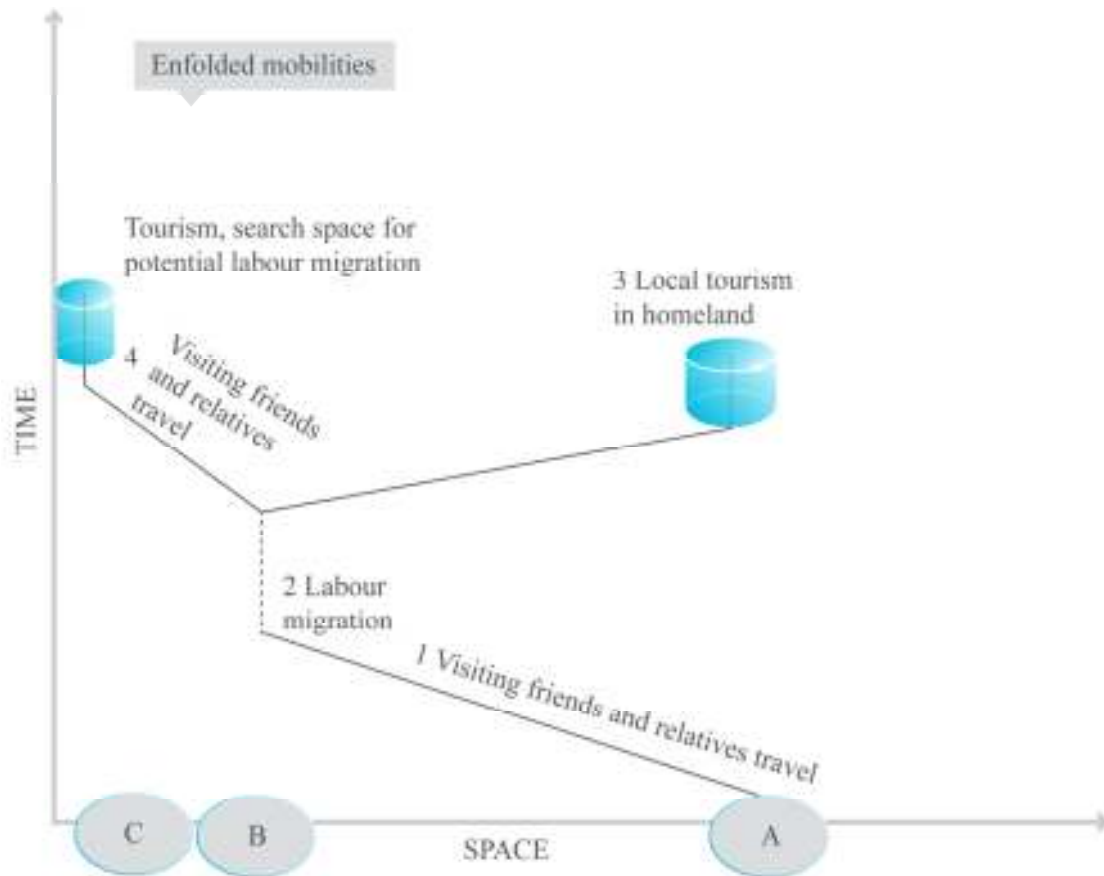
Permanent return to Latvia in an unspecified future remains as the most characteristic idea, the definitive act of closing the cycle after achieving improved wellbeing through circular migration. However, it is set as an ideal in the midst of the realities of ongoing circular migration and economic uncertainty. By typically characterising the future ideal as returning to Latvia 'some day', research participants implicitly acknowledge *presentism* as a sense of time and the insecurities that come along with the way of life in circular migration.

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION: TIME-SPACE OF POSSIBILITIES

The goal of this final chapter is to evaluate how the thematic apparatus and theoretical-methodological model proposed in this thesis contributes to a dynamic understanding of the process of migration. The analytical frame of time-geography, which conceives migration and mobility as time-space events and processes, has been combined with studies of migrants' subjective perceptions of their wellbeing into an integrated theoretical-empirical strategy designed to offer a more nuanced understanding of circular migration and the mobilities related to it. My research reveals that there are multiple interlinked mobilities of a circular pattern. The frequency of migration between two (or more) places, and the length of stay, are mainly determined by the terms of the employment contracts and, in the case of Guernsey, the terms for access to housing. Such migration typically begins as a short-term migration, which is followed by recurrent migration, enabled by interpersonal ties between employers and migrant employees and the rather specific labour market structure on the island where various short-term jobs are available for migrants. Circular migration is asymmetric in terms of the dominant character of activities carried out in the places between which the circulation takes place and continues. In most cases it forms a division between workplace (Guernsey) and home (Latvia) across the considerable distance in time and space between the two. The way of life in circular migration is integrally tied to an experience of international mobility and return visits to the place of origin, creating a translocal combination of significant places in a migrant's lifeworld.

