Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis investigates the interrelationships among three broad concepts: place, identity and discourse. I approach this by assuming that the relationships between place and identity are articulated through discourse, since places are given meanings and identity through discourse and these place-making activities both shape and are shaped by social identities, which are also constructed to a large degree in and through discourse. These interrelationships are complex and also contextually dependent. The broad social context within which I explore them is the contemporary trend of lifestyle migration. In this introductory chapter, I start by explaining the broad context, the scope and the rationale for choosing the research topic. I also begin to sketch out the theoretical underpinnings of the main concepts and to explain how I understand their relationships to be articulated. I then present my overall objectives and give a brief introduction to the methodological framework underlying the thesis, before introducing the research questions and providing an overview of the structure and organisation of the thesis.

1.1 Research context

Lifestyle migration is a growing phenomenon which is very different from more traditional migration patterns, since is not motivated by economic hardship. Lifestyle migrants are not post-industrial migrants seeking employment in a more de-regulated and flexible labour market, nor are they part of the transnational flows of highly mobile corporate and intellectual elites (for if work is involved, it is rather a means to an end). The most useful definition that I have found to date is that they are "relatively affluent individuals moving either part-time or full-time, permanently or temporarily, to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009: 621).

The direction of movement, which can be described as predominantly north-south, runs counter to what have been identified as the typical migration flows around the world (see, for example, Castles & Miller, 2003; Papastergiadis, 2000). So-called economic migrants, for instance, have generally moved northwards from less

developed countries to places seen as offering better employment opportunities. Within Europe, during the second half of the twentieth century, huge numbers of migrants left southern European countries and moved north in search of work, or were even actively recruited by northern European governments.[1] Since the late 1980s, however, increasing numbers of people from the north of Europe are moving south[2] in search of a different lifestyle.

Much of the growing sociological body of work on lifestyle migration has been concerned with exploring the practices and identities of such migrants, within a framework that emphasises the quest for a better way of life. When considered from this perspective, it may well be viewed as an a-political expression of individual lifestyle practices, albeit within the paradigm of privileged forms of mobility. Although my own research also explores this aspect, my overall research interest takes on board the perspective of local place. Lifestyle migration has inevitable impacts on local places, particularly in destination places that are attracting increasing numbers of such migrants. The case of Spain stands out as a warning as to what can happen when tourism-related forms of migration are allowed, and even actively encouraged, to develop unchecked by national and regional policy makers. Although studies by Spanish academics have pointed to situations of environmental unsustainability, increasing difficulties with managing public resources and the problems associated with excessive economic dependence on the activities associated with 'residential tourism' (Mantecón, 2010), this type of migration is legitimated by discourses in the public sphere that define it as an essentially tourism - and thus economically beneficial – phenomenon (Mazón et al., 2009; Mantecón, 2010). My concerns, therefore, in investigating the relationships between place and identity in the context of lifestyle migration, are a) to explore how lifestyle migrants position themselves (and others) in relation to local places; b) how lifestyle migrants are positioned by discourses in the public sphere and c) how these positionings index broader socio-cultural and ideological values.

[1] For example, the *Gastarbeiterprogramm* (guest worker programme) in Germany.

[2] More recently the flow has also moved eastwards, as lifestyle migrants are attracted by the new possibilities opening up in Eastern Europe. This movement also has its counter-flow, as migrant workers from the east of Europe seek work in the west in increasing numbers.

In order to do this, I take a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach which aims at linking micro- and macro-levels of analysis to suggest how lifestyle migrant identity constructions may ultimately impact on the politics of local places. Whilst the politics of place can be understood and explored in a variety of ways, I focus on how particular representations of place are established through discourses that simultaneously construct identities for both places and the people who inhabit them. This approach therefore investigates the ways in which 'legitimate' collective identities are discursively shaped in relation to places; in other words, which social groups can make claims to 'belong' in a place and on what basis these claims are made. The idea of power geometries (Massey, 1993, 1999) encapsulates the ways in which different social groups are positioned in distinct ways in relation to the flows and interconnections that characterise both the globalised world and local places. What I want to suggest is that the exercise of power relations which shape power geometries in particular places is, to some extent, located in the discursive practices that simultaneously constitute and are constituted by social identities and the identities of places.

1.1.1 The scope of the study

As the scale of the phenomenon of lifestyle migration has become so vast, both geographically and in terms of sheer volume of numbers,[3] to make my study manageable its scope had to be fairly narrowly defined. I opted to delineate its 'boundaries' in terms of geographical location to a specific area of the Algarve in Portugal. This research site is further described in chapter 2 and chapter section 4.4 of this thesis. The social group that forms the population of my study is defined in terms of nationality (which is itself a partially 'located' categorisation). I selected the British because they represent the largest national group of lifestyle migrants in this area. My choices were also partly informed by my own 'positioning' in the research,

[3] To illustrate, a recent Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) report on emigration from Britain (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006) found that the escalation of emigration to European destinations can be attributed to "the growth in importance of lifestyle as the predominant or even the only factor that determines emigrant behaviour" (ibid.: 40). Spain is clearly the most popular destination; the IPPR estimate that almost one million Britons are living either long-term or part of the year in Spain, with a further 400,000 living in France, Cyprus, Italy and Portugal.

namely that I am also a British migrant currently living in the place that constitutes the research site.

1.2 Rationale for the study

The reasons for selecting a research topic often emerge from a range of sources, including academic and personal interests, professional motives and political agendas. My own reasons stem from a combination of these. In this section, I outline the rationale in terms of academic research in the social sciences. Later in the chapter (section 1.6), I further clarify my personal stance in terms of the research topic.

1.2.1 Why lifestyle migration?

Although migration is a phenomenon that has been present throughout the history of humankind, the scale, complexity and impacts of migration in the present era of relentless mobilities have never before been witnessed (Urry, 2007). Migration, "in its endless motion", now pervades almost all aspects of the contemporary world (Papastergiadis, 2000: 1), reshaping societies and politics around the globe (Castles & Miller, 2003: 7). Many social theorists have noted how contemporary forms of migration are inextricably linked to globalisation processes. Giddens, for example, views globalisation as essentially a dialectical phenomenon, in that what he calls 'time-space distanciation'[4] is producing a constant interaction between the local and the global (Giddens, 1991: 22), leading to "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990: 64). It is inevitable that migration will impact on both the intensification of social relations and the linking of distant localities, just as some of the other conditions that are creating globalisation (e.g. technological advances in transport and communications networks) will impact upon migration. Bauman has also described migration as being constitutive of the contemporary world, a defining feature of the "new liquid modern permanently transient pattern of life" (Bauman,

[4] Also referred to as 'time-space compression' by other theorists, for example David Harvey (1989; 1993).

2007: 48). Likewise, Appadurai (1990; 1996) views migration as a central feature of contemporary life and as one of the primary contributing sources of the massive flows of people which create dynamic, shifting and complex 'ethnoscapes', or landscapes of people.

The interconnected processes of globalisation and migration are thus compelling a rethinking of conceptual frameworks for understanding such facets of the social world as citizenship, identity and belonging (Papastergiadis, 2000: 2). In a world where globalisation processes and time-space distanciation have led to a growing sense that all places in the world are accessible to many of its citizens simultaneously, it makes sense to ask about the relationships between local place and the individual and collective identities of those who are 'on the move' in ways that are characteristic of an increasingly globalised society. I believe it is crucial for social scientific researchers to explore the relationships between the local and the global in order to better understand the contemporary social world in terms of social relations and their underlying power relations. The global-local dialectic (Amin, 1997) suggests a way of looking at the social world that rejects the view of the local and the global as being entirely distinct, separable spheres of social organization and action. According to Amin (ibid.), we should consider them to be interactively and relationally bound to one another. The local is therefore not transcended by globalisation, but needs to be understood through the lens of global relations (Savage et al., 2005: 3).

A good starting point for this is to look at the effects of global (and globalising) phenomena in specific local contexts (Mitsikopoulou, 2008). The global phenomenon of international lifestyle migration in the specific local context of British lifestyle migration to the Algarve is an example of this. The typical discursive representation of this form of migration (fuelled by television shows and other forms of the mass media including lifestyle magazines and the internet) suggests that it is consumption-led, tourism-related and leisure-based. Buying one's own 'property' seems to be an essential part of this type of migration process, stemming from an ideology that associates the concept of 'home' and 'belonging' with land and property ownership and thus staking a claim to place. The favoured destinations are typically areas in southern Europe that are already associated with and developed for

tourism and leisure, and which are perceived as affording the more relaxed and sociable lifestyle that northern Europeans often associate with southern European cultures. In sum, international lifestyle migration is often represented as a form of escape, a 'living of the dream', the search for 'a place in the sun'. It could therefore be argued to be located within late modern, global, elitist and borderless social practices.

However, lifestyle migrants are people who have made a conscious choice not only about *how* to live but also about *where* to live (Hoey, 2005, 2009). Whilst the lifestyle orientations and motivations of these migrants may differ, perhaps the one unifying factor of this broadly defined social group is their belief that a *change of residential place* will lead not simply to better opportunities in life, but rather to what is perceived as a better and more fulfilling way of life. Fundamental to the concept of lifestyle migration, then, is the interrelationship of lifestyle and place.

1.2.2 Why place?

The recent academic interest in place has emerged from the so-called 'spatial turn' that originated in postmodern theory and has been felt across the social sciences (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 210-11). On the one hand, it is grounded in an attempt by geographers to redress the imbalance caused by the "privileged position" that time and history have held in the social sciences (Soja, 1989: 1). On the other hand, the contemporary world can no longer ignore space-time compression and this naturally leads to questions as to the nature of space and space-time (re)configurations (Harvey, 1989). The absolutist understanding of space has been rapidly overshadowed by the relativist view, which explicitly assumes space/place as being phenomena that are dynamically and subjectively constructed by human agents in a variety of ways, and as such are filled with politics and ideology (Soja, 1989). This view, which is far removed from the more traditional view of places as static, objective, neutral arenas in which human activities take place, begs the investigation of how places are not only constructed by social practices, but also impact on them. In addition, from the growing interest in spatiality, a 'new mobilities' research paradigm is emerging (Sheller & Urry, 2006) which encompasses studies of migration and tourism. It has been argued that in contemporary Western

societies there is "a compulsion to mobility" (Urry, 1999/2003). Thus, the fluid and shifting nature of places has to be seen in relation to mobility practices. In a place such as the Algarve, the effects of mass tourism and the related trend of lifestyle migration have had immense physical, economic and socio-cultural impacts. However, the focus of this thesis is not on these impacts on place *per se*, but rather on how the place impacts upon the social identities of these 'new residents' and vice versa.

1.2.3 Why identity?

'Identity' has become a keyword of the contemporary era and is now one of the unifying frameworks of intellectual, political and media-based debates (Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2003: 206). The intensified contact between different communities and cultures which has been brought about by globalisation and mass mobilities has given rise to a growing interdisciplinary interest in identities and how they are shaped, developed and negotiated (De Fina, 2006). Furthermore, with the influence of social constructionist theory, places are now seen as being not only constructed *by* people, but also as constitutive *of* people. 'Who we are' is inevitably linked to 'where we are', as well as where we have been and where we are going (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 210). In other words, there is a strong link between places and social identities. This is often apparent, for example, in place attachments which (among other things) constitute the notion of 'belonging'.

Despite (or perhaps because of) escalating mobilities and the sense of diminishing spatial barriers in the world, place-bound identities seem to have become more rather than less important (Harvey, 1993: 4). Yet although attachment to place "remains remarkably obdurate" (Savage et al., 2005: 1), the attachments to places that constitute a sense of belonging are likely to be very different in the late modern world than they were in previous times. Belonging is no longer necessarily so much an attribute of being 'born and bred' in a place, but can arise when a chosen place of residence is perceived as valuable due to its congruence with lifestyle and life-story requirements as well as through its connection to other significant places (ibid.: 55). This is the notion of 'elective belonging', to which I will return in chapter 3.

In sum, although identities often contain important references to place and incorporate spatial trajectories (Blommaert, 2005: 222), studies of the relationships between place and identity remain scarce in academic research in general and in research employing discourse analytical methods in particular.

1.2.4 Why discourse?

It is increasingly being argued that it is in large part through discourse that places are imaginatively constituted by and constitutive of 'who we are' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). This argument is framed in the recent proliferation of academic work which emphasises the centrality of discourse in the study of identity. Despite the differences in approaches and methodologies, the majority of researchers who have contributed to this body of work are unanimous on at least one basic point: the idea that the 'selves' we present to others through discourse are changeable, strategic and jointly constructed in social interaction (Johnstone, 2008: 155). Like much of this work on discourse and identity, my approach is also primarily aligned with this general social constructionist perspective which makes the assumption that identity is a process that is embedded in social practices, including discursive practices. I should, however, state that the variety of social constructionism that underpins my work is what might be termed its 'weaker' or more moderate form (Fairclough, 2003) since I do not want to claim that identity is *entirely* discursively constructed (nor, for that matter, is the identity of a place). I do, however, take on board the basic ramifications of this anti-essentialist view of identity; that people can display (and attribute to others) multiple identities, and that these identities are shaped, negotiated and enacted in and through discourse for particular audiences in particular contexts, according to what the participants believe to be appropriate or relevant, and/or according to how they wish to portray themselves and others.

1.3 A working definition of discourse

For any study that claims to make discourse an object of study and/or to employ discourse analysis as a methodology, it is fundamental to have a clear

understanding of what discourse actually is. In recent years, discourse has become a core concept not only in linguistics but in numerous other disciplines of the social sciences and humanities. However, the concept of discourse is by no means straightforward; indeed as Titscher et al. (2000: 25) point out, "the notion of discourse (…) integrates a whole palette of different meanings that often seem to be contradictory or mutually exclusive". Although a precise, consensual definition of the notion of discourse is therefore not feasible, given the range of ways in which it is employed and the many dimensions and fundamental notions which underlie it (van Dijk, 2009), it is nonetheless important to clarify how the term discourse will be used in this thesis.

Firstly, a word about how the concept of *discourse* differs from *language*. In very simplistic terms, 'language' (as an uncountable noun) encompasses all systems of human communication which evolve through the structured arrangement of sounds, written symbols and other signals such as gestures. However, it is difficult to conceptualize language as an object, or a body of knowledge, since there is irrefutable evidence that it is a fluid, dynamic process, "embedded in and inseparable from the rest of the process of human social life" (Johnstone, 2008: 268). Indeed, the (broadly defined) functionalist paradigm of linguistics, which emerged from influential writings of sociologists, linguistic anthropologists and philosophers (e.g. Austin, 1962; Goffman, 1959; Gumpertz, 1982; Hymes, 1972; Searle, 1969), views language primarily as socially-based systems of communication. Whilst I take such theories of language on board in this research, I have also been influenced by cognitive linguistics, for I think it is clear that not only social processes but also cognitive processes govern language use (see chapter 5 for more on this). This also has repercussions on my understanding of discourse, as I will clarify below.

Schiffrin (1994) notes that there are two fundamental definitions of discourse prevalent in linguistics, deriving from the formalist and functionalist paradigms of linguistics. The former considers discourse to refer to *language above the sentence or above the clause*,[5] and the analytical focus is on how different units of language operate in relation to each other. One of the major shortcomings of this approach is

[5] It should be noted that, in its most narrowly defined form (i.e. Chomskian linguistics), the formalist paradigm is not concerned with discourse at all.

the indifference to *social context*. If discourse is assumed to be interdependent with social life, a more functional approach to discourse therefore focuses on *language in use* (i.e. 'real', or 'naturally-occurring', language used in 'real' social world situations) and views language as *socially situated*. This view of discourse means that attention is given to the situation in which and the genres through which a communicative event takes place, as well as to the surrounding co-text. In some forms of discourse analysis, such as discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and others employing conversation analysis methods, the reading of context does not go much beyond this, since these approaches assume that identities are emergent properties of talk-in-interaction (Wooffitt, 2005). The main criticisms of these approaches, however, are that they ignore cognitive processes and again, that the socio-cultural, political and historical contexts in which any communicative event is inevitably situated are not made explicit enough or even simply disregarded.

My own working definition of 'discourse' follows the general concept favoured by those who adopt a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, in which discourse is taken to be not merely *language in use* but also a form of *social practice*. Social practices articulate discourse with other, non-discursive parts of social life (Fairclough, 2003: 25). For example, as we shall see, the social practice of place-making involves the articulation of particular discursive representations of a place with its spatial structure and organization, the activities performed in it, and so on. This means that there is always some kind of dialectical relationship between any discursive event and the social and material world in which it is embedded. In other words, discourse is socially constitutive as well as being socially conditioned – through a variety of discursive practices, including the production, distribution and reception of texts,[6] it (re)produces and shapes situations, objects of knowledge, social identities and relationships between people as well as being (re)produced and shaped by them (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258).

However, I also follow the view that there is no 'direct link' between society and discourse (van Dijk, 2009), hence the relationship is mediated by cognition,

[6] Texts are taken here to be the "concrete instantiations of discourse", including bounded utterances, written documents and graphic images. Thus, each of the research interviews carried out for this research project is considered as an individual text, represented by my written transcription of it.

including social cognition. As I understand it, then, discourse is best summed up as being a "multidimensional social phenomenon" (van Dijk, 2009: 67) in that it is at once a linguistic object (but might also comprise other forms of semiosis besides language, such as visual images), a form of social action (it serves some social purpose or function), a form of social interaction (discourse presupposes producers and receivers, addressers and addressees); a communicative event (from which a text is produced), a social practice and a cultural product. Finally, discourse reflects, reinforces and modifies mental models, including context models (van Dijk, 2008a) and socio-cognitive representations (Koller, forthcoming).

1.3.1 'Discourse', 'discourses' and 'repertoires'

Most CDA researchers distinguish between 'discourse' and 'a discourse' (i.e. a count noun). The most salient defining feature of a discourse, according to Wodak (2001a), is its macro-topic. However, there are generally a number of simultaneously existing discourses on a particular topic, which represent and interpret 'immigration', for instance, from different times, places, social realms and perspectives, and so *discourses* can be differentiated by pre- and/or post-modification (Koller, forthcoming), for example the 'rightwing discourse on immigration in post-Thatcher Britain'. Van Leeuwen (2009: 144, original emphasis) suggests that discourses are "*socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality*" which individuals draw upon in order to represent or interpret that aspect of reality. Different discourses on a particular topic therefore work in different ways to make sense of an aspect of the social world, by including, emphasizing or excluding different things, and thus serving different interests. Although a discourse might therefore be thought of as a relatively coherent way of interpreting an aspect of the social world, it is important to state that a discourse, as a semiotic entity, is dynamic, open and often hybrid. As an analytical construct, its delineation always depends on the analyst's perspective (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

A discourse is in many ways similar to what is known in discursive psychology as an *interpretative repertoire* (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). As conversational resources, interpretative repertoires are relatively coherent ways of talking about the world, shared by particular social groups or communities which are drawn upon

in everyday interaction (Wetherell, 1998). They can consist of arguments, metaphors and other expressions that are often used together to describe particular types of events, behaviour, or groups of people (Augoustinos et al. 2006: 312). Conversations are generally made up of a 'patchwork of quotations' from various interpretative repertoires (Edley, 2001), which stresses not only the flexibility and creatively of the 'dance' that is face-to-face interaction (ibid.) but also the unavoidably intertextual and interdiscursive nature of interaction. Despite obvious similarities in the broad senses in which they are used, I find it useful to consider a repertoire to be distinct from a discourse in that a repertoire generally consists of a smaller unit of situated language-in-use. A discourse might thus be thought of as consisting of a series of (more or less) ideologically coherent repertoires on a particular topic.[7] In this thesis, I use the term *repertoire*[8] to mean an identifiable unit of discourse which is one of the building blocks of a particular discourse.

1.4 General aims of the research

The ultimate aims of my research are three-fold. Firstly, and most importantly, I aim to contribute to the field of applied linguistics by developing an understanding of how place-identity is discursively constructed. This is both a theoretical and a methodological aim, since I draw upon several distinct theoretical concepts to explain place-identity as well as a combination of linguistic theories to operationalise the research. Although I take an overall critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, I have developed a methodology which incorporates positioning theory/analysis to explore how places and place-identity are discursively constructed in interaction. I apply this to spoken data gathered from research interviews with British migrants in the Algarve, by looking at the linguistic resources that speakers use to position themselves and others in relation to places, as well as particular social groups that inhabit these places. I also consider how these speakers are already positioned at the outset of the communicative event (that is, the research interview),

[7] Discourses tend to become more ideologically coherent the more narrowly they are defined, i.e. the more they are pre- or post-modified (Koller, personal communication).

[8] I am deliberately not using the term '*interpretative* repertoire', for although I acknowledge the influence of the field of discursive psychology on many counts, its overall anti-cognitivist stance is not compatible with the theoretical framework I use in my research.

which of the range of positions made available to them they take up (or not), and what the effects of this are in terms of place-identity.

A secondary aim comes from the social context of the research; namely, to contribute to the body of knowledge about the contemporary social phenomenon of lifestyle migration. So far, this phenomenon has been studied almost exclusively within sociology, and I thus aim to cross disciplinary borders and to make a contribution from a different academic and methodological perspective. Interdisciplinary research is highly topical within the broad arena of the social sciences, but in my view there is still relatively little truly multidisciplinary research being undertaken. My research in fact draws upon many disciplines besides sociology, as will become clear throughout the thesis.

The final general aim is to expand the applications of critical discourse analysis. CDA first developed as a means of unpacking the role of discourse in the (re)production, legitimisation or challenging of power abuse or domination by focusing on an identifiable social problem (Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 2001b) such as racism. I should make it clear that I do not think I have 'identified' a social problem as such but rather I focus on a social phenomenon that has the *potential* to create social problems or tensions by its capacity to establish unequal social (and, by extension, *power*) relations. As Wodak and Meyer (2009: 2) put it, "any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted". Furthermore, and unlike much CDA inspired work, I do not undertake this research from the specific perspective of an oppressed or disadvantaged social group; in other words, I do not have an emancipatory agenda. Rather, I am investigating how 'privileged' identities are constructed through discourse. This is a perspective which has been largely ignored to date in CDA,[9] but again is important from the point of view of understanding how inequalities in social relations are (re-) produced in and through discourse.

[9] Exceptions include research on corporate and professional identities (e.g. Koller, 2004, 2005, 2009; Wagner & Wodak, 2006).

1.5 Methodological issues

1.5.1 Doing critical discourse analysis

It would be fair to say that the overall methodological approach that has informed this research project stems from critical discourse analysis. This designation is generally used as a unifying term for research that seeks not merely to describe discourse structures and patterns, but to interpret and explain them in relation to their context, to social theories and to questions of power and power relations. However, whilst it is certainly convenient, and indeed fairly customary, to summarise the overarching methodological approach to a research project as being that of critical discourse analysis, simply claiming to take a CDA approach is somewhat problematic. The main problems facing a novice researcher are that CDA does not have a specific, consistently used theoretical framework (Weiss & Wodak, 2003), nor is it a method that can be directly applied to a research project (Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 2001b). Van Dijk (2001b) views CDA rather as a critical perspective or **'**position' for doing research and has recently argued (van Dijk, 2009) that 'Critical Discourse Studies' is a more appropriate term. Furthermore, as he (and others) have long argued, CDA *should* be essentially diverse and multidisciplinary (van Dijk, 2001, 2009; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It is in light of this that I defend the need for the interdisciplinary, perhaps even eclectic, theoretical underpinnings of the framework for this research. However, I believe such a framework needs a clearly defined and adequately delineated methodology in order to be able to focus on the specific aims of the research without becoming 'lost' in either theory or data.

I began this research project with a strong affinity to what I saw as the 'discipline' of CDA. Yet after reading key texts by the 'original CDA group' of scholars which emerged in the 1990s (see Wodak & Meyer, 2009, for an account of the development of CDA), I became increasingly aware that CDA is an umbrella term for a range of methodologies with differing theoretical backgrounds and ramifications. Since I am primarily concerned with analysing the identity work done in spoken interaction, I assumed from the beginning that social cognition would play a fundamental role in the theoretical framework of my research. Social cognition

research, as a branch of social psychology, addresses the question as to how people make sense of themselves and others in the social world, and is clearly linked to social identities.

The only CDA scholar of the original CDA group who has taken social cognition specifically on board is Teun van Dijk, claiming it as the 'interface' between discourse and society. This distinguishes his approach from other CDA work, since it emphasizes the value he places on the "fundamental importance of the study of *cognition* (and not only that of society) in the critical analysis of discourse, communication and interaction" (van Dijk, 2009: 64, original emphasis). This requires the study of, *inter alia*, mental representations, the processes of language users when they participate in verbal interaction, the knowledge, ideologies and beliefs shared by social groups, and an account of how cognitive phenomena are related to the structures of discourse, as well as societal structures. He argues that it can only be through the integration of these accounts that the analyst can aim to describe, explain and critique the social object under study.

Despite the debt that I must acknowledge to van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, what I find to be missing from his work is a workable model of how his methodological framework can be applied to spoken data. I have therefore incorporated a further dimension to my own methodological framework, which originates from positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999a; van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) – and which I believe is highly germane in the investigation of the discursive construction of identities in talk.

1.5.2 Positioning theory as a methodological tool

The concept of positioning assumes that in conversation, identity is socially constructed at several different but interacting levels. These levels can be best viewed as a set of relationships: between the speaker(s) and what is being said; between the participants in the face-to-face interaction; between the self and the other; between the different 'characters' represented in the talk; and ultimately through relationships to dominant ideologies, social practices, institutions and underlying power structures (De Fina et al. 2006). Positioning thus conceptualises individuals as agents who draw on linguistic resources to take up conversational

positions both for themselves and others (although not necessarily intentionally, consciously or even coherently) that index particular socio-cultural perspectives.

The term 'positioning' is presented by its social psychologist proponents as a spatial metaphor; that is, as a means of 'locating' people in conversations in such a way that suggests constant movement, in the same way that people are constantly moving and re-positioning themselves in physical space. This makes it particularly appealing for my study, for I want to apply it not only to the way in which speakers position themselves and others in terms of social group membership, but also to how they position themselves and others in relation to *places,* both metaphorically and literally. People employ particular discourse strategies to align or oppose themselves to places, just as they would to other people.

On the other hand, as I have already stated, I do not see identity as being a process which is exclusively created and managed in interaction. Positioning theory allows for this perspective, because agency is seen as bi-directional in that speakers are able to position themselves (since they are constructive agents who can choose the means by which they project their identities), but they are also positioned by historical and socio-cultural forces and dominant discourses (De Fina et al., 2006). The notion that speakers are already positioned by the broader macro-contexts in which communication takes place means that the analyst has to pay attention to the dominant discourses and ideologies to which they may be indexing their positions in talk.

1.5.3 Bringing context(s) into the methodology

Critical approaches to discourse analysis invariably call for a close examination of the *context(s)* in which discourse occurs. In CDA, context is generally viewed as being something akin to Blommaert's (2005: 251) definition: "the totality of conditions in which discourse is being produced, circulated and interpreted". There are different levels of context, occurring at what might be summed up as the macro- and micro-levels of discourse. I find the most practical approach to context to be that of the discourse-historical approach (DHA) developed by Ruth Wodak and her colleagues, which considers four levels of context: (1) the immediate linguistic, text-internal co-text; (2) the local, situational, interactional context in which a discursive

event takes place; (3) the intertextual and interdiscursive references and relationships within and between texts; and (4) the historical, social and political backgrounds in which discursive events are embedded (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2008; Wodak et al. 1999). The DHA model therefore assumes that the discourse analyst necessarily oscillates between these different levels of context, since they are dialectically related.

1.5.4 The 'critical' part of doing CDA

In CDA, being 'critical' connotes 'critique' (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 14), in the broad sense that entails the linking of social and political engagement with a sociologically informed construction of society (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) in order to make the interconnectedness of aspects of social life more transparent. For the discourse analyst, this involves embedding the data in the social world, whilst maintaining some objective distance from it, not taking things for granted, and being self-reflective as a researcher (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Whilst it is no longer necessarily the case that CDA should be driven by an emancipatory political agenda (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), I agree that CDA researchers should at the very least recognise that their work is driven by implicit social and political motives and from an ethical point of view they are thus obliged to make their position, values and research interests as transparent as possible (ibid.). The following section therefore further clarifies my motives for undertaking this study.

1.6 My own 'positioning' in this thesis

To make my personal links with my research more explicit, I will briefly draw on the insider/outsider dialectic which plays such a crucial role in this thesis (see chapter section 3.4.1 for more on this). In many senses, I am an 'insider' in the place that is both my research site and one of the components of the research object. I have lived and worked in the Algarve for over twenty years. I speak fluent Portuguese and feel in many ways that I have successfully integrated into the local community. On the other hand, I will always be to some extent an 'outsider', since I am British and only moved to the Algarve as an adult. I therefore inevitably see

myself (and am positioned by others) as a 'foreigner' in many respects. However, this means that I am also an 'insider' in the community (broadly defined) that is made up of British migrants to the Algarve. Although I hesitate to call myself a 'lifestyle migrant' since one of the main reasons that I have stayed in this area is my work, if I am honest I should state that I did arrive as a tourist and originally decided to move to Portugal simply because I liked the place, the people and the lifestyle potential. As such, my story is very similar to many others. However, as an academic researcher, I also inevitably position myself/am positioned as being 'outside' the social group I have chosen to study.

One of the consequences of being an insider/outsider has been that I have spent a great deal of time observing the phenomenon of lifestyle migration from both perspectives, which has given me invaluable insights but has also raised many questions. For instance, I have wondered how it is possible for so many British migrants to spend so much time living in the Algarve without learning the Portuguese language, without making any attempt to integrate with the 'host' community, in fact without showing any interest whatsoever in so many aspects of the place: the local culture, politics, even the geography. How do such people construct a sense of 'belonging' in place? Moreover, given their apparent indifference to their hosts, why are they so accepted by them? What effect does their presence have on the politics of place? To what extent might this particular form of lifestyle migration be equated with neo-colonialism? Carrying out this research has caused me to reflect further on such questions, although they do not constitute research questions as such. Whilst I cannot claim to have discovered any 'answers', I do believe that I have at least shed a little more light on these issues. I therefore return to these questions in the final chapter of the thesis in my discussion of the findings.

1.7 Introducing the research questions

To go back to the departure point of this thesis, the overarching question that underpins my research is: How are place and identity linked discursively? In order to begin to answer this question, I needed to consider these general theoretical questions: *How are places constructed and given meaning and identity through*

discourse? How do discursive constructions of place contribute to the construction of individual and collective identities? How is place-identity situated discursively within broader ideologies? The first two questions address the discursive practices of place-making and constructing place-identity respectively (see chapter 3). Whilst it might be analytically useful to separate them, they are in fact mutually dependent, since by the very discursive act of place-making, one is invariably positioning oneself and/or others in relation to that place and thus indexing something about social identity. The final theoretical question follows on from the first two, for the detailed examination of how places are constructed discursively and how this contributes to social identities will ultimately lead to wider ideologies.

In order to explore the data, however, I had to formulate more specific research questions, bearing in mind the socio-geographical context and the specific interactional context of the data. Therefore, to investigate how British lifestyle migrants (in the 'Golden Triangle' area of the Algarve) discursively construct place-identity, I formulated the following set of research questions from the perspective of using positioning analysis as a means of investigating the discursive construction of place-identity in talk. Thus, from the data gathered through interviews with British lifestyle migrants in the Algarve:

(1) How do speakers position themselves and others in relation to place(s), both individually and collectively?

(2) How do speakers use these positionings to construct modes of belonging?

(3) How do these positionings index lived ideologies and contribute to the politics of place?

Since I am also interested in the ways in which lifestyle migrants are already positioned by discourse in the public sphere,[10] an additional research question is:

(4) Which of the collective positions made available to them do speakers take up and what is the effect of this in terms of place-identity?

[10] I am using 'public sphere' here in the broad sense of "that part of life in which one interacts with others and with society at large" (Koller & Wodak, 2008: 1). As first theorised by Habermas (1962), the public sphere encompasses a wide range of meanings, but importantly for my research, it implies, as a spatial concept, "the social sites or arenas where meanings are articulated, distributed and negotiated" by institutions, agencies and practices (Koller & Wodak, 2008: 1).

The means by which I operationalise these research questions are detailed in chapter 5.

1.8 Overview of the structure of the thesis

In this introductory chapter I have outlined the topic, scope and rationale for this thesis, as well as my overall objectives and research questions. I have also provided a brief summary of the theoretical-methodological frameworks underlying the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides more detailed background context for the research by further describing and explaining lifestyle migration. It also sets out the more specific socio-geographical context of British lifestyle migration to the Algarve. **Chapter 3** has two main purposes: firstly to discuss the theoretical constructs of identity and place and their articulation in place-identity, and secondly to review the literature on how place-identity has been investigated empirically. **Chapter 4** is a somewhat hybrid chapter, in that it discusses the research orientations, design and methodology and then goes on to present the research site and the results of a questionnaire survey I designed as exploratory research to 'profile' lifestyle migrants in the Algarve. In **Chapter 5**, I discuss the methods and procedures used for gathering the research interview data, and then detail the operationalisation of the research questions. **Chapters 6, 7** and **8** are the data analysis chapters, where I present and discuss the findings of various types of analyses I carried out on the interview data. Finally, **Chapter 9** brings the findings of the analysis together in a final discussion in order to present my conclusions. I outline the limitations and the contributions of the thesis, and suggest some further lines of research.

Chapter 2
Lifestyle Migration[11]

This chapter begins with a brief review of the literature to date on lifestyle migration and the identification of a research gap. I then present a multi-level model for explaining lifestyle migration, which I have extended by showing how a discourse analytical approach can be applied to studies which seek to explain migration patterns. I then go on to describe lifestyle migration in the Algarve in relation to the model and also in terms of its links with the tourism and leisure sectors in the region.

2.1 Studies of lifestyle migration

Lifestyle migration has been the object of relatively little academic study to date, particularly within the migration studies literature, which has largely ignored the migration of affluent people by its focus on non-privileged migrants (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Fechter, 2007a). However, some researchers, notably sociologists, social anthropologists and geographers, have begun to explore the trend in different locations and among different social groups around the world.[12] Within Europe, the first empirical studies focused on International Retirement Migration (IRM) to southern European destinations (e.g. Ackers & Dwyer, 2004; Casado-Diaz et al., 2004; Gustafson, 2001, 2008; Huber & O'Reilly, 2004; King et al., 2000; Rodriguez et al., 1998; Rodriguez et al., 2005; Warnes, 1991). More recently, a growing number of studies have explored the behaviour and experiences of other lifestyle migrant groups, since there is increasing evidence to suggest that the phenomenon is by no means restricted to retirees. This includes studies of the British in France (e.g. Benson, 2009, 2010; Bruillon, 2007; Geoffroy, 2005, 2007a; Puzzo, 2007; Smallwood, 2007) and the British in the south of Spain (notably O'Reilly, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004,

[11] A summarised version of this chapter has been published in Torkington (2010).

[12] See, for example, Sato (2001) for an ethnography of Japanese lifestyle migrants in Australia; Hoey (2005; 2009) for an account of lifestyle migration among Americans with successful corporate careers who relocate to rural areas in search of 'the good life'; Fechter (2007b) for Euro-American expatriates in Indonesia and McWatters' (2009) study of North American retirement communities in Panama.

2007a, 2007b, 2009a, 2009b). To date, however, there has been no empirical work on lifestyle migration conducted in the Algarve, with the exception of IRM studies (Williams et al. 2000; Williams & Patterson, 1998).

There is a general concern throughout this body of research with dimensions which impact on migrant identities, such as motivations for moving abroad, integration (or lack of it) into the wider host community, or lifestyle practices. Some of this research has been conducted by using quantitatively-driven survey methodologies, but many of the studies have taken a more ethnographic approach, often using research interviews as a means of collecting data and thus giving some prominence to the 'voices' of migrants. As Wodak (2008: 2) points out, the 'linguistic turn' in the social sciences means that there is a greater awareness of the importance of examining texts and discourse. Yet it has to be said that the majority of these studies do not analyse such data in a systematic way and, like so much qualitative research in the social sciences, continue to use de-contextualised data extracts to illustrate, validate or reject claims without any attention to the co-text and without providing a rigorous account of why particular extracts were selected (ibid.: 1). Some authors of the studies cited above have called for more attention to be paid to the discourse of lifestyle migrants. Bruillon (2007: 132), for example, claims that it is through an examination of their discourse that the "keys to understanding the mentalities" of this new group of migrants are to be found, yet he fails to engage in any systematic discourse analysis of the interviews he has collected. Indeed, I have been unable to locate any studies which pay detailed attention to the way in which lifestyle migrants construct identities, specifically place-identities, through language and discourse. It is this gap, therefore, that my research will take a first step towards addressing.

The following section provides a brief overview of a multi-level model for understanding the process of migration. I then show how it can be applied to explain how international lifestyle migration has been able to flourish in recent years. At the same time, I begin to sketch out how discourse analysis can be applied as a conceptual tool for exploring the phenomenon.

2.2 Explaining lifestyle migration: a multi-level model

In the field of migration studies, there have traditionally been two dominant - and in many ways conflicting - models of migration (Papastergiadis, 2000). On the one hand, there is the model which Papastergiadis (ibid.) terms the *structuralist political-economy perspective* or *centre-periphery model*, based on a Marxist view of capitalism as the driving force behind global migration. The main problem with this model is that it focuses its attention on macro-social factors and tends to ignore individual agency (ibid.). Furthermore, and importantly in view of the type of migration explored in this thesis, any model which is centred on economics does not account for why people migrate even when their current socio-economic situation is favourable.

In contrast, the *voluntarist push-pull model* sees individual agency as the driving force behind the rational, calculated decision to migrate (ibid.). The primary motivation is to improve one's economic situation, at once being 'pushed' away from the unfavourable conditions in the place of origin and 'pulled' towards the perceived economic opportunities of the destination place. Clearly, however, the push-pull factors alone are not sufficient to make migration a possibility for any individual; there must be mediating factors present that enable (or hinder) the decision, such as the freedom (or not) to cross borders as well as the material resources necessary to make such a move.

In short, the problem with these models is that by focusing on either macro- or micro-level analyses, they disregard the complexity of the migration process (Castles & Miller, 2003: 28). No single factor is ever enough to explain why people become migrants. Thus, in order to attempt to understand the various aspects of the migratory process we need to explore various intertwined levels, which I outline below.

Firstly, at the macro-level, we need to examine the social structures that have created the conditions whereby there might be a need or desire to leave a certain area and the opportunities provided by (or at least perceived in) other areas. Here we would need to examine the economic, political, geographical and historical contexts of the places of departure and destination, as well as the socio-cultural

settings and the large-scale institutional factors that impact on the flows of people across borders. It is also at the macro-level that the conditions for dominant discourses are created. The relationship between social structure and discourse is assumed by CDA scholars to be dialectical, so the prevalent social structures not only produce but are also shaped by discourses. For example, a combination of factors from the prevailing social structures lead to the (re)production of discourses that present certain types of migration as legitimate whilst others are not. These discourses, in turn, help to (re)produce the *status quo* of the social structures, via the discursive practices of the mass media, for example. This is something which I explore further in chapter 7 of this thesis.

At the micro-level of migration we need to examine how individual agency interacts with the macro-level structures and contexts outlined above. It is at the micro-level that migrants themselves construct their own versions of their migratory processes and migrant identities. The stories they tell about their experiences, for example, constitute texts which are informed by individual values, beliefs, needs, expectations, motivations, emotional reactions, feelings and so on. They are also linked to other texts through the process of intertextuality. I assume that the relationship between the macro-level context of society and the micro-level realization of individual texts is mediated by cognitive processes, including the formation of socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) (Koller, 2008a), for example of certain destination places. As these SCRs are the basis of collective forms of identities, it is crucial to consider how they operate at this micro-level along with individual agency.

Besides the macro- and micro-levels of the migration process, there is also what Faist (2000) has termed the 'crucial meso-level' of migration. To understand how the meso-level works involves exploring how networks and other links evolve and develop to facilitate (or even exploit) migration. I would also add to this meso-level the discursive practices surrounding migration, such as the ways in which discourses on particular forms of migration are (re)produced, distributed, received and appropriated through the mass media and other discursive practices that build discourses about place(s), such as place branding. This multi-level model of migration, which I have adapted from the model proposed by Faist (2000) is

represented in Figure 2.1 below. The diagram also shows how I have expanded the migration model to include the concepts of discourse and cognition. In considering discourse to be a form of social practice, it follows that discourse analysis also involves the consideration of macro-, meso- and micro-levels which account for the broad social contexts in which discourse is produced, discourse practices, and individual texts respectively (Koller, forthcoming). These different levels are necessarily mediated by cognitive processes (Koller, 2005, 2008b, forthcoming; van Dijk, 2006, 2009).

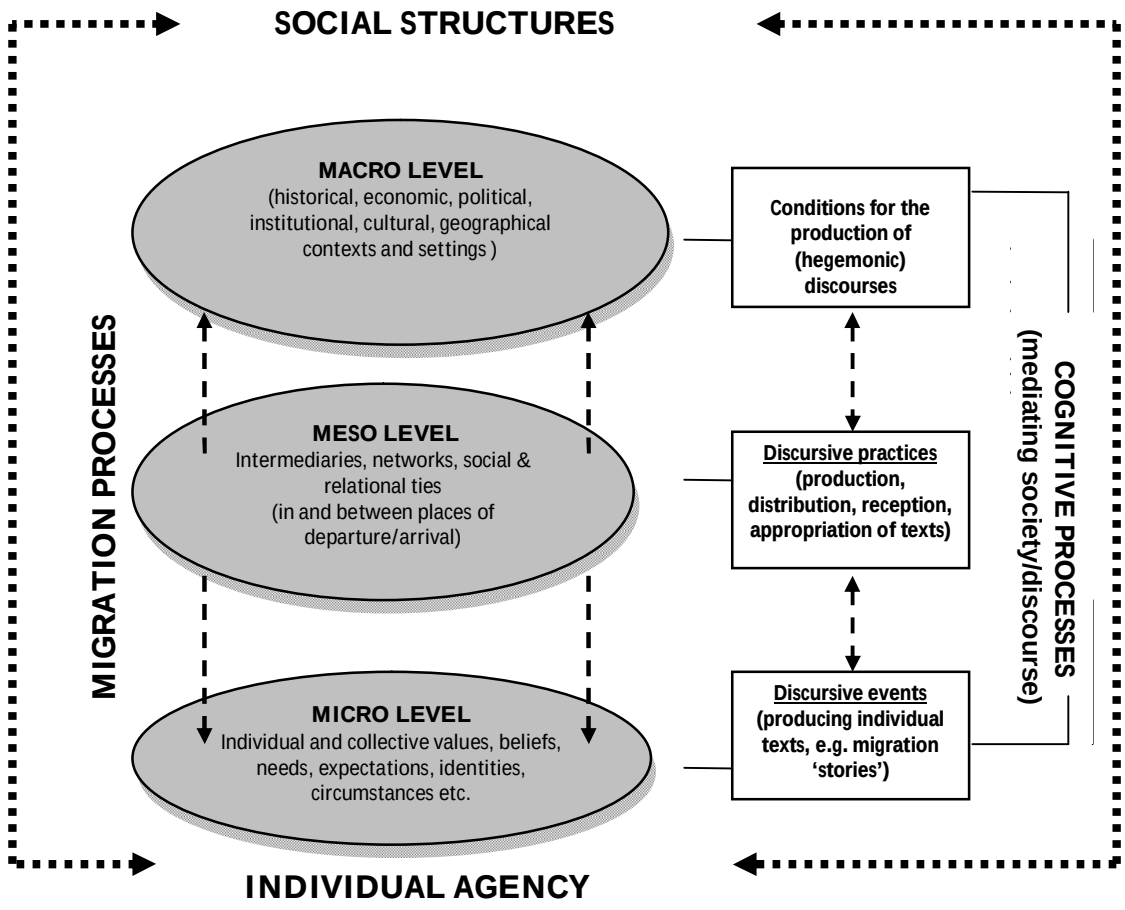

Figure 2.1: ***Multi-level model of migration process***

A word of warning should, however, be noted here, for distinguishing among the three levels "is analytically convenient at best and theoretically misleading at worst" (Faist, 2000: 34). The levels are not, therefore, to be considered as separable

and separate kinds of reality in any attempt to explain migratory processes. They can only be useful analytical categories when taken as a complex, interwoven whole which will differ to some degree from case to case, but nevertheless provide a pertinent starting point for exploring particular types of migration. The following sections summarise how the model can be applied in relation to international lifestyle migration.

2.2.1 The macro-level context of lifestyle migration

The origins of this relatively new mass phenomenon can be traced to socio-cultural, economic and political developments of the western world in the late twentieth century. The processes of globalisation and time-space compression have led to a heightened sense that on the one hand the world is a smaller place, and on the other hand that all places in the world are accessible to many of its citizens, creating a 'compulsion to mobility' (Urry, 1999/ 2003). The rising levels of mobilities throughout the world, including the phenomenal development and evolution of tourism (which has certainly contributed to the lifestyle migration phenomenon), have simultaneously contributed to this sense and emerge from it.

Other factors that have enabled the trend of lifestyle migration to flourish are the spread of mass information and communications technologies; expanding networks of faster and cheaper forms of transport (in particular, air travel and the growing networks of routes operated by low-cost airlines); the flexibility of the labour market; the rise in living standards, increased amounts of and commitment to leisure time as well as increased opportunities for flexible forms of working lives and early retirement. The phenomenon has also been greatly aided by the European political situation, namely the opening up of intra-European borders (within the EU) and the relaxed regulations among EU member-states regarding employment and the transfer of personal finances.

The convergence of the above-listed factors has created the conditions that enable potential northern European lifestyle migrants to put their search for a better quality of life and a different lifestyle into practice, since they have the material conditions and resources - and the political freedom - to allow the cross-border

geographical relocation they see as necessary for their quest. In addition, social changes over the late twentieth century have been far-reaching in other, less tangible ways. Social differentiation has become less dependent on a fixed social hierarchy and individuals are correspondingly less constrained by social structures and categories (Beck, 1992; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). One of the decisive features of what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim call the 'second modernity'[13] of Western society is the process of 'individualization'. According to these authors, this is not a social condition that is arrived at by the free will of individuals, but one that is *required* by the complex, non-linear systems of the present era. Thus, active contributions by individuals "to create, to stage manage, not only one's own biography but the bonds and networks surrounding it" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002: 4) are not merely permitted, but actively demanded.

In a similar fashion, Giddens (1991) argues that as self-identity is no longer so constrained by tradition and culture and we are therefore no longer bound to fixed, socially-determined identity positions, late modern subjects face both the burden and the liberation of constructing their own identities, for "we have no choice but to choose how to be and how to act" (Giddens, 1994b: 75, cited in Adams, 2003). Self-identity is thus constructed through what Giddens' (1991) calls the 'reflexive project of the self'. For Giddens, the concept of lifestyle in contemporary society is crucial since it is a fundamental part of this project. Giddens (ibid.: 81) defines lifestyle as "a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity". It might thus be seen as a kind of 'template' for the narrative of the self. The quest for the right kind of lifestyle can be argued, then, to be an integral part of the 'life politics' (Giddens, 1994a) that characterise the late-modern social world, in that lifestyles are "processes of self-actualisation in which actors are reflexively concerned with how they should live in a context of global interdependence" (Chaney, 1996: 86). In short, this argument implies that since it is now up to individuals to construct their own identity, choosing and engaging in an appropriate kind of lifestyle that makes a statement about who one is

[13] This corresponds to the era that Giddens (1991) has called 'late modernity'. For reasons of uniformity, I use Giddens' term throughout the thesis.

or wants to be is a central part of contemporary life (Sweetman, 2003: 529). As I want to argue that place is inextricably bound up with lifestyle, lifestyle choices therefore include the decision as to which *place* might enable one to build a coherent narrative of the self. As regards potential lifestyle migration destination places, these places must have both the material conditions and the right projected image (see chapter section 3.3.1) to correspond to lifestyle choices. Both of these aspects of specific places are constructed (physically and discursively) at the meso-level (see below), but these constructions are always embedded in macro-level social contexts.

