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http://researchonline.ljmu.ac.uk/id/eprint/17542/

Article

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the individual and group motivations that have encouraged the onward migration of Italian-Pakistanis and Italian-Bangladeshis to the North of England after obtaining Italian citizenship because the reasons for moving again to the current destination are under-researched. It appears that there has been a design-driven form of intentionality in their complex migrations attributable to the influence of European and Italian policies. Gender and ethnic differences among these groups are identified, as well as the level of their integration in the new host country. A qualitative research approach is adopted utilizing six focus group discussions with 48 participants, and the data collected were subjected to thematic analysis. The findings revealed that aspects of education and qualifications, religion, social identity, and culture along with welfare, security, and employment were the motivations for the participants' onward migration.

Keywords: migration, onward migration, transmigration, genders, integration.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the individual and group motivations, with particular attention to welfare, security and employment, education and qualification, social identity and culture, and religion, for the onward migration of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis to the North of England soon after obtaining Italian citizenship.

The existing literature on the onward migration of the above two groups investigate the irregular immigration of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis to Italy and addresses issues such as legal and undocumented movements, sexuality, and masculinity (Reyneri 1998a, 1998b; Ahmad 2016). Others have focused on the experiences of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants from other parts of the world (Kostakopoulou 2002; Sarpong et al. 2018) as opposed to the onward migration motivations of naturalised Italians. Studies on onward migration and transmigration in the United Kingdom (UK) have mainly focused on London, and only on Italian-Bangladeshis (Della Puppa and Sredanovic 2017; Della Puppa and King 2018; Mapril 2020) with little attention to the motivations of onward migration of naturalised Pakistanis. In contrast to most of the literature, this paper analyses the individual and group motivations of both Italian-Pakistanis and Italian-Bangladeshis living in the North of England (Morad and Sacchetto 2019). There is also a lack of studies on differences in the gender motivations for onward migration and socio-cultural and

economic characteristics of migrants in the North of England (see appendix 1), and thus this study addresses an important gap in the literature.

Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by investigating the individual and group motivations for onward migration of Italian nationals born in Pakistan and Bangladesh who moved to Italy and obtained Italian citizenship, enabling them to legally move to the UK, specifically to the North of England. This paper contributes to knowledge by identifying the participant's motivations that underpinned their decision to migrate from Italy to the UK where they joined the already formed segregated geographical areas in various towns in the North of England (Ahrens et al. 2016; Della Puppa and King 2018). The paper identifies the gender-based differences within these two ethnicities who have made the UK their new and possibly destination.

Furthermore, it addresses motivation differences that are lacking in the extant literature, for onward migration actions across various perspectives: ethnicity and its possible influence and symbolic ties; faith practices and their potential significance; and family role enactment and engagement (Faist 2000; Vertovec 2010; Luthra, Platt, and Salamońska 2014). Finally, it identifies a new aspect of design-driven intentionality used by the onward migrants in their complex migration and movement through at least three countries that we have presented with the concept of four stages: wish, influences, motivations, and dream fulfilment. The paper highlights the influence of the Maastricht Treaty on onward migration, which allowed entry of the European Union (EU) and naturalized non-EU citizens into the UK with diversities in cultures, languages, and religions. Thus, this paper aims to explore the individual and group motivations that have encouraged the onward migration of Italian-Pakistanis and Italian-Bangladeshis to the North of England after obtaining Italian citizenship and seek to answer the following research questions:

i. What are the individual and group motivations of Italian-Pakistanis and Bangladeshis living in the North of England?
ii. What are the differences in motivation for onward migration actions across various perspectives of ethnicity, symbolic ties, faith practices, and family role enactment?
iii. What are the differences in the gender motivations for onward migration?
iv. What is the design-driven intentionality used by the onward migrants in their complex migration and movement through at least three countries?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Onward migration is becoming a new trend, and scholars have addressed this phenomenon accordingly, however, there is a fulfillment clear definition in the literature and the term is often associated with return migration. This paper adopts Ramos's (2017) definition of onward migrants:

Individua who initially settled in one country of destination and migrate again to a new one, especially in the European Union (EU), where naturalized immigrants can mobilize their freedom of movement obtained with EU citizenship to relocate in another country.

Most of onward migrants are transmigrants. Transmigration is defined as the processes by which migrants settle into their host country and the relationship, they maintain with their home nation. Therefore, they become transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational religious, and political – that span borders (Levitt and Waters 2002; Fernandez, Lee, and McNamara 2018).

It is clear that those who move onwards to another country after living in their first migration destination need to wait until a member of the family obtains a European passport before they can relocate to a destination considered to be more favourable. This seems to be an important strategy among recent European citizens: it enables them to freely escape economic difficulties present in countries where they have spent a long time. The literature reports cases of refugees from Somalia, Nigeria, and Iran who moved to the UK after obtaining citizenship from the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden (Hoon et al. 2019; Ahrens et al. 2016;), but none of these reported cases involving naturalised migrant workers.

Ossman(2004) presents an interesting new definition linked to onward migration. The so-called `serial` migrants move from and to different countries and they create a `third space` that is a space where the serial migrants live among other people and adapt themselves to the culture and costumes of the new land.

Migrants who have obtained a European naturalisation are defined as 'Naturalised third-country nationals` (NTCN), they are those who after the required period of residence in a European country, obtain citizenship and then decided to migrate to their preferred European member state (Sarpong et al. 2018). Therefore, they are not interested in remaining in the country of first migration, but, rather, wish to 'acquire the necessary resources for mobility'. This phenomenon is referred to as 'strategic citizenship' and defined as *'the rise of a strategic-instrumental approach towards access to national citizenship, which is reflected in new acquisition strategies, practical uses and understandings '(*Harpaz and Mateos 2019: 843).