The **thesis** which I advance in this project of research consists of the following three propositions:

1) With the help of the *time-space model of possibilities*, a way of studying contemporary migration from the perspective of *time-geography* has been created that explains its theoretical and methodological compatibility with the *phenomenological perspective*.

2) The development of a *translocal scale* is a prerequisite for gaining a deeper understanding of circular migration in a geographically bounded territory under the conditions of free movement of people.

3) *Circular migration* has many linkages to other mobilities that are expressed variously in other places and times. Circular migration can be characterised as

a type of international migration that exists in a regime of free movement of people, but is shaped locally by *place-specific constraints*. Circular migration is *asymmetric* in terms of dominant activities carried out in places between which the circulation continues. The *way of life* in circular migration is integrally tied to other patterns of circular mobilities, creating a translocal combination of significant places and mobilities in a migrant's lifeworld.

In the remainder of this concluding discussion I attempt to highlight the significant conceptual and empirical contributions of this study, including its methodological aspects.

8.1. Approaching the field as a series of interconnected nodes

Conceptualising the field (the island of Guernsey and various places in Latvia) as a cluster of interconnected nodes (King 2009), rather than defining the field as a bounded territory, makes it possible to incorporate both the condition of unrestricted mobility as well as the constraints inherent in the specific geographic circumstances of island living into my proposed model of the time-space of possibilities. Conceptually, this approach creates wider possibilities, both theoretically and methodologically, for the analysis of short-term migration among a variety of nodes. On a translocal scale, we can equally well capture *boundedness* and *free movement of people* as characteristic attributes of a space under investigation. These attributes overlap and they can be more pronounced in specific situations. Approaching the field as a node is a key to expanding our understanding of a concrete expression of mobilities in terms of *circular migration* which is constituted, precisely, through interplay between boundedness and the regime of free movement. Currently popular definitions of circular migration emphasise only the latter – the condition of free movement of people (e.g. Skeldon 2012; Triandafyllidou 2013). This aspect would have been self-evident if we were to conceptualise the field as a space of free movement of people. However, seeing it as a node, we gain an appreciation of and assign crucial importance to local territorial orders and strategies, where we can discover, as in the case of Guernsey, how locally negotiated constraints significantly shape circular mobilities. Moreover, by turning our attention to the way in which lifeworlds develop, it becomes clear that, for those engaged in circular migration, lifeworlds transform as people travel between the specific places where they live and work and not just freely move back and forth.

Therefore I also proposed to approach circular migration in a wider context of various related mobilities. Such an approach generated important new insights into how the meanings of migration, return, home and wellbeing shift and influence mobility trajectories.

Since space is arguably the most fundamental concept in human geography, I took a position throughout my thesis that my understanding of spatial processes should be explicitly contextualised in theories I refer to, and moreover should remain open to further elaboration through data analysis. My conceptual approach to a space as an overlapping territorial and interconnected entity, which is implicit in the model of time-space of possibilities, enabled me to achieve deeper understanding of circular mobilities, examining both their surface manifestations in the form of trajectories and patterns but also excavating the deeper underlying structures such as processes of production in Guernsey and capitalist demand for cheaper labour. In the Guernsey case, it was important that this labour could be flexibly recruited and remain temporary through the authority constraints imposed by housing regulations and labour contracts. In the meantime the model allowed me to probe deeper into structures deriving from Latvia's post-socialist transformation, where searching for work abroad in order to speed up changes and pursue wellbeing goals back home emerged as a formative element in contemporary Latvian society. I demonstrated how the time-geographic perspective used here as the main conceptual framework, opens up new research avenues to investigate circular migration and other mobilities that are 'enfolded' within and around it, such as visits home, temporary return, the mobility of goods, and the phenomenology of such an expanding lifeworld across translocally experienced national borders.