2.2.2 The micro-level context of lifestyle migration

Throughout the body of empirical work on international lifestyle migration over the last decade, it has been consistently noted that the search for a different lifestyle is one of the major motivational factors cited by migrants. Although the term 'lifestyle' is vague and ultimately subject to individual conceptualisation according to one's values, beliefs, expectations and so on, it seems that certain factors are consistently associated with what Benson & O'Reilly (2009: 610) call "the search for the good life as a comparative project". This comparative project entails a "re-negotiation of the work/life balance, quality of life and freedom from prior constraints" (ibid.), making it necessary to constantly compare the (imagined) way of life in a particular place with that associated with other places. This is indeed a salient feature of the data I collected through research interviews with British migrants in the Algarve, as we shall see in later chapters.

The better quality of life sought out by lifestyle migrants is often associated with both personal material advantages (e.g. a lower cost of living and cheaper property prices in the destination places) as well as the more intangible benefits which are perceived as stemming from living in a place with a more amenable climate (somewhere with plenty of sunshine and year-round warmer temperatures is generally a prerequisite), a slower pace of life, a more sociable culture and more leisure opportunities (O'Reilly, 2007c; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006). Whilst originally considered to be a trend among people in later life seeking "a sphere of new

opportunities, increasingly exploited through travel, marking a de-differentiation of tourism into retirement" (Oliver, 2007: 130), it is now clear that increasing numbers of younger people are taking the option of moving abroad for lifestyle reasons. In the case of young families, the main motivation is often stated to be a better lifestyle for the children in terms of a (perceived) safer environment and a greater cultural respect for children afforded by the destination place (O'Reilly, 2007a) as well as education opportunities.[14]

All of these motivational factors do emerge from my own data, as will be seen in the data analysis chapters. On the other hand, a detailed analysis of my informants' retrospective accounts of moving to the Algarve reveals that their reasons for moving are discursively constructed as integral parts of complex personal narratives rather than a mere 'list' of motivations. Moreover, the concept of 'lifestyle' emerges from my data as being rather dilemmatic. Although some of my informants talk about having been seduced by the 'lifestyle' they initially imagined or perceived, there is also evidence of a shared social representation of a certain type of lifestyle - '*the* lifestyle' – which is associated with *other* groups of British migrants who are seen to be excessively wealthy and living an extended 'holiday'. Some of the research participants explicitly reject the idea that they themselves live that kind of privileged or hedonistic lifestyle.

Lifestyle migration is often seen as a reflection of counter-urbanization movements, a search for the 'rural idyll' (O'Reilly, 2007c) whereby the countryside is perceived not just as a backdrop, but as a 'therapeutic landscape' (Hoey, 2009) and the key to a more fulfilling way of life (Benson, 2009, 2010). The Algarve, whose inland areas remain relatively unspoilt and scarcely populated, certainly has its share of northern European migrants who leave their urban surroundings to seek out the simplicity and perceived 'authenticity' of the 'good life' through some degree of self-sufficiency in isolated rural settings. The trials and tribulations of such a marked change in lifestyle can be witnessed vicariously through the recent literary trend for

[14] Lifestyle migrants increasingly have the option in destination places to send their children to private 'international schools' where northern European curricula are taught. Those who choose to educate their children in 'local' schools often cite the opportunities for learning a foreign language and intercultural contact as educational benefits.

the memoirs of such migrants (see, for example, Banks, 1996; McKay, 2008 for cases in the Algarve).

However, for the majority of lifestyle migrants in the Algarve, the 'rural idyll' is more likely to be imagined on the basis of tourism experiences, rather than on the reality of a truly rural existence. Thus, 'idyllic' retreats from urban life are not confined to genuinely rural landscapes, but are also imagined as being located along the coastlines of southern Europe for example, as lifestyle migrants seek out places that, having already been developed for tourism, have been tamed, sanitised and rendered familiar enough to normalise a potentially overly exotic and challenging experience (Neal, 2007). The paradox, of course, is that through tourism and the phenomenon of lifestyle migration, these coastlines are becoming increasingly urbanised. The interaction between tourism and lifestyle migration is further discussed below (section 2.3).

2.2.3 The meso-level context of lifestyle migration

At the interface of the macro-level context that provides the enabling conditions for lifestyle migration and the micro-level context of individual agency is the meso-level. This provides the material conditions, intermediaries and social networks that evolve in and between places and which encourage, support and facilitate the migration process. It also includes discursive practices through which representations of this kind of migration reach potential migrants. For example, the phenomenon is clearly fuelled by its growing coverage in the 'lifestyle' sections of the printed media and the numerous 'reality' television series which tell individual migration stories,[15] as well as dedicated websites, blogs and forums on the internet. Place branding practices promote particular destinations (see chapter section 3.3.1). In the actual destination places, real estate advertising materials aimed at persuading tourists to 'live the dream' are ubiquitous and unavoidable (see 4.4.2).

The place to which lifestyle migrants intend to move and make their new home might be perceived to fulfil their various imaginings of a 'better quality of life' and a particular 'lifestyle', but unless it can provide the material conditions for such a

[15] On British television, this includes the popular show *A Place in the Sun*, which also has its own companion website (www.aplaceinthesun.com), a monthly magazine and even organises a twice-yearly 'overseas property' exhibition at mega-venues in the UK.

move it is unlikely that there will be mass migrations to that place (O'Reilly, 2009b). These material conditions include geographical features such as the physical landscape and climate, but also, importantly, infrastructures which have often evolved from the development of tourism. This includes relatively easy access to the area, such as an international airport, as well as a supply of suitable housing and leisure facilities. In a cyclical fashion, these material conditions continue to develop as the number of migrants increases, thus encouraging even more potential migrants.

The meso-level also includes what Castles and Miller (2003: 28) refer to as the booming 'migration industry' – the plethora of intermediaries such as estate agents, financial institutions, legal advisors and so on who make some form of business out of the migration process. These intermediaries are generally available not only in the 'home' country but also *in situ* to promote and facilitate the leap of faith that more and more people are taking in moving abroad to a place they know little about and whose language they may have no prior knowledge of - nor, perhaps, any intention to learn. To further aid these migrants, there is usually an extensive information network available in destination places in the English language (and, to a lesser extent, other northern European languages). In the Algarve, this includes English language newspapers[16] and magazines, a local radio station (Kiss FM Algarve) which broadcasts primarily in English, countless web pages giving all manner of information about the area, printed directories of services and so forth.

The meso-level factors which support and encourage lifestyle migration also include social networks.[17] On the one hand, potential migrants are often helped towards their decision to move by visits to friends and family who are already in the destination. These friends and families will have created their own social networks within the place, more often than not consisting of others of the same nationality,

[16] The two weekly newspapers with the biggest circulation are *The Resident* and the *The Portugal News*, both of which have been published for more than 20 years in the Algarve and which claim weekly circulation figures of 10,000 and 24,000 respectively. They are also available online.

[17] This phenomenon corresponds in large measure to what has been termed 'chain migration' in post-World War II migration studies. Chain migration involves related individuals and groups moving from one place to another "via a set of social arrangements in which people at the destination provide aid, information and encouragement to new migrants" (Tilly, 1978: 53). However, because the chain metaphor is now seen as being too simplistic since it fails to grasp the complexity of social relations among migrants, most scholars currently prefer the concept of migration 'networks' or 'webs' (Borges, 2009: 155).

offering mutual support and an opportunity for a social life that does not require the effort of attempting to integrate into the wider local community. On the other hand, an assortment of clubs and associations organised by and for northern Europeans help those who have no direct contacts of their own to settle in and find friendship and support.

Other meso-level factors are those which provide work opportunities. In the destination place, tourism-related jobs are generally available, and, as the numbers of migrants grow, a whole range of 'support' services tends to appear. In the Algarve, every imaginable kind of service seems to be provided by northern Europeans for northern Europeans. A perusal of the services and businesses advertising in the classified sections of the local English-language press shows that there is certainly no shortage of British, German and Dutch architects, bar-owners, builders, carpenters, dentists, estate agents, financial advisors, gardeners, hairdressers, health practitioners (and so the A-Z goes on). For those who are not yet of retirement age nor in the financial position to 'live the dream' without any further source of income, this provides an opportunity not only for employment but also for 'entrepreneurial' lifestyle migration. This is partly motivated by prospects of setting up a business to serve the growing numbers of tourists (and perhaps fellow lifestyle migrants), although the personal lifestyle benefits are still usually seen as outweighing the economic benefits of such a move (Madden, 1999, cited in O'Reilly, 2003). At the same time, the provision of such services facilitates the migration process for others, who do not then have to concern themselves unduly about language barriers (Huber & O'Reilly, 2004). The resulting network of services, goods and entertainment creates a level of 'self-sufficiency' among northern Europeans which does seem to perpetuate their lack of integration into the local 'host' society.

As noted above, education options are essential for families with children. In the Algarve, there are now several international schools that follow the British National Curriculum, leading to GSCE level and A level qualifications. These schools are flourishing since for parents who do not speak Portuguese, the option of sending their children to a local school can be daunting. Alternatively, many children are sent to board at private schools in the 'home' country, spending holidays with their parents in the destination place.

Finally, maintaining links with the home country is nowadays made possible though the widespread availability of satellite TV and radio, broadband internet connections, mobile communications technologies, national newspapers (printed and online editions), imported food products and so on. These kinds of links facilitate transnational lifestyle practices for those who have moved abroad more or less permanently but who do not wish to immerse themselves in the local culture.

2.3 Leisure, tourism and lifestyle migration

As a combination of work and leisure, 'lifestyle' seems to have replaced 'occupation' as the basis of social status, social action and social relationships in the late modern age (MacCannell, 1976). Central to contemporary privileged identities is not only the 'luxury' of leisure but also the pleasure of entertainments with which to fill it (Chaney, 1996: 16). The leisure industry provides a burgeoning array of emplaced leisure possibilities and so the concept of commodified leisure as part of consumer culture is fundamental to the concept of lifestyle. Lifestyle migration may be seen in the context of the departure from the basic, work-governed social values towards a 'refuge' in the realm of leisure, which is thought to have a higher level of individual discretion and thus a greater opportunity for realizing idealized versions of the self (Hoey, 2005). One of the most commoditised and widely practiced forms of leisure to have marked late modernity is international tourism.

Lifestyle migration is certainly linked to tourism, as has been widely discussed in the literature (e.g. Geoffroy, 2007b; Gustafson, 2002; Neal, 2007; O'Reilly, 2007a; Urry, 1999; Williams & Hall, 2000; Williams & Patterson, 1998; Williams et al., 2000). Lifestyle migration is generally seen as a form of what Williams and Hall (2002) have described as 'tourism-informed mobility', which they suggest accounts for much consumption-led (rather than production-led) migration. Recent literature on contemporary mobilities often points to the fuzzy boundaries and increasing interplay between tourism and migration (e.g. O'Reilly, 2003; Urry, 1999/2003). O'Reilly (2007c) notes that what began as 'residential tourism', which was characterized by second-home ownership abroad and therefore allowed tourists to spend longer and/or more frequent periods at a tourist destination, led to a rapid growth in more permanent IRM or later-life migration. Whilst retirement migration

within Britain can be traced back to the 1920s, when the first substantial exodus of retired people from large cities to coastal towns took place, King et al. (2000: 26) note that the growth of international migration to European 'sunbelt' destinations at the retirement transition stage in the life course is motivated by a wish for a more radical change in residential environment and lifestyle. The Algarve is certainly one of the destinations of choice for retired lifestyle migrants, along with Spain, Italy, France, Cyprus, Malta and Greece (King et al., 2000).

However, as noted above, the contemporary trend for more permanent forms of lifestyle migration is by no means restricted to retirees. Further strands of tourism-related mobility include 'consumption-led economically active migrants' (Williams & Hall, 2002). Besides the entrepreneurial migrants already mentioned, and those who simply take a job in the destination area as a means to an end, O'Reilly (2003) suggests that this includes those peripatetic migrants who own businesses in Britain but can run them from elsewhere, or those who work and live in different places (in the Algarve this is exemplified by men employed in the oil industry who work 'away' for several weeks and then spend several weeks 'at home' in Portugal where their wives – who typically do not go out to work - and children reside on a full-time basis).

The destinations of choice for lifestyle migrants have, then, generally been previously developed as tourist destinations. The decision to relocate to such an area may well (although not always) arise directly from previous holiday experience in the place. Even after settling in the place, many migrants continue to spend time and share social spaces on a daily basis with tourists (O'Reilly, 2003, 2007a). In the Algarve, they may live in tourist *aldeamentos* (concentrated developments of 'villas' and/or apartments) and use leisure facilities originally developed for tourists and second-home owners (health clubs, golf courses, tennis clubs and so on) as well as bars, cafés and restaurants that cater for northern European tastes, for example by offering 'English breakfasts', 'happy hours' and televised sports fixtures and events broadcast live from the UK via satellite television.

It is interesting that in Portugal, the umbrella term employed by public and private sector organizations as well as by academics to describe this form of migration is *turismo residencial* (residential tourism). This generic term seems to

make no distinction among seasonal visitors, second-home owners and more permanent settlers, but it does appear to be restricted to northern Europeans. The label 'immigrant' is reserved primarily for those of African, Asian, or Brazilian origin (i.e. migrants from the former Portuguese colonies) as well as eastern European labour migrants, so when 'immigration' is discussed in the Portuguese media or academic circles it never seems to include northern Europeans.[18] This difference in referential strategies doubtless reinforces differences in the way these migrant groups are viewed by Portuguese society: 'immigrants' certainly have a more problematic status than 'resident tourists', but on the other hand, the latter have the somewhat ambivalent status of being considered as much tourist as resident, even if Portugal is now their principal (or only) home. As we shall see in the data analysis, British lifestyle migrants certainly do not see themselves as tourists; in fact rejecting a tourist identity is a recurrent feature of their talk.

Yet it is not difficult to see how in many areas of southern Europe, including the Algarve, representations of tourists and lifestyle migrants are conflated into a single category (O'Reilly, 2009b). Their behaviour is often very similar: they do not speak the local language (or not enough of it to carry out more than a simple service transaction), they stay or live in the same areas, in the same kinds of accommodation, they look physically similar, wear the same style of clothes and go to places where they meet up with their compatriots. In fact, there is clearly a kind of continuum from short tourist stays at one extreme and permanent settlement in the destination country at the other.

Although many lifestyle migrants would fall somewhere in between, at some place along the continuum where they are neither tourist nor settler (for example those who are seasonal, or peripatetic visitors to the Algarve), it has to be recognised that there are many lifestyle migrants whose only 'home' (in the sense of place of residence) is the Algarve. In this thesis, the data from the research interviews I conducted comes only from this latter group – a group that might be called 'full'

[18] O'Reilly (2003: 309) notes the same discursive phenomenon in relation to migration in Spain. I have, however, come across newspaper references to '*imigração/imigrantes de luxo*' (luxury immigration/immigrants) following the dissemination of the results of a survey by *The Portugal News* in 2006. This provoked headlines in the Portuguese press such as '*Portugal na rota da imigração de luxo*' (*Correio da Manhã*, 25/01/06) and '*Existem 250 mil «imigrantes de luxo» em Portugal*' (*Expresso*, 31/01/06).

migrants (O'Reilly, 2000). However, since the link between tourism and lifestyle migration in the Algarve is so strong, the final section of this chapter provides a very brief overview of how these phenomena have evolved in tandem.

2.4 The development of tourism and lifestyle migration in the Algarve

Tourism in the Algarve was almost non-existent at the beginning of the twentieth century, even among the Portuguese themselves, who preferred the more developed seaside resorts near Lisbon. The first international tourists to arrive in the Algarve, in the 1920s, are often cited as being the British. Having travelled extensively through the Algarve in the early 1930s, and finding himself enchanted by its "pristine seclusion", the travel writer John Gibbons (1936: 168) noted of the region:

> Up to only three or four years ago one might have been safe in guessing it the least-known part of western Europe; so far at least as English went, next to no tourists ever heard of the province at all. (...) It is changing now, and the English tourist offices have at least heard of Praia da Rocha. There is a good hotel there, and there will generally be English in it. (...) There may sometimes be an occasional English artist or writer stopping in the little inn at Sagres, and our country does get as far as Monchique Caldas. That is about all of Algarve that so far has found its way on the English tourist maps. But the change is coming; it is a pity, but there the thing is.

The change, however, took quite a while in coming. Even in the 1960s, the British tourists who made it to the Algarve still found it to be an almost undisturbed "simple piece of Paradise to cleanse our minds and spirits, as well as our lungs, of the busy, fume-filled lives we led" (Grainer, 2004: 12). Modern tourism only really began from the late 1960s onwards, after the opening of Faro airport in 1965 and the subsequent construction of new hotels and the first golf courses. Tourism nights in Algarve hotels increased from a mere 232 in 1950 to over one million by 1970 (Silva & da Silva, 1991, cited in King et al., 2000: 63). By the early twenty-first century, this figure had risen to over 12 million, accounting for over 40% of the total tourist overnight volume in Portugal (WTTC, 2003). The scale and importance that tourism had reached in the region can be seen in the fact that by 2003, 37% of the region's employment was directly related to the tourism industry, with this figure rising to 60% if indirect forms of employment are taken into account (WTTC, 2003). The

regional economy has, in the twenty-first century, become heavily dependent on tourism, in particular international tourism from northern European countries. The British continue to dominate the international market, accounting for around 36% of all tourist overnight stays in the Algarve (INE, 2008). Almost 2.6 million international passenger arrivals were recorded at Faro Airport in 2007, half of which originated in the UK (ibid.).

In parallel to the development of British tourism to the Algarve, there have been growing numbers of British migrants. In fact, almost as soon as the first tourists arrived in the 1920s and 1930s, small enclaves of British seasonal settlers (often ex-colonials) began to appear on the coast near the town of Portimão and in the cooler hills further inland around the spa town of Monchique (King et al., 2000: 63). Gibbons (1936: 173) noted that around Monchique "there are growing up tiny colonies of exiles; one could live like a prince down that way for very little money indeed, of course, besides having the feeling of being a prince who had dodged the English income tax". These were, no doubt, the first lifestyle migrant communities in the Algarve.

By the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s - that is, before the 1974 Revolution which overturned the almost 50-year-old dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime and paved the way for modern democracy in Portugal - other groups of British were also discovering the pleasures of life in a region that was all but cut off from the rest of Portugal and Europe. In her recently published memoir, a long-time British resident in the Algarve describes the pioneers from "all types and levels of society" who came to enjoy "a different lifestyle from the one they had known wherever they hailed from":

> Many were ex-servicemen who had become too used to the sun to move back to the UK; some, like my husband, were writers or artists who needed inspirational surroundings to get ideas. Quite a number were famous stars of stage, screen and TV or pop stars who wanted to be able to sit at a café without being recognised. A large proportion were the sons and daughters of the wealthy and noble who thought it was "enormous fun" to spend the summer living in a fisherman's cottage on the beach. I met a runaway heiress and her hairdresser boyfriend, several millionaires with dodgy connections and we even had our own society hostess who ran our local Discotheque and today fixes the social life of the jet set in London (Grainer, 2004: 12-13)

As early as 1970, there were almost 1,000 foreign nationals holding residency permits in the Algarve, more than half of whom were British (Wuerpel, 1974, cited in King et al., 2000: 64). However, it was with the huge construction projects of holiday 'villages' along the coast in the 1980s that 'residential tourism' really began in earnest, leading to exponential increases in British nationals taking up part-time or permanent residency over the past two decades.

The increase in numbers of officially registered British residents in Portugal can be seen in table 2.1. The Algarve has always been the most sought-after place of residence, accounting for somewhere between one half and two-thirds of these numbers. However, it should be noted that these figures only tell part of the story. Many British migrants choose not to register as resident in Portugal, even in cases where Portugal is their principal, or perhaps only, home.

Table 2.1: ***British citizens registered as resident in Portugal***

Year	Nº registered British residents
1980	2648
1990	8457
1995	11486
2000	14096
2005	18996

Source: INE (Portuguese National Institute of Statistics)

The British Embassy in Lisbon[19] estimates that there are currently 60,000 to 70,000 British nationals living part-time or full-time in Portugal, with around 40,000 of these in the Algarve. Since the last official population census (2001) put the official total population of the Algarve region at just under 400,000, the number of British nationals is therefore perhaps equivalent to 10% of the total regional population. This is, then, a clear sign that British lifestyle migration to the Algarve is a social phenomenon of notable size, which in itself makes it a worthy object of study.

[19] http://ukinportugal.fco.gov.uk/en (accessed 21/04/ 09).

2.5 Summary: identifying the research gap

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature on lifestyle migration, suggested a multi-level way of explaining the phenomenon, discussed its various forms and links to tourism, and described its development in the Algarve. From this, I have been able to identify a research gap within which to place to my own study. Firstly, no empirical studies have been carried out in this geographical area, despite its increasing importance as a lifestyle migration destination place. Secondly, although the relationship between lifestyle choices, self-identity and residential place is fundamental in the 'life politics' of late modernity, its articulation seems to be under-explored in the lifestyle migration literature. Finally, there has been no application of discourse analysis as a methodological tool for detailed exploration of the discursive practices surrounding lifestyle migration, including investigation of how lifestyle migrants themselves construct their identities through talk.

Chapter 3
Place, identity and discourse

This chapter provides the theoretical background on place, identity and their interrelationships as mediated through discourse. I start with a discussion of how I understand the concept of identity. I then provide a working definition of place, before going on to discuss the role of discourse in place-making, in particular through the use of social representations in discourse, and how this has been integrated into various disciplinary fields such as geography, tourism studies and marketing. I explore some of the ways in which social identities have been related to place, particularly in the fields of humanistic geography and environmental psychology, before moving on to propose a working definition of place-identity that assumes its relationship with discourse. I also consider how the notion of belonging can be useful in the analysis of migrant place-identity.

3.1 Identity

Identity, simply put, is who and what we are. However, once we go beyond this superficially 'simple' proposition, it soon becomes obvious that identity is a deeply complex concept. Studying any aspect of identity can be 'troublesome' (Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2003) due to the wide range of forms and definitions given to the concept as well as to the array of potential methodological tools available for analysing identity-related phenomena. It would be well beyond the scope of this thesis to comprehensively review all the social and psychological theories of identity that comprise the vast body of literature on the subject, or to provide an adequate summary of the multiplicity of related research methods which have consequently appeared across the whole spectrum of the social sciences. This section is therefore limited to a brief discussion of theoretical concerns in order to sketch out a working definition of what I understand by 'identity' in this thesis.

I will begin by supporting the claim that the concept of identity is fundamentally characteristic of humans as *social* beings (Jenkins, 2004). Identity

locates us in a world made up of social groups which have a crucial influence on our sense of who we are; we are constantly having to position ourselves regarding our attachment and belonging (or not) to different groups (Augoustinos et al., 2006: 186) and, by extension, their attitudes, behaviour, the places they inhabit, and so forth. Furthermore, in seeing identity as 'social' it can only be understood as a process – as *being* or *becoming* – and never as a finished product or a settled matter. That is to say, any claim as to identity being something that simply *is*, that is fixed, pre-determined or essentialist in nature, is strongly refuted.

I therefore understand both 'individual' and 'collective identities' to be firmly located in the social world. However, it is difficult to treat these two aspects of identity as entirely separable. Individually 'unique' and collectively 'shared' facets of identity are rather, as Jenkins (2004: 15) puts it, "routinely entangled with each other". Both individual and collective identities can be understood as arising from "the dialectical interplay of processes of internal and external definition" (ibid.: 23). The concept of identity simultaneously establishes two possible relations of comparison - that of similarity and that of difference - between and among individuals and collectivities. Social identities are never 'unilateral' (Jenkins, 2000), for although we identify ourselves both individually and as group members, we always identify others and are identified by them.

For some contemporary scholars (e.g. Blommaert, 2005), identity is firmly located in the semiotic domain. For Lemke (2007: 21), however, the notion of identity mediates between "*positionality in the social-structural system of social category relations* (these relations being largely power-based) and *the habitus of embodied dispositions to action* of individuals" [original emphasis]. Thus, Lemke argues, "[i]dentity gives us a way to link the phenomenological domain of lived, moment-by-moment experience and the semiotic domain of enduring cultural and social systems of beliefs, values and meaning-making practices" (ibid.). For Lemke, as for most contemporary social scientists, identities are hybrid, multiplex, and often contradictory in nature. Identity constructions may be influenced by the 'normalising' forces of socialization; they may arise from "our cultural notions of the kinds of selves that are normal and abnormal in our community" (ibid.: 19) or they may entail some degree of deliberate transgression or deviance from what is

perceived as the norm. In either case, this aspect of identity translates into what Gee (1999: 13) calls "socially-situated identities", that is, the kind of person one is seeking to be and enact here and now.

I follow Lemke (2007) in assuming that the lived experience of the unique self is also important in that it "overflows" both structural and agentive social semiotic categories to create *feeling* as well as meaning for ourselves. Lemke argues that basic, primordial feelings (fear and desire) are in fact the basis of much of 'who we are', since fundamental human traits such as values and ambition are embedded in such feelings. These feelings are primarily grounded in our material bodies through which we experience the world.

Whilst it is unlikely that we directly 'experience' our identities, since identities are ultimately abstract notions based on semiotic categorisations of similarity and difference, the recognition that identities are embodied and that embodied experience is essential to a sense of selfhood begs a more phenomenologically-based account of identity. Such accounts are useful in that they add the dimension of 'flow', or dynamic process through time, to semiotic accounts of identity. They are generally based on rich, nuanced narratives of lived experience, something that is missing from semiotic accounts of meaning-making in the world (Lemke, 2007: 29). It is here that sensitive, fine-grained discourse analysis of data which arises from narrative accounts of experience can add depth to studies of identity.

Finally, I also believe there is a cognitive aspect of identity. Cognitive models of the 'self' posit that all the knowledge a person has about him/herself (including memories, personality traits, preferences, values, beliefs, and so forth) makes up the self-concept which *is* the self (Augoustinos et al., 2006: 189). This model of the 'self' as an internalized knowledge-structure has been critiqued by social constructionists on the grounds that it is too individualistic and fails to capture the influence of social life. However, it makes little sense to completely discount the role of cognitive processes in establishing identities. One of the defining features of the self is that it is reflexive and has the capacity for self-awareness, thus creating the conditions for potential self-evaluation and self-regulation (ibid.,: 195). This reflexivity would not be possible without cognition. Furthermore, besides the elements of self-knowledge mentioned above, knowledge of social roles and relationships are clearly also part of

an internalised self-concept (ibid.,: 189). Rather than identity 'emerging' completely from social contexts, then, the self as knowledge-structure is brought to bear on different social contexts by the individual. The combination of the existing mental models of the self/other and the dynamic context models (van Dijk, 2008a) which arise from any ongoing communicative situation shape the socially-situated individual identities referred to above.

In sum, for my purposes the most useful model of identity is one that assumes that the sense of 'who one is' in the world is the outcome of the relationship between different components, including the cognitive element of self-knowledge that is clearly located in the minds of individuals, the processes of socialization and the influences of socio-cultural and institutional norms and practices, the range of semiotic resources available to an individual, and embodied experience in the world. Lastly, and importantly, we need to consider the ways in which identities are *communicated* in the world. This brings us to the central hypothesis of this thesis: that identities are, to some extent, located in discursive practices. This will be further discussed later in this chapter, with a specific focus on how place-identity is discursively constructed.

3.2 Defining 'place'

Place is a 'slippery' word in that it is both simple to understand in a common-sense sort of way and yet almost impossible to pin down once we attempt to go beyond our common-sensical interpretation of it (Cresswell, 2004: 1). Indeed, 'place' is perhaps "one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose words in our language" (Harvey, 1993:4). It is therefore indispensable to provide a working definition of what I understand 'place' to mean.

The most consensual definition of 'place' among contemporary geographers is that it is a socially constructed and meaningful location (Cresswell, 2004: 7). In contrast to 'space', which is generally conceived of as being a more abstract, open concept (ibid.: 8), place has a more tangible sense of 'locale' - each place (whether real or imaginary) has its own uniqueness that makes it distinct from other places; a uniqueness which is to be found in both its material and semiotic forms. However,

space and place are dialectically structured. Tuan (1977: 8) suggests that the ideas of space and place require each other for definition; for "if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is a pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place". Although Tuan was writing from the perspective of a humanistic geographer (see section 3.4.1) whose main concern was to provide a way of understanding the ways in which we inhabit and experience the world,[20] and although, as we shall see, many geographers have since challenged the humanistic school of thought, Tuan's basic notions of the dialectical relationship between space and place have become common-sense over the past decades (Cresswell, 2008: 55). The ways in which people experience space and place is reflected in language. On the one hand, people have a kind of universal embodied spatial experience by dint of the fact that they are always either located in or moving through space, which can be "variously experienced as the relative location of objects or places, as the distances or expanses that separate or link places, and – more abstractly – as the area defined by a network of places" (Tuan, 1977: 12). This gives rise to the basic embodied, orientational schemata such as IN-OUT; UP-DOWN; TOWARD-AWAY FROM; NEAR-FAR; etc. (Johnson, 1987), which form such a fundamental part of the imagination and, by extension, discourse (see chapter section 5.3.8 for more on this). On the other hand, the relationships people have with places are often mediated through individual, subjective feelings, such as feelings of attachment and belonging, or, conversely, alienation. To this we might add other cognitive structures and processes, such as personal memories, values, and attitudes, as well as sensory experiences. An important component of place is therefore **sense of place**, a term used in human geography to encompass all the subjective meanings that become attached in some way to a place (Cresswell, 2006b). Thus, when people talk about places, they may well project myriad meanings that arise from their experience, senses and feelings. Furthermore, they may draw upon spatial metaphors (as projections of orientational schemata) to describe feelings such as being in/out of place.

[20] At the time, the humanistic school of geography was reacting against the logical positivism of the dominant spatial science paradigm in geography, which treated the world, and its inhabitants, as rational objects (Cresswell, 2008: 53-54).

However, although people clearly have individual feelings about places which come from their own personal life experiences, sense of place also arises from shared lives and collective social representations. All places may therefore be said to be interpreted from particular social positions and for particular social reasons (Rose, 1995: 89). Senses of place often work to establish differences and perhaps even boundaries between different social groups. In this way, places may also be ideological sites where power relations are enacted, reproduced, maintained or contested.

Another key component of the definition of place that I wish to take is the notion of place as practice and process. Places are not frozen, inert arenas serving as backdrops to human experience and activity; they are continually evolving and transforming as the result of social practices; active 'milieux' that influence and are influenced by the social interactions of actors (Giddens, 1984). Nor are they ever finished products, but are in endless production in myriad ways – places are constantly 'becoming' (Pred, 1984). Pred draws upon Giddens' social theory of structuration for his conceptualization of place as a "historically contingent process that emphasizes institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features with which those practices are interwoven" (ibid. 1984: 280). This means that places 'become' or evolve through the constant interaction of social structure and human agency and that the meanings of places are negotiated and change over time.

Cresswell (2004) argues that this view of place as process and practice, which is also found in the work of postmodern geographers such as Nigel Thrift (e.g. 1996) and Edward Soja (1989; 1999), means that place can be thought of in an open and non-essentialised way: place is constantly re-made and re-imagined, it can be contested and struggled over. Seen in this way, place affords not only the possibility for creative social practice but also provides "the raw material for the creative production of identity rather than an *a priori* label of identity" (Cresswell, 2004: 39). In other words, places afford materials for the creation of both people's identities and their own (potentially multiple) identities. As Massey (1994) argued in her

seminal paper *A Global Sense of Place,*[21] one of the ways that a reactionary sense of place is marked is by the idea that place is connected to a singular form of identity, whereas in fact, just as people have multiple identities, so do places. Such multiple identities can, she points out, be "a source of richness, or conflict, or both" (ibid.: 153).

Massey's concept of a 'global' sense of place is further marked by the idea that places emerge from "a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (ibid.: 154). In other words, places are unique intersections of fluxes of movement. Rather than having clearly defined borders (and indeed histories), places are fluid in that they are connected to other places through various different flows - of people, things and ideas. All places therefore have to be seen in the context of being linked into some kind of network(s) of flows of movement, whether physical or imaginative, and, by extension, to other places.

In summary, and in the context of my research, I understand places to be:

- meaningful locations (material and/or imagined) for individuals and/or groups;
- constructed by the constant interaction of individual human agency, cognitive processes, social practices (including discourse practices) and social structures. As such, places are both socially constituted and constitutive of the social world;
- fluid, shifting, dynamic processes rather than finished products;
- sites for multiple identities;
- ideological sites where power relations are enacted;
- connected to each other by different, but interrelated, flows of mobilities, which are dynamic processes of motion, imbued with social meaning and power.

The following section explores the ways in which places are constructed and given meanings and identities through discourse.

[21] First published as Massey (1991); reprinted in Massey (1994, pp. 146-57).

3.3 Place-making: the role of discourse in constructing places

Place-making is clearly in part a material process which involves both the shaping of the environment to suit particular activities or projects, and the physical colonization of space. As a universal human trait, this process (and its nemesis – place destruction) can be witnessed in myriad ways at any time and in any part of the world. Homes are built; areas of countryside are divided up into fields; conurbations are transformed, restored, or demolished; wars are fought to re-establish national boundaries. Places are marked out and 'claimed' in different ways: boundaries are constructed; fences are erected to keep people in or out of a place; national flags are flown; political maps are drawn and re-drawn.

In geography, the role of discourse in place-making practices was until recently largely ignored. Perhaps the first geographer to draw attention to this was the humanistic geographer Yi-Fi Tuan, who noted that 'language' is an indispensable component of the total human effort towards place-making (Tuan, 1991). Words, he said, have "the specific power to call places into being" (ibid.: 686). Little thought is required to come up with a range of ways in which language is essential to place-making, from the basic act of naming places to the enduring senses of place provided by great works of literature. Staking a claim to place can also be achieved discursively in a variety of ways, from a simple 'PRIVATE PROPERTY' sign, or the title deeds to a house, to the more complex processes of negotiating boundaries and who might cross them.

Whilst the materiality of place is an undeniable conduit through which social processes such as difference, power, inequality and collective action are enacted (Gieryn, 2000), places are in a sense doubly-constructed for they are given meaning, identities and values through social interaction. It is through discourse (as a social practice with a cognitive dimension) that places are described, interpreted, narrated, claimed, negotiated, recollected, imagined, and so on. The discursive construction of place is in fact such an ubiquitous and 'natural' seeming human activity that it is easy to overlook how the social, collective meanings of places are never inherent but always the reflection and elaboration of the beliefs and values of a group of people (Rose, 1995); their projected version of a preferred reality (Stokowski, 2002).

Places are given meaning primarily through representation, in its basic sense as the ways by which people tell each other about the world and share information (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). It therefore involves both cognitive and linguistic phenomena, and as such, place representations may be highly personal, arising from an individual sense of place. However, our representations of place are also, inevitably, products of the society in which we live (Massey, 1995). Here, social representations theory is useful (Moscovici, 1984, 2000). Social representations are the stock of common-sense theories, knowledge, ideas, images that people have of the social world, ranging from the hegemonic structures that are shared by large groups within a society to the more differentiated knowledge or attitude structures shared by sub-groups (Augoustinos et al., 2006). Representation therefore also involves a shared system of meaning which implies a shared communicative and interpretive framework; it is a dynamic process, created through social cognition, communication and interaction, which shapes and organizes world-views.

Collectively shared representations are often tied to particular discourses, and work to shape the meanings which individuals attach to places and therefore potentially affect their experience of and behaviour in particular places (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Moreover, representation of place is often highly contentious and so representation can be seen as part of a struggle to control places, the people in them, and the complex relationships between different groups. Since all places are given meaning and identity from particular social positions (Rose, 1995), and since identities are "constituted within, not outside representation" (Hall, 1996: 4), there is clearly a need to be aware of who is (re)producing a particular representation, and why, as well as who might be receiving it, and how it might be interpreted.

Yet despite the fact that attention is now increasingly being called to the fundamental role of discourse in place-making, in both private and public arenas (cf. Sheller & Urry, 2006), there are still very few detailed studies of the ways in which place-making is discursively achieved. One of the objectives of this research project is therefore to begin to address this gap in the literature by investigating some of the ways in which places are constructed discursively, in particular through talk. This aspect of place-making forms the backbone of this thesis. However, we need to be able to identify what other types of practices might play a significant role. The next

section provides a brief discussion of a particular discursive practice that is fundamental in contemporary place-making and, in particular, in the context of lifestyle migration.

3.3.1 Place branding

The discursive practice of place branding reinforces collective social representations of the place among specifically targeted groups of people. Indeed, as brands themselves are a form of socio-cognitive representation (Koller, 2008c),[22] people's perception and meaning-making of some places are bound to be influenced by place branding. Despite the widely-held view in the marketing literature that successful place brands capture and portray an essential, 'core' identity (Mayes, 2008), it is rather the case that those involved in place branding strategically *construct* a particular identity which might then become pervasive, due to the intense and often highly effective communication strategies used to disseminate the brand identity. The 'core' of a shared place image is, then, at least in part *achieved* by discursively constructed socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) such as brands (Koller, 2008a).

This particular form of identity-construction is being increasingly practised by marketers of a whole range of places, including resorts, cities, regions and countries. According to Mayes (2008), the most compelling reasons for the escalation of place branding are increasingly high levels of global capital mobility and the need for places to compete for a share of this capital. As tourism has become one of the fastest growing and most competitive industries in the word today, holiday destinations at all scales are under pressure to create powerful brands in order to position themselves in the global tourism market (Mitsikopoulou, 2008). For destinations (such as the Algarve) that are keen to attract foreign investment from lifestyle migration practices, the place branding effort is also directed towards this. An example of this can be seen in the evolution of the advertising slogans for the well-known resort of Vale do Lobo. For many years, the slogan was "*Europe's finest luxury resort*". More recently, however, the focus has shifted from the tourism

[22] See chapter section 4.1.2 for more on SCRs.

connotations of 'resort' to an equation of place and a more permanent (and privileged) lifestyle: "*Vale do Lobo: an exclusive way of living*".

Place branding generally consists of a focused effort to position a particular place in consumers' minds (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Image building campaigns use discursive strategies that stress the 'fit' between the attributes of the place and the target market's perceived needs and self-image, typically employing texts designed to provoke affective involvement and attachments. The types of shared mental representations of places generated by branding often rest on diluted, stereotypical images but they can nonetheless be highly instrumental in affecting attitudes towards that place and, in turn, its ability to attract investment, be it in the form of business, tourism, or property buyers (Morgan & Pritchard, 2004: 40). However, since SCRs establish social identities and relations via repeated communication and negotiation through discursive practices (Koller, 2008a, 2008c), it is crucial to acknowledge and understand the role of place branding in generating, privileging and changing identities (Mayes, 2008). This occurs particularly through the representational dimension of tourist destination branding, which links value-expressive attributes to both place and self-expression.[23] Empirical research has in fact suggested that when imagining destinations, people tend to visualize not only the material characteristics of the place, but also the type of people who visit it and how they themselves would be perceived by others if they were to visit that destination (Mitsikopoulou, 2008). It is also likely that destination branding activates representations of 'possible selves' (Markus & Nurius, 1986) in future states, in a kind of 'consumption vision' (Walker & Olson, 1997). Consumption visions are mental images of product-related behaviours and their consequences, and are thought to help consumers make decisions in consumer situations in which they might have little first-hand experience and where emotional considerations play an important role (Phillips et al., 1995). Since the choice of destination is a significant lifestyle indicator or statement (Morgan & Pritchard, 2004), branding strategies are generally employed to promote commoditised lifestyle images and texts (Caldas-Coulthard,

[23] As well as the 'representational' dimension, destination brands also have a 'functional' dimension which relates to the set of actual characteristics of a destination that will create a pleasant experience for the tourist (Mitsikopoulou, 2008).

2008). The representation and re-semiotisation of social practices in the destination is therefore of great importance in place branding (ibid.), for the semiotics of the place must correspond to the expectations of the lifestyle experience which have perhaps already been created in the imagination of the prospective visitor through previous exposure to other discursive practices.

Since branding has become such a global force, there is a clear tendency towards the global homogeneity of brands and the practices (including discursive practices) surrounding them. On the other hand, there is also a noticeable increase in heterogeneous local adaptations of brand values and discourses (Koller, 2007, 2008a). Place brand managers are certainly aware that a key factor in branding is differentiation, particularly in view of the fact that many tourism destinations can (and do) make the same types of claims, for example to have a 'unique' culture, heritage, landscape, the 'friendliest' people, and so on (Morgan & Pritchard, 2004). One way of differentiating resort areas is to make the resort name itself the 'essence' of the brand, that is, to ensure that the brand name automatically conjures up a socio-cognitive representation of place that is consistent with the perceived self-image of the targeted consumer segment.[24] As such, brand managers are appealing to the powerful discourses which have shaped those self-images and associated values (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998: 142). If the place brand becomes associated with particular social groups, it can therefore be said to contribute to the politics of place. In Chapter 4, I further discuss how the branding of my research site has contributed to such a 'politics of place', i.e. how it positions lifestyle migrants and how this may impact on their collective place-identity (see also chapter 7).

3.4 Place-identity

Human geographers agree that place cannot be thought of independently from people, for it is the complex relationality of place and people that is

[24] A telling example of how the *Vale do Lobo* brand name and its associated SCRs are used interdiscursively in other advertising practices is evident in the text of an advertisement for a very expensive English private school, placed in *The Week* magazine (9/02/08). A man is portrayed adjusting his bow tie in front of a mirror and saying (presumably to his wife): "Just remind me, darling. Why didn't we send Felicity there (…) if it's so horribly good?" She replies: "Because, darling, you spent all Auntie Binkie's money on the Vale do Lobo villa".

fundamental to its definition (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). One aspect of this relationality is the link between place and identities, or the notion that "place and self help construct and activate each other" as the geo-philosopher Robert Sack (1997: 132) put it. However, although it is difficult to conceive of how the relationship between place and self could *not* be at least partly grounded in discourse, there are few empirical studies detailing the articulation between place, identity and discourse (but see section 3.5 for a review of some of the work that has been done).[25] The second broad objective of my research is therefore to contribute to an understanding of how the relationship between place and identity is mediated discursively. Firstly, however, it is important to discuss the concept of place-identity, both as it has been used in other disciplines and how I define it in this thesis.

3.4.1 Place identity in humanistic geography

The first real attempt within the field of geography to explore how people relate to places came in the 1970s, when several geographers (e.g. Buttimer, 1976; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Tuan, 1974) began to challenge the positivist-driven practices of traditional human geography which treated the world and the people in it as objects rather than subjects. The body of work resulting from this became collectively known as the humanistic school. At the core of humanistic geography were the central questions of how people create a meaningful world and meaningful lives in the world. Based in large measure on the philosophies of phenomenology and existentialism, it therefore gave importance to the personal, the subjective, the affective and the moral, as well as to self-reflection.

One of the first texts in this vein was *Topophilia* (Tuan, 1974), which described the affective bonds between people and place that emerge from the ways in which people respond to their material environment. The feelings or emotions encompassed by topophilia, which "differ greatly in intensity, subtlety, and mode of expression" (Tuan, 1974: 93), range from the aesthetic response to gazing at a view or the sensation of intense well-being on a beautiful morning, to the feelings towards a place because it is home (e.g. love of home, familiarity and attachment, or the

[25] See also Benwell and Stokoe (2006: chapter 6) and Taylor (2010) for overviews of studies from social-psychological/discursive-psychology and narrative perspectives.

longing for home when absent from it). Tuan also suggested that an awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place - patriotic rhetoric, for example, has always stressed the metaphor of 'roots'. Furthermore, he argued, home is a "meaningless word" if viewed in isolation from 'journey' and 'foreign' country (1974: 102). These aspects of topophilia - a sense of the past and of roots, along with the longing for 'home' created by a journey to foreign lands - might be particularly relevant for migrants.

The notion of place as inextricably linked to lived experience, emotions and thought became fundamental to the qualitative approach taken by humanistic geographers, who were interested in how 'space' becomes endowed with human meaning and turned into 'place' (Cresswell, 2008). Tuan (1977: 6) argued that:

> The ideas 'space' and 'place' require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa.

Tuan's construction of the division between space and place, which he later developed into what he called 'cosmos' and 'hearth' (in which cosmos signifies "the large, the abstract, and the impersonal" whereas hearth corresponds to what is "local, cozy, familiar, nurturing" (Tuan, 2001: 319)) became almost conventional in human geography in the 1980s (Cresswell, 2008), although it was a rather novel conception at the time. Another highly influential text from the 1970s, generally attributed with being one of the first to engage in a 'phenomenology of place' (Seamon & Sowers, 2008) was Edward Relph's *Place and Placelessness* (1976), in which he claimed that "a deep human need exists for associations with significant places" (ibid.:147). Relph also coined the term '*placelessness'*, the antithesis of place, which he defined as "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place" (1976: *preface*, n. pag) and illustrated through a wide range of examples including theme parks, shopping malls and tourist resorts, which he labelled 'inauthentic' places. This conception predates the later, and more frequently cited, concept of 'non-places', as theorized by the French anthropologist Marc Augé (1995),

and the highly contemporary notion of 'brandscapes' (Thompson & Arsel, 2004).[26]

A further important contribution of *Place and Placelessness* was to establish the distinction between identity *of* places and identity *with* places. In Relph's terms (1976: 45), the identity *of* a place arises from the "persistent sameness and unity" that allows one place to be differentiated from other places. This type of identity is described as having three components: physical setting; the activities, situations and events that take place in it; and the individual and group meanings created through people's experiences and intentions in regard to place. Although I would disagree with the claim that places necessarily have 'persistent sameness and unity', the latter components seem to suggest the place-making practices described in section 3.3.

Relph's discussion of identifying *with* places rests on the "simple but basic dualism" of "insideness/outsideness" (1976: 49). Whilst 'insideness' entails experiencing a strong degree of attachment to, involvement with, and concern for a place, 'outsideness' can be experienced through feelings of alienation and separation from a place. According to Relph's account, it is by experiencing place through this dialectic of insideness/outsideness that we have (or not) an individual sense of place. In other words, it is basically lived experience of place that makes the transition from what we can conceptually recognise as identity *of* place to identity *with* place.[27]

Relph argued that the dialectic of insideness/outsideness (with its constant possibility of 'reversal') is possible because each individual is the centre of a "sort of mental space" (1976: 49) which has "concentric zones" in which our interest and adherence decreases as we move mentally away from the centre according to our intentions (ibid.: 50).[28] So, if our interest is focused on the home, then everything

[26] A 'brandscape' consists of consumers' active constructions of personal meanings and lifestyle orientations from the symbolic resources provided by an array of brands. It therefore "not only structures an experience economy market (…) but also shapes consumer lifestyles and identities by functioning as a cultural model that consumers act, think and feel through" (Thompson & Arsel, 2004: 632). Mega-brands create global brandscapes which make new places seem more familiar and comforting.

