'HOME SWEET HOME'

And the Myth of Returning

Among Spanish Migrants in Australia

http://www.homesweethomeproject.net/

Image 1. Immigration Museum, Museums Victoria (2019).

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Declaration of Ethics

The research presented and reported in this exegesis was conducted within the guidelines for research ethics outlined in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in research Involving Humans (1999), the Joint NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human research (2007), and the UTS policy and guidelines relating to the ethical conduct of research.

The proposed research received clearance from the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee UTS HREC NO: 2013000210.
The following points should also be noted in relation to the issue of permission. I formally sought and was given permission to prepare and submit this exegesis by all the family members involved in these interviews.

Certificate of authorship and originality

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree; nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as part of the collaborative doctoral degree and/or fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Student:

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Contents

List of illustrations

Abstract

The aim of this Doctor of Creative Arts (DCA) is to reconsider the meaning of migratory 'return' in an era of increasing transnational experiences while arguing for the impossibility of a final 'return home' for Spanish migrants with emotional links to Spain and Australia. My thesis expands from the growing literature on circular transnational migration and proposes a new concept, 'emotional returnees', which describes those migrants who are involved in multiple returns to both countries. I argue that the impossibility of an emotional and final return unsettles families for generations, turning the act of a final return 'home' into a myth. By drawing on different disciplinary strands of migration theory that deal with identity construction, the meaning of home, the challenge of distance and the myth of return, this DCA expands from ideas proposing that transnational movements do radically transform migrants' ideas of home whenever returning is experienced, deconstructed or planned by the different members of a migrant family, to further develop and deepen our understandings of 'home' and 'return' through different case studies using a transnational migration frame.

The creative contribution of this DCA is a series of nine short documentaries delivered as a website that comprises interviews with returnees in Australia and Spain (http://www.homesweethomeproject.net/). Their reflections demonstrate that for many Spanish transnational migrants, 'return' would be better described as an ongoing journey rather than a final destination back 'home'. This website emerges from a methodology of practice-based research that enabled me to produce the short documentaries alongside a virtual archive of migratory memorabilia and material documents.

In this DCA I also deploy an auto-ethnographic approach by including my personal experiences as a Spanish-born migrant, a mother and a multiple returnee. This means that in this exegesis and the accompanying creative website I am not an outsider; rather, I am a participant in the analysis, a position that allows me to document the intricacy of the subject of Spanish migratory returns as both an insider and active participant.

The findings of this DCA contribute to the critical literature in transnational lives and migration by approaching the idea of return from an intergenerational

perspective. Most importantly, the DCA contributes to extant Australian migration studies by augmenting and building from the limited studies of Spanish migration to and from Australia. The creative component of this thesis—which hosts the oral histories, digital ethnographies and archived memorabilia I collected—now survives the DCA process as a significant site of Spanish migrant memorialisation in Australia, and as an invaluable resource for future scholarship.

'HOME SWEET HOME'

Introduction

The research for this thesis consists of two parts: a written exegesis and a website containing a collection of short documentaries, archival material and memorabilia from returnee migrants living in Spain and Australia. While both sections of this research can be studied separately, they are intended to work in tandem, as the thesis addresses key issues raised in the creative work and the creative work is a practical demonstration of the argument, I outline in the exegetic part of the DCA.

Why this research?

The motivation for the line of enquiry in this work arose directly from my personal experience, and my encounters with Spanish families, as a migrant in Australia. Like many migrants from my community, during my twenty-five years in this country I attempted to 'return' to Spain on many occasions. I sold everything, packed and left with the idea of never returning. However today I am writing these lines sitting at my desk in Sydney, again wondering why I returned over and over again, asking what exactly it is that am I looking for? Will I ever settle or be grounded in one place? Where do I belong and, most importantly, will I be able to offer emotional and physical stability to my family one day?

Interesting enough, these questions are not attached to a particular place, given that I find myself interchangeably asking them in Spain and Australia alike. This situation is not exclusive to my life but (un)surprisingly, it also affects the many Spanish families I have met during the times I relocated to each location. For these reasons, I decided to research the motivations behind these multiple relocations, in an attempt to understand the (in)ability to find a place I can call home. I also wanted to understand the reasoning

behind the many relocations in order to ease the feeling of guilt and despair as I drag along my family from one side of the world to the other.

The drive for this research, then, arises directly from my personal experiences and from the contacts I have with many Spanish families in Australia. Like many of these families, I also find myself returning to this country and because of this, the idea of returning and its impossibility have been in one way or another always present in my own family life. This unsettling situation has made me increasingly aware of my (dis)connection to both countries and it has triggered an awareness of the potential consequences my migratory moves may have for my children and their current and future relationship to Australia and Spain. This situation has also confirmed for me the need to contribute to the critical terrain on migrant returns given that I did not recognise my own experiences, or those of my friends and contacts in the Spanish community, in the extant Australian critical literature on migration and diasporic communities. Indeed, Spanish migration has been largely absented from the broader critical terrain of Australian migration and multicultural studies. This DCA aims, in part, to provide a remedy to that oversight.

Memory

When I started my Master's studies at UTS I directed a short film called *Memory*.[1] The intention of the film was to express my sadness and distress while dealing with my mother's illness, the impossibility of being by her side and the terrible distance between our countries. As often happens with emotions and creativity, events took their own turn. The sadness caused by my inability to properly care for my elderly mother was mixed, with a set of new feelings towards *mi tierra* together with a nostalgia for a life I had never actually had. This convoluted set of hidden emotions gave birth to the narration of the film in which the fragility of my feelings, memory and identity emerged.

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[1] To watch *Memory*, see https://vimeo.com/58400918
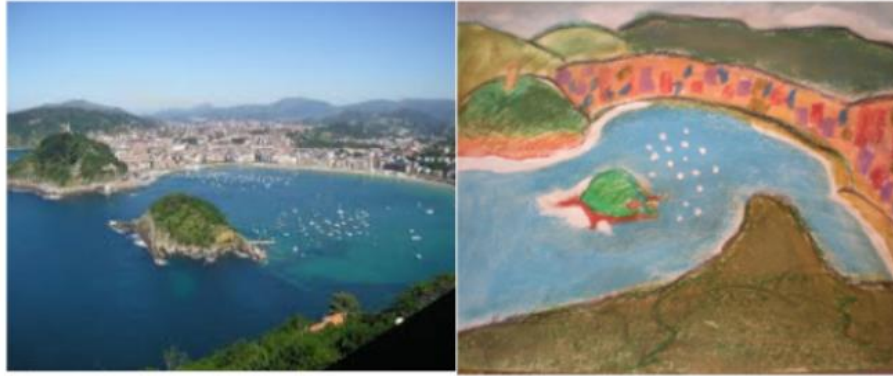
Image 2. Stills from Memory (Natalia Ortiz, 2013).

There is no doubt that I have always wondered where I belong. Growing up in San Sebastián, a coastal city in the Basque Country in the north of Spain, I never felt included in what I perceived to be the Basque identity. Nor did I feel that identity when I lived in different parts of Spain. I always dreamt of the day I would leave my country and go as far away as I could. And so, I did; I flew to Australia.

With the prospect of reinventing myself and the excitement of a new beginning I arrived in Australia on 9 September 1994. However, after the first couple of years I felt exactly the same isolation and lack of belonging as I had before. This time, surprisingly, that detachment triggered a sudden need to reconnect with Spain.

Part of that need led me to establish the Spanish Film Festival in Australia, an annual event that encapsulated my passion for cinema and my new urge to be re-linked to Spain. I established the event not only with the idea of bringing new films to Australia and to travel regularly to Spain but, most importantly, as a way of helping me to be up to date and connected on my return, the latter a destination that twenty-four years later is yet to arrive.

Nobody was more amazed than me when I was confronted with the idea and long-term plan of my own return. After the initial confusion, I started to wonder how many migrants like myself have been surprised by the same desire.

I believe, as a filmmaker, that most stories arise not only from the need of telling a story, but also as a result of meetings and coincidences. It is not hard to imagine that during the fifteen years I worked as Film Festival Director

I was fortunate enough to meet many people within my community in Australia. However, unexpectedly enough, the fact very quickly surfaced that a large number of individuals and families were caught up, like me, in the spiral of return. Hence, my natural reaction was to tell these stories that were also, indirectly, my own.

As a mother and a returnee, I decided to concentrate my research on Spanish families who were affected in one way or another by return. I was fascinated by the idea of being confronted with many different points of view about this issue, and of how the same process was experienced by different generations within a family given that each age group would have individual needs and desires. Although this thesis is not focusing on children's experiences alone, I was interested to see what young migrants born and educated in Australia would feel about these multiple returns and the idea that Spain should feel like their 'home'. It is often said that 'home' is where the heart is, yet if your heart is in two or more places, where is home?

In my search for a way to understand the phenomenon of the migrants' 'return' I was concerned about many issues. I was not only interested in discussing the meaning of home and the desire of migrants to find a sense of it; I also wanted to investigate if such a feeling of home might finally bring a sense of belonging. I wanted to question if the need to find 'home' was at times more urgent for parents who, like me, wished to give our children a sense of belonging, of being grounded, of having roots, while giving that sense to them by being grounded ourselves (or vice versa). I further wanted to explore the vast distance between Australia and Spain and the ways by which that distance might affect our emotions and connectedness to each country. What I didn't anticipate was the array of different issues and emotions that flourished during the interviews, and how such situations provoked new points of discussion in this thesis. Yet, most importantly, what I did not expect was the many shared issues, emotions and concerns that for a long time I had thought were solely my own.

'Home Sweet Home': a web of interconnected emotions

One of the many challenges of this DCA was to determine what to do creatively. As I started to pre-interview families, I quickly realised that one or

two stories would not be enough. Yet another issue arose: how could I encapsulate a lifetime and a set of confronting emotions and opinions in a short film while making sure, at the same time, that the stories would be relevant, interesting, moving, and above all respectful to the participants?

The time frame of my candidature set also certain limitations to the project. I had to search for a small number of families, but they needed to represent the many ways a family or individual could be affected by return and to take that opportunity to discuss the many aspects of migration. In other words, I did not want to tell the same story in each case; rather I wanted to provide insights into the many variations and possibilities of so-called migrant returns.

Finally, the most difficult part was having to accept that some families with very complicated and entangled stories refused to be part of this DCA, because retelling their experiences of multiple returns and their losses along the way proved to be too difficult. As one returnee mother sadly put it: 'To even think about, it is too painful, I don't have the strength'.

After lengthy reading and research, I embarked on the creative component of this DCA entitled 'Home Sweet Home': a site that contains nine short documentaries and complementary archival material encapsulating the many intricacies of Spanish migrant experiences to and from Australia. The site is used purely as a platform to showcase the archival and documentary material, to offer the opportunity to other migrants to share their stories for further research, and to invite a dialogue on (circular) migration, return, identity construction and the meaning of home. The design of the website has purposely been left simple for two reasons: first, I wanted to facilitate the navigation to users of any age or skills; second, I realised that a more complicated design might interfere with or overshadow the stories portrayed in this project.

Image 3. Home Page, 'Home Sweet Home'.

The editing of the films has equally been kept, to a certain extent, 'simple'; music and other post-production additions such as FX and complicated designs have not been used in order to avoid influencing the audience and to allow the stories to be the 'protagonist'. The stories should make (or not) the audience question and empathise with the participants' experiences, simply by what they are telling us. There is also extra archival material included on the site in the form of a photo gallery to offer the audience—both the general public and other researchers—the possibility of 'seeing' beyond the words of the interviewees. Bryan Carter (2013) reminds us of the benefit of 'seeing' the information of our research much more broadly and in effect differently. While Sarah Pink further argues that visual methodology is not simply for data recording but a means to generate new perceptions (2006) and that is certainly what I aim to achieve. But who has taken part in this research and why?

The 'emotional returnees', the families

As my research identifies a range of experiences of returnees, it was important that each family in this project offers a different aspect of the many layers and intricacies of the process of migration and 'return'. Those experiences involve

6

isolation, identity construction, the meaning of home, the timing of return, multiple returns, migration and remigration, distance, family, nostalgia and discussions on the potential consequences for future generations. When interviewing the families, I found that the title to their story emerged during their interviews rather than being something I had in mind at the start of the interview.

Such is the case of Nieves, who arrived in Australia at the age of twenty-two. In her story, she tells how she finally returned to Spain after her Australian husband passed away and because her children went back to Europe first, giving her the strength to leave the country where she had lived for over 30 years. One of the things that constantly came about as she told her story was her feeling of 'Isolation' while living in Australia, giving the title to her film.

Another of my interviewees, Pablo, provided a different perspective on the consequences of migration and return, in the short film 'Mum'. He tells us how he arrived in Australia at the age of three and explains the traumatic experience of going back to Spain with his family at the age of ten. He cannot forget that trip because at the time of their departure from Spain his mother refused to return to Australia while Pablo, his sister and dad were waiting for her to get to the airport. The Spanish family convinced his mother to return to Australia and so they all did. He vividly remembered how depressed his mother was on returning and questioned if perhaps that was the reason why he decided to become a flight attendant later in life so he could help his mother to go back to Spain as often as she needed. As he explained in his film, for many years his life revolved around taking his mother to and from Spain annually. He continues by explaining how once his mother returned to Spain for good, he and his family spent four years in Spain with her, why such a situation was important and the repercussions of that for all involved. Pablo ends his film by explaining how he is planning to one day go back and live with his partner in Spain but how his son, Billy, doesn't have to join them, repeating in a way, his childhood experience.

The film 'Multiple returns, multiple homes' offers the opportunity to learn how different members of one family relate to Spain and Australia as each member of the Cajias family—Inma, Miguel and their two daughters

Lucia and Maya—describes where and what home is. Such a discrepancy of opinions and emotions is making a possible return to Spain very difficult. Miguel and Inma 'returned' to Spain on two occasions before having children but decided to come back to Australia to raise their daughters, yet with the hope of returning to Spain one day. Such need and sentiment are stronger for Inma than for Miguel—he is happy 'either way' while Inma thinks about her return 'every day, even after twenty years living in Australia'. However, Lucia and Maya, their teenage daughters, do not wish to return to Spain, although such feelings are volatile and at times they agree to go; at others they refuse.

Yolanda presents two stories. The first is dedicated to her mother Sagrario, who at the time of her death was emotionally divided between the two countries, allowing us to discuss 'The myth of 'return'. The second film is Yolanda's story, in which she recounts her experience as a multiple returnee. She explains how she relocated to both countries as a child and teenager and how she does not fit into either locality, hence her 'nostalgia' in both places.

Jorge Roura arrived in Australia in 1966 at the age of eight from Switzerland, where his parents had first migrated from Spain. He tells the story of his first trip back to Spain at the age of eighteen in which he felt a reconnection with his Catalan 'identity', and also realised that he actually experienced grief on moving to Australia as a child. He further explains how as an adult one feels a greater need to reconnect with one's roots and to find a sense of 'home'. Further, he explains how he considers that home is Catalunya, in Spain, even though he is very happy in Australia and has reconnected with his 'identity'. He contemplates a return to Spain; however, he is concerned about his Australian wife and daughter. He recounts how the three of them lived in Barcelona for a year and how that residency had an impact on all of them.

Jesús Lasheras tells us from Spain the story of his deceased father who arrived in Australia in the 1950s to work in Queensland in the sugar-cane industry. Through his memories we explore the Spanish migration of that time. Currently, Jesús wants to come to Australia to visit all the places that are vivid in his memories because of the stories his father used to tell him about Australia. Jesús would like to return to the places and country that he has seen

in photographs while listening to his father telling stories about his experience as a labour migrant in Australia.

María Rosa tells us how she lives 'Here and there', given that she has children and grandchildren in Australia while her elderly mother lives in Bilbao, Spain. She recounts how wonderful it is to be able to live between two countries; yet she does not want to contemplate the idea of not being able to do so one day and finally must decide to remain in one country. She talks about the terrible distance between the two countries and how she will change only one thing about her long-term migration life, her destination, as Australia is and always has been 'too far' from her culture and family.

Finally, we have Teresa and her children Antón and Elsa who visit Spain annually. With her 'Childhood Memories', Teresa is reconnecting to Galicia (in the northwest of Spain) through her children and is appreciating things she never did before. Although she grew up in Madrid, her best childhood memories are from Galicia, where she annually brings back her children, so that 'home' becomes part of their childhood memories too. Teresa explains why it is so important for her—but most importantly for her children—to travel annually to Spain and to have such an emotional connection and sense of 'home'. On the other hand, Antón and Elsa share their feelings towards Spain and Australia and describe their childhood memories.

Some participants who formed part of this research did not wish to participate in the documentaries and website as they felt uncomfortable making their personal experiences public. Such is the case of Judith, Antonio and their two children, Xoan and Eliza, who returned to Spain after living in Australia for twelve years. Judith felt the pressure to return to look after her elderly parents given, she is an only child. Antonio wanted to return to Spain for many years but was afraid of not being able to find a job, while Xoan and Eliza are experiencing their first migration after being born in Sydney, Australia.

Image 4. Landing page, 'Home Sweet Home'.

The importance of when the decision to return is best made and the issue of timing is best represented by Alicia and her parents, Alicia and Valentín. Even though everyone in the family agreed to return to Spain together, in the end they did not and currently half of the family lives in Spain and the other half in Australia. On the one hand, Alicia and Valentín share with us the agony and pain of having children and grandchildren divided between the two countries and their fear of getting old and one day being unable to travel all the way to Australia to visit them. On the other hand, Alicia (daughter) explains why she decided to 'return' to Australia once back in Spain, despite the fact that she knew separating the family was going to be traumatic for all involved, and how now she is trying to reconnect to Spain through her young Australian children. When questioned about the possibility of one day finding herself in the same situation as her parents, she describes it as 'ideal' because it will present her with the possibility of living six months in each country.

Mari Paz Moreno arrived in Australia as part of the Plan Marta or Martha's Plan, an informal agreement signed by the Spanish and Australian governments in 1957, to bring women to Australia under the belief that they were going to work as domestic servants. She describes how for a long time she thought about going back to Spain nearly 'every day'. Now she has children and grandchildren and is happy to stay in Australia, while also travelling regularly back to Spain.

Lastly, Yvonne Santalucia is a Multicultural Aged Officer working with culturally and linguistically diverse communities (CALD) and has worked with the Spanish community in NSW for over thirty years. She discusses the many fears and terrible isolation migrants deal with as they age, and when leaving behind children and grandchildren because of the need to 'return' to Spain.

As these interviews illustrate, this DCA is not merely a study of the idea of 'return'; it is also a multifocal perspective of the migration experience that aims to meaningfully engage with broader debates on issues such as the meaning of home, identity construction, the myth of return, the 'tyranny of distance', and the need to belong among Spanish migrants from and to Australia, and thus to demonstrate the need for an interdisciplinary perspective to address some of the gaps in extant scholarship on transnational migration and return.

A house while searching for 'home'

The locations for my interviews were important, as they gave additional meaning to the stories and experiences I was encountering. I decided to interview the families in their own houses to reflect the ambiguities, paradoxes and contradictions that exist between the concepts of house and home. Houses, in most cases, reflect or represent the family and people who live in them, but there is also a difference between the physical home and the emotional home. One can have a physical home in Australia but might feel that his or her emotional home is not located in a specific location, as with most of the participants in this thesis, hence the difficulty for some of them to emotionally 'return home'.

It was clear to me that through the interviews I needed to give voice to the different perspectives concerning the interaction between the personal, the social, the cultural and the emotional 'home' in order to explore the representation of the home as a mixed site of memory and identity making. In other words, I wanted to expand from Mary Douglas's idea of home as being 'located in space, but not necessarily a fixed space' (1991, p. 289), and from Takeyuki Tsuda, who proposes the need to distinguish between home and homeland while discussing transnational lives (2004, p. 125). With this work, I wanted to expand from such concepts and ideas to then present how for this

group of emotional returnees 'home' is not necessarily always linked to a geographical space but rather to an emotional one. This emotional space is generated by the need to be close to the people important to these returnees despite the location in which they live. In other words, for the emotional returnees 'home' is understood by the proximity of the people they love and want to be with, despite the location in which they live.

In the subsequent chapters and after presenting different case studies I then propose that for these group of returnees' home and homeland are not necessarily linked because their needs are related to emotional 'spaces' rather than geographical locations.

Research gap(s), my approach and methodology

There are several gaps in the critical literature about migration that this DCA responds to: by proposing the new concept of 'emotional returnees'; by incorporating an auto-ethnographic approach using a multidisciplinary methodology that incorporates field work, a visual archive, oral history in the form of interviews, and a creative methodology that combines field work in two countries, Spain and Australia. All of this is presented through a practice-based research approach delivered in the form of a website containing new archival material—8mm family films, photographs, poems, handwritten notes, printed manuals and other artefacts—about Spanish migration to Australia. The contribution to knowledge and originality of this DCA is demonstrated by the creative outcome included in the project website 'Home Sweet Home' and the thesis proposal of a new critical term, the 'emotional returnees'.

During the following chapters I analyse the concept of home and return, as I present the plethora of affairs and personal views afforded by my interviewees. Such cases represent some of the many patterns of migration, but further identify a range of emotional returnees: those who describe a frustrated return and its consequence; Spanish families in Australia planning to someday go back to Spain but facing resistance from younger members of the family; returnees who are back in Spain after living in Australia for a long period of time but whose family has been torn apart as a consequence of the relocation; returned Spanish migrants back in Australia for the second or third time; and children whose 'returns' to Spain are in fact experienced as a first

migration, given that they were born in Australia. Such an array of cases leads to a new understanding of the complexity and variations of the process of migration and returns and exemplifies what I propose in this thesis when discussing emotional returnees. In addition, with this work, I am contributing to the very limited research of Spanish migration to Australia and its representation. This limitation will be further explained in Chapters two and three.

To appreciate the value and originality of this work, I note that some theorists have pointed out that 'there has been a notable lack of critical attention to return movements, and even less so for the second generation' (King and Christou 2011, p. 454). Indeed, although return migration has been neglected by many scholars of migration, it also appears as if it has become 'an impossible subject to study' (Biao Xiang 2014). My understanding of the limitations in the study of return arise not only because there are diverse movements are covered by the idea of 'return', but because for a group of (emotional) returnees the idea of a final 'return', as understood to date, is simply not possible.

Thesis structure

In Chapter 1, I outline the history of Spanish migration, and look at important historical events that caused Spanish migration nationally and internationally. I also provide an overview of the main waves of Spanish migration to Australia. I further include a section in which I introduce the arrival stories of some of the project's research participants, along with unprecedented archival footage and documents related to Spanish migration to Australia. Finally, I examine the many governmental policies that encourage Spanish emigrants to 'return' as well as the plethora of associations supporting emigrants and their families once back in Spain. This chapter is pivotal in contextualising the historical issue of migrants' return, and its importance to the past and present Spanish social and political arena. Moreover, it illustrates how migration and return are heavily linked to the history of Spain as a country.

In Chapter 2, I describe the creative part of the DCA, 'Home Sweet Home', which presents a new approach to telling our stories and advocating for a stronger presence of and research on Spanish migration to and from

Australia. After giving an overview of the way Spanish migrants and their stories have been portrayed (or not) so far in online platforms in Australia, I discuss how 'Home Sweet Home' comprises a virtual home in which Spanish migrants engaged in multiple or impossible returns are represented, and thus indicate how my work fits with current online representations of Spanish migrants in Australia.

In Chapter 3, I introduce a new concept, 'emotional returnees'—referring to migrants who are involved in multiple returns—to then explain through case studies that for the 'emotional returnee' return as such is not entirely possible because of emotional attachments in both the host and receiving countries.

In order to understand how migrants and their families are affected by returns, I present particular case studies of and theories about identity construction to provide a new critical perspective on the 'myth of return', given that some migrants do return physically but not emotionally as they have emotional connections in both countries, perpetuating the impossibility of returning to a single location. Here, I further discuss the impacts of the geographical and emotional distance between Spain and Australia and how that distance contributes to building the myth of a final return among emotional returnees.