8.2. A dialogue between time-geography and phenomenology in contemporary mobility research

The methodology used in time-geography emphasises constraints in time-space. By applying this conceptualisation to the analysis of circular migration it becomes imperative to specify that, even in circumstances where migrants are allowed free movement in politically and economically interconnected space, they must take into consideration the constraints that objectively influence their freedom to choose when and for how long they can return to their country of origin. Based on data collected

during fieldwork, in the case of Guernsey access to housing and the terms of employment contracts are particularly important. Following on from this, I suggest that such contractual constraints should be taken into consideration in future research done on circular migration in other localities, and in analyses of the general labour market and specific employment sectors migrants are recruited into.

By definition, circular migration consists of work and life experiences in at least two distinct places, between which recurrent mobility occurs.[24] Therefore, these places become significantly connected in a person's lifeworld. People move within, and meet in territorial units, be they a state, a more specific locale, or a building. People meet with others, both in the human and natural world, and usually have routinised movements from one domain to other. Decisions about engaging in a migration project bring about radical changes in lifeworlds. Without retreating from a grounded understanding of the material reality of geographical mobility, my proposed conceptualisation makes it possible to create a dialogue between time-geography and phenomenology through *corporeal presence*, which offers an opportunity for the inclusion of sensory and emotional experience in our understanding of mobilities. Indeed, a phenomenological view allows for a deeper conceptualisation of the experience of presence and absence in a migrant's way of life as a specific culture emerging in a specific place at a specific time (Merriman 2012).

My proposed model for analysis is grounded in the basic principle of time-geography, that of material reality in co-existing processes, i.e. physical, corporeal presence in specific places and times. It is precisely through the fulfilment of the concept of the *present-horizon*, where the past and the future flow into an individual's perception and experience of the present that we can better explain how processes unfold in places that are significant for the migrant. In this way the time-space model of possibilities allows for the theoretically and methodologically grounded inclusion of personal experience, which has been little analysed in the context of circular migration until now. What I have achieved is a way to analyse a path/trajectory in time-geographic way which clearly is not a 'danse macabre' – a sequence of human movements in time and space until death – as Buttimer once criticised time-geography in the 1970s (see Ellegård and Svedin 2012). Dialogue with the phenomenological

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[24] In my study the circulation is international, between two different places which are quite distant from each other and which have different languages, cultures, economic systems etc. But circular migration can also occur within countries, as has happened in the past in Europe and at the present time in large parts of the so-called developing world.

approach reveals also (and I take a liberty to claim based on my theoretical analysis) a relational thinking in time-geography underestimated or overlooked in the most recent spatial theories; for example, that by Doreen Massey (2005). My approach may serve as an encouragement to other researchers to realise the potential of time-geography to elucidate relational spatial practices in contemporary contexts.

8.3. Use of methods

As I emphasised in the introduction to this thesis, the need for the time-space model of possibilities grew out of my choice to take an inductive approach that includes the personal experience of migrants. The importance of constraints, even under the conditions of free movement of people in the EU (with Guernsey subscribing to this freedom), became apparent from the fieldwork data relating to access to housing and the structure of employment. In-depth interviews, the main method of data collection, made it possible to obtain narrative data where the research participants freely explained their perceptions of the mobilities in which they were engaged, as well as the associated way of life. This in turn made it possible to uncover the central themes of perceptions of wellbeing and the diversity of mobilities. Repeated interviews and observations on the island enabled me to understand how types of mobilities and the way of life on the island influence the goal of wellbeing that was tied both to work and life on the island, as well as in Latvia. During five periods of fieldwork on the island over the course of two years I was able to grasp the unfolding and changing dynamics in types of mobilities and the human experience of them, whereas my participant observation during episodes of travel and the shipment of goods and possessions provided additional data concerning the diversity of mobilities and their ties to one another. Thus, I have a strong ground to argue for multi-method, ethnographic approaches in geography if we are interested in developing new theoretical ideas and novel understandings of mobilities in space and time from the local scale to the translocal, and from short-time everydayness to intergenerational time.

8.4. Types of mobilities and the linkages between them

The theoretical model first turns to exploration of the diverse mobility trajectories, the structural possibilities they hold in time-space, and their limitations. By comparing the directions, repetitive nature, and motivations of the mobility trajectories recounted in

the interviews, it is possible to group the various mobilities into signature trajectories that characterise the several types of migration. As we have seen, short-term migration is often the first step toward starting a repetitive pattern of circular migration.