[27] Relph (1976: 52-3) did in fact suggest that 'vicarious' insideness is also possible. The examples he gave of the media through which this can happen were literature, paintings, travel accounts and 'motion pictures'. Nowadays, we might well add the plethora of place branding and other sophisticated advertising practices to the list.

[28] Relph uses 'intentions' from the perspective of Husserl's (1958) concept of intentionality, whereby human intention cannot be understood as simply deliberate direction or purpose, but as "a relationship of being between man and the world that gives meaning" (Relph, 1976: 42).

beyond that will be 'outside'; likewise if our intentions are focused on the local area we live in, then everything beyond is outside and so on. In this way, "as our intentions vary, so the boundary between inside and outside moves" (ibid.). Moreover, the 'zones' are constantly moveable since we carry them round with us as we move ourselves and so we are always at "the centre of our perceptual space" (ibid.) no matter which place we are in. This "egocentric structuring of space helps to blur any sharp division between inside and outside that may be presented by physically or culturally defined boundaries" (ibid.). The distinction between inside and outside can also be understood as the result of the varying levels of intensity with which we are able to 'experience' insideness/outsideness.

I have explained Relph's notion of insideness/outsideness in some detail as it is central to my thesis. There are undoubtedly some serious flaws in Relph's original conception of this dialectic, not least of which is his insistence on the importance of 'perceptual space' rather than conceptual space and his misleading description of 'cognitive space' as being "the abstract construct of space derived from the identification of space as an object for reflection and the attempt to develop theories about it" (Relph, 1976: 24). He further defined it as "a homogeneous space, with equal value everywhere and in all directions (…) the space of geometry and maps and theories of spatial organisation" (ibid.: 25), which clearly does not match the concept of ontological cognitive space as I understand it in this thesis (see chapter section 5.3.6). Notwithstanding this, it is not difficult to see how insideness/outsideness is so fundamental to the construction of modes of belonging that underlie place-identity, particularly if besides 'perceptual space', we also consider the conceptual space that forms the basis of imagination.

Several critiques have been made of these early humanistic texts. Firstly, they have been attacked as being essentialist on the grounds that they suppose a universal human condition which underlies a profound need for a rootedness in 'significant' and 'authentic' places, which is a difficult claim to substantiate (Seamon and Sowers, 2008: 47; Cresswell, 2004: 26). Relph's argument in particular is based on a series of dualisms (place/placelessness; authentic/inauthentic; insideness/outsideness) which, unless they are seen to be opposing ends of fluid

continuums, are also difficult to defend against claims of over-simplification.[29] Furthermore, the insistence on the importance of 'authentic' places and 'rootedness' for a positive sense of place, reflecting Heidegger's (1971) claim that 'dwelling' (*Wohnen*) and 'rootedness' (*VerwurzeItsein*) form the core of 'being' and 'spiritual nourishment', has led to critiques that draw attention to the exclusionary, parochialist nature of the argument which puts it in danger of leading, for example, to intense nationalism (Harvey, 1993: 14). In addition, the notion of authenticity is in itself a difficult concept to define, and is made even more problematic by the fact that it is a "peculiarly modern" concept, since it is "[o]nly as modern industrialization separates us from the process of production and we encounter the environment as a finished commodity" that the issue of authenticity emerges (Harvey, 1993: 12).

Despite these critiques, the writings of humanistic geographers have forced other geographers to ask how identity is structured through and bound to place. Thirty years on, as place is increasingly seen as a significant medium through which people construct both individual and collective identities, many of the key concepts introduced by the early humanistic geographers still resonate (Adams et al., 2001). However, although many geographers continue to work in the humanistic tradition, the research focus has shifted. Influenced by critical social theories such as feminism, post-colonialism, postmodernism and post-structuralism, critical humanist geographies[30] have abandoned the search for universals in favour of a more contextual approach that pays specific attention to the differences, e.g. in class, gender, race, nationality, within which individual meanings and social practices are produced, understood, and negotiated (ibid.). Thus, whilst continuing to share the concern for the meanings and experiences of places, current humanist geography also seeks to build in an additional dimension that reflects on issues of power, social difference and inclusion/exclusion (Cresswell, 2008). It is in this vein that I take up some of the ideas of humanistic geography in my own research.

[29] It should be noted that in his preface to the reprint of *Place and Placelessness*, Relph (2008, n. pag) acknowledges that what seemed appropriate at the time, "when clean-sweep urban renewal (...) and commercialism were actively revising the way landscapes looked", no longer forms an adequate account of place experience in the early twenty-first century.

[30] The label 'humanistic' seems to be reserved for the early writings in this field. In contemporary geography, the term 'humanist' is preferred.

3.4.2 Place-identity in environmental psychology

The concern to study the relationships between people, place and identity is not, of course, limited to geographers. Place attachments, which form a key component of belonging and, by extension, social identity, have been the focus of multi-disciplinary work, resulting in claims such as: place attachments result from accumulated biographical experiences; the longer people live in a place, the more 'rooted' and attached they feel; place attachment can result from culturally shared processes of endowing meaning; involvement in local activities and politics increases attachment to a neighbourhood; residents of neighbourhoods with easily defined boundaries, or near a well-known landmark, or with good quality housing stock, often feel more attached to that neighbourhood (Gieryn, 2000). What seems to be especially important in all this (thus echoing the claims of humanistic geographers), is that it is essential for people's psychological well-being and self-esteem to have some kind of place they feel especially attached to, for "to be without a place of one's own – persona non locata – is to be almost non-existent" (Gieryn, 2000: 482).

In environmental psychology, the concept of place-identity[31] is firmly rooted in a sense of *who* we are often being closely related to *where* we are. It therefore rests on an assumption of the locatedness of subjectivity, challenging the 'disembodied' notions of identity often found in the work of social psychologists (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). Place-identity as a distinct psychological phenomenon was first theorized by Proshansky et al. (1983), who contested what they saw as the limited phenomenological conceptualisation of place-identity by humanistic geographers. Whilst agreeing that strong emotional attachments to significant places are a fundamental part of place-identity, Proshansky et al. sought to show how "physical world definitions of a person's self-identity extend far beyond a conception of this identity in which the home and its surroundings are the necessary and sufficient component referents" (ibid.). These authors suggested that as a 'substructure' of self-identity, place-identity is a relatively coherent, integrated yet complex set of cognitions, which is likely to be both enduring and subject to change

[31] It is in this branch of psychology that the hyphenated use (place-identity) originates. Although my own working definition differs from the way it is used in environmental psychology, I have retained the hyphen simply so as to make the term easily identifiable when reading.

over time (ibid.: 60). The cognitive structure is composed of “a potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings as well as types of settings” (ibid.). As a kind of “physical environment data base” (ibid.: 66), place-identity functions in several ways to ‘maintain and protect’ the personal well-being that is essential for self-identity (ibid.).

This paper laid the theoretical groundwork for much empirical work that followed in the field, focusing for example on place attachments (e.g. Devine-Wright & Lyons, 1997; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) or the 'restorative qualities' of places (e.g. Korpela & Hartig, 1996). However, the concept of place-identity as a sub-structure of the “self-system” of an individual that includes self-identity (Proshansky et al., 1983: 58) has led to some criticism, for it implies that identity is relatively fixed rather than a fluid, ongoing process (Taylor, 2010: 40). Furthermore, it has been critiqued for being too focused on the individualistic dimension, and for failing to explore the collective nature of social identity, especially how places may become significant and contested arenas of collective being. Dixon and Durrheim (2000), for example, argue that the notion of place-identity as an essentially ‘individualistic mental entity’ does not account for the political or ideological dimension of place-identity construction. Place-identity, in their view, can be said to derive not only from individuals’ attachments to their own environments, but also through their ‘dis-identification’ with the spaces of others and through their relationship with hegemonic ideologies. Although feelings of belonging are in part, at least, intensely personal and subjective, a sense of belonging is also a group response, inseparable from socio-historical contexts, often based around a distinction between insiders and outsiders (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). Dixon and his colleagues have repeatedly called for a more critical approach to the study of place-identity as a means of revealing power relations within a society (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000, 2004; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Wallwark & Dixon, 2004).

On the other hand, the critical environmental psychology approach, which draws heavily on discursive psychology, tends to down-play or even totally reject the cognitive aspect of place-identity. Durrheim and Dixon (2005: 203) argue that “place identity is better understood as a discursive construction than as a cognitive or

affective structure located 'in the head'". With this statement, they are clearly critiquing the original concept of place-identity as proposed by Proshanky et al. (1983). However, I would argue that no model of identity can reasonably reject the cognitive and affective components that undoubtedly form an important aspect of the self.

3.5 The discursive construction of place-identity

Besides calling for a more critical approach to place-identity, John Dixon and his colleagues have also taken an explicit stance towards what they see as the 'overlooked' relationship between discourse and the concept of place-identity, namely that it is imperative to study the specific discourse-rhetorical strategies through which places, and the identities they embody, are given meaning and the way in which place-identity constructions are employed to accomplish particular discursive actions (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). Influenced by the work of Billig (e.g. Billig, 1987, 1995, 1997), and the field of discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987), they show through a succession of studies taking a discursive approach (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Wallwark & Dixon, 2004) how 'rhetorical' constructions of place, as symbolic resources, are oriented to the performance of a range of social actions, such as justifying, blaming, excusing, excluding and so forth. Whilst the call to discourse analysis in psychology must be applauded, it is surely for linguists to take up and support the call. For the purposes of my research, I therefore adopt the following definition of the framework for place-identity: **place-identity is the relationship between the discursive construction of place and the discursive construction of the multiplicities of the individual and collective self.** Such a definition therefore invites a focus on fine-grained, detailed analysis of how discursive strategies and specific linguistic resources are employed in the construction of place-identities.

Some headway has been made in this line of research, from different disciplinary and methodological perspectives that nonetheless apply some form of discourse analysis. Work that focuses on the discursive construction of national identity shows how 'nation' is in part a discursively *located* category and that spatial

reference (along with personal reference and temporal reference) is one of the major linguistic means involved in the discursive construction of national identity (Billig, 1995; Wodak et al., 1999). Moreover, such national place-constructions have been shown by social psychologists to have important rhetorical functions in doing identity work. Condor (2000; 2006) notes how constructions of the 'entitativity'[32] of the nation enabled her respondents to identify with Britain or articulate nationalist sentiments whilst avoiding the perceived moral stigma that appeals to the common social characteristics of people, or social identity constructions of nationality, might invoke. Likewise, Abell et al. (2006) looked at the ways in which geographical imagery, in particular the 'island repertoire', is used by people in England and Scotland to manage accounts of nationality and citizenship. Also stemming from social psychology is an account of how tourists tell stories that link place to identity (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004) and Taylor's (2010) recent work on narratives of identity and place, based on an analysis of women's talk about changes of residence through their lives. An interesting use of discourse analysis in combination with ethnography is Modan's (2007) account of how place and place-identity are constructed in one particular neighbourhood.

Finally, Meinhof and Galasinski (2005) have attempted to provide what they call 'a more systematic approach' than that which other researchers have taken to the discursive construction of 'belonging'. Disappointingly, however, despite the rather obvious link between *place* and feelings of belonging, surprisingly little detailed attention is given in their study to the way that linguistic resources and discursive strategies mediate that link.

In sum, there appears to be ample space and scope for further investigation of how place representations and formulations are used as discursive resources in speakers' identity work. This is a further gap in the literature that I hope this thesis will to some extent fill, thus making a meaningful 'place' for itself.

[32] Condor draws upon Campbell's (1958) notion of 'social entitativity', which is the result of the convergence of perceived similarity of elements and perceived spatial and temporal relations between elements, i.e. elements forming part of a pattern and elements that 'move' together may be perceived as components of a single entity.

3.5.1 Belonging

As I think I have made obvious from my brief discussion (section 3.1), identity is a deeply complex concept. One of the ramifications of this is the difficulty in operationalising the construct in research. Jones and Krzyżanowski (2008) propose that the notion of belonging is central to the development of a coherent and context-sensitive model of identity for empirical research. By including a theoretical model of belonging, they argue, researchers can overcome the "analytical shortcomings" which can result from an "imprecise" or "fuzzy" application of the concept of identity (ibid.: 39). Modes of belonging are generally highly contingent, and might arise from a variety of sources including affective attachments, lived experiences and formal membership categories. Jones' and Krzyżanowski's main claim is that individuals frequently "translate (…) highly idiosyncratic belongings into the more readily understood proxy of collective identities" (ibid.: 38) and thus a focus on belonging can clarify how identities can be made up of apparently conflicting or even contradictory positions. One of the problems with theories of identity is that they are often grounded in an inflexible delineation between the self and the other. Whilst this is one of the necessary facets of collective identities, individuals often "express a sense of belonging with an 'other' while remaining outside the bounds of the group" (ibid.: 45-6, see also Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007). Individuals are constantly having to position themselves relative to collectives or communities (and, as I will argue, places). This is typically, though not necessarily explicitly, mediated through the discursive construction of modes of belonging. Researchers therefore need to attend to the ways in which attachments and belongings are discursively constructed in fluid, shifting and multiple ways.

Many scholars have argued for an understanding of belonging that embraces the concepts of being, becoming, and longing (see, for example Fortier, 2000). According to Probyn (1996: 19), belonging encapsulates:

> the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as a stable state.

As Fortier (2000: 2) puts it, narratives of identity are part of the longing to belong, which in turn is constituted by the desire for an identity rather than emerging from an already constituted identity. In other words, belonging is part of both being and becoming. For Fortier (2000), migrant identities, or migrant belongings in particular, are necessarily constituted through both movement and attachment and, by extension, the discourses of mobility and transience as well as localism and fixity.

What seems certain is that a contemporary sense of belonging as regards place is no longer *necessarily* based on traditional notions of being 'born and bred' in a place, nor even of being part of a stable, fixed community that is 'rooted' in place. It may well have more to do with choosing a place that feels congruent with one's life story, and one's preferred lifestyle and identity (Giddens, 1991) and one's repertoire of 'possible selves' (Markus & Nurius, 1986) in the sense of the ideal selves that one would like to become. Yet it does seem that in an increasingly turbulent world (Papastergiadis, 2000), a sense of home - as the most basic form of belonging - continues to matter. People's sense of home is thus related to reflexive processes in which they can satisfactorily account to themselves (and others) how they came to be in the place they call home and what its value is, given their particular spatial and social trajectory and their sense of self-positioning. It could even be argued that in the highly mobile (and increasingly 'virtual') era of globalisation, locating oneself in a fixed physical space and calling it 'home' is of increasing significance.

We need to ask, however, how migrants create modes of belonging in their adopted places of residence – places about which they may have very little previous knowledge and certainly no historical or cultural sense of 'roots'. Particularly relevant in the case of lifestyle migrants is the notion of 'elective belonging' (Savage et al., 2005). The core idea is that elective belonging is a socially constructed, fluid process that articulates senses of spatial attachment, social positioning and networked relationships – both imagined and lived – to other places. Belonging, then, is constituted relationally, through positionings towards other places. This relational sense of place is vital as it enables people to relate and critically evaluate their area of residence against other possible places (ibid.: 29). Since places are imagined as

sites for performing identities, "individuals attach their own biography to their 'chosen' residential location, so that they tell stories that indicate how their arrival and subsequent settlement is appropriate to their sense of themselves" (ibid.). In this way, people who come to live in an area with no previous experience of it can see themselves as belonging there if they can link their own biographical narrative to it. It is therefore possible to feel one belongs while simultaneously recognising that one remains an 'outsider' (ibid.: 80).

Whilst this seems to echo Probyn's (1996) formulation of 'outside belonging', in the case of lifestyle migrants I believe the term 'elective belonging' to be more apt in that it better captures the sense of individual agency that underlies the concept of lifestyle migration, for to migrate in search of a better lifestyle or more fulfilling way of life implies that the move is entirely voluntary.[33] However, although the framework proposed by Savage et al. is highly pertinent to my own thesis, there is a point on which I would disagree with their formulation. Although considering belonging to be a socially constructed process, Savage et al. (2005: 12) categorically state that it is not *discursively* constructed, despite the fact that their empirical research relies on interview data from residents of different neighbourhoods. Their analysis of this data involved looking at particular themes and issues in order to detect patterns of similarity and difference in their informants' "answers" (ibid.: 16). This rather simplistic form of content analysis, illustrated by extensive quotations from the data, no doubt serves its purpose in backing up the proposed theoretical framework from a sociological perspective. However, what I show in my analysis of interview data is how the process of elective belonging as an integral part of lifestyle migrant place-identity is indeed constructed, at least to some degree, in discourse.

3.5.2 Place-identity and migrant 'voices'

Although migration is often considered as a landmark event in the lives of individuals, it is better seen as a process, including the process of 'settling' in the new place, and which "crucially involves a continuous definition and redefinition of one's membership into larger communities" (De Fina, 2003: 3). Through such a process, migrant identities are constructed in ways that "incorporate and blend experiences

[33] In fact, this is not always the case as we shall see in later chapters of this thesis.

of multiple places simultaneously" (Silvey & Lawson, 1999: 125). According to these authors, the most suitable methodologies employed for researching this process involve 'giving voice' to migrants and thus focusing on migrants as "interpretative subjects of their own mobility" (ibid.: 126), rather than seeking to objectify them to fit with a particular perspective on migration, for instance as an object of global capitalist exploitation, or, indeed, as part of a global elite (in the case of the lifestyle migrant).

The site for the (re)making of the migrant self is often to be found in the telling of stories. Baynham (2006: 376) suggests that it is in narratives of migration and settlement that "settled and stable senses of self are unsettled and challenged", whilst Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2007: 96) argue that by analysing migrants' identities through their own accounts we can unpack not only the "vast array of dilemmas faced by the individuals in the objective context of migration" but also the "frequent inherent contradictions which characterize migrants' subjective accounts of their personal experiences". Caldas-Coulthard and Fernandes Alves (2007) refer to the condition of living 'in-between worlds' that is evident in migrants' discursive constructions of their 'mongrel selves'; a kind of multi-positioning that encompasses both a sense of loss and a positive re-invention of the self.

Place clearly has a fundamental role in the migratory process; migration, after all, involves mobility between places. Places provide "a reservoir of meanings which people can draw upon to tell stories about and thereby define themselves" (Thrift, 1997: 160). Although the role of place in the presentation of the self performed through migrants' narrative accounts of the migration process has been discussed in the literature (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard & Fernandes Alves, 2007; De Fina & Baynham, 2005; Easthope, 2009; Taylor, 2010; Taylor & Wetherell, 1999), there has been relatively little fine-grained linguistic analysis of the discursive construction of migrant place-identity.

Furthermore, much of the recent empirical work on the discursive construction of migrant identities (e.g. Baynham, 2005; De Fina, 2006; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007; Relano Pastor & De Fina, 2005) has focused on migrants who are part of the "increasingly stigmatized" (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007) mobilities of migration within Europe or other parts of the world. For these people, place-identity

often entails a sense of nostalgia and longing for the place left behind, as the (often harsh) reality of the place and circumstances which led to migration may become hidden behind processes of idealization (King, 1995) in view of the circumstances in which they find themselves in the destination place, which might also be harsh.

For lifestyle migrants, however, place-identity can be expected to involve different issues, although there has been no empirical discourse-analytical work to date to point to what these issues might be. My study, therefore, aims to contribute to an understanding of lifestyle migrant place-identity, by exploring aspects such as how places are represented and evaluated in talk, how modes of belonging are constructed through place attachments, and how place-related socio-cognitive representations link into broader ideologies.

3.6 Summary: identifying the research gap

This chapter has reviewed the theoretical articulations between place and identity, and proposed working definitions of both place and place-identity. My review of the literature has uncovered a further research gap in which to locate my study. There is little empirical research that details the articulation between place, discourse and identity in general, and even less that focuses on the discursive construction of migrant place-identities. Since I have found no studies at all of the ways in which lifestyle migrants construct place-identity, I can therefore propose that this thesis will make a much-needed contribution to the field.

Chapter 4
Methodology, research site and exploratory research

This chapter has three main objectives. The first is to account for the overall research orientation and design of the study. The second is to further discuss the methodological framework outlined in chapter 1, which combines different approaches to discourse analysis. Finally, I briefly present the research site and two pieces of exploratory research that I undertook in order to better contextualise the object of study, that is, lifestyle migration in the Algarve.

4.1 Research orientation and methodological framework

The design and implementation of any research project depends to a large degree on the researcher's underlying assumptions about the nature of reality, knowledge and research processes, which must match his/her own views and understanding of the world. I begin this chapter with a discussion of the overall orientation of this research within the qualitative paradigm and how the underlying assumptions have certain ramifications for the research process. This is followed by some reflections on qualitative research design in general and the presentation of the research design for this study.

4.1.1 Research orientation and underlying assumptions

The fundamental questions that need addressing at the outset of the research process are, respectively, ontological and epistemological:

- what is the nature of reality and what can be known about it?
- what is the nature of knowledge and how might it be acquired?

In the research methodology literature, the answers to these profound questions are often simplified to enable a contrastive summary of the positions typically taken by researchers within the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Thus, the position of the researcher who takes a quantitative approach is based on realism and positivism. Reality is therefore seen as being objective, singular and independent of the

researcher, which means that it can be observed and measured in order to gain knowledge and understanding. The researcher who employs a qualitatively-driven methodology, on the other hand, is influenced by idealism and interpretivism and understands reality as being subjective, multiple and constructed by the participants in the research.

Whilst acknowledging the overly simplified nature of this binary distinction, my own views on the nature of social reality, including social identities, tend towards the latter position. I am therefore comfortable with taking on board many of the assumptions said to be implicit in qualitative research. However, it is not only between the quantitative and qualitative paradigms that differences in research orientations arise. Within the qualitative paradigm itself there are varying philosophical, theoretical or political positions taken by different schools of research. Researchers working within the (broadly defined) discourse studies approach would undoubtedly place themselves within a qualitative paradigm, yet there are clearly distinct ontological positions among the various approaches to discourse, particularly regarding its relationship with the social world. For example, researchers taking a discursive psychology approach (cf. Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) generally adopt an extreme relativist, or constructionist position, arguing that discourse constitutes reality and that all we can know of reality is our constructions of it. Proponents of conversation analysis methodologies would no doubt agree that the meaning(s) of a text can be derived from the text itself (cf. Schegloff, 1997). However, those working within critical discourse analysis (CDA) tend to take a more critical realist position (Wetherell, 2001). This position assumes that all social practices, including discursive practices, have underlying causes which can be explained by looking 'outside' the text and examining the macro-level socio-historic contexts in which the practices take place.

CDA therefore seeks not only to describe, interpret and explain discourse structures in terms of the immediate interactional contexts, but also the social structures in which they are embedded (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2001a; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I also follow this general orientation of CDA towards research methods that combine detailed analysis of particular instances of language in use (micro-level analysis) with a contextual analysis of the prevailing

social structures and socio-cultural practices (macro-level of analysis). The implication that this methodological orientation has for identity research is that identities cannot be assumed to be entirely constructed within interaction; they may well be reproduced and even to some degree imposed upon both individuals and groups through hegemonic discourses and ideologies which are formed prior to the immediate interactional context. Through detailed study of the micro-level linguistic realizations of discourse, combined with careful consideration of the situational context of particular discursive events and the macro-level socio-cultural and historic contexts in which these events are embedded, CDA can transcend the division between research that is inspired by social theory but does not engage in fine-grained textual analysis and research which focuses on linguistic analysis of texts but lacks engagement with social issues (Fairclough, 2003: 3).

4.1.2 The (socio-)cognitive approach to doing CDA

Although this dialectical approach to the relationship between discourse and society is often presented as a 'given' in CDA studies, there is a further dimension that needs to be considered; the question as to how this relationship is mediated. As I pointed out in chapter 1, van Dijk (e.g. 1993; 2001b; 2003; 2006; 2008a; 2009) has long argued that discourse and social structures can only be related through what he calls the 'socio-cognitive interface' or the 'discourse-cognition-society triangle'. Following van Dijk,[34] my research is also oriented by methods that integrate discourse and (socio-) cognitive analyses since this is, in my view, the most insightful approach to the study of social phenomena.

A combination of socio-cognitive and CDA approaches has been fruitfully applied by Koller in studies of social identities (Koller, 2004, 2005, 2008b) and branding (Koller, 2007, 2008a, 2008c). Drawing on Moscovici's (1984, 2000) theory of social representations,[35] which begins with the premise that people are primarily social beings whose identities are rooted in collectivities (Augoustinos et al., 2006:

[34] A discussion of Van Dijk's lengthy and complex accounts of cognitive processes and structures and their interrelationships with discourse and society is beyond the scope of this thesis. Detailed overviews can be found in Van Dijk, 1998, 2008a, 2008b.
[35] See chapter section 3.3

36), Koller understands collective identities (including brand identities of places) to be socio-cognitive representations (SCRs)[36] shared by social groups, or local or imagined communities. Although social representations are dynamic in that they are subject to construction, negotiation and change through discursive interaction, they are coherent enough to establish shared identities which enable groups to differentiate themselves from other groups (Augoustinos et al., 2006: 37). This coherence is developed socially and discursively through communication; indeed, one way of finding representations 'in the world' is to examine texts, which may linguistically express socially shared representations.

Of course it is important to stress that SCRs (as mental models, and therefore distinct from textual representations) can only be *inferred* through discourse analysis, and cannot be operationalised as such. However, it seems reasonable to assume that if speakers draw repeatedly on the same kind of repertoires and construct similar representations of the world, they are drawing upon underlying SCRs. A socio-cognitive approach thus analyses texts in their socio-political contexts in order to infer underlying mental models such as collective identities and to shed further light on how certain shared representations underlie socio-spatial power relations.

Like van Dijk, Koller inclines towards a version of CDA that integrates central concepts from cognitive psychology in an approach that "rests on the notion that people live in particular material realities, engage in certain practices and act on specific mental representations about themselves, others and the world in general" (Koller, 2008c: 433). She reasons that discourse is linked to cognitive processes in that mental models clearly underlie both meaning-making processes and behaviour, including of course discursive behaviour (Koller, 2008a). Koller (forthcoming) sets out how a socio-cognitive approach can be usefully combined with the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2001a, Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) as well as other strands

[36] Koller uses the term 'socio-cognitive representation' where others prefer 'social representation' so as to emphasise the cognitive aspect of this type of shared representation, although there does not appear to be any other significant difference between Moscovici's and Koller's respective conceptualisations of their terms. I use Koller's terminology partly as a matter of clarity, since the term 'social representation' has in fact been used in many other, not necessarily converging, ways in the social sciences (cf Van Dijk, 1998: 46-47).

in CDA (e.g. social actor representation (van Leeuwen, 1996)) to throw light on both the discursive construction and cognitive structure of collective identities.

The methodological approach taken in this thesis follows this perspective, since besides an analysis of some of the discursive strategies deployed in identity work, I also pay attention to the SCRs (e.g. of places and their inhabitants) that can reasonably be inferred from texts (through the detection of repeated or similar repertoires, for example) and that can be linked to broader ideologies. In addition, I draw upon other aspects of cognition that are encoded linguistically, such as conceptual metaphors and ontological discourse spaces, in order to stress the discourse-cognition-society interrelationship that I believe is one of the cornerstones of any study of identity. This approach is explained in more detail in chapter section 5.3.

In sum, the methodological framework that reflects the general orientations of this research is triangular in nature, for it needs to take into account a social constructionist stance (what is happening in specific instances of interaction), the (socio-)cognitive aspects that underlie speakers' constructions and displays of identity, and the social, historical and cultural contexts that shape social practices, including discursive practices. To this overall critical, discourse and cognitive methodological framework, I have also added a conceptual tool (Weiss & Wodak, 2003) which fits very well with the investigation of place-identity in discourse – that is, positioning. The following section explains the theoretical concept behind this and elaborates on how it fits into the methodology as a means of linking micro- and macro-levels of discourse analysis.

4.1.3 Incorporating Positioning Theory into the methodological framework

Positioning theory was introduced into social psychology as a theoretical construct to bring macro- and micro- levels into accounts of the self by incorporating both socio-historical contexts and individual agency (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999b; van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). The concept of positioning has been primarily applied as a means of theorizing the relationship between identity and discourse in methodologies that incorporate narrative research (Bamberg, 1994,

1997, 1999), particularly in research concerned with the construction of gender and family-based roles (e.g. Hollway, 1984; Moita-Lopes, 2006; Wortham & Gadsden, 2006). Recently, positioning has been used in research on migrant identities (e.g. Baynham, 2005, 2006; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2005; Vitanova, 2004).

What is common to this body of work is that 'positions' are conceptualized as being grounded in discourse, which provides the meanings and values within which subjects are 'positioned' and the range of available options from which subjects can choose how to position themselves and others. The metaphoric constructs of 'being positioned' and 'positioning oneself' function concurrently and dialectically in talk-in-interaction as participants engage in a kind of collaborative sense-making process; making sense of self and others through stories, reports, descriptions, evaluations and so on.

However, the bi-directional interaction between positioning and being positioned should not be thought of as speakers merely employing relatively ready-made discourses or repertoires[37] within talk-in-interaction (Korobov & Bamberg, 2004). Positions are seen as being *constructed* in talk by linguistic forms rather than simply being *expressed* through them. In positioning analysis, therefore, identity positions are seen as both text-immanent and indexical and as such demand both careful micro-linguistic analysis of how these positions emerge within interaction and an analysis of how they index broader socio-cultural and ideological positions. In other words, analysis begins with the assumption that particular representations or evaluations are selected by the speaker for the interactive purpose(s) at hand and to signal to the other participants in interaction how they want to be understood. In working up from this level of positioning, we are better situated to make assumptions and inferences about the ideological orientation within which the speakers are positioning a sense of self, in terms of both individual and collective identities. Korobov and Bamberg (ibid.) suggest that by analysing the differentiations in how speakers construct normative discourses, we come full circle by showing how subjects position themselves in relation to discourses by which they are positioned.

In this way, according to Korobov (2001: n. pag.), the positioning approach to data analysis avoids criticisms of the "overly top-down trappings" of CDA approaches

[37] See chapter 1 for definitions of these terms.

or the "overly myopic technicalities" of Conversation Analysis (CA)[38] because, in fact, it derives from neither, but rather from a methodological approach to the examination of *narrative* positioning. This was based on the notion that perspective and point-of-view in story-telling are linguistically established through a process of discursively constructing and managing a 'vantage point' by means of the marking of agency. The choice of perspective is directly related to the discursive purposes at hand, i.e. those that are relevant to the narrator. This ties in neatly with van Dijk's theory of context, which "is at the same time a theory of the personal and of the interactional relevance of the situation interpretations of participants" (van Dijk, 2008a: 19). Furthermore, the referential establishment of all aspects of the narrative, including events, characters, settings, cultural repertoires and so forth, are all directly tied to the establishing of a self that is positioned within a 'moral order' (Korobov, 2001). In the first instance, then, positioning analysis calls for an immanentist orientation to language-in-use wherein the notion of identity becomes an active, interactional accomplishment which is managed in the fine-detailed patterns of talk. Yet whilst clearly resonant with a CA stance, this approach is also in line with CDA in that it does not reject the existence of lived ideologies and social structures.

However, as already noted above, rather than working from the assumption that subject positions can best be studied by simply identifying and isolating the discourses or repertoires that enable them to be taken up, what positioning analysis calls for is attention to the *indexical* properties of language. The term indexicality refers to "the pervasive context-dependency of natural language utterances" (Hanks, 2001: 119). Processes of indexical anchoring are subtle and complex, since virtually any aspect of language can become indexical of social identities – from phonological variables to individual words to complex discourse structures and even code choice (De Fina et al., 2006: 15). Therefore it cannot be understood without an analysis of the social and cultural contexts surrounding the utterance. It is through an examination of how subject positions are indexed by the use of linguistic forms (thus

[38] See, for example, the exchanges in *Discourse and Society* between Schegloff (1997; 1999), Wetherell (1998) and Billig (1999) which problematise the methodological orientations of Conversation Analysis and CDA.

seen as discursive resources) that we can draw conclusions about how identity positions are established not only within different topics and situations, but also within a moral or ideological order.

In this thesis, my main concern is to examine how lifestyle migrants are positioned and position themselves and others, through language, in relation to place(s). This aspect of positioning, i.e. as a means of discursively constructing place-identity, has been given very little attention in the literature. As Modan (2007) notes, despite the fact that the social psychological discussions of positioning rely to a great extent on spatial metaphor, they are not specifically interested in literal spatial relations or identities. Further explanation of how I apply positioning analysis in my research is given in chapter 5.

4.2 Research design

4.2.1 Issues in qualitative research design

As Mason (2002: 24) points out, qualitative research is "characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive". This renders it somewhat unproductive to draw up a definitive design 'blueprint' as the nature of such research means that decisions are ongoing throughout the whole research process. Lewis (2003) also advises against considering research design to be a discrete stage which is concluded at the outset of a study, since the overall design will need modifying in interaction with the research setting and the actual carrying out of the research. However, despite the fact that modifications and changes are to be expected in qualitative-based research projects, there is no substitute for planning at the start of the research process. Without this, the researcher risks losing clarity and focus, becoming submerged in data, perhaps eventually sacrificing a great deal of that data and certainly wasting a great deal of time.

What, then, constitutes a good research design? According to Lewis (2003: 47), it is one "which has a clearly defined purpose, in which there is coherence between the research questions and the methods and approaches proposed, and which generates data which is valid and reliable". Mason (2002) argues that one of the key tasks at the design stage is not only to select suitable data sources and

methods of collection, but also to develop an understanding of the methodological implications of these choices. In other words, there must be clear connections between the 'intellectual puzzle' that is driving the research, i.e. the ontological and epistemological positions of the researcher, the specific research questions, and the methods and data used.

For Cohen et al. (2000: 73), research design is governed by the notion of "fitness for purpose": the researcher is now moving from the strategic decisions taken initially in order to orient the research, to the tactical, or the convergent stage, where certain issues need to be addressed to make the study operationalisable. Thus, the design stage entails formulating specific research questions and selecting appropriate methods of data collection and analysis that will enable these questions to be answered. The following section presents the research design which served as an overall guide to my research.

4.2.2 Research design for this study

The initial research design that guided this thesis is outlined in Figure 4.1 below. The main research question is represented in the large central box. The diagram shows how the main research question is complemented by two preliminary, exploratory research questions, and which data sources might be used to answer each question.

In order to address the first of these (namely, how to characterise lifestyle migrants in the Algarve), besides being informed by a review of the literature on lifestyle migration in general (see Chapter 2), I consulted data provided by other academic studies and surveys,[39] official figures and statistics gleaned from institutional sources,[40] and the printed media, both national and regional,

[39] I found this source of data to be relatively poor. Apart from some studies on international retirement migration carried out by geographers at the end of the 1990s, there are no empirical studies of the lifestyle migration phenomenon in the Algarve. The largest surveys which have been carried out on a non-academic basis are those conducted annually by the English language newspaper *The Portugal News*.

[40] As I explained in chapter 2, this source of data is somewhat unreliable as a means of providing an accurate picture of the actual numbers of northern European migrants in the Algarve. Nonetheless, I consulted sources such as the *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (National Institute of Statistics), the *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Immigration and Border Control Services) and the National Population Census (2001).

Portuguese and English language. My own ethnographic observations also helped me to construct a questionnaire-based survey which aimed at profiling lifestyle migrants in the Algarve. The questionnaire was also intended as a means of recruiting potential participants for the research interviews which would be the main source of data for the project. Section 4.5 provides more details on this survey and its findings.

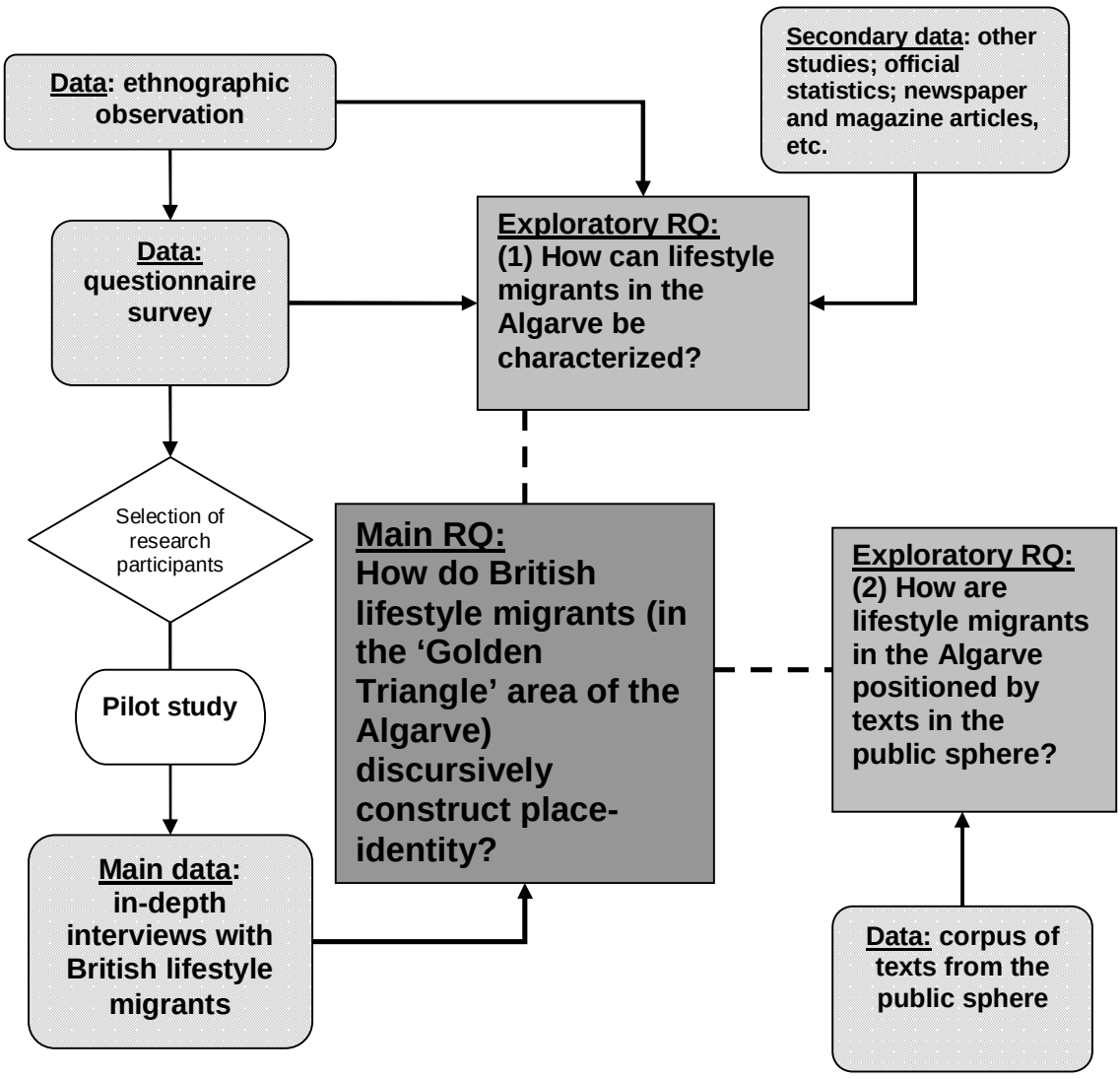

Figure 4.1: ***Research design for this study***

The other exploratory research question (2) has to do with how meanings and identities are mobilised in the public sphere through discourses which then position

a particular social group in certain ways. Looking 'outside' the data provided by the participants in the research interviews means that I can assess the extent to which there is a 'fit' between the way that lifestyle migrants are positioned in place by 'external' discourse and the positionings they construct for themselves. Although I initially intended to investigate this exploratory question at some length in this thesis, using a corpus of public sphere texts from a variety of sources, the confines of space (in the form of word limits) have prevented me from doing this. A brief synthesis of one aspect of this research is, however, integrated into section 4.4.

As can be seen in Figure 4.1, the principal data source for answering the main research question comes from research interviews. The following section therefore addresses some important methodological issues that arise when using such data.

4.3 Research interviews: epistemological perspectives and methodological considerations

As Cameron (2001: 19) states, there is "no single prototype of 'good' data": the suitability of the type of data and the methods of collecting it depend entirely on the specific aims of the research being undertaken, as well as the theoretical framework that informs it. As my research is oriented to how lifestyle migrants construct place-identity in talk, it necessarily involves the collection of spoken data. This data clearly needed to be recorded as discourse analysis requires a fairly detailed transcript. Since ethical procedures rightly dictate that research participants must give their full informed consent to be recorded, any possibility of covert recording is eliminated. This, however, leads to the "observer's paradox" (Labov, 1972) since the overt use of recording equipment means that participants may adapt their behaviour (including what they say and how they say it) in the light of this. However, as long as it is taken into account in the data analysis, this is not necessarily problematic. In acknowledging that the contextual situation of any method of data collection will have an impact on the interaction produced by the participants, it can be argued that social research settings are simply one more dimension in social reality and that research interviews are a genre of text in their own right. Nevertheless, there are epistemological and methodological implications of selecting research interviews as a method of data collection.

Different traditions in qualitative research have generated diverse perspectives on interviewing, which emerge from distinct epistemological positions. Kvale (1996) suggests that there are two broad, alternative positions. The first, more traditional position considers knowledge to be something which can be 'excavated': "knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths valuable metal" (ibid.: 3). This is the position often taken by researchers in the social sciences who do not pay attention to the situational or interactive context in which texts are created; in other words, a superficial content analysis leads to interpretations that are not context-sensitive and are reached by taking what interviewees say at face value.

The second position views knowledge as something which is created and negotiated in interaction, thus falling within the constructionist paradigm. The interview is seen as a 'journey' which the interviewer and interviewee undertake together, during which meanings are developed and interpreted. This stance sees the complexities of the interaction that takes place during the interview as enriching the data rather than as being problematic (Abell & Myers, 2008), meaning that each research interview must be seen as a unique communicative event.

Research interviews used for exploring the discursive construction of identity are generally conducted from this latter standpoint, since most researchers interested in this area would argue that displays of identity in social interaction are contingent on the local, situated context of the interaction. This anti-essentialist view of identity as shifting, flexible and highly occasioned, fits well with what Holstein and Gubrium (2000) have called the 'postmodern' concept of interviews which has emerged from the 'interview society' of the western world, where the interview, in all its many formats, is now a "ubiquitous method of self-construction" (Denzin, 2003: 141).

The type of interview I used to collect data for this research project, variously known as the 'in-depth', 'semi-structured' or 'qualitative' interview,[41] has a loose, informal structure based on topic areas. Although it involves elaborating a guide of

[41] It is sometimes also referred to as the 'unstructured' interview. However, I would agree with Mason (2002), who considers the term 'unstructured' to be a misnomer, since no research interview can be totally lacking in structure of some sort. The term 'unstructured' can also have negative connotations, implying a lack of academic rigour.

the topics or issues to be explored, there is no real concern to ensure that the order and follow-up of each topic is the same across the whole sample, unlike the more structured interviews used in survey methodology. The general idea is to let the dynamics of the interview dictate the flow and the paths to be taken, whilst at the same time attempting to cover the same sort of ground across all the interviews.

The main objective of using such interviews for this research project was to elicit in-depth accounts of personal experiences. In the social sciences, in-depth interviews are used as a means of exploring complex processes that involve motivations, decisions, impacts and outcomes (Lewis, 2003; Wagner & Wodak, 2006). Migration to another country is one such complex process. This perspective also fits well with the notion of the self as a 'reflexive project' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Giddens, 1991). Furthermore, it is increasingly being argued that identities are constructed in narratives that we tell about ourselves and our lives (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; De Fina, 2006). I understand 'narrative' in the broad sense of the organizing of a sequence of events into a whole "so that the significance of each event can be understood through its relation to that whole" (Elliott, 2005: 3) and so that some form of 'meaningful connectedness' is apparent (Mishler, 2006).

On the one hand, then, such narratives can be seen as personal stories where speakers create, reshape and account for their own identities. It is in these 'story spaces' that social structure, ideologies, cognitive processes and individual agency will interact. On the other hand, when we tell these stories we perform our (preferred) identities in collaboration with the audience for whom they are intended (Kohler Riessman, 2003). Thus, narratives in interviews should be analyzed as an 'interactional accomplishment', i.e. a joint production between the interviewee and the interviewer (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Kohler Riessman, 2003; Mishler, 1986). Interview data can thus be considered as a particular form of talk – 'interview-talk' (Rapley, 2004) – in that it is the product of an inherently social encounter, "dependent on the local interactional contingencies in which the speakers draw from, and co-construct, broader social norms" (Rapley, 2001: 303). The role of the interviewer in this approach to interviewing is no longer seen as 'contamination', as has been the case in much qualitative research based on a realist or neo-positive approach, nor even as being a mere 'pipeline' through which knowledge is

transmitted, but rather as a fundamental aspect of this type of social encounter (Legard et al. 2003) where speakers (including the interviewer) collaborate in producing accounts of their actions, experiences, feelings, thoughts, identities and so on (Rapley 2004). The distinction between the roles of interviewer/interviewee becomes less apparent in this way; reciprocity is emphasized and the interviewer may well offer personal information and accounts of her own experience. The interviewer is thus, to some extent, freed form the constraints of trying to be a 'neutral' asker of questions (Legard et al, 2003).

Such a focus on interview-talk as a joint production of meaning does not deny that the talk is produced and situated in the context of the broader socio-cultural arena (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Silverman, 1993). The interview data may be analyzed initially from the specific, local, interactional context (including the immediate, text-internal co-text and the situational context) and then 'mapped' onto the wider socio-cultural context in which it is situated. This type of analytical framework is, of course, the type that a CDA approach to the discursive construction of identity calls for.

4.4 The research site

Critical approaches to discourse analysis invariably call for a close examination of the context(s) in which discourse occurs. Since the research reported in this thesis investigates the construction of place-identity, it is essential to present the place that serves as my research site since this is a fundamental contextual aspect of the research. It has been suggested (e.g. Myers, 2006; Taylor & Wetherell, 1999) that discussions of the context provided by the research site in the social sciences are often misguided by the tendency to treat it as a fixed entity, a mere stage on which the research unfolds. Whilst it should be clear that I do not subscribe to this view of place, this means I am also aware that whatever I write about the research site is ultimately my own place-making, or at least my own 're-entextualisation' (Blommaert, 2001) of place. Although this is unavoidable, what the researcher should avoid is the presentation of any context in an *a priori* manner, as unquestionable 'fact' (ibid.). At the very least, the sources from which contextual

detail is drawn need to be accounted for. The description that follows, then, which is necessarily selective and brief, is based mostly on my own observations as a long-term local resident as well as a researcher. I have sought to make the description as 'objective' as possible, complementing it with data from a range of sources, including governmental institutions, research reports and the work of a local historian.

4.4.1 The 'Golden Triangle'

My research site is the so-called 'Golden Triangle' area of the Algarve, which roughly corresponds to the *Freguesia* (local parish) of Almancil, which is an administrative division of the *Concelho* (Council) of Loulé. With a total area of 63.4 km^2, the *Freguesia* includes 12 km of coastline and the small town of Almancil (see Appendix A for a map of the area). The last official census[42] put the population at just over 10,000 inhabitants. Until the 1970s, the major economic activity of this area was small-scale agriculture (cereals, fruit, almonds, carob, figs, vines, olives, etc.), with some shellfish cultivation and salt extraction in the tidal lagoon area of the Ria Formosa Natural Park. However, with the arrival of tourism, the area underwent huge changes and the hitherto small village of Almancil developed into a town.[43] The website of the *Junta da Freguesia*[44] describes this change as follows [my translation]:

> Until a few decades ago, the town was just a small collection of low, white-washed houses with a communal well in the main square. Over recent years, economic development has turned the town into a significant residential centre, with modern housing infra-structures, commerce and tourism support services.