Finally, it is important to point out that the purpose of this work is not to re-describe return, but to highlight the complexity of the issue, broaden current theories of migration, and to contest the idea that there is a unilateral relationship between home and homeland. And most importantly, this work contributes to the limited representation of the Spanish migration to Australia in academic research, governmental platforms, migration museums and online projects, while elucidating a new critical concept, the 'emotional returnees'.

Chapter 1
A brief history of Spanish migration

Spain has a long and well-documented history of outward migration; yet not much is known about the return of migrants to Spain. In order to understand the complexity of migrant returns in the 21st century, both to and away from Australia, I have three main points of focus in this chapter.

First, I supply an historical overview of Spanish migration that helps provide a sense of the various patterns and drivers of migration. I begin by overviewing the important historical events that triggered Spanish migration internally and internationally. I continue by focusing on the 20th century, analysing the continuing impact of Franco's regime on patterns of migration, and most importantly identifying the first waves of Spanish migration to Australia.

Second, I examine a range of Spanish legislation and political policies that have had impacts on migration movements. After surveying migration patterns since the 1950s, I explore how migration policies and practices, as well as the rhetoric of politicians over the last century to current times, have affected migrants. I discuss the 2015 Spanish elections during which one of the main political parties, Podemos, fuelled hopes that large numbers of Spanish young migrants would return home under their new policies. I also discuss more recent political debates by the Socialist government under the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE; Spanish Workers Labour Party) regarding migrant returnees.

Finally, I introduce a range of individual perspectives on migration and remigration movements with the aim of better understanding what these Spanish migrants are going through in a situation that for others without similar experiences might seem incomprehensible.

Historical background

In 2019 Spain is a country that claims to protect its elderly Spanish emigrants, to enable emigrants' education, to support emigrants' centres and associations and to create opportunities for institutional representation through the General

Council of the Emigration and Resident Councils. The Spanish government also rewards exemplary emigrants, through the Emigrants' Medal of Honour, and it financially supports emigrants and their families if and when they choose to return through different forms of subsidies. It also dedicates resources to fulfilling the needs of second- and third-generation Spaniards living abroad (Exteriores.gob.es). However, this positive embrace of Spanish emigrants has not always been the case.

Márquez Macías (1995) explains how for centuries, Spain was a country with institutions that perceived emigration to be a problem. In 1623, after over one hundred years of emigration to the Americas, King Felipe IV promulgated a decree with the intention of avoiding the depopulation of his kingdom. This decree to control emigration punished any person who tried to leave the kingdom without the king's consent. It expropriated migrants of any property they or their family might leave behind and gave power to the justice and ministry of any recipient ports to equally dispossess the migrant and his or her family upon arrival to the New World (Márquez Macías 1995, p. 69).

In the 16th century, exploration in the so-called 'New World' was fuelled in part by imperial hopes for the discovery of wealthy civilisations and natural riches. For their part, Spanish immigrants to the Americas were seeking land to farm or occasionally freedom from religious persecution (Calderón and Oporto del Olmo 2005; Kreienbrink *et al.* 2009).

It is necessary here to point out that according to Mariana Perez (2012) in the colonial era there was no such term or equivalent concept in Spanish that encompassed the main characteristics of what is now considered a migrant: one who voluntarily left the homeland and moved to another in search of better living conditions (para. 5). Further, we need to consider that these 'migratory' experiences took place within an imperial space as acts of colonisation (para. 6). The term 'migrant', on the other hand, was born in the nineteenth century with the advent of massive migrations (para. 4), which in Spain's case after the 1820s often involved movements to the newly independent countries that used to be part of the Spanish empire[2].

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[2] My own translation

In the modern era, Spain's mass migration began around 1860 and it grew until the mid-1870s, after which there was a decline until 1885 (Sanchez Alonso 1995, p. 104). Legally, mass migration was possible because in the mid-1800s the ban on migration was lifted and Spain enacted its first emigration laws. The Spanish Constitution of 1869 formally recognised the freedom to emigrate. The purpose of these norms was to regulate the steadily growing emigration to the Americas and France (Sanchez Alonso 1995, p. 106).

Because of the inconsistency of data, there is a dispute about the number of Spaniards who left the country in this era. Rodenás (1994, p. 5) claims that around one million Spaniards left Spain between 1882 and 1915, bound for Argentina, Cuba and Uruguay, as well as Algeria and other places in North Africa. On the other hand, Kreienbrink (2009, p. 14), states that between 1905 and 1913 alone more than 1.5 million Spaniards left Spain. For his part, Tortella (1985) cited in Calderón and Oporto (2005, p. 157), explains that in the 1900s around 92,000 Spanish emigrated; of those Tortella identifies 68,000 returnees. In 1912 alone, around 252,000 people left Spain, while 139,000 returned (Calderón and Oporto 2005, p. 157). These figures demonstrate that throughout the 19th century and early 20th century there were always large numbers of returnees. The reasons for this were varied.

Once War World I commenced in 1914, a second wave of Spanish migration started, but this time it was essentially directed at France due to its proximity to Spain. This migration was mainly clandestine and disorganised but would continue until the end of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in 1930 (Calderón and Oporto 2005, p. 158). After World War I ended, emigration continued in the 1920s at an accelerated pace. However, the Great Depression and increased restrictions on immigration imposed by the countries of Latin America caused a steady decrease in emigration from the late 1920s until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936. That event contributed to a new increase in emigration (Kreienbrink 2009, p. 14).

From the early 1930s, there were legislative provisions on migration under the Spanish Constitution of 1931, which was introduced by the Second Republic after the end of the Restauración Borbónica era (Bourbon

Restoration) of 1874–1931.[3] Article 42 of the Constitution recognised 'the right to migrate' and indicated that further legislation was needed to regulate, among other things, the conditions of Spanish citizens abroad. However, this constitution was swiftly abolished by Franco's nationalist regime at the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39).

Francisco Franco, 1939–75

General Francisco Franco had strong views about migration, but also had harsh realities with which to contend after a particularly bloody and destructive civil war. In 1941 emigration was prohibited in Spain, with Franco's regime stating that every person and effort was needed to rebuild the country. In this context, Spanish emigrants could be and were blamed for the poor state of the country and accused of selfish behaviour (Kreienbrink 2009, p. 15). As Gil Lázaro and Férnandez Vicente discuss (2015), emigration was also prohibited in order to restrict political opposition and influences. At that time, the idea that migrating was unpatriotic was widespread. Franco feared that adversaries of his regime exiled in Latin America and elsewhere could influence other Spanish migrants politically and ideologically (Gil Lázaro and Férnandez Vicente 2015, p. 15).

Despite the low official figures, statistics are available through other countries and they demonstrate that between 1939 and 1945 more than 20,000 people left Spain through Portugal and France. As the Franco regime could not control the grassroots urge to migrate, in 1946 the prohibition on emigrating was abandoned (Vilar 2000, p. 134).

Unable to prohibit migration, the Franco Regime took a different tack: regulation. In July 1956, El Instituto Español de Emigración (The Spanish Institute of Emigration) was created (Salgado *et al.* 2009, p. 31). The Institute was a crucial institution in the history of Spanish migration from 1956 until 1985 as it regulated migration flows under what was known as *la Emigración Asistida* (assisted emigration; Salgado *et al.* 2009, p. 5). The Spanish government promoted the assisted emigration scheme within a framework of

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[3] The Restoration (Spanish: Restauración), or Bourbon Restoration (Restauración Borbónica), is the name given to the period that began on 29 December 1874, after a coup d'état by Martinez-Campos ended the First Spanish Republic and restored the monarchy under Alfonso XII.

international agreements with other countries, including Australia. This type of migration differed from early emigration to Latin America as it was mainly labour migration and was based on temporary contracts of two years (Salgado *et al.* 2009, p. 6).

Notwithstanding the rhetoric and initial paper restrictions imposed by Franco, after World War II (1939 to 1945) significant transcontinental migration occurred within Western Europe due to great worker demand in the rebuilding of countries that had been devastated in the conflict. Destinations for Spaniards were predominantly the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and France, and migrants left mainly to assist those countries in rebuilding after the war. A lack of labourers in those countries combined with low birth rates prompted the need for labour migrants. To recover from the devastation of World War II, the USA introduced a comprehensive program to rebuild Western Europe—the Marshall Plan (1948)—which generated a revival of European industrialisation and brought extensive investment into the region. This growth was limited to the countries in Western Europe that had been occupied by the Germans; hence it did not extend to countries such as Spain.

Because of the economic differences between Spain and other parts of Western Europe, between 1946 and 1958 about 624,000 people in total left the country (Kreienbrink 2009, p. 15). Vilar (2000, p. 131) points out that from 1946 until 1973 approximately 2,600,000 Spaniards left the country, with the largest number, two million, leaving after 1960. The majority of these emigrants headed to the industrialised countries of Western Europe.

The first recorded returnees

The 1930s saw the first returnees of Spanish migrants who, according to Gil Lázaro and Férnandez Vicente (2015), were perceived negatively based on the following factors: a few returned due to failure (they either were unable to adapt or the host country did not offer the possibilities they expected); and those who returned as enriched 'indianos'[4] were considered by the Franco

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[4] 'Indianos' is the colloquial and negative name for Spanish immigrants in the Americas who returned to Spain rich.

regime to be a bad influence on younger generations of Spaniards vis-à-vis their political views.

Ródenas Calatayud stresses (1990, p. 5) in *Emigración y Economía en España 1960–1990* that migration during the post–World War II years was always predicated on return. In fact, she points out that until 1973 there was an overall balance between departures and returns. Vilar claims that this was partly due to a large turnover to ensure the necessary quotas of workers and to discourage permanent emigration (2000, p. 148).

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of emigrants and returnees as the official data published by the Instituto Español de Emigración (Spanish Institute of Migration), which was created in 1956, refers only to those the Institute assisted. The data does not cover people who migrated independently. Given that independent emigration also occurred, we can assume that the real figures were greater than those reported. Assisted migration fell dramatically after Spain's 1976 financial crisis,[5] and after 1978 the level of such emigration was minimal. Calderón and Oporto (2005) point out in their article about the history of Spanish migration that between 1960 and 1973 the returns doubled those between 1974 and 1985.

Vilar (2000, p. 149) also mentions the difficulties of estimating the number of returnees due to a lack of official statistics in this area. Such figures depended on the estimations made until 1979 by the Instituto Español de Emigración, which collected data from Spanish consulates and the host countries. However, the former Consul General of Spain in Sydney, Iranzo Gutiérrez (2016), states that even today it is difficult to determine the exact number of Spanish returnees as people tend not to register at the consulate upon arrival or to notify the consulate upon departure. Furthermore, second- and third-generation Spanish descendants are still considered Spaniards and are granted the same rights and obligations as those who first arrived in Australia.[6]

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[5] The 1976 crisis was an economic recession, an industrial crisis and a banking crisis (Betrán and Pons 2013).

[6] Interview with the Consul General of Spain, Sydney, June 2016. My own translation.

Image 5. The Spanish government and the opposition, 9 October 1977.
Courtesy of* El País *newspaper (elpais.com).

Also, relevant to this history of post-war Spanish migration is the fact that from the late 1950s to the early 1980s interregional migration within Spanish borders was an intense part of the migration experience in the country. People left the rural and poorer areas of the country, such as Andalusia and Extremadura, and moved toward the richer and more industrialised areas of Madrid, Catalonia and the Basque Country. Thus, the feeling of being a migrant was not restricted to those moving abroad but also affected those displaced by internal migration, a factor that should not be overlooked or treated differently when talking about return.

The scale of internal migration was enormous. Muñoz Sánchez mentions that between 1960 and 1973 more than seven million people, or approximately twenty per cent of the Spanish population at that time, left their villages; yet only two million of them moved to Europe (2005, p. 523). Muñoz Sánchez also identified a strong tendency on the part of these guest-workers to return. For example, of all the Spaniards who went to Germany after 1960, approximately sixty per cent had returned to Spain by 1973 (Muñoz Sánchez 2005, p. 526).

The international oil crisis in 1973 slowed the economic growth of Western countries, provoking the return of labour migration (Dobson, Latham and Salt 2009). Yet for many of these returnees, reintegration upon their return was not easy and, consequently, numerous associations of returned migrants were created. In general, during the dictatorship period until 1975 (the year Franco died), there was a lobby of migrant associations, and the Franco regime recognised them. However, the government was less interested in hearing the voice of the associations than it was in influencing their activities. Returned migrant associations did not have many rights, resources were only distributed through official institutions in line with the general approach of the regime, and freedom of expression was not guaranteed to returnees (Kreienbrink 2009, p. 5).

Franco's regime was long-lived, and it was not until 1978 that the Spanish people approved the democratic constitution that is currently in place. When the transition to democracy started in 1975, a long journey began that established major changes in the way the Spanish government views and deals with emigrants. This includes new support for emigrant arrivals. As Iliana María Escalona González, Specialist of International Conventions from the Asociación Para la Orientación y Apoyo al Retorno (APOYAR, Association for the Support and Guidance of Returnees), explained in an interview with me in Spain in July 2016:

> APOYAR was created in 1980 due to the lack of institutional support in relation to advice and guidance for returnees. At that time, our main role was to basically look after Spanish migrants and their descendants living in Germany. We did organise Spanish-language and cultural classes to ensure their integration upon return and very little more. As years went by, we started to look after returnees from other destinations and provided pedagogical assistance, guidance and support before and, most importantly, after their return. (Madrid, Spain 2016)

In 2019, there are eleven federated associations supported and recognised by the Spanish national government under the umbrella of the

Federación Estatal de Asociaciones de Retornados (FEAR, Spanish Federation of Associations for Returned Migrants). In addition, there are numerous non-for-profit associations that also support returnees, financed in this case, by the governments of Spain's seventeen autonomous communities.

Transition to democracy

Since the beginning of Spain's transition to democracy in late 1975, migration both to and from Spain has progressively gained visibility and importance in Spanish institutional settings. The rights of Spanish migrants have been strengthened significantly, not only with the creation in 2004 of La Secretaría del Estado de Inmigración y Emigración (Ministry for Immigration and Emigration) but also in subsequent years by the provision of better protection to emigrants and their families, greater access to education through Spanish language schools abroad, support offered to lobby associations, better institutional representation through the Consejos de Residentes (Residents Associations), and many other improvements (Secretaría de Estado de Migraciones2019. para, 1).[7]

In 2006, La Administración General del Estado (General State Administration) created La Oficina del Retorno (the Spanish Office of Return) under the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. It was formed as a consequence of a new law (no. 42) which stated:

> El Estado velará especialmente por la salvaguardia de los derechos económicos y sociales de los trabajadores españoles en el extranjero y orientará su política hacia su retorno. (The State will take special care to safeguard the economic and social rights of Spanish workers abroad and will orient their policy towards their return.) (Boletín Oficial del Estado 2006).

Under the same general law, we need to pay particular attention to section 27 as states:

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[7] Secretaría de Estado de Migraciones, 2019. *Consejo de Residentes (*www.exteriores.gob.es)

La Administración General del Estado en el exterior contará con la dotación necesaria de medios humanos, materiales y técnicos, para facilitar a los españoles la planificación de su retorno a España, teniendo en especial consideración a la red asociativa en el exterior y a las asociaciones de retornados en España. (The General Administration of the State abroad will have the necessary provision of human material and technical means to facilitate the Spaniards planning their return to Spain, giving special consideration to the associative network abroad and associations of returnees in Spain.) (Boletín Oficial del Estado 2006)

This law and section are particularly important when discussing contemporary Spanish migration and its returnees, as they specifically recognise the fundamental right of return, the rights to education and health cover, and financial support if in need, including a pension for elderly migrants. Furthermore, the law and section support and defend the rights and obligations of Spanish citizens living abroad and their descendants. As we will see in subsequent chapters, some of the participants in this DCA, including myself, have been influenced and encouraged to return to Spain, due to the support offered by the Spanish government under this law.

Spanish migration to Australia

Spain's migration history is extensive. By contrast, Australia has had only a little over two hundred years of migration, and the number of Spanish migrants has been relatively small. The first recorded free settler to arrive in Australia from Spain was Juan Baptiste Lehimaz De Arrieta, a Basque born in San Sebastián in 1780. During the Peninsula War fought between Spain and Portugal (1807 to 1814) as part of the Napoleonic Wars, the Imperial French armies invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 1807 and placed Napoleon's brother Joseph on Spanish throne. They were opposed by a coalition of English, Portuguese and Spanish armies. It is documented that De Arrieta was attached to the Commissariat of the British Army (Keene 1999, p. 37). He arrived in Australia in 1821 (Department of Social Services, The Spain Born Community, para. 1)

However, before him the first Spanish settlers arrived in 1797 introducing the Spanish merino sheep in NSW (Department of Social Services, The Spain Born Community, para. 2). Rafaela Lopez points out that the first wave of Spanish immigrants, predominately from Catalonia, arrived in the 1850s, attracted by gold, but also escaping the economic, social and political unrest of the country (Lopez 2008, para. 1)

Also, escaping from the political unrest and anticlerical government of Spain in 1844 were two Benedict monks, Dom Rosendo Salvado from Galicia and Dom Jose Benito Serra from Catalonia, who requested to the Rome authorities to be missionaries. They were assigned to the Bishop of Perth, Rt Rev. John Brady who led a large group of missionaries to Perth (Australia) that arrived in January 1846. The two Spanish Benedictines, together with a French Benedictine novice and an Irish catechist, set camp on the North West of the district in February of the same year. The French novice, Dom Léandre Fonteinne returned to France nine months after arrival and the Irish catechist John Gorman, was accidentally killed by the French novice. Hence, the two Spaniards were left responsible for the foundation of the mission and Monastery, which opened in 1847. Dom Rosendo Salvado spent 54 years on this mission, concentrating his activity on the Indigenous children who were brought to the Monastery from all over the state. According to their current website today the Benedict Community operates a visitor's centre, a Museum and Art Gallery, and a Guesthouse. The monks further offer spiritual guidance and retreats (New Norcia, para. 1, 3, 4 & 23). However, further consideration should also be given to the findings of the Royal Commission into Child Institutional abuse, which found New Norcia to be one of the worst examples in the country (ABC news, para. 1, 2017).

Another important figure was José Paronella, who arrived in Australia from Catalonia (Spain) in 1913. He initially worked cutting sugar cane, then purchasing, improving, and reselling cane farms. In 1924, he returned to Spain and a year later married Margarita. Their trip back to Australia was their honeymoon. In 1929, he purchased some land for £120 and started to build his dream: a castle, some gardens and a reception centre for the enjoyment of the public. It was opened to the public in 1935 as Paronella Park and still remains one of Queensland's main tourist attractions (Paronella Park, para. 2 & 4).

In the meantime, according to Jordan (2018), in 1901 the White Australia Policy was formally introduced as part of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*.[8] Former Deputy Prime Minister Alfred Deakin defended the law that was intended to 'protect' the nation from Asia and non-European migration as he believed they could not blend or assimilate. Deakin equally believed that Australians 'would not to, ought not, to blend with them'. It wasn't until 1973 that Australia saw the abolition of this restrictive immigration policy (Jordan 2018, p. 171).

However, before that abolition there were some migratory reforms and changes in the country that led to Spain and Australia becoming interlinked. During the 1950s, Australia made an enormous effort to attract migrants, primarily for economic development. The economic boom in Western Europe caused the traditional sources of migrants for Australia—the United Kingdom and the north of Europe—to dry up, and the Australian Government was forced to look to other countries. As for Spain, South American policies of immigration after World War II became more selective, with a preference for skilled migrants. In this context assisted migration between Spain and Australia began (García, 2002). Yet the two countries were worlds apart, geographically and culturally.

The next wave of Spaniards after World War II arrived in Australia in 1958 through an initiative of the Australian Catholic Church, the Queensland sugar-cane industry, and the governments of Spain and Australia assisted by Catholic agencies. The main motivations for the first Spaniards to migrate to Australia were economic: to help the family, to earn better salaries and hence build up savings, to give a better future to their children, and to buy a house (García, 2002 p. 91).

From 1958 to 1963, the Spanish Assisted Migration Scheme brought to Australia 7,816 migrants nominated by the Commonwealth, as well as a small number who came under the Family Reunion Program (García 2002, p. 1). Although this figure might seem small when compared with other migrant communities in Australia, or even with the figures previously discussed in this chapter, it is significant when we consider that the current population of

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[8] The term White Australia Policy was used to define a set of historical policies that aimed to exclude people of non-European origin, especially Asians, from immigrating to Australia.

Spaniards (fully or partial descendants) in Australia is just under 58,000 (Iranzo Gutiérrez, Consul General of Spain, 2016)[9].

Spanish migrants eligible for assisted migration under this scheme were from three categories: single men from 18 to 35 years of age; childless married couples up to 35 years; and family units, provided the breadwinner was not over 45 years in age. Owing to the shortage of accommodation, married men were to precede their families to Australia. Such is the case of some of the families who contributed to this DCA and who arrived in the late 1950s and 1960s: Mari Paz Moreno (80), Jorge Roura Carbó (56) and Jesús Lasheras (deceased). Later in the early 1970s Yolanda Vega (54) and her family arrived in Australia.

All aspects of the Spanish Assisted Migration Scheme were agreed between Spain and Australia, with the exception of where the labour workers should come from. Spain wanted to decide the selection areas, while Australia put forward the cane industry requirement that these migrants had to be Basques as they were purportedly taller and stronger than the average Spaniard (Totoricagüena Egurrola 2008). On the subject of qualifications, the interests of both countries were complementary. Australia needed mostly unskilled labour while Spain had an oversupply.

Several migrant ships (*Toscana*, *Montserrat*, *Monte Udala*, *Galileo Galilei*,[10] *Aurelia*, *Fair Sea*, *Fair Sky*, *Lauro*[11] and *Iberia*) sailed during those periods. Those on board found work in the sugar and tobacco industries of Queensland, in logging and mining around the country, and in the fruit-growing regions of Victoria (Totoricagüena Egurrola 2008, p. 27).[12]

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[9] Consul General of Spain, Sydney September 2016.

[10] Jorge Roura Carbó arrived in Australia on the *Galileo Galilei* in 1966.

[11] Jesús Lasheras Vallés returned to Spain on the *Lauro* in 1965.

[12] We don't know the number of Basque immigrants who returned to their country, simply because statistics for Basques were not kept separately from those of other Spanish migrants.

Image 6. Original return ticket via Flotta Lauro, 1965.
Courtesy of Lasheras Vallés family.
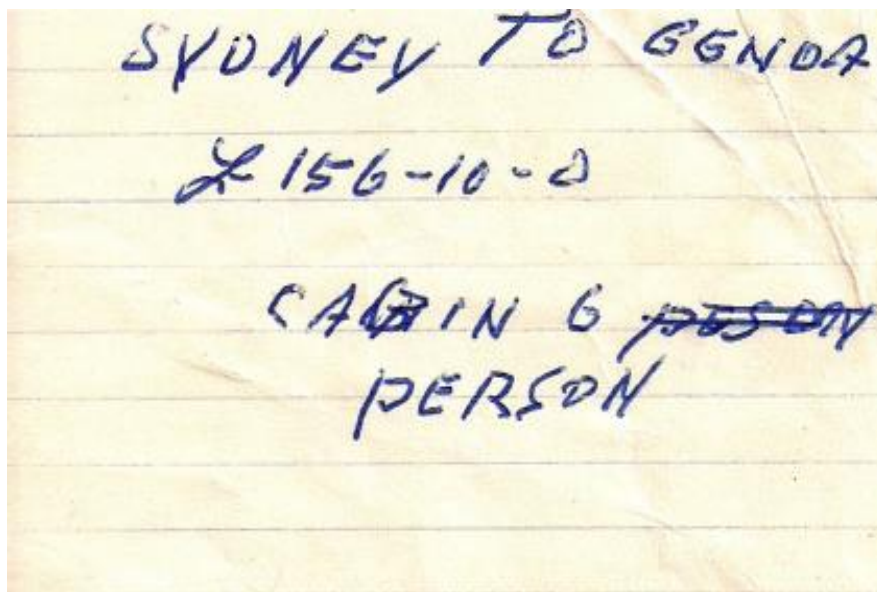
Image 7. Original handwritten note: Returning to Spain (1965).
Courtesy of Lasheras Vallés family.