The structural terms of circulation in the labour market are expressly sectoral: e.g. for work in greenhouses, agro-industrial production, cleaning, packing of goods and farm labour, short-term work permits for up to nine months are given. The migrant must leave the island for at least three months out of the year. But for work in tourism, hospitality, retail and other sectors, it is possible to get a housing permit for up to five years, and by switching over to free market housing, it is possible to work on the island indefinitely. Even so, in most cases circular migration between Latvia and Guernsey continues, only less time is spent in Latvia, scheduled according to work holidays. And in this situation migrants may return to Latvia for only a few days. Therefore the theoretical model allows for the inclusion of the diversity of mobilities that characterise the *genre de vie* which is specific to circular migration.

The translocal scale incorporates different types of mobilities in Latvia. A return to Latvia may provide the conditions for return migration, but new perceptions of wellbeing explain why people chose to continue to circulate. Thus a person is free to stay in Latvia but the realisation that a certain level of wellbeing cannot be achieved in Latvia pushes that person to continue circulation. The micro-scale level of translocality also allows me to include 'local-local' movements in the typology of mobilities. These were documented by fieldwork evidence for both Guernsey and Latvia. In the former case, such moves were related to the geographies of job opportunities and housing across the island, as well as trips for pleasure, e.g. in the company of visitors.

In line with the definitions discussed in Chapter 3, a return to Latvia for at least three months can be called circular migration, but returning for vacations lasting no more than one month per year can no longer be considered a type of mobility that is characteristic of circular migration. If we apply the current definitions of circular migration, which emphasise the freedom to leave and return to the country of origin at will, in the case of Guernsey they seem incomplete. I concur that where mobilities are unrestricted, the motivations for circular migration are mainly economic (Salt 2005; Venturini 2008; Triandafyllidiou 2010), but thanks to the time-geographic and phenomenological analysis I can specify that the freedom to return is constrained in various ways. Economically it is most notably constrained by the nature of employment contracts. My analysis also shows that it is important, alongside the

economic, to study other motivations as well, such as for education, family considerations (Newland et al. 2008), and the necessity of corporeal presence in significant places for an individual's lifeworld to achieve comfort and wellbeing.

By exploring the experience of circular migration at an emotional and sensory level we can offer a reasoned critique of the perception that circular migration is a 'triple win' for the two countries involved, as well as for the migrants themselves. My data demonstrates that the experience of presence and absence creates emotional upheaval that in turn makes it difficult to attain comfort and wellbeing both in Guernsey, which is seen as the place of work, and in Latvia, which continues to be seen as home.

8.5. Asymmetries of circular mobilities

Until now, explanations of circular migration have been more focused on the countries and places to which people migrate, but do not explain what they do there, and how they feel upon returning home. However, Eglīte and her colleagues (2006) identified the characteristics of migrants who periodically return to Latvia to spend their time and invest their money: time in Latvia is spent relaxing and improving their standard of living, while time spent abroad is dedicated to work for the most part (Eglīte et al. 2006). If we accept the premise that in an ideal model of circular migration a balanced approach to living and working should be cultivated in each location, the case of Guernsey shows that only in rare cases do migrants work in both Guernsey and Latvia and thereby achieve a harmonious and balanced integration between their two 'worlds'.

My data indicate that a return of three months is too long to live, according to subjective standards of wellbeing, on savings earned abroad; but too short to engage in a steady and satisfying work relationship, knowing that soon it will be time to head off abroad again. I have identified situations in which this is possible, for instance if an individual in Latvia works for herself or himself, a family member, or a business belonging to a friend. These empirical findings can be taken further in future exploration of the possibilities for the realisation of a balanced form of circular migration between separate countries and places. Perceptions of time as 'busy' and intensive versus 'empty' and idle highlight the importance of work both in objective time-space structures and in subjective lifeworlds. Many research participants

maintained that they feel that they are 'living' and 'alive' in Guernsey because they have work there.

8.6. Wellbeing ideas

By focusing on wellbeing in migration (following Wright 2012), my research approach advances the application of time-geography in migration through incorporating agency and capturing ways of life associated with circular mobilities. The other approaches would have been to follow, for example, the capabilities approach (de Haas 2011; Sen 1985; 1999); to analyse primarily what people lack and which capacities should be strengthened to improve their lives or coping strategies (e.g. Snel and Staring 2001; Kosic and Triandafyllidou 2003; Evans et al. 2005). However, I agree with Wright (2012: 23) that, by focusing on 'well-being instead of 'ill-being', wellbeing research advances more empowering (thus, less stigmatising) theoretical constructions in migration research. Accordingly, my proposed way to combine time-geography and wellbeing gives a more active role to research participants, which brings forward our understanding of relationships between historical time and individual mobility projects and expands psychosocial and cultural realms of geographical mobility, as indeed envisaged by Hägerstrand (1985; 2004).