Despite being a 'support' centre for the tourism developments along the coastline, the town of Almancil itself has very little to recommend it to tourists. It has no seaside (being seven kilometres from the coast), no historic monuments, no picturesque streets and very little in the way of nightlife or other forms of entertainment. Even the town's restaurants are not particularly popular with tourists, who tend to prefer the restaurants with outdoor dining areas along the country roads outside the town or near the beaches. Most tourists seem to do little more in Almancil than pass through on their way to the coast, perhaps visiting a

[42] *Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação*, 2001.
[43] It gained official status as a *Vila* (town) in 1988.
[44] http://www.jf-almancil.pt/index.php, accessed 01.10.2010.

supermarket, a bank or one of the numerous real estate agencies which have flooded the town.

Whilst the area is becoming increasingly known as a destination for the growing numbers of northern European (particularly British and Irish) second-home owners and lifestyle migrants, in the town itself there are many other migrant communities including those of African origin (who began to arrive from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, especially Cape Verde, in the 1960s), migrant workers from rural areas of central and northern Portugal as well as, more recently, migrants from Eastern European countries (especially Romania), attracted by the employment opportunities offered by the construction and service industries in the area. These new social groups of incoming migrants have helped to re-populate a town which lost many of its former inhabitants through outward migration.[45] The town of Almancil is thus interesting both for what it is not (an obvious centre of tourism despite its central Algarve location) and for what it is: a place where communities of different geographic, ethnic and social origins live side by side. According to figures from the Portuguese Immigration and Border Services,[46] 3906 foreigners were registered as living in Almancil in 2005, accounting for more than one third of the population. Around 25% of pupils in state schools in Almancil are of foreign origin, with 30 different nationalities represented (the largest groups being Cape Verdian, Romanian and Ukrainian). The fact that the town is also characterised by the relative poverty of the population is evident when we consider that over 25% of state school pupils receive financial help from the social support in schools (*Serviços de Acção Social Escolar*) system, which is much higher than the national average (Cardoso Sousa, 2007).

The immediate surrounding area, in contrast, is an area of upmarket tourism resorts and villas, including the well-known golf and beach resorts of Vale do Lobo and Quinta do Lago. These resorts were first developed for tourism in the late 1960s

[45] An interesting feature of the history of this small town is the extent to which its inhabitants became migrants themselves. From the beginning of the C20th, an ever-increasing number of the local population emigrated to places as far afield as South America, the USA, Canada, South Africa, as well as European countries (notably France, but also Switzerland, Luxemburg and Germany). The biggest migratory flux, however, was to Venezuela in the mid-C20th. Between 1945 and 1960, more than half of the town's population (of just over 4,000) emigrated to Venezuela, typically to set up bakeries and small shops (Guerreiro Norte, 2005).

[46] *Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (SEF).

and early 1970s on sites which previously had been scarcely populated and were characterized by sand dunes, scrubland and pine woods. The construction of 'luxury' resorts in such an undeveloped, rural setting by the sea led to a phenomenal increase in the value of the land, and the coining of the 'Golden Triangle' name by the (predominantly northern European) real estate agents operating in the area, since land prices rose rapidly to reputedly become among the highest per square metre in Portugal.[47] The area is therefore becoming increasingly populated by wealthy northern Europeans. In 2005, 1143 residents from the UK, Ireland, Germany and Holland were registered as living in the *Freguesia*,[48] whilst the private, fee-paying International School São Lourenço, located between Almancil and the coastal resort of Vale do Lobo, had over 200 northern European students enrolled (mostly of British nationality).

It is worth considering how the 'Golden Triangle' name has become part of the (discursively constructed) identity of the place. Place naming is one of the most basic ways that places are given identity. As the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1991: 688) has remarked, "naming is power – the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things". The use of the adjective 'golden' calls into being a place with a character that is clearly associated with wealth, luxury and privilege. It also has connotations of transformative magic, myth and fairy tales (such as the golden goose and its golden eggs, King Midas and his golden touch). Furthermore, the designation 'triangle' suggests clearly defined spatial boundaries and as such reinforces a sense of exclusivity and elitism for those privileged enough to live within those boundaries.

Cresswell (2004: 98) further notes that the act of naming locates places in wider cultural narratives. The cultural narrative in question here is clearly one that belongs to the northern Europeans residing in this area. Whilst they are invariably familiar with the designation 'Golden Triangle', the name appears to be restricted to the English language. It is therefore not widely known by the Portuguese, even the

[47] The nickname 'Golden Triangle' may be commonly used in real estate. I recently came across a similar use of the same name as applied to an area of previously undeveloped land between social housing estates and the campus of the University of East Anglia in Norwich, England (in Rogaly & Taylor, 2009).
[48] Source: SEF.

Algarvians themselves. On the other hand, the fact that this English name for the area has spread beyond the doors of the real estate agencies and has acquired a relatively stable, fixed status in the English-speaking community is evident in the way that it appears in the titles of local English language publications such as *Inside Almancil & the Golden Triangle* magazine and *The Golden Triangle Directory* which are distributed widely throughout the area. In 2010, the first 'Golden Triangle Exhibition' was held, which (according to its website) aimed "to introduce residents of this prestigious area to an exclusive range of products and services from a range of carefully selected companies and businesses that are appropriate to their needs and requirements" [original text in English].[49] The name is also appearing in local business advertising, for example the private security company that promotes itself (in English) as 'Golden Triangle Premier Security'.

As noted in chapter 3, place branding is an influential means of shaping, disseminating and reinforcing particular socio-cognitive representations of place and, equally, the collective identities (which are also SCRs) of those who inhabit it. As a kind of branding measure, the 'Golden Triangle' name positions the place as being at once a desirable and an exclusive residential location. We might therefore extrapolate that those who live in that place position themselves and are positioned as being socially and economically privileged. Yet, as I mentioned above, there are many different social groups living in the area, not all of which share the same levels of economic and symbolic capital. It is likely that many of these social groups are not even aware of the fact that they live in the so-called 'Golden Triangle', and certainly do not share the same collective identity as the northern Europeans.

4.4.2 Locating lifestyle migrants in the linguistic landscape of the 'Golden Triangle'

An important part of the context of this research project is an understanding of how lifestyle migrants are positioned from the 'outside', e.g. through discursive practices in the public sphere. As already noted in chapter 1, the typical discursive representation of this form of migration suggests that it is consumption-led, tourism-related and leisure-based. In Portugal, the 'official' discourse of the National

[49] http://www.algarvefair.com/golden/visitor.html (accessed 05.10.2010).

Strategic Plan for Tourism (*PENT*)[50] makes it clear that such migrants, who are attributed with a kind of hybrid tourist-resident identity (as part of what is referred to as *turismo-residencial*), are welcomed as economic assets. The *PENT* plan specifies the development and marketing of 'integrated resorts' (i.e. resorts built for both tourist and residential purposes), with leisure facilities such as golf courses and spas, as one of the top ten 'strategic products' for the development of tourism.

At a more local level, the linguistic landscape (LL) of the Golden Triangle serves to position lifestyle migrants in a distinctive way. The linguistic landscape[51] comprises texts in the public sphere that are potentially visible to all; texts that can be found in and on city streets, shopping centres, government offices, airports, beaches, roadsides and a whole host of other public places. Although the LL constitutes a major part of the scenery in which public social life takes place (Ben-Rafael, 2009), it is such a taken-for-granted part of our everyday experience that its importance as a social practice is often overlooked. Yet many aspects of the LL are symbolic markers of collective identity, status and even power, operating within semiotic systems of social positioning and power relationships through which struggles for hegemony among social groups can be traced (Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

However, LL texts are not only social semiotic resources (van Leeuwen, 2005) for meaning-making but also, crucially, they are material elements of a place. These texts are physically located in the landscape of the very place they help to discursively construct. LL practices may thus be assumed to contribute to place-making at several levels, including the material, the functional and the symbolic. Some aspects of the linguistic landscape contribute to the 'politics of place', which results in part from the restructuring of economic spatial relations (Harvey, 1996) through processes like place branding, which is often evidenced in the LL itself, and by the positioning of certain social groups as having a claim to particular places.

To date, the LL has primarily been studied from a multilingualism perspective with a focus on which languages are used in LL texts. The argument is that linguistic

[50] Ministério da Economia e da Inovação (2007) *Plano Estratégico Nacional de Turismo*. Lisboa: Turismo de Portugal. Available online at www.turismodeportugal.pt (retrieved 02.04.10).

[51] The first studies of the LL are attributed to Spolsky and Cooper (1991) and Landry and Bourhis (1997). More recently, two edited collections on the LL (Gorter, 2006; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) have expanded this area of research.

code choices or preferences in public spaces serve to index broader societal attitudes towards different languages and, ultimately, their speakers (see, *inter alia*, Gorter, 2006; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). These attitudes may reflect the language policies of a particular nation-state or region, or the more localized language practices of a particular community. One assumption that can be safely made is that code choice in the LL is never arbitrary, whatever the function of the text might be.

A prevalence of signs in English often marks a 'tourist space' and can thus be interpreted as serving both informational and symbolic functions, since there is a need to communicate with tourists via a *lingua franca* as well as to promote the image of the place as tourist-friendly and cosmopolitan. Kallen (2009: 271) rightly notes that although tourists often appreciate signs in a foreign language since this "offers an immediate sense of transcendence from the mundane, and a token of authenticity in the new surroundings", there are obviously many difficulties for tourists if the language barriers are too 'strong'. Given that Portuguese is not widely spoken by northern Europeans (who constitute the main tourist markets in the Algarve), this of course accounts for the salience of English on many of the signs in the LL of the Golden Triangle: signs outside shops, menu boards outside restaurants and cafés, public information boards on the beaches, fly-posters advertising entertainment and events are but a few examples of the many tourist-oriented aspects of the LL that make ample use of English. In this respect, the place is probably no different from countless other tourist destinations around the world.

However, the most striking aspect of the LL as one moves around the 'Golden Triangle' area is the predominance of roadside billboards advertising land and property sales/development in English.[52] Over a period of 3 years (2007-2010) I collected a small corpus of texts by photographing roadside real estate billboards in the research site. Many of these billboards[53] use English only, and those that are bilingual (i.e. also use Portuguese) tend to position English as the most salient language. In terms of the composition of a semiotic space such as a billboard, the various elements of the sign are balanced on the basis of their "visual weight" (van

[52] Whilst this practice is also found in other parts of the Algarve, nowhere is it so omnipresent as in this particular area.
[53] Photographic examples of these billboards can be found in appendix G.

Leeuwen, 2005: 198), which derives from their perceptual salience (i.e. the degree to which each element attracts the viewer's attention. Salience creates a "hierarchy of importance" among the elements of a sign, marking some as more worthy of attention than others (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 212). In this case, salience of the English language is achieved either through a greater amount of text (i.e. not everything has been translated into Portuguese) or through graphic salience, (e.g. larger font size, and/or positioning the English text above the Portuguese text). Besides giving a clear message about the relative importance and status given to the English language by the producers of the signs, the overall effect of this contributes to a representation of the area as being 'up for sale' to English-speaking buyers (Torkington, 2009).

As a marker of "social allegiance" – or "solidarity, group identity and ideology" (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 82) - code choice is used strategically to construct an ingroup of English-speakers (or, at least, those who understand English) who are positioned not merely as the major target group for buying property in this area, but also as part of an exclusive, elitist collectivity. Although 'elite' membership status is clearly grounded in economic privilege, it is not a clear-cut, structural social category. An elite identity is an ideological subject position; it is semiotically achieved and enacted through social practices, including discourse (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2006). Membership is therefore relatively open – and through the repetition and routinization of discursive practices such as the processes of symbolic differentiation (including, in this case, through the foregrounding of English rather than the local language in highly visible LL texts), elitist, privileged collective identities are reproduced and reinforced.

The discursive construction of an elite place-identity through symbolic differentiation is also realized through the actual texts of these billboards. Visual images of a leisure-based lifestyle are persistent: luxurious homes with swimming pools, swathes of verdant green golf courses, beaches at sunset. The people portrayed are generally engaged in the types of activities associated with these lifestyle signifiers – playing golf, relaxing by the pool, strolling hand-in-hand through gentle surf. Besides being intertextual references from typical tourism promotional media, these types of images also activate connotative cultural schemata that

suggest privileged, global identities. Furthermore, these are all 'global' images, in that they seem to depict what could be one of any number of tourist destinations around the world. The irony is that although they appear to have the kind of 'placeless' settings which are one of the hallmarks of the de-contextualised generic images that are increasingly used in branding culture (Machin, 2004), more often than not the images are photographs actually taken in the place being advertised.

One of the recurrent lexical themes in these billboards is that of 'exclusivity'. The lexeme 'exclusive' and its derivatives appear constantly on the billboard straplines (e.g. *"EXCLUSIVITY AWAITS YOU*", Figure 4.2). Further examples of discursive strategies that are effectively stylizing an elitist collective place-identity include ample use of hyperbolic evaluative words ('luxury'; 'stylish'; 'prestigious'; 'superb'; 'exceptional') and lexical choices (to describe the 'properties' on sale) that have lifestyle connotative meanings (Myers, 1994: 71), e.g. 'villa', 'apartment', 'townhouse', 'manor house'.

Figure 4.2: ***Billboard in the 'Golden Triangle'***

Some slogans emphasize the meshing of economic and more symbolic forms of elite capital (e.g. "*Taking property investment to the level of a fine art*"), whilst others put an emphasis on the meshing of economic and affective investment (that is, the nexus of a desired lifestyle and making a home) (e.g. "*Live like a king"; "Homes*

for true luxury living"; "Dream homes are only a few steps away"). One slogan simply invites potential lifestyle migrants to "*Live the difference!*" (Figure 4.3). Like much advertising discourse, the connotations of this are perhaps intentionally ambiguous (Cook (2001), for example, discusses the 'indeterminate and emotive' language of advertising), leaving the receiver of the message to work out what the 'difference' is and how it should be 'lived'. However, the images of a leisure-based lifestyle and a luxurious villa activate connotative cultural schemata that suggest the difference is based on social distinction.

Figure 4.3: ***Billboard in the 'Golden Triangle'***

In sum, the combination of code choice and discourse strategies results in a 'composite of connotations' (van Leeuwen, 2005: 147) from which a collective place-identity based on privilege, distinction/difference and exclusivity can be inferred. In this way, this aspect of the LL functions as a kind of interface between between place, identity and power relations; as part of the process of place-making, LL texts impact upon the discursive construction of the social identities of those who wish to stake a claim to the place by material investment in it. It thus contributes to the politics of place, by shaping the identity of the 'Golden Triangle' as a place where English-speaking people have their homes. A sense of place with boundaries (symbolic and ideological rather than physical, but strongly delineated nonetheless) is being constructed for these 'outsiders' who have no real sense of physical, cultural or ancestral ties with the place they have chosen as home. An ideology based on

consumer culture that equates 'home' with private land or property ownership is being reinforced to induce feelings of elective belonging which are simultaneously both integrating (through ingroup membership) and exclusionary, since a 'frontier' of difference is constructed leading to a powerful sense of distinctive social identity. In short, lifestyle migrants are being positioned as having a claim to the place based on economic investment and social privilege. Whether or not this position is taken up by lifestyle migrants in talk is one of the aspects of my data analysis.

4.5 Profiling lifestyle migrants in the Algarve

As I have already stated, research interviews provided the major source of data for this research. This, however, presented me with an initial problem: on what basis should interviewees be selected? Over the years, I had noticed that there are clearly many different 'types' of lifestyle migrants in the region: besides obvious differences in nationality or age group, some may consider themselves to be permanent residents, whilst others are there on a more temporary basis. There are migrants who are retired, and those who work or run a business. There are people of different social classes, with varying family situations. In short, it would appear that there is no 'typical' northern European migrant in the Algarve, and that the wide range of personal situations might account for marked differences in motivations for being there, attitudes towards Portugal, types of lifestyles and so on.

Furthermore, as already noted in Chapter 2, one of the main difficulties in obtaining even the most basic statistical data on lifestyle migrants in a particular destination is the lack of reliable information. Perhaps because lifestyle migrants, as a social group, are not generally seen as 'problematic' in Portugal, there has been very little attempt to collect detailed information about them, whether by governmental institutions, academia, or the media.[54] During the initial stage of my research, I therefore decided to construct my own questionnaire-based survey as an

[54] The one exception in the latter field has been an initiative by the English language newspaper *The Portugal News*, which has conducted an annual survey of what the newspaper calls "the Northern European community" in Portugal since 2005.

exploratory tool for investigating the general profile of northern European residents in the Algarve. The final sections of this chapter describe this stage of the research.

4.5.1 Constructing the questionnaire

The two main objectives of devising a questionnaire-based survey were firstly to gain some insight into the characteristics and behaviour of migrants and secondly to attempt to build up a network of contacts for my subsequent interview research by inviting respondents to leave contact details if they were willing to participate further in the research. The research questions which formed the basis for the questionnaire were the following:

- Which types or categories of residency can be established?
- What were the motivations for choosing to live in the Algarve?
- What were the reasons for deciding to live in a particular geographical area within the Algarve?
- To what extent are northern European residents integrated into local society?
- What are the demographic characteristics of these residents?

As the questionnaire was to be self-administered, it seemed important to devise an instrument which was as user-friendly, concise and simple as possible. I therefore aimed to design a questionnaire that was a maximum of two pages in length, that could be filled out in around 5 minutes, and that consisted almost entirely of closed, fixed-alternative questions. This type of question structure has the added advantage that it can be quickly and efficiently coded for analysis.

For the first research question, which aimed to establish *types or categories of residency*, two issues are particularly important: how much of the year is spent in the Algarve, and how many years the respondent has been residing there. The first two questions of the questionnaire address these issues.[55]

The next question enquires about the *motivations for deciding to live in the Algarve.* For this question, I drew up a list of items which are suggestive of different motivations, based initially on my own judgement and insight gained from living

[55] The final version of the questionnaire can be found in appendix C.

among foreign residents in the Algarve for many years. I was concerned to keep the list as short as possible, for ease of reading and processing on the part of the respondent, whilst recognising the need to cover all reasonable possibilities as explicit options (Groves et al., 2004). I drew up an initial list of items with the instruction to select the three most important. I also originally included one open-ended question, which asked respondents to state why they had chosen *a particular area of the Algarve*. However, following a pre-test of the questionnaire, I had to make some amendments.

I pre-tested the questionnaire by asking a small sample of six volunteers from the target population to complete the questionnaire in my presence whilst thinking aloud as they answered each question. This procedure is considered to improve the internal validity of the questionnaire (van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). It gave me the opportunity to make detailed notes on the interpretations and comments of the respondents, as well as being able to probe for more details if they appeared to hesitate, misinterpret, take too long to answer etc. As Collins (2003) suggests, this cognitive method of pre-testing pays explicit attention to the way in which mental processes are involved in answering questions, thus allowing covert as well as overt problems to be uncovered.

It became clear that for some of the participants, choosing just three reasons for moving to Portugal was difficult, as they felt there were more than three factors involved. The instructions were therefore altered to invite respondents to select 'up to 5' reasons and rank them in order of importance. The open-ended question, which asked about reasons for choosing a particular area of the Algarve, also proved to be problematic, with some of the respondents finding it difficult to articulate their reasons. When probed as to whether they would be tempted to leave the question blank, in three cases the answer was affirmative. This led me to decide upon the same fixed-alternative structure as the question discussed above. In order to do this, I conducted a brainstorming session with the volunteers. We eventually came up with a list of 15 alternatives (and an 'other' option), and the same instruction to select 'up to 5' main reasons to be ranked in order of importance. This change, besides making the questionnaire easier to use and hopefully therefore ensuring a higher completion rate, also made it simpler in terms of coding and data analysis.

There are three questions related to *integration into local Portuguese society*. Two of the questions ask about knowledge of the Portuguese language and socialising habits. From my own experience and judgement, I believe that this data provides a reasonable basis for making basic assumptions about the level of a respondent's integration into the Portuguese community. Additionally, having determined whether the respondent has children of school age, he/she is asked if the children are attending Portuguese or International school. Although this in itself is not a good indicator of the level of integration of an adult respondent, it lends some support to the other data: for example, a respondent who speaks no Portuguese, socialises mainly with other foreign residents *and* has children attending an international school can reasonably be assumed to have a very low level of integration in the local Portuguese community.

Lastly, there are some questions relating to *socio-demographic indicators*, namely nationality, age, level of education, professional status and activity, and area of residence.[56] Besides adding to the overall profile of migrants, I reckoned that these data would provide a more complete profile of individual respondents and therefore be helpful in the selection of potential interviewees.[57]

I also used an additional pre-testing measure, as suggested by Frazer and Lawley (2000). This entailed asking colleagues and fellow researchers to read through the questionnaire and comment on it. The results of this led to some further minor changes, with respect to the wording of some questions and the removal of potential ambiguities. Finally, it was suggested that inviting respondents to leave contact details and omitting my *own* contact details was not the best way to inspire trust, so I added my email address at the end of the questionnaire along with an invitation to contact me for any further information and clarification about the study which may be required.

This also led me to make some ethical considerations. As the questionnaire would be completed on an entirely voluntary basis, the main ethical issue here is the guarantee of anonymity. However, as I provided space to leave contact details for

[56] The Algarve is divided into sixteen *Concelhos* (administrative councils). Respondents were asked to state in which *Concelho* they were living.
[57] Around one third of respondents gave contact details.

respondents willing to participate further in my research, I felt it necessary, besides the standard promise of confidentiality and anonymity of data, to clearly state that this information would be used only to establish contact, and for no other purposes. This statement appears twice: at the top of the questionnaire and again at the end.

Finally, a small pilot survey was carried out.[58] The questionnaires appeared to have been completed without any major problems, with the exception of one respondent who wrote a comment that the options for question 4 (knowledge of Portuguese) did not account for what she felt to be her own level of knowledge. The options for this question were subsequently re-written.

I distributed the questionnaire between January and March 2007, using a networking/snowballing technique and collected 96 completed questionnaires. I then introduced the data into a data analysis programme (SPSS Statistics). As the survey was intended merely as an exploratory piece of research, and I was therefore not concerned to draw any statistically valid conclusions from my sample with respect to the entire population, I limited my analysis to a very simple form of descriptive statistics, which basically involved compiling frequency tables for each item to gain a general profile of respondents. The major findings of the survey are presented in the next section.

4.5.2 Questionnaire survey findings

1. Which types or categories of residency can be established?

- 82.3% of respondents stated that they live 'permanently' in the Algarve, with 60.4% having lived there for between 4 and 20 years and a further 7.3% for more than 20 years at the time of answering. This means that the vast majority of this sample can be considered as 'full migrants' (as opposed to temporary migrants, seasonal visitors, or second-home owners).

2. What were the motivations for choosing to live in the Algarve?

- As explained above, respondents were presented with a list of sixteen options from which they were asked to choose 'up to 5' reasons which motivated

[58] A total of 17 completed questionnaires made up the pilot study.

their decision to move to the Algarve. They were also asked to rank these reasons, with 1 being the 'most important'. As can be seen in Figure 4.4 below, the most frequently chosen top-ranked reason (by 24% of respondents) was 'I came with my family/partner', indicating that many of the respondents were in some way 'circumstantial' migrants, in that the decision may have been taken by another family member, perhaps parents, spouse or partner.[59] A further 6.3% stated that they moved to the Algarve as they already had family there. In other words, around 30% of respondents chose the Algarve primarily due to family, or 'relational' reasons.

- The second and third most frequent reasons (ranked in first place in terms of importance) were 'climate' and 'lifestyle', selected by 20.8% and 14.6% of respondents respectively.

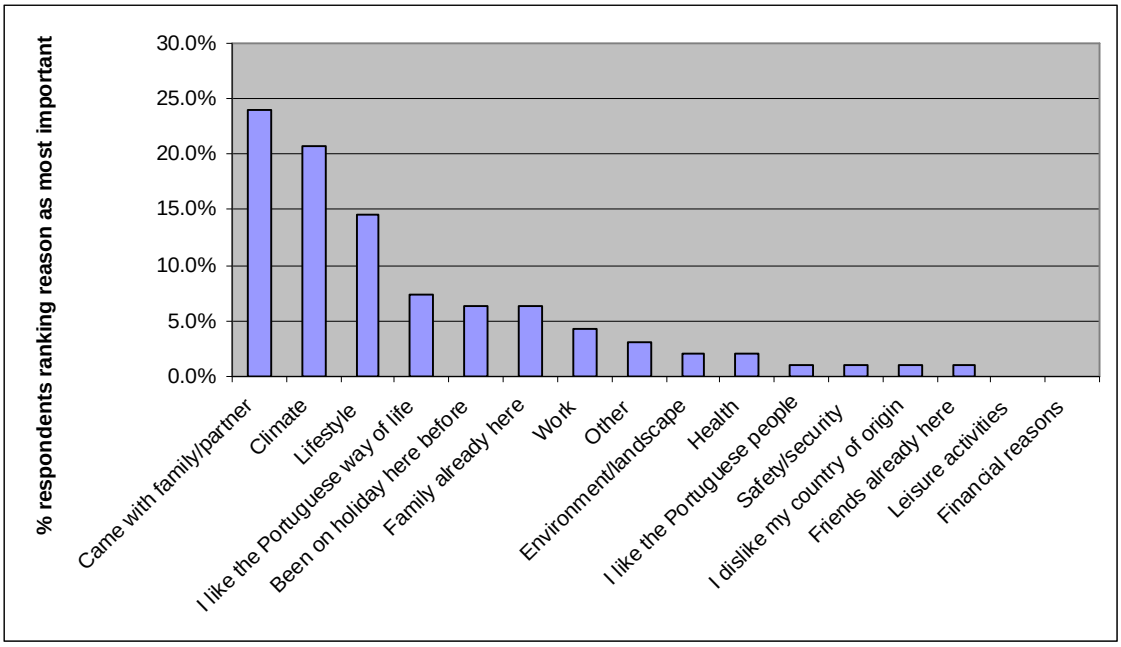

Figure 4.4. ***Top-ranked reasons for moving to the Algarve***

- However, based on the total number of mentions (i.e. item selected by respondent irrespective of ranking), 'climate' was the most frequently stated reason and 'lifestyle' the second most frequently stated, as can be seen in Figure 4.5 below.

[59] See chapter section 5.1.3 for more on circumstantial lifestyle migration

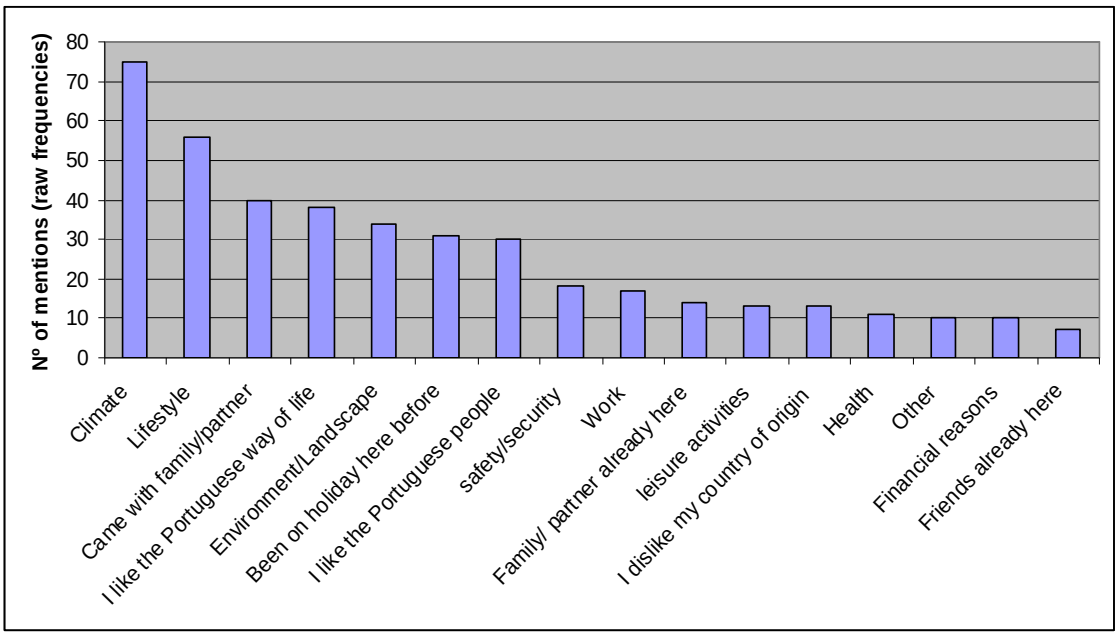

Figure 4.5. ***Reasons for moving to the Algarve: total number of mentions***

- By grouping the reasons given into categories, the picture shifts slightly again. Although a family-related reason was ranked top by the largest percentage of respondents, by grouping together the reasons 'came with family/partner', 'family already here' and 'friends already here', the family/friends category received fewer mentions than the 'lifestyle' category ('lifestyle' + 'I like the Portuguese way of life' + 'been on holiday here before' + 'leisure activities') and the geographical place-related category ('climate + landscape/ environment). This can be seen in Figure 4.6.

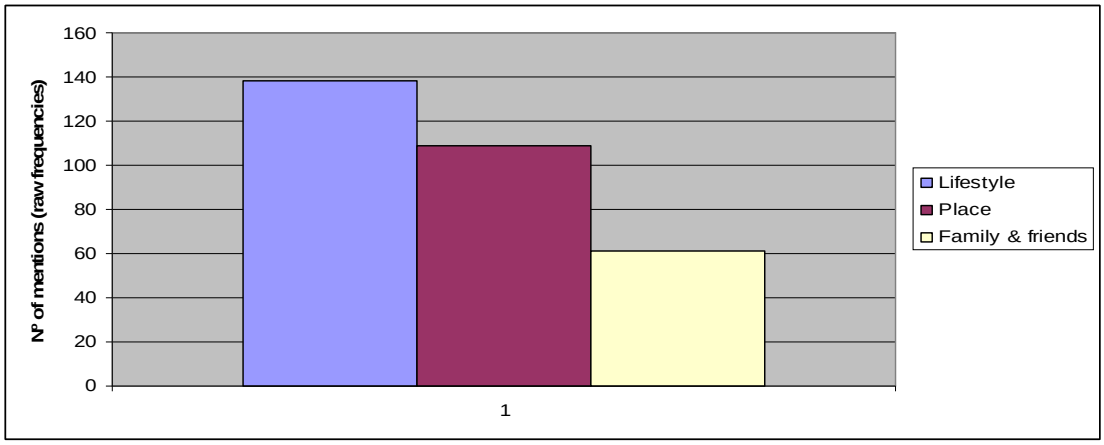

Figure 4.6. ***Reasons for moving to the Algarve: total number of mentions for grouped reasons***

- The findings for this research question suggest that there is a strong case for designating the northern European community in the Algarve as lifestyle migrants, given that the overall picture shows that motivations for moving to the area are mostly grounded in lifestyle-related factors rather than work or financial reasons.

3. What were the reasons for deciding to live in a particular geographical area within the Algarve?

- The reason most frequently selected as being the most important for living in a particular part of the Algarve (see Figure 4.7) was 'found the ideal property' (selected by 24% of the sample). The other top-ranked reasons (selected by more than 10% of the sample) were 'I knew people in the area'; 'landscape/environment' and 'house/land value'. This suggests that when considering which part of the Algarve to live in, real estate plays a significant role in the decision-making process, both in terms of financial investment and in terms of affect, i.e. finding a 'property' that corresponds to one's 'ideal' with respect to the lifestyle one is aiming to achieve.

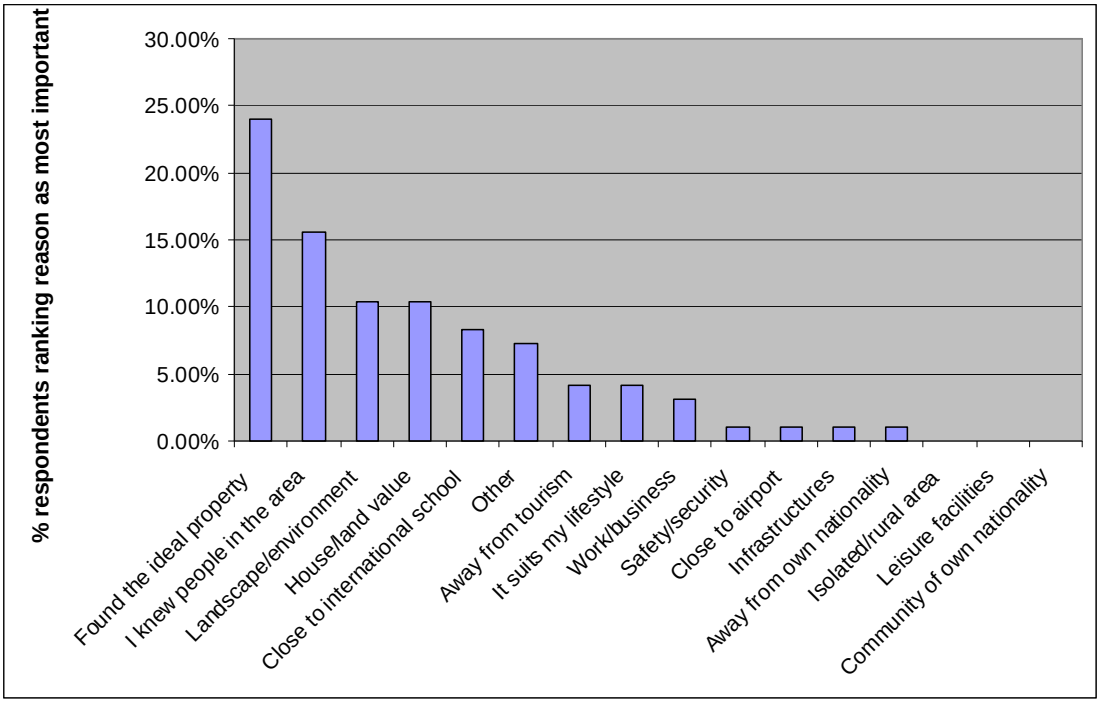

Figure 4.7. ***Reasons for living in a particular area of the Algarve***

- When considering the total number of mentions for each reason (Figure 4.8), 'found the ideal property' is still the most popular reason, with 'landscape/environment' and 'house/land value' also remaining in the top five most frequently chosen reasons. Interestingly, 'away from tourism' also features strongly in the overall picture of why migrants choose a particular place to live in. The desire to live in a place that is perceived as being differentiated from the 'tourist spaces' of the Algarve, both literally (physically) and imaginatively, is a common theme in the talk of lifestyle migrants, as I shall show in my analysis of the interview data.

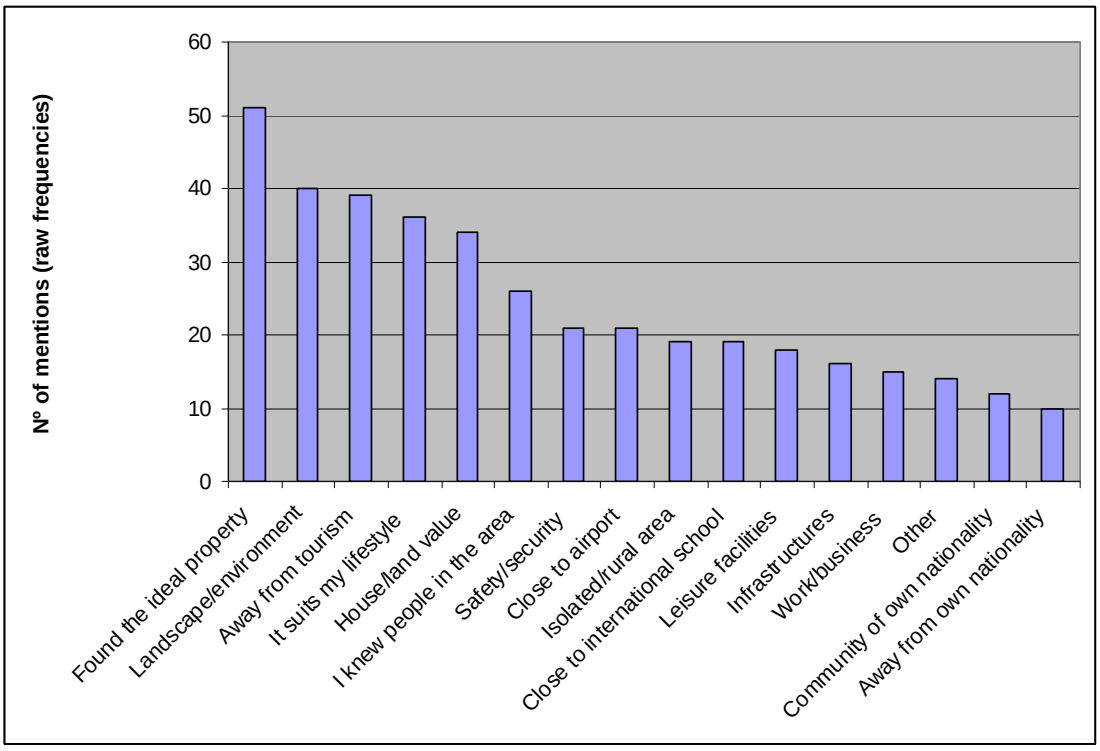

Figure 4.8. ***Reasons for living in a particular part of the Algarve: total number of mentions***

4. To what extent are northern European residents integrated into local society?

- Regarding the Portuguese language, around 30% of respondents claimed to be fluent or 'fairly good'. A quarter claimed to be able to 'get by', while almost half the sample (43%) had 'no' or 'little knowledge of' Portuguese.
- Almost half of the total sample had school-age children. Of these, 71% had their children enrolled in an international school (private schools which predominantly teach in the English language), meaning that less than a third had their children in Portuguese schools.
- Although 48% of respondents stated that they socialise with a mixture of Portuguese people and people of their own and other nationalities, almost the same percentage mixed *only* with people of their own nationalities or nationalities other than Portuguese. A mere 5.2% claimed to socialise mainly with Portuguese people.
- These results seem to fit my own observations that the level of social integration into Portuguese society is rather limited. This is particularly striking when coupled with the fact that the majority of respondents had been living in the Algarve permanently for a number of years (see question 1 above).

5. What are the demographic characteristics of these residents?

- Nationality: Around 80% of my sample were either British (57.3%), German (14.6%) or Dutch (8.3%) nationalities, with 9 other nationalities registered, most of which were European (i.e. Finnish; Swedish; Danish; Belgian; French; Irish).[60]
- The majority of respondents (73%) were female. This does not in any way reflect the true demographics for lifestyle migrants, but perhaps has more to say about willingness to answer questionnaires. In fact, all my (adult)

[60] There were also three American respondents, two Canadians and one South African.

interviewees turned out to be women, through no particular design of my own (see chapter section 5.1 for sampling procedures).

- The average age of respondents was 49 (SD of 12.7; age range from 14 to 82), indicating that the sample is not made up principally of International Retirement Migrants, at least not elderly retirees.
- As for professional status, 27.1% of the sample stated that they were 'retired', with a further 17.7% 'not currently working'. 42.7% stated that they were either employed or self employed in the Algarve, with 11.5% employed or self-employed elsewhere.
- The educational background of the respondents is mixed, although since almost 50% had some form of Higher Education we could say that this is a fairly well educated sample.
- The area of residence of respondents was spread across nine of the sixteen *Concelhos* of the Algarve, although more than half the sample (54%) stated that they lived in the *Concelho* of Loulé. This can no doubt be explained by the chain sampling technique, since the chain was started in the Loulé area, which is in fact the research site for the main part of this project.
- Further frequency tables for the survey questions can be found in appendix D, along with graphs which compare the valid percentages of responses of the whole data set (all respondents) with those of the sub-group 'British residents in the *Concelho* of Loulé' (n= 33).

To summarise the conclusions I drew from this exploratory stage of my research project, I would say that despite its limitations with respect to the representativeness of the sample, it did provide an overall sense of the profile of the northern European community in the Algarve which seemed to back up my own observations and experiences of living as an 'insider' in this broadly defined community. Furthermore, it allowed me to take further decisions in terms of the research design and methodology. Bearing in mind that the survey was conducted at a very early stage of the research, the findings led me in two directions. On the one hand, I realised the need to focus on a more clearly defined group of migrants. I

therefore decided upon British nationals living ‘permanently’ in the Loulé area of the Algarve. On the other hand, it led me to reflect on characteristics of the population that are not always present in typical collective representations of lifestyle migrants, such as the disparity of age groups and stages in the life course, the importance of family-based relationships and circumstances in decisions to migrate, and perhaps most importantly for the eventual form the thesis was to take, the role of local place in the migration process.

In short, the findings of this survey are presented here as a part of the methodological dynamics of the research rather than as ‘results’ from which conclusions can be drawn. The next chapter continues by describing the methods and procedures used for collecting the interview data which is the basis of the empirical part of the thesis, as well as the criteria eventually applied for selecting research participants.

Chapter 5
The interview data and methods of analysis

As I explained in chapter 4, semi-structured interviews were the principal source of data collection for this research. This chapter describes the methods I employed for selecting research participants, collecting and transcribing the data and carrying out pilot interviews. I then focus on the operationalisation of the research questions by considering how best to analyse the data in the light of the theoretical-methodological framework underpinning the thesis. As the operationalisation of research questions that are formulated from a discourse analytical perspective requires detailed linguistic analysis, I needed to carefully consider which strands of linguistic theory would inform the eventual choice of parameters for analysis. The final sections of the chapter therefore present the linguistic framework for the data analysis.

5.1 Selecting research participants

Qualitative research generally uses non-probability samples of a research population, since the sample is not supposed to be statistically representative. However, even when a study involves a very small sample of the population and does not set out to estimate the incidence of its findings on the wider population, criteria for selecting participants are still required and decisions need to be taken in this respect. Units are generally deliberately selected to reflect particular features or groups of the sampled population (Ritchie et al., 2003: 78). This sampling technique is therefore criterion-based, or purposive (Mason, 2002). Criteria commonly used in the social sciences for selecting participants are related to socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, or to specific experiences, behaviours or roles (Ritchie et al., 2003). The criteria selected can be aimed at creating either homogeneity or heterogeneity among the sample, or a mixture (i.e. all the units are *x* but some are also *y* or *z*).

Other types of sampling identified in qualitative research include opportunistic sampling and convenience sampling (Ritchie et al., 2003). Some

authors (e.g. Patton, 2002) are careful to make a distinction between the two. The former involves taking a flexible approach and making use of unforeseen opportunities as they arise in fieldwork; in other words, using available encounters as they arise. The latter, convenience sampling, lacks any strategy even at the outset of the research; the researcher simply uses the criteria of easy access for sampling. The sampling of participants for my research interviews was both purposive and opportunistic, as I will further explain below.

5.1.1 Criteria for selecting participants

In this section, I explain the criteria I applied in the selection of interviewees. The characteristics of the final data sample are summarised in table 5.1 at the end of the section.

Location:

As detailed in chapter 4, my research site is an area of the Algarve known amongst its British residents as the 'Golden Triangle'. This area comprises the town of Almancil, the coastal belt and the more rural areas around and to the north of Almancil. My first concern, then, was to include representatives from each of these geographical zones.

Nationality:

Although I had originally intended to study northern European lifestyle migrants, I later decided to focus on the British so as to establish a more homogeneous sample in this respect. The British represent the largest group of northern European residents in the Algarve. This criterion proved to be unproblematic in the cases of the adult participants, but in the case of the teenagers, although the participants all confirmed that they were 'British' before the interviews commenced, during the interviews some of them revealed that they have 'alternative' national identities at their disposal (see chapter 8 for more on this).

Length of residence in the Algarve:

Migration is generally distinguished from other types of mobilities that involve geographic relocations, particularly tourism, in terms of time and behaviour. The temporal distinction suggests that migration leads to a long-term, more or less permanent move to a new residential place, while behaviour in the destination place

is generally seen as being characterised by residence and settlement.[61] However, both of these distinguishing criteria are potentially problematic.

Firstly, there is no consensus on how long a 'more or less permanent' stay is. For demographers, 'permanent' changes of residence are commonly taken to be those of more than six months (Warnes, 1991), whilst in the field of migration studies, migration is held to involve stays of over a year (Jordan & Duvell, 2003: 5). The latter reflects the commonly used World Tourism Organization definition of tourism as involving stays away from one's usual place of residence of 'not more than one consecutive year' (Mak, 2004: 3). Yet, as noted in Chapter 2, the distinction between tourism and migration is becoming increasingly blurred and attempts to make a temporal distinction between the two are not always particularly helpful. Secondly, the concept of 'settlement' is also somewhat vague; migrants might spend many years in a place without making any real attempt to 'settle'. Then again, many people nowadays see themselves as having more than one place of residence.

Since I am concerned with 'full' migrants rather than other groups such as seasonal migrants, peripatetic migrants (O'Reilly, 2000) and second-home owners, I only considered those who had already lived for longer than one year in Portugal and who considered their Portuguese home to be their only current home.

Life course stage:

Migration experiences, and doubtless the ways in which these impact on migrant identities, are likely to be different according to the stage in the life course at which the move abroad was made. Bearing this in mind, I decided to select participants who represent the population according to three distinct life course stages.

The first group consists of **later-life** migrants. Although I initially planned to call this group 'retirees', this proved to be problematic in several ways. Firstly, although some of my informants were of official retirement age at the time of interview, they would not have been at the time of moving. Secondly, the category of 'retirees' among lifestyle migrants includes those who take 'early' retirement and

[61] The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, for example, states: "Migration involves the (more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities" (Scott & Marshall, 2009: 470)

then opt to live abroad, meaning that the age range of retirees is broader than might be expected. Thirdly, there are working-age women in the sample who have (through choice) not been in any form of paid employment since their move to the Algarve, and who might thus be considered to have 'retired' from work. Therefore, in this research, I use the term 'later-life migrant' specifically to mean someone who moved to the Algarve at a stage in their live course where they no longer had dependent children living with them. They might or might not have retired from paid employment at the time of their move, or at some point since then.

The second group comprises **working-age parents**. This means that at the time of their move, and at the time of the interview, they were of working age, although not necessarily working. In addition, they brought their children to live in the Algarve. The third group are **teenagers** (16 to 19 years old), who moved to the Algarve with their families at some point in their childhood. All of them attended the international school in the area. Two of the teenagers are the children of one of the working-age parent participants; the others are not related to the adult participants.

5.1.2 Other characteristics of the sample

Whilst the criteria described above were defined prior to selecting participants, the final sample has some interesting characteristics which, although not pre-determined, are worth noting.

Gender:

It was not my original intention to have a gender-biased sample, but in fact all my informants in the later-life and working-age parent groups are women. The reason for this can most easily be explained by my method of recruiting participants – that is, by 'snowballing' or 'chain sampling' (Ritchie et al., 2003). I had originally planned to select participants from among those who had left contact details via the questionnaire survey (see chapter section 4.5.1). However, only one participant was eventually recruited in this way, because the participants in my pilot interviews suggested other women who they thought would be willing to be interviewed, and this proved to be the case. In fact, it is often women who are the 'full' migrants, since their husbands do not live in the Algarve on such a full-time basis; they might travel back and forth for work purposes or to maintain a UK-based business. Furthermore, I

learnt from some of the teenage group that it is their mothers who have been living 'full time' in the Algarve: one father worked away for periods of several weeks at a time; one participant moved to the Algarve with only her mother following her parents' divorce; two participants had fathers who had left the family and returned to England at some time after the move. I therefore resolved to keep the sample as it was, for it seems that women typically represent the 'full migrants' that I was aiming to recruit.