Home Sweet Home   *Natalia Ortiz*

A passenger on one of these ships who worked in the sugar industry was Jesús Lasheras Vallés. He departed from Bilbao, Spain on 19 December 1959 on the ship *Monte Udala*. He returned to Spain via Genoa, Italy on the ship *Flotta Lauro* on 28 May 1965. He passed away in early February 2017. His son Jesús recounted his memories of his father via Skype interview with me in May 2017:

> My father left Spain when he was 27 years old. Australia was his first and last migration destination. I remember when he used to talk about his sea travel, how it took him about a month to arrive to Australia. He arrived alone but then two of his brothers joined him to work on the sugar canes in Queensland. My father left mainly because as an agricultural worker he didn't have a stable job and needed to support his parents and siblings. At that time people were starting to talk about migrating to France, Germany and Switzerland and one could hear stories of prosperity when compared to Spain. He left due to a labour agreement between Spain and Australia. He soon started to work on the sugar cane in Tully, Queensland.
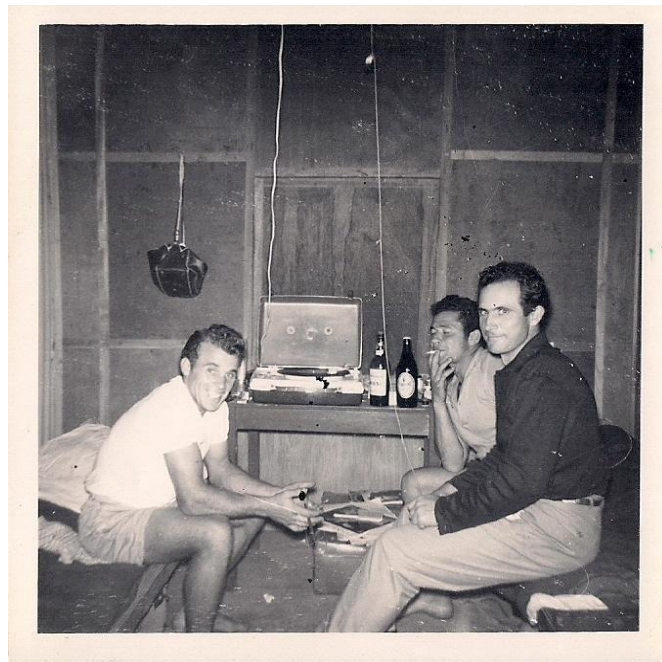
Image 8. Jesús Lasheras at barracks (Tully, Queensland, 1959).
Courtesy of Lasheras Vallés family.

Image 9. Wage payment records (Tully, Queensland, 1963).
Courtesy of Lasheras Vallés family.

Image 10. Jesús Lasheras cutting sugar cane (Tully, Queensland, 1959).
Courtesy of Lasheras Vallés family.

Home Sweet Home   *Natalia Ortiz*

Image 11. Jesús Lasheras and friend (Sydney 1965).
Courtesy of Lasheras Vallés family.

Between 1958 and 1961, there were five expeditions or 'operations' that carried Spanish Basque migrant labour to work on Australian sugar-cane farms: Kangaroo (1958), Eucalyptus and Montserrat (1959), Emu (1960), Karry (1960) and Torres (1961). A total of 3873 labour workers arrived in Australia (García 2002, p. 94).[13] Of those Basque canecutters were held in particularly high regard as they were considered to be strong, hardworking and honest (Kim Tao, para 3). According to Totoricagüela and her extensive work on Basques in Australia, one exemplary couple of migrants were Tomás and Teresa Urigüen Mendiolea from Ingham. They are documented to have helped around 700 Basques to immigrate to Australia, advancing them travel costs, helping them securing lodging, medical care, and employment (2005, p. 357).

Families were also brought to Australia under the assisted migration program. One of these families was the Roura Carbó family. They arrived in Perth after living in Switzerland for seven years. Jorge was nine at that time; in October 2017 he recalled his first memories upon arrival:

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[13] 'Expedición'—and its direct translation 'expedition'—is the chosen word used by García (2002) when referring to the voyages that brought Spanish migrants to Australia.

I arrived in Australia in July 1966.We came in a ship called *Galileo Galilei* via Genoa. My parents left Spain in 1959, and we went to Switzerland as they were seeking a better life for their family. My first recollection of Australia was in Fremantle [Perth] because the ship stopped first there. Walking along a dry avenue, into town I suppose. My parents must have taken us for a walk off the ship to have a look around, and then went back to the ship.

After that, we arrived in Melbourne and we went to a migrants' camp called Bonegilla near Albury.[14] I think my dad must had given an opportunity to have some work in Sydney and so they came to Sydney by train and we were in Villawood migrants' camp for a while, I think six months.

Image 12. Jorge and family on their way to Australia.
Stopover in Genoa with ship **Galileo**, *1966.*

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[14] Migrant hostels were established after World War II to accommodate displaced persons and assisted migrants. The largest hostels were at Bonegilla in North Victoria and Bathurst in NSW. ('Your story, our story', National Archives of Australia, 2018).

Image 13. Jorge and his four siblings (Australia, 1966).
Courtesy Jorge Roura Carbó.

The migrants undertook to remain two years in the officially allocated job, or to refund the assistance received should they not remain in Australia for the agreed period. After the two-year period, and provided they were not deemed to be unsuitable for settlement, migrants could remain indefinitely in Australia, and choose any employment and place of residence they desired (García 2002). Despite the fact that many Spanish migrants decided to stay, many did not, a tension that has characterised the history and discourse of Spanish migrant returns.

García explains that the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) or as it is referred to in Spanish, Comité Gubernamental para las Migraciones Europeas (CIME), helped to bridge the geographical distance between Spain and Australia. Moreover, the International Catholic

Migration Committee, through its filial organisations in both countries, did the same at the cultural level (2002, p. 6). The Catholic Church played a crucial role in the arrival of the Spanish as Monsignor George Creenan, who led the Catholic Federal Committee for Immigration, met years before with the then Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alberto Martin Artajo, in a 'semi-official' capacity to transmit to Madrid that Australia would assist in the financing of the tickets (Garcia 2002, p. 7).

On the sea voyages, an ICEM officer, a doctor and a priest accompanied the Spanish migrants. A function of the ICEM was to translate all of the information given by the Australian authorities, which migrants were supposed to know before arriving. ICEM edited three different booklets: one on work conditions in the cane fields; another with general information about Australian history, geography, climate and religious matters; and finally, the *Manual de la Servidora Doméstica* (Manual for Domestic Servants), which included topics such as personal hygiene, 'Australian ways' of doing house chores and the use of electronic equipment. The migrants were also given a Bible (García 2002, p. 10).

The second post–World War II initiative was el Plan Marta (Plan Martha), an informal agreement signed by the Spanish and Australian governments in 1957, and which consisted of a single expedition that arrived in Australia by plane. The travellers were women who migrated under the belief that they were coming to Australia to work as domestic servants, when in fact they were called on to balance the sexes of the Spanish migrant population. As García explains in his work, the Australian Department of Immigration encouraged male migrants to nominate their single sisters of marriageable age to come to Australia, the purported motive being that some single migrants were even 'killing themselves because of loneliness and failure to obtain a woman' (Garcia 2002, p. 104).

The first group arrived in Melbourne in March 10, 1960. 'Señoritas will even sexes' was the article announced in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (García 2002, p. 106). The women were asked to sign a paper that they would undertake work as domestics for two years, but the document had no legal validity. As García explains in his extensive study on *Operación Canguro* (2002), a small group in each contingent came to Australia to marry their

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Image 14. Bible: Madrid, Spain, 25.5.1962. Courtesy of Patallo family.
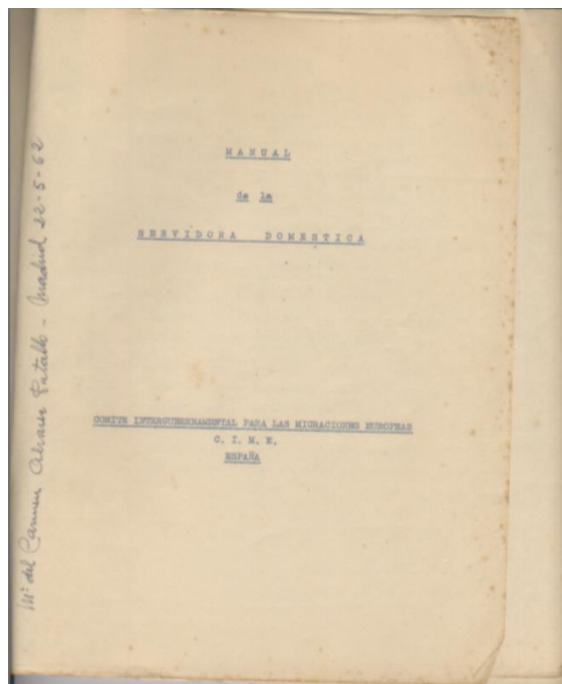
Image 15. **Manual de la servidora doméstica** *(Manual for Domestic Servants),*
cover, Madrid, Spain, 22 May 1962. Courtesy of Patallo family.

con el plato principal. Se comen con pan y mantequilla o, algunas ve
como acompañamiento de la carne. Panes calientes, tales como bizcoch
bollos o molletes se sirven a veces en lugar del pan de levadura. L
alimentos cocinados deben llegar a la mesa siempre muy calientes. L
fríos, como ensaladas, etc. deben mantenerse fríos. Para conservar
platos y la comida calientes hasta el momento de servirlos, se util
el horno o un armarito especial de la cocina, previamente calentados
Durante la comida se sirve te o café caliente, aunque algunos lo pre
ren a los postres. Se utilizan unas fundas guateadas para la tetera
llamadas "cozies", a fín de mantener el te caliente.

b. Las horas y los alimentos más frecuentes de las comidas en
Australia y el Canadá son:

De 7 a 8 de la mañana.- Desayuno

Zumo de naranja o fruta en trozos.
Cereal hervido o preparado.
Huevo.
Algunas familias toman jamón,
pescado, chuletas, bollitos
calientes o tostadas con
mantequilla.

De 12:30 a 1:30.- Comida Ligera

Sopa
Emparedados
Ensalada
Pan

3:30 a 5 tarde.- Merienda

Te o café
Pastel o pastas.

6:30 a 8 tarde.- Cena

Sopa o ensalada de frutas
Plato principal - carne, verdu
Postre
Te o café

9:30 a 11 noche.- Merienda noc

Comida sobrante en la nevera p
rada en emparedados corrientes
Pastel o pastas
Leche, te o café

Nota: Solamente los días en c
se sale por la noche o
retiran tarde a dormir

c. Etiqueta

Lo más probable es que tengas que comer con los niños, por lo
habrás de tomar la misma comida y observar buenas formas en la mesa
Esto contribuye a enseñar a los niños y a que te lleves bien con l
milia. Ser agradable y alegre durante las comidas es una norma de
más importantes.

2. Las costumbres familiares difieren de las de España.

a. Número de personas que componen la familia

El número es variable, pero, en general, constan de dos a cua
niños. Los que emplean sirvientas domésticas suelen ser personas m
que han ahorrado dinero y saben que pueden permitirse ese gasto, c
familias con niños pequeños que ocasionan más trabajo del que la m
puede desempeñar por sí sola.

Image 16. Manual de la servidora doméstica *(Manual for Domestic Servants), extract,*
Madrid, Spain, 22 May 1962. Courtesy of Patallo family.

boyfriends or to join relatives who had already migrated before then. They normally did not engage in domestic work. Some of the girls were married a week after their arrival and others were married within a few hours. In some instances, marriage was arranged by letter, and the partners met for the first time at the airport (García 2002. p. 111). Poet and writer Mari Paz Moreno (80) was one of the first Spaniards to arrive in Sydney through Plan Marta (Plan Martha). I interviewed her in Sydney in October 2017 where she explained:

> I arrived in Australia in March 1960 as part of the Plan Martha. My plan was to stay here [Australia] for two years working as a journalist, and then travel to India and Mexico where I had friends. I realised quickly that I needed to learn English if I did not want to work as a domestic servant. I was not planning to marry anyone I did not love. I met my current husband at the afternoon English lessons. It is hard to explain how many times I thought about returning [to Spain], nearly every day. But now I have children and grandchildren, so I won't leave.

Image 17. Mari Paz Moreno departing for Sydney (Madrid, Spain, 1960).
Courtesy of M Paz Moreno.

Pablo's mother, Carmen Patallo, arrived in Australia in 1961. During our interview Pablo claimed not to be sure if his mother was part of the Plan Martha or not. Yet within his memorabilia we found a copy of the *Manual de la Servidora Doméstica* (Manual for Domestic Servants) given to the women taking part on the voyage. Pablo was never told about the Plan Martha and his mother never mentioned to him how she managed financially to come to Australia.

Image 18. Carmen Patallo's ticket to Australia (Spain, 1961).
Courtesy of Patallo family.

On the other hand, and according to Jesús Lasheras Valles whose father migrated to Australia in 1959, unmarried male migrants were given a letter

informing them of the legal consequences should they decide to marry a non-resident. The letter also alerted them of the fact that any future wife needed to apply for her permanent residence prior to committing to the wedding in case residency was not granted. There was also the possibility of not being able to enter Australia should the couple marry overseas without the consent of the Australian authorities. Such a letter was given to Jesus's father in Queensland. Another item given to him during his voyage to Australia was a book about learning English, *Let's Read English*.
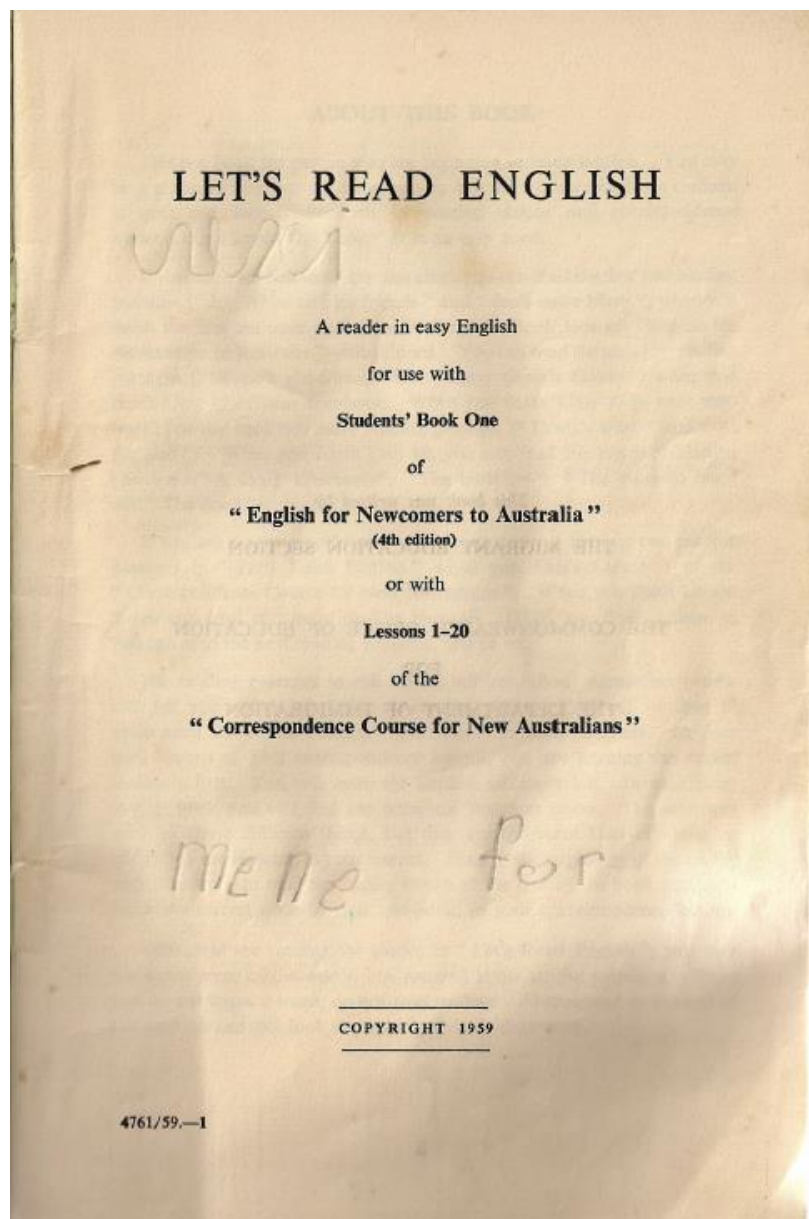
Image 19. **English for Newcomers to Australia** *(Australia, 1959).*
Courtesy of Lasheras family.
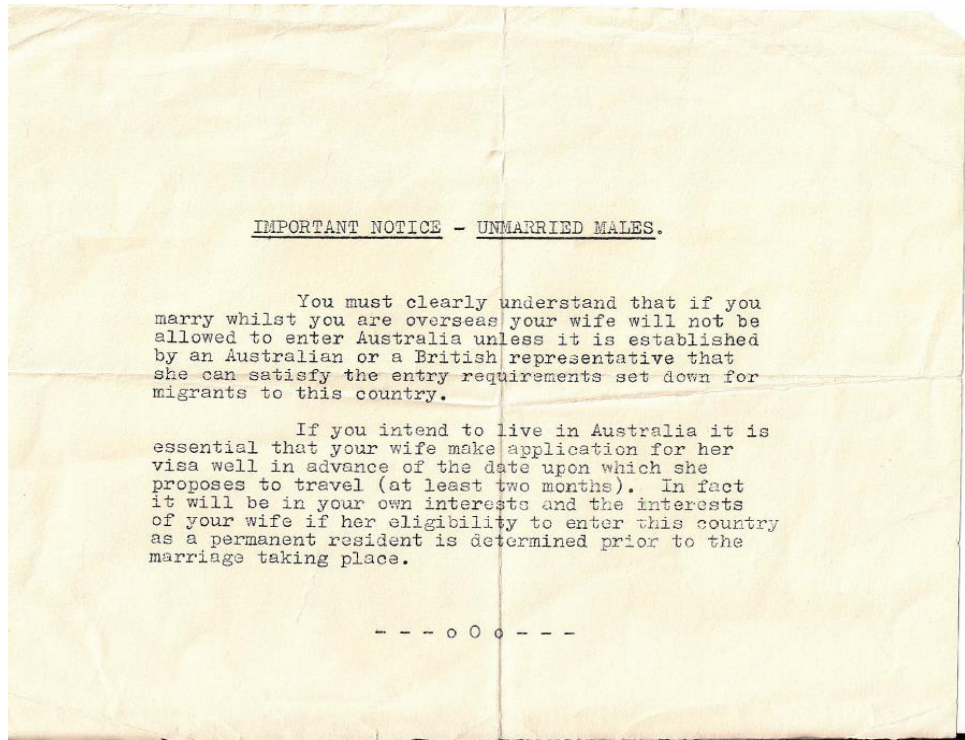
Image 20. 'Official letter' informing prospective married men (Australia 1965).
Courtesy of Lasheras family.

Some already married migrants arrived with their families by air during
the early 1970s. Such is the case of Yolanda Vega, who arrived in Australia in
1972 at the age of six, and after spending two years in Switzerland. When I
interviewed her in Sydney in March 2015, she recalled her family's arrival in
Australia:

> I arrived in Australia in a Qantas Airbus back in 1972 with my father,
> my mother and my two sisters, my younger sister and my older sister.
> I was six. What went through my parents' head at that time is beyond
> my understanding. My dad was in his late thirties, my mother in her
> mid-thirties—with three young kids, the youngest being eight months
> old—who just literally came out of hospital from a major operation
> from birth. None of them spoke the language; they didn't have a place
> to live or a job, I think not even a plan! They said, let's go to the other
> side of the world where Franco cannot kill us. They first tried to
> migrate to Switzerland but [that] didn't work out as my oldest sister
> stayed in Spain with my grandma and my mother was really sad. We

went back to Spain, my grandma died, and my parents heard of all the support you received in Australia as a young family and so they took advantage of it.

Image 21. Yolanda Vega and family (Darwin, Australia, 1972).
Courtesy of Vega family.

A total of 7,816 assisted Spanish immigrants arrived in Australia before the program ended in March 1963 (Tao 2018, para. 5).

As the first waves of migrants arrived, most with no English, it was obviously difficult for family units to be part of local social life. In this context, community clubs played an important role. The institutional powers of the Spanish state abroad, through the Consulate General in Sydney, and of the Catholic Church, through migrant chaplains, influenced the shaping of the Spanish community. Special attention will be given here to the foundation in 1962 of the Spanish Club of Sydney, which closed in November 2013, as it was undoubtedly a major focal point for Spanish social life and its community during this period.

A group connected with the origins of the Club was that of single women from the Plan Martha. Mari Paz Moreno recounts how they used to get together on Sundays to hear mass in Saint Mary's Cathedral, Sydney. Later

they were joined by some Spanish men and through the League of Catholic Women they rented some premises and dances were held. Pilar Moreno, the sister of Mari Paz, was a the more influential people in the establishment of what was later known as the Spanish Club of Sydney and so was Pablo's mother, Carmen Patallo.

Image 22. Collection of badges and member cards (1969–2010), Spanish Club. Courtesy of Patallo family.

Once the Club was established, thanks to Spanish government support, it offered many activities such as free English classes for new arrivals, free Spanish classes for children of Spanish descendants, movie nights, cultural activities, cabaret nights, singing or dancing contests and, on Saturdays, ballroom dancing, and later, a youth club (García 2002, p. 141).

Image 23. Club members learning English with teacher María Muñoz, 1963.[15]
Courtesy of ABC TV.

Another initiative took place to support migrants as part of the Spanish Ministry of Education's program abroad, Agrupación de Lengua y Cultura Españolas (ALCE, the Spanish Language and Culture Program in Australia). Since its creation ALCE has been, and still is, offering Spanish lessons for Spanish citizens and their descendants around the mayor cities of Australia. María Ángeles Rebollar González, former Coordinator of the Australian office, explained the program function in an interview with me in Sydney on February 2016:

> These classes were first established to ensure the maintenance of the Spanish language amongst the children of Spanish migrants to safeguard their reinsertion once returning to Spain. It was always thought that the Spanish migrants would return once the temporary contract expired or the situation in Spain improved. It is a program and a service that aims to support the migrant's return.[16]

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[15] Extract from 'In the New Land'. On 16 June 1963, the ABC television program *Weekend Magazine* ran a story on Spanish migration to Australia, much of which was filmed at the Spanish Club of Sydney.
[16] My translation.

Politicising migrants' return

Since the beginning of the global economic crisis in 2008, hundreds of thousands of young Spaniards have been forced to leave their country in order to improve their living conditions and, in some instances, to support their parents and families, given that Spain saw youth unemployment figures surpass 55.90 per cent in February 2013 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2017).[17]

During the Spanish election in June 2015, the then-new political party Podemos campaigned with the slogan 'Volver para votar, votar para volver' (Vote to return, return to vote). Podemos is a left-wing political party that was established during the last financial crisis, and currently is the fourth-most influential political party in Spain after PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Spanish Socialist Labour Party), PP (Partido Popular, Peoples Party) and, Ciudadanos (Citizens). The party promised to review current return policies and related matters, such as the right to have studies undertaken abroad recognised by the Spanish Government, and the right to a job once back in Spain. Podemos claimed that these policies and actions made them the most popular party in terms of votes by Spaniards abroad in all recent elections (Podemos 2015, para 3). Assuming this claim is accurate, it demonstrates the desire of a large number of migrants to return to Spain if given a job offer and better living conditions.