8.7. Contributing to research into contemporary migration in Latvia

Research into the 'migrant way of life' on the island of Guernsey made it possible to explore issues that had been emphasised, but unanswered, in previous research; for instance, what are the specific fields and professions in which the migrants work, what is the dynamic for changing jobs abroad, and what are the various types of short-term mobilities? (Eglīte et al. 2006; 2010; Krišjāne 2007). In the largest geographical mobility study so far published in Latvia, in which 8005 representative individuals were surveyed, it was discovered that the respondents were often unable to provide specific information about the employment of their family members, but instead responded with general categories that their relative abroad works 'in a hotel', 'as a caregiver' or with similar answers. For this reason it was not possible code their answers quantitatively using the Latvian profession classifier (Krišjāne 2007: 67-72).

My qualitative approach offers a more in-depth analysis, based on the detailed accounts of the research participants themselves, concerning the process of changing

the place and type of work within a single employment sector or between sectors. In addition, the process is characterised by including the overlooked topic of combining jobs (but see Pereira's 2013 findings on how important part-time jobs and combining several jobs are for Brazilian migrants in Europe). These data serve as an additional source of information that can create a deeper understanding of the idiosyncrasies of the migrant experience for Latvians and other Eastern Europeans, not only in the particular Guernsey fieldwork site, but also as a view on the migrant employment situation in other places.

Moreover, there is a need to continue researching links between commuting on a national scale (King and Skeldon 2010; Krisjane et al. 2012) and circulations translocally. Some of my research participants considered commuting in Latvia; however, the perception of the openness of the space to pursue economic and other wellbeing goals abroad was in favour of working in Guernsey and returning more or less periodically to Latvia. This can be explained by the low salaries in Latvia, plus the insufficient infrastructure and political support for commuting. The aim of my thesis was not to look for political recommendations. However, the perception of the openness of space on the translocal scale can serve as a basis for pursuing better informed policy solutions for people engaged in circular migration. Conditions of possibilities and constraints are compared *translocally* and evaluated against possible consequences both *locally* and *translocally*.

8.8. Contributing to studies of migration on islands

Taking into account how many of the world's islands (and also territories with special status and zones) prefer the model of circulation of incoming migrant labour, it is surprising how modest has been the contemporary scholarship on migration and small islands in Europe. Many islands, especially those with a pleasant climate, employ migrant labour not only seasonally but also create regimes for circulation of the labour force. Concepts of time-space constraints, especially authority constraints, which local political institutions can impose on migrants, and 'enfolded mobility' such as servicing tourists with the help of migrant labour, are just two of several ways I have investigated circular mobilities more deeply in such specific geographical territories. Thus, my research is a straightforward invitation to provide more empirical evidence

on labour in-migration and various patterns of migration on islands that are simultaneously bounded geographical territories and interconnected social spaces.

8.9. Circulation as a *genre de vie*

In addition, research concerning contemporary mobilities between Latvia and Guernsey made it possible to see the choice of place of work, the nature of work and change of work not only through the lens of greater earnings, but to generate several new themes, for instance the frugal way of life. Such aspects affect how free time is spent, and explore local and translocal mobilities connected with shopping and the international movement of goods between Guernsey and Latvia.

Time-geography studies not only the mobilities of people, but also of things – the trajectories of the transportation of things both ways between Latvia and Guernsey. A translocal scale includes the importance of international mobilities. This line of research provides not only additional understanding about structural opportunities and constraints that influence when, how (by land, sea or air) and how long migrants return home, but also their subjective perceptions of wellbeing that allow them to combine their experience as work migrants with the mobility of tourism.

My research data confirm that home visits are typical components of the migrant *genre de vie*, and that these visits create a wider context for the understanding of circular migration. Visits can transmute into work migration, return migration, or a new goal for migration. In cooperation with other geographers (see King et al. 2013), I encourage the continuation of this research in various locales. Particularly important, I believe, is to investigate how the analysis of VFR can provide us with new information about the wider ties between labour migration and tourism, thereby enriching not only migration theory but also providing novel insights into touristic phenomena which are often overlooked (Janta et al. 2013). In this way, the theoretical-methodological model takes into account mobilities and their linkages dynamically both in a geographically bounded space and in a space of free movement. Moreover, the model takes into consideration the ways in which they are influenced by the experience of presence and absence of the migrants themselves.