Social class:

I did not make any pre-definitions about social class for the sample. I embarked on the interview process from the standpoint that all lifestyle migrants can be said to be 'relatively affluent individuals' (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). This is evidenced for example in the fact that all the adults in the sample are home-owners in the Algarve, as are the parents of the young adults. Some differences in social class might be observable from the sample, but I made no systematic attempt to analyse this factor.

Other factors:

Other factors of similarity or difference in the sample are entirely unintentional. This is the case, for example, for the place of origin in the UK: the fact that all the adults came from either in or around London or the northwest of England is apparently coincidental, although it might in fact be representative of a broader pattern among British migrants in the Algarve.[62]

Sample size:

As is the case for much qualitative research, my population sample is relatively small (fifteen participants). This can be justified on several counts. Firstly, it is not my intention to draw statistically significant inferences from this research. Secondly, the data yielded from the type of interview method I used is rich in both quantity and detail, and in order to do justice to this data from an analytical point of view, it must be of a manageable scale. Thirdly, and related to this, is the fact that qualitative research is highly intensive in terms of time and so any PhD project, by its very nature a rather solitary and time-constrained enterprise, needs to have a

[62] As far as I know, there is no available data on place of origin within the UK. My own questionnaire survey did not take this factor into account.

realistic target as to the amount of data its author can handle. The sample size was not the result of any particular criterion, therefore, except that of manageability.

In sum, although some of the criteria for participant selection were carefully defined at the design stage of the research (i.e. nationality, place of residence, minimum length of residence in the Algarve and representativeness of one of three pre-determined life course groups), the participants were recruited mostly as the result of opportunistic sampling. Table 5.1 below presents a summary of the characteristics of the sample, which is ultimately, I believe, well balanced.

Table 5.1 ***Interview participants***

Life-course stage	Pseudonym	Male/ Female	Age (at time of interview)	Length of time living in Algarve (at time of interview)	Place of residence
Later-life migrants	Jean (J)	F	In her 60s	13 years	Village near Almancil
	Marion (M)	F	In her 60s	7 years	Village near Almancil
	Peggy (P)	F	In her 60s	5 years	Coastal resort
Working-age parents	Amanda (A)	F	In her 40s	4 years	Inland rural area
	Gillian (G)	F	In her 30s	2.5 years	Near the coast (but not in a resort)
	Lynn (L)	F	In her 40s	7 years	Almancil
	Samantha (S)	F	In her 40s	18 years	Coastal resort area
Teenagers	Callum (C) Beth (B) Vivianne (V)	M F F	19 19 19	7 years 8 years 9 years	Almancil Almancil Inland rural area
	Ellie (E) Diana (D) Neil (N)	F F M	17 17 17	7 years 2 years 7 years	Inland rural area Near Almancil Inland rural area
	Tom (T) Harry (H)	M M	16 16	9 years 5 years	Almancil Inland rural area

5.1.3 Emergent typologies: elective and circumstantial migrants

As explained above, I originally selected research participants who were representative of three different life course stages. My intention was to analyse the data from each life course group separately and comparatively. However, in the initial stages of analysis, it became increasingly clear that the differences in the

construction of place-identity turn out to be not necessarily related to stages in the life course.

In migration studies, a distinction is typically made between voluntary and forced migration. It is generally an underlying assumption in the literature that all lifestyle migration is voluntary; indeed, by its very definition it would make no sense to consider it to be 'forced' migration. However, it is important to consider that the young adults that make up group 3 were all taken to live in the Algarve by their parents during their childhood, so their migration is not entirely voluntary. I therefore use the term **circumstantial migrants**, borrowed from Sato (2001), to describe a migrant 'typology' characterised by the fact migration was due to force of circumstance rather than individual motivations arising from aspirations to a better quality of life associated with the destination place.

It may be recalled that in the survey findings reported in chapter section 4.5, the top-ranked reason for moving to the Algarve was not '*lifestyle'* or even '*climate'*, as might have been expected. It was in fact '*I came with my family/partner*'. This led me to reflect further on the voluntary nature of lifestyle migration, for it suggests that within family units the decision to migrate is not necessarily a unanimous decision. What actually emerged from the data was that amongst the adult participants there were distinct differences in the personal circumstances that led to migration. These differences are reflected in the attribution of agency in their 'arrival stories'. Thus, of the seven women, five construct their accounts of moving to Portugal as resulting from a joint decision between themselves and their respective husbands. I refer to this group as **elective migrants.**

On the other hand, Marion (later-life) and Samantha (working age parent) can be considered circumstantial migrants. Marion narrated her story as involving the choice between staying in the UK or staying with her husband, who had decided to move abroad. After a short period when he initially lived by himself in the Algarve, she reluctantly decided to join him. Samantha also joined her husband in the Algarve, but under very different circumstances. She recounted how she met her future husband whilst on holiday in the Algarve, and that her move a year later was essentially the result of the development of their relationship and the fact that her (British) husband was already established there. These two women do not construct

their place-identity in the same way as the others, but unsurprisingly, and as we shall see in the data analysis, neither do their constructions bear much similarity with each other. Likewise, the teenage circumstantial migrants also take up positionings that index distinct types of place-identity. In sum, one of the aspects I want to highlight in my data analysis is that whichever 'typologies' of migrants are invoked, any attempt to reify these into homogenous 'categories' is likely to fail.

5.2 The interview data

Although the main aim of my research interviews was to try to emulate 'natural' conversation or talk as far as possible, at least to the extent that it is 'a conversation with a purpose' (Mason, 2002), a research interview nonetheless remains a research interview, and, like any type of interview, careful planning and preparation is fundamental to its success. The following sections describe the procedures I undertook for preparing the interviews, carrying out pilot interviews and transcribing the interview data.

5.2.1 Preparing a topic guide

Perhaps the key feature of preparing semi-structured interviews is a carefully thought-out topic guide. Besides acting as a prompt for the interviewer, a well-designed topic guide will enhance the consistency of data collection by serving as a broad agenda for all the interviews. It also allows for a certain amount of flexibility in that it is more of a mechanism for steering the interview than a prescription for coverage (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003: 115). It also avoids the question-answer-question-answer routine that results from an interview 'schedule' in the format of an ordered list of questions. My topic guide was designed around six main topic areas: (1) present circumstances; (2) life history (before coming to the Algarve); (3) moving to the Algarve; (4) living in the Algarve; (5) living in a particular part of the Algarve and (6) looking to the future. Each of the topic areas has sub-topics and questions which can be used as check-lists and prompts for eliciting accounts of experiences and stories. I reasoned that the topic guide, used in a flexible manner, should help participants to explore and share their own migration process experiences and, at the same time, reveal something about place-identity without my asking questions

which relate too directly to identity issues. I wanted to avoid asking such questions so as to reduce the risk of 'priming' respondents (Condor, 2006). The final version of this topic guide can be found in appendix E.1.

5.2.2 Choosing the interview site

Whilst many instructional texts in qualitative methods refer to issues involved in choosing a location or 'site' for an interview, most of the advice given focuses on issues of practicality and convenience. Sin (2003), however, argues that although the site is often implicitly understood as being a *tabula rasa*, a mere 'stage' on which social actions (the interview) and knowledge construction unfold, the spatial contexts in which interviews take place should be taken into account as a structured and structuring force on participants' construction of identities and knowledge. The interview site, in other words, has an effect on what people say and how they say it, and impacts on both power relations and the positionings of the participants (Elwood & Martin, 2000).

A reflection on how the site situates the participants with respect to others and to their own multiple identities is important. This may be markedly different from one location to another, for example the workplace vs. the home. Individuals generally choose (even if the choice is not entirely consciously made) to present, reveal, make salient or suppress certain 'aspects' of their identities in certain spatial contexts. This is certainly a point worth bearing in mind for discourse analysts who tend to see power relations as being primarily disclosed through the interaction observable in the text. For this reason, I decided that, with their consent, I would conduct the interviews in the research participants' own homes, as this should help the interviewees to feel more relaxed and should also have a potentially empowering effect: the power relations arising from the roles of interviewer/interviewee are to some extent balanced out by the guest/host relationship. The only cases where this did not happen were two of the teenage group interviews, which for convenience took place in the sixth-form common room at the international school they attended.

5.2.3 Pilot interviews

Having drawn up a topic guide, I carried out pilot interviews in order to assess the scope of such an interview as a tool for yielding the type of data I envisaged. I selected participants from each of the three life course groups, all of whom I knew personally to some degree. I decided that although I would interview adults on an individual basis, with the teenagers it might be preferable to try group interviews as they might feel more relaxed in the company of their peers. This was the format I eventually used for all the interviews with the teenage participants.

The first pilot interview was with a group of three nineteen-year-old friends. It took place at one of their homes and lasted for 30 minutes. The interviews with Lynn (in her late 40s) and Jean (in her early 60s) took place in their homes, lasting for 30 minutes and 45 minutes respectively. All the interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder and, having obtained the participants' written consent to use the data,[63] were subsequently transcribed.

Both Lynn and Jean appeared to be very much at ease with being interviewed and were visibly relaxed. This may have been due in part to the fact that both women knew me personally as well as to the fact that they felt comfortable in their own homes. The interviews flowed easily, with the interviewees developing and shaping their accounts without too much specific questioning from me. Most of the topic guide was covered spontaneously in each case, although having realised that the first interview with Lynn was rather short, I made an effort to cover the topic guide in more detail in the interview with Jean.

The teenagers were not quite so self-assured during the interview, and needed a fair amount of prompting from me. The perceived differences in interviewer/ee roles may well be more marked in this age group, making the whole interview setting and procedure more likely to appear formal and incite feelings of nervousness. I felt upon reflection that I could have done more to put the participants at ease before the interview began, and took this into account in subsequent interviews. I also realised that the original topic guide was not entirely appropriate for interviewing this age group, and found that I had spontaneously

[63] See section 5.2.4 below for ethical procedures.

asked other questions during the interview about experiences at school, for example. I subsequently devised a separate guide for use with teenagers, keeping it as similar as possible to the adult guide with regard to the overall structure, but with different prompts and thematic sub-areas. This topic guide can be found in appendix E.2.

A further lesson learnt was the importance of analysing the joint production of meaning. An examination of the transcripts shows that much of my role in the interview was aimed at giving positive, affiliating feedback ('mm hm'; 'yeh'; 'right') to encourage the interviewees to continue in their own way and to avoid challenging what they said. All of this suggests that, as the interviewer, I was happy to let the flow and the dynamics of the interview be largely controlled by the interviewees. However, this does not imply that as a relatively 'facilitating' interviewer I did not have any effect at all on what was happening in the interview-talk. To illustrate this point, I offer an example of how my input affects the surrounding talk.

Extract 5.1[64] comes from the beginning of the interview with Jean, and shows the pitfalls of trying to 'force' interviewees into making self-identifications. Jean has just given an account of her early life in England by referring to all the different places she lived in and around London and the life events associated with each place. I then ask her[65] directly if she considers herself to be "a Londoner". She has no hesitation in replying with an emphatic affirmative (line 3). However, I then appear to challenge her claim that she has lived all her life in London, by checking how long she has lived in the Algarve (line 7). My unwitting contestation of the identification that I had suggested myself in the first place seems to unsettle Jean in her account, with the effect that she becomes more inarticulate in her narrative (lines 14-23). As her account trails off (with the elongated 'so:::' at line 23 and then a long pause), I try once again, very unsubtly, to manoeuvre her into making a place-related identification (line 25). Her answer, this time, is both hesitant and self-reflexive (lines 26-7). She seems to want to agree with me but is really unable to do so.

[64] See appendix B for transcription conventions.
[65] In this and all other data extracts in this thesis, 'KT' refers to me, the interviewer.

Extract 5.1

```
01    KT:   oh right! so (1.0) so would you say though that you're a
02          Londoner
03    J:    yes.
04    KT:   do you identify [with that ]
05    J:                  [yeh I do ] really cos I've lived all my
06          life in London really=
07    KT:                       =so you've been here how long?=
08    J:    =we've lived here er:::m 13 years
09    KT:   yeh(.)but still if someone asked you where you came from=
10    J:    =we'd say London
11    KT:   yeh=
12    J:       =yeh
13    KT:   yeh
14    J:    although we've been- Essex is here really isn't it
15          [drawing map with finger] round about there (.) (in) geography
16          in London it's Essex out that way East London way if you
17          go North London or West London or South London it's
18          different
19    KT:   yeh
20    J:    but where we lived in East London the next step out is
21          Essex really
22    KT:   uh huh yeh
23    J:    so::::
24          (1.5)
25    KT:   so you were a city person=
26    J:                            =really. yeh? yeh (.)yeh? I s'pose
27          so (.) ye::h mmm
```

The importance of not only carrying out pilot interviews but also of transcribing them and carefully examining the data is more than obvious here. In this way, an initial 'error' I was making as an inexperienced interviewer became glaringly obvious and I was able to avoid repeating this in subsequent interviews. At the same time, the experience was enlightening from the point of view of examining meaning-making in interaction, which, after all, is one of the crucial aspects of the discursive construction and analysis of identity positions.

Finally, I should note that all three of the pilot interview transcripts are included in the final data set, since they all provided rich data for analysis. As Arthur and Nazroo (2003) note, unless radical changes are made to the methods of data collection or a substantial revision of the overall research objectives occurs, there is no reason why the pilot data should not contribute to the research findings, even if some fine-tuning of the guide or a slight shift in emphasis is needed before continuing the interviewing process.

5.2.4 Ethical considerations and procedures

According to the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL, 1994/2006), the standard framework for ethical considerations in social research is one which assumes a general responsibility to "respect the rights, interests, sensitivities, and privacy" of all participants in the research. Such a framework must necessarily address the question of how to ensure an acceptable balance between the potentially conflicting interests of the researcher and the research subjects (Cameron et al., 1997). For the researcher, this entails serious reflection upon how to collect and use valid data whilst simultaneously protecting the interests of each participant in the research. All participation in the research project must be voluntary, informed and confidential. Certain practices would, then, be quite obviously unethical, such as any form of coercion, violation of privacy or providing deliberately misleading information about the project. Simple measures can be adopted to avoid such situations; these measures are generally taken as part of the procedure for gaining informed consent.

Since the participants in this research were all over the age of sixteen at the time of interview, acquiring informed consent involved giving verbal and written information on the project, including the aims, possible outcomes of the research, and issues of confidentiality and data protection, before the data collection took place. Therefore, all interviewees were given a short information sheet (appendix F) about the interview before it began. This contained identifying information and contact details (for myself and the university department), as well as stating that the interview would be recorded and transcribed and that extracts may be used in the writing up of the research. The information sheet also clearly stated the confidential nature of the interview and the fact that it was to be used for academic purposes only, as well as giving the assurance that participants could freely withdraw from the study at any stage. I also took care to reiterate these provisions verbally, pointing out that I would use pseudonyms (for the participants themselves and any other people they happened to mention during the interview) in my transcriptions and throughout the thesis. The pseudonyms I selected are not intended in any way to have connotations of class, ethnicity and so forth. The only criterion I used was to ensure

that each pseudonym began with a different initial, to avoid confusion. I should also point out that, after transcribing the interview data, I decided that certain place names should also be changed, since references to place names can sometimes be identifying information. In cases where the references to place were not considered to be specific enough to make identification of individuals possible (e.g. names of countries, regions, or large cities) original place names are retained.

However, there was a further problem to be tackled. The nature of the research meant that making the research aims explicit would potentially affect the behaviour of the participants. The focus of my analysis was to be the place-identity work done in talk, but had I explained this at the outset, the participants may have been overly conscious of what they say in relation to this. As a great deal of identity work is done unconsciously, and as even the more conscious identity work may be performed in a different way if the speaker perceives that someone is 'evaluating' this, there seems to be a case here for *not* making the focus explicit before the interviews. This kind of 'innocuous deception' is in fact a matter of 'tacit consent' amongst language researchers who treat such procedures as a necessary means of upholding the above-mentioned balance of interests (Cameron et al., 1997: 148). Nonetheless, this type of practice violates to some degree the principle of informed consent and thus merits further reflection as to where the borderline between ethical and non-ethical procedures actually lies.

My solution was to withhold the specific objectives of the research until *after* the interview session. I therefore gave a vague summary of the research topic, i.e. that it is 'based on people's experiences of moving to and living in the Algarve', on the information sheet. I then informed the interviewees verbally that I would tell them more about the study at the end of the interview if they so wished. In fact, none of the interviewees requested any further information about the project at the end of the interview. When asked at the end of the interview if they were still willing to allow me to use the data in my research, each participant confirmed their willingness by signing the consent form (appendix F).

Finally, it should be noted that the research reported in this thesis followed the procedures to obtain ethical approval as set out and required by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Lancaster University.

5.2.5 Transcription

All transcriptions are inherently representational and interpretive (Poland, 2003), and as such, there can be no such thing as a 'natural' or objective way of going about them. Choices and decisions have to be made about how to represent spoken data as a written text. Firstly, there must be a concern with providing an accurate record of what was said. Potential pitfalls identified by Poland (2003) are the omission of words, mistaking words or phrases for others, and problems with 'sentence' structure. The best method of increasing the quality of transcription as regards the first two of these problems (misinterpretation and misrepresentation of what was actually said) is undoubtedly repeated listening to and editing of the draft transcripts. In terms of the representation of 'sentence' structure, the transcriber will do best to recognise that people do not talk in 'grammatically complete sentences' and so to ignore the conventions of written language. Punctuation marks are put to better use in capturing the natural rhythms of talk (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 2). Furthermore, there is no point in 'tidying up' the final texts by means such as the omission of pauses, hesitations, repetitions, false starts, etc., since these are often of the utmost importance in discourse analysis.

Another issue with transcription is how much detail to include. It is well known that the more transcribers listen to a stretch of talk, the more detail they hear. This means that a transcription system can become increasingly complex if the transcriber feels that every nuance of talk should be captured. Cameron (2001: 39) suggests that knowing when to stop comes from having a clear idea of what your transcript is for; there is no point in painstakingly transcribing detail that will not be used for analysis. A transcription is first and foremost an analytical tool for a particular research purpose. By conceding that a transcription is necessarily a situated act embedded in research conventions (Green et al., 1997), we can side-step the issue of what a 'true' written representation of a speech act is, since as researchers we are forced to admit that the representation of the primary data is as much a product of the research agenda as is the method of collection, the analysis and the interpretation of the data.

With this in mind, my own transcription system (appendix B), adapted from Benwell and Stokoe (2006) whose transcription conventions are based on Jefferson's (2004) system, includes the following conversational features: overlapping talk, continuous talk (no break between turns), minimal feedback responses (e.g. *mm hm*), stress on words or syllables, rising intonation, prolonged sounds, a sudden rise in volume, whispered or very low volume talk, rushed/very fast start or sequence of talk, and laughter. It does not include features that are sometimes transcribed in very detailed conversation analysis, such as in-breaths and out-breaths,[66] since these features are not necessary for the type of analysis I carried out. I also opted not to make extensive use of 'eye dialect', that is, writing a non-standard variant of English to read as it sounds. Although my informants were from differing geographical areas of Britain and from different social classes, I saw no reason to draw any particular attention to this through the transcripts.

5.3 Research operationalisation

5.3.1 The research process

As Wodak and Meyer (2009) note, while CDA in its various forms is strongly based in theoretical concepts, there is no overarching theoretical viewpoint or clearly defined empirical methodology from which CDA analysts proceed from the area of theory to the field of discourse and text (i.e. the data). However, it is generally accepted in CDA research that an important assumption about the research process must be taken on board. That is, empirical research in this paradigm is recursive in that it necessarily oscillates between theory and data (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) rather than proceeding in a linear fashion along a specifically marked out pathway. This assumption has led to a conceptualization of the research process as being cyclical in nature, as represented by Figure 5.1 below. Whilst I accept that this underlying assumption should be constantly kept in mind, I do not find the notion of circularity suggested by the diagram in figure 5.1 to be very helpful in either describing or actually undertaking a research project, for (in terms of practicality at least) at some stage an endpoint must be reached.

[66] These features are all included in Jefferson's (2004) system.

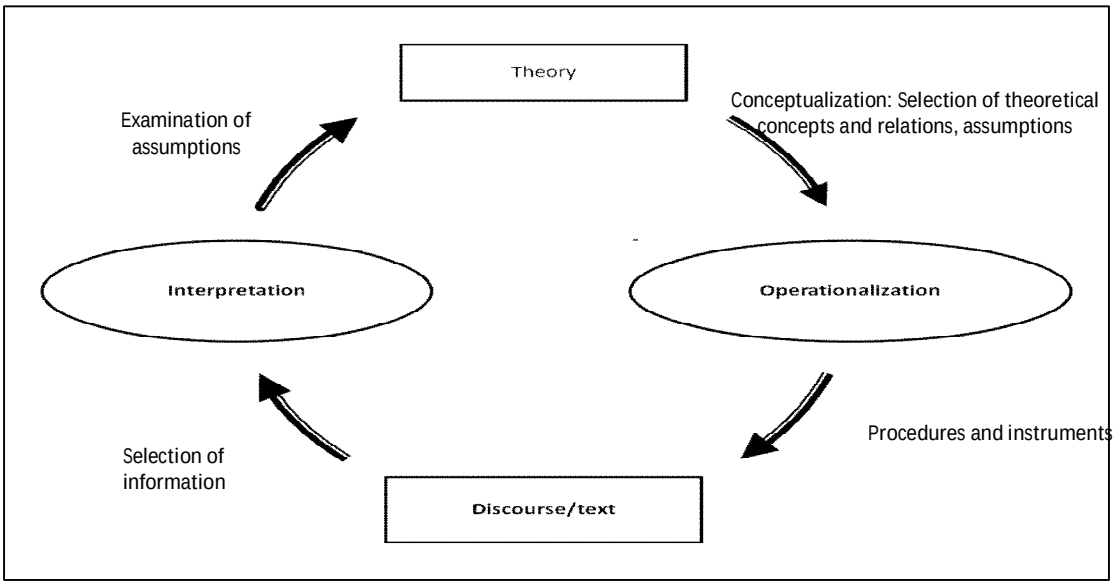

Figure 5.1: ***Empirical research as a cyclical process (from Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 24)***

I therefore found it useful to visualize the research process from a more optimistic perspective. I have borrowed from Spencer et al.'s (2003) concept of the "analytical hierarchy" as a way of structuring analysis through the stages of data management, descriptive accounts and explanatory/interpretive accounts. Their metaphorical conception of this structure is a kind of 'scaffolding' in that it is made up of a series of building blocks that also serve as viewing platforms. 'Ladders' linking these platforms enable movement up and down the structure; the researcher can thus move 'up' to the next stage of analysis but can also stop at any stage to look 'down' at what is emerging, take time to reflect on the overall construction of the research, and make as many trips 'back' to previous stages as is deemed necessary. The ability to move up and down the analytical hierarchy whilst thinking conceptually is, they suggest, at the heart of good qualitative analysis (ibid.).

Although this notion of an analytical hierarchy is appealing, what I found to be missing in Spencer et al's account is the relationship between the analytical process, the theoretical framework and social context of the research. Figure 5.2 shows my own adaptation of the model. I see the 'scaffolding' structure of the analytical process as being not only grounded in but also continuously influenced and informed by a 'landscape' of theory and social context; this landscape must also be constantly 'viewed' and reflected on from the various platforms and often returned to at ground level. On the other hand, the structure that emerges is also aimed at

ultimately contributing something to that landscape. In this way, the research process is still considered as iterative (and, admittedly, to some degree cyclical) in nature, but aiming for the 'top' of the structure provides a more motivational conceptualization.[67]

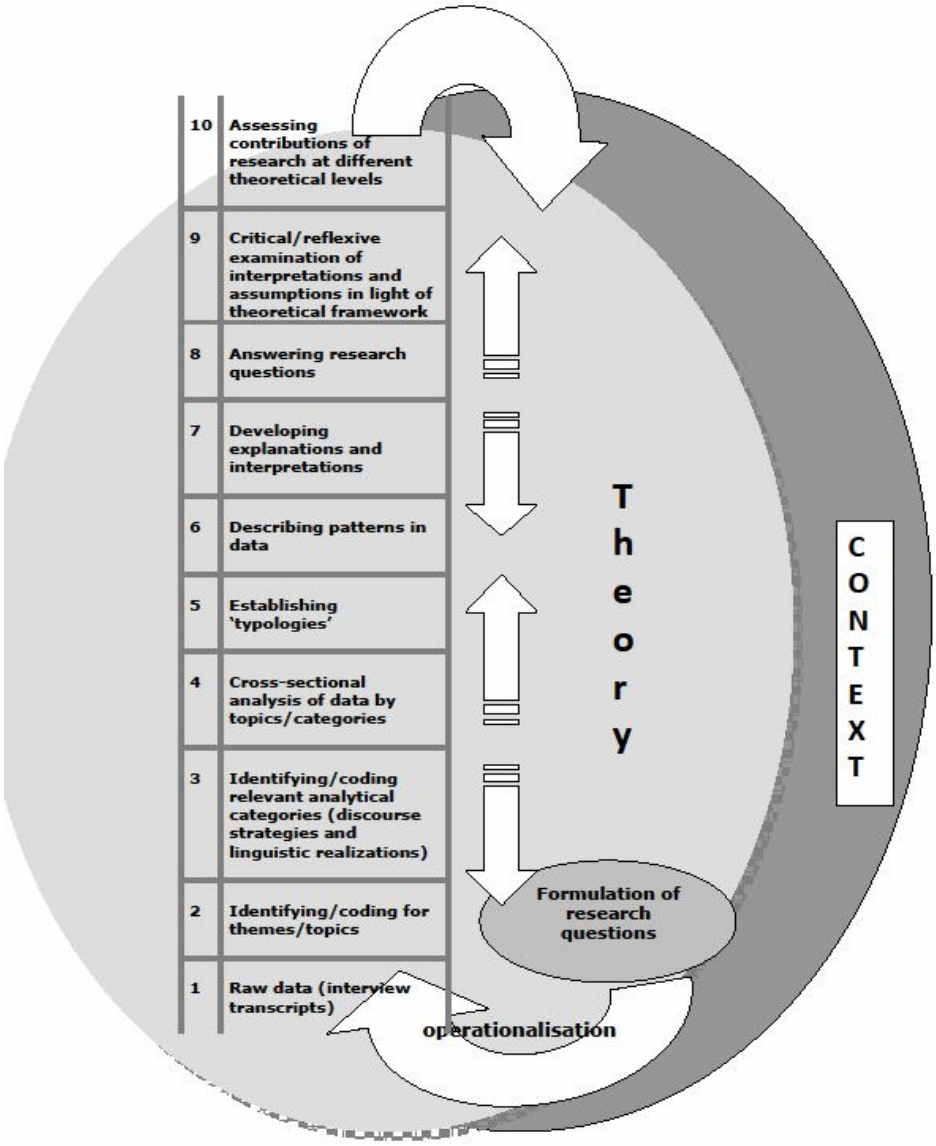

Figure 5.2: ***The research process***

[67] This metaphor is of course what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have termed an "orientational metaphor", a type of conceptual metaphor which arises from our physical and cultural experience. The up-down spatial metaphors include: HAPPY IS UP; CONSCIOUS IS UP; HAVING CONTROL IS UP; MORE IS UP; GOOD IS UP; VIRTUE IS UP; RATIONAL IS UP. It is therefore clear to see why 'aiming up' is motivational.

5.3.2 Research questions (revisited)

Whilst the research context and theoretical constructs informed the initial formulation of my research questions (see chapter section 1.7), it was by no means the case that I proceeded directly from a concrete set of research questions to the data analysis with clearly defined procedures, instruments and analytical categories. Much of my analysis was in fact data-driven. That is to say, it resulted from a great deal of movement up and down through the initial analytical stages described in Figure 5.2 and a process of modifying and fine-tuning the direction of the research questions in the light of the differing vistas that the 'viewing platforms' offered. This process also entailed considerable reflection on the links between the data, the various disciplinary inputs described in earlier chapters and various strands of linguistic theory which inform the 'operationalisation' of the research (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In short, although I had a rough idea of how to operationalise the research questions when I began my exploration of the data, this plan underwent substantial revision and refinement during the course of the initial, exploratory stages of data analysis.

A lengthy description of this process is beyond the scope of this section. Since many of the theoretical constructs and aspects of the macro-social context that shaped the landscape in which the data analysis is grounded have been explained in the preceding chapters, what remains is to account for the linguistic theories that fed into the eventual operationalisation of the research questions. This is something which is not always explicit in CDA research; as Wodak (2001b: 12) notes, texts are often analysed using "a whole mixed bag of linguistic indicators and variables" with no theoretical notions in the background.

As might be expected in the light of the overall theoretical framework underpinning this thesis, I have drawn on both social and cognitive theories of language. This is explained in the next section of this chapter. The final section then summarises the analytical categories that I applied to the data in order to answer the research question ***how do speakers position themselves and others in relation to place(s), both individually and collectively?***

5.3.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a branch of linguistic theory which has emerged from work by Halliday and his colleagues (see, for example, Eggins, 1994/2004; Halliday, 1978, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999, 2004). Halliday's initial premise was that "language is as it is because of its function in the social structure" (Halliday, 1973: 65). SFL is therefore used as a framework of reference by many researchers working within the CDA paradigm due to its concern with the relationship between language and the social world. Particular reference can be made here to the discourse-analytical methodology outlined by Martin and Rose (2003, 2007), as well as the Dialectical-Relational Approach developed by Fairclough (e.g. Fairclough, 2003, 2009), van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach (e.g. van Leeuwen, 1996, 2009) and Eggins' and Slade's (1997) framework for analyzing conversation.

SFL provides a multi-layered functional model for analyzing and interpreting language in use; a model of language that considers it to be embedded in and informed by social context. It is a functional theory in that it sees language use as purposeful behaviour[68] and multi-layered in that language in use is viewed as comprising several layers of meaning simultaneously. From this perspective, it is easy to see why it is attractive to many CDA practitioners as a framework for operationalising research questions at the micro-level of linguistic analysis. Likewise, I have also drawn upon some aspects of SFL.

In very simplified terms, and as a means of introducing some of the terminology I will be using, the overall framework of SFL can be summarised as follows.[69] First, it identifies three modes of functional meaning (**metafunctions**) which operate simultaneously in texts: the **ideational** (meanings about the world - construing experience/aspects of the world);[70] the **interpersonal** (meanings about

[68] Halliday (1985: xiii) argued that language is organised in such a way as to respond to the ways in which it has evolved to satisfy human needs. Thus, the functions of language include the instrumental, regulative, interactive, personal, heuristic, imaginative and informative functions (van Leeuwen, 2005: 76-77)

[69] The summary is based on readings of various SFL texts (Eggins, 1994/2004; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin & Rose, 2007; Martin & White, 2005).

[70] In later versions of SFL, the ideational metafunction is further divided into the experiential and the logical metafunctions. The experiential mode basically corresponds to functions of representation

roles and relationships - enacting/negotiating social relationships) and the **textual** (meanings about the message – organizing, connecting and foregrounding texts/parts of texts). At the same time, language is seen as a stratified **semiotic system**. The strata comprise linguistic expression in the form of phonology/graphology, lexicogrammar (the re-coding of phonological/graphological patterns as words and structures) and discourse semantics (meaning beyond the clause). This system is viewed as being embedded in a further stratum of social context. The relationship between the strata making up the system is known as **realization**.

SFL sees language as being comprised of both structure (categories and functions) and **system networks**, which foreground the elements of choice in language and thus emphasise the notion of language resources. One example of a system network is that of Appraisal. Since I have applied a simplified model of the Appraisal system in the analysis of my data, I next provide a brief outline of Appraisal theory and how it contributes to this research.

5.3.4 Appraisal theory

In order to explore how speakers position themselves and others attitudinally in relation to place(s), I needed a framework that would account for the complex linguistic phenomenon of evaluation. I use the term 'evaluation' here in its broadest functional sense, following Thompson and Hunston (1999: 5) who view its scope as covering "the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about". In this way, evaluation includes a range of discourse features that express values, such as the lexical expression of attributes and emotions, as well as epistemic and deontic stance.

A particularly useful framework of evaluation in this wide sense is that of Appraisal theory (Martin, 1999; Martin & White, 2005; White, 2005), which developed within the paradigm of SFL with a view to extending the account of the

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whilst the logical mode construes our experience of the world as chains of phenomena related by logic-semantic relationships (Matthiessen et al., 2010).

interpersonal metafunction. The Appraisal model has been developed to attend to issues such as:

- how speakers adopt stances towards and align/disalign themselves with both the material they present and those with whom they communicate;
- how the construction of texts also constructs communities of shared feelings, values etc. and the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes, normative assessments and so forth;
- how speakers construe particular identities for themselves and others (people and objects).

According to Martin and White (2005: 2), Appraisal theory goes beyond more traditional accounts of evaluation because it is not only concerned with the overt encoding of speaker/writer attitudes but also those means by which evaluative stances are more indirectly activated and the ways in which readers/listeners are positioned to supply their own assessments. Furthermore, by integrating what is often dealt with separately by linguists under such headings as 'modality' or 'evidentiality', the model allows a thorough investigation of value positions such as speaker/writer certainty and commitment in respect to propositions as well as towards other voices and positions. Finally, intensifying and mitigating strategies are also built into the model. In order to account for these various aspects of discourse semantics, the Appraisal system has 3 interacting domains:

- **Attitude** (concerned with feelings, emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour, evaluation of things);
- **Engagement** (concerned with sourcing attitudes and the interplay of voices around opinions in discourse);
- **Graduation** (concerned with the grading phenomena of force and focus).

Realisations of Attitude (which is further systemised into the regions of **affect**, **judgement** and **appreciation** – see chapter section 6.1 for a detailed description of this domain) are obviously evaluative strategies and as such, it is unproblematic to call them positioning devices for marking attitudinal stance. Yet when speakers take up their own attitudinal positions:

> they not only self-expressively 'speak their own mind', but simultaneously invite others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing. Thus declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared value and belief (Martin & White, 2005: 95).

Engagement, as a dialogic perspective based on Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia, is therefore also helpful as a means of exploring positioning. Bakhtin called attention to the ways in which social communities embody a large number of different discourse voices, each standing in complex semantic relationships to many others, thus both reflecting and helping to constitute the social relationships among distinct groups within a community. These distinct discourse voices can be characterised and identified by their particular points of view. This is the phenomenon of 'heteroglossia' (Lemke, 1998). Thus, to speak or to write is always dialogic, since all utterances exist against a backdrop of other utterances on a similar topic (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in Martin & White, 2005: 93). The framework for Engagement is oriented towards rhetorical effects and comprises the linguistic resources by which speakers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced or addressed, as well as other voices/alternative positions construed as being in play in the current communicative context (Martin & White, 2005: 94). These linguistic resources include projection, modality, polarity, concession and comment adverbials.

Finally, it is also useful to consider the Graduation framework (which accounts for what are referred to as intensifying and mitigating strategies in the DHA) in conjunction with Attitude and Engagement. This allows an analysis of how speakers align themselves more or less strongly to the attitudinal or value positions being advanced. According to the Appraisal framework, Graduation operates across two axes of scalability: grading according to intensity or amount (force) and graduation according to prototypicality (focus). Linguistic realisations of force include comparative and superlative morphology, repetition, intensified lexis and so forth. For resources that are non-gradable in terms of force, Graduation can be realised by adjusting the strength of boundaries between categories to create core and peripheral types of things. This is achieved either by sharpening the focus (e.g. by lexical intensifiers that upscale *x* as a 'real' or a 'true' *y*) or softening it (e.g. by hedges that downscale *x* as 'a sort of' *y*).

Figure 5.3 below shows an overview of the Appraisal system and its resources.

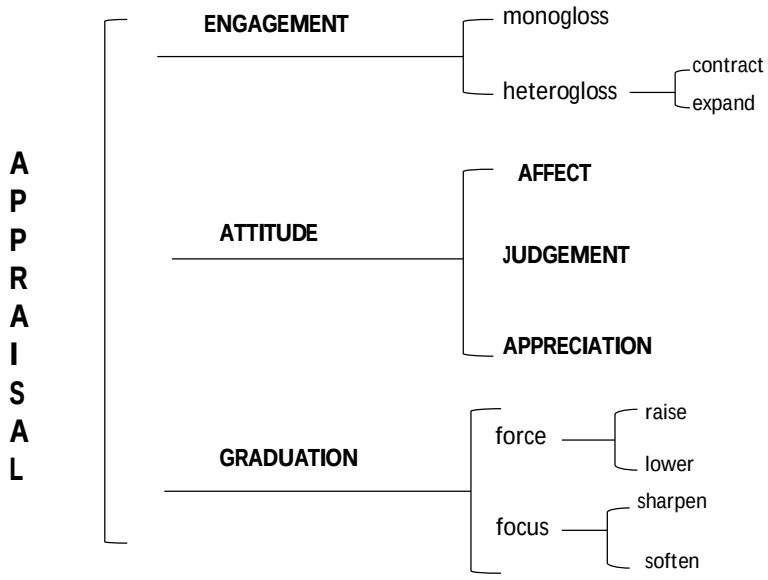

Figure 5.3: ***The Appraisal system (from Martin & White, 2005: 38)***

5.3.5 Combining SFL and Cognitive Linguistics

Like any linguistic theory, SFL has its shortcomings. What is most evidently missing from the SFL model of language is an explicitly cognitive perspective. Van Dijk (2008a: 29) rather summarily accuses SFL as being "anti-mentalist" and having a "lack of interest in cognition". Because of this, he claims, SFL provides an overly deterministic view of language in use, for if we do not include cognitive aspects that account for individual beliefs and mental models, we cannot account for individual variations and decisions. As such, we have to rely on a model that presents social condition *x* as leading to textual structure *y* (ibid.: 44). I would not agree entirely with van Dijk on this, since I think that SFL theorists do not *deny* that there is a cognitive aspect to language in use, rather they have simply disregarded it. In my brief outline of Appraisal theory above, for example, it is obvious that there are cognitive processes assumed to be at work. Evaluating objects in terms of aesthetics or ethics, or grading something according to prototypicality, for example, would be impossible

without cognition. Most of the body of research that has applied SFL in CDA has doubtless been primarily informed by other concerns, such as analysing texts as elements in social processes (Fairclough, 2003), and therefore simply *assumes* the link between language and cognition rather than attempting to theorize it.

Nevertheless, cognition has not only been repeatedly referred to by Van Dijk (1998; 2006; 2008a; 2008b; 2009) as the crucial 'interface' between society and discourse, but has also been argued by Chilton (2005) to be the 'missing link' in CDA research. Thus, in order to address my own research questions and in the light of theoretical and methodological considerations already presented in this thesis - including, importantly, my assumption that the discursive construction of identity is a process that involves both social *and* cognitive phenomena (see chapter section 3.1 on 'identity') - I needed a linguistic framework that provides an account of language-in-use as having both social and cognitive properties. I have therefore combined elements of SFL with theoretical aspects and analytical categories taken from the field of cognitive linguistics. In this respect, I follow the lead of Koller (e.g. 2008a; 2008c; 2009; forthcoming), who has applied a similarly combined approach to research addressing issues of social identities.[71]

As a branch of linguistic theory, cognitive linguistics can be generally defined as investigation into the conceptual structures 'behind' language, and as such comprises a range of theories that attend to aspects of linguistic/conceptual structure (Hart & Lukeš, 2007a). According to these authors (ibid.: xi):

> Cognitive Linguistics seems to offer something like a conceptual account of Halliday's ideational function of language, where our experience of "reality" is structured by a variety of *construal operations* (Croft & Cruse, 2004) which include conceptual metaphor, conceptual blending, conceptual framing.

Seen in this manner, it becomes more apparent why insights from cognitive linguistics can bolster the SFL model to provide a more robust theoretical framework for linguistic analysis. Although CDA in general has not been overly concerned with cognition (Chilton, 2005), by the same measure cognitive linguistics has not traditionally been concerned with language above the sentence level (Hart & Lukeš,

[71] It should be noted that this approach would doubtless be rejected by many scholars, including van Dijk and Chilton, as they would not see SFL as being at all compatible with a cognitive approach to language use.

2007a). In recent years, however, there have been signs of a growing trend by cognitive linguists towards engaging with (critical) discourse analysis (see, for example Chilton, 2004; Hart & Lukeš, 2007b; O'Halloran, 2003; Werth, 1999). As Hart (2007: 107) argues, cognitive linguistics can provide ideal tools for exploring the relation between discourse, cognition and society by specifically attending to conceptualisation. To date, the most widely used application of cognitive linguistics in CDA has been conceptual metaphor theory (Hart & Lukeš (2007a) provide a useful list of references). I also draw on this (see 5.3.8 below). Additionally, I have found Chilton's work on ontological spaces to be particularly informative as a theoretical underpinning for the analysis of deictic reference.

5.3.6 Ontological spaces and the deictic centre

Starting from the proposition that texts both emerge from and give rise to cognitive-social processes, activated by the resources of a language system that are linked to cognitive structures and processes, Chilton (2003: 97) suggests that at the micro-structural level of texts, conceptual domains (which he calls "ontological spaces") are set up. These spaces carry a "deictic signature" for space, time and modality, and their inter-relationships (ibid.). Since the entities referred to in communication are not always manifest in the physical setting of an interactive event, a speaker (S) may have to do a great deal of discursive work to enable the hearer (H) to mentally establish a representation (ibid.: 108). Any representation thus needs to be suitably oriented and "positioned" in relation to both S and H; that is, it needs to be "conjured up" by linguistic stimuli (ibid.). The process of "pointing to entities whilst simultaneously specifying their spatial, temporal and other kinds of relation to S and to H" (ibid.) is linguistically encoded by deictic expressions.

The deictic centre (the self, or linguistically 'I' and some forms of 'we') is simultaneously the intersection and the common point of origin of the three dimensions of space (*s*), time (*t*) and modality (*m*) (Figure 5.4). The deictic centre is thus the "implied 'anchoring' point" that S and H construct and impose during interaction (Chilton, 2004: 56). Such anchoring is clearly dependent on cognitive frames that "embody conventional shared understandings about the structure of society, groups and relations with other societies" (ibid.). Other entities and

processes 'exist' in discourse "relative to ontological spaces defined by their co-ordinates on the space (*s*), time (*t*) and modality (*m*) axes" (Chilton, 2003: 108). Extreme points on the *s*, *t* and *m* axes are therefore characterised by their 'remoteness' in relation to the deictic centre. The coordinates are indexed in discourse by a range of linguistic expressions including tense, deictic markers such as pronouns, adverbs and demonstratives, modal expressions and prepositional phrases.

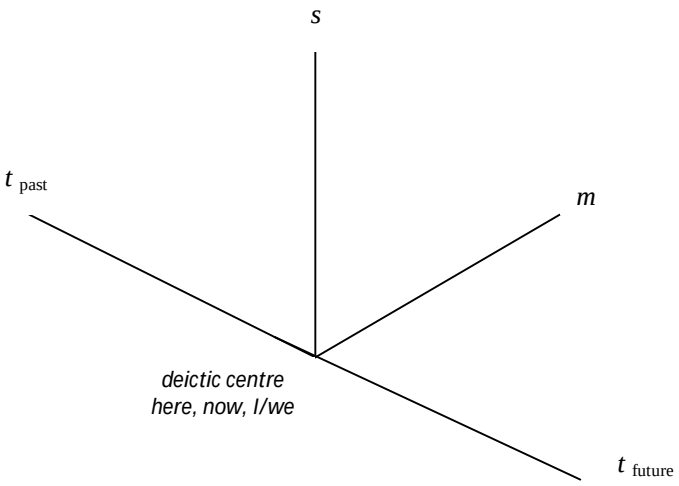

Figure 5.4: ***Dimensions of deixis (from Chilton, 2004: 58)***

It is important to note that the deictic centre (and the axes along which entities are positioned) is the result of the interaction of conceptual, linguistic and social relationships. As such, deictic centre is never completely fixed; it is liable to 'shift' in ongoing communication, as are the other complex space-time-modality ontological spaces set up in communication. This 'shifting' of positioning may be highly strategic, as Chilton shows in his analysis of political discourse, or it may be relatively unconscious, as I will show in my own analysis of the discursive construction of place-identity in talk. Indeed, whilst Chilton is concerned primarily with political discourse, his framework can be applied to other areas of investigation. In my research, I have used the concept of deictic centre as a means of exploring the positioning of the self and others in narrative accounts of the migration process.

Specifically, I look at how spatial deixis indexes alignment with or against places and ultimately how this contributes to the discursive construction of modes of belonging.

5.3.7 Deixis

According to the linguistic anthropologist Haviland (2005: 125):

> The mechanics of deictic centring may seem a most trivial expression of the negotiation of 'place'. Yet in the same way as migrants' movements – both literal and rhetorical – between the place of origin and the destination place may be extremely complex, so deixis can be a sensitive index to attitudes to place.

The fact that this type of reference can only be understood through its relation to the speech event in question clearly shows how language structure "encodes aspects of the situational frameworks in which verbal interaction occurs" (Hanks, 1993: 127). It is important to distinguish here between the terms 'frame' and 'framework'. In cognitive linguistics, a **frame** is understood as a schematic structure related to the conceptualisation of situation types and areas of experience and is thus 'stored' in long-term memory (Chilton, 2004: 51). Spatial frames of reference are the coordinate systems employed through language and cognition to map the spatial relationship between objects (Burenhult, 2008). Conceptual frames may be thought of as common to all speakers of a language, as are the linguistic means for their expression. English has a relatively impoverished spatial deictic system (Cruse, 2004) with only two basic frames of reference, the proximal and the distal. Spatial deixis is principally manifested by the locative demonstratives *here* and *there*, as well as the demonstratives *this/these* and *that/those* in nominal groups (e.g. *this country, those places*). Additionally, there are a few deictically anchored verbs, namely certain uses of *come/go*[72] and *bring/take/fetch*.

Hanks (1993) suggests that a **framework** can be conceptualised as a 'local production' resulting from a particular instance of interaction.[73] It is through the frameworks that emerge from a particular discursive event, and which are subject to constant revision and negotiation throughout interaction, that the indexical and indeed shifting nature of deictic reference becomes apparent.

[72] Levinson (1996: 362) notes that 'go' verbs are generally unmarked for deixis and rarely actually encode "motion away from deictic center" - it is only by opposition to the deictically specified 'come' that verbs pick up an implicature of "motion away".
[73] Hanks is following Cicourel (1985) on this.

Like all deictic expression, spatial deixis is contextually determined: the referent is located by one or more of the participants in a particular speech event. Thus, *here* can be glossed as something like "the region relatively close to the speaker" (Cruse, 2004) or "the contextually appropriate area including the speaker" (Levinson, 1996). Obviously, the understandings of both 'relative closeness' and what is 'contextually appropriate' are only determined by the situatedness of the interaction in which the reference occurs. Moreover, spatial deictic reference in an utterance often needs to be interpreted flexibly by the co-participants. It might be a specific, physically bounded area, or a much vaguer conception of an imagined place. As Cruse (2004) points out, what is important is that the participants in interaction can in some way locate the dividing line between *here* and *there*, for otherwise the concept of *here/there* would be meaningless.