Unlike the typical migration movement, going from country 'A' to country 'B', NTCNs' migration involves three stages: home country > country of opportunity > destination country (Ahrens 2013; Ahrens et al. 2016; Della Puppa and King 2018; Castro-Martín and Cortina 2015; Mapril 2013; and

Lourenco 2013). Therefore, it becomes apparent that the initial migration was intended to be transitory and was limited to facilitating migrants' subsequent migration to their destination (Paul 2011). Italian-naturalised Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are among those migrants who wish to acquire the necessary resources for mobility (Bivand Erdal 2013).

The signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 by representatives from 12 member states of the EU, allowed the nationals of those countries to move freely through other member states. From that moment freedom of movement began to take shape, such that those European citizens, and consequently Italians, who wanted to change their place of residence could do so even if they did not have employment, whilst acquiring the same rights as any other nation in that country (Carrera 2005). Therefore, it can be said that then there was a shift in migratory patterns from the twentieth century.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the Italian economy evolved into a country of immigration rather than emigration. Poverty drove migrants from their homelands elsewhere, and in Italy, the participants to our study found opportunities for a better life and the chance to fulfil their dream of settling in a cultural environment like the country of origin that of the former colonial metropole (Reyneri 1998b; Hansen 2014; Della Puppa and Sredanovic 2017). Three acts of legislation in Italy's brief history as a receiving country - Law 30th December 1986 n. 943, and laws 28th February 1990 n. 39 and 9th December 1996 n. 6179 – helped increase the number of permits allowing people from developing countries to stay permanently.

The Martelli Law of 1990 was intended to regulate undocumented immigrants (Della Puppa and King 2018) and to attract migrants already present in other European countries to come to Italy and work there. Therefore, there was considerable numerical growth of these ethnic groups, and Italy began to be perceived by immigrants as a favorable country in which to stay and earn an income. This contrasted with the situation in nearby Spain, where migrants experienced difficulties in becoming naturalized (Ahrens 2013). In Italy obtaining the 'Unlimited Permesso di soggiorno', permitting employment and residency, was straightforward. Italy was perceived as an open country, allowing the acquisition of a long-term legal residence, a sustainable income, and stable employment (Kostakopoulou 2002).

Since then and over the years, immigration policies have changed because most legal migrants to Italy do no longer look for a job but are asylum seekers or want to re-join their families already entitled to live in the country. Colucci (2019) stated that since 2011 there has been a complex

transformation in the allocation of permits for work, with successful applications dropping from 38.9 percent to 5.7 percent. By contrast, the proportion of permits issued for a family reunion and asylum/humanitarian protection has risen from 11.8 percent to 34.3 percent (Italian National Institute of Statistics (Istat) 2012, 2017). Nowadays in Italy, there are more than 5 million immigrants (8.3 percent of the adult population) (Tocci et al. 2019) and it was estimated that by 2064 the number of legal migrants in Italy will reach 14.1 million, so there will be a significant tendency towards growth (Istat 2017).

This section examined what onward migration is and the following part now discusses the motivations for migration looking at the theories and types of motivation used for onward migration.

MOTIVATIONS.

Motivation is defined in many ways in the literature. It generally refers to "the reasons underlying behaviour" (Guay et al., 2010p. 712). Motivation can also be defined as the desire to achieve goals (Hays and Hill, 2001).

Motivation is divided into two types; intrinsic and extrinsic (Deci and Ryan, 2010). Intrinsic motivation reflects the natural human propensity to learn and assimilate without external prompts, pressure, or reward while extrinsic motivation reflects external control. Motivations cannot be defined in absolute terms, as they depend on combinations of factors such as personal wishes, family influences, and other environmental aspects. Although the push and pull theory is the most appropriate model to explain for this study, we also appreciate its limitations so to ensure that the limitations are addressed during the study. Lee's (1966) theory of push or pull factors usually overlooks the complexity of migration patterns, causes, and trends. It is difficult to determine which factors are potentially beneficial and which ones are not at both origin and destination of migration and its importance to the different groups and classes of migrants. Further, the theory does not shed clear light on the challenges and the interlocking of the differences in motives and causes of migration. Lee's theory (1966) highlights the element of intervening obstacles as a decisive act of migration interlocking with the push and pull factors. However, the extant literature (Massey 1993; Borjas 1987 and Borjas, Kauppinen and Poutvaara 2019; Haas 2011) illustrates that there may be other changes of circumstances or modified decisions en route which might not necessarily be a decisive act of migration from an intervening obstacle at the onset of migration. Also, listing the intervening obstacles does not help demographers identify which factors may have a high or low impact on the decision to migrate.

The extant literature has discussed the motivations behind a decision to migrate that vary according to personal needs caused by specific special and temporal conditions of an individual's life. For example: the concerns of families seeking new opportunities for their children through education; the attempt to protect their children from discrimination such as when the environment prevents them from accessing opportunities due to their different culture or political background (Jamal and Chapman 2000; Bivand Erdal 2013; Ahrens et al. 2016; Hoon et al.2019).

To analyse the motivations for onward migration, this paper used neoclassical economic theory proposed by Ravenstein (1889) whose theories are still echoed despite ongoing debates and updates on modern migration (Cohen and Sirkeci 2021). This indicates that favourable and unfavourable economic conditions acted as motivation factors in people's decisions to migrate whereby migrants generally move from poorer to wealthier countries (Lee 1966). Other motivations to migrate are also fostered by poverty, a lack of existing future opportunities, and the goal of becoming wealthy (Ahmad 2016). Portes and Böröcz, (1989) identified that for nationals from former colonies reaching the coloniser's destination was a prompting onward migration reason.

Above all, it is found that the most important factor for non-EU economic migrants is to obtain European citizenship to facilitate European mobility (Bivand Erdal 2013). Since 31st December 2020, this is no longer an easy possibility for people who want to enter the United Kingdom (UK) because due to Brexit they must follow new UK settlement procedures.