Circular migration, possibly more starkly than other types of migration, helps to illuminate changes in migrants' perception of time and space in contemporary Latvia: spontaneous mobilities back and forth reveal diversity of directions and durations of trajectories but also underline a broader perception of an openness of space in Europe, in which the time-spaces of possibilities translocally are considered along with and evaluated against possibilities and immobilities locally, remaining open to both repeated emigration or permanent return.

8.10. Summary of main conclusions

When the possibility for mobility to Guernsey appeared in the late 1990s, it was usually intended as short-term migration lasting from nine months to one year. However, as a result of the cooperation that developed between the migrating individuals and their employers, a model of circular migration developed, through which a portion of the migrants continued to move regularly between Guernsey and Latvia, leading to another, smaller portion settling more permanently in Guernsey. The changes that took place in Latvia while the migrants were away, as well as the changes in their own (perceived) level of wellbeing, constituted the basis for returning repeatedly to Guernsey, opening the path to the development of circular migration.

The basic elements that constitute the possibility for circular migration are not the free will of the individual, but rather the constraining terms of work contracts and housing permits. Employment and housing contracts were extended for up to five years, expanding access to other market sectors, and allowing migrants to stay longer-term and to return to Latvia only during vacations.

I round off my final summary by first listing the main types of migration and mobility that were uncovered through my fieldwork investigation. These are:

(1) Short-term, one-shot migration, working in Guernsey for several months up to one year.

(2) Circular migration as an extra-local work migration process: Guernsey as a place of work and Latvia as home.

(3) Long-term employment in Guernsey, returning to Latvia for short visits to the personal or family property or to spend time with family and friends, but with the idea of returning to Latvia at some point in the fairly immediate future.

(4) The creation of a permanent diaspora in the island of Guernsey as a result of developing family relationships and other types of networking.

Secondly, the following return mobilities enfold into types of international migration:

(1) Return home, typically lasting three months.

(2) Return migration, but retaining the possibility of future employment outside of Latvia based on previous experience.

(3) Visits home or to relatives during vacations from work, usually lasting from one week to one month.

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APPENDIX I and II

No	Age* at first interview	Gender	Since when in Guernsey	Employment sector at first interview	Tape/notes
1	28	w	2004	Hospitality	Tape
2	43	w	2002	Hospitality, services	Tape
3	48	w	2002	Services	Tape
4	47	w	1998	Services	Tape
5	25	w	2008	Services	Tape
6	27	w	2003	Services	Tape
7	44	m	2007	Production	Tape
8	24	w	2008	Finance	Tape
9		w	2004	Services	Tape
10	38	w	2001	Hospitality	Notes
11	49	w	1997	Hospitality, services, not working	Tape
12	23	m	2009	Hospitality	Tape
13	28	m	2008	Hospitality	Tape
14	33	m	2009	Hospitality	Notes
15	42	m	2004	Services	Tape
16	37	w	2005	Services	Tape
17	39	w	2008	Not working	Tape
18	32	m	2004	Services	Tape
19	43	w	1998	Services	Tape
20	35	w	1998	Services	Tape
21	45	m	1998−2000	Finance	Tape
22	40	w	2001	Agriculture, fulfilment	Tape
23	44	w	2004	Services, hospitality	Tape
24	38	w	2004	Entrepreneur	Tape
25	26	w	2004	Services	Tape
26	29	w	2005	Services	Tape
27	28	w	2007	Services	Tape
28	33	m	2004	Hospitality	Tape
29	23	w	2009	Services	Notes
30	27	w	2010	Services	Tape