However, deictic reference emerges not only from the local interactive context of immediate shared experience but is also informed by other social contextual aspects. This includes speakers' and hearers' bodies of socio-cultural knowledge, habits and routinised modes of expression, as well as the relations among participants in the interactive event (Davidson, 2007; Hanks, 2005; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2005). As Hanks (2005: 11) notes, "the standard analytic bias toward 'informativeness' masks the critical fact that speakers often engage in deictic practice not to position objects but to position themselves". This means that deictic expressions are useful not only for pointing or referring to objects, including spatial categories (i.e. as a referential discursive strategy), but can also realize the discursive functions of evaluation and perspectivization. The latter serves to position the speaker's point of view and to express involvement or distance (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2001a). As one of the central tenets of this thesis is that place (like, and in relation to, identity) is socially mediated in interaction, it follows that exophoric deictic reference to place[74] must be analysed accordingly, that is, as a

[74] Exophoric use of deictic markers means references which are external to the text, whilst endophoric deixis refers to discourse-internal uses where the referent is recoverable from the text itself (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Whilst 'locational relativization' may therefore pertain to a referent's location in actual space *or* its location in discourse (Burenhult, 2008), the discussion here is limited to exophoric use, since it is through this that place-identity work is done.

category of linguistic realization that contributes, at the micro-level, to the discursive construction of place-identity.

5.3.8 Image schemata and conceptual metaphor

Since another of my central tenets is that lifestyle migrant place-identity has more to do with imagined place(s) than any 'real' sense of place, I am drawing on the concept of the imagination as a basic image-schematic capacity for the ordering of experience (Johnson, 1987). Johnson argues that meaning is very much dependent on embodied experience, i.e. our contact with the spatio-temporal world that surrounds us. Embodied experience plays a fundamental role in enabling us to arrive at conceptual understanding and meaning, via the imagination. In other words, concepts are not entirely abstract and separate from human experiences.

Image schemata, as Johnson uses the term, are "embodied patterns of meaningfully organised experience" (1987: 19). These image schemata "*are pervasive, well-defined, and full of sufficient internal structure to constrain our understanding and meaning*" (ibid.: 126, original emphasis). Image schemata, which structure our spatial understanding, can be metaphorically mapped onto more abstract conceptual structure. This type of metaphorical projection therefore allows us to make meaningful order and structure in the more abstract areas of our experience. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 17-19) have argued, most of our fundamental concepts are organised in terms of orientational (spatial) metaphors, each of which has both internal and external systemacity, and some of which are so deeply entrenched in our conceptual understanding that it is difficult to imagine any alternative metaphor to structure a concept.

One of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience, and thus one of the most basic embodied schemata, is that of CONTAINMENT. This schema accounts for our understanding of spatial boundedness, which is the experiential basis for IN-OUT orientation. Besides enclosure, the IN-OUT orientation also involves separation and differentiation. Thus, CONTAINMENT schemata can be drawn upon in the imagination to conceive of relatively fixed locations either within or outside of the container. Related to this is the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema, through which we experience the NEAR-FAR schema as stretching out along our perceptual or conceptual perspective

(Johnson, 1987: 125). By superimposing a CONTAINER schema on the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema, we experience the centre as 'inner' and define the 'outer' as relative to it (ibid.). This helps to explain how we can conceptualise both the self-other distinction and the more collective ingroup-outgroup boundary, for spatial metaphors can help to structure socio-cognitive representations of collective identities and interpersonal relations between social groups (Koller, forthcoming; Koller & Davidson, 2008). In addition, it is easy to see the link here with the feelings of insideness/outsideness (see chapter section 3.4.1) that seem to underlie modes of belonging.

IN-OUT schemata might also involve movement, since people may move themselves or objects into or out of containers. The CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema can also imply conceptual movement, e.g. towards one's 'experiential horizon' (Johnson, 1987: 124). Conceptually, then, this is linked to the space, time and modality dimensional axes described in the previous section. However, the basic schema for movement is the PATH schema (FROM-TO orientation), in which there is always a source (starting point), a goal (endpoint) and a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source with the goal (ibid.: 113). As we tend to have purposes in travelling along paths, we tend to experience them as directional (although this directionality is imposed, not inherent). Paths also often have a temporal sense mapped onto them - in fact such a linear spatialisation of time is fundamental in the way we understand it, in Western culture at least.[75]

5.3.9 Summary of linguistic parameters for analysis

By underpinning my analysis with a framework that combines social/functional and cognitive theories of language-in-use, I aim to show not only what people are doing (at a discursively strategic-functional level) with language but also to account for some of what is going on in their minds (at a conceptual level). As both of these levels comprise vast dimensions of language-in-use, it is necessary to focus on specific aspects. In order to do this, I had to establish linguistic categories of analysis.

[75] Indeed, the cultural roots of both image schemata and conceptual metaphor should also be taken into account, although it is difficult to distinguish the physical from the cultural basis since the choice of one particular physical basis among possible others is always interwoven with cultural coherence (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 19).

The main question is how positioning, as a conceptual tool, can be operationalised. Specifically, how can linguistic theory be operationalised to develop an analytical framework for investigating positioning in respect to the discursive construction of place-identity? In the course of the first stages of analysis, I found that two major types of positioning can be traced in the data: (1) attitudinal positioning and (2) spatial positioning (literal and imaginative/metaphorical). Below is a summary of the linguistic categories that emerged, from both the data itself and the linguistic theory I have outlined above, as useful parameters for positioning analysis in the context of my research:

Attitudinal positioning:

- Realisations of affect (mental/affective processes linked to place)
- Realisations of appreciation (attributes of place, relational processes)
- Realisations of judgement (evaluating behaviour or social practices associated with particular places)
- Realisations of graduation (intensifying/mitigating strategies)
- Forms of engagement (projection of other voices, modality, concession, etc.)

Spatial positioning:

- References to place (toponyms; geographical and relational place formulations; prepositional phrases, idiomatic expressions)
- Spatial deixis (including deictically anchored verbs)
- Spatial/ orientational metaphors
- Membership categories that can be tied to place (e.g. nationalities, nouns derived from regions, cities, etc.)

It should be stressed that the above list of categories is not exhaustive, but merely an indication of the main parameters for analysis. I also considered how other linguistic categories such as personal deixis, temporal deixis and tense and aspect work in conjunction with the linguistic features listed above to construct positionings in talk. Finally, I brought in other features of discourse as and when appropriate, for instance recurring lexical themes, repertoires, argumentation/justification strategies. Further details on specific categories and their application are given throughout the course of the data analysis chapters which follow.

Chapter 6
Constructing modes of belonging

In this chapter, I focus on how speakers position themselves and others towards place(s), and how this contributes to the discursive construction of modes of belonging. The data that I use to illustrate this come mostly from the adult interviews. This is partly due to the limitations of space, for it would be impossible to integrate all the findings from the whole dataset into this one chapter. The main reason for the selection of the adult data, however, is that I want to show how elective migrants construct modes of elective belonging in their 'adopted' place. As I explained in chapter 5, the teenage participants can all be considered as a particular type of circumstantial migrants, and as such, I have dedicated a separate chapter (8) primarily to the analysis of the data collected from this group. In order to highlight differences in the constructions of modes of belonging in the present chapter, I have used data from the interview with Marion, the most 'circumstantial' of the adult migrants. Occasional references will be made to the teenage data where particularly relevant. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first documents how I used a simplified framework from Appraisal theory to analyse the data in terms of attitudinal positioning and presents the main findings. The second section explores the data from the perspective of spatial positionings, both literal and imaginative.

6.1 Attitudinal positioning

The specific questions that guided this part of the analysis were:

(1) what is the attitudinal alignment of speakers towards place(s)?

(2) how is this achieved linguistically?

(3) what is the overall effect of this in terms of belonging?

Whilst this can be investigated to some degree by identifying the predicational strategies deployed to evaluate place (i.e. by exploring the discursive qualifications of place, the evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits, etc.), what this method fails to capture is a) how emotions are also drawn upon as discursive

resources in attitudinal positioning towards place and b) how evaluations of people's behaviour and practices in place also figure as strategic positioning devices.

The **Attitude** sub-system of Appraisal provides a more integrated method for analysing these various aspects of evaluation in discourse. The Attitude system involves the three semantic regions that are more traditionally referred to as emotion, ethics and aesthetics but which Appraisal theorists have termed **affect**, **judgement** and **appreciation** respectively (Martin & White, 2005: 181). In terms of discourse semantics, any utterance that can be interpreted as either conveying a positive or negative assessment or as inviting the reader/hearer to supply a positive or negative assessment can be classified as attitudinal. With respect to my data, I approached the linguistic analysis of attitudinal positioning by exploring the following general questions in relation to the three domains:

Affect – how are feelings/emotions related to place(s) and place-identity?
Appreciation – which attributes of place(s) are mentioned, and how are they connected to place-identity?
Judgement – how is the behaviour of people in specific places evaluated, and how is this connected to place-identity?

For analytical purposes, it is useful to separate these domains and consider their functions in discourse as well as their specific linguistic realisations. However, it is important to note that rather than seeing attitude as being a feature or property of individual words (although individual words often *do* convey direct attitudinal meaning), it is better to view it as something which is found in utterances that express a complete proposition or across stretches of discourse or even whole texts (White, 2005). This means that attention needs to be paid to the ways in which the semantic domains overlap with each other, and, crucially, how indirect (invoked) attitude is realised. In this section of the chapter, I discuss how each domain is realised linguistically across the data, giving some brief examples, whilst at the same time indicating how they are related to each other. I also emphasize how the three domains are drawn upon by speakers to make contrastive evaluations. As Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2007: 102) have noted, the construction of discourses of

belonging is always based on the highlighting of differences and juxtapositions. In my data, these are strongly grounded in place formulations.

6.1.1 Affect: feelings about place

The overall function of **affect** is evaluation by means of indicating emotional dispositions. Linguistically, it therefore comprises the resources we have for construing emotions. Direct, inscribed realisations of affect diversify across a range of grammatical structures (Martin & White, 2005: 46), including modification of participants and processes (affect as 'quality'), affective mental and behavioural processes (affect as 'process'), modal adjuncts (affect as 'comment') and grammatical metaphors (Halliday, 1994) such as nominalised realisations of qualities and processes.

In semantic terms, affect has been divided by Appraisal theorists into three broad sets of emotions: un/happiness; dis/satisfaction and in/security. The first of these, **un/happiness,** broadly corresponds to feeling happy or sad or directing these sort of feelings at a trigger by liking/disliking it (Martin & White, 2005: 49). Also related are feelings of desire, typically realised through the desiderative mental process verbs. This set of meanings is clearly fundamental to human experience and the triggers of these feelings will generally be positively evaluated if they produce feelings that are deemed positive. Thus, it follows that if a place triggers positive feelings of this type, it is being indirectly positively evaluated. In the elective migrant data, there is plenty of evidence that speakers seek to position themselves as having a high level of positive affectual alignment with Portugal, or a particular place in Portugal. This is backed up by a contrasting negative affectual alignment (including negated positive alignment) with the UK, or other places. Table 6.1 shows examples of this.

Positive affectual alignment with Portugal by *realis* expressions of happiness are often reiterated by *irrealis* expressions of affect concerning being (hypothetically) in other places. As Martin and White (2005: 48) note, grammatically this 'reaction v. intention' distinction is constructed as the opposition between emotive and desiderative mental processes. Thus, in table 6.1, Jean (J) backs up her *realis* claim

"I'm quite happy here" with the *irrealis* claim "I wouldn't want to go back and live in England".

Table 6.1. ***Inscribed affect: un/happiness***

Linguistic realisations	**Examples from the data**	
	(+ affect) Portugal	**(- affect) UK/other places**
Affect as 'process': (mental processes: emotive / desiderative)	P: we realised we really **liked** it here G: what I **love** about here is G: I don't think you could drag Steve away from here I really don't he's- he **absolutely loves** it.	J: I wouldn't **want** to go back and live in England L: that's what I was getting away from I **couldn't stand** it A: I certainly **wouldn't want** to go and live in Spain G: but now he **absolutely hates** going back [to England] J: he **hated** the cold weather in England, **hated** getting up at 5 o'clock in the morning
Affect as 'quality': (attributed to participants through relational process)	J: I'm quite **happy** here P: we're just so **glad** we found it really S: I was **enamoured** with many things about the place	A: a::nd he wasn't a hundred percent **happy** in his job in the UK
Affect expressed through 'grammatical metaphor': (Nominalisations of emotions)	G: this is our sort of **wanting** to stay in Portugal	A: no **desires** whatsoever to go back to the UK G: I have no **inclination** to go back at all

Table 6.1 also gives exemplifications of the various forms of linguistic realisation of **inscribed authorial** and **non-authorial** affect (un/happiness) found in the data. The most obvious rhetorical function of authorial affect (i.e. the person speaking is the person experiencing the emotion) is to indicate an attitudinal position towards the phenomenon responsible for that emotion (the trigger). The speaker is thus clearly foregrounding his/her subjective presence in the communicative process and, in this way, is also seeking to establish an interpersonal rapport with the

audience by inviting the hearer to share in that emotional response, or at least to see it as appropriate, understandable, justified, and so forth (White, 2005). Furthermore, the examples in table 6.1 show how authorial affect is realised through both singular and plural first person constructions. The plural pronouns all refer to 'my husband and I' (in some cases possibly also extended to include other members of the nuclear family). All the adult speakers switch between these forms. Thus, besides positioning themselves in terms of individual affect, they are also taking up subject positions as relational selves (Mason, 2004) and reiterating their position as part of a marital or family unit. Reynolds and Taylor have noted how the "dominant coupledom narrative" (Reynolds & Taylor, 2005; Taylor, 2010) is drawn upon, often tacitly, as a resource for positioning in women's stories about their lives. As a discursive strategy, the expression of shared (marital) emotional responses to phenomena through 'we-speak' (Mason, 2004) suggests a concern to position oneself within wider socio-cultural narratives that are embedded in normative relationships.

References to emotions can also be **non-authorial.** Non-authorial affect corresponds to the 'reporting' of emotional reactions of others and is therefore intertextual. The instances of this in the data mostly construe the emotional reactions of particular family members and friends, especially the respective husbands (cf. the examples in table 6.1 with the third person pronoun *he*). Since, in the case of the elective migrants, these instances are generally semantically coherent with their own affective evaluations, the effect of this is to reinforce positioning as relational selves with a positive alignment towards place.

It is useful to consider how linguistic realisations of attitude are intensified or mitigated, so as to determine the relative strength of speaker alignment to the evaluations they make. The **Graduation** system deals with the up-scaling and down-scaling of attitudinal meanings, i.e. their gradability in terms of **force** and **focus** (Martin & White, 2005). Most realizations of grading affect in the data are concerned with force. This is achieved in two ways: through **isolated** lexical items and through lexical **infusion** (ibid.). The former includes words and phrases that modify adjectives, verbal groups and nominalisations. The latter mode occurs when graduation is conveyed as one aspect of a single lexical unit. For example, the mental process verb *like* can be intensified by choosing the verb *love* (e.g. "`what I love about here`").

Looking back at the examples in tables 6.1, it can be seen that most of the realisations of un/happiness are substantially up-scaled, which creates a stronger sense of alignment (or not) with place.[76] Construing up-scaling as being at the highest possible intensity can be rendered by combined lexical isolation *and* infusion and can further be emphasised in an utterance by devices such as vocal emphasis (transcribed in the data by underlining), repetition and comparison:

> G: he absolutely loves it. you know <I mean I do but he absolutely loves it

Overall, and unsurprisingly, elective migrants draw consistently on feelings of positive affect towards Portugal and contrast them with negative affect towards the UK. This a basic, indicative means of constructing elective belonging in their chosen place of residence. On the other hand, Marion (circumstantial migrant) constructs a mode of *not* belonging that is reiterated by expressing overall negative affect towards Portugal and positive affect towards England. Even when she does make positive affective evaluations about her life in Portugal, they are generally down-scaled (e.g. "I **quite** like being near the sea"). The feelings she up-scales, conversely, are those related to her negative affect (e.g. "I **never really** wanted to live abroad **ever**"). She is also the only speaker to refer to things (other than family and friends) that she 'misses' about England: the triggers are 'green fields', country walks, and even the weather (see section 6.1.2 below on invoked affect). Unlike the elective migrants, her authorial and non-authorial inscriptions of affect are *not* aligned. She construes her husband's affective alignment with Portugal and England as being in direct contrast with her own (e.g. "he does like the heat"; "he really was fed up, you know in England"). By frequently reporting her husband's affect, however, she seems to be taking up an identity position as a 'good wife' in that she is showing herself to be receptive to her husband's emotions, and, subsequently, what she perceives as his needs. Rather than framing her narrative in a discourse of relational conflict, she is more concerned to show how, despite being

[76] Intensification is also a typical feature of feminine (but not necessarily women's) speech (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003: 181), so the informants may here also be performing femininity.

less participative in the migration process than the other women, she has nonetheless prioritised relational issues over her own individual feelings about place.

The semantic domain of **dis/satisfaction**, which covers feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the activities in which we are engaged (including, in this case, the process of migration), is in many ways related to feelings of un/happiness. Although there are comparatively few direct realisations of feelings of dis/satisfaction with place in the data, where these realisations do occur they are mostly in terms of feeling 'pleased' with aspects of experience in Portugal or being 'fed up' with things in England. For example, when I asked Jean why she thinks so many northern Europeans are moving to the Algarve, she replies "`probably the same as us, they're all fed up with the weather up there!`".

The third semantic domain of affect, **in/security,** has to do with feeling safe, settled, comfortable, relaxed, etc. in relation to one's environment. It might therefore be expected to feature strongly in migrants' accounts of their experiences in place. Directly inscribed expressions of security as 'quality' are, however, relatively infrequent in the data. Amanda talks about how she "`just felt at ease`" the first time she ever visited the Algarve. Gillian says that she is "`fairly established here`". Realisations of insecurity as quality are sometimes presented as being deictically remote in a temporal sense and serve to contrast with positive emotional responses that evolved with lived experience in place and that emphasise the eventual 'fit' between self, lifestyle and place. Thus, Lynn talks about how she felt "`scared`" (and had "`nightmares`") *before* the actual move to the Algarve, and then goes on to say: "`I was here for about a week (.) and I loved it! I knew immediately and I've never had a worry since.`"

On the whole, rather than being inscribed as quality or process, feelings of security are more indirectly realised in the data. Lynn, for example, draws recurrently on the metaphor of 'fitting in'. This metaphoric expression is interesting in that it evokes feelings of security that are related to experiencing 'insideness' through finding a comfortable 'slot' for oneself, both in place and socially. Lynn describes how she felt that she "`didn't fit in (.) the group that- the group back in England`" because of the group's normative social values and practices, particularly their conspicuous consumption, and "`we've never been really like that`".

On arriving in Portugal, she claims, "I just adapted immediately". On the other hand, her husband, who travels to and from England on a regular basis due to his business commitments, has had trouble 'fitting in' because "he doesn't do the day to day things that he should do here (...) that would make him fit in more". Because of his constant movement between places, "he doesn't really fit into any society". Thus, feelings of positive affect in terms of security are related to both social values and social practices, particularly the everyday experiences of being 'fixed' in place. This is also echoed by other speakers, through expressions such as "I've found my niche".

Amanda draws heavily on a repertoire of 'having it easy' in conjunction with explicit lexical realisations of security. She talks about how she was 'sheltered' and 'protected' during the initial stages of her migration, because several factors converged to 'make it easy' – e.g. the fact that her husband had been offered a job prior to the move meant that accommodation was arranged for them and people were on hand to help her organise things like enrolling her children at the local school. She reiterates the feelings of security that this provided by using passive forms which not only invoke feelings of security through being protected and helped by others, but also emphasize her own lack of agency ("I do think we were quite sheltered with the (.) the move because it was made easy for us").

Marion, on the other hand, expresses feelings of insecurity related to her life in Portugal, including continuing feelings of being unsettled despite having lived there for several years ("so I can't say that I'm (.) one hundred and one percent settled"); isolation ("I felt very cut off as well"), displeasure ("if I'm feeling really fed up") and anxiety ("but I think that was due to the fear as much as anything"). In evaluating her experience of having to "start again" in a new country, she says: "I didn't find it easy you know I didn't find it easy at all I still don't". With the temporal marker *still*, she indicates that the whole process of migration continues to be difficult for her.

6.1.2 Invoked affect

Some phrases and units of text do not directly construe affect, but can be read as implying an emotional response on the part of the speaker. In this way, some representations of ideational meaning can be read as implicating affect through generalised cultural meanings. A simple example (which is highly relevant in the context of this research) is the representation of the climate. From the stance of a northern European, warmth, blue skies and sunshine are typically associated with happiness whereas cold temperatures, grey skies and rain are associated with unhappiness. Sometimes this association is directly realised, that is, with climatic features as trigger in affective processes (e.g. "I did hate the er cold and the- the grey") whereas at other times it is implicit, although it is not difficult to make the link between the affectual positionings of *liking* the lifestyle and *being happy* in a place, and the ideational representation of the climate embedded in the middle of the following utterance: "I like the lifestyle it's warm all the- most of the year and yeh! I'm quite happy here". This can of course work the other way; Marion finds it "too hot here", which contributes to her negative affect for the place.

This means that affect can be "implicated through the selection of ideational meanings which redound with affectual meanings" (Martin, 1999: 155). Although caution is needed when analysing ideational meaning as tokens of invoked affect, certain representations do seem to assume a predictable response from the listener. Therefore, a tactical reading of a text (Martin & White, 2005: 62) can reveal how ideational meaning is often selected for the attitudes it engenders; in other words, the absence of attitudinal lexis that directly expresses feelings does not mean that feelings are absent from the text.

Besides considering triggers like climate or lifestyle that are clearly grounded in a particular place as 'tokens of affect', I also consider representations of **affordances** of place to constitute such tokens. In theory, at least in the sense that the concept was first described by the perceptual psychologist Gibson (1986/1979), affordances are 'neutral', since they are basically all the action possibilities perceived in a particular environment. In practice, however, they are drawn upon in discourse

as positive evaluation strategies; correspondingly, **constraints** are generally the basis for negative evaluations. A more cognitively-based account of affordances (e.g. Norman, 1990) suggests that mental models link affordances to things. In this way, affordances are related not only to perception but also to knowledge of and meaning in the world; a form of meaning that is both agent- and culture-dependent. This broader, user-centred framework for understanding affordances is necessary when considering the affordances of something as complex and multi-layered as places. Furthermore, it means that affordances of place need not be confined to the sphere of behaviour or action (activities) in place. Places also afford possibilities for inducing abstract psychological states, such as a sense of wellbeing. Moreover, perceived affordances of place might also be social affordances, to do with identity, status or other forms of symbolic capital.

The principal lifestyle affordances of living in the Algarve drawn upon can be grouped by macro-topics. Besides leisure opportunities and activities, speakers refer to relational affordances (spending more time with family and friends); education opportunities for their children (e.g. smaller classes and a friendlier atmosphere, both for children attending International or Portuguese schools); health and wellbeing (including diet and the 'relaxed' lifestyle); economic and financial aspects (business opportunities; lower cost of living) and accessibility (i.e. ease of travelling to and from other places, particularly the UK).

The most salient linguistic realization of affordances of place is unsurprisingly through the modal verb of ability *can* and its variants:

J: and I mean in the evening you **can** sit out, have a glass of wine, and have a chat when the weather's like this

P: if I didn't play golf I **could** play Bridge every day here more or less

Typically, what one can do in the Algarve is contrasted with what one can't/couldn't do in the UK:

J: but to eat out or do anything else out or go to a pub you just **couldn't** afford it

G: in the UK you **cannot** take your children to restaurants

Once again, this pattern is reinforced by the fact that Marion's strategic references to affordances and constraints are in opposition to the elective migrants. An example of this is given in section 6.1.3 below.

6.1.3 Appreciation: attributes of place

In Appraisal theory, expressions of **appreciation** are generally directly realized through attitudinal adjectives which modify the object of appreciation in terms of socio-cultural norms about their value (Martin, 1999). Appreciation is divided into categories of **reaction** to objects/phenomena, their **composition** and their **value**. I had expected realisations of appreciation to feature strongly in the data as a simple but effective strategic device for attitudinal self-positioning, since through ascribing positive or negative affective attributes to a place, one is effectively showing alignment with or against that place and what it stands for. Overall, however, this type of predicational strategy does not feature very frequently. Most of the inscribed appreciation evaluations of Portugal (e.g. "`this lovely country`"; "`it's a lovely place to be`") are clearly related to affect in that they seem to be evaluating the place on an emotional level. Whilst affect construes the emotions someone feels (e.g. "`I love it here`"), appreciation ascribes the power to trigger such feelings to things (Martin & White, 2005: 58).

In the extract below, Gillian relates her positive affect for a particular town to its attributes, which she intensifies by means of localised scaling (Martin & White, 2005) realised via comparatives:

> G: um I like Loulé town I find it **much nicer** than Almancil it's much er **much more much safer** er **much more friendly** and **a lot more** going on

The attributes of the town are connected to the security domain of affect, as well as to affordances (i.e. the wide range of activities it affords). The link between these two types of attitudinal positioning is also evident in the extract below, where Amanda is describing the impact the Algarve had on her when she first visited the place:

A: I just thought it was just so:: **beautiful, peaceful** everything was just so:: **relaxed** in all fairness everywhere else we'd been on holiday were pretty much sort of (.) **touristy** sort of places (.) and I just- just **felt at ease**

She builds up her representation of place in terms of appreciation by ascribing attributes (*beautiful*, *peaceful, relaxed*), and then draws a contrast with other places (which she evaluates as being *touristy*) in order to intensify her evaluation. This attribute has a generally negative connotation since it implies that a place is over-saturated with tourists and with tourist facilities,[77] but it is of particular relevance in the geographical imaginations of lifestyle migrants, since they are often concerned with positioning themselves as *not* tourists, as I will discuss in section 6.2. A final point to note is that Amanda seems to relate what she perceived as a general characteristic of the place ("everything was just so:: relaxed") to her own feelings of security that resulted from being in this particular place ("I just- just felt at ease"). The 'taking on' of the characteristics of the place is also a place-identity strategy used by other speakers. One of the main representations of the Algarve in the talk of lifestyle migrants is that it is a relaxed place. This is clearly part of the expectations of place – to have a better quality of life, one needs a relaxing lifestyle, and therefore a 'relaxed' place in which to pursue it. Through metonymic transfer, the qualities ascribed to place are consistent with the qualities of the sought-after lifestyle. These qualities may even be 'transposed' to become personal attributes. When I ask Lynn if she feels that she has changed since moving to the Algarve, she replies:

L: yes. I've become very **slow**. no I'm so **laid back** now Rick can't stand it cos I used to be a Mrs Hyper (…) a::nd I'm so **slow** now it's untrue. uhm (.) but I feel better for it

Whilst the elective migrants make positive evaluations of their new place of residence, thus aligning themselves more strongly with it, once again Marion is not so positive. Although she does draw on the 'more relaxed way of life' repertoire, she concedes this rather reluctantly:

[77] It might also be considered to evaluate behaviour in place, thus overlapping with the **judgement** domain of Appraisal theory.

M: it's- it's just a bit more relaxed I suppose (.) than in England

Overall, she evaluates the place she lives in by blending negative affect with negative appreciation as can be seen in the short extract below:

M: I think that's the one thing I really dislike about Portugal it is not pleasant in the towns you know erm because it's difficult to walk in any areas you know there's not really anywhere (.) nice in Almancil I know they tried to make that park but it's- it's nothing, you know so really you've got to get in the car and go somewhere haven't you

Here, Marion uses a combination of inscribed, intensified negative affect ("I really dislike"), invoked negative affect through constraints of place ("difficult to walk in"), the expression of obligation ("you've got to get in the car"), and negative attributes of place ("not pleasant (…) not really anywhere nice") which are strongly linked to categories of affect. Whereas the elective migrants stress positive attributes of place to reflect their positive personal affect, for Marion it is the opposite. When talking about the first Portuguese house she lived in, she evaluates its location negatively: "but it was er quite out you know it was um a bit isolated really which I didn't like". The particle *out* and the quality *isolated* again reflect the feelings of insecurity and alienation ('outsideness') that are evident throughout her text. She also refers to the Algarve as "quite a lonely place". In this way, she is projecting personal negative affect (*feeling lonely*) directly onto the place, by metonymically referring to it as a quality of place rather than an emotional process.

6.1.4 Judgement: evaluating people in place

The final analytical domain of the attitude system in Appraisal theory is that of **judgement**. This can be thought of as evaluations in the context of norms about social behaviour and people's characteristics. There are two major sub-categories of evaluation: those oriented to **social esteem** and those oriented to **social sanction**. Sharing values in the area of social esteem is critical to the formation of social networks (Martin & White, 2005: 52). When evaluating people's behaviour, positive traits are those we admire, whilst negative ones are those we criticise. Social

sanction has to do with evaluations we make about behaviour we praise or condemn. It is fundamental therefore in the construction of ingroups/outgroups.

In the analysis of judgement evaluations, I explored how groups of people associated with particular places are judged (explicitly or implicitly) and how speakers position themselves and others in what we might call 'moral geographies' (Modan, 2007), by aligning themselves with or distancing themselves from certain social traits or behavioural practices that they want to associate with specific places. A good example is the way in which Lynn builds a negative representation of her life in England by condemning the (generalised) behaviour of people there. In the following extract, Lynn is talking about her son going to a private school in England, where 'you' (generalised impersonal pronoun) get "caught up" in a way that is "far worse than here".

> L: Chris went to a private school in England [coughs] and you get caught up in England with private schools it's far worse than here and (.) you're trying to- and then lots of people were getting more and more money where (.) we were in England and you've got- you know you've got to have a new car every six months <you've got to have this you've got to have that> and we've never been really like that we didn't really fit in

She uses repetition of the modal realization of generalized obligation for emphasis and intensification ("**you've got to** have a new car (…) **you've got to** have this **you've got to** have that"). She then disassociates herself (and her family) from this representation of conspicuous consumption ("we've never really been like that") and ends with a definite dis-alignment with the place ("we didn't really fit in"). She draws on the PLACE IS A TRAP metaphor ("you get caught up in England") and reinforces this later in the interview with her social esteem evaluations of people in England as being "so (.) uptight with earning lots of money and having their cars" and "so ↑indoctrinated over there". The implication is that by moving to a different place, one gains a kind of psychological 'freedom'.

There are also instances of invoked judgement in the data. This means that the speaker wants or expects the hearer (in this case me, the interviewer) to understand the implied judgement without making it explicit. In this way, the evocation of 'moral geographies' often comes from mere reference to specific place

names, e.g. place names in the Algarve that are typically associated with elitist social practices. Lynn, for example, refers to "`the Quinta lot`". For me to understand her positioning I have to draw on a shared SCR to understand what 'Quinta' refers to. In Portuguese, *Quinta* simply designates a farm or estate and in fact many toponyms begin with '*Quinta de'*. In the Golden Triangle, Quinta do Lago is the resort area where the largest, most expensive properties are. However, the British tend to abbreviate the name to simply 'Quinta'. As an 'insider' in the Golden Triangle, I can therefore activate a widely shared SCR that the inhabitants of 'Quinta' are extremely wealthy northern Europeans with materially privileged lifestyles. By the lexical choice of "`lot`" to complete the noun phrase, Lynn evaluates the social group who live in Quinta do Lago negatively (for to call a group a 'lot' is dismissive and fairly derogative), and thus positions herself as someone who speaks from a different 'location' in the moral geography of the area. Moreover, because the judgement evaluation is both implicit *and* complicit, she is positioning me as someone who will share the same positioning.

I return to judgement evaluations and how they serve to construct moral geographies in chapter 7.

6.1.5 Representing and evaluating places through contrast and comparison

The representations of the Algarve that emerge from the talk of the elective migrants are generally set up as rather stereotypical positive evaluations of the here-place and its lifestyle affordances in direct contrast with negative evaluative representations of the place left behind ('the UK' or 'England', sometimes modified to '*where we were* in England') and its lifestyle constraints. The same evaluative resources are drawn upon repeatedly by the participants, often across 'stretches' of talk, meaning that collective socio-cognitive representations can be inferred. These SCRs are no doubt reinforced intertextually through the constant interaction among British lifestyle migrants, who naturally wish to share their experiences. Table 6.2 shows how attitudinal positioning carried by individual words (in this case through adjectives that express attributes directly associated with place/lifestyle) builds up evaluative representations of place that run throughout the data.

Table 6.2: ***Adjectives used in contrastive representations of Portugal and the UK***

	Algarve/Portugal	**England/UK**
Adjectives expressing attributes directly associated with place/lifestyle	*perfect; ideal; lovely; fantastic; wonderful*	*depressing*
	warm; hot; sunny; bright	*cold; wet; grey*
	relaxed; slow; peaceful; quiet	*hectic; busy; regimented*
	safe	*rough*
	reasonable; *cheap*	*expensive*; *extortionate*

Since these contrasts are often realised using generalized subject pronouns ('*you'*; '*everyone'*; *no-one'*; etc.), we can infer that SCRs of the affordances or constraints of place are being drawn upon strategically to reinforce a 'common sense', taken-for-granted view of the world. Overall, the representations associated with England/the UK seem to imply the above-mentioned PLACE IS A TRAP metaphor. In contrast, life in the Algarve is evoked as offering relative freedom. This contrast is often expressed through references to the climate and the types of behaviour it induces. In England, one can be affectively 'trapped' indoors, whilst the amenable climate in the Algarve is a call to the freedom of life outdoors:

J: it's cold in England in the winter no-one actually wants to go outside the door do they whereas in the winter here it's not too bad is it you just put on a jumper and off you go

There are frequent references to the 'traffic' in the UK, which can certainly be considered as a token of invoked negative affect. Gillian (below) conceptualises it as a form of constraint through enforced lack of movement. This, in conjunction with her contrasting (and exaggerated) representation of 'here' as having "no traffic" resonates with the anti-urban sentiments that are often projected by those seeking the psychological benefits perceived to be offered by the 'rural idyll'.

G: what I love about here is there's no traffic you know you go back to the UK it's like oh my god you can't move for hours

The psychological confinements of the lifestyle associated with *there* are also evident in Jean's representation, which stresses the uncompromising uniformity and routine of daily life: "everything was more regimented than here and I had a more regimented life everything was to the clock". As already noted, the elective migrants talk about how they have changed for the better through being in place, often by taking on similar characteristics that they ascribe to the place itself, thus identifying strongly with place as a kind of agent of change in the process of personal development. Jean also describes how her behaviour has changed in Portugal. Now she will "just drop everything and go" if someone invites her to do something, but "I wouldn't have done that in England I would've said ↑ooh no no no! let me finish this or no! that's my day to do this and that". Living in Portugal has changed her ("yeh it does change you that much") and she now 'thinks' in a different way ("I just think no, let's go, you know the sun's shining, it's warm let's- you know let's get out there") and thus positions herself as someone with a much more relaxed and carefree attitude to life, someone who has ultimately been 'freed' from the "regimented" and "to the clock" lifestyle she had in England.

Contrasts and comparisons of place feature strongly in the data as discursive strategies for self-presentation. By discursively enacting attachments to the here-place through positive representation, the speakers seek to build a positive self-representation as a migrant who is in control of life-choices. As Cresswell (2004: 102) argues, the creation of place necessarily involves defining what lies outside. The juxtaposition of *here* and *there* is thus a form of 'othering', helping to reinforce the positive status (and identity) of the 'insider' by rejecting what lies on the outside. In much the same way that 'out-group derogation' and 'in-group celebration' are typical socio-psychological (discursive) strategies that can help to define ideological social group membership (van Dijk, 2009), lifestyle migrants use 'there-place derogation' and 'here-place celebration' as discursive strategies that enable them to stake a claim to belonging to their adopted home-place.

6.1.6 Summary of attitudinal positioning

The major finding as regards attitudinal positioning towards place is that this type of positioning is very much related to the emotions. However, besides expressing emotional alignments towards place, realisations of **affect** also function as an index of what emotions mean as discursive acts. That is, references to emotions do not necessarily lead directly to the phenomenon itself and what it means; what is indexed is *how a person wants to be understood*. Elective migrants seek to build positive self-representations as 'happy and settled' and therefore as 'successful' migrants. In contrast, Marion projects a 'reluctant' or 'troubled' migrant position that is perhaps aimed at evoking sympathy/empathy, or simply differentiating herself from others.

The relative infrequency of realisations of **appreciation** can be explained in part by the fact that I did not directly ask participants to talk about the place. The realisations that do occur are very much linked to personal affect – how places make you feel – and lifestyle expectations. Rather than working to evoke a strong sense of place through stressing specific attributes of place, these types of evaluations seem to be deployed simply to stress the 'fit' (or not, in the case of Marion) between self, lifestyle and place. This is further bolstered by tokens of invoked affect such as lifestyle affordances and references to the climate and contrastive **judgement** evaluations which serve as positioning devices in a 'moral' landscape based on an ethics of personal freedom (particularly from the constraints of an overly consumer-based society 'back' in the UK). The similarities in the place evaluations made by elective migrants mean that certain shared representations of place can be inferred. I further explore how these shared representations link into the network of SCRs that form underlying ideologies in chapter 7.

Attitudinal positioning is a relatively 'conscious' or overt strategic means of positioning oneself and others in regards to place. What I consider next is how apparently less self-conscious features of talk - for instance indexical place formulations like spatial deictic markers and prepositional phrases - also contribute to the construction of modes of belonging (or *not* belonging).

6.2 Spatial positioning

The questions that guided this part of the analysis were:

(1) what do indexical place formulations reveal about speakers' alignment towards place(s)?

(2) how are spatial boundaries and spatial relations constructed in talk?

(3) what is the overall effect of this in terms of belonging?

To begin with the first question, the notion of indexicality in language refers in general to the context-dependency of utterances. Indexicals encode the relations between objects and the contexts in which they are anchored, but can also be transposed from the immediate context into other ones that are recalled, projected or imagined. What has become clear from research into indexicality in language and culture, according to Hanks (2001: 120), is that "processes of indexical anchoring are more subtle and complex than hitherto appreciated, and that they cannot be understood without relatively deep analysis of the social and cultural contexts of speech". A good starting point for exploring the indexical aspect of place formulation and how this links to identity work as a means of linguistically positioning oneself (and others) spatially is to look at deictic reference to place.

6.2.1 Spatial deixis

As Myers (2006) notes, following Schegloff (1972), formulations of place are not always 'geographical' (i.e. formulated from an objective position based on the kind of knowledge which comes from a map). In conversation, place formulations are more likely to be 'relational'. This means that they are dependant on the particular context of the utterance – in Schegloff's (1972: 114) words, the 'where-we-know-we-are', the 'who-we-know-we-are' and the 'what-we-are-doing-at-this-point-in-the-conversation'. One type of relational place formulation is deictic reference. Deixis is linguistically realised by resources that prompt the relating of indexical utterances to various situational features including the relationship between interlocutors, their physical location and the point in time in which the utterance takes place (Chilton, 2004: 56). As I indicated in chapter 5, the notion of deictic centre is of crucial

importance here. Without an embodied sense of *here* (and a corresponding *now*), we cannot even begin to imagine a *there*, or indeed any other form of physical of mental spatial relations. It therefore makes sense to begin the data analysis with an examination of how deictic centre and spatial deixis impacts discursively on place-identity and more specifically on the construction of modes of belonging.

The construction of discursively opposed spatial categories is one of the dominant features of the data, but whilst reference to proximal space is mostly realized by *here*, distal space (i.e. corresponding to *there*) tends to be named rather than referred to by deictic adverbial markers. The analysis reported below therefore focuses on the use of *here* and its variants (*out here; over here*).

6.2.2 Constructing modes of belonging through identification with the *here*-place

It is not surprising that the referent of the deictic marker *here* shifts, since there are no limits to the conceptual area to which *here* might refer. In the data, it mostly appears to be a rather vague formulation referring to '*the place where we are now*'. In other words, speakers are simply orienting to deictic centre, the base point from which they are speaking. It is often unclear whether the speakers' geographical frame of reference is the country (Portugal) or the region (the Algarve); indeed, there is very little explicit distinction between the two in the data, which could be attributed to the speakers' lack of geographical knowledge of Portugal. For many of the participants, it would appear that conceptually, the Algarve *is* Portugal, and vice-versa. I will refer to this vague formulation (as in the examples below) as simply the *here-place*.

L: ↑anyway I was **here** for about a week (.) and I loved it!

G: it's so much more relaxed **here**

J: I like the lifestyle it's warm all the- most of the year and yeh! I'm quite happy **here**

All three examples (above) show a positive identification with the here-place through inscribed and invoked attitudinal positioning, as discussed in section 6.1. This positive alignment is further reinforced by evoking the 'boundary' - and the contrast - between *here* and *there* (i.e. England, the place left behind). Sometimes

this contrast is explicitly realised, whilst at other times the contrast with *there* is left implicit but is fully understood in the context of the surrounding conversation:

G: I mean that's the- it's a massive advantage here I think. I think family life is um (.) **so much easier here**

L: especially cos properties are **so much cheaper here**

Comparisons between *here* and *there* (as encoded by the comparative forms *easier, cheaper* etc. and their respective intensifiers) are a common feature of speakers' accounts of their experience of migration, as also already discussed. A further means of discursively constructing a positive sense of place-identity and belonging is by identification with one's immediate neighbourhood. In extract 6.1 below, Jean's repeated and therefore salient use of *here* (in every turn) is clearly referring to her specific neighbourhood, following my orientation to 'this bit' (of the Algarve).

Extract 6.1

01	KT:	was that one of the reasons why you chose to live in this
02		bit
03	J:	we came **here** because it was- the apartment was for rent
04	KT:	yes
05	J:	and we came up and found it and said ooh yeh this'll
06		do to start off **here** cos we only had a week in a hotel!
07		<we had to find somewhere
08	KT:	yeh
09	J:	but after we'd lived **here**, um for a while and we looked
10		around to see if there was anything a bit cheaper and
11		whatever, and thought– we- I think this is ideal really
12		where we live **here** because we're not on the tourist track.
13	KT:	yeh
14	J:	and um you can walk and back (it's a) quick walk into
15		Almancil if you have to and you're not far from anywhere
16		**here** are you

Jean starts by saying that the reason for living where she does was initially because there was an apartment for rent which they (Jean and her husband) thought would "do" (line 6) to begin their new life in the Algarve. In this way, *here* is constructed as having initially been a temporary, makeshift sort of place; a stop-gap place created from necessity (lines 6-7). In line 9, *here* becomes the locational adjunct for the material process *had lived*, which is also complemented by the temporal adjunct *for a while*. This is the point in Jean's account where *here* becomes

the home-place, which by line 11 has clearly become a meaningful place, since she evaluates it with the implicit superlative 'ideal' and then gives her reasons why. Most importantly (she introduces her clause with the causal conjunctive *because*), it is spatially situated "`not on the tourist track`". Positioning oneself as being away from tourist activity is a recurrent theme in the data, as part of the 'not-a-tourist' identity repertoire, as I show in section 6.3.1 below.

The other reason for her evaluation of her home-place as being 'ideal' is also spatial: it is "`not far from anywhere`" (line 15), which suggests that she sees it as a convenient, central place, in the midst of a network of other significant places (in contrast, elsewhere in the interview she negatively evaluates places which are "`in the middle of nowhere`"). In particular, where she lives is a manageable distance for walking to and from the nearest town. In terms of evaluation, it has been argued that what is considered to be good or bad can be defined in terms of goal management. Therefore, anything that is assessed as helping to achieve a goal is positively evaluated by the speaker (Thompson & Hunston, 1999). Furthermore, environmental psychologists have suggested that feelings of self-efficacy, which are increasingly regarded as important for psychological well-being (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), are enhanced if the environment facilitates a person's aimed-at everyday lifestyle. In this sense, manageability of the environment can relate to feelings of attachment to place. For migrants, feelings of attachment to the place in which they have settled are important if their re-location is to succeed. Therefore, active (co-)construction of place attachment in interaction serves as an important bolster to a positive sense of self. Jean's use of the tag question in line 16 reveals how she is orienting her positive construction of place not only to herself, but also to me, the co-participant in the interaction, and, as she knows, co-habitant in the neighbourhood.

6.2.3 Shifts in perspectivisation: *out here*

On occasions throughout the data, the particle *out* is prefixed to *here*. The formulation *out here*, which is realising a spatial metaphor, is something that I had noted before examining my data as being apparently characteristic of the speech of lifestyle migrants, so I was not surprised to encounter it. My initial hunch was that

the prefixing of *out* comes from the sense of 'out of the country' (i.e. the UK). The conceptual framework on which this interpretation rests is one that implies motion (to be 'out' of some place, one has to *move away* from it). In a similar, but more literal, fashion the deictic expression *over here* (which also appears, though less frequently, in the data) gives a sense of motion. The latter expression may be cognitively linked to the notion of 'overseas' (meaning 'in a foreign country'), since passing 'over' the seas which surround the British Isles is always a necessary requisite for travel abroad. However, *out here* seems to evoke other place formulations that include *out*, such as '*out of the way'*, '*outlying'*, or even '*outpost'*, all of which imply not merely distance but extreme *remoteness* from the 'centre'. As such, it appears contradictory to the normal deictic use of 'here', which indexes the speaker as being in the 'centre'.

I also suspected that *out here* might well be an example of a specific form of entrenchment[78] that has occurred through frequent exposure to, and participation in, conversations about migration experiences. However, as I explored the data in detail, I found that certain patterns could be traced that I did not expect and which do not support my initial 'entrenchment through frequent exposure' hypothesis. The way in which speakers switch between using *here* and *out here* suggests that a more complex form of cognitive processing is at work, and that this is fundamentally engaged in doing identity work, albeit almost unconsciously.

Whilst some speakers consistently use *here* when giving accounts of their own lives and experiences in the Algarve and thus contribute to the discursive construction of a sense of belonging in place, when referring to other people from Britain, including friends and family who visit and other lifestyle migrants, they consistently add the particle *out*, thus indexing 'here' to 'there', for *out here* implies projected perspectivization from *there*, the point of origin. They are therefore discursively constructing *others* as not belonging to the here-place.

G: um but what's nice is **my friends come out here**!

[78] In the usage-based model of cognitive linguistics, a word form becomes 'entrenched' once it is being stored independently. Token frequency of that word form determines degree of entrenchment (Croft & Cruse, 2004: 309). Haviland (2005) has discussed how deictic transposition can become entrenched, or conventionalized, in the discourse of emigrants.

L: and if they've reached the point where they've got a good house in England I dunno about 750 thousand pounds (.) **they bring it out here**

J: most people it's (.) family that they wanna go back because of family or grandchildren or **they've been out here** a l- a lot of years

The expression *out here* seems to be frequently collocated with deictically anchored verbs of movement (*come* and *bring* in the above examples). Sometimes the deictic marker *here* is ellipted, leaving just *come out*. In the elective migrant data, these occurrences are, again, often in relation to other people:

P: **he's not going to be able to come out** to see us so often when it's a ten hour flight

L: I think **a lot of people come out** because their kids aren't- er going to the right schools and things

However, the particle *out* following the verb *come* (and often the verb *move*, in the sense of a migratory move), with or without deictic *here*, is also used when speakers are projecting back in time to *before* they actually moved to Portugal. Their spatial deictic centre thus seems to shift slightly to accommodate the conceptualization of being *there* at that time (hence the particle *out*):

G: **we actually delayed coming out** till Rebecca was born, **we were planning to come out** um (1.0) the er in the January

A: I decided that- **we were also moving out here** for a better quality of life and spending more time together

L: **we used to come out** for holidays

This also occurs when referring to a time *immediately after* the move (often marked by remote temporal deictic expressions such as "originally when" or "when we first"):

A: um orig- **originally when we came out here**

J: **when we first came out** and (.) we went round to the people we'd met like the previous year and said well we're **here**

Thus, besides indicating a slight shift in deictic centring, these kinds of formulations also seem to mark the processual nature of modes of belonging. Before (or immediately after) the move, the speakers did not feel an 'insideness' in the here-place from which they are now speaking. However, a transition towards feeling more settled in place leads to transition in deictic reference. This is apparent in the last example above, when Jean switches from "when we first came out" to the emphatic (vocally stressed) "well we're here". This marks the change in identity position from temporary visitor to more permanent migrant.