This paper strives to analyse the motivation of the participants by following the theory of the collective behaviour applied by the US Sociologists Park and Burgess (1921) who consider: t*he behavior of individuals under the influence of an impulse that is common and collective, an impulse, in other words, that is the result of social interaction" p. 865*. Behaviour can be contagious within and outside specific groups, which explains why about eighteen percent (Italian Consulate, 2020) of migrants moved to the UK soon after obtaining Italian citizenship. These interaction theories can be influenced by peer pressure and social interaction, and it becomes a contagious spreading mood and behaviour, to the point that a great number of South Asian migrants felt they had to move to the UK for the sake of their families after obtaining the Italian naturalization

The literature helps identify possible aspects related to onward migration that have been identified as: Welfare, Security and Employment, Education and qualification, Religion and Social Identity and

Culture

As far as Welfare, Security and Employment *Italy* provides lower unemployment benefits than other European countries, making it difficult for those without employment to support their families (Fullin and Reyneri 2011). This factor can explain migrants' decisions to leave Italy soon after obtaining European nationality. The UK, on the contrary, is an attractive destination because it is a 'welfare state' that meets the welfare needs of its residents (Adcock and May 2014: 5). *Furthermore, it needs to be considered that* the extraordinary growth in the number of migrants settling in Southern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s had halted by the late 2000 (Lafleur et al. 2017; Mas Giralt 2017). This was due to the economic crisis in southern and peripheral EU countries that fostered a south–north mobility. In fact, the crisis strongly affected the employment rate of immigrants, encouraging onward migration, of those who had obtained their mobility rights (Mateos 2013; Ponzo et al. 2015). Therefore, migrants' plans for new movement are positively selected to satisfy their desire for advantages such as improved educational and legal status. The EU citizenship or residence permit will enable them to relocate within the EU member states to find employment (Ortensi and Belgiojoso 2017).

The literature shows that 'Education and Qualification' is second in the list of motivations. Naturalised migrants from European countries choose to move on to Britain because studying in certain British, 'world-class' universities is considered to offer a more prestigious education. Onward movers feel that the credentials they will obtain from British universities will be more readily recognised should they choose to return to their place of birth (Ahrens et al. 2016). It is also reported that a significant number of migrants children have moved on to London to enrol in British universities after failing to receive admission to desired programmes in their previous EU country of residence (Ahrens et al. 2016).

Therefore, a child's education holds significant weight in the decision leading to their second movement. Pakistani and Bangladeshi citizens value English language and English-education due to colonialism (Bhattacharya and Schoppelrey 2004). Furthermore, they believe that educating their children in the U.K. will enable the social mobility of their families in their caste systems ((Bhattacharya and Schoppelrey 2004). Groups of Bangladeshi migrants who contributed to other studies stated unanimously that they needed to cater for their children's future and that the English language and English-language education were the key factors in leaving Italy and settling in the UK (Della Puppa and King 2018). The real paucity of literature for Pakistanis has enabled us to compare authors investigations.

'Religion' is also considered as a key factor in onward migration. Migration links to Islam has involved a range of communities from different ethnic migrations and diaspora (Grillo 2004). Europe has a wide range of national and regional groupings of migrants and Muslim communities from various national or sociocultural backgrounds. The investments of Middle Eastern states in Muslim infrastructure (mosques, schools, butchers, cemeteries) in Europe has contributed to the change in the nature of the Islamic presence in Europe (Gerholm 1994). Naturally, this has not happened equally throughout the continent, whereas like in Italy the expression of Roman Catholicism is largely maintained.

The literature shows that 'Social identity and Culture' is another significant aspect of onward migration. Nationality is one of the main forms of identity because it is usually obtained by birth. The case of South Asian migrant's identity has been the object of wide literature. For example, it was found that after various political changes, in 1988 Islam became the religion of the Bangledeshi state creating a Bengali Muslim identity along with a *'Bengali'* linguistic and cultural tradition that became the core around which *'cultural integration'* rotates for Bangladeshis. Therefore, it can be said that Bangladeshi identity is based on language and religion wherever Bangladeshis move to, affecting their integration into wider society wherever they decide to settle (Redclift 2015; Brubaker 2013.

METHODS

This study adopted a qualitative exploratory approach to examine motivations for movement, and their effects on integration and identity in the participants' third country (e.g., the UK) compared to the second country (e.g., Italy). Unlike other research, our study explored the views of Homogeneous samples, purposively selected groups of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men and women immigrants who had lived in Italy for over ten years and had then acquired Italian/EU citizenship and passports. The participants living in the Greater Manchester town of Hyde originally came from Bangladesh, while those from Pakistan now live in Manchester and Nelson.

Data Collection

To collect the data, we employed the focus group discussion (FGDs) method as this enabled deep insight into the participants' motivations for their second movements. Through FGDs, it is possible to observe interactions on a specific topic in a limited period, with group discussions enabling the researchers to obtain direct evidence of similarities and differences in the participants' views and experiences (Morgan 1997).

We adopted a homogeneous purposive sampling technique to identify and select information-rich cases of onward-migration Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants who had migrated to Italy, become naturalised Italians, and then migrated to the North of England. Many Pakistanis came from Gujrat, with some from Gujranwala and Bhimber, worked in the North of Italy in factories or farms and were educated to the elementary level. In Italy, they lived predominantly in the regions of Lombardy, Veneto, and Emilia-Romagna. Most of the male Bangladeshis came from Chattogram and Feni, settled in the Latium region and worked in restaurants or as housekeepers due to their low level of education (see Table 1 for demographics of the participants).