Image 24. A Podemos political campaign, 3 December 2015 (El País).

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[17] Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas (INE, National Institute of Statistics).

Although Podemos is targeting young expatriates, migrants of all ages are concerned with questions of return, as my research shows. Podemos platform demonstrates the currency and importance of the issue of migrant return in contemporary Spain.

An older political party, Izquierda Unida (IU, United Left Wing), a party formed in 1986 to bring together several left-wing political organisations, has been campaigning to recognise the rights of elderly migrants who, after returning to Spain, have been affected by fines from the Agencia Tributaria (Spanish Tax Office). These fines require returnees to pay taxes on any pension received abroad. This law covers payments made from 2008. Together with many returnee associations, IU has been campaigning to have the law abolished.

Image 25. Demonstrations of returned migrants demanding to stop the recent fines. Courtesy eldiario.es.

Politicising migrant return is not new. Former socialist politician José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who was elected for two terms as Prime Minister of Spain in the 2004 and 2008 general elections, implemented substantial changes regarding Spanish emigrants and their descendants with the inclusion of regulation 42, which, as stated before, indicated that the Spanish

government will safeguard the economic and social rights of Spanish abroad, directing its policies towards their return.

Among many Spanish Government initiatives is El Consejo de Residentes Españoles (General Council of Spanish Citizens Abroad). This council is a consultative body under the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. Its purpose is to protect the rights of Spaniards living abroad and provide care to Spanish citizens abroad as well as to returnees.

In 2016, upon their return to Spain, three emigrants, Diego, Sebastian and Raul, decided to form a network in Madrid to 'facilitate the return of talent to Spain. Generate opportunities so that people who are outside can return and develop their professional potential and their life project in Spain' (Volvemos, para. 1). Since the establishment of this online platform, 98,451 migrants have registered their interest to return to Spain (Raúl Gil, Volvemos 2018 para. 3). According to *España Exterior,* a government publication disseminated at Spanish Consulates and Embassies around the globe, during 2018 a total of 40,856 Spaniards migrated while 39,166 returned in the same year. Madrid, Canary Islands, Galicia and the Baleares witness more returnees than departures (Españaexterior, para. 4).

Image 26. Diego, Sebastian and Raul, founders of volvemos.org (2016). Courtesy Volvemos.org.

In September 2018, the new Minister of Labour, Migration and Social Security, Magdalena Valerio (PSOE; Partido Socialista Obrero Español,

Spanish Socialist Labour Party) announced, that the Spanish Government will launch a 'talent return plan' to encourage the most qualified Spanish emigrants to return to Spain. The plan is directed at people among the nearly one million who left Spain due to the most recent economic crisis. Valerio stressed that 'the profile of the migrant has been radically transformed': the current migration comprises mainly university-educated professionals (80%), with 32% of those migrants having postgraduate qualifications. Valerio emphasized that around 2.5 million Spaniards are registered in foreign consulates, one million of whom left Spain after 2009. She considers this situation evidence of Spain's 'failure as a country' (Público 2018, para. 3). However, several Autonomous Communities are already encouraging the return of 'talented' migrants without waiting for the 2019 proposal, such as the Canary and Baleares islands, Extremadura and Castilla–La Mancha, and the cities of Valladolid and Cordoba, where returnee migrants are offered 4,500 euros to support them with their resettlement (Volvemos, para. 5).

On the other hand, Senator Idoia Villanueva of Unídos Podemos, a left-wing electoral alliance formed in May 2016 by Podemos and Izquierda Unida (United Left Wing) to contest the 2016 Spanish general election, has asked that the new return plan include all emigrants wishing to return to Spain, not only the most qualified. She states, 'Enabling the return is not only fair, it is also good for our country' (Público, para. 5)[18]. Although I believe she might be referring to the benefits Spain might gain by the skills and wealth of returned skilled labour, after reviewing our history, to support emigrants and their families wanting to go back, should be more than just political discourse. Rather it should be a way to move forward from the dark moments of our history who ultimately forced people to migrate.

Conclusion

It is well researched that around the world millions of migrants leave their countries on a daily basis looking for a better life elsewhere and seeking access to new opportunities. Also well-established are the main motivations behind migration. Spaniards—like other migrants internationally—emigrate to

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[18] My own translation.

improve their living conditions, secure economic stability, access better housing, enjoy human and civil rights, improve their professional prospects, or pursue opportunities for self-development such as education.

Available statistics, however, tell us that many Spaniards return to Spain or plan to do so, but we know much less about the motivations that lead them to return to Spain, particularly during Spain's difficult and unstable political and financial situation since 2008. We understand relatively little about the impact on families who find themselves divided between countries, and the financial difficulties and emotional complications they face due to the tremendous distance between Spain and Australia and the possible political or financial instability in their country of return.

The brief history of Spanish migration in this chapter has shown that the number of returnees to Spain has always been considerable. What research has not yet shown is the number of departures those returnees make as they move backwards and forwards between Australia and Spain.

As explained in this chapter, the most recent financial crisis (2008–19) in Spain is witnessing new waves of migrants fleeing the country to the same destinations that historically welcomed our ancestors. Current and past political discourse in Spain fuel hope by promising the return of Spanish youth who have recently migrated abroad. Elderly migrants encouraged by the financial and institutional support offered by the Spanish government leave younger family members to 'return' to their country of origin with, in some instances, devastating emotional and financial consequences for everyone involved. Families are then trapped in migration and remigration patterns trying to find a balance between the original and host countries.

By looking at our history and migration policies, and above all by listening to our migrants, we can better understand how the process of migration and its return can and will affect a family. After recognising the many variations of the migration experience, we can then challenge simplistic discourses about migrants which do not acknowledge the flexible and multivariate operations of transnational migration and by doing so better represent the many intricacies of our experiences and stories. This is the main focus of my attention in the next chapter.

Chapter 2
'Home sweet home' – a web of interconnected stories and emotions

To shed light on the issue of migrant representation, hence the importance of the creative component of this DCA, this chapter begins by overviewing current online projects in Australia, then focuses more specifically on the representation of Spanish migrants in Australia, not only by analysing the way our stories are told and by who, but most importantly by demonstrating the lack of representation of my particular community, the Spanish diasporic community. I then discuss in more detail my creative work and explain where it sits in relation to current online projects dealing with migrant groups and peoples in Australia.

To conclude, I consider the way in which this DCA and its approach to storytelling contributes to a new depiction of the Spanish migrant to and from Australia, thereby facilitating new approaches to migration studies in this country. This chapter aims to deconstruct the stereotypical image of the migrant while reinforcing the point made by two of the most important scholars of the transnational field, Levitt and Glick Schiller, who argue for the need for a new approach to the study of migration, 'one that allows us to move beyond the binaries, such as homeland/new land, citizen/noncitizen, migrant/non-migrant, and acculturation/cultural persistence, that have typified migration research in the past' (2004, p. 1012).

Migrant (mis)representation

When discussing representations of migrants, Hein De Haas argues that they have been either 'sensationalized or exaggerated' (2010, p. 1595), or as Karina Horsti (2013, p. 79) puts it, framed as 'a threat or as victims eligible of compassion'. Taking these theorists into account, I am interested here in discussing representations of migrants in Australia, in particular in online projects as part of media projects or museums. I do so to question whether or not current depictions of the migrant truly encapsulate the many layers and

challenges provoked by our mobility as we negotiate belonging, emotions and affect.

Within research on identities and representations, De Fina and Tseng identify three different areas of migrant representation: (1) work that deals with migrants as language learners; (2) work that treats migrants in general as members of specific, well defined communities; and (3) work that focuses on storytelling centred on migrants but told by members of out-groups (2017, p. 381). That said, the authors appear to overlook the fact that our stories of migration are mostly understood to be provoked by the need for social and economic improvement, and to feature desperate people who reach happiness once they reach the receiving societies. For instance, SBS and ABC—two of the most important media (TV and radio) producers in Australia—often present online projects related to migration. SBS, which identifies itself as Australia's multicultural and multilingual broadcaster, hosted a project between 2015 and 2017 called 'Day One Stories' in which migrants retold their first impressions upon arrival. In 2017 ABC had an online program called 'Hear me out: What it is like moving to Australia?', in which migrants explained their struggles in having to navigate between two cultures. None of these projects discussed any other experience or issue beyond the stereotypical story of arrival and 'assimilation'. This is not to say these cases/situations do not speak to and for a large proportion of migrants; however, there are other issues not attracting attention or representation such as circular migrants and the many consequences of such situation for all involved. As we have seen in previous chapters, migration doesn't finish when we arrive in a new country; nor does it end when we 'return'.

To shed light on the importance of these points, we need to consider for a moment that SBS reaches an average audience of 13.1 million people per month on television and serves almost seven million unique browsers each month online ('*About us*' SBS 2019, para. 3). With that reach, there is clear space for presenting more nuanced representations of migrants in Australia and using new media to do so. As Tapscott iterates, new media is often seen to offer a route for promoting personal connections across space and culture, and to create new forms of cultural understanding (1998). Yet there is also another

issue: none of these stories represented the experience of a Spaniard in Australia but, sadly, SBS is not alone.

The (invisible) Spanish migration to Australia

As we have seen in previous chapters, the literature about transnational and returned migrants is ample. Yet we cannot say the same about the studies, data and representations of Spanish migration in Australia.

Despite the fact that the first recorded Spanish free settler to Australia arrived in 1821 (Department of Social Services, para. 2),[19] when searching for information on Spanish migration in the websites of Australian museums or governmental and private organisations I find, most of the time, zero results. In Victoria, for example, there have been two recent projects related to migration.

Image 27. Immigration Museum, Museums Victoria (2019).

First, the Immigration Museum of Victoria since 2017 has had three exhibitions and online projects, 'Immigration Adventures', 'Leaving Home'

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[19] 'History background/The Spain Born Community' (Department of Social Services 2019)

and 'Immigrant Stories and Timeline' and during 2018 'Identity Yours, Mine, Ours' and 'Journeys to Australia'. The second project 'Live in Victoria' (2018), is an online campaign covering all aspects of living in the state of Victoria. As part of the information provided there is a series of 'successful' migrants' stories that relate positive experiences of living in Victoria. Searching for Spanish migration or Spanish stories yields again zero results, despite the fact that in Victoria the latest Australian Census of 2011 counts 3106 Spanish migrants living in the state and a total of 13057 Spanish-born people in Australia (Department of Social Services, Australian Government para. 7).[20]

The Immigration Museum site states that 'Everyone has a story to tell – about ourselves, our families, friends and ancestors. It is in the telling of these stories that we can begin to understand Victoria's rich histories'. Reading those lines, I am struck by how the exhibition focuses on the reasoning behind decisions to migrate, and where migrants settled and how they started a life in Victoria, but nothing further. Again, this approach avoids questioning or challenging other situations or motives for migrating, while implying that the major challenges migrants face on arrival are settlement and 'assimilation'. In the 2019 exhibition entitled 'Identity Yours, Mine, Ours' by the Immigration Museum of Victoria, the museum sought to explore 'Who we are, who others think we are, and what it means to belong and not belong in Australia' through different sections such as First Impressions, Favourite Objects, People like Me and People like Them (2018). None of these projects included a single story concerning a Spanish migrant in Australia.

In NSW the Migration Heritage Centre has a website that is no longer updated; it has only two stories of Spanish migrants: one about a woman called Manuela Provenzano, as part of the exhibition 'belongings' (2005); the second the story of Manuel Rubio Vocal, written by his two teenage children, Elisa and Amy Pérez, from the Community Spanish Language School in Wollongong.

The Business and Skilled Migration Queensland (BSMQ) is the state nominating body for the Queensland government and a business unit of Trade and Investment Queensland (TIQ). It has set up a website similar to that of

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[20] Department of Social Services, (2016)

Victoria that also presents 'successful' stories of migrants living in Queensland in order to encourage skilled migration. However, yet again, no Spanish stories are depicted.

The National Archives of Australia hosted an exhibition in November 2018 entitled 'A Place to Call Home, Migrant Hostel Memories' in which there is a photo of a Spanish migrant hanging clothes at the Villawood Centre, NSW in 1963. There is nothing more about Spanish migrants.
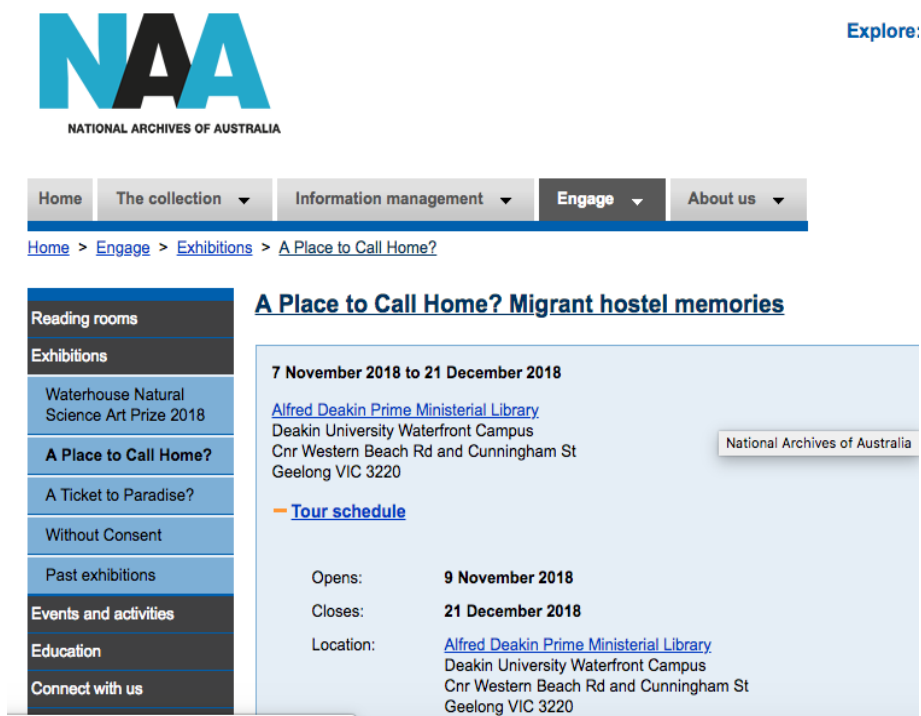
Image 28. National Archives of Australia, 2017.

The Immigration Place, a site that encourages migrants to tell their stories, has two stories featuring Spanish migrants. The first relates to Alvaro Lozano Rodríguez, a Basque who arrived in Australia in 2004. The story mainly describes his arrival, marriage and the arrival of his first child, and ends by pointing out that Alvaro 'enjoyed his life in Australia and always kept in touch with his relatives back in Spain'. The second story features Maria Isabel Marimón, who also recounts how she arrived at an early age in Australia and how she hopes to be 'the beginning of what will hopefully be a long family line in this country that we love, Australia' (Immigrationplace 2018, para. 13).

In 2018 as part of the 60th anniversary of the migration agreement between Spain and Australia, the Australian National Maritime Museum included in their blog a short account of the sea expedition *Operation Kangaroo,* a mention of Spanish sugar cane cutters and a brief summary of *Plan Martha.*

For their part on December 20, 2018, Rocio Otoya from SBS radio (Spanish), after being informed of an event held by the Spanish Consulate of Sydney and the Spanish Embassy in relation to the same anniversary, included on his show an interview with Macario Amado, one of the migrants who arrived in the ship *Toscana* with another 168 Spaniards as part of *Operation Kangaroo*. SBS Radio on their blog also included a small story about the agreement and the men who arrived in one of the boats, *Toscana*. Other than these sites and mentions, we find very little more about the Spanish immigrant experience to and from Australia.

'Home sweet home' as a virtual 'home'
http://www.homesweethomeproject.net/

In discussions on identity and transnational audiences, Mirca Madianou argues that 'for a long time ethnic and cultural differences were only studied at the level of representation, hence, text' (2011, p. 444). However, as a filmmaker my own view is more in line with Sara Pink, whose extensive work as a visual ethnographer defends the idea of 'place making' and of describing 'the dual context of research in both the place we inhabit and the place we investigate' (2008, p. 2). This dual understanding underwrites my website and my search for the meaning of home. Pink also argues that a visual methodology does not simply allow for data recording but provides a means to generate new perceptions (2006). A similar aim underwrites my creative work as I would like this creative component to provide more than just data for further research.

My online project 'Home Sweet Home'—which contains interviews, personal memorabilia and archival material from Spanish migrant families who live or still live in Australia—contributes a venue in which representations of Spanish migrants can thrive. The short documentaries presented on the site depict different generational groups and families as they discuss the many

issues affecting Spanish migrants: isolation, belonging, nostalgia, remigration, the tyranny of distance, and, most importantly, how the 'need' to return and the feeling of 'home' are felt and experienced differently at each stage of the life cycle. In addition, this digital site offers the possibility to view extra archival material not included in the short films, as well as for migrants to submit their own experiences.

With this creative work, I am proposing a new mode of telling Spanish migrant stories to and from Australia that moves away from the stereotypical images by which our experiences are mostly presented in Australia with a beginning, middle and, if returning, an end. My work contests the idea that a migratory end implies a final return to Spain and the assumption that such moves finally place us back 'home'. In my creative work, each migrant story is not told in a linear way with a traditional beginning, middle and end. These stories are not only unconventional, but they also have no end—thus, they engender a multilayered platform and space in which linear stories and structures no longer apply.

Duxbury, Grierson and Waite remind us that 'creative practice is the way to open the possibilities of knowledge to further implication and applications through questioning, reflecting, analysing, performing, reviewing, remembering and further questioning' (2008, p. 8). With this in mind I decided to create a site containing more than just 'interviews' but instead a set of interconnected emotional stories in order to offer a multilayered experience in which to watch small documentaries and to search and view extra archival material, the latter important in offering the possibility of 'seeing' beyond the words of the interviewee.

With my research and creative work, I want to provide audiences with the opportunity to reflect, question and analyse how culture, language, emotions and affect contribute to a sense of 'home' when living in another country or when returning to our birth countries. I do so in order to present a new approach to telling our stories, and to question and review the many consequences of migration for those affected. The methodological advantages of conducting ethnographic research in two countries, Spain and Australia, has provided me with a unique perspective on current discussions of 'home' and of the many sub-journeys included under the concept of 'return'. As Arjun

Appadurai reminds us, viewers and images are in simultaneous circulation and neither fit into circuits or audiences that are easily bound within local, national, or regional spaces (1996, p. 4); this is true of the stories presented in this work.

Very eloquently Agnes Heller observes that (1995, p. 18) 'in a home, one needs to be accepted, welcomed or, at least, tolerated'. That is what this DCA 'virtual home' aims to do: to be a place to invite mutual understandings and provoke discussions on identity and 'return'. The DCA's digital work thus extends and turns the representation of the home into an interactive archive of migrant stories, commonalities and needs. Most importantly, my site is not about creating perfectly constructed (and controlled) images and stories, but about shifting the migrant's position from a culture/attitude of representation to a culture/attitude of participation, while expanding the way migrants' stories can be represented online.

Another key rationale of this research was to utilise the written component and theoretical research of this thesis to address issues that arose during the creative component while reflecting on, observing and listening to the participants before and after our interviews. Although this thesis is not focusing in children alone, it is important to understand that for them despite having stronger attachments to Australia, their feelings towards each location were volatile and fragile at times. Such was the case when Antón and Elsa expressed very different feelings about each locality before and after returning from Spain. This was also the case with Lucia and Maya Cajias, who expressed very different views about their possible return in front of their mother than during our private interviews.

Another important feature of this project is that the participants chose their contributions—photos, personal diaries, family videos or poems—to illustrate, if not embody, their stories as destined for my online archive. I decided not to intervene in their selection of the material they introduced to me with their stories, as their choices were also contributing other layers of experience, as in the case of Pablo's father and his diaries, Yolanda's family films or Mari Paz's poem.

The 'emotional returnees' and their memorabilia

Storytelling, of course, is not new; however, one of the many fascinating aspects of digital technologies is how they prompt a reinvention of storytelling and of the opportunities offered to the audience to participate and share content. Therefore, when considering the increase in and proliferation of research on the meaning of 'home' within different disciplines, it is important to understand the way digital media are now being used to articulate ways of belonging and reciprocal adaptation. Critics such as Mallet claim that 'home' is a multidimensional concept or a multi-layered phenomenon (2004); therefore, an approach to the study of the migratory home and its representations needs to be multidisciplinary in nature and to incorporate diverse perspectives, theoretical approaches and new media and formats. Hence, the intention of this work and website is to invite new ways of thinking, communicating, and representing migration.

Taking these points into account, the films portrayed in 'Home Sweet Home' present some of the many possible issues that inform experiences of migration: identity construction, belonging, the meaning of home, nostalgia, and isolation. In this DCA, I want to foreground the volatility of such issues and question how they are understood, felt and perceived by different generations of migrants, in this particular case Spanish migrants to and from Australia. With this in mind, the creative online contribution of this DCA features nine short stories.

These participants were selected after a brief interview. As previously mentioned, I did not have a particular story in mind but rather I worked with a series of questions around 'home' and 'return'. Once the interviews were conducted, and the material edited, the different titles and films took their own form, shaping the theoretical and creative aspects of this thesis.

1. **Nostalgia** (duration 5.40)

This is the story of Yolanda, who arrived in Australia in 1972 with her father, mother and two sisters. They first moved to Melbourne to a migrants' camp and later to Darwin. Yolanda and her family have relocated back to Spain and back to Australia on eight different occasions. As an adult Yolanda has

continued that trend another seven times. She currently lives in Melbourne and part of her family is back in Spain.

In her film Yolanda explains how she feels nostalgic in Spain and Australia and recounts how growing up between the two countries lead to her inability to describe home because she had 'so many'. This story highlights how the feeling of nostalgia can be felt in both locations, and how the idea of 'return' can be applied to both host and receiving countries. Further, Yolanda's story provided me with an opportunity to view and preserve archival material from Australia and Spain between 1960 and 2000, including home films, private photos and a letter sent to families from the Prime Minister of Australia on 27 September 1974 informing them of the evacuation procedures required due to Cyclone Tracy.

2. **Mum** (duration 10.10)

Pablo arrived in Sydney at the age of three. Carmen his mother's arrival predated his, because she 'had' to leave him in an orphanage in Spain—single mothers under Franco were separated from their children. Later Carmen married an Australian and Pablo was given a different surname. His film starts with Pablo commenting on his two surnames, his two identities, one Australian, the other Spanish. He explains how at the age of ten he and his new family returned to Spain for the first time. When the holidays finished his mother tried to stay in Spain with the children and abandon her Australian husband, but her Spanish family did not allow her to separate the family. He recalls how depressed his mother was upon returning to Australia.

Once Pablo grew up, he became a flight attendant in order to take his 'Mum' to Spain every year. When his father passed away Pablo's mother returned to Spain for good. She died a few years later. In his film Pablo tells the familial story of multiple trips and how he felt at 'home' in both localities. He also describes his wish to one day go back and settle in Spain with his partner, but perhaps without his son Billy.

This film allowed me to explore such issues as identity construction, the meaning of home, and the consequences of migration for different generations of a family. At the same time Pablo provided to my research project a rich collection of archival material, including membership budgets and cards from

the now defunct Spanish Club of Sydney, numerous airline tickets and books, and information given to migrants on the sea journey to Australia during the early 1960s.

3. **Multiple homes, multiple returns** (duration 14.42)

This is the story of the Cajias family. Inma and Miguel have been living in Australia for over twenty years and arrived in Sydney separately. Inma always wanted to return to her homeland, so Miguel and Inma returned to Spain twice before resettling in Australia to raise their two daughters, Lucia and Maya. They decided to return to Australia as Miguel could not adapt to Spain. In 2016 Inma and her two daughters spent eight months in Spain in order to be with Inma's mother, who was terminally ill.

That time abroad aroused a strong need in Inma to return; however, this sentiment was not shared by all members of the family. In their film, the family members explain how each person deals with the need to return (or not) and how that affects their sense of belonging and the idea of having 'multiple homes'.