Migrants frequently make temporal claims to belonging, by reference to the number of years they have been in the place. This is apparent in the data, and is usually realised through relational process verbs (*be*, *have*) in the present perfect, thus representing a process which connects a past event to the present time. For the speakers who are working to construct a positive place-identity with respect to the here-place, this formulation is always realised with the simple locative demonstrative *here* (rather than *out here*):

J: it seems to be changing but then **we've been here** thirteen years

P: **I've been here** retired for five years (.) since 2003 just over five years but **we've had a house here** or an apartment **here** since 1989 so that's a long time twenty years

L: **I've lived here** in the same house **here** for::: five years six years

This therefore helps to construct a sense of fixity in place, which seems to be essential to the discursive construction of elective belonging among elective migrants.

6.2.4 Shifts in perspectivization: deictically anchored verbs

The verb '*come*' in English (when used in relation to physical movement) generally denotes movement *towards* the deictic centre, from 'there' to 'here'. Yet deictic perspectives must necessarily be transposable. The prototypical triggers for this are reported speech and/or adopting the perspective of those in another physical location (e.g. when talking on the telephone); in other words, when speaker

(S) and hearer (H) clearly do not share the same deictic perspective. In English, an 'alterocentric perspective' (Haviland, 2005) is often adopted in such situations, meaning that the deictic centre is projected onto H.[79]

On the other hand, when both S and H *do* share the same location, one usually expects a coherent, unmarked use of deictic perspective in English. For migrants, however, narratives of their experiences can be intricately connected with other significant places in which they have lived at different times in their lives. The disruption to conventional conceptual spatial frameworks, particularly with respect to the location of 'home', may have to be negotiated through discourse as individuals recontextualise their spatial positionings. The measure of individual 'success' in this process can be to some extent measured through tracking their linguistic realisations of implied deictic centre throughout the interviews. If this is consistently coherent, that is, both speaker and hearer are unproblematically situated '*here'* in respect to their spatial location at the time of interaction, then this indicates a successful conceptual re-positioning of oneself as firmly 'inside' the here-place. Any disjuncture in the use of spatial deixis, on the other hand, might signal a more ambivalent place-identity.

In order to test this hypothesis, I analysed every occurrence of the verb *come* (used in its sense of physical movement) throughout the data. Most of the occurrences are in relation to movement from one country to another. In the light of what I have noted above, it is unsurprising that the elective migrants consistently use the verb 'come' with an unmarked perspectivization, i.e. as shown in Figure 6.1 below, in relation to their own positionings. Shifts in perspectivization may be signalled, as discussed above, by adding the particle *out*, but the verb itself denotes movement *from there to here*.

[79] For example, if I call out to someone who is in a different part of the house, the reply in English might be 'I'm coming!'. Conversely, in other languages the reply would be from an 'egocentric' perspective (e.g. in Portuguese, 'Já vou!' - *I'm **going** already!*). In this case, deictic centre remains conceptually where S is located.

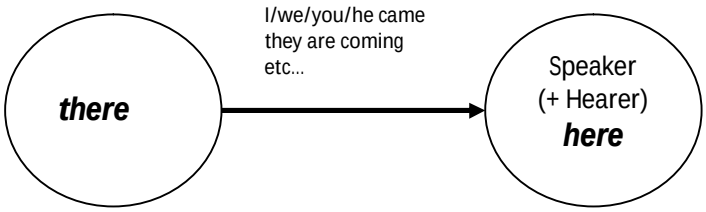

Figure 6.1: ***unmarked deictic perspective for verb 'come'***

However, shifts in spatial deictic perspective involving the verb '*come'* do occur in the data in two types of situation. The first happens on occasions (but not always) when speakers are narrating past events which were strongly grounded emotionally in an alternative *here*-place. This is the case in extract 6.2 below, where Diana (one of the teenagers, and therefore a circumstantial migrant) is explaining the impact her parent's move to the Algarve had on her:

Extract 6.2

```
01    <it was really quick what happened the way they decided I mean
02    they decided in the summer of 2006 (.) and then that winter that
03    we ca- they came here for a week looking for houses, they chose
04    which one they were gonna rent and they came back (.) then they
05    moved in
06    (…)
07    uhm (.) a::nd I started boarding and I wasn't really hap-I
08    didn't- wasn't really happy I got really homesick (.) and I did
09    (.) expect them to come back and then they were like we're not
10    gonna come back for a while now @@
```

This was clearly an emotional time for Diana, who had to cope with both her parents' move abroad and her own move to boarding school in the UK. In lines 1 – 5 of extract 6.2, she is in the middle of narrating her story. At this point, her narration is factual and is clearly told from the deictic perspective of 'here and now in Portugal', which is shown by her use of "`they came here`" (line 3) and "`they came back`" (line 4). In lines 7 -10, however, her deictic centre shifts as she recounts her emotional state at that time. In line 9, she recalls how she expected them 'to come back', this time from Portugal to England, thus projecting her deictic centre back in time *and* across space. In the same narrative sequence, therefore, the movement

represented in the verb *come back* switches from [England to Portugal] to [Portugal to England]. This clearly shows the complexity involved in the ongoing cognitive processing of spatio-temporal frameworks which, in linguistic terms, is in fact realised fairly simply and does not impede H's understanding of the narrative since H is able to simultaneously transpose the conceptual perspective (this is supported by the fact that none of the other participants in the interview ask for any clarification of the story).

This type of deictic shift is also evident in the example below, where Peggy, who spent many years of her adult life in a Middle Eastern country with her family, is recounting what happened when her son got to secondary school age:

P: so that was the big decision then when Michael got to- um he had to **come back** to the UK to boarding school

Since she is speaking from a 'double' perspective in which the UK should have been conceptualised as 'there', i.e. as opposed to '*here, now*' in Portugal *and* in opposition to the point of origin (the Middle East) of the narrated trajectory, conventionally one would expect her to use the verb '*go'* (*he had to **go** back to the UK*). The marked deictic shift in perspective seems to be related to the emotional attachment she still felt for the UK as 'home' at that time.

The most interesting case is that of Marion. She is the only one of the research participants who identifies very strongly with England as her home-place and who makes her negative affect triggered by the move to Portugal explicit. Unlike the elective migrants, many of her uses of the verb '*come'* involve a shift in perspective. Extract 6.3 comes at a point where she has been describing how she lived for a short time in another country during the early years of her marriage.

Extract 6.3

M: no I wasn't very happy there I was quite pleased to **come home**
KT: yeh did you speak any German
M: mm not really, not really I think because I wasn't very happy there I didn't try. you know I s'pose my own worst enemy you know and er just wanted to **come home**, you know and we did eventually [laughs] so I never really wanted to live abroad ever

Marion's use of 'come home' in lines 1-2 and again in line 6 refer to a home-place that was, for her at that time, located in England. Again, the hearer would expect the verb 'go', given the immediate situational deictic centre. Although this is reminiscent of the examples above, and might be partially explained by the fact that she is referring to an emotional event in the past, I would suggest that the explanation for this deictic transposition (represented in Figure 6.2 below) is Marion's feelings of ambivalence towards her current home. Despite her move to Portugal, her home-place has remained fixed, in terms of affect, in England.

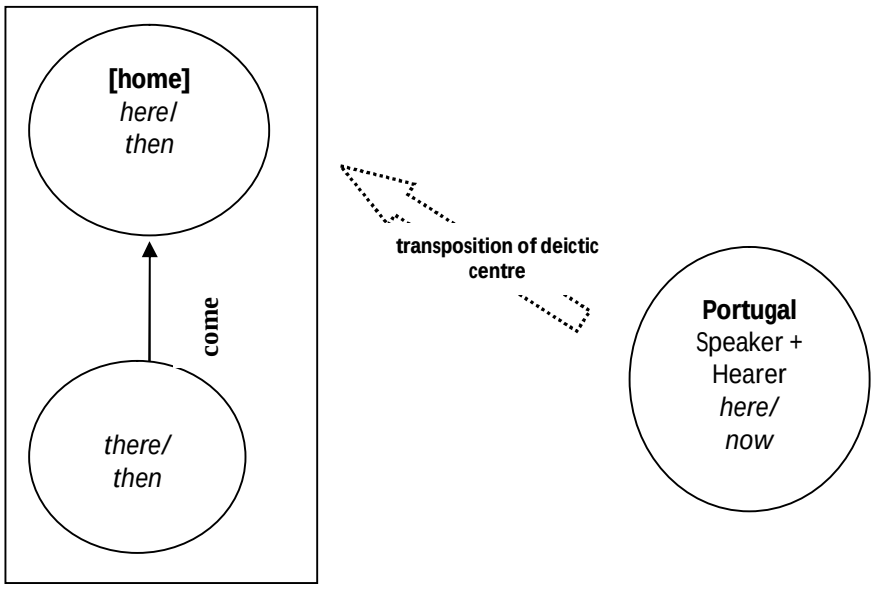

Figure 6.2: ***Deictic transposition through conceptual projection***

This is reflected, and reinforced, by her ambivalent spatio-temporal positioning. Her sense of 'outsideness' is evident in her repeated references to living 'abroad' (i.e. in relation to England), even when she is speaking from the deictic centre of *here/now* in Portugal:

M: for various reasons and I think that's one of the reasons he wanted to **come abroad**

As she is speculating on her husband's reasoning at a past time, before actually moving to Portugal, and thus projecting his voice into the narrative, this is an occasion where the hearer might have expected the deictic transposition that would produce the utterance '*he wanted to **go** abroad*'. The fact that she uses the marked

verb *come* emphasizes her sense of being *here* as being 'abroad', or away from her 'true' centre of belonging.

Marion's frequent deictic 'switches' are a salient feature of the interview transcript. When talking about feelings related to home, her spatial framework is one in which [England = home = spatial deictic centre]. This switching appears to be mostly unconscious and unproblematic in that she makes no attempt to repair, although there are occasions where her spatial positioning seems to be particularly confused:

> and er I think because the children grew up and um he [her husband] was fed up at work and um he got himself a job over here and said we're **coming**! well, I'm **going** it's up to you

Whilst this type of occurrence of deictic transposition is clearly connected to personal affect and thus individual place-identity, the other type of situation in which it occurs is more ideological. Consider the examples below:

- you've got such a lot of um people **coming in**
- you know and people are not very happy um ↑I don't think they mind (1.0) people **coming in** to live and work, I think it's all these people that are **coming in** and they're not-
- and there's all these Eastern Europeans and immigrants and everything **coming into** the country

Taken out of context, with no possibility of reading the co-text, it would be assumed that the speakers who made these utterances were referring to people coming into the place (Portugal) where speaker and hearer were located at the time of speaking. This is not, however, the case; all the examples are referring to people arriving *in the UK*. Therefore, they all illustrate a strong shift in perspectivization. These examples signal more about collective place-identity, i.e. speaker as a British person with Britain at deictic centre, than about individual place-identity. As such, they mark an ideological perspective through deictic centring on the collective self (Chilton, 2004: 123). I therefore return to this in chapter 7, where I discuss collective place-identity and ideology.

6.3 Discursive constructions of spatial relations

Spatial relations are *located* social relations. People often reveal their positionings vis-à-vis the relations to and with other people (individuals and groups) in terms of localities. Appadurai has argued that localities are socially produced through processes of boundary definition: neighbourhoods, for example, "are inherently what they are because they are opposed to something else and derive from other, already produced neighbourhoods" (Appadurai, 1996: 183). Places can be given meanings in discourse, via people's imaginations, by the construction of symbolic boundaries, for example to construe their neighbourhood as distinct from the outside. This inevitably does identity work, since by linguistically marking out symbolic boundaries which reflect social relations between distinct groups, one is inevitably taking up identity positions for oneself and others.

6.3.1 Marking boundaries: doing 'not a tourist' identity work

For most northern Europeans, the very name 'Algarve' conjures up images of tourism. It is generally the case that the first contact that most lifestyle migrants have with the region is as a tourist. As already noted, moving to the Algarve, like moving to other southern European holiday destinations, is often portrayed (in the mass media, through place branding, etc.) as an extension of tourism; a potentially endless holiday. Indeed, the data show that the participants do, to some extent, represent themselves as having a leisured and leisurely existence. They represent themselves as living in "villas" or "apartments" (rather than the more usual British English 'houses' or 'flats'), lexical choices which resonate with lifestyle meanings. They often mention their swimming pools and the fact that they are constantly outdoors, eating *al fresco* and drinking local wine, going to the beach, playing golf or tennis. Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, northern Europeans living in the Algarve are generally represented by their Portuguese 'hosts' as 'residential tourists'. This, however, presents a contradiction in terms, since tourism implies temporary visits, whilst residence implies something more permanent. It is also not surprising therefore that the participants should reject the transient identity implied by the

identification 'tourist', seeing (and often referring to) themselves rather as 'residents'.[80]

Not being a tourist seems to be fundamental to the positive presentation of the self for lifestyle migrants, as has been noted in ethnographic studies of the phenomenon (e.g. Gustafson, 2002; O'Reilly, 2000; Waldren, 1996, 1997). Likewise, doing 'not a tourist' identity work is something that most of the research participants (even the circumstantial migrants) engage in, creating a definite sense of 'us', the settlers, as ingroup, and 'them', the tourists, as outgroup. However, the not-a-tourist repertoire involves more than simply stating that one is not a tourist, or nominalising 'tourists' as an out-group. One of the more subtle ways of doing this identity work involves the discursive 'plotting out' of spatial relations by the linguistic marking of 'boundaries' between tourist and non-tourist spaces. These boundaries are not physical, but constructed in the imagination and through talk. Some places are nominalised as being specifically for tourists by compound nouns such as *tourist bars*, *tourist restaurants*, *the tourist market*.[81] Other places are also constructed as 'non-tourist' through spatial formulations. Jean, for example, represents her neighbourhood as being "ideal" as it is situated spatially as being away from tourist activity:

J: I think this is ideal really where we live here because we're not on the tourist track

Besides spatially positioning her home as being away from tourist activity, which she claims you only see "if you go down the road", the formulation *not on the tourist track* can also be considered as an expression of invoked attitude, as a variant of the expression *off the beaten track*, which Channell (1999) found to be a descriptor with a consistently positive evaluation in her corpus-based study using the Bank of English. Furthermore, by not being on the tourist track, Jean is constructing

[80] This categorisation is reinforced by the popular and widely read English language newspaper *The Algarve Resident*, which not only carries the term in its title, but also refers repeatedly to 'residents' in its texts.

[81] There is a weekly market in Loulé where *feirantes* (travelling vendors) sell a vast array of cheap clothes, accessories, household items etc., which is often featured in tourist information and excursion itineraries as a 'typical' and 'authentic' local market and is thus a tourist attraction. Among British residents it is also known as the 'gypsy market', thus also identifying it through association with a 'nomadic' social group and reinforcing its transient nature, although from a clearly different perspective.

her home-place as being away from the *movement* of tourists, therefore suggesting a more stable and fixed sense on place. This is echoed by Amanda, who positively evaluates her neighbourhood as being "away from that holiday coming and going". By constructing the home-place as a non-tourist space, one can stake a greater claim and a greater commitment to belonging than those who are merely passing through.

Marion lives in the same village as Jean, which is located just a few kilometres from the coast. When I ask her about living in that particular place, she concedes that it is "quite a nice little village" (which is far from Jean's evaluation of it as "ideal") but then goes on to echo Jean's representation of it being a *not*-tourist place by comparing it with places that *are*:

Extract 6.4

M: oh I wouldn't like to be where all the tourists were no I would hate that
KT: yeh
M: absolutely hate it
KT: yeh?
M: yeh we would go to um Albufeira sometimes in the summer you know maybe on an evening just on odd times just pretend we were tourists you know join in with with the tourists but it was so nice to get the car and come away from it you know [laughs] er so no I wouldn't like to live in that sort of area

Her not-a-tourist construction of the self is of course emphasised by her reference to 'pretending' to be a tourist and temporarily 'joining in' with them in the resort town of Albufeira. By reiterating her ability to "come away from it", she is positioning herself literally and psychologically as living 'out' of the tourist areas and away from related social practices. Curiously, Peggy also refers to Albufeira as "the real touristy bit" of the Algarve, despite the fact that she herself lives in one of the largest purpose-built tourist resorts in the Algarve. My interpretation of this is that she is distinguishing the places not only through tourist numbers, but also through implied social class criteria; tourism in the Golden Triangle area is more 'exclusive' than in Albufeira, which tends to attract tourists on cheap package holidays.

On the other hand, Gillian (who lives very near the coast, although not in a resort) positions herself linguistically as being *in* a tourist place, contrasting it with

what is "a little bit further out" – a place where the relative lack of tourism means that there are "normal everyday" things like restaurants:

Extract 6.5

```
01    G:    uh::m and I do like it here, I love it here but it's also
02          massively- it's very touristy (.) you can't get away from
03          tourist bars, tourist restaurants, tourist- whereas a
04          little bit further out it's not so touristy and you've got
05          more of the:: the normal everyday restaurants and you know
06          so yeh that's what- w- when we first came we thought that's
07          it we would never move from here and it's funny cos once
08          you have been here for a while we'd definitely definitely
09          consider moving (.) ten minutes out now
```

Her positive affective appraisal of the place in which she lives is clearly troubled by her evaluation of it as being "very touristy" (line 2). Yet this is clearly her 'centre', since she repeatedly (in this extract and in other parts of the data) employs the locative formulation *out* to refer to what lies beyond it. This formulation appears to be the result of a superimposition of the CENTRE-PERIPHERY, NEAR-FAR and CONTAINER image schemata (Johnson, 1987: 125). An interesting feature of this extract is that she expresses a desire to move *out* - perhaps away from the 'centre' towards the 'periphery', or perhaps out of the Golden Triangle (as 'container') altogether. This is something which strikes her as rather odd ("it's funny", line 7) because when she first arrived, she could not imagine moving away from that place. This inclination to move *out* is something that has happened over time ("once you have been here for a while"), reflecting the processual nature of the lifestyle migration process which involves a progression along a tourist-settler continuum. Her switch to the generalised pronoun 'you' in the temporal clause (line 8) suggests that she notes this as being something that is not unique to her own case. I pick up on this and suggest that it's "quite a common pattern" that people start off wanting to live near the coast "and then they start to move further back" (it is noticeable that I do not use the particle *out*, but rather *back*; in my mental map of the Algarve I see the coast as the 'frontline', thus people move *back* from it towards the hinterland). Gillian agrees, and over the next few minutes of the interview frequently returns to the idea of moving "a little further out". The fact that she repeatedly downscales (*just a little* or *a bit further out*) the distance she is

prepared to move suggests that her conceptual 'centre', the Golden Triangle, also encompasses the idea of a 'comfort zone'. The thought of moving 'out' is therefore imbued with a sense of insecurity, something that is evident in her final summing up of the topic:

> G: now we are quite- fairly established here and we know quite a few people I don't think we would move too far out and have to start all over again

6.3.2 Positioning the self in imagined landscapes

Some informants clearly have a mental map of the shape of the Algarve when referring to certain parts of it. The geographical shape of this southernmost region of Portugal is approximately rectangular, around 130 km by 50 km, and in fact has clear 'edges' in the form of geographical features (see map in appendix A). A range of hills (known in Portuguese as the *Serra*) runs along the northern border with the neighbouring Alentejo region. To the east, the river Guadiana marks the border with Spain. The western and southern 'edges' of the Algarve are made up by Atlantic coastline, with most of the tourism development concentrated along the southern coastal strip. It is unsurprising then that some informants make references to parts of the Algarve which seem to be based on a mental visualisation of the topography of the region. Marion refers to the region as "this little bit **at the bottom**" [of Portugal]. Peggy, when referring to Lagos, which is almost at the western extremity of the Algarve, says that it is "much more touristy **at that end**". Amanda, who lives in an inland village in the foothills of the *Serra*, refers to "people who live down (.) towards the coast", whilst she lives "**up** here".

What is more surprising is that the perspectivization of the speakers does not always seem to correspond spatially to the topography of the region. When making comparisons between the 'British community' in different parts of the Algarve, Samantha refers to "**this end** of the Algarve", although she is literally located more or less in the centre of the region, both as speaker and as resident. Peggy, when talking about the purpose-built tourist resort of Vilamoura, professes that she is "not as keen on **that side** of (.) Portugal", even though Vilamoura is just a few kilometres along the coast from where she lives. Thus, the 'side' of Portugal

that she is referring to seems to have more to do with an imagined socio-cultural space rather than a geographical area. Lynn talks about how the endless building in the area where she lives is making everywhere much "busier" (which she dislikes), "especially **down (.) in** the golden triangle <that goes all the way up to Loulé now (.) and all the way to Quarteira by the way". Yet she lives (and we are talking) right in the geographical centre of the 'Golden Triangle' as she herself describes its boundaries. She clearly does not identify socially with being a Golden Triangle resident.

There are also examples in the data of imagined landscapes in terms of what is 'authentically' Portuguese and what is not. Gillian refers to the 'bubble' which she directly associates with 'the triangle' (a clear reference to the so-called 'Golden Triangle'): "out of- out of the bubble which- out of the triangle". What lies *out of* the triangle-bubble are "the actual towns where there is true Portuguese". The modifying adjectives 'actual' and 'true' work here as realisations of Graduation by sharpening the focus according to prototypicality, and as such help to construct the authentic-inauthentic division that seems to mark the imagined geographies of the migrants. This boundary is also referred to in the teenage data; Tom, for example, says "I think of it [the Algarve] like (.) the golden triangle and the rest of the Algarve you know (.) more Portuguese places".

When I ask Amanda what had led her and her family to live some kilometres inland, her response is interesting on several counts (extract 6.7 below). She refers firstly to her desire to be a "little bit more Portuguesey". By down-scaling the force of the comparative form *more* and the adjective *Portuguese* in terms of focus (by adding the suffix *–y*, which is typically used in English to create a sense of vagueness but can also be considered a diminutive form), she is clearly not fully committed to the value position she is advancing – doubtless since she does not really believe that she can 'belong' to the target group simply by selecting a place to live. By surrounding herself by Portuguese neighbours, however, she feels that she is "a bit more in" a "local" place.

Extract 6.7

```
01    KT:   and why- why did you choose this part rather than- I mean a
02          lot of people choose (.) to be near the (.) coast well not
03          too far from the coast
04    A:    yes I wanted to be more (.) would you say a little bit more
05          Portuguesy or:: away from that (.) holiday coming and going
06          it's- people that- some people who live down (.) towards
07          the coast first and foremost live very different lifestyles
08          to us
09    KT:   mm hmm
10    A:    but also (.) more of a holiday lifestyle um I know it's
11          only (.) ten minutes away but- but then that's my
12          perception on [sic] it I presume
13    KT:   yeh
14    A:    um (.) but I just wanted to be a bit more in (.) local (.)
15    KT:   uh huh
16    A:    I mean all our- all our neighbours are all Portuguese
```

She also points out that the coast is relatively close ("`only (.) ten minutes away`"), but seems to imply that she feels much further from it away in her imagined landscape. She reiterates the spatial 'boundary' between tourist space and her own 'local' place by referring to the fact that there are also social differences; the "`people who live down towards the coast first and foremost live very different lifestyles to us`". The fact that her next utterance begins with *but also* ("`more of a holiday lifestyle`") indicates that her previous reference to *different lifestyles* was premised on a difference that was *not* to do simply with tourism and transience. I would guess that she was referring to material and economic differences, since lifestyle migrants who do not live near the coast generally position those who do as living an extravagant lifestyle based on conspicuous consumption.

However, despite the fact that she chose this place because it "`just had a nice feel about it`" and "`it just felt the right (.) the right place to be`", Amanda's feelings of remaining an outsider in the place she lives are evident in her description of her neighbours. When I ask Amanda if the place she lives in feels like a village community, there is a lengthy pause before she answers:

Extract 6.8

```
A:    (2.5) no not really @@@@! I suppose there's- I mean you
      see lots of the um th- the little old ladies across the road all
      stood out on the road talking to one another
      <and I always have visions of them ooh how it's changing round
      here uhm @@@@ and obviously these three new houses (.) um
      amongst all the older ones (.) um I think when we first started
      to come- coming to look up here people were very much °what
```

> d'you think they are, out in the sticks a bit aren't they, very rich what's going on thereº who are you

The representation of her neighbours as "little old ladies" and her imagining of them gossiping about her and her family reveal her feelings of alienation from the 'local' group. She imagines her neighbours as wondering why the "very rich" newcomers, who are altering the place with their modern, newly built houses "amongst all the older ones", have chosen to live there. By imagining that she is judged to be "out in the sticks a bit", she is no doubt projecting her own feeling of incongruity in her surroundings.

The representation of 'real' Portuguese places being inhabited by 'old' Portuguese people is also drawn upon by Neil, who says "like where I live, you still see like old Portuguese people", in contrast to "this side" (we are talking in the International school he attends which is right in the middle of the Golden Triangle) where you see so many "English and German people" and "foreigners" that it "doesn't really feel like Portugal sometimes". By calling attention to the fact that their Portuguese neighbours are 'old people', the participants are perhaps tacitly drawing on the 'born and bred' repertoire that is often employed to authenticate belongings. In this way, the speakers are indirectly expressing feelings of outsideness in their neighbourhoods by making implicit comparisons between themselves and those who have 'roots' in place. Thus they are positioning themselves as outsiders in a double sense: as both 'foreigner' and 'newcomer'.

Whilst neighbourhoods are inherently located in places, the notion of 'community' is rather more problematic spatially. I therefore explored the data to determine how the participants construct the idea of community, and in particular, to what extent the constructions are place-bound. I asked Peggy if she felt like part of a community 'here' in the resort where she lives. She answered with a definite "*yeh*", and added "you don't really need to go **outside** (.) much anywhere". The locative adverb *outside* is telling, for it implies that her mental map of the place where she lives conceptualises a strongly bounded place, a CONTAINER for the community, which is made up of "expatriates".

When I ask Samantha (who also lives in a purpose-built resort area) if she thinks there is such a thing as "a British community here", she says:

Extract 6.9

> no I- don't think so not in this part of the Algarve I think more in the western Algarve? and I think the British community over there is held together by (.) things like the Algarve Resident[82] and the things that they do they're very sort of community based

Her construction of this nationally defined community is therefore place-bound but also "held together" by common interests and activities. She positions herself as being 'outside' this community, however.

A very interesting construction of community comes from seventeen-year-old Tom. He positions himself as being firmly "in" an English community, both spatially and temporally:

Extract 6.10

```
01    T:    well I've been practically in an English community (.) have been
02          for (.) all the time I've been here (.) you know Quinta, Vale do
03          Lobo, international school, English friends, English family (.)
04          little slice of England in Portugal
```

His sense of community is in fact based on an imaginative spatial transposition: a "little slice of England in Portugal" (line 4). This conceptualisation seems to correspond to a kind of 'transnational space', which Faist (2000; 2004), treats as new, cross-boundary social spaces progressively formed by migrants as they settle in new locations in destination countries. In this sense, it is a similar concept to Bhabha's 'third-space', which he sees as emerging from the hybrid cultural practices of migrants and other 'displaced' peoples (Bhabha, 1994). Tom expands on his conceptualisation of the Algarve as a transnational space in extract 6.11:

[82] The Algarve Resident is a weekly English language newspaper.

Extract 6.11

T: it's not like true Portugal is it (.) because it's been like changed by the English (…) but it's not England it's not England either (1.0) it's sort of in limbo between the two".

Here, the concept of 'authentic' places is again linked to national identity (see also extracts 6.7.and 6.8 above). Tom is suggesting that there is a 'true', essentialised 'essence' of a nation-place which is adulterated by too much 'outside' interference from other, nationally defined cultural groups – in this case, 'the English' – who are represented as agents of change. Curiously, Tom, who is the youngest participant in this research, is the only one to position this national collective as such agents. The other participants do comment on changes in the Algarve, but linguistically the agents of change are not made explicit. Either the place itself is represented as undergoing a process of change (e.g. "it seems to be changing") or impersonal, passive constructions or nominalisations are used (e.g. "I think there've been lots and lots and lots of changes"). This can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that 'change' is not generally positively evaluated by the adult speakers; they often project a vague sense of nostalgia for the times when Portugal was still 'authentically' Portugal,[83] so they do not want to attribute the causes of 'change' to their own collective group (although see chapter 7, extract 7.9 for an alternative representation of this). The ways in which collective national identities are positioned in talk is one of the foci of the next chapter.

On a final note, and going back to extract 6.11, Tom's representation of the place as being "in limbo" reflects a common representation of migrant identities as being 'betwixt and between' (O'Reilly, 2000), or in a liminal state. It certainly seems to be the case that lifestyle migrants occupy a marginal social and symbolic space between tourists and local residents. The extent to which migrant place-identities are constructed as being liminal is further explored in chapter 8.

[83] It has long been argued in tourism studies that a primary driver in tourist motivation is the search for 'authentic' experiences as a means of escape from the pressures of one's 'home' society (Cohen, 2010). The origins of this hypothesis are generally attributed to MacCannell's (1976) seminal work.

6.4 Summary of findings

This chapter has shown how participants align or oppose themselves, both strategically and less self-consciously, towards places through attitudinal and spatial positionings. The elective migrants stress their positive alignment with the place they call home, and their overall self-positionings work to construct a place-identity based on a mode of elective belonging that ties in with the self-image they want to project. They also differentiate themselves from other groups, notably tourists and other lifestyle migrants, whom they perceive to embody the privileged identities constructed by external discourses. They often achieve this differentiation in spatial terms, for example through relational place formulations.

In most cases, this self-positioning is individual positioning, that is, speakers want to be seen primarily as individual agents rather than as members of a social group (for example as part of the 'British abroad' collective). The onus of their identity work therefore is on constructing a coherent narrative of the self, as part of the reflexive project of the self (Giddens, 1991), although for the adult speakers, this 'self' is not entirely individual since they also index 'relational selves' (Mason, 2004). Even though, as I have shown, certain patterns can be traced in the data from which we can infer that the speakers are drawing upon socially shared representations and evaluations, I would say that these positionings are primarily taken up as a means of enacting *personalised* attachments that feed into modes of elective belonging. In other words, the speakers want to project themselves as active agents in relation to their lived experiences, including their relationships to place, for example in terms of the 'fit' between self, lifestyle and place.

It may well be that individual identities 'exist', since people clearly have distinct physical and cognitive/psychological referents. However, it is equally important to bear in mind that the individual does not exist in isolation from the social world, and that identity is always constructed in and through social interaction and within broader socio-cultural and historical contexts. This means that individual identities cannot be neatly separated from collective identities, for the process of identity formation necessarily involves interaction not only between individuals, but also between individuals and social groups. Thus, rather than being qualitatively

different, as is sometimes assumed in sociological literature, the two dimensions of identity are mutually constituted and intertwined (Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2003). Although this chapter has touched upon collective positionings, some collectivities that we might expect to feature in these migrants' talk have so far been noticeably absent from my analysis and discussion, for example national groups. The following chapter focuses more specifically on the collective aspects of identity, including how British lifestyle migrants position their Portuguese 'hosts' and what this reveals about underlying ideologies and the politics of place.

Chapter 7
Collective place-identity and ideology

The aim of this chapter is to unpack the more collective dimension of place-identity, by exploring how (and why) speakers position themselves (and others) as members of social groups. In addition, I look specifically at the 'trouble' in identity work that can occur when collective positionings seem to conflict with individual positionings, and how speakers work to repair and resolve such dilemmas. I also discuss what an analysis of the collective dimension of place-identity reveals about broader underlying ideologies. Firstly, however, since this chapter takes a distinct turn from the preceding chapter, I want to briefly review some of the most relevant underlying theoretical constructs that I use in this chapter.

7.1 Review of theoretical concepts

7.1.1 Discourse and ideology

One of the central tenets of any CDA approach is that discourse is inevitably linked to ideology. Van Dijk (1998; 2009) defines ideologies as the underlying social beliefs and values that form the basis of the organization and control of social representations shared by members of a group. However, I follow Koller (forthcoming) in viewing the beliefs, values, opinions and so forth that make up ideologies as being socio-cognitive representations themselves. As such, ideologies can be understood as networks of SCRs. In this way, they have both cognitive and social properties, and are deployed (typically through discourse) by different social groups to make sense of the way the social world works and to regulate social practices. Indeed, ideologies may be thought of as having a 'lived' aspect, since social practices (including discourse, but also other material practices) can express ideologies as part of a given society or culture's 'way of life' or 'common sense' (Billig, 1991; Billig et al., 1988). However, my focus here is on the way that discourse does ideological work because speakers draw on linguistic resources to encode selective combinations of SCRs. Although SCRs can of course be negotiated and changed in and through discourse (Koller, forthcoming), as networks of SCRs that

construct a world view, ideologies support particular representations of the world and thus serve to "rationalize, legitimate, maintain and (re)produce particular institutional arrangements, and economic, social and power relations within a society" (Augoustinos et al., 2006: 272). Viewed in this way, they also work to preserve the *status quo*, or even to gain and maintain power and influence (Koller, forthcoming).

In fact, ideologies are often considered to be a tool of the powerful to preserve, protect and promote their own interests and as a means to exert power and control by more covert and subtle means than the use of force or coercion. As such, a form of ideological hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) - i.e. a dominant and pervasive set of discourses and other practices that ensures the maintenance of power by dominant groups - is built up, which is widely shared and, importantly, freely consented to. Despite the Gramscian emphasis on the centrality of common sense in the process of understanding social reality, the concept of ideological hegemony is still associated with a deterministic viewpoint that positions ideology as an inherently negative concept. Billig (1991) has argued against this 'ideological domination' view of society developed by Marxist thinkers, which treats people as passive and gullible, duped by ideological 'managers' and institutions serving the interests of the dominant classes.[84] Whilst hegemonic representations are undoubtedly present in social life, the constructionist and reflexive capacities of people cannot be underestimated, and so the interpersonal aspects of language-in-use must also be the site of the study of ideology.

It is important to point out that there is no direct link between discourse and ideology (van Dijk, 2009: 79). The relationship is mediated by the underlying network of SCRs upon which individuals draw in order to organise their worldview, or the way in which they want to project it. For example, SCRs about the equality (or inequality) of ethnic groups around the world organize socially shared opinions about 'legitimate' forms of migration. These opinions both shape, and are shaped by, specific event models which involve specific participants and their actions. These event models might find their way into discourse, via the subjective mental context

[84] See, for example, Althusser (1971) and Pêcheux (1982).

model which governs participation in a particular communicative situation (van Dijk, 2008a). However, the ideologies expressed in utterances are not necessarily straightforward, but may be 'dilemmatic' (Billig, 1997). Thus we can assume that individuals have their own personal versions of a shared social belief system or ideology which account for the differences and even contradictions that can be traced in the expression of ideologies in empirical research (van Dijk, 1998: 30). As Koller (2008a) argues, discourse can be said to strategically instantiate selected aspects of underlying cognitive models. It is this selective instantiation of models that imbues texts with ideology, meaning that ideology, which she further defines as "a particular construction of reality which is encoded in textual representations" (ibid.: 395), is the interface between (socially situated) cognitive models and discourse.

7.1.2 The politics of place and moral geographies

This chapter is fundamentally about the politics of place. The notion of politics of place can of course be interpreted and researched in a multitude of ways, from forms of involvement in local governmental and institutional politics to more informal participation in social movements.[85] However, in keeping with the topic of this thesis, I will use the concept in relation to the construction of identities. Following Modan (2007), I take the politics of place to mean how versions of place are created and contested through discourses that construct identity. It refers in particular to the way in which 'legitimate' (and, conversely, marginalised/excluded) identities are constructed within place, and thus has a strong impact on notions of belonging. For Modan, the construction of a legitimate identity (for her purposes, as a 'neighbourhood person') "relies on an alignment with a particular kind of identity created for the neighbourhood itself" (ibid.: 7). By extension, then, the ways in which

[85] Janoschka (2008) gives an excellent account of the ways in which senior northern European migrants in Spain integrate themselves and exercise leadership via local politics. The ways in which they do this range from informal involvement in social movements and grassroots activism to formal representation in local government. In the Algarve, I have not observed much participation in local politics at the institutional level among lifestyle migrants. There is a fair amount of involvement at the broader level of social causes, for example through charity or voluntary work and through associations that are involved in environmental/conservation causes and such like. This could provide a fascinating line of future research. In the data for this study, however, the only reference made to this is one participant's account of her involvement in charity work. It is therefore not a valid parameter for analysis in this thesis.

identities for places and those who live in them are constructed may have material implications for the ways in which these places develop and change, for the relationship between place-making and place-identity is dialectical in that each process shapes the other to some extent. This, I want to suggest, is most salient at the level of collective identity. Whilst one might successfully project an individual identity that 'fits' with place, it is at the level of collective belonging(s) that the micro-politics of place begin to emerge.

Closely related to this is the notion of moral geographies. Moral imaginings have been a central concern in geography in recent years (Mansvelt, 2005: 152) since understanding the relations between people and places in terms of moral positions is necessary for an understanding of the workings of power (in both its constraining and enabling forms). Again, I draw on Modan (2007: 90) for a working definition of this concept. For her, a moral geography is "an interweaving of a moral framework with a geographical territory". Furthermore:

> Through the use of various discourse strategies and themes, community members create alignments and oppositions among people and places. These alignments and oppositions are then evaluated positively or negatively in relation to various value and belief systems circulating in the community. In other words, through linguistic moves, community members position themselves and their neighbours within a kind of abstract moral "grid" that they create for the neighbourhood (ibid.).

I began to show in chapter 6 how speakers construct such a 'moral grid' in their imagination and through talk, particularly through judgement evaluations in conjunction with spatial positionings. The emphasis of this chapter is on how collective identities are ideologically positioned in moral geographies, and how this helps to construct, or conversely, to trouble, claims of 'legitimacy' in belonging, which feed into the politics of place.

7.1.3 Collective identities

The most useful way of looking at collective identities is that they basically correspond to socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) (Koller, forthcoming), as I discussed in chapter 3. As such, they are ideological in nature, since they are inevitably linked into the networks of beliefs, values and other SCRs that make up

ideologies (see section 7.1.1 above). As particular types of mental models, then, collective identities may become internalised and subconscious. In combination with processes of socialisation and embodied experience in the world, they can therefore determine certain aspects of individual behaviour, as Bourdieu's notion of habitus suggests (Wodak, 2009: 77). This goes some way towards explaining why the adult participants in this research do not make their 'Britishness' explicit. Since they may well be speaking (on occasion) from an internalised and subconscious collective position, this means that to some extent their 'British' identity is taken for granted and as such does not require constant signalling or negotiation in talk. As Billig (1995) has convincingly shown, national identities framed within established nation states have become so 'banal' as to even pass unnoticed. On the other hand, collective identities are no more fixed, stable or cohesive than individual identities. As mental models, they are liable not only to basic reproduction but also to re-shaping and re-evaluation in the process of re-contextualisation and re-entextualisation. This also means that they can be selectively and partially instantiated in the course of interaction as speakers seek to position themselves and others according to their interactional goals.

One of the ways in which speakers might position other collectivities is through the verbal expression of stereotypes. As a sub-type of socio-cognitive representations, stereotypes are "objectified cognitive and affective structures about social groups (...) which are extensively shared and which emerge and proliferate within the particular social and political milieu of a given historical moment" (Augoustinos et al., 2006: 258). In viewing stereotypes as a type of simplified socio-cognitive representation shared through communication, the underlying assumption is that they cannot be considered separately from broader patterns of social, political and ideological relationships in society (ibid.: 259). Indeed, stereotypes differ from most other schemata in that they have social consequences; since their activation may well be linked to prejudice against certain social groups, their expression can lead to situations of discrimination and social injustice (ibid.: 242).

As a cognitive-linguistic process, stereotyping (i.e. the activation and verbal expression of a stereotype) serves to simplify ingroup communication, to increase the sense of belonging and to delineate outgroups (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 20).

According to Quasthoff (1978: 6), a stereotype has "the logical form of a judgement which ascribes or denies certain properties (traits or forms of behaviour) to a set of persons in a (logically) unwarrantably simplifying and generalizing way, with an emotionally evaluative tendency". In this way, we can see how the linguistic expression of stereotypes links to attitudinal positioning in the form of judgement evaluations, which, as I explained in the section above,[86] are strongly related to self- and other- positioning in moral geographies.

A further important point, as positioning theory makes evident, is that social identity is not only constructed by the self-positionings taken up (intentionally or otherwise) by individuals or groups. Individuals and groups are inevitably positioned by others (Davies & Harré, 1990), and so people are 'always already' positioned (Taylor, 2010: 69) by prior positionings. The research participants are therefore 'already' positioned at the outset of the talk as part of a British collective living in the Algarve (among, of course, various other 'always already' positionings) both in the specific context of the research interviews and more generally in the social context of their lives in the Algarve. In the specific context of the research interview, we should also take into account that I (the interviewer) am also already positioned at the outset by the interviewees. One of the ways that I am possibly positioned is as part of the same ingroup collective (i.e. as a British person living in the Algarve), although of course this positioning might be 'troubled' by the fact that I am also likely to be positioned in other senses as an outgroup member, e.g. as an academic researcher.

In terms of the wider social context of this research, I have already noted that British lifestyle migrants are generally welcomed by their Portuguese 'hosts' and are already positioned as both beneficial and legitimate residents (although they are often conflated with tourists and second home owners as a category). In chapter 4, I showed how British lifestyle migrants in the 'Golden Triangle' are specifically positioned by the highly visible real estate billboards that dominate the linguistic landscape. Through these texts, lifestyle migrants are positioned as a highly privileged and elite social group. These types of discursive practices therefore have a potentially important impact on the collective identity of this social group, since they

[86] See also chapter section 6.1.4

construct and reinforce identity positions which can then be taken up (or negotiated/contested) in other discursive practices, including talk.

An important point to reiterate regarding the analysis that I will present in this chapter is that the participants tend to avoid taking up collective identity positions for themselves. I found a clear indicator of this by looking at the use of personal deixis. It is a common analytical step in CDA work that focuses on collective identities (particularly national identities) to closely examine how the first person collective pronoun 'we' is used (see, for example, Wodak et al., 1999, pp. 45-47). A salient feature of my data is that although 'we' appears very frequently, the national collective 'we' accounts for less than 2% of occurrences across the data set.[87] In the teenage data, there are no occurrences of national inclusive 'we', although national identity work is in fact a much more overt feature of this data set, as we shall see in chapter 8. In sum, although it is important to bear in mind that quantitatively, there is relatively little in the adult data that can be analysed as the explicit construction of collective identities, what I want to show is that what there is provides a window into the ideological orientations of British lifestyle migrants.

7.2 'Trouble' in identity work

Although collective identities are not necessarily expressed through overt positionings in talk, they do sometimes need to be explicitly enacted and perhaps negotiated. Some positions taken up by speakers are 'troubled' and require repair (Wetherell, 1998). Speakers are bound to some extent to shift their self-positionings in interaction, since each of the multiplicity of possible selves can be internally contradictory or contradictory with other possible selves located in different story lines (Davies & Harré, 1990). The need for repair usually occurs when these positions are somehow detracting from the overall coherence which speakers generally seek to establish in their identity work. Davies and Harré (ibid.) further note that while people mostly accept that their beliefs about themselves and their environments are full of unresolved contradictions, it is through narratives that people learn to 'do' being a particular non-contradictory person. Mishler (1999) suggests that a certain

[87] As already noted in chapter 6, the discourse of the adults (all women) is highly relational in that they use 'we-speak' (Mason, 2004) to include immediate family and friends.

amount of inconsistency is inevitable in narratives. He reminds us that coherence in narratives is not formulaic, but is always situated and co-constructed, both within the context of the on-going interaction and within the socio-cultural frameworks of interpretation available to the participants. Billig (1997: 37) has also stressed that each person's views "will bear ideological traces" of his or her (historical) age and social location which will not necessarily be straightforward, but are likely to be "dilemmatic" (Billig et al., 1988). As he further argues (1997: 49):

> if ideologies did not contain contrary themes, they would not provide the resources for common sense thinking, for thinking involves dialogic discussion, or the counter-positioning of contrary themes, which can both in their way appear to be reasonable.

By extension, the discursive resources that we require for everyday talk need to allow for the counter-positioning of contrary identities.

Inconsistencies in narrative identity work might well be inevitable, but it is important to remember that some are accepted, some pass unnoticed, while others need repair (Taylor, 2010). In terms of doing place-identity work in talk, the need for repair may arise when claims to belonging are challenged or could potentially be challenged by others - including the interlocutor - but also by any *possible or imagined* interlocutors. Taylor (ibid.) points to different kinds of trouble that may arise, for example deriving from taking up a social identity that is perceived as being negatively valued or when a speaker takes up a position that cannot be reconciled with a previous position taken up in the same stretch of talk. When attempts are made to repair inconsistencies, the underlying dilemma might or might not be satisfactorily resolved. Like Taylor, my analytical work focuses not on the outcome of this repair work, but on why it happens and how it is discursively achieved. Unlike Taylor, I am also concerned with what we can infer from this about underlying ideological positions.

7.2.1 The 'language issue' in the data

A salient shared characteristic of the participants in this research is that, like the majority of British lifestyle migrants in the Algarve, they use English as the primary means of communication in their everyday lives. In other words, they have

no more than a very elementary working knowledge of the Portuguese language.[88] The construction and negotiation of place-identity in the data is strongly connected to this, as I will show. Furthermore, it is when this 'language issue' arises in the course of talk about their experiences that the speakers' identity work becomes most 'troubled'.

It might well be thought that this language issue constitutes a problem for migrants. My personal view is that the language 'barrier' that arises from an inability to speak the local language constitutes a huge obstacle to a sense of belonging in a local place. Indeed, it might be assumed that a more or less permanent move to another country involves learning that language. Traditionally, for many migrants, the 'dream' of integration and belonging in a 'host' country is bound up with the learning of that country's language (Caldas-Coulthard & Fernandes Alves, 2007). Moreover, it is a common assumption that in terms of second language (L2) acquisition, intercultural contact such as, in principle, that provided by migrating to another country, is a key issue. According to Dörnyei and Csizér (2005), there are two main reasons for this. Firstly, a typical motivation for learning a second language is said to be the opportunities it provides for establishing relationships across cultures, or between members of different ethnolinguistic communities. Secondly, intercultural contact in itself increases opportunities for developing language skills and therefore shaping learners' motivational disposition. Thus, the type of intercultural contact one would suppose an international move would entail is both a means and an end to L2 acquisition.

Another argument seems to lend further support to this hypothesis, particularly in the light of one of the findings of my data analysis reported in chapter 6. Dörnyei and Csizér (2005: 330) argue that from a Contact Hypothesis perspective, the impact of tourist-host interactions (characterised by "brevity and superficiality") is "questionable at best", since these are for the most part asymmetrical encounters and offer little ground for real intergroup cooperation or friendship potential. It might therefore seem that for lifestyle migrants, who are so keen to distinguish

[88] The exceptional cases are two of the teenagers, one of whom attends a Portuguese university and the other has a Brazilian parent. However, the analytical focus of this chapter is on the adult speakers. I return to the teenage data in chapter 8.

themselves from tourists, the opportunities for intergroup contact would have more impact on their attitudes towards learning the local language. Besides the pursuit of common goals that might be assumed to arise from choosing to live alongside a different ethnolinguistic community, the friendship potential (which Pettigrew (1998) signals as being particularly important for optimal contact) could also be expected to have a strong influence on motivational disposition.