Table 1 Demographics of participants

The researchers wished to understand the motivations behind the decisions of naturalised Italians who were born in Pakistan or Bangladesh and who later moved to the United Kingdom. The women were not Italians at the time of the research. The presence of an important number of naturalised Italians who started their migration journey from Pakistan or Bangladesh and were then living in the North of England inspired the idea to research on their motivations for the onward movement. Considering the population density of citizens with these backgrounds, it was decided to conduct our study in Manchester, Nelson, and Hyde. The male participants needed to be Italians who were born in Pakistan or Bangladesh who had decided to move to the UK. Using information from the Italian authorities in the UK it was possible to identify the most significant informal groups of Italian-Pakistani and Italian-Bangladeshi. They had formed informal associations and had named the person who would represent them when communicating with the Italian authorities. When we contacted these Italian citizens, they agreed to become our gatekeepers. Now, these leaders have been officially elected within the Italian governmental body called `Comitato Italiani residenti all'estero` - COMITES. The researchers settled on six FGDs (three male and three female) and the locations were Hyde, Manchester, and Nelson. The Italian-Pakistani and Italian-Bangladeshi communities' gatekeepers referred to as Manchester male 1 (MM1); Nelson male 1 (NM1) and Hyde Male 1 (HM1), acted as such and selected the participants. The researchers ensured that male participants were naturalised Italians from Pakistan or Bangladesh. *The FGDs were conducted in Manchester at a library; at Nelson in a building donated by the town council for immigrants to use for social events; and at Hyde in the private house of the gatekeeper. The focus group were composed as follows: 48 participants in total comprising of 13 Bangladeshi and 35 Pakistanis and 25 males and 23*

females and according to the location, eight males and 6 females were in Manchester, 10 males and 11 females in Nelson, and 7 males and six females in Hyde.

A total of 48 participants joined the FGDs (see Table 1), and data was collected until saturation was achieved when no new information emerged from the group interactions after the fifth and sixth FGDs (Sandelowski et al. 2008). The researchers prepared all the themes for the focus groups, obtained the signed informed consent, and checked the participants complied with the characteristics requested by the study. The anonymous documentation was saved on the M Drive at the university.

Table 1 Demographic data of Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants

Gender was an important factor in the composition of the focus groups; it influences the ability to create rapport and maximise the scope and depth of FGDs (Deaux and La France 1998). In our case, the gender differences in interpersonal interactions can be attributed to differences in the social and cultural environments and power relations surrounding status (Vertovec 2004); thus, the women were separated from the men to eliminate any possible gender-hierarchical interference and to allow them to speak freely. The men spoke English or Italian, which simplified the comprehension and translation process. However, communication with the women presented certain difficulties as very few could speak English or Italian (they tended to communicate in Urdu, Bangla, and Punjabi) and thus these women were heard through a translator.

The focus group discussion's theme was based on the motivations for migration that during the discussions expanded to the comparative experiences of the participants in Italy and the UK. Furthermore, there was an intention to ascertain the importance of education and language(s); to identify the participants' networks of interactions that would demonstrate a transnational outlook and the experiences of migration to the UK after living in Italy this allowed the understanding of how migration had changed their lives in general.

Data Analysis

The FGDs data were uploaded into NVivo 12 software after transcription and, where necessary, translated into English. Thematic analysis tools were employed for analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1990). In terms of coding, each individual comment was reported with the initial of the place where the FGDs took place, the

participant's gender, and the number allocated to the individual during the focus group (e.g., HM1 indicates a male in the Hyde focus group).

The first stage of the analysis involved open coding to create nodes of the themes from the data and the sentences that explained each of the themes. Most of the themes created were 'in vivo' codes directly extracted from the focus group discussion data. We then employed axial coding to group the different themes into categories to explain the relationships between the various themes that emerged and to enable an enhanced understanding of the motivations (Strauss and Corbin 1990). To identify the relationships between the themes, we mapped them based on different items to describe the overarching themes and sub-themes, and thus explain the relationships between them. We reviewed, verified, and confirmed the themes by examining the data many times to ensure that they all agreed with the data set and the relationships developed. The findings were then refined by extracting the overall categories with an overarching theme that integrated all the different sub-themes to explain the 'wish to dream' fulfilment of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants' motivations and experiences.

FINDINGS

We discuss the findings of this study using figure 1 below developed from the data which presents the wish to dream-fulfilment of the onward migrants. From the data we identified four stages in the migrations of the participants: Wish to live in the UK, influences to migrate, Motivations and Dream fulfilment. In the following section, we will discuss each stage of the onward migration with particular emphasis to gender motivations and explicating how the participants' wish turned into dream fulfilment.

Figure 1 – Wish to Dream Fulfilment

Wish To Dream Fulfilment Stages

Stage 1: Wish for a Better life in the UK

The initial dream to reach the UK was the trigger that made the participants of this study get through the stages presented in this paper. Due to their wish for a better life in the UK, all the participants formed plans starting in their birth country and through the stages they managed to fulfil their dream. The excerpt below shows references to the wish to secure their family's a place and chance in the land of the colonisers.

We were a British colony, and we were ruled by them. Only the rich people could send their children to study in England. Now we can give this opportunity to our children. What seems to be a dream, now it is happening. (HM4)

The participants moved to Europe in the early 1990s and often relied on the help and support of relatives already living in the destination country. Most of the participants stated that they chose Italy because it was a country offering better prospects of obtaining European nationality without compromising their culture, habits, religion.

Data showed that prior to their first migration the male participants were young, likely to be single, and living in countries with limited opportunities. Therefore, they decided to migrate to Europe where, it appeared, there were possibilities to find employment and gain financial security for themselves and a family.