4. **Isolation** (duration 10.13)

Nieves arrived in Sydney from Calatayud, Spain, in 1977, when she was twenty-two. In her film, she explains how she felt for thirty years living in Sydney. She further explains how she has been able to return to Spain for good as her children returned first and that gave her the strength to do the same. She explains how she feels 'very lucky' in this outcome, given that many migrants are divided emotionally between two countries.

Now back in Madrid and reunited with her family, she recounts the positive and negative aspects of being a migrant and a returnee, and how she is grateful for her life in Australia, which she misses 'a lot'. With her story, we have the possibility of preserving archival material of Spain and Australia from the 1960s to the 1990s, while discussing issues of isolation, return, and the feeling and need of and for an emotional home.

5. **Identity** (duration 7.10)

Jorge (or George) Roura arrived in Australia from Switzerland in 1966. His story explains the importance for many Spanish migrants of claiming an identity and a place of belonging, as we age. He further recounts how at the age of eighteen—after travelling back to Barcelona for the first time since he migrated to Australia—he reconnected with his Catalán identity. He describes what and where home is for him, his connection to his Catalan roots and also to his house in Katoomba, Australia. He ends by explaining how his Catalan, Spanish and Australian identities 'sit comfortably' together. His film invites discussions on identity and belonging, while offering the possibility of preserving archival material from Switzerland, Spain and Australia between the 1960s and 1970s.

6. **Childhood memories** (duration 12.31)

In her film, Teresa explains the importance of travelling to Spain annually, and why such trips became important for her and her children Anton and Elsa. She explains how she is now reconnecting to her family's region, Galicia, while her children build their childhood memories and she grapples with her own 'childhood memories' in such these journeys. Elsa and Anton articulate their own perspective on such journeys and explain their feelings about Spain and Australia and 'home' is for them. This film invites discussions on the meaning of home, circular migration and nostalgia.

7. **My father** (duration 6.30)

Jesús tells us the story of his father, also called Jesús, who arrived in Australia in the 1950s to work in the sugar-cane fields in Queensland. His father passed away just a few months before this film was made, hence this is the story of the memories Jesus has of his father and the stories he told him as a migrant in the 1950s in Australia. Jesus currently lives in Pamplona, Spain, but would love to return to Australia to visit all the places his father used to talk about and are part of his childhood memories. Through this film we have the opportunity to view some preserved archival material such as payrolls of sugar-cane workers in the 1950s, return tickets from Australia, and information given to migrants such as an English language primer.

8. **The myth of return** (duration 5.15)

In this film Yolanda tells us the story of her mother who was living in Darwin after attempting to return to Spain eight times. One day she received the news of her terminal illness and decided to return to Spain to enjoy her last days. However, she surprised the family in Spain by requesting to have her ashes scattered in a particular place in Darwin, where she had memories of being happy. Through her story we discuss the myth of return and its impacts on Yolanda and her family. In this story we have access to preserved family films and archival material from both Australia and Spain.

9. **Here and there** (duration 6.14)

Maria Rosa, aged 67 at the time of her film, recounts how she and her husband live between two countries, Spain and Australia, because she needs to look after her elderly mother in Bilbao, Spain, but also wants to spend time with her children and grandchildren who live in Australia. In her film 'Here and there', Maria Rosa shares the intricacies of being emotionally divided between two countries that are geographically and culturally so distant from each other. She states she has been very happy in Australia and Ireland, where she first migrated, but if given the opportunity she would change her last destination, Australia, as it has been 'too far' from Spain. This film offers the opportunity to discuss emotional divisions, family commitments, ageing migration and the geographical distance between Spain and Australia and its effects on family relations. Through her film we are given the opportunity to enjoy and preserve archival material collected during her thirty-seven years in Australia.

This DCA's collection of stories, then, provides a venue in which the many issues facing Spanish migrants to and from Australia face can be discussed; it also offers space for preserving and collecting archival material related to such migrants, and for contributing new forms of telling our stories, away from the stereotypical image of the one-way migrant. Often our stories are represented with a beginning, middle and an end, where the beginning implies the departure from our homelands or the arrival in the new country,

and the end of our story is often represented by our return 'home'. But in the films and stories I present in this creative work, such is not the case.

I agree with Morley when he proposes that 'traditional ideas of home, homeland and nation have been destabilized, both by the new patterns of physical mobility and migration and by digital communication and technology' (2000, p. 3). Hegde is also right when he states that 'migration has always been about navigating new risks, uncertainty, and the contested terrain of mobility' (2016, p. 1). However, as I have argued in previous chapters, throughout migrant connectedness and movement, circular and transnational migrants are challenging traditional perceptions of home, belonging and return; yet a real challenge lies in how these new questions and situations are depicted in our stories, if at all.
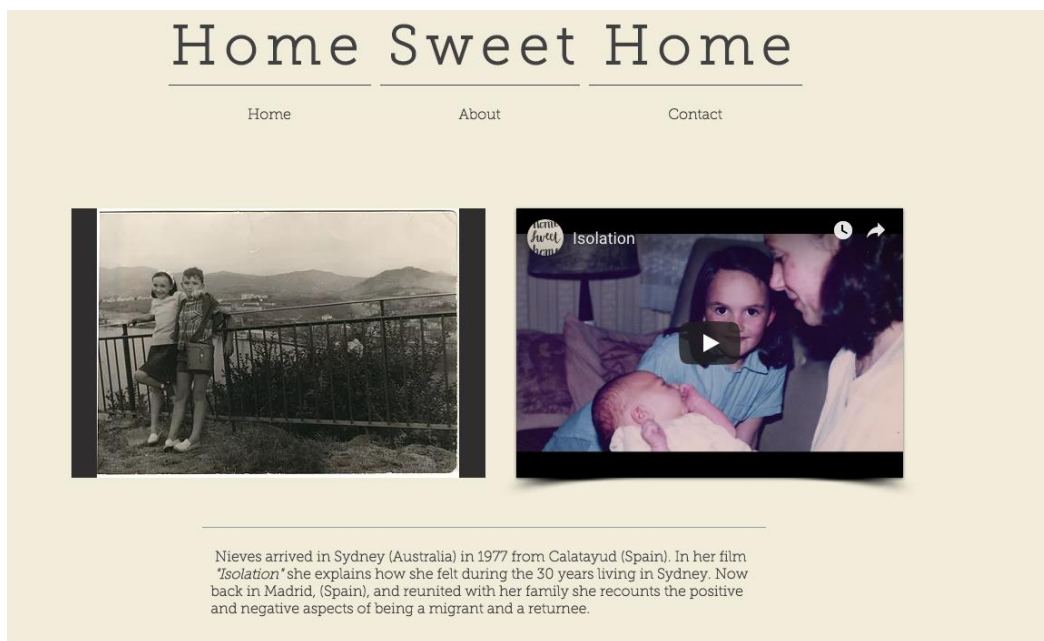
Image 29. Individual family page, 'Home Sweet Home', 2019.

Methodology

In my practice-based project '*Home Sweet Home*', I have used a multi-methodological approach that involves such investigatory approaches as fieldwork in two countries, visuals in the form of family films and photos, oral history through interviews, texts as poems and personal diaries, and a vast collection of new archival material. The key idea behind this project has been

to create a 'place' with this collection of short documentaries and archival material that feels like 'home' for people interested in Spanish migration. This idea of a virtual 'home' is constructed around Sarah Pink's discussion of the possibility of 'place-making' as a visual ethnographer. She further proposes that for the visual ethnographer 'place' can be described 'as the one we inhabit but also the one we investigate' (2008, p. 3).

Laura Schmidt from the *Society of American Archivists* reminds us that archives exist both to preserve historic materials and to make them available for use (SAA 2016, para. 1). She further explains how there are different types of archives and how each contains different types of material (Types of Archives SAA 2016, para 3, 4 & 6). The archival material held in *Home Sweet Home* is not related to any of the formal categories of archives that are routinely investigated by academics: Corporations, Governmental entities, Universities or Colleges, Museums, Historical Societies, or Religious entities. Nor is my archive associated with any institution beyond UTS. However, this thesis's archive could be categorised or described as a special collection in that it contains material from individuals and families with historical, personal and emotional value.

This DCA's archival work is in line with the approach taken by Niamh Moore and Andrea Salter. Moore reminds us that archives can emanate from an institution, a project *and* a process, the latter allowing a door to another world (the Archive Project, para. 5). Salter explores how archives often change during the research process and according to the focus of investigation. She also supports the idea of interpreting an archive as a place that is a mutable site of invention (the Archive Project, para. 8 & 9). My intention in placing the archives derived from Spanish migrants to and from Australia on a website is to preserve the material but also to explore migratory movements and emotions through visual representation. Further, the DCA's creative online venue aims to expand access to such new archival and invite collaboration and discussion by allowing further contributions.

In terms of the interviews I conducted, they were open and semi-structured, allowing the participants to express their feelings and stories freely. This method stopped me from directing and influencing the interviewees through my own personal experiences and concerns and thus to

open up the idea that each individual contained a singular history. That said, the fact that I came from the same community, spoke the same language, and was also a mother and a returnee, fostered a mood of 'familiarity' and mutual understanding when discussing very personal issues that otherwise may have been difficult to achieve. The interviews were conducted as a conversation, with participants having to answer only three questions: when did you arrive to Australia; what and where is home for you; and most importantly, where do you return?

We further discussed how their personal memorabilia would be used and displayed. Most importantly we considered how the children would be interviewed, with the set of interview questions posted to them for review and authorisation by the parents. I further gave the opportunity to the participants to withdraw from the project at any given point without having to give an explanation and to participate or not with their full names.

During the research and creative work of this DCA I had to balance on a personal level my own emotions as a migrant and a returnee, with the responsibilities of being the director, cinematographer and editor of the documentaries alongside my new role as a researcher. I was prepared to deal with the creative challenges of being an inexperienced director and cinematographer having previously directed only a short documentary, 'Memory'. I anticipated technical issues, which I was confident I could resolve to the best of my abilities in the postproduction process. However; I was unprepared for the roller coaster of emotions I experienced during the interviews that were an integral part of this DCA.

Conclusion.

In this chapter I have demonstrated that Spanish migrants are underrepresented in Australian accounts of its migration history, to a point where we are practically invisible. In response I have proposed a new interpretation of migrants' experiences, one that moves beyond the stereotypical image of the migrant story as having a beginning, middle and end. I have also questioned narratives that maintain and perpetuate the stereotyped image of the migrant and the fixity of the notions of home and return, particularly when trying to describe such terms through different life

and emotional stages. Through my work, then, I encourage a different approach to storytelling via online representations that reflect the challenges caused by the mobility of Spanish migrants to and from Australia.

In this section I have given examples to show that more often than not, our experiences are oversimplified by stories told about us as a series of departure and arrival events that are usually interpreted as new beginnings and ends. Often our experiences are based on the retelling of how migrants undergo the process of separation from our country of origin and the challenges of relocating to the host country. The central task of this last section has been to counter such retellings and narrativisations.

This chapter has presented an opportunity for me to expand the studies of migration and its media representations to include the small but resilient Spanish migrant community in Australia, utilising a different way of (re)telling our multi-generational and complicated stories. This approach encapsulates the intricacies of current forms of transnational mobility, its experiences and consequences by discussing circular migration, the fragility of concepts such as 'home' and 'return', by inviting discussions on identity constructions from an intergenerational perspective and by contributing with new archival material.

Most importantly, with my creative work and research I am providing a new online forum in Australia dedicated to the underrepresented Spanish migrant community. The array of experiences represented by these stories and community has enabled me to develop the new concept of 'emotional returnees' and by doing so has opened up the possibility for the future visibility of all of us who are involved in the search for 'home'.

Chapter 3
The emotional returnees and the myth of our 'return'

In this chapter, after providing an overview of the concept of return, I present the many ways in which return can be categorised and contest the concept of return itself. I then look at the concept of home; that is, return is often understood as being predicated on a presumed notion of home. I examine the phenomenon of circular migration within the Spanish community in Australia to demonstrate that for many migrants with descendants, while a physical return to a geographical location might be possible an emotional return is not. This leads me to the last section, where I contribute the new concept of 'emotional returnees'. Expanding on the categories described by Francesco Cerase (1974), I use the term 'emotional returnees' to describe those migrants who move between Spain and Australia in an attempt to find emotional stability.

In the second part of this chapter I explore the relationship between home and homeland, noting how the possible existence of multiple emotional homes (or not) might affect a family and an individual. This discussion prepares for the revelation of different migratory case studies that enable me to examine the many tropes of return and their unsettling consequences for different members of a family including, most importantly, our children. This chapter extends, builds on and contributes to the literature on emotional transnationalism by demonstrating that an emotional return is not possible when migrants have sentimental links to both countries. In this section I contend that the concept of return should be considered not as a final stage of migration but as an act that is constantly present and fluid during the entire migration experience. I argue for the need for an interdisciplinary approach in order to avoid misunderstandings about what exactly the idea of 'migrant returns' entails, here taking heed of Massey *et al.*'s idea that 'a full understanding of contemporary migratory process won't be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone' (1993, p. 432).

'El retorno' – return

Despite return being an important factor and experience in the life of some migrants, the International Organization for Migration (IOM 2017)[21], which describes itself as the leading international organisation for migration, does not include in its publication of key migration terms the word 'return'.

This oversight is significant. Stefansson (2004, p. 5) reminds us that for the better part of the twentieth century returns of migrants, refugees and exiles were hardly noticed by scholars, or at the very least those returns were not seen as being of much interest. Because of such invisibility, return has been described as 'the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration' (King 2000, p. 7). That said, as the concept of transnationalism[22] has become more prevalent in migration studies, the interest in studying return has also increased (Brettell 2007). However, much of the literature on return is anchored in the idea of 'uprooted' migrants returning to their familiar habitat, otherwise identified as 'home', and doing so in order to 'heal the social body' (Eastmond 2001). Rezaei and Marques (2016), for example, describe migrant returns as a way of closing the life cycle of migrants, which purportedly only happens when we migrants return to our homeland once and for all.

These approaches insist on the rather pessimistic idea that our returns are a result of unhappiness and dissatisfaction. Such returns are also described as 'traumatic', a 'culture shock', a new 'displacement' whereby returnees are alienated again (Cornish et al. 1999, Graham and Khosravi 1997), thus perpetuating the idea of migrants returning to an unfamiliar place. On the other hand, much critical literature persists in portraying our returns in terms of a nostalgic longing for the past, manifested in Stratton's words as a dream of 'a return to a place of origin as it *was*, not as it is now' (1997, p. 317). Return migration has also been described as a 'situation where the migrants return to their country of origin, by their own will, after a significant period of time' (Dustmann and Weiss 2007, p. 238). Although the growing body of return studies within the field of transnational immigration studies helps to

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[21] IOM, or as it was first known, the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME), was born in 1951 out of the chaos and population displacements of Western Europe following the Second World War (https://www.iom.int/about-iom).

[22] For more on transnationalism see: Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992), Guarnizo (1997), Yulmardi, Amir, Erfit and Junaidi (2018).

understand relevant concepts of return migration, it appears that the critical field has at times perpetuated a simplistic view of return.

Despite the contrasting interpretations of return migration in the critical literature, there is at times a shortcoming when discussing the many possible 'stages of return', and types of returnees. That is, the stereotypical view of the migrants' return experience predominantly focuses on the return as the last step of the migration experience and does not look beyond the physical act of returning. That view is mistaken as it ignores the many typologies of returns and misrecognises the consequences of any return(s) for different generations of migrants. Indeed, by focusing on return as the last step of our migration experience, such analyses fail to describe what a large proportion of Spanish migrants in Australia undergo, experience and live. As Ley and Kobayashi explain in their work on Hong Kong transmigrants, return migration is not a sufficient description of 'the hyper-mobility of some transnational citizens' (2005, p. 123). As we will see in this chapter, some of the participants move constantly and freely between the two countries, consider the two locations to be their homes, and equally refer to both locations when discussing their returns. Such returns are clearly multidirectional and never fully resolved. Even when they are visiting their families back in Spain for a short period of time, some of these participants consider those visitations as 'returns'. Hence, this exegesis contributes to the growing literature on circular transnational migration by suggesting that we look beyond return as a single journey or final step of migration and instead approach studies of migration and return from a multilayered perspective.

In this section, the various returns I identify indicate that there are as many typologies of returns as individual experiences and families. Consequently, any unilateral description of the many typologies and experiences of return seems limited when describing the many ways in which Spanish migrants in Australia have experienced migration and continue to do so. That limitation also is evident whenever we describe the 'return' from the perspective of returnees and stayers or when we distinguish between 'visitations' and 'returns'.

During my twenty-five years living in Australia as a migrant, it has been evident to me that many Spanish migrants are in constant contact with their

birth country, not only through digital communication, but also through their frequent visits to relatives and friends (VRF tourism).[23] Cwerner (2001) claims that despite the multiple ways in which time and migration are intertwined, temporal dimensions are rarely fully incorporated into theorisations of migration experience. In other words, by looking at temporal dimensions during the transnational movements of the Australian Spanish-origin community, we can then pay attention to the mobility, continuity and reterritorialisation of current day transmigrants, and thus avoid an out-dated view of home and return.

My approach in this thesis is then more in line with researchers who present the idea of return as both a disenchantment and a satisfactory experience (King 2000; Uehling 2002; Stefansson 2004), the latter implying that returning has a more empowering, liberating and progressive potential than first thought (Kibreab 1999). I have always believed that my migratory experience is more in line with the positive attitude of Hammond (2004), who argues in favour of a more proactive understanding of return migration, one that regards return as an effort in constructing better and more satisfying futures and not as something to be regarded as a negative or stereotypical process or phenomenon. The frequent visits to my homeland are not only ways to reconnect with the past but, more frequently, are a way to deal with the present and in some cases to help us build a better future. In my case by visiting Spain I not only put to rest my feelings of uncertainty, guilt and nostalgia; those journeys also help me to compare my two lives, and hence to appreciate what Australia has to offer (or not) to me and most importantly to my family in terms of education, prosperity and basic needs. By contrast, these visits also make me question if such things are enough for me to remain in Australia.

Although such constant movement between places and countries may seem trivial, it is in fact more difficult than it might seem at first sight. That movement puts an enormous professional and financial burden on our families. But these journeys do not simply signal a geographical change; rather, most importantly, they signal a personal transition and an emotional

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[23] For more information on 'visits to relative and friends' tourism, see: Huang, King, and Suntikul (2017) and Portes, Haller, Guarnizo (2002), and Seaton and Palmer (1997).

adaptation to both environments. Sometimes this situation increases or triggers a fear of unbelonging, a lack of identity, which therefore might intensify our need to define home. But also, many (trans)migrants might agree with the idea put forward by Acevedo on his work on Puerto Rican circular migration, when he states that 'transmigrants develop a sense of place and identity that incorporates cultural conditions at both ends of the network' (2009, p. 72). My read on this is that some transmigrants, like myself, are able to construct an identity and sense of 'home' by the actual situation of having access to both places.

According to Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999, p. 219), transnational activities are 'regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders'. Indeed, some migrants might believe that they have a more volatile identity, in that they feel part of one society or another depending on where they are, perhaps as 'floaters' as Vertovec (2001) describes this typology of migrants. The term refers to those migrants who can simultaneously live in two or more worlds. Kunuroglu *et al.* in their work *Return Migration* (2016) believe that this situation is possible because migrants have 'multi layered' identities.

I agree with these statements, but a point that needs emphasising is the fact that a transnationalist experience, and the associated fluidity of identities and feeling of belonging (or not) to two or more places, should not be presented merely as a positive outcome of globalisation. According to Elena Caneva (2017), globalisation has had impacts on us at many levels but particularly at the level of identity construction. In her work, she explores how the possibility of choosing where to belong affects the identity formation of young migrants living in Italy. In some instances, this transnational experience may lead to the construction of a multifaceted identity yet, for others, the opportunity to 'choose' may turn into a source of insecurity and loss of identity (Caneva 2017, p. 80). This is clearly identified by some of the participants in my research, despite their age or length of migration. For instance, in the case of Jorge Roura his Spanish, Catalan and Australian identities 'sit comfortably together', while Pablo claims not to have an issue when deciding where 'home' is as he can easily get to both places, Spain and Australia. Yet some of the participants have experiences that seem more in line

with Al-Ali and Koser's (2002, p. 4) proposition identifying the possibility of transmigrants not feeling anchored anywhere, either in their place of origin or in the place of destination, thus demonstrating how the feeling of belonging 'everywhere' could lead at times to a sense of not belonging 'anywhere'. Such is the case of Maya, who doesn't feel anchored in any location as she would like to be in both, and of her mother Inma, who feels Australia is 'home' as she has created a family in this country but doesn't have the feeling 'within' herself. In the case of Yolanda, because she has relocated on several occasions she doesn't want to choose or 'be labelled' as she is not 'one or the other' and feels 'comfortable but nostalgic' in both places.

This is also echoed by Teresa (42) who has lived in Australia for seventeen years:

> I don't know ... by adapting, sacrificing and learning other things at the same time, you lose a little bit of that sense of identity 100% which is something we take for granted ... if you have not migrated you don't know what it is, but you do know when you go back home, you are not 100% fully operational in the same way that the people there are. And when you come here you also have a little bit of that sense, so I think it makes you more of a citizen of the world with the downside that you belong everywhere, but you don't belong anywhere. That cliché is true, it is true yeah!

On the other hand, Pérez Firmat (1995) claims that migrants must define themselves at some point not by our place of birth, but by our destination. I disagree with his view because again this limits the issue, forcing us 'to choose' one place over the other instead of accepting a fluent and hybrid identity for some of us. Therefore, I suggest that research should focus more on the processes of identity formation rather than on purportedly stable identity outcomes with clear points of origin and destination. If researchers accept the possibility of more than one place of belonging and contemplate multilocational notions of home, then the connections of identity with and to home are no longer fixed or fixable.

My personal experience as a migrant and a returnee, along with some of the statements from the participants in my research, exemplify how a feeling of belonging is not only 'volatile but cyclical'; and so, is, by extension, the feeling and sense of home and of course, return. Marta Bivand Erdal and Rojan Ezzati (2015) support the idea that this volatile situation has implications for migrants when considering a return. Or as Hammond puts it, 'home' is often used as a unit of measure to evaluate the quality of return (2004, p. 37). The question thus arises: if we try to belong to two worlds, have two or more identities and have simultaneous homes, why and to where do we return?

Image 30. Teresa and siblings (Galicia, Spain, 1984).

Another problem emerges when trying to define return if we continue to link it with home and refer to the act of returning to a birthplace as a 'homecoming'. What happens if you don't feel as if you belong to your birthplace? The question is apposite not only as a consequence of long-term migration but perhaps because, in the first place, one simply never identified with one's birthplace. To feel that you are returning 'home' implies that you can in fact identify such a place or locality as home, your home. But as Stuart Hall puts it, 'identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in

72

process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation' (1990, p.222), and so by extension is the sense of belonging and of 'home'.

Yet despite these identity issues, positive or negative feelings towards certain aspects of the homeland are undeniable, particularly if one has emotional attachments to, and childhood memories of, a specific location. As Baldassar puts it in her study of Italian migrants in Australia, 'very few migrants had strong national identities. Their ties were to family, kin and neighbours' (2011, p. 4). I can say the same in regard to the participants of my work. Some might identify the lifestyle, humour, or familiar smells or tastes as reasons to return to Spain, but most of my interviewees expressed the desire to be close to relatives and friends above any cultural or national attachment.