No	Age* at first interview	Gender	Since when in Guernsey	Employment sector at first interview	Tape/notes
31	38	w	2010	Services	Tape
32	50	w	1999	Services, hospitality	Tape
33	62	w	2000	Hospitality	Notes
34	24	m	2008	Fulfilment	Notes
35	27	m	2010	Fulfilment	Notes
36	51	m	2002	Hospitality	Tape
37	22	m	2008	Hospitality	Tape
38	35	m	2005	Hospitality	Notes
39	32	w	2008	Hospitality	Tape
40	50	w	1999	Services	Tape
41	54	w		Fulfilment	Tape
42	44	w	2008	Hospitality	Tape
43	35	m	2005	Hospitality	Tape
44	44	m	2007	Hospitality	Tape
45	22	m	2009	Services	Tape
46	22	m	2008	Services	Tape
47	44	w	2002	Entrepreneur	Tape
48	32	m	2004	Entrepreneur	Tape
49	36	m	2002	Entrepreneur	Tape
50	24		2008	Hospitality	Tape
51	46	m	2003	Hospitality	Tape
52	44	w	2001	Hospitality	Tape
53	67	w	2008	Hospitality	Tape
54	60	w	2004	Agriculture	Tape
55	37	w	2009	Fulfilment	Tape
56	41	w	2004	Agriculture	Notes
57	53	w	2010	Fulfilment	Tape
58	36	m	2004	Entrepreneur	Notes
59	23	m	2008	Services	Notes
60	28	m	2008	Fulfilment	Notes
61	20	w	2011	Hospitality	Notes
62	56	w	2006	Hospitality	Tape
63	59	w	2009	Hospitality	Tape
64	37	w	2006	Services	Tape
65	18	w	2011	Hospitality	Tape

No	Age* at first interview	Gender	Since when in Guernsey	Employment sector at first interview	Tape/notes
66	42	w	2004	Hospitality	Tape
67	44	w	2005	Entrepreneur/ services (state)	Tape
68	35	w	2005	Entrepreneur/ services	Tape
69	26	m	2009	Hospitality	Tape
70	49	m	2007	Hospitality	Tape
71	38	w	1997	Manager	Tape
72	23	w	2010	Services/ entrepreneur	Notes
73	24	m	2008	Hospitality	Notes
74	22	m	2009	Hospitality	Tape
75	22	w	2011	Hospitality	Tape
76	46	w	2008	Hospitality	Tape
77		m	2010	Hospitality, agriculture	Tape
78	24	m	2005	Services	Notes
79	25	w	2010	Fulfilment, agriculture	Tape
80	64	w	1999	Fulfilment, agriculture	Tape
81	60	w	2000	Fulfilment, agriculture	Tape
82	24	w	2008	Finance	Tape
83	49	w	2004	Services	Defective tape, notes
84	53	w	2006	Hospitality	Notes
85		w	1998	Not working/state services	Tape
86	52	w	2007	Agriculture	Notes
87	27	m	2009	Hospitality	Notes
88	32	m	2004	Services/state	Tape
89	47	w	2007	Fulfilment, agriculture	Tape
90	27	m	2010	Services	Notes

No	Age* at first interview	Gender	Since when in Guernsey	Employment sector at first interview	Tape/notes

Table 7 **Education, last employment in Latvia and first employment in Guernsey**

Gender	1st time to Guernsey	Education	In Latvia	First employment in Guernsey
W	1997	Higher, pedagogy	teacher	greenhouse
W	1997	Higher, pedagogy	teacher	greenhouses
W	1998	Studied agriculture	studied	greenhouse
W	1998	Interrupted studies, economics	Office manager	greenhouse
W	1998	Higher, pedagogy	teacher	greenhouse
M	1998	Higher, finance		IT
W	1999	Vocational, trade	factory	greenhouse
W	1999	Higher, arts	designer	greenhouses
W	1999	elementary, unfinished vocational, artwork	Farm/unemployed	greenhouses
W	1999	Higher, pedagogy	Pre-school teacher	greenhouses
W	2000	Vocation, food technologies	In private farm	greenhouses
W	2000	Vocational, trade	unemployed	greenhouses
W	2000	Vocational, nurse	nurse	greenhouses
W	2001	Vocational, sewer	sewer	Hotel, cleaning
W	2001	Higher, agriculture	studied	greenhouse
W	2001	basic	agriculture	greenhouse
W	2002	Higher, philology	translator	Hospitality
W	2002	Vocational, trade	cook	Restaurants, waitress
M	2002	secondary	Did not specify	Hospitality, kitchen porter
W	2002	Vocational, nurse	housewife	Elderly care
W	2002	Vocational, sewer	Self-employed finances	Cafeteria in a hotel
M	2002	Vocational, cook	Photo services, IT	Hotel, kitchen porter
M	2003	Unfinished higher, engineering	cook	cook
M	2004	secondary,	stevedore	Hotel, kitchen porter
W	2004	Vocational, accountant	accountant	Hospitality cleaning
M	2004	vocational	Casual employment, trade	shipping
W	2004	Unfinished higher, tourism	tourism	greenhouses
M	2004	Vocational, plumber	Security and plumbing	plumbing
M	2004	Vocational, transport	transport	Domestic work, maintenance
W	2004	Vocational, trade	Child leave/unemployed	greenhouse
M	2004	Secondary, interrupted higher education, law	security	Cleaning and kitchen porter
W	2004	Higher, entrepreneurship	Entrepreneur, owner of a flower shop	Floristic
M	2004	vocational	unemployed	shipping
W	2004	secondary	Unemployed/child leave	cafeteria
W	2004	Vocational, sewer	sewer	greenhouse
W	2004	Higher, environmental studies	State institution	Hotel, room service
W	2004	Vocational, sewer	cafeteria	cleaning
M	2005	Vocational		Hotel, kitchen porter
W	2005	secondary	Retail shop	Hotel, cleaning