This study data revealed that all the participants wished to access better opportunities in their lives by onward migrating to the UK, however, their motivations differed on gender lines The women participants wanted to live an international experience, and they had the opportunity to do so after getting married; thus, this was a dream that could come true. They all spoke about the fact that they could go to Italy a few years after getting married. They did not mention what their lives were like living as daughters-in-law with their husbands' parents while they waited to join their husbands in Italy. The women indicated that they had followed their men to Italy but then found they had mixed feelings about their life there. Some complained about not feeling settled in Italy because of comments about their attire. This led them to form their own groups and enjoy life in their enclaves, without integrating into the wider community.

So, it can be said that female participants, married a man who had obtained a residence permit for a European country, and this had opened the possibility to fulfil their dream as well. They knew that after a brief period they could leave their in-laws' house and start a new life with their husband and children in an international environment.

I moved to Italy to follow my husband since men could take their wives with them after a few years. (MW3)

After marriage, wives stayed in Bangladesh, and after two years I obtained a residence permit to live in Italy. In Bangladesh I was living with my in-laws. (HW1)

In a bid to live in similar cultural environment, the women benefited from `marriage transmigration` and they appear to be interested, primarily, in the opportunity to transmit their own religion to their offspring. When, after a few years the Italian government allowed them to join their husbands, they started to taste

the experience of international life and could eventually fulfil their role of mother/wife in their own home. They did however experience some difficulties in satisfying the requirements of their religion.

The excerpts below show examples of the effects of the sentimental clashes between culture and environment to the women's perception of their lives in the host country.

> *We feel Pakistani and we would like to go back to Pakistan, but we cannot leave our husbands and children. (NW5)*
>
> *I cannot say I am not Italian or that I am just Pakistani. I cannot say this. I am Pakistani because I was born there, but I spent a lot of time in Italy as well. (MW3)*

Stage 2: Influences to Migrate

In the second stage, the data revealed that the variations in the participants' intentionality for onward migration was greatly influenced by the 1971 Immigration Act, the Martelli Law of 1990, and the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. Thus, the participants showed a form of design-driven intentionality in their complex migrations attributable to the openness of the above laws. Also, collective 'peer influence' in relation to rising unemployment in Italy was the push factor for both communities, and prospective opportunities in the UK were appealing and thus a pull factor.

> *It is common for people to move to the UK as soon as they get the Italian passport. I was happy in Reggio Emilia and worked in many factories. (NM10)*
>
> *By getting a residence permit in Italy, I also had one to move through Europe. Thanks to the agreement concerning the free movement of workers, many people moved to Italy. Prior to moving to Italy in 1990, I lived in France and Greece. (NM1)*

Stage 3: Motivations to move from Italy to the U.K.

From the analysis of data, we found four motivations for onward migration among the participants. The four motivations were arranged in order of importance placed on each motivation based on the number of comments from the participants of the study. Religion ranked the most important followed by education and qualification, social identity and culture, and welfare, safety, and employment. We discuss each of the motivations in the next section.

Religion

From our analysis, religion was identified as the most important motivation for onward migration of the participants (see figure 2 below). There were gender differences in relation to its importance. Both men and women in the Manchester focus fulfil group spoke strongly about religion compared to the other two groups. Male participants from Pakistan who live in Manchester discussed

religion, highlighting their freedom to express their opinion on a very delicate topic because they now were a large group in the city. Here below are some excerpts from the male participants.

> *There are many mosques here, more than there used to be, but this is not the only problem. We moved to England for religious purposes but even in Italy, nowadays, things are different compared to what they used to be in the 1990s.* (MM6)

> *In Italy all our culture centres and places of worship are far, so you must travel by car; in other words, you are very dependent on a good transport system, so you are less likely to go.* (MM2)

> *I also moved because it was easier for them to receive a religious education here compared to Italy.* (NM3)

> *It is easier to practice our faith here compared to Italy (HM1)*

Women also agree with men about the importance of religion and stressed the fact that it is easier to practice their religion in the UK compared to Italy. Some excerpts below contributed to the study by revealing important information about their approach towards religion,

> *Our children learn about their religion by reading the Quran. It is easier to practice our faith here because there are more Mosques compared to Italy. We are Sunnis and I identify myself as a Muslim Bangladeshi. (HW1)*

> *Religion was the major reason for moving here because there are more opportunities for us to practice our faith here compared to Italy. There are more mosques here than in Italy. I take the children to the Mosque to study the Quran, they read the Quran, and this is important for me as a Bangladeshi Muslim (HW2)*

> *Religion is better here in the sense that it is easier for us to practice our faith compared to Italy and this is particularly important. (HW5)*

Although religion is important for both genders, it appears women are more sensitive to this aspect because it is an important part of their role, and therefore they attributed the decision to move to the UK primarily on religious and academic education. Women from Bangladesh considered learning the Quran and the ability to profess their specific faith as a significant pull factor, and they were prepared to discuss religious aspects to exemplify the role of religion in the lives of their children.

Pakistani women in Manchester discussed the difficulty of integrating into the British-Pakistani community. They attribute this situation to the religious perceptions that members of the British Pakistanis community had of nationals who have lived in European countries. Onward migrants expected to encounter solidarity and support due to their common nationality and religious roots. However, the newcomers did not realise that their lack of British citizenship would cause issues, and this difference between the two groups might have been the cause of the antagonism shown by the settled community.

> *I do not think British Pakistani are more orthodox than we are. British Pakistani think that we have moved here so that our children can go to school, get an education, and then take all the jobs away from them, this is what some people say. MW3*

Figure 2: Religion

Education and Qualification

The analysis of the data for 'education and qualification' showed slight differences among the statements of the different genders of participants. The most significant references on education were from the men living in Nelson. They made 34 references to education during the interviews (see figure 3). Therefore, it can be concluded that most of the participants considered education for their children as one of the main pull drivers for moving from Italy to the UK. This was based on the belief that the acquisition of the English language and English-qualifications would open doors to employment globally. British colonialization has thus led to the conviction that the main requisites for success are to be fluent in the English language and if possible, to obtain an English qualification. The following excerpt from interviews confirms this analysis.