When talking about return, much depends on how it is defined, and whether we refer to the physical, the imagined or the emotional aspects of the process. As exemplified by the participants in this work, when talking about return, it is important to differentiate between a short stay or an extended stay, a return for good, a frustrated return, and even a desired but never accomplished return. In order to analyse the concept of return we thus need to identify when the 'return' is taking place. It could be at an early age, upon retirement, for the first time or as described by Tsuda (2009), an 'ethnic return', which refers to the 'return' of second and subsequent generation immigrants to their country of heritage after having lived abroad. King and Christou (2011) describe the 'ancestral return' when a migrant returns after a death, or when the return involves multiple resettlements. This last understanding is the core of my work, as these multiple resettlements can be understood as multiple returns. In the case of Yolanda as she equally refers as a 'return' when discussing her multiple relocations to both countries Spain and Australia. Teresa and Maria Rosa, who feel at 'home' in Australia because they have their children and grandchildren in this country or in the case of Pablo, who clearly identifies as having 'two homes'.

Most of the families taking part in this study have experienced multiple returns to Spain and back to Australia. A few of them have moved to Spain for good, only to learn about their children's desire to return to Australia. Families who planned their return during many years of living in Australia then find out that their children and grandchildren do not wish to go back, a situation that

triggers circular returns. In the case of the Cajias family, the desire to return was stronger in some members than others, leading the family to continuously postpone 'the' return.

Inma from the Cajias family arrived in Australia more than twenty years ago. Since then she has travelled regularly to her birthplace with her daughters Lucia and Maya and her husband Miguel. They have resettled in Spain on three occasions. She is currently planning to relocate to Spain again. However, this time she faces a challenge. Her husband Miguel and teenage daughter Lucia are not ready to accept another 'return'.

Image 31. Inma Martinez (Sydney, 2016).

When discussing the situation Inma explains that for her, return is 'something that is constantly present, something that I think about practically every day. Yes, even after 20 years in this country, yeah, every day'.

Image 32. Lucia Cajias (Sydney, 2016).

Her teenage daughter Lucia details in an interview the reasoning behind her refusal to return again:

> Last year we lived in Spain for eight months. Firstly, I didn't want to go, once there I got used to it and when I came back to Australia, I was very sad. I missed my Spanish friends and my family; I didn't want to come back, didn't want to be here ... but now I am back at high school, I got my first job, I have a boyfriend, I am happy. Why destroy that again? Yet if my parents tell me one day, I cannot go to Spain ever again I would feel horrible. It is fine to be in Australia because I know I am going to Spain regularly and that makes me feel a lot whole better than just staying here and not being able to return.

Maya, the youngest in the family, timidly recounts how she once was offered the opportunity to return but decided not to go back to Spain. She sadly explains her reasoning behind that decision.

> Sometimes I would talk about returning but then... I am a bit stupid because I would return but ... I actually had an opportunity to go but then I refused because we have a dog and I knew 'I' wouldn't have been happy there with no friends.

Image 33. Maya and her dog Tin Tin (Sydney, 2015).

Miguel (Inma's husband) confesses:

> I often discuss with her [Inma] our return. Yeah, we could do that, but we have tried it before, twice … and we got a good life here too, you know? Things go up and down you know? Sometimes she wants to stay, sometimes she wants to go. I go wherever she goes, to be honest, but I like it here, I want to be here.
>
> We always talk about return, is always in our discussions, is always in our conversations. We always had our return in mind, but my daughters have an opinion now too [he smiles].

Later he continues:

> but in years to come, yes, I would like to be in Spain. It is a good country. Nice to be there in the last part of your life but I am happy here. I am not running away from this. It is not my ultimate goal. It could be nice, yes. Why not? But again, I am quite happy here. Australia is a great country that allows you to go, to come back, go again, back again, and that freedom is great, it's fantastic!

Image 34. Miguel Cajias (Sydney, 2016).

We also need to question that if these families are settled in Australia and express their gratitude and happiness towards this country, why do they need to return?

When trying to answer such questions, I reflect on the number of times I have found myself planning, discussing and (de)constructing my own return during my life in Australia, perhaps to ensure I have the possibility of returning or at least of keeping alive my intentions to do so. I feel that the intention to return and the ability to do so are very important in helping me to remain in Australia.

In thinking about the process of return it is necessary to reflect on the impact of nostalgia and memory on practices of return. It is not hard to understand that migration turns us into different people. Thus, returning to our homeland expecting to feel the way we once were, is somehow impossible. This is beautifully expressed by the poet Ricardo Pau Llosa, cited by Iraida López (2015, p. 67), when he writes: 'The exile knows its place, and that place is the imagination'.

Although exile is a specific form of displacement not equal to migration per se, the idea is transferable. We imagine how our life will become once we arrive in our new location, to then create and recreate what our lives used to be in our homeland, to later at some point of our migration experience, then

imagine our return. In their work on return mobilities, King and Christou remind us that migrants and returnees often develop powerful affective and mythological connections to a 'homeland' (2011, p. 453). While Susanne Radstone (2010, p. 189) reminds us that nostalgia, if we allow it, 'will lead us far from home'.

Jorge Roura Garbó describes how nostalgia is not so much triggered in the family but by outside influences, such as TV advertising. This is evident in his recounting of his childhood memories:

> I don't think the environment at home was nostalgic, my dad in particular was quite happy in Australia and quite happy not to be in Spain. My mum missed her parents and missed her country, her circle. Because my mother was at home raising six children, Dad was at work and so he engaged with people on the outside; Mum didn't engage with people. The primary thing she missed was the culture, the food, and all of that, and of course, the family and the familiar surroundings. Contact with Spain was very expensive during those years, early '70s and '80s, I love an ad on TV called 'Memories'—oh dear, it made you so homesick that everyone contacted their families immediately.

What he is referring to is 'The Way We Were', an Australian television advertisement that was part of a series of 1970s-era TV commercials for the Overseas Telecommunications Commission (OTC) that used nostalgia to encourage Australian migrants to make overseas telephone calls. The series caused a 600 per cent increase in calls to the countries involved and won a gold medal at Cannes in 1979. At one stage it was named the most effective advertisement in 25 years of Australian television (Australian Screen, NFSA).

Giuliani, in her work on the mental representations and psychological attachments of the home, defines a bond with the home as 'the psychological state of well-being experienced by the subject as a result of the mere presence, vicinity, or accessibility of the object' and equally 'the state of distress set up by the absence, remoteness or inaccessibility of the object' (1991, p. 134).

Giuliani's words are well exemplified by Yolanda Vega's situation of relocating as a child and later as an adult on several occasions. She explains:

Image 35. Yolanda Vega interview (Sydney, Australia, 2015).

To me ... I think being a migrant really is one of *the* most difficult existences because you always miss, and you always feel nostalgia. Because when you are there you want to be here and when you are here you want to be there ... Unfortunately, nostalgia is something that I have learnt to live with, and I have experienced it living here [Australia] and in Spain.

Mari-Paz Moreno in her poem 'Foreigner at home' (2008) exemplifies how nostalgia at times does not allow migrants to feel grounded in the new country and at 'home'. During our interview, and while showing me some of her poems and novels, she explained how she used to cry nearly every day remembering Madrid and her family until one day she realised that she needed to stop being so nostalgic or she would never be happy in Australia. She then decided to write about her experience to express her sadness, but also to change her attitude towards the new country. Since then she has produced six books: *Nostalgia del Pasado* (Nostalgia of the Past), *Nostalgia del Futuro*

(Nostalgia of the Future), *Niñez Querida y Casi Olvidada* (Beloved Childhood Nearly Forgotten), *Por El Placer de Escribir* (For the Pleasure of Writing), *Rimas y Versos Blancos* (Rhymes, Verses and White Poems) and *Viajes, Descubrimientos y Versos* (Journeys, Discoveries and Verses).

Foreigner

When I arrived in Sydney, a foreigner in a new land,

I lived in a nice, quiet suburb,

But my heart was heavy, and my soul was sad.

Many days I spent time in the City. Walking... Walking quickly,

as if I was in a hurry to go home,

But in fact, I was running away from it.

I was running away from memories

Of my distant country, so lovely, so dear

—*Viejo* country, his name is like a song—

Of days of true friendships,

Of family and young love,

And happy times that seems so long ago...

One evening, at a Shakespeare's monument,

I heard his famous lovers pledging love to each other,

And my heart felt so lonely,

That I cried and cried

Till darkness brought the night, and I could cry no more.

But I was young and knew little of life,

So, I dried my tears and started to pray

For a miracle from Heaven above.

Then the sun rose,

A glorious sun, and a day so warm,

That a surge of life came into my soul

And I saw Australia waking,

Young and vibrant, promising and fair,

And, for a moment,

I felt at home.

—September 2008[24]

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[24] Poem written by Mari Paz Moreno, Sydney 2008.

Image 36. Books written by Mari-Paz Moreno (Sydney, Australia, 2017).

Timing

Before turning to a deeper discussion of the concept of a final return, and to consider if such a situation does indeed exist, I will now review the bases upon which people decide to return.

There are many reasons for migrants to return: the fear of our culture being lost and not passed onto our children; the feeling of being alienated within our own families, of being trapped in time; the guilt of not caring for our own parents; financial reasons; a strong sense of identity, solid linkage to a particular family or community; the completion of a professional or personal plan; or the fact that financially or professionally the host country is a worse option that it first appeared to be. In some instances, as in my own, there is also the fact that I never considered a long-term migration. Many of us left our country, family and friends to pursue a dream (emotional, financial or professional) and with the idea of only staying in Australia for two years. However, we find ourselves surprised and caught up so that our lives turn out differently. Then an early return is forgotten or postponed.

Nieves was born in Calatayud, Spain. She came to Australia in 1977 after marrying an Australian she met in London. She was twenty-one when she arrived in Australia. She returned to Spain in 2007 after her husband died, and her son also decided to return to Spain. I interviewed her in Spain, where she recounted how many times, she thought about going back to Spain throughout the thirty years she lived in Australia:

Maybe not just Spain but Europe? Somewhere where I could be closer to my family and I didn't feel so far away. I knew I would miss parts of Australia, but I wanted to come back, but you get caught up! You have children growing up, you have a house and you get caught up in life and you realise you can't come back. So, but yes, I thought about coming back many times.

It is also not unusual to find migrants who, like me, claim to have moved here temporarily and 'only for two years' and then add that they have been in Australia for twenty, thirty or even fifty years. We did not plan or anticipate a long-term migration, let alone consider the consequences that our decision would bring to generations of our family. My children are and will be affected by my decision to move to the other side of the world for many years, and perhaps I would go as far as to say that even their own children will be affected by my decision. Therefore, the frequent visits to our homeland for some of us are also occasions to reconcile ourselves with a country and a family and to stop feeling guilt about leaving everything and everyone behind.

Image 37. 'Our first home' (Lake Illawarra, Australia, 1979).

Personally, by annually travelling to Spain, I am also mentally and emotionally able to remain in Australia. This constant travelling helps me to remind myself who I was, but most importantly it also allows me to be in contact with friends and relatives and to stop feeling that I am not part of their lives anymore. Similarly, Teresa (42) describes the need for her annual

82

journeys to Spain as a way of recharging her batteries 'culturally and emotionally but also to remind me who I am. When I come back, I renewed my batteries in the things I believe are important'.

She also explains how important is for her to take her children back to places in Spain that are special to her:

> For me there are places in Spain that I have a strong connection with and that become more important since I live here [Australia] than when I lived there. For example, I am from Madrid, I grew up in Madrid, but my mother is from the north of Spain, Galicia, so I spent all my summers as a kid there, every holiday ... When I came to live here, especially since I had kids, that part of my live which is my childhood memories, my summers, are way more important than Madrid! Although Madrid is the city where I grew up, where I studied and where my everyday friends are. So, when I go to Spain, I actually chose to spend most of my time on the north, in Galicia, because I think that is a precious home or memory that I want them [the children] to have. Madrid is great, but I don't think the city brings the same. I don't know.

Image 38. Teresa and family, four generations (Galicia, Spain, 2008).
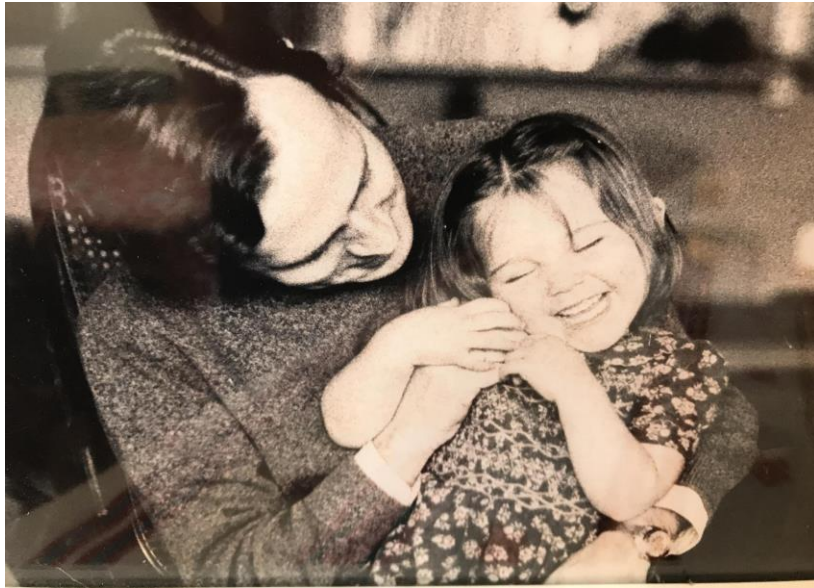
Image 39. Teresa and father (Galicia, Spain, 1980).

For her daughter Elsa, aged twelve, at the time of the interview, the trips to Spain are exciting:

> To go to Spain is exciting … when I get there and when I meet everyone, then I kind of adjust and then it is also good when I am back because I am back at my house and all of that, but it is kind of weird to come back and having to adjust again.

Image 40. Elsa Alonso Lasheras (Sydney, Australia, 2016).

In other words, as migrants we do not want to be perceived as outsiders in either location. While remaining true to ourselves and avoiding becoming a caricature of our own culture and experience, somehow, we have to find a balance and become someone else, so we turn into different people who are, in effect, products of both lives and places.

We also need to consider that these multiple 'returns' challenge not only our understanding of home but also of belonging. Lucia Cajias for example, has mixed feelings towards each location.

> My feelings towards Spain and Australia change all the time, depending how I feel and what's happening in my life. It depends, sometimes I wish I was over there [Spain] and other times I think I could never ever leave Australia. I don't know ... it's hard.

The different perceptions of Lucia, Elsa and her mother are clarified by Ali and Holden (2011) while citing Coles and Timothy (2004, p.1) who argue that diaspora tourism, referring to tourism consumed, produced and experiences by diasporic communities, has a distinctive meaning for different generations. For the first generation, such journeys help to perpetuate the 'myth of return', for the second generation it leads to a questioning of association with the homeland, a sense that they are different. This accessibility to our country also makes us feel that our homeland is still available, there: waiting for the day we decide to return. Yet by being in our country, distant family and nostalgic emotions always present, we don't allow ourselves to stop feeling 'somewhere else' a situation very well exemplified by Mari Paz Moreno's poem. Once she stopped crying and being nostalgic, she final felt at 'home' in Australia.

Espinosa (1998) considers that this longing for the *patria* is caused by an incomplete integration with the host society. *Patria,* like home, is not only a difficult concept to grab and translate but can be understood differently depending on personal beliefs and circumstances. Both terms are equally volatile and fragile. However, Espinosa refers here to a connection to the 'homeland' or country of birth to the extent of being responsible for a disconnection with the new country. This might very well be the case for some;

85

however, this viewpoint does not reflect the situation for many migrants today. As previously explained, some of migrants cannot be categorised as uprooted or out of touch with our countries of origin, as we are firmly linked and attached to both our host country and our country of origin. We travel regularly as we have economic, emotional and political attachments with our homeland. But we also have important links with our current country of residence, and even more so if our children are born or brought up there from an early age. Nevertheless, at some point or another during our migration experience we face the need or desire to return. But when is a good time to return? As Izquierdo states, 'it is not advisable when things go well and difficult to accept when they go wrong' (2011, p. 162).

Image 41. Alicia y Valentín Oyes (Sydney, 2017).

Alicia and Valentin Oyes lived in Australia for fifteen years from 1982 until 1997 and returned to Spain twenty years ago. In October 2017, while visiting their children and grandchildren in Sydney, they explained the importance of timing:

When to return it is very important, very. You see? We were all going to go back to Spain together but then, when the time arrived, we could only take the two youngest as the eldest decided to stay and we couldn't do anything. One of our kids changed her mind weeks before departing; we even had her ticket. Alicia, our second daughter, went to

86

Spain a year earlier to start university, but a few months later she decided to return back to Australia. Now we have two children in Spain and three in Australia. You have to go when your children are little. Later they won't go … [Alicia continues desperately and grabs my arm]. You have to go now, Natalia, or later you won't, you won't.

Alicia expressed those words concerning her pain and guilt as a mother with sadness and desperation, and I felt how terrible her situation must be. I suddenly reflected on the possibility that this might happen to me one day; but I also thought about their children and how they must have felt. I then approached one of Alicia and Valentin' daughters, who explained:

I agreed to go back to Spain, well, we *all* did. We first travelled together on holidays and it was great. We planned to take two years to finish high school, sell the house etc., but in those two years many things changed … My youngest sister and I went to Spain a year before my parents to start university. I had a great time but after a while I missed Australia, my friends, a boy I liked. I don't know. It was very traumatic to leave my parents and my little sister in Spain, but I had to come back to Australia. I missed so many things.

While discussing why her parents chose to return to Spain despite the fact that some of the children changed their mind during those two years and decided to stay in Australia, she continues:

Separating the family was very traumatic … for all of us! You can imagine. But I think my mother's mental health was at risk if she had continued in this country. She felt very isolated.

Image 42. Alicia Oyes (Sydney, November 2017).

Alicia is referring to what is known to Spanish migrants in Australia as 'el mal del emigrante' (the migrant's malaise) or 'el mal de Australia', as described by García (2002, p. 112), a mixture of feelings such as nostalgia, guilt, disappointment and isolation. This is something that I, like many of the participants in my research, can relate to. However, it is important to point out that such feelings are not specific to one location, as we might feel nostalgic, guilt, disappointed or isolated in Australia and Spain alike as Yolanda explains in her film 'Nostalgia', and Nieves in her film 'Isolation'.

Nieves recounts how isolated she felt for four years after her arrival in Australia in 1977, although she remained in this country twenty-six years more. Now living back in Spain, she describes her experiences in an interview:

> My first impression of Australia on the first couple of years it was of a paradise … but after travelling for a while throughout Australia I realised I was missing in a lot. I missed my family, because after two years of being in Australia I had my first daughter and after that I realised how isolated Australian suburbia is. We also went to live in a place where my late husband grew up and it was suburbia. At that time and in that place, there was not work for women, and I felt completely isolated and it was when it really hit me. I still liked it, but it was only after I first came back to Spain four years after arriving in Australia that I realized how *awful* it was to go back there. It was *very* difficult. I

think it is the only time in my life that I could feel I was getting depressed. But I knew I have liked it before, and I knew I could like it again. It was hard because I knew I was leaving my family behind, because I knew I was living in a place where I could not leave and simply have a coffee with friends or just couldn't find work, it was very difficult at that time and that it was the isolation of suburbia.

Rubén Rumbaut (2004), in his study of the long-term consequences of migration for 'first' and 'second' generation of Cuban American migrants, argues that the relative proportion of time spent in the country of origin versus settlement has consequences for transnational ties and return intentions. My reading of this is that a 'return' intention will diminish if we stay longer in the host country. However, some of the participants in my research have lived in Australia between fifteen and thirty-plus years, or they arrived as young migrants, yet their desire to return is not directly proportionate to the length of time they have lived in the other country. Theorists such as Rumbaut (2004) contemplate the basis of a final return after a period in the host country by assuming that the physical and emotional return go hand in hand, and this might be so in some cases. Yet the issue I question here is where and when to return when you have emotional attachments in both (or more) countries?

Some scholars, such as Allatson and McCormack, point out that 'rapid globalizations, enhanced communication, and transnational migratory flows are ensuring that in the contemporary world, notions of home/land and identity are very much disputed on local, transnational, and global levels' (2008, p. 22). On the other hand, Lakha reminds us that 'while globalization and transnational movement complicate the idea of home, they do not detract from the affective elements of home' (2009, p. 125). But if we do have emotional links in both countries, have lived a substantial amount of time in both locations and have memories related to both places, how do we build a sense of 'home' and, most importantly, where might that place be? Do we need to redefine ourselves in order to redefine home?

'Como en casa'– like at home

In Spanish home is understood variously as *tierra* (homeland) where you feel connected to the soil, earth, the land; *pueblo (*town) where your feeling of belonging is connected to your city or village; *hogar* (family) as we seek and understand home from the perspective of our families; *casa* (house) referring to the physical home; and *sentimiento de confort* (feeling of comfort) when we refer to the feeling or emotion without specific location. These different feelings and understandings of 'home' are crucial to my thesis, and we will now see how the participants in this research work define them.

In the case of Sagrario, Yolanda's mother, she felt the need to return to her '*tierra'*, Spain, during her last days yet was also pulled by her connection to Australia and a particular beach in Queensland where she felt happiness, being attracted and connected to two very specific locations. Teresa and Inma in their films 'Childhood Memories' and 'Multiple homes, multiple returns' seek and understand home from the perspective of their families and childhood memories, as they now feel connected and at home in Australia because of their children but feel equally at home in Spain because of their own childhood memories that are reconnecting them back with their homelands. Both places constitute their *'hogar'*. The feeling of being at home by having your own house or *'casa'* is described by Jorge, who is very connected and happy at his house in the Blue Mountains despite also being nostalgic for his Catalan 'Identity'. And lastly, the feeling of comfort or *'sentimiento de confort'* is defined by most of the participants while being in both places Spain and Australia, as they feel equally comfortable (or not) in either location.

As I question how else we can understand 'home' and after reflecting on my experience and listening to the interviews, my approach is in line with a group of theorists. Kaminsky proposes that home is an individual and emotional state (1999, p. 28), something that it is demonstrated through the outcomes of this research and the feelings expressed by the participants. Mallet raises the question of whether or not home is (a) place(s), (a) space(s), (a) feeling(s), practices, and/or an active state of being in the world (2004, p. 62). And for Hammond (2004, p. 10), home is a variable term, one that can be transformed, newly invented and developed in relation to the circumstances in

which people find themselves or choose to place themselves. These authors clearly illustrate the plasticity of the concept of 'home'. But we also need to question how do language, identity, family and memory, particularly childhood memories, contribute to build our sense of 'home'?

By experiencing my own life as a migrant, I have come to realise that one does not stop feeling like a foreigner once you learn the language, establish yourself in the host society or are granted your new citizenship. Perhaps, quite the contrary. Yet that feeling of being a foreigner is not necessarily linked to living abroad and being a migrant. One can feel like a foreigner or as an outsider in one's own country, when one doesn't relate to the culture, the politics or the shared feeling of the so-called national or 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983).

In my case, I was born in San Sebastián, in the Basque country. During my first years I lived under the dictatorship of Franco, who repressed us for speaking another language and for having 'different' traditions and language from the rest of Spain. For years we were persecuted if we spoke our language in public or followed our traditions while Franco (1939–75) and his regime forced us to be and feel 'Spanish'. During his dictatorship, I also experienced the repression of the terrorist group ETA who purportedly fought for 'our freedom' and our right 'to be Basque'. Once Franco died the Basque language was made compulsory at schools and so were Basque traditions. While growing up in the Basque country, anything 'too Spanish' was seen as 'fascist'; yet following Basque traditions and defending your cultural heritage were perceived as 'terrorist' acts by the rest of Spain. Therefore, for many years I found myself questioning how my identity never felt like a choice but rather an obligation, a political statement that led me to feel like an outsider searching for a feeling of home in what was meant to be my 'home' as it was my homeland. In other words, and as Benedict Anderson reminds us, 'Nation, nationality, and nationalism—all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyse' (1983, p. 12); so, I wonder, can national identity be enforced?