Gender	1st time to Guernsey	Education	In Latvia	First employment in Guernsey
W	2005	secondary	Retail chain shop	greenhouse
M	2005	secondary	unemployed	cafeteria
M	2005	Unfinished vocational	construction	construction
W	2006	Not specified	Not specified	hotel
W	2006	Vocational, agriculture	unemployed	Hotel, cleaner
W	2006	Higher, pedagogy	Sports teacher	shop
W	2006	Vocational, sewer	Call centre	Hotel cleaning
M	2007	Vocational, carpenter	Carpenter/unemployed	cleaning
M	2007	Vocational	Private farm	Hotel maintenance
M	2007	Vocational, transport	transport	Maintenance, gardening
W	2007	Higher, pedagogy	Office clerk	Elderly care
W	2007	Vocational, nurse	Nurse	Agriculture, private farm
M	2007	Unfinished higher	Land surveyor	transport
W	2007	Technical, arts	artist	Fulfilment, packaging
W	2008	Vocational, art	studied	studying
W	2008	secondary	studied	Restaurant, waitress
W	2008	Vocational, cook	pensioner	Hotel, cleaning
M	2008	Higher, tourism	Tourism/unemployed	Hotel, night porter
M	2008	Unfinished vocational, construction	Studied/construction	construction
M	2008	secondary	construction	Fulfilment, packaging of internet orders
W	2008	Higher, pedagogy	Office administrator	Elderly care
M	2008	secondary	unemployed	hotel
W	2008	secondary	Retail shop	cafeteria
W	2008	Unfinished higher, economics	Finances, domestic care (children)	finances
M	2008	secondary	unemployed	Fulfilment, packaging internet orders
M	2008	secondary	Hotel/unemployed	Hotel cafeteria
W	2008	Higher philology	shop	cafeteria
W	2008	Vocational, trade	shop	Cafeteria
M	2008	Unfinished vocational, road building	construction	construction
W	2008	Unfinished higher, logistics	office clerk	Cafeteria
M	2009	Interrupted higher, information technologies	construction	construction
M	2009	secondary	hotel, waiter	Bar, waiter
W	2009	secondary	Retail-chain shop	cleaning
M	2009	Vocational, construction	builder	Restaurant, kitchen porter
W	2009	Higher, entrepreneurship	retail trade	shop
W	2009	Vocational trade	retail shops	hotel
M	2009	Higher, economy	construction	hospitality, waiter
M	2009	Unfinished higher, engineering	builder	hotel, room service
W	2009	Vocational, did not specify	unemployed	fulfilment, packaging of internet orders
M	2010	Vocational, transport	entrepreneur, transport, agriculture	restaurant, kitchen porter, agriculture, maintenance

Gender	1st time to Guernsey	Education	In Latvia	First employment in Guernsey
M	2009	secondary	hotel	hotel
W	2010	vocational, trade	unemployed	Fulfilment, packaging of internet orders
W	2010	secondary	unemployed	Fulfilment, packaging in seeds
W	2010	secondary, additionally beauty therapy	sports industry	beauty therapy
W	2010	vocational, additionally beauty therapy	beauty therapy	beauty therapy
W	2010	Vocational, hairdresser	hairdresser	beauty services
W	2010	secondary	unemployed	fulfilment
M	2010	higher, entrepreneurship	entrepreneur/unemployed	cafeteria
M	2010	Interrupted higher, IT	construction	construction
W	2011	interrupted higher, social sciences	studied	cafeteria
W	2011	secondary	studied	cafeteria
W	2011	studied, technical sciences	studied	cafeteria