> *The main reason why I came to the UK in 2014 is to provide my children with a better education.* (HM1)
>
> *I only moved here because my daughter wanted to study law.* (NM4)
>
> *One of the reasons for moving here was to provide our children with an English education and to find a job.* (MM4)
>
> *The education system in Italy for our children is only based on Italian language. If you want your children to receive an education in English, it is awfully expensive; there are primary schools in Italy, but they are very expensive. If your children are in a school here, they receive an education in Standard English and the education system is recognized everywhere in the world; that is the only reason why I moved here.* (HM5)
>
> *Above all I came for my children's education and because I wanted a change; these are the two reasons why I moved here. I came for me and my children and their education, besides the fact that my entire family lives here: brothers, cousins, everyone. There are more opportunities here and I came to live with my family so that we could all be together.* (HM6)

Figure. 3: Education and Qualification

Social Identity and Culture

Social identity and culture were the third most important motivations for the participants' onward migration (see figure 4). The findings showed great gender differences on social identity and culture. The data for Hyde Bangladeshi women participants considers social identity and culture particularly important contrary to the Hyde Bangladeshi men who see it as a motivating factor to migrate but on a lesser scale. From the female participants perspective, social identity and culture is influential in their motivation as it enables

acceptance into their group, which is central to their self-concept. In the UK they recreated a space according to their culture, values, and social norms with strong emotional ties to that group. It also assisted them to integrate into their new environment as the group provided guidance from their previous experiences.

> *In Italy, I would meet other compatriots, we would often eat together but we would not do that with Italians or the British. When we moved here my cousin helped us. (HW1)*

> *I would meet up with other people from Bangladesh and we would often have meals together but not with Italians. The same happens in the UK. I do not have any British friends, and the same applies to my children. (HW3).*

> *I go to a language course with a friend of mine to learn English. In Italy I learnt Italian very quickly by talking to Italian people. I did not attend a language course whereas here I do to learn English. I live in Longsight, on both sides of the road there are several Pakistanis families who came from Italy so, all females became close friends (MW4)*

The male participants from the three communities were able to mix with Italians, mainly through work, allowing them to insert themselves into their new environment. The excerpts presented below show that men were quite content to live in Italy, but the motivations described above made them opt to move to the UK:

> *I have Italian friends because I worked in the same place for fourteen years. There was no one from Bangladesh (HM3)*

> *I have a lot of Italian friends and colleagues. In Italy I lived in a block of flats where everybody was Italian. (HM2)*

> *I had a lot of friends in Italy, and I still have now. Some of them are Italian and others are Pakistani-Italians. (NM2)*

> *I consider myself to be an Italbangla. The reason for that is because you arrive here with an Italian passport, thus your identity is not Bangladeshi, rather, it is Italian. (HM1)*

> *I liked Italy; I have been here for two years now, but my son wants to go back to Italy. If I had a job in Italy I would not have moved here. (MM1)*

Figure 4: Social Identity and Culture

Welfare, security, and employment

Welfare, security, and employment was identified as the fourth important motivation and a strong push factor to leave Italy for the UK (see figure 5). The analysed data revealed subtle gender differences for this motivation. The data showed clearly that the men in the study were mainly interested in their ability to provide for the family. Therefore, having a job or being able to obtain benefits was particularly important. This was something that the UK could provide and strengthened their wish to move there. In UK, the male participants sought employment opportunities and experienced less anxiety when they could not find jobs because in the UK, they could have access to welfare provision and financial security. Their cognition was

that once they obtained a passport from an EU member state they could travel throughout Europe and, better still, have the same rights of the natives of each nation. These motivations were declared by both Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the North of England, who had settled in specific towns where they felt at home. They stressed the fact that in Italy they could claim benefits only for two years while in the U.K. if they lost their job they should not panic as they could always claim benefits and their family will not risk starvation. Men from Nelson thought it was a more important motivation while women from Hyde saw it as less important. (See Fig. 5). The following are some of the excerpts confirming this motivation:

I arrived in Italy in 1996 at the age of 24 and worked until 2012, after [that] I received unemployment benefits, for two years. (MM4)

I am 56 years old; I am married, and I have two children. I arrived in Italy in 1996 at the age of 18 and in the UK [in] 2014. In Italy I was living in Ferrara. I worked in Italy and lost my job. (MM7)

After 13 years the company shut down and I did not have a job, I did not know what to do. I looked for a job, but I could not find one and then I moved here where it was not easy to find a job at the beginning and my kids stayed at home for 8/9 months without going to school. I work part time now and the government helps us with benefits. If I had a job in Italy, I would not have moved here. (MM1)

I am 54 years old. I went to Italy in 1990. I found a job and I stayed in Italy for 24 years. After a while I was not working as regularly as I used to; I would work every other week, so I moved here, I found a job, and everything is ok now. (MM3)

I did not have a proper job and in Italy I had a chance of getting one. When I went to Italy, I was 20 years old, single but now I must consider my family's needs. (HM6)

I am 47 years old. I arrived in Italy in 1996 at the age of 16 and I started working in 1997 until 2012 when I lost my job and started receiving unemployment benefits that lasted only two years (MM5).

The lack of opportunities for the young generation is another important push factor as clearly exemplified by one of the participants.

My son was born in Italy in 1994, my wife and I are from Pakistan, and he completed his studied in Italy. After going to university and graduating he looked around and realised that there were not many opportunities. Furthermore, if he did have one, he would be exploited. Some of his friends went to vocational or technical schools, they work as labourers now and they earn up to 1,500 -1,600 euros a month. A graduate gets 800 euros a month and he do hard shifts. Having heard about the opportunities here in Great Britain, England, and Manchester, he decided to move here with us to see if he could find a good opportunity for employment. In Italy graduates can only work with an apprenticeship contract at 850 Euros a month (MM1).