In a country like Spain with such strong cultural identities, one is in a way forced to feel either Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, and so on. Stating that you feel a bit of all of them yet none as a whole, or simply to say, 'I am

Spanish', can have negative connotations and may even be associated with a right-wing political stance. Then you arrive in Australia and although your 'difference' is celebrated and embraced by multiculturalism, you are also expected to become 'Australian' if you are here for good. In a way you need to define yourself as you are constantly being asked, where are you from? Yet, I have been trying all my life to find 'home', and this attempt intensified after moving to Australia. Somehow in this country I found myself being more 'Spanish' than in my own country and longing for a place that I once happily left, trying to rediscover a land and a culture that, when I lived in Spain, I was not allowed to recognise as mine and enjoy as such. When trying to answer what and where home is, the concept of the uncanny becomes particularly useful, especially when relying on its potential to question the emotions that come into play as a consequence of the migration experience (Marinelli and Ricatti 2013). Since I migrated to Australia, San Sebastián has turned into an 'emotional space', to use the definition of Marinelli and Ricatti when referring to a place that mediates between emptiness and the imaginary (2013, p. 5). In my case, this means the emptiness of not feeling quite at home in Australia and the imaginary that somehow San Sebastian is my 'home', but when I am there, I don't quite feel that way. This turns San Sebastián and Australia into equally familiar and unfamiliar, homely and unhomely, sites. Such a mix of emotions reminds me of Saunders and Williams' words when they write: 'Precisely because the home touches so centrally on our personal lives, any attempt to develop a dispassionate social scientific analysis inevitably stimulates emotional and deeply fierce argument and disagreement' (1998, p. 91). They also mention the need to develop a complex view of home that considers the interaction between place and social relationships.

When I interviewed the Cajias family—Inma, Miguel, Lucia and Maya—separately, they expressed the following thoughts about the meaning of home for them. At times their feeling of home changed, depending on whether we spoke before or after their return from Spain.

Image 43. Cajias family: Miguel, Inma, Lucia and Maya (Spain, 2005).

Inma discussed how for her there are different homes:

> Spain is my home, my childhood memories, my culture and family but Australia is the family that I created with Miguel and this is then our home. For me home is family, so I feel more at home there [Spain] than here [Australia] ... because it´s about family and feeling that you belong, and I don't have the feeling that I belong here, or if I do it´s not as strong as when I am there.

Miguel, her husband, had lived in many countries during his childhood and feels less solid linkages to his place of birth:

> It is going to be funny for me to explain where home is. As a child, I lived in different countries, so I think for me my place is where I am happy, and my place for me right now is my family so ... it is not a geographical area but ... I would say, wherever my family is happy, I am going to be there. At this stage in life, it´s Australia. What would happen later on? I am not sure. So ... to me home is where my wife and two daughters are, here, there, it does not matter.

Lucia is more assertive about her feeling of home:

> Home for me is where you feel more comfortable, where you feel if you belong and where most of your memories are ... your family ... and stuff like that ... And that is Australia for me while Spain for me is where my other family is, but I don't kind of like live there, so for me is like where part of my family is where they live, it is not where I consider my home. There, I just visit for a couple of weeks, yeah visiting, while here is where I live where I go to school and where my friends are.

Lucia's sister Maya seems more divided between the two countries to the point that she considers herself not having a home:

> I don't know where my home is, because home is where your family is, and I have family here and in Spain, so I am kind of in between .... I think home is with your family, around your friends and family ... I don't know, it's hard. Home for me would be ... I don't know. Like I wouldn't mind both. It is like both would be one whole home. Here is family and friends, and there I have family and yeah.

Image 44. Maya Cajias (Sydney, 2016).

Home Sweet Home   *Natalia Ortiz*

These frequent returns raise the question: Nowadays we have better ways to keep long-distance relationships and to travel comfortably. Is this an obstacle to defining home?

Pablo (52), like Maya, expresses uncertainty about where 'home' is. He arrived in Australia at the age of three. In his interview, he explained how his mother had to place him in an orphanage in Barcelona while she lived in Madrid because she was a single mother under the Franco regime. During most of the Franco dictatorship (1939–75), no marital fertility remained at very low levels (1.3%) as the regimen established a traditional concept of the family, asymmetric gender relations, and a strict sexual code for women (Nash 1991 cited in Castro Martin 2010, p. 865). She then chose to come to Australia and requested that Pablo join her a couple of years later.

Once an adult, Pablo became a flight attendant in order to help his mother return to Spain every year. He explains:

Image 45. Left: Pablo's schoolwork, Year 1 (Australia);
right: Carmen, Pablo's mother (Spain, 1960).

Image 46. Pablo with his mother (Australia, 1983).

Finding where home is, it has always been an issue for my mum and in a sense, I have been contaminated by her … the fact that Mum and I had so many opportunities to go backwards and forward, the whole issue of home for my mum was never resolved, never finalised because she was able to go between the two countries, so there was no need to resolve it. We had two homes.

I interviewed Teresa and her children separately to consider if the family had the same sense of what home is. For Antón, aged eight at the time of this interview, home is in both countries: 'I think my home is in both places because I have relatives in both places'. He continues by saying that 'home is probably for me a place where I have my family, someone who protects me'.

Image 47. Antón Las Heras (Sydney, 2016).

For his sister Elsa, Australia 'is more of a home … because I have more friends here, and I kind of understand the atmosphere, if that makes sense. Home is a place where I am happy, I can enjoy myself, where I don't have to worry too much about judgement, I guess'.

Teresa, on the other hand, has been building a sense of home in Australia once she had children. However, her children are also helping her to appreciate and reconnect with certain parts of Spain and her childhood memories:

> Home? [gasps] I think is a bit everywhere. I don't know. I think after many years here [Australia] it changes, and I think you carry your home sort of in your heart a little bit, so it is the connection you have. I don't know. It is Spain, but of course Australia is my home too because it´s my kids' home as well. They feel at home here. We lived in this house for many years, we have created our own physical space, but even though I used to think that this [Australia] wasn't my home I do realise now that has been a shift. I don't feel this is my home a hundred per cent, but because I work here and sort of my life, everyday life is here, when I land in Australia after spending some

time in Spain, I do feel that I know how things work, and so this is also home.

Marta Bivand Erdal and Rojan Ezzati (2015) remind us that for some elderly migrants, nostalgia towards their country of origin can be seen in parallel with a more general feeling of nostalgia towards childhood. As Miguel explains in the case of his wife, the numerous journeys to Spain are a way for his wife to return to her childhood through her daughters.

> I think for Inma, my wife, going back to Spain is important because she can now live, through my daughters, things she didn't appreciate when she was young, you know? Things that now she appreciates.

This is similar to the feelings expressed by Teresa and in a way, I can relate to them too as I now appreciate San Sebastián through the eyes of my children, by the stories I tell them, and the childhood memories attached to them. This situation allows me to reconnect with a 'home' I (thought I) never had. In a way, I am in a very similar situation as Inma. During our visits or short 'returns' to San Sebastián, due to the political stability and the point of view of my children, I am now able to 'revisit' or value my city and while doing so feel tremendously nostalgic for a life I never had.

I draw now on Sara Ahmed *et al.* and their consideration of home and migration in terms of a plurality of experiences (2003, p. 2) but also on Massey, as she explains in her work *A Global Sense of Place,* that one of the results of this new face of increasing international mobility is the uncertainty about what we mean by places, in this case 'home', and how we relate to them (1991, p. 24). So how does this hypermobility affect our sense of 'home'?

Image 48. Inma, Lucia and Maya, going back 'home' (Sydney, 2004).

For transmigrants the complexity of describing home in a situation of constant movement is obvious. The participants interviewed for this study frequently indicate that 'home' is where the immediate family is, and this seems to be common across different generations. Although an attachment to the birthplace is patently clear, participants do not refer to it solely as 'home', and if they do, they quickly add that they also consider Australia to be their 'home'. It seems that for these migrants 'home' is rarely defined as a definite place, once the conversation involves emotions. Paolo Boccagni (2016) states that the concept of home lies in the background of everyday life, but for migrants home is a combination, of other things, of intimate relationships, memories of the past and aspirations for the future. This accords with what we have seen with the testimonies of some of the participants in this DCA, and yet we come back constantly to the fact that the very nature of the feeling and meaning of 'home' is 'provisional'. King, Christou and Ahrens (2011) remind us that 'home' is an ambiguous concept, as we experience uncertainty if we see it as a place to belong. But how else can we view home?

Pablo (52) describes home as 'a place of sanctuary, a place of safety and shelter'. For Maria Rosa (65), who lives six months in each country:

I can only describe home emotionally because once you migrate, your mind remembers happy things about your childhood that happened with your family and those things stayed with you forever. That's why my home now and in the near future is Australia because it´s where my children and grandchildren are, but my home in my heart is with my childhood and my mother language.

As we have seen, among my interviewees are families and individuals who feel divided between the two locations; yet others are quite comfortable with the fluidity of their identities and senses of belonging. I thus propose that home is not only an emotional and variable state, but also a combination of feelings and familiar senses that change according to life stages. Home is an emotional response to an affective process and is not necessarily attached to particular place or *patria*. Home is much more than a country or a physical structure in which we live. It is both a place and a set of feelings and familiar senses of taste, touch, smell and vision. And as we can see, some of these migrants have found a way to emotionally 'build' a home 'between' the two places.

I now turn my attention to the rather negative approach of Lay and Kobayashi (2005), who are of the opinion that migrants are never going to arrive at our destination because we never left our homes. Their position seems rather simplistic as a response to a very complex issue. If migrants need to remove one home in order to (emotionally) build another, aren't we insisting on the fixity of the 'home'?

If we then stop defining home from a fixed perspective as a physical place to belong to and view it instead as an emotional state located in 'a space in transit' (Abbas 1997, p. 4), then we don't need to return home because we are always in it. By accepting this definition, then the migrant movements or 'returns' can no longer be seen as homecomings or 'as a performative act of belonging' (Fortier 2000, p. 5). Thus, the idea of 'home' and 'return' as final destinations no longer exists, as the act of returning in these instances is a dynamic process: it is in constant movement, it is cyclical, and it is endless. We never arrive at our final destination because we do not have one. The act of

returning is mutual: we return to Spain but also to Australia because we have two or more (emotional) homes.

However, this constant movement also means that a considerable number of families at some point will be divided again by migration. When (trans)migrant families are torn apart because some members decide to 'return' and others stay in Australia, then we cannot describe or find an emotional 'home'. This is how Alicia and Valentin describe their unsettling situation:

> Home? I don't feel I have at home [says Alicia]. Currently we have a very difficult situation. As we said, we have two children in Spain and three in Australia. Five grandchildren in Australia and four in Spain. We have more family here [Australia] than there [Spain]. The current situation? [They both start crying.] We are getting old, and my heart is broken [says Alicia], my heart is here and there, but we have to come back [to Spain]. It is very hard. When you here [Australia] you are thinking about those you left there, and when you are in Spain you are all the time thinking how those in Australia would be. The situation is very difficult. [Valentin adds] Like parents is bad, for the parents. For our children is different. Those here feel Australian they have been here for 37 years so but for us … But it is our fault, we brought them here, it is our fault.

Alicia and Valentín are also feeling *el mal del inmigrante*—the migrant's malaise—as they feel the guilt of separating their family. Therefore, in situations like this, we turn into 'circular returnees' like Maria Rosa, Pablo and his mother, Yolanda, Alicia and Valentin, and even me. Perhaps, in this scenario, the best possible feeling we can achieve in either location is, as we say in Spanish, a feeling of being *like* at home, '*como en casa*'.

Beyond home and return – the 'emotional returnees'

Circular migration has been described by some critics as 'dysfunctional', a 'safety valve' (Suro 1998, p. 151), a 'functional dual migration' referring to a 'commitment to both places' (Torres and Rodriguez 1991, p. 251), or as a

'newer, more flexible way of migration' (Acevedo 2004, p. 80). But what exactly does 'circular migration' entail? Are circular migrations different to circular returns, as I propose?

I have previously looked at short visits to the country of birth, which in a way could also be regarded as circular migrations. However, in this section I focus on those migrants who spend a substantial amount of time, sometimes years, in either location. I do so in order to study the complexity and consequences of the transnational family situation when discussing (circular) returns. The traditional perception of the family living 'within the same proximity, same nation, no longer reflects the condition of the contemporary family' (Baldassar 2007). The entanglement of family arrangements that constitutes the Spanish community in Australia nowadays can be identified as a crucial element in maintaining an important circular mobility between the two countries. The fact that family members of transnational families live in different countries has been widely studied (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002, Parreñas 2005, Baldassar 2007); however, transnationalism is not a unified process (Parreñas 2005) and nor is everyone from within a family equally affected by a transnational upbringing.

Levitt argues that for some children of immigrants the picture is more complex than it first seems (2001, p. 20). She suggests that the extent to which members of the second generation engage in transnational practices varies. For example, in the case of some children the return visits can be quite unsettling as these journeys make some children aware of their similarities but also their differences in both countries, perhaps provoking in them a search for identity and therefore, in the future, a need to find home. Other children might need to return often as their only way to have an identity and to feel at home. For instance, as in the case of my own children, their state of belonging to two places constitutes their identity and provides them a sense of 'home' as one country alone, after travelling annually to Spain since they were born, is no longer 'enough'.

We should also look at children who migrated at an early age and even those who return occasionally to their homeland and possibly return at a later stage in life in an attempt to find home and cultural identity. In these cases, the return might not bring the desired and expected familiarity, stability and

happiness but, on the contrary, deliver their opposites. What are the consequences of double belonging and identity? Is this process enriching future Spanish Australian generations or is it in fact provoking a greater sense of displacement, confusion and contradiction?

A family can decide to immigrate to Australia and after a few years consider returning to Spain. However, age and time spent in the host country can play a key role in determining a possible need to return, just as they can also rule out a long-planned and -expected one. Another group of migrants comprises those who moved back to Spain and after a few years a member or two of the family decides to return to Australia while other members of the same family remain in Spain. Such is the case of Yolanda Vega (52).

Image 49. Yolanda Vega (Darwin, Australia, 1973).

Since her arrival in Australia in 1972, she has settled and resettled between Spain and Australia on twelve different occasions, eight times during her childhood and a further four as an adult. She explains:

Every time we went back either to Spain or to Australia it was a struggle, especially as a kid. There were always a lot of issues growing up in different cultures, languages and education systems. It was also

very emotional having to constantly leave behind family, neighbours and friends each time we went either there or back.

She continues by describing that she does not feel part of the Australian community, even though she has been here on and off for thirty years. She adds:

I think as a migrant, regardless of how many times you go backwards and forth you never really establish yourself. I guess that's because I don't have the roots. I don't have a huge network or even a small network of friends that I have known for a long time.

She adds:

I have always had difficulties to say what I am. When people say oh where are you from? It really depends on where I am at the time. So, over the years I concluded that I am a universal type of person. So, if I am in Spain and I am asked where are you from? I say, I am Spanish, but I live in Australia and if I am asked in Australia where are you from? I always say I am originally from Spain.

It is not uncommon to find people trying to live 'the migrants' dream', six months in each country, not only as a way to keep the best of both worlds but most importantly to avoid making a final decision about where to live. I found myself living between two countries for a while but felt that the situation brought me very little more than further uncertainty, instability and nostalgia in both localities. This situation is very familiar to mature-aged migrants who return to Spain but leave behind younger family members. Such is the case of María Rosa (65), who travels between the two countries in order to be with her elderly mother in Spain and then Australia to be with her children and grandchildren. She explains: 'I don't want to think what will happen to us if one day we are not able to afford travelling physically or financially'. When asked about where home is, she replies:

Well ... we do have a house in each country, yet we don't have a home ... [and continues] I will always return to my home in Bilbao [Spain] and visit my children at their houses in Sydney [Australia] which in a way makes me feel at home. I guess I am lucky because I have two countries, I can call home, but Bilbao is more home, and Sydney is where my immediate family lives and so that has an emotional connection.

As shown in this chapter, families are transformed by transnational migration as they survive across transnational ties, but not without pain and loneliness (Loretta Baldassar 2001).

These may seem to be exceptional cases. However, as Álvaro Iranzo Gutiérrez, former Consul General of Spain in Sydney, revealed in an interview with me in 2014, of the 12,538 Spanish residents registered in NSW, 197 people returned to Spain in just that year alone. Looking at previous figures since 2010, he pointed out that circular migration is a 'significant phenomenon' within the Spanish community and he estimates that a quarter of the returnees resettle back in Australia within a year or two of their departure. Although the Spanish migrants in Australia demonstrate a high rate of mobility, Gutiérrez stated that quantifying the number of Spanish returnees from Australia has proven to be problematic. He noted that more often than not returned migrants do not re-register with the Spanish Consulate on more than one or two occasions unless they receive certain consular benefits. Reasons for non-registration include the possibility that returnees may feel 'ashamed' and see their multiple returns as a kind of 'failure'.

Image 50. Maria Rosa and husband upon arrival (Sydney, Australia, 1970).

Image 51. Maria Rosa, husband and first baby (Coogee, Australia, 1972).

Gretchen Peterson's work on the cultural theory of emotions reminds us: 'much of our emotional experiences is at the very least impacted, if not determined, by culture' (2006, p. 114). Understanding that in the Spanish culture the family is considered one of the most important cultural and emotional institutions should give critics pause to consider what it means when migrants are unable to fulfil family roles in either destination. Being

unable to look after our ageing parents or to be near our children and grandchildren imposes an emotional strain on us migrants that is worth exploring.

For the purposes of this thesis, which explores the complexity of the concept of return and hence of the migration process, I want now to look at the way we refer in Spanish to the act of returning. There are three verbs signifying to return: *volver*, *regresar* and *retornar*. All three mean 'going back to a place one left', yet *volver* also implies 'encircling or going around something' (López 2015); it is a concept that perfectly encapsulates what some of the participants in my research do.

I am discussing here what I see as two different ways of returning, the physical and the emotional; as I argue that they are not necessarily linked to each other. We can physically return without doing so emotionally or not completely, as we can still be emotionally 'distant'. We return, *volvemos*, physically to either visit friends and relatives, to simply share with our family our cultural roots and background or to re-establish ourselves in our country of birth; however, for some migrants, returning emotionally could become rather problematic, particularly if we leave emotional attachments behind.

Levitt *et al.* remind us that identity categories are static by nature while humans are not (2011, p. 471). My study supports this observation. However, for my purpose I build on the work of Francesco Cerase (1974), who identifies four groups of returnees. First are the returnees of failure, referring to those who could not integrate in their host countries. Second are the returnees of conservatism, including those who always planned to return once they gained enough money to purchase land or a home back in their countries of origin. Third are the returnees for innovation, perhaps the most dynamic category of returnees in Cerase's proposal. These returnees are those who 'prepared to make use of all the means and new skills they have acquired during their migratory experiences' (1974, p. 251). Lastly are the retirees, who are migrants returning to their home countries to spend their old age.

All these categories clearly encompass the different transnational and circular migrations; however, I add to this list a fifth group, which I call the 'emotional returnees'. By this term I refer to migrants who return to either location for emotional needs or connections. This includes migrants who need

to maintain and transfer their culturally specific ideas of family, friendship and respect. This group constitutes the core of my research in this thesis.

This term was built around the ideas proposed by Wolf (2002), who describes transnational connections involving feelings and emotions as emotional transnationalism. Similarly, the term draws on Ahmed in her work *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*, when she proposes to 'look inwards' and ask oneself 'How do I feel?' (2013, p.8), while also making the interesting proposal that such feelings move outwards to then 'return' to us (2013, p. 9).

As we have seen, emotional transnationalism generates in some instances emotional (circular) returns and by extension emotional struggles. Based on these theorists and expanding from transnational migration studies exploring the existence of multiple homes, I then propose that migrants involved in these multiple returns and who are divided by different emotional situations, should be considered under the new category of 'emotional returnees'.

El mito de nuestro retorno – the myth of our return

Much research has been done about the myth of return. Dahya et al. refer to it as a pragmatic solution to the dilemma of being part of two places (1973). Al-Rasheed argues for the need to separate 'myth' and 'return' when he describes myth as a tool to evoke images that are not necessarily in 'the real world' (1994, p. 200) and return as a concrete movement, a re-migration to a point fixed in space (p. 201). Giulia Sinatti (2010) refers to the myth of return as a situation that occurs when the action of returning is continually delayed. These approaches not only talk about a return to a homeland, but they also consider as mythical the action of returning that is postponed or frustrated, or when we imagine a return not related to a 'real world' but to one presumably based on a nostalgic image. However, these propositions have certain limitations. Some of the participants in my research, including myself, do return to our homelands and are very much aware of, and in contact with, our countries of origin. But what we are yet to discuss is what happens when we return if we feel emotional linkages and attachments to both locations.

To exemplify my argument, I would like to start this section by telling the story of Sagrario García, Yolanda Vega's mother. She arrived in Darwin in

1971, with her three daughters and her husband, José. No one in the family had friends or relatives in Australia, and none spoke English. Like many migrants, they arrived first in Melbourne and were allocated to a hostel. After a few months, they moved to Darwin where they lived for many years until the family decided to relocate to Spain. A year after their arrival, Yolanda told her family that she wanted to return to Australia, and so she and her family did.

In 1982, after the then Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González announced new policies of migration that entitled returnees to more significant support, Garcia's family relocated back to Spain for the second time. Sadly, after two years they saw minimal prospect of a better life, and so the family returned to Darwin once more. In the year 2000, Sagrario was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer and was given nine months to live. To her family's surprise, she asked to be brought back to Spain to die in her homeland. The whole family, once again, returned to Spain. When Sagrario saw herself facing the last few days of her life, she told her family that her last wish was to be cremated and the ashes of her body to be scattered onto the water at Casuarina Beach in Darwin where she felt she had her happiest memories. Her family decided to honour her last wishes and complied with her request. Since then, the father and one daughter have lived in Spain while Yolanda has remained in Australia.

As Barthes in *Mythologies* explains, the concept of myth organises a world for human beings, illuminating the justifications and explanations for actions that might otherwise remain incomprehensible (1973, p. 143). Definitions of the word 'myth' are as varied as those defining 'home'. As Segal (2004) notes, there is no consensus across disciplines upon an agreed meaning of the term myth. A workable approach is provided by Blumenberg when myth arises because 'our disposition towards mystical ways of looking at things, increases its attractiveness by the needs it awakens' (1985, p. 67). In other words, he is asking us to question what will happen to us migrants, without the myth of a home to return to.

Image 52. Left: Sagrario (Spain, 1963);
right: Sagrario (Casuarina Beach, Darwin, 1982).

Yolanda gives her interpretation of her mother's situation. She not only relocated the family on more than eight occasions, but in her last weeks before passing she could not decide where she wanted to rest. Firstly, and after finally returning to Australia and receiving the news of being terminally ill, to her family's surprise, she asked to go back to Spain. Once there and after a few weeks she asked to have her ashes brought back to Australia to be scattered onto Casuarina Beach, Darwin, where she held some of the happiest memories, demonstrating the sense of belonging to both places, hence the myth to return to a single one. As Yolanda explains in an interview in Sydney, Australia in 2017, [25]

> When Mum requested to be cremated and her ashes sent back to
> Australia, it was the epitome of being a migrant. She wanted to die on
> her land because she was connected to the land. In Spanish, we say *mi
> tierra* as we have a strong link and sense of belonging to our land, to

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[25] My translation.

Home Sweet Home   *Natalia Ortiz*

our *tierra*. We don't usually refer to our homeland as my country, but *tierra,* which when directly translated it is soil, the dirt. In the case of Sagrario, I believe it was about not knowing where she belonged. She knew her *tierra* was in Spain, but she also loved Australia because it gave her so much. Australia had given her independence, freedom, and the ability to educate her children, and lovely houses and good friends, yet *la tierra* kept pulling her. Like a magnet. Therefore, she got both things she wanted, she got to die in her *tierra,* and she got to rest in Australia.

She continues: 'However, we sent her ashes to Australia with a friend as we were all in Spain dealing with grief and so we were unable to come to Australia yet again'.

Spanish lady fell in love with Darwin

For most new-Australians this is the land of opportunity, the lucky country.