Much of the sociological literature on intra-European lifestyle migration has indeed flagged hopes of interaction and even integration with the 'host' community as part and parcel of migrants' expectations for a better quality of life (e.g. Benson, 2009, 2010; Huber & O'Reilly, 2004; O'Reilly, 2000). However, it has also been noted that more often than not these hopes are dashed, for when expectations meet reality, "migrants come face to face with the limits of their knowledge of the local setting and way of life. While some had hoped for integration, they find it difficult to learn the local language" (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009: 8). What is interesting in this quotation is the emphasis on the *difficulty* experienced in learning the local language. It is certainly the case, as my data shows, that migrants often express this 'difficulty', either by claiming that Portuguese is a 'difficult' language or by blaming the type or quality of teaching they experienced in the (generally very few) language classes they have undertaken (see figure 7.1 below). Yet other groups of migrants, for instance economic migrants from Eastern European countries, do not seem to experience the same difficulty in acquiring Portuguese. There is perhaps a simple explanation for this: whilst migration for economic purposes generates a *need* to learn the local language in order to work, lifestyle migrants generally have no such 'instrumental' (Gardner, 1985) motivation. This lack of necessity is further compounded by the fact that English is so widely spoken in the Algarve. Mainly due to tourism development and the strong dependence of the local economy on tourism,[89] compounded with the growing numbers of northern European lifestyle migrants in many areas of the region, seemingly everyone has some command of English these days,[90] and English

[89] Tourism activities account for almost 50% of the regional wealth, while more than 70% of the region's working population are employed in the service sector (Martins de Brito et al., 2010).

[90] Other factors of course have played a part in the spread of English in the region, but the situation in the Algarve is not mirrored in other regions of Portugal where tourism is not so evident or economically important.

is routinely used as a language of communication. This is also a common repertoire in the data. Although it is beyond the scope of this discussion to go into detail on the reasons that the participants give for not learning Portuguese, I have compiled a chart (figure 7.1) which summarises the main repertoires that are found, repeatedly, in the data.

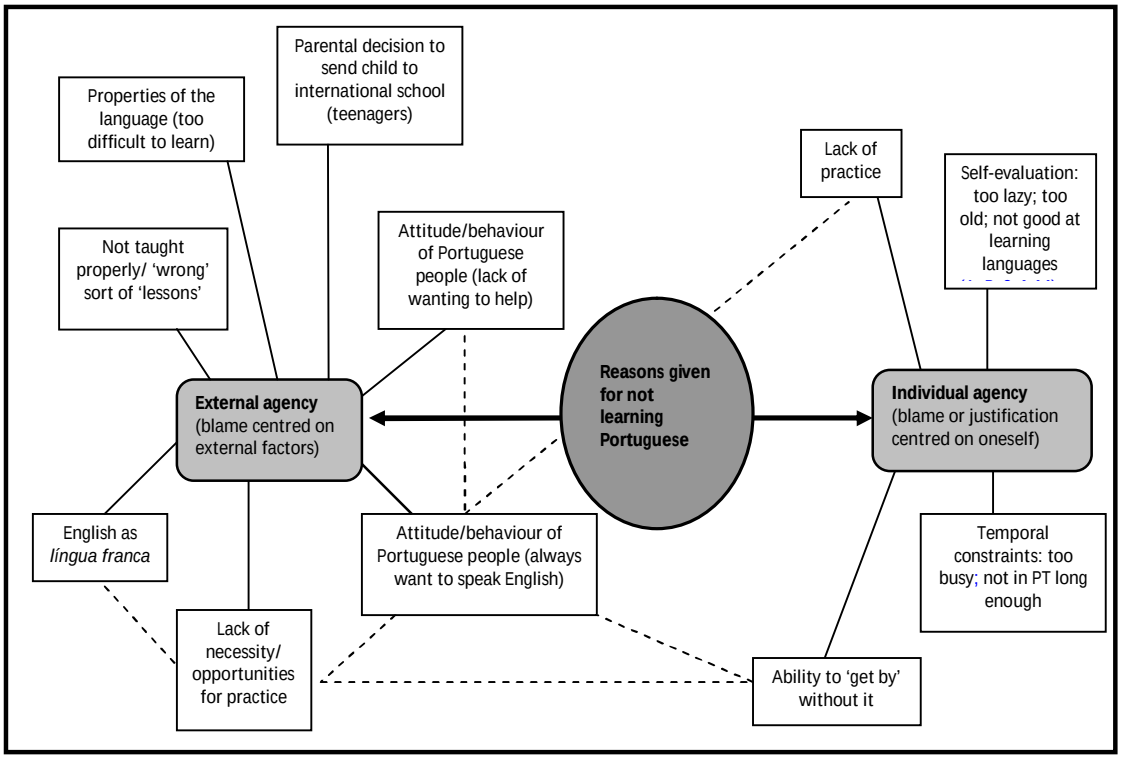

Figure 7.1. ***Summary of participants' justifications for not learning Portuguese***

The reasons given are generally a combination of internally- and externally-constructed agency; in other words, part of the blame is attributed to the self but there are always a range of external factors which have 'prevented' the speaker from learning the language. Furthermore, some of the 'self-blame' is assuaged by linking internal agency repertoires ('*I can get by without it*'; '*I don't practice enough'*) to repertoires that put the blame on external factors ('*there's no need to speak Portuguese'; 'everyone here speaks English'; 'Portuguese people don't want to help'*, and so forth).

The fact that most participants talk at length about the language issue indicates how fundamental it is to their lived experience. Yet whilst most agree that there is some sort of moral obligation to learn Portuguese (see the data analysis in sections 7.3 and 7.4 below), the fact remains that despite their often lengthy and complex discourse on the topic, they do *not* learn it.

7.2.2 The political economy of language

What is it, we might ask, that leads to a situation where migrants who have lived in a place for anything up to twenty years do not master the Portuguese language or even, in some cases, do not acquire the most basic working knowledge of it? Part of the answer to this, I believe, lies in the political economy of language. Within such a political economy, a language (or a variety of language) emerges as having the kind of symbolic value that produces 'a profit of distinction' (Bourdieu, 1979, 1981) in social exchanges and thus reflects the power of the social groups it indexes (Gal, 1989). As Heller (2003) points out, any understanding of the local political economy of linguistic resources entails an understanding of the ways in which those resources (and the value attributed to them) are tied to both global and situated economic and political conditions.

It might be that for certain groups of immigrants, notably those categorised as economic migrants, there is a great deal of social, symbolic and cultural capital to be acquired from the learning of the 'host' language, at least where the national identity/culture in which it is 'framed' is represented in the home country as being 'superior' (Caldas-Coulthard & Fernandes Alves, 2007). However, for British lifestyle migrants there seems to be a lack of perceived value in learning Portuguese. To some extent, this can be attributed to the fact that English is so widely used, both globally and in the local context. It is perhaps also due to the migrants' lack of perceived value regarding intercultural contact. As I described in chapter 2, the meso-level of the migration process has ensured that a vast range of services, goods and facilities are provided by northern Europeans for northern Europeans, meaning that everyday encounters with Portuguese speakers can be almost completely avoided. Communications and media technologies enable contact with the 'outside' world at such a level that most lifestyle migrants do not bother with Portuguese television,

radio or newspapers. Social networks mean that socialising activities can take place with one's compatriots, and so the 'friendship potential' provided by intercultural contact is often ignored. Ample reference is made to all of this throughout the interview data.

Finally, it must be remembered that British lifestyle migrants, as a collective, are positioned as being economically powerful. This privileged collective identity position therefore legitimates many of the social practices associated with the collective, including the use of English as a means of communication, since English is invested with symbolic capital not only among the migrants themselves, but also by their 'hosts'.

In sum, although not speaking Portuguese would appear to many to be an obvious barrier to local socio-cultural integration, it is not necessarily perceived by lifestyle migrants as problematic. On the other hand, the data show that this language issue *is* dilemmatic, for the question remains as to how one discursively constructs a 'legitimate' identity as belonging in a place where one does not speak (or even understand) the local language. Talking about this is, as we shall see below, a major source of trouble in doing identity work.

7.3 Analysing shifting individual and collective positionings in moral geographies

I begin the discourse analysis in this chapter by considering a longer data extract (7.1) than those used in the preceding chapter. I do this for several reasons. Firstly, because it shows how some of the various discursive positioning devices discussed in chapter 6 (namely attitudinal positionings towards place and spatial positionings) operate across a stretch of discourse. Secondly, it shows how individual positionings interact with collective positionings across a longer stretch of talk. Thirdly, it shows how shifts in positionings are used not only to negotiate and repair 'trouble' in identity work, but also how these very shifts begin to reveal ideological underpinnings.

Extract 7.1

KT: ok (.) um::: I mean have you had any- any anything that you've felt has been difficult about adapting to life here

G: uh::m I think I think out of- out of the bubble which- out of the triangle the Algarve triangle I think the language

KT: mm hmm

G: um you know which actually isn't anything to do with the Portuguese that's completely you know we've chosen to move to their country, and so really we should learn- I feel as though I should learn the language and I have tried but I have to say °it's very hard° @@ uh::m but building this house(.) and my daughter (.)I've learned more Portuguese than er- than doing the lessons and all the rest of it so I think the language barrier's tough (.) but I've learned so much over two and a half years I've learned sort of how they work and how they (.) you know whereas as once I would've stood in Leroy [name of DIY store] for six hours I'll stand there for an hour now because I know the system and I know how they work whereas (.) you know I do think I- I- I- it's very difficult they-(.) they they're brilliant with children they're brilliant with kids

KT: yeh

G: uh::m I mean one thing I've found with the nursery because Sam obviously went to UK nursery (.) and obviously they've got their rules and their regulations an- and their (.) how they can treat the kids and how much they- affection they can show to the kids and when I brought Rebecca to nursery I just couldn't get my breath it was so::: lovely the way they treat the kids and Rebecca goes in every morning and they pick her up and they hug her and they kiss her and they- and it's just a completely different way of life here with- with children

KT: mm

G: I mean that's the- it's a massive advantage here I think. I think family life is um (.) so much easier here

KT: mm

G: in the UK you cannot take your children to restaurants. You ca:n but it really isn't (.) it- you know they don't like it people don't like it it's not a family environment, eating- there's a whole- <this is what I was saying> in the UK you- you go out to drink more and you go out (.) with- with adults you don't really take your children out that much because it's so::: you know people don't like th- the noise and the- and whereas here it's abnormal if you don't take your children out uh::m you know and I find the Portuguese here are brilliant with children. I find them a little bit (.) har::sh with the Eng- I think they're still getting used to the English coming over here (.) I think the more we come, the more they're-

KT: mm

G: you know cos we're- we are coming into their country and whatever um but then it's funny cos as soon as like (.) you know if if Reb- they've not seen Rebecca if I'm out and I'm having trouble with somebody and then as soon as they see Rebecca (.) they completely soften

KT: yes

G: it's like oh! Oh my god there's a child there duhduhduhduh you know uh::m (.) so that's nice, that's another bonus um about being here you do feel as though you can take your children anywhere

KT: mm hmm

G: um and they are- they are lovely (.) er mmmmm

KT: but I mean have you- have you felt sort of hostility then (.) when you say that you think that some Portuguese are [not really that happy about English-]

G: [yeh but very very few and far between] not often at all

66 but yes but more out- more in the um (.) in the towns not
67 in the tourist areas
68 KT: mmm!
69 G: um wh- when I say hostility it's a lack of wanting to help.
70 it's=
71 KT: =ah ok
72 G: it's you're English a::nd you don't speak our language and
73 therefore I can't be bothered
74 KT: mm hmm
75 G: uh:m so:: you know it's- it's yeh. that that that's the
76 only thing I have found
77 KT: yeh
78 G: and to a point I can understand that it's frustrating for
79 them because we don't speak the language
80 KT: yeh
81 G: um but we are fairly new here as well and we are trying

The above extract begins with me asking Gillian if she has experienced any difficulties in adapting to life in Portugal. Until that point, she had been working hard to present an extremely positive picture of her experience of moving to Portugal, positioning herself as a happy and successful migrant (see chapter 6). In response to my question (lines 1-2) which steers the talk towards difficulties in adapting to life in the Algarve, she brings up the issue of not speaking Portuguese. It is noteworthy that she frames this 'difficulty' spatially, suggesting that the difficulty only occurs "`out of the bubble`" which is "`the triangle`".[91] It is also noteworthy that her response to my question positions "`the language`" as being the difficulty, not her lack of knowledge of it – something which she does not mention until line 9. In fact, her next move (line 6) is a rather surprising denial that the blame for this difficulty can be attributed to 'the Portuguese' as a collectivity. In terms of Engagement, the domain of the Appraisal system that is oriented towards rhetorical effects, the marked polarity of the utterance ("`which actually isn't anything to do with the Portuguese`") means that the very act of denial is acknowledging an (unspoken) alternative position (Martin & White, 2005: 118) from which the Portuguese *are* considered to be in some way at fault. Therefore, it seems that Gillian is in fact referring to difficulties in communication rather than in the language itself. This is something she returns to later, as we shall see below.

[91] She is clearly referring to the 'Golden Triangle' area here, although she 'misnames' it as the *Algarve triangle* (line 4). Although this might be quite simply a slip of the tongue, it is also possible that Gillian's mental map of the Algarve is basically centred on this 'triangle' area, since she makes it clear in the interview that she has very little experience of the Algarve region beyond this particular area.

It is worth analysing the next part of the extract (lines 7-19) in some detail, as it contains many features that I found to be repeated in the data set as a whole. Having apparently 'excused' the Portuguese (explicitly constructed as outgroup through the nominalisation of the group and the subsequent personal deixis), Gillian concurs that as 'we' (which seems here to refer to a speaker- (and hearer-) inclusive national ingroup of migrants) have actively "`chosen`" to move to "`their`" country, "`we should learn`" the local language. This at first seems like an unproblematic pronouncement (i.e. a highly warrantable proposition), with the comment adverb "`completely`" up-scaling Gillian's apparent commitment to it and ruling out alternative positions. She seems to be advocating a moral obligation, expressed through the modal operator *should*, for 'us', as 'outsiders' in "`their country`", to behave in a certain way in place (the cliché *when in Rome, do as the Romans do* springs to mind). However, the insertion of "`and so really`" gives the concurrence a sense of reluctance. Although the moral stance is then personalised by a switch to the pronoun 'I' (line 9), the force is down-scaled from an objective assertion of obligation to a more subjective expression of emotion ("`I feel as though I should learn the language`"). Again, this seems to suggest a reluctance to actually go ahead and learn Portuguese. Indeed, the use of the present perfect tense in her next assertion "`and I have tried`" (line 9) indicates that this 'attempt' has come to an end. This is then followed by the almost inevitable countering *but* which introduces the standard justification by British migrants in the Algarve for not learning Portuguese: "`it's very hard`". This repertoire of recognising an obligation to learn on the one hand, but finding 'it' difficult (the precise referent of 'it' is not always clear) on the other, is repeated by other participants (see also extract 7.3 below).

Gillian's next move (lines 13-18) is to suggest that one can overcome the "`tough`" language barrier to some extent by learning how "`they`" work. By this, she seems to be referring both literally to how Portuguese people 'work' (e.g. in shops) and also to SCRs of intercultural differences. In fact, British migrants often refer to the need to learn how to 'handle' the Portuguese (as illustrated in extract 7.2 below), thus linguistically reinforcing the us/them boundary by objectifying the Portuguese as the goal of the material process 'handle'. Semantically, the lexical choice 'handle'

implies underlying problematic behaviour, thus transferring the cause of any communication difficulties onto the behaviour of the Portuguese people rather than the language barrier *per se*. It also suggests a form of control, perhaps indexing a collective identity that is conceptualised as powerful in the sense of being symbolically higher up in a shared SCR of social hierarchies.

Extract 7.2

S: er but um I think I've learnt over the years um (.) quite successfully I believe (.) how to handle the Portuguese people now I mean there's no point in getting upset and impatient um you'll get absolutely nowhere and there's I think that was the problem when I first started was you know you'd take a certain amount of being told that they couldn't do it but eventually you'd have to as a foreigner kind of raise your voice and tell- give them a piece of your mind and @@@@@ but you got nowhere so er(.) yeh

However, negative evaluations of the Portuguese are dilemmatic, since migrants may seek to portray their attachment to this 'target' group through positive other-representation strategies, so as to emphasise their own belonging (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007). To go back to extract 7.1, at line 19 Gillian makes a rather sudden change in the direction of her account, switching from the problems of communicating to an enthusiastic positive evaluation of Portuguese people. This is marked by the change in subject pronoun, from *it* (the language issue) to *they* (the Portuguese) and the positive judgement evaluation that "they're brilliant with children". It seems that she does not want to position herself as someone who is experiencing problems and thus swings the direction of the talk back to a more positive evaluation of her experience by focusing on what she has found to be the positive aspects of her interactions with Portuguese people as a social group.

To back up her generalisation, she positions herself as 'insider', with an appeal to personal experience ("I mean the one thing I've found", line 22) in a specific place (the nursery).[92] She has previously referred to the fact that her daughter, 'Rebecca', attends a 'Portuguese nursery'. This marked national identifier

[92] Tusting et al. (2002) have noted how the appeal to personal experience is a common discursive move to legitimise cultural generalisations and stereotypes.

is common among lifestyle migrants who tend to see 'international' education as the norm for their children.[93] At the same time, emphasising the fact that one has opted for a 'Portuguese' school is a means of signalling elective belonging by the suggestion of integration (albeit through one's children). Other examples of this marked use of national identifier in the data include nominal groups such as 'Portuguese restaurant' and 'Portuguese house', suggesting that there is a constant division in the imagination of the speakers between what is 'Portuguese' and what is not – by using 'Portuguese' as a marked adjective when one is speaking from within Portugal creates a sense of perspectivization in which 'Portugal' is divided between the Portuguese (the 'other') and the international community.

Gillian makes an implicit evaluative comparison between the way her elder son was treated in a 'UK' nursery and the way that her daughter is treated. Her extremely positive, overtly emotional evaluation of her initial reaction to the way the Portuguese nursery staff treat the children in general (lines 27-28) is reinforced by a description of the way they are extremely tactile and affectionate with her daughter (line 29). Her positive evaluation of the Portuguese nursery is framed by an implicit contrast with behaviour towards young children in the British educational system which, she concurs, is "`obviously`" (line 23) governed by rules and regulations about how much affection staff can show. This type of contrast between an overly regulated Britain and the more 'laid-back' atmosphere of Portugal is a frequent source of evaluative comparison among lifestyle migrants (see chapter 6). It can also be understood as a kind of metonymic projection whereby the often-cited differences in climate are mapped onto national character: the British are 'cold' whereas the Portuguese are 'warm'.

Evaluative stances are taken throughout the data by means of frequent comparisons between Britain and Portugal in terms of generalisations about behaviour in those places. When speakers draw on negative SCRs of Britain, they often reinforce their self-positioning as being firmly 'outside' the UK by using the personal pronoun '*they*' as an 'othering' or out-group constructive strategy. In

[93] Many of the International schools in the Algarve can provide education from nursery/pre-school age to university entrance level (British A levels or International Baccalaureate).

addition, the impersonal form of '*you*'[94] or '*people'* indicates generalised states of affairs. This is particularly evident in this extract in lines 36-42, where Gillian constructs a representation of Britain as a place where it is not acceptable social behaviour to 'go out' (to restaurants and similar places) accompanied by children, because "it's not a family environment". This categorical assertion is in direct contrast to her assessment of the benefits of living in Portugal a few lines earlier ("it's a massive advantage here I think. I think family life is um (.) so much easier here", lines 33-34), and the contrastive judgement evaluation that follows: "whereas here it's abnormal if you don't take your children out" (lines 43-44). This leads to the repetition of her earlier proposition: "I find the Portuguese here are brilliant with children".

So far, through contrasting evaluations of located social behaviour (in Portugal and Britain), Gillian has positioned herself as taking a moral stance that is firmly aligned with the child-friendly society she locates spatially in Portugal (note how *here* is repeated five times from lines 30-45). At the same time, she is taking up an ideological identity position as a mother who values a family-oriented lifestyle. The overall evaluation of her life in Portugal that she wants to project is that not only is it beneficial in terms of lifestyle affordances, but that these particular lifestyle affordances are grounded in a moral order that positions those who are clearly concerned with family values as being morally superior. This is a position that is generally shared by other participants who are bringing up children in the Algarve.

At this point (line 45), however, Gillian's attitudinal positioning undergoes a shift. Whilst she is emphatic about her positive assessment of 'the Portuguese' where children are concerned, she evaluates their dealings with 'the English' who are "coming over here" with the negative adjective "harsh" (line 46), albeit mitigated by the rather hesitant use of the adjective (preceded by a micro-pause with a lengthening of the vowel) and the pre-modifier "a little bit". On the other hand, this mitigation strategy also serves to position *herself* as not being too harsh in her judgement of 'them', the Portuguese. This interpretation seems to be backed up by her sudden switch in collective identity positioning – she moves from 'the English' (as

[94] Admittedly, the generalised 'you' pronoun may be interpreted as being speaker-inclusive, but clearly *not* in the same way as the personal pronoun '*we'*.

outgroup) to the inclusive form 'we' in her apparent defence of Portuguese behaviour in the light of 'us' (the English as speaker-inclusive ingroup) coming into 'their' country. Again, not wanting to present herself as 'anti-Portuguese' in any way, and apparently wanting to identify with this target/host community through positive judgements of 'their' behaviour, she returns once more to her account of how 'they' treat children with an appeal to personal experience. She claims that even if she is "having trouble with somebody" (line 53), that person will "completely soften" (line 54) when they realise that she has a small child with her. Thus, her previous judgement of Portuguese people as being "harsh" has been turned around - by line 61, 'they' have become "lovely" - and her identity dilemma (i.e. wanting to identify with the 'host' group whilst at the same time being forced into a taking up an 'outsider' position) has seemingly been resolved.

However, I pick up on the negative evaluation and bring the conversation back to it, asking if she has felt some sort of "hostility" from Portuguese people (line 62). Gillian clearly does not want to be understood in this way, as someone who has negative feelings about the Portuguese (and is also negatively positioned by them), as is evident by her strong mitigation ("yeh but very very few and far between not often at all", line 65). She then counters this slightly by offering a spatialised account of where she might feel some kind of hostility – "more out – more in the um (.) in the towns not in the tourist areas" (lines 66/67). Here, she is creating a sense of spatial perspective that separates the 'towns' from the 'tourist areas', echoing her representation of the 'bubble' in the first lines of the extract. Her emphatic use of "more out" thus locates her as speaking from within the metaphoric CONTAINER of the tourist areas. It is only when she moves 'out' of this comfort zone that problems occur. This is interesting because most of the participants tend to place themselves discursively firmly *outside* any imagined 'tourist areas' within the Algarve (see chapter 6).

In the final part of the extract, Gillian modifies her evaluation of the Portuguese (and thus her positioning) once more. In line 69, she claims "when I say hostility it's a lack of wanting to help". The fact that she attributes the utterance 'hostility' to herself, although in fact it was *my* lexical choice in the first place, is a good example of how meanings are jointly produced in talk. However, she

revises the evaluation by down-toning the negative force from 'hostility' to 'a lack of wanting to help'. Yet by positioning the Portuguese as uncooperative, she is still simultaneously positioning herself as someone in need of help, thus reflecting her earlier comment on 'having trouble' with people when she is 'out'. This leads back to the topic of the language-based difficulties she has experienced. By projecting the (imagined) voice of a Portuguese person in lines 72-73, someone who is positioning her as a member of a (foreign) outgroup, she seems to be contradicting her earlier assertion that the difficulty "`isn't anything to do with the Portuguese`".

In the final lines of the extract (78 -81), Gillian positions herself morally as someone who is able to understand ("`to a point`") that it is "`frustrating`" for the host group that "`we`" don't speak Portuguese (although it is noticeable that she does not evaluate her lack of language skills as being 'frustrating' to herself). Nevertheless, she counters this by appealing to her newcomer status and ends by the assertion that "`we are trying`". The progressive aspect of this is once again in contradiction to an earlier assertion, which seemed to indicate that her 'trying' to learn the language had come to an end ("`I have tried`", line 9).

This extract clearly shows how judgements of behaviour in place contribute to the discursive construction of moral geographies. The positioning of the self and others in such moral geographies is a crucial strategy in the discursive construction of collective place-identities. Shifts in positioning, which index a complex interaction between individual and collective identities, and the variety of linguistic resources that are drawn upon to manage these shifts, reveal how a dynamic but dilemmatic place-identity is constructed in and through talk. Meanings are construed by drawing upon shared SCRs and the personalised experience which feeds into them, as well as jointly in interaction. The ideological dilemmas which underlie the construction of a collective place-identity are further explored in the following section.

7.4 Place-identity and ideological dilemmas

As I have already discussed, it cannot simply be assumed that speakers will be consistent in the ways in which they employ representations to construct their versions of the social world or indeed to index their social identities. Some degree of inconsistency is an inevitable feature of talk. The analysis that follows traces how

what starts as a personal issue, i.e. living in Portugal but not speaking the Portuguese language, ends up as an ideological dilemma which the speaker attempts to resolve by addressing the legitimacy of different types of migration mobilities.

Extract 7.3 comes at a point in the interview when I have just asked Jean if she can speak any Portuguese and she has admitted that she cannot, going on to cite the familiar (to me at least) catalogue of excuses for not having learnt any despite having lived in Portugal for thirteen years. I then ask if she thinks this is a 'problem'.

Extract 7.3

KT: yeh and do you think it's a problem here if you don't speak Portuguese

J: err only for the fact that I would like to be able to s- converse more with my neighbours you know and they're lovely and we talk and we try and get across to one another (.) which we normally ca::n (.) you know but I wish I could speak more Portuguese so that I could talk to them but- not rea::lly because where we live here everybody else- everybody you know has a smattering of English don't they so between the two of you you can usually get by with what you want can't you (XXX) it's not so bad

KT: like do you ever feel any sort of hostility from Portuguese people because you don't speak their language

J: when we first came here YES. In the (.) um Finances and places like that where if you didn't speak Portuguese they didn't want to know they weren't- and I found that quite difficult because (.) in England if it was the other way round they would make sure you could understand they would get an interpreter. If you went to a police station or one of the big offices they would get an interpreter. And even now in England you go into any of the big offices and it's up in every different language you can think of

KT: yeh

J: isn't it I mean you know you go round and- and the instructions in the hospitals and the big offices it's in every language um (.) and I think that- I know you should, if you're gonna live here try but I found it quite difficult at first from people just weren't interested

Her initial response is to limit the 'problem' to the level of her neighbourhood; she concedes that if she could speak more Portuguese she would be able to talk more to her "lovely" Portuguese neighbours. However, this creates trouble in her preferred identity position as a successful migrant, since it suggests a potential obstacle to belonging. She attempts to repair this ("but- not rea::lly") by stating that "where we live here" (presumably her immediate neighbourhood), "everybody you know has a smattering of English" (line 9) so "you can usually get by". Her coda (line 11) is an evaluation of the situation as being "not

so bad", therefore dispelling the idea of not speaking Portuguese as being particularly problematic.

However, as the interviewer, I seem not to accept this resolution and I rephrase my previous question by asking her if she ever feels any "hostility" from Portuguese people due to her not speaking "their" language (lines 12-13). In doing so, I have taken the emphasis away from the implication that Jean herself (as agent) might have caused the 'problem' by not speaking Portuguese, and re-positioned her as a possible 'victim' of hostility. Furthermore, I have positioned the Portuguese language as belonging to *them*, which seems to lessen the responsibility towards learning it if one is not Portuguese oneself. This is important, since an adequate understanding of what has taken place in an interview can only be reached through an analysis of such features as how interviewers (re)formulate questions and how respondents frame their answers in terms of their reciprocal understanding of the meanings that are emerging from the interaction (Mishler, 1986).[95] The effect of my re-phrasing of the question is quite dramatic. Jean answers this time with an emphatic affirmative, although she does distance her position through temporal deixis "when we first came here YES" (line 14). Looking back to that time, she recalls the difficulties she faced in public offices such as the "Finances" (tax office). The staff there, she suggests, were indifferent towards those who could not speak Portuguese ("they didn't want to know", line 16). Rather than directly evaluating that attitude as justifiable or otherwise, Jean evaluates her personal feelings when confronted by this attitude ("I found that quite difficult") and then identifies the cause of these feelings ("because") as being based on a sense of injustice. Her hypothetical representation of what would have been the directly comparable case "in England if it was the other way round" (lines 17-18) is that an interpreter would have been made available (she boosts this proposition by repetition). Furthermore, she argues, in the public offices in England information is posted up in "every different language you can think of". She perhaps realises that her (greatly exaggerated) argument does not hold weight, as her

[95] In fact, I do not think I made this move intentionally; it was only on detailed examination of the transcript that I realised the full extent and effects of my reformulation. However, it nonetheless shows that I am speaking from the position of a research interviewer with a certain agenda, and that attempts at 'probing' interviewees are rarely 'neutral' in terms of the outcome of the move.

subsequent reformulation is less confident, marked by various hedging devices such as "I mean", "you know", hesitations and self-interruptions (lines 25-27).

She then resorts to defensive rhetoric, by anticipating and acknowledging the counter argument ("I know", line 27) and conceding the force of it as a generalised moral obligation ("you should, if you're gonna live here try"), although the use of the impersonal/generalised *you* rather than the first person pronoun signals a distancing from the proposition and seems to indicate that she is not positioning herself directly as one who 'should try'. Finally, with the countering *but*, she returns to her original line of argument (prompted by my re-phrased question), that she was 'victim' to the indifference of the Portuguese staff – "I found it quite difficult at first from people just weren't interested". In this way, her argument echoes that of Gillian (extract 7.1 above) by attempting to resolve the trouble in her own identity position with the implication that the 'difficulties' may originate from *them*, the Portuguese outgroup, rather than from herself as either an individual or as part of a (British migrant) collective. The irony is that it is fairly evident that British lifestyle migrants in the Algarve, as a social group, 'just aren't interested' in learning the Portuguese language.

Later in the interview (extract 7.4 below), Jean returns to the repertoire of the indifference towards the northern European migrants. Her argument now is that such migrants are 'here' primarily because of the "sunshine", which costs nothing and yet "we" (Jean switches to the inclusive pronoun at this point, line 11) are economically beneficial. In fact, she positions these benefits as a direct 'gift', since '*we'* are bringing in the money '*for you*' (repeated in lines 11-13). The implication is that as such, 'we' are deserving of respect, which could be shown by more willingness (on the part of the Portuguese 'hosts') to help in such matters as overcoming the language barrier. Once again, her argument is based on straw man fallacies (cf. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) including what she represents as being the case "in England", where, she claims, "it's totally the other way round" (line 13). There, in Jean's view, migrants bring no economic advantage to the country; on the contrary, they are an economic burden, "draining the system" (line 14). Yet in contrast to the 'indifference' shown in Portugal, which is presumably included in the unspecified group of "other countries" (line 18), "they" (the British state

authorities?) not only "let them [migrants] in" and "welcome" them, they actually "bend over backwards" to help them.

Extract 7.4

```
1     J:    the trouble is you tend to get a bit cross cos you think to
2           yourself well hang on a minute if you didn't have the
3           sunshine here
4     KT:   yeh
5     J:    you wouldn't ha::ve the– you wouldn't have all the ex-pats
6           that you get from all the different countries not just
7           England but all the different countries=
8     KT:                                          =mm hmm=
9     J:                                                 =which brings
10          in a lot of money and we found (.) and I think that annoys
11          you cos you think to yourself well we're bringing in the
12          money for you and we're trying to (.) bring in money for
13          you and in England it's totally the other way you get
14          people coming into England and they're draining the system
15          (.) yet they're still welcome in they let them in and they
16          let them drain the system and they- they do everything they
17          bend over backwards for them (.) but you find when you come
18          to other countries they're not that interested
```

The anti-immigrant discourse which has become so hegemonic in certain sections of the British media and society (see, for example, Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008) is clearly reproduced in this extract and hardly needs to be commented on here. It is evident that when reproducing this kind of discourse, Jean positions herself not only as part of the English collective in Portugal (*we, here*) but also a part of a national collective speaking from a position where the nation, as a located entity, is conceptualised as being at deictic centre. This is signalled in line 14, where she comments on people "coming into England". As I noted in chapter 6, this type of transposed deictic framework (i.e. deictic centring on the nation and the collective national self) marks an ideological perspective (Chilton, 2004: 123). In fact, Jean is not the only participant to make this kind of deictic transposition, as can be seen in extract 7.5, where Marion refers to "people" (subsequently re-cast as "refugees" and later "illegals")[96] "coming in" to England (lines 5, 9, 19 and 20):

Extract 7.5

```
01    KT:   why- why do you think so many people are moving over here
02          or-
03    M:    well I think um (.) I think the fact that England is not
```

[96] The conflation/confusion of RASIM (refugee, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants) terms in the British press is noted by Baker and McEnery (2005) and Gabrielotos and Baker (2008).

04 England any more in as much as (.) you've got such a lot of
05 um people coming in <I mean I say that and I'm here! but
06 you know they've got such a lot of refugees and actually I
07 do think the English get pushed to the back of the queue
08 KT: mm
09 M: by all these people coming in whereas here(.) they do look
10 after their own here don't they
11 KT: mm hm
12 M: whereas in England you know the English seem to be (1.0)
13 and all the foreigners seem to get whatever's going <I mean
14 that's just the impression you get, looking at it
15 KT: yeh
16 M: and listening to them talking
17 KT: yeh
18 M: you know and people are not very happy um ↑I don't think
19 they mind (1.0) people coming in to live and work, I think
20 it's all these people that are coming in and they're not-
21 (.) you know illegals and all the rest of it but they seem
22 to get everything that um a lot of the English can't get
23 KT: yeh
24 M: you know (.) and I – I just feel that England isn't for the
25 English any more <↑is that me being a bit racist? I don't
26 mean to be, cos I'm not really a racist person

What is particularly interesting for my thesis is the way in which this racist (despite Marion's disclaimer in line 26), anti-immigrant discourse is reproduced to construct an argument for what count as *legitimate* forms of mobility and settlement in a place. Whilst "England is not England" any longer (line 3-4) because "England isn't for the English any more" (lines 24-25), the dilemma is that the same argument could be applied to the Algarve. As both participants' highly ideological constructions would have it, the legitimate form of migratory mobility is based on entering a place with money to spend or invest, i.e. with economic power. This then concedes certain rights – not only the right to be in that place, but also the right to be respected and even the right to waive certain moral 'obligations', such as learning the local language. This neo-colonialist discourse implies that money can therefore *buy* a sense of belonging: with economic power, one can stake a legitimate – and by extension privileged - claim to belonging in a place.

The 'we bring the money in' repertoire is also drawn upon by other participants. Peggy is aware of the fact that lifestyle migrants might be considered by the Portuguese to be "taking up the best areas of their (.) country" but, she reasons: "I think they all know how much mo- I s'pose most people's jobs depend on it round here so (.) so they're wised up to it". Lynn echoes the same sentiment, i.e. that the Portuguese are likely to resent the huge

influx of lifestyle migrants, but makes it much more explicit. However, once again, the claim of bringing economic benefits to the area is used:

Extract 7.6

```
01    L:    I think they- they try to be nice to us but I think they
02          hate us being here but we've- we bring lots of money to
03          the area and the gap becomes bigger and bigger between
04          the Portuguese and the English or the- the- the foreigners
05          and I think it's a great shame.
```

Lynn's utterance begins by constructing an explicit *us/them* division, not only in terms of personal deixis but also by the spatial metaphor of a 'gap'. Although it is not clear exactly what the nature of this is, it does seem to imply both a social and an economic divide, despite the inconsistent argument that lifestyle migrants bring economic investment to the area, which should, in theory, imply that the Portuguese are benefiting materially from the situation. At this point (line 4), Lynn switches from her *us/them* positioning to create two outgroups – 'the Portuguese' and 'the English'. By objectifying 'the English', she seems to distance herself from any potentially attributed blame for this negative situation. She further objectifies this outgroup as 'outsiders' in place by her recategorisation to 'foreigners'. Finally, by evaluating this widening 'gap' as being "a great shame", she takes up a position as someone who is outside the group in terms of moral stance.

It can be recalled here how many of the participants work to construct themselves as being distinct from 'other' lifestyle migrants, particularly in terms of lifestyle (see chapter 6). There is a clear unwillingness to take up the position of elite collective identity that is made available to them through other discursive practices. In the sociological literature, Benson (2009) has written about lifestyle migrants' desire to distinguish themselves from other lifestyle migrants on the basis of social distinction – for example by making claims about speaking French better than their compatriots. In my data, the desire for differentiation seems to be based on the down-scaling of one's material privilege, therefore simultaneously positioning oneself as being 'closer' to the target group, i.e. the 'underprivileged' Portuguese. Sometimes this is achieved directly, as illustrated in extract 7.7 where Jean jokingly describes her lifestyle as "poor". With her vague reference to "that way of life"

(line 5), she is positioning me (the co-participant in interaction) as someone who recognises what she is referring to, which of course I do; it is the SCR of northern European migrants as ultra-wealthy, living extravagant lives of leisure and luxury and making 'a place in the sun'.

Extract 7.7

```
01    KT:   ok (.) so (.) how would you describe your lifestyle here
02    J:    poor.
03    KT:   huh!
04    J:    @@@@@@@@@@ at the moment, very poor! yes I mean we don't
05          live that way of life I mean we can't afford it.
```

More implicit comparisons between oneself and other lifestyle migrants in terms of economic privilege are made through reference to specific places where the wealthy are supposed to live, such as when Marion says "you know it's quite um a rich area down in Quinta", thus projecting the characteristics of the inhabitants onto the place. However, in this discursively constructed hierarchy of social groups based on economic power, the Portuguese are invariably represented as being lower down the scale, with comments such as:

```
M:    I mean th- there'll not be a lot of Portuguese that have
      a lot of money do they you know which is a bit sad really

M:    it must be hard for them watching all these people in
      these great big houses when sometimes their basic wages
      are all they've got to last them all month

L:    the properties are ridiculous <I don't know how the
      Portuguese can afford to live round here
```

One participant describes a shopping trip to a newly opened 'retail park' in the Algarve (extract 7.8). By representing the place as "geared up for all the English", she positions the English collective as being already positioned by the store owners as their target customers. She does this through direct reference to the choice of language use, but the inferences in terms of disparate material wealth between 'the English' and 'the Portuguese' become explicit from line 5 onwards.

Extract 7.8

```
01    L:    I was at um (.) the new retail park yesterday (.) and it's
02          still- it's quite- it's geared up for all the English there they
03          only speak English in the shops you know they don't- they don't
04          try talking Portuguese, they talk English first of all. And you
05          see the Portuguese- a lot of Portuguese families shopping there
06          (.) and there was a Portuguese family in front of me and they'd
07          gone to the sports shop and they didn't look like they had two-
08          any money at all and they spent two hundred euros (.) on (.) all
09          this clothing ↑which is very cheap cos they had a big pile like
10          this [shows with hands] and I thought I dunno how you can afford to
11          buy that
```

Although Lynn seems to be avoiding the direct verbal expression of a stereotype of Portuguese people (as being 'poor'), it is noticeable that she switches from what seems to start as a generalised positioning (through the ethnonym "and you see the Portuguese-", line 5) to the modified "a lot of Portuguese families" and then to the particularised "a Portuguese family in front of me" (line 6). This seems to indicate that the stereotype was at least activated in her mind.

In extract 7.9, my question as to perceptions of change in the Algarve region is taken up by Samantha in terms of how tourism has caused a social "revolution" for the Portuguese people. Although my question was framed in a spatial representation (line 2), Samantha responds by stating what she believes the 'change' has meant for the "Portuguese people", as a stereotyped collectivity ("the typical Portuguese family", line 9):

Extract 7.9

```
01    KT:   ok (.) uhm (2.5) right changing the subject a little bit
02          d'you- do you think the Algarve has changed much in these
03          °what° nineteen, twenty years you've been here
04    S:    yes!
05    KT:   (2.0) can you say how?
06    S:    uh::m (1.0) well socially there's been a revolution here
07          (.) for the Portuguese people because of the tourism
08    KT:   mm hm
09    S:    uhm (1.0) the er (.) the typical Portuguese family are are
10          um I believe you know their income per capita or however
11          you want to measure it it's it's much better than it used
12          to be (1.0) um (.) the Portuguese can now- the average
13          Portuguese family can now afford many more things than they
14          used to even dream of um there's more home ownership um
15          many more people drive cars their children are educated fed
16          clothed uh::m and (.) so I suppose you can (.) generally
17          describe that as progress (and there's) there's been a huge
18          amount of progress
```

What also seems evident from this extract is that Samantha is also drawing upon an SCR of Portugal as a 'developing' country, i.e. a country that is undergoing (positively evaluated) change but has still not caught up with 'developed' countries (presumably including the UK, see also extract 7.10 below). The "huge amount of progress" (lines 17-18) that has occurred over the past two decades is directly attributed to tourism; in other words, economic investment from the 'outside'. As the principal tourist markets in the Algarve are northern European, she seems to indirectly imply that economic development indicators such as home ownership, driving cars and children being "educated fed clothed" (!) have improved through 'our' help, thus drawing on the 'we bring the money in' repertoire. Rhetorically, these types of representations are employed to increase the force of the claim to legitimate belonging, since if the Portuguese are 'poor', then they need economic help, which 'we' can offer.

The stereotypical representation of the local people as being poor is often framed in spatialised accounts. Lynn compares the Algarve with England in terms of development (extract 7.10), again stressing the change she has witnessed over the time she has been here (and thus positioning herself as an 'insider' who has first-hand experience of change in place).

Extract 7.10

```
01    L:    ↑uhm I think that (3.0) Portugal or the Algarve is becoming
02          like England, more and more
03    KT:   mm hm
04    L:    because we've got all MacDonalds <when we came- when we
05          arrived there was still only two MacDonalds, Albufeira and
06          Faro
07    KT:   mm hm
08    L:    uhm so we just saw the last bit of it being (.) more you
09          know backwards and I think now, it's speeded up and it's
10          catching up with um England although my friend said if you
11          go back to England, England's speeded up even more
```

She draws heavily on the PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD (Kövecses, 2002: 137) metaphor. When she arrived, the place was "backwards" (line 9). Furthermore, the metonymic expressions (which are also personifications) in lines 9-11 ("it's speeded up" / "it's catching up" / "England's speeded up") seem to relate PLACE as source domain to PROGRESS as target entity, suggesting that PLACE and PROGRESS fit easily within the same mental model. In this way, the repertoire

'Portugal is a developing country' can be used to avoid the perceived stigma of making stereotypical negative judgements of the Portuguese people through explicit *us/them* outgroup construction. We can also note how Lynn avoids this dilemma by using 'we' in line 4 to include herself in an in(sider)group of residents in the Algarve, in contrast to her use of 'we' in line 8, where she positions herself as an observer-outsider when she initially arrived. The 'Portugal is a developing country' repertoire is also drawn upon by two of the teenagers, who are discussing what they perceive to be the differences between Portugal and England, and conclude "so:: what we're trying to say is like it's less developed than England". The instantiation of the SCR of Portugal as underdeveloped in terms of socio-cultural resources by the teenage participants is further discussed in the next chapter.

7.5 Summary of the findings

This chapter has expanded on the analysis presented in chapter 6 by exploring the collective dimension of place-identity. By looking at longer extracts from the data, I have also been able to show how 'trouble' in identity work can occur when collective positionings seem to conflict with individual positionings, and how speakers work to repair this and resolve apparent identity dilemmas. The data from the adult elective migrants show that the major source of trouble stems from the 'language issue', that is, not being able to speak Portuguese. An admission of this entails taking up a position that is doubly dilemmatic. On the one hand, it indexes a social identity that might be negatively perceived, either as someone who does not legitimately 'belong' in the place and/or as an elite, privileged 'outsider' who stands aloof from the local community. On the other hand, this position also contradicts previous self-presentations as settled and 'successful' migrants by implying difficulties in adapting to life in the Algarve, and, by extension, in belonging.

The participants attempt to resolve these dilemmas in a variety of ways. One way is to attribute the blame for their lack of language skills to the attitude and behaviour of the Portuguese people. However, this is the source of further trouble in place-identity work, since negative evaluations of the 'host' community reinforce an 'outsider' identity position. Elective migrants want to present themselves as having

attachments to the host group, as this bolsters their claims to belong in the place they have chosen to live in. As they cannot ground this in friendships or social networks, they employ generalised positive other-representation strategies and focus on positive aspects of their interaction with Portuguese people. These evaluations are generally place-based. Positive experiences generally occur at the apparently more intimate level of the neighbourhood or places such as the nursery school. Conversely, negative experiences occur in institutional settings or in service encounters, thus reinforcing a personal/impersonal distinction. In both cases, stereotypical evaluations are supported by appeals to personalised experience, thus positioning oneself as a legitimate 'insider'.

Speakers take up individual moral stances by aligning themselves with what they consider to be the positive values of the collective host society, e.g. caring for children and being family-oriented. By extension, this enables them to position their chosen lifestyle in this particular place as having an ethical foundation (rather than being based on hedonism and excessive consumption, like some 'other' British migrants). Speakers also project their moral alignment with the host group by claiming to understand their frustrations at having to deal with people who don't speak their language, and even go so far as to claim empathy with their predicament as the 'best bits' of their country are taken from them by such people.

A typical collective self-positioning in the moral geography of place is the recognition that 'we' should learn the Portuguese language, although this is often mitigated by distancing the individual self from the proposition. In general, however, the speakers seem to avoid collective self-positionings as members of a national collective. Overall, collective identities have to be constantly re-positioned and negotiated in talk in the face of dilemmas which arise around issues of elective belonging in place, and which potentially conflict with a certain type of positive self-presentation. I have shown how these positionings are dynamically and sometimes jointly constructed in talk, as the speakers (both interviewer and interviewee) negotiate issues such as what counts as a 'problem' or how the attitudes and behaviour of a collective can be referred to and evaluated.

I have also discussed what an analysis of the collective dimension of place-identity reveals about broader underlying ideologies and how this contributes to the

politics of place. By drawing on repertoires, from which SCRs of places and collectivities associated with them can be inferred, speakers may be said to be strategically instantiating underlying cognitive models that correspond to ideologies. Thus, repertoires such as 'we bring the money in' and 'Portugal is a developing country' are used as discursive resources for justifying one's presence in the country, and ultimately staking a 'legitimate' claim to place. Legitimate forms of migration are represented as those which directly benefit a country/region - and its people - through economic investment. This is supported by a moral stance which directly positions the collectivity of lifestyle migrants as benefactors of the Portuguese people who inhabit the place. At the same time, this also reinforces the 'already' constructed position of an elite social group with economic and symbolic power. On the other hand, the participants work to downscale their own economic/material privilege, thus positioning themselves individually as 'closer' to the host group, and 'outside' the typical representation of lifestyle migrants. I will return to this in the final discussion of my findings in chapter 9.

Chapter 8
Multiple belongings

This chapter sets out to examine the discursive construction of place-identity from the perspective of multiple belongings. At a superficial level, belonging connotes simply 'being at home' (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008). It would be impossible to discuss migrant place-identities without including the concept of home. Migrants inevitably have to