Figure 5: Welfare, Security and Employment

Stage 4: Dream Fulfilment

From the data analysis, the final stage of their dream fulfilment, we identified that the men and women chose to move to the UK for better conditions of life, and the large number of Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals already settled in the Northwest. This inspired their confidence that their culture and habits could

be pursued within what they viewed as a prosperous and liberal environment. Therefore, they would be able to enjoy the advantages of the destination without renouncing what was of paramount importance for them and their families. Finally, as British residents and Commonwealth citizens, they feel that they belong because, unlike other immigrants, they have a right to vote in national elections

The participants' excerpts revealed a sense of self-segregation and competence in managing their own community affairs, independently from the host environment. In two districts, Nelson and Manchester, the communities are encouraged to become close-knit. In Nelson, they have a dedicated centre and can rely on an appointed Pakistani liaison officer, who provides advice and support on key areas of interaction with the city officials (e.g., housing and benefits). This person is a solicitor who speaks Italian and knows the laws of both Italy and the UK. In Manchester and Nelson there are residential areas in which large numbers of Pakistanis live, with a layer of cultural insulation emerging to facilitate the settlement of new migrants, leading to the Pakistani community's independence within the host city. Whereas Women living in Hyde and Manchester live close by to each other and consequently they tend to mix with the ones from Bangladesh. Nevertheless, it was a surprise to hear women and men from Hyde strongly suggest they wanted to live separate lives from the rest of the British population and that parents and their children only mix with others of the same ethnicity:

> *I would meet up with other people from Bangladesh and we would often have meals together but not with Italians. The same happens in the UK. I do not have any British friends. (HW3)*
>
> *My children do not mix much with British children in school. I do not have any British friends.* (HM2)
>
> *I have no problem mixing with people from other Asian countries if they come from Italy.* (HM1).

Considering the size of each family these communities will become more insulated and the expectation to see immigrants integrate in the wider society will become very remote. Multiculturalism has been the tool for self-segregation.

Overall, the third country (UK) became the 'dream location' for both genders and both national groups because it offered everything they sought: possibility to follow their belief, entry into an English-speaking educational system, an accessible benefits system, and the opportunity to recapture and recreate their own cultural practices. Entry into the UK was the conclusion of what began as an aspiration in their country of origin, and then, after their first migration, became the next logical development.

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATION

This study examined the 'wish to dream' fulfilment of Bangladeshi and Pakistani onward migrants from Italy. The participants had formed plans to achieve their wish. They utilised Italian gateway policies to escape from poverty at home, and to finally reach the land of former colonial power as equals, in other words with the same rights and opportunities. Ahrens et al. (2016) argued that many contemporary migrants have clear intentions to reach their dream destination, UK, from the beginning of their journey from developing countries.

We used three theories that guided the study; push and pull, neoclassical economic and interaction theories (Lee, 1966; Ravenstein, 1889; Serpa and Ferreira, 2018) which were beneficial to identifying the wish to dream fulfilment in onward migration. The push and pull theory although limited in assessing the complexity of migration patterns, causes, and trends it helped us to identify the motivations behind a decision to migrate. Further to analyse the factors for motivation for onward migration the neoclassical economic theory (Ravenstein, 1889) contributed to identifying the favourable and unfavourable economic conditions which acted as motivation factors for the South Asian migrants' decisions to migrate as they moved from poorer to wealthier countries despite the ongoing debates and updates on modern migration. Finally, the more modern interaction theory by Serpa and Ferreira, 2018 assisted us to explore how the vital sense of commonality from participation in spontaneous groupings influenced by peer pressure and social interaction led to the contagious behaviour of South Asian migrants moving to the UK after obtaining the Italian for the sake of better lives for their families. Each of the theories contributed to the understanding of the onward migration of the Bangladeshi and Pakistani to the UK. Although, the theories had their limitations the combination of the three theories complemented each other as a theoretical foundation for the study.

We identified four stages and gender differences in their onward migration to the UK. We highlighted the fact that there are four interlinked stages in this onward migration and can be related to the concept of a migratory career (Martiniello and Rea, 2014). The participants have gone through four different stages in their planned emotional progression from the homeland to the final dreamed destination.

We have described the various conditions and motivations that have led them to the land of their dreams. Therefore, our concept of four stages of migration is different from the concept of three steps presented by Ossman (2004). Although our participants are also going to create their third space, this has a completely different expectation than the one presented by Ossman (2004). Using her own definitions, the migrants in this study are `ordinary` migrants who want to share the same identities, culture, religion, and values with people of the same background to re-create their native environment within the host country. They cannot be considered as `serial` because they always had a clear view of their destination where they wanted to make an impact according to their ethnicity. During their stay in Italy, they have not fully integrated into culture and patiently waited to obtain their European nationality to move on to the chosen land. Further, the four-stages identified in the study are interlinked and it is their interconnectedness that motivated the participants to migrate. Further, the four-stages identified in the study are interlinked and it is their interconnectedness that motivated the participants to migrate.

In conclusion, the findings illustrate that their children's future and faith practices were the participants' key pull drivers of onward migration, followed by access to direct economic benefits through the welfare system, employment opportunities, and social integration. Carrying an Italian passport enabled participants to enter the UK without any restrictions. They could claim benefits and seek employment, while gaining access to education, social and healthcare services (Carrera 2005; Mas Giralt 2017). We also identified that there were some differences in the motivations of the two genders.