But to some it is more than that.

It is also the place where great friendships and life-long bonds with the land are created.

The death of Sagrario Garcia, a Territorian of almost 20 years, is proof of that.

She died in Madrid, Spain, two weeks ago at the age of 53 after losing her fight with cancer.

The former Royal Darwin Hospital laundry worker returned to her native country five months before her death.

But Mrs Garcia, who loved the Territory, its cosmopolitan lifestyle and her friends, vowed to return.

Her wish was to be cremated and her ashes returned to Darwin and scattered into the sea at Casuarina Beach near Dripstone Park.

Mrs Garcia had fond memories of the popular northern suburbs beach.

When she first came to Aust-

ralia in 1972, husband Jose and close friends would go fishing there and then gather at her house to eat the day's catch.

Later, when Mrs Garcia was diagnosed with cancer of the pancreas, she would walk along Casuarina Beach for hours with friends.

It was a place where she would reminisce about her life.

On Tuesday her final wish was fulfilled.

Her ashes arrived in Darwin from Spain on Monday and friends arranged a requiem

service. A group of her closest friends gathered at a Tiwi home to pray for her on the Tuesday morning.

Then at an emotional gathering in the evening, friends and acquaintances turned u to pay their last respects.

With the help of a borrowe dinghy, Mrs Garcia's ash were taken just offshore a scattered into the sea.

Mrs Garcia left behind th daughters, Purita, Yola and Eva.

They had returned to Sp with their mother.

☐ Sagrario Garcia

Image 53. Local paper (Darwin, 2000).

This exemplifies another case of the migrant malaise, as Sagrario felt the isolation and the guilt of dragging her family from one side of the world to the other. Moreover, it also raises the question whether or not a migrant´s return in some instances could be a denial of the inevitability of death. We must die somewhere but we cannot die in more than one place, and this final reality is played out in a peculiar way by migrants who, more than other

populations, are constantly aware of decisions that may be about trying vainly to wrest control of mortality.

However, Yolanda is not the only child who has been affected by her mother's desire to find, and feel at, home. Pablo retold his memories of when he went back to Spain for the first time at the age of ten.[26]

I don't know if I should tell you this story. In 1970 we were on a boat, we planned to go to Spain, and that was great, but Mum had this other idea. She bought these trunks, I think she took about four of them, and she put everything, sewing machine, you name it, all the cutlery, all the plates you know? Come on! And Dad wasn't suspicious of Mum, Dad loved Mum totally, but when we got to Spain, she ended up conspiring to stay, with the kids. In those days the kids … we didn't have passports, so my sister and I were put on one passport, hers. I remember that in Madrid we were all going back and that she was supposed to go, but she didn't want to leave so she said, 'No, I am not going, am staying', and we were downstairs, and Dad was in the car, and she wouldn't come down, it was late at night. Anyway, later on,

Image 54. Pablo, sister and mother on their way to Spain (1970).

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[26] Interview in Sydney, Australia, 2016. My own translation.

Dad explained to me that she didn't want to come home, she wanted to stay. But her family in Spain said to her, 'You can't do that' because, you see? Mum was married to Dad and family, and traditions are very important in Spain (he starts crying).

From that moment on, Pablo's father decided to never return to Spain. Although Pablo took his mother practically every year to Spain from 1990, his father stayed in Australia. Pablo explains:

Dad never went back to Spain. Not, because he didn't want to, but he had no interest in it, I think. He loved being in Helensburgh where we grew up, where we spent most of our time, that was fun for him.

He adds, 'He loved being able to let Mum go, in a sense of "Carmen, dear, go"'.

Image 55. Pablo's mother Carmen on her way back to Australia (1970).

However, when going through some memorabilia and archival material of the family, some of the father's diaries revealed how those recurrent trips to Spain were not so easily managed by the father, as Pablo wanted to believe.

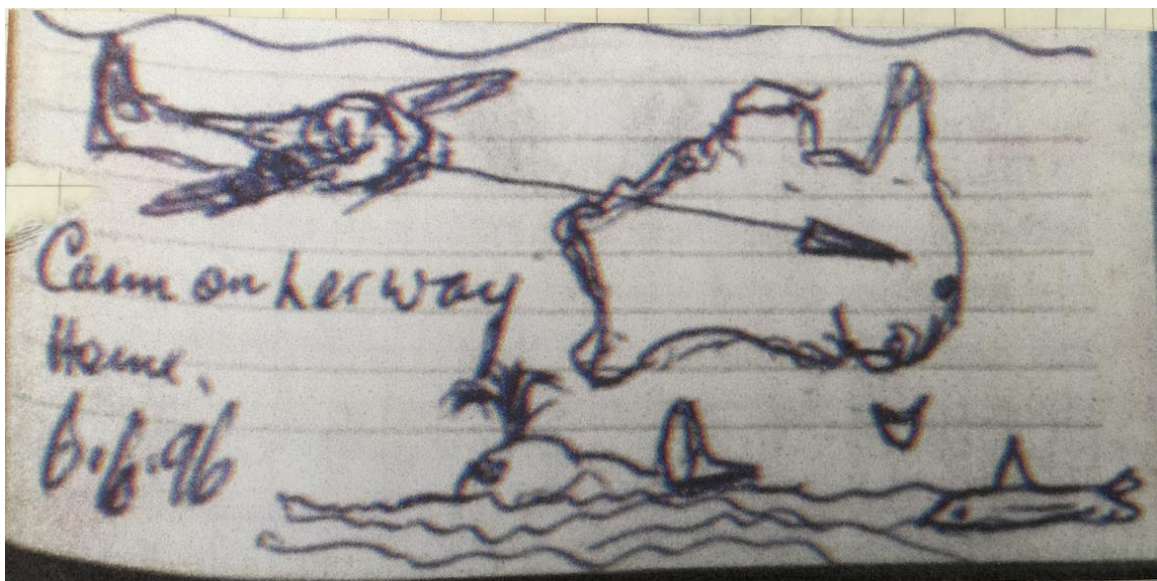*Image 56. Pablo's father's diaries (1997).*

Image 57. Extract, Pablo's father's diaries:
'Carmen on her way home, 6.6.96'.

Pablo's mother, Carmen, finally moved back to Spain in 1998 after her husband passed away. She died shortly after.

Image 58. Carmen back in Spain (1998).

Image 59. Pablo helping Carmen to go back to Spain (1998).

Yvonne Santalucia, who has worked in Australia in the area of multiculturalism and is an expert on the issues and needs of people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds explained to me in an interview in July 2015:

> Emotional issues with migrants? We could go for hours, Natalia! Some migrants put things in a drawer and they only open it at the end of their lives, once they hit retirement. They arrive in the new country, they work, most of them don't study, raise a family, buy a house and put all the trauma behind. Don't deal with it. Specially the older people who migrated after the war in the '50s and '60s. They left the past locked in a cupboard. So, when they hit retirement, they find themselves asking, who am I? What happened? And trying to reconnect with their country, families and past. To find themselves they start going backwards and forwards between the two countries. Some migrants might face this issue at middle age because of a health issue with them or with a family member, having to take care of parents back home etc.

She continues with a very important and interesting point:

> Some of these elderly migrants who arrived after the war are not defined as refugees, but they are equally displaced and all the trauma and distress they experienced has never been properly dealt with. All the questions you had the first two years upon arrival: Have I done the right thing? Who am I? What's going to happen to me, to my family? And all the guilt and concerns you once had, are back again. As we say … you never stop being a migrant, the settlement process is a lifetime one and it goes in circles and depending how good or bad life is to you, you will feel one way or another, one day you want to stay another to return. But the thing is when you are busy you don't think about any of this, you see?

Image 60. Yvonne Santalucia (Sydney, 2015).

The real impacts of the myth – our children

As we have seen, families are divided, reunited and sometimes divided again by migration and 'returns' that are mostly, but not always, initiated by the parents. In this section, I explore the real impact of these migratory situations and how younger generations in bilingual or trilingual families feel about it. I am interested in how their identities and senses of belonging are affected by the situation in their houses and families. To understand the impact of this upbringing, I look at the feelings of fear, uncertainty and guilt that the myth of returning can give rise to.

As a parent, there is always the fear of the future. The question that lingers is, would my need to 'return' and my feeling of finding a sense of 'home' be so keen to the extent that I would abandon my own children? To understand the complexity of the issue, it is necessary to bring to the discussion how younger generations are affected by an upbringing haunted by possible returns—the concepts of the '1.5 generation' and second generations (Rumbaut 1991; Pérez Firmat 2012).

Rumbaut defines the '1.5 generation' as 'children who were born abroad but are being educated and come to age in the host country' (2004, p. 1177). For Rumbaut, these children are 'in many ways marginal to both the old and the new worlds and are fully part of neither of them' (1991). My children seem to comply with Rumbaut's concept of the '1.5 generation' as they arrived in Australia when they were a few months old and have spent most of their life in Australia. Yet I am, like Pérez Firmat, inclined to take a more positive position and see this generation as 'marginal to neither culture' (1994, p. 4). My children—like many other descendants of Spanish migrants I know in the Spanish community, and like some of the cases presented in this study—move freely between both cultures, switch comfortably between languages, and adapt to either environment and customs quickly and calmly. As we have seen in previous chapters, they do miss family and friends in both localities, feel the need to be in either place at some point and are at times confused as to which place is better to live. These sentiments do not necessarily mean they are marginalised in any of their environments, but rather that they are simply divided emotionally as they have emotional connections to both places. Some of these '1.5 generation' children are maintaining a solid connection with their parents' homeland, not only by travelling regularly but also by frequently being in contact with friends and relatives through new forms of digital communication.

Image 61. Judith, Antonio, Elisa and Xoan returning to Spain (Sydney, 2015).

Dale Hudson and Patricia Zimmermann state in *Transnational Environments and Locative Places* that everyday digital technology affect our lives and constitute us within transnational environments (2005, p. 7). In other words, the oscillations between our physical and virtual worlds complicate our sense of space and place, and perception of distance. Everyday online contact with friends, relatives and culture forces us to perpetuate and accentuate the idea that an essential part of our life exists (and existed) somewhere else, forcing us to question continually our belonging and identity. Most importantly, daily digital contact has created the illusion of proximity, something now fundamental when we consider the distance between Spain and Australia in the twenty-first century. For our children, this sense of proximity alleviates in a way their need to return, their sense of distance to their family and overseas friends. However, Ponzanesi and Leurs (2014, p. 10) make an important point when they say that 'digital connectedness does not come as an utopian alternative'.

20,000 km away, family and distance

Here, I look at the distance between Spain and Australia and the enormous pressure it puts on Spanish migrants. The point is well explained by Nieves, who returned to Spain after living in Australia for thirty years. In an interview in San Sebastián, Spain in 2017 she eloquently explains,[27]

> Distance ... I don't think you can separate geographical and emotional distance; it is the same—they go hand at hand. Yes, it has been a big part of my decision to return .... The distance between Australia and Spain is a big thing for me. I know that you make the journey in twenty-four hours, but it is expensive, and you don't come just for a weekend, you have to come for a certain amount of time. You have to prepare to come home, to come to family, for me anyway, other people might do it differently.

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[27] My own translation.

For her part, María Rosa (67) explains in an interview in Sydney, Australia in 2015 that she spends six months in each country, as she has an elderly mother in Bilbao, Spain who needs her, but she also has children and grandchildren in Australia. She does not want to think about the day that health or finances put an end to this situation. After living in Australia for 37 years and after expressing her gratitude for everything Australia has offered her and her family, she explains that if given a chance to do things again the only thing she would change would be her destination, *'No vendría a Australia, está muy lejos'* (I wouldn't come to Australia, it is too far)'.[28] When asked far from where? She replied, 'My family, my language, my culture, everything!'

I would like to discuss some points also made by Judith while explaining the rationale behind her return to Barcelona two years ago after living in Sydney for eleven years. Her two children, Xoan and Elisa, were born in Sydney. When I interviewed the family in Barcelona a few months after their return in 2016, Judith said:

> I think it is not a rational decision; it is a lot of emotional components. For me, the most rational part was my parents. I am a single child, and that played an essential part of the decision. Thinking, I am twenty-five hours away by plane, twenty thousand kilometres and as they get older, the idea of being so far away was too hard to cope with. So, when I decided to come back to Barcelona that played an important role, the rest? It is not rational!

Xoan, Judith's son, aged seven at the time of the interview, tells me how he feels about being back in Spain; for him and for Elisa, such 'return' is a first migration. Sometimes he is happy, at others sad. When asked about his experience of returning he says:[29] 'It has been a bit difficult because I have friends in Australia, and it was very difficult to make friends in Spain'.

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[28] My own translation.
[29] My own translation.

Image 62. Judith, Xoan and Elisa (Sydney, 2009).

Image 63. Xoan in his new house (Barcelona, Spain, 2016).

He continues by saying that 'I would like to come back [to Australia], so I can tell my friends things, like here there is a different food'. When asked what he would do if he were required to choose countries, he says:

> If I had to choose, I would say Australia, but if I don't have to pick one … I like both. Australia because is bigger and my school is there, and I was born there, and I am Australian.

Xoan's sister Elisa, who was ten at the time of her relocation and our interview, explains that she has a lot of friends in Sydney, and how she can maintain contact with them through Skype and WhatsApp: 'My friends here don't come from Spain, most of them come from America, Russia'.

When talking about how she felt when her parents told her they were moving to Spain, Elisa explains: 'Well, they told us when we were having dinner; first of all, I was happy, but then I started to think about it, and I thought, I have my best friends here, so I started to cry because it was hard leaving my best friends'.[30] As she tries to be positive; she says that she thought,

> Well, now I am going to see my grandparents every day or a lot of the time, and also, I have friends here so … I thought it would be a good opportunity to get to know more Spanish. And we only used to see my grandparents once a year, and every time we came back from Spain to Australia, it was kind of hard as I got a weird feeling on my stomach like … I miss them so much.

She continues, 'Since we came back here, I have been telling my mum that I want to study in Australia in a university'. Eliza, despite her young age, very clearly explains that she feels that 'home' for her is in both countries because she was born in Australia and has lots of friends there, but she quickly adds: 'But, over there, we don't have a family'.

Image 64. Elisa in her new house in Spain (Barcelona, Spain, 2016).

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[30] My own translation.

Image 65. Xoan and Elisa with grandfather, visiting from Spain (Sydney, 2010).

Yet the geographical and emotional distance is felt by all members of a family, not only those living abroad, as Judith and Antonio's parents had to find the means to visit Australia in order to see their children and grandchildren.

Identity in trouble, or the trouble of identity

I interviewed Antonio, the father of Xoan and Elisa, in Barcelona, Spain in 2016. Interestingly, he refers to identity in a very particular way:

> When I talk about identity, cultural identities, I have a personal theory. To me, cultural identities are like Russian dolls. One has a big doll which is the one outside, which represents your identity as a citizen of the world, and then you got smaller dolls which represent how you are Australian, then European, then Spanish, then you are Murciano [from Murcia, Spain] then the smallest doll represents the family. And one does not work without the others. The big doll is really nice, but if it does not have the others, it is empty. And the smallest doll is too small for today's world. The emotional home is too small.

The challenge with the various cultural identities is to make them work together, to make them fit.[31]

Skeldon (2012) and Triandafyllidou (2013) similarly remind us that constant mobility triggers a comparison between different localities, and questions over attachments to one or more places, identity/ies and senses of belonging. Diminescu and Loveluck (2014) propose that the figure of the 'uprooted migrant' is surrendering to the idea of a more connected migrant who simultaneously manages two or more sociocultural worlds.

However, migration brings a permanent predicament, a continual need to make choices and to wonder how and where to belong. This dilemma is part of the dynamic experience of migration, which includes leaving a familiar environment and culture to fit in with another, learning a new language, fearing that you will never be sufficiently competent, ever unable to fully express yourself, while at the same time dealing with the fear of losing spontaneity in your first language. A sense of belonging evokes sentiments of existence and emotional connections. Sometimes belonging during one's migration experience is a multilayered process that inevitably causes different, coterminous tastes of loyalty to different cultures and places. Through transnational connections, migrants are rapidly changing the meaning and perception of the sense of community, family and, by extension, understandings of home. Yet finding a physical and emotional place to call home, deciding where to live or where our children will live, is a critical topic for many migrants.

Nieves who returned to Spain after living in Australia for 30 years eloquently explains:

I am a bit of a nomad, so I come and go, but home at the moment is Madrid [Spain], because that is where I set up my house, where my son lives; I got all my brothers, I have reconnected with old friends, with cousins, aunts, uncles … The most important thing for me

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[31] My own translation.

returning to Spain is emotional, is the sense of 'wanting to be', wanting to settle.

Understanding that migrants can locate and construct a sense of home in different places (Leung 2007), researchers of transnational fields see 'migrant's home' as no longer found in one place (Sin Yih Teo 2011). In this regard, I agree with Papastegiardis when he proposes that migrant forms of belonging are always negotiated and transformed by a constant dialogue between past and present, near and far, foreign and familiar (2000, p. 20). In this aspect, Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2006) point out two critical facts in their work on multiple identities, migration and belonging. First, some of the 'intricate aspects of the processes of identifying and belonging of the "new nomads" have not been dealt with in all their complexity' (Urry 2003, p. 97), and second, migration 'resists generalization' (p. 98). These two conclusions are crucial to my work and support the idea that there is no specific geographic place to return to.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how different members of emigrant families react when it comes to determining where to live. One part of the family may decide to stay in their new country while the other may go back to their 'homeland', both decisions demonstrating the complexity of a migratory search for a feel and sense of 'belonging'. Migratory return depends not only on an individual's experience, but also on personal choices and circumstances and the sense of where one feels (or would like to feel) they belong. Different situations have been identified and deployed in this chapter to try and explain the return of migrants and why not all returns can be clearly explained. Some occur irrationally due to different external and internal factors, others because of family responsibilities, while for children, return is forced upon them. Although I grant that many researchers have studied the many tropes of return, other critics generalise 'return' as the last step on the migration with no further consequences for the individual migrants and their families.

In this section I have demonstrated how current debates in migration are limited if they consider return migration as unidirectional and do not take

account of the conflicted desires involved in negotiating the possibility and reality of return. The regularity of transnational movements and the many variations of our returns to our birth countries reveal that contemporary migrants are facing new challenges and issues that invite new critical attention. If we accept that the practice of migration is subject to as much movement as the migrant him/herself, then a new approach to migration—and by extension, to concepts such as home, identity and belonging—becomes possible. I propose moving forward from predetermined ideas of return to rethink the concept itself so that it no longer stands for a collective phenomenon or movement. Instead, return must be looked at in terms of multiple individual experiences, desires and needs.

This chapter has demonstrated that return migration deserves further study as a category of migratory behaviour that is deeply felt by many Spanish migrants in Australia. The rationale for return, or for several returns in many cases, is no longer about economics, wellbeing or adventure. The journeys and sub journeys repeated across families, arise from a persistent structure of feelings and conflicted emotions that destabilise these migrants' sense of 'home'.

Some of my respondents talked about their fear of ageing in a foreign land, others of the need to die in a so-called homeland, or at least on a land where their mother tongue will surround them. Others appear to be simply divided between the two places and thus unable to make a final decision, moving their families back and forward as the act of moving and change itself can soothe them.

This section has established how conflictual it can be for a migrant's family to determine the moment of returning as each member of the same household may have very different feelings about where home is. I have also illustrated how age and life stages play a key element in forming opinions around home and return. We have also seen how difficult is to return for good or to put an 'end' to the migration experience if some members of the family decide to stay in the host country. Yet most importantly I have demonstrated how this ambiguity and process applies among 'emotional returnees' of different generations, with unforeseen implications across the migrants' lifetime

Conclusion.

In this DCA I have argued that Spanish immigrant mobility, as transmigrants, complicates the already difficult task of describing 'home' and, by extension, the question of belonging. And such mobility is forcing migrant families to deal with new issues that need to be considered when discussing migration.

After contextualising this research in Chapter 1, I provided an account of Spanish migration history from the early twentieth century until the present day when the issue of 'return' is again playing an important role in the Spanish political arena. This has helped in understanding that migration and return are not new when discussing Spain and that both processes have been strongly linked to our history and political discourse. From here, the thesis began to focus more closely on trying to define the ideas of 'return' and 'home' and what this entails for different members of Spanish migrant families. Building on the literature on transnational returns, this focus has led to the introduction of a new term, the 'emotional returnees', which then informs my discussion of the myth of return.

I have illustrated with the examples provided in Chapter 2 the ongoing challenges and issues we deal with as individuals or as families during the many stages of migration; situations that at times are either overlooked, simplified or ignored, resulting at times, in a simplistic understanding of our experiences. It has become common today to dismiss the need for stories that discuss how families are torn apart by migration *and* re-migration, quite often affecting several generations of our families.

In the final chapter, I describe how the creative component of this DCA, 'Home Sweet Home', represents a new form of storytelling when depicting Spanish migrants, and how it contributes to the very limited research of our migration to and from Australia. This intergenerational study has challenged the work of earlier researchers, who tended to assume either that home is a fixed place or that most migrants who return to their original country return 'home'.

The findings of this study have demonstrated how for many Spanish migrants identified as 'emotional returnees', a return can no longer be understood as the physical act of going back to a purported homeland. A

migrant might have returned to his/her country of origin and become a returnee; however, there are many factors that cause that person to remain connected to the host country, making it impossible to feel they are 'back' in a specific place. Emotional returnees, such as myself, have no specific or unique geographical place to return to, as we have emotional connections to both places, and we thus emotionally return to both localities. It is only when we recognise the impossibility of this 'freedom' of choice and movement that the issue of 'where home is' arises, turning our final 'return' to a single (emotional) location into a myth.

As I have shown in this exegesis, the notion of 'return' is more complex than is generally recognised in the critical literature on migration. There are multiple types of return and returnees, and in many cases, return is never a single, conclusive act. Nor is return necessarily an act that migrants make at the end of their lives. This study has argued that a fuller understanding of the complexities of return cannot be achieved by focusing on fixed terms and ideas, of home and return, or by ignoring individual circumstances and choices. Investigating migration and return as a dynamic process allows for better understandings of the complex migratory situations of contemporary Spanish migrants in Australia. Research on migration must attend to the emotional links a migrant may have to both locations and to question what part of a long-term migrant 'returns' and what part remains.

Some of the participants in my project have demonstrated that families may construct and deconstruct the idea of returning (or moving to the other side of the world) with a certain familiarity. The process of returning may be discussed on a daily basis and can be planned and (re)planned many times during the years 'abroad'. In my research, then, I acknowledge this situation, along with the volatility and fragility of concepts such as home and return, in order to gain a better understanding of the tremendous emotional and financial implications of a life spent as a migrant and emotional returnee. My research argues for the need to consider the transformation and changes taking place constantly within our communities and families in order to understand our (dis)connection to Australia (or Spain) and, the reorganisation of our families within the (new) Spanish community in Australia.

Finally, the exegesis and creative component of this DCA indicate that it is in fact possible for researchers and filmmakers to construct for themselves new positions in which to discuss and represent our stories, stories to which migrants of other communities can also relate.

Despite the positive findings of my work, I have to address certain limitations. The time of my candidature and the minimal budget of this project limited the number of families I could interview. I am aware that there are Spanish families living in similar situations to many of my interviewees across Australia; I would have loved to visit and make them part of this DCA's story. Furthermore, it would have been interesting to study whether or not the isolation of life in certain regional areas of Australia aggravates or triggers different or similar issues within Spanish families in Australia.

Something that stayed with me during the interview with Yvonne Santalucia was the idea that new understandings of migration are required to account for people who have found themselves ageing in Australia despite having a plan to 'return'. Circumstances such as health and mental issues or financial crises frustrated long-term plans of return, leaving some migrants in total isolation; that isolation is exacerbated when some migrants lose their first language, leaving them in 'isolation within isolation'. These are issues that could affect migrants from any community; but they also suggest that there is ample room for further research into the Spanish migrant community in Australia.

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