The findings showed that the participants wished to live in the UK and this, considering the literature, is not a surprise. From the findings, it was apparent that there were differences in the stages of wishes of the women and men who participated in the study. The men started by seeking for a better life as single men, while the women wished to achieve their goal of living in the UK through marriage and had made plans to succeed. The men's intention was to reach the UK by travelling through member states as European citizens (Faist and Gerdes 2008; Landberga et al. 2018). They expected their new citizenship to bring economic advantage, global mobility, a sense of welfare and security, and a change in social status. Sarpong et al.'s (2018) assertion of the *'relevance of relational ties for free mobility of naturalised third-country nationals within the European Union`* Sarpong et al. (2018: 50) confirm the experiences of the participants in the study.

Before the Maastricht Treaty period, South Asian people were not freely allowed to enter the UK (Parliament Act 1971) and so they began to search for other ways to get to the UK. This paper has highlighted how the Treaty has influenced onward migration, whereby member states allow EU citizens entry even in the case of onward migrants who were born in non-EU countries and express different objectives, cultures, languages, and religions that may affect their integration into wider society.

Some gender differences were found in the motivations for onward migration among these South Asian groups in the North of England and very little differences according to ethnic differentiation. This was expected as men and women wanted to move to the U.K. even if apparently for different reasons. Men are mainly the breadwinners and thus are motivated by seeking welfare and security for their families. This onward migration motivation made the UK particularly attractive as it is deemed a *'welfare state'* that meets the welfare needs of its residents (Alcock and May 2014), unlike Italy, where people can only claim benefits for two years after they lose their jobs and do not receive economic support thereafter. These findings are in line with those of Della Puppa and King (2018), who noted that Bangladeshi men in London have typically migrated to seek a better life and English education for their children. Religion and Education, thus, were the participant's top motivational factors to migrate to the UK, followed by social identity and culture, welfare, security, and employment.

Differences between participant groups were observed regarding social identity and religion. Men from Pakistan who lived in Manchester expressed their strong opinions on religion, and how belonging to a larger group had enabled their voice to be heard. Another example can be seen between Bangladeshi men and women. The Bangladeshi women in the group strongly advocate the need of seclusion within their own community, to the point that even their children are not allowed to mix with children of different backgrounds. Whereas Bangladeshi men made exceptions and met up with other South Asian migrants who had lived in Italy.

From the findings, it appears that these women wished to start a new life in an international environment and achieved aim through marriage and followed their husbands to Italy and then to the UK. Women largely considered men to be the income generators while they took full responsibility for the daily care of the children and home (Morokvasic 1991). In general, men make decisions whilst women are responsible for the well-being of the children. Therefore, despite the impression that the decision to move

to another country is primarily made by men, it is necessary to consider the importance of the female/mother role and subsequent weight to decisions that would affect the running of the family.

Women had good leverage to convince men to move to the UK, using the fact that their children would receive a better education and could have access to more future opportunities (Kelly 2017). Most of the female participants were not interested in seeking the independence aspired to by women in other parts of the world. They were already in control of the domestic economy and, as mothers, they had secured their place in the family and operated in a partially autonomous world (Ballard 1982). These women thus comprise part of a self-segregated group in which women guarantee the authenticity of religious practice, habits, traditions, culture, and language (Redclift 2015).

Religion is very important to all the women who participated in this study and there is an emphasis to their wish to dress in accordance with Islam to express their religious identity. Migrants' faith practices can provide a significant anchor within their wider experience of displacement to guarantee that their children are not lost to an 'alien Western' individualistic culture (Berns McGown 1999).

In addition, the women in these groups aim to recreate the form of existence the family had back home, and therefore they create groups to bargain both individually and collectively with men (Ballard 1982). Therefore, they live in self-segregated communities, they do not speak English, and they use their native languages to communicate with their husbands, children, and other family members in the UK and in their countries of origin (Kelly 2017).

The literature makes tentative suggestions that onward migrants with dual citizenship may be less emotionally and politically attached to their host countries than mono-national immigrants (Yanasmayan 2015). However, the male participants in this study, by contrast, continued to use their voting power in three countries simultaneously: in the UK, because they are Commonwealth citizens; in Italy; and in Pakistan. Some similar patterns were noted in Jamal and Chapman's (2000) interviews with Pakistani migrant-community members living in Bradford, a city where successive generations of migrant Pakistani groups have become established.

Implication study

Theoretically this study contributes to the onward migration literature through the identification of how mobility and changes of situation of 'dominance and subordination may influence emotional practice', and how emotional practice affects men and women (Svašek 2010; Tsujimoto 2016).

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Both genders suffer in the same way for leaving their country, but women find themselves still living in subordination to the husband without being able to share possible problems with the family. We contribute to the onward migration literature by developing the four interlinked stages model to the onward migration of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis living in the North of England in the UK.

The findings also identified their wishes, plans and motivations to reach their destination and fulfil their dream. Furthermore, it identified differences in gender motivations when addressing ongoing migration, which is lacking in the extant literature. Another contribution of this paper is its consideration of the subtle power of women, showing how the women from South Asian countries have contributed to encourage final decisions of the participants' stages of migration. This finding extends the onward migration literature, and the four interlinked stage model can be used by researchers to conduct further studies in onward migration and for academic teaching.

The findings have highlighted the differences in the motivations and priorities of the men and women who participated. Policymakers will benefit from the study when developing policies for Italian onward migrants in the North of England to design appropriate training and socio-economic support. New generations may develop the ability to communicate with residents contributing to the elimination of self-segregation and encouraging full integration into society at large.

Although this study has strived to cover several aspects of the onward migration of the two ethnics groups, there were areas within the staged approach that need further study. The differences between the satisfaction levels of Bangladeshi and Pakistani men and women who have migrated to the North of England in comparison to those who have migrated to London (Della Puppa 2018) and whether they were able to fulfil their dream. Potentially negative aspects of the dream destination, which could not be achieved in this study due to the short duration of participants' period of residence is another area to be explored. Also, political power that is obtained with dual nationality along with the levels of remittance by migrants to their countries of origin should be studied within these specific communities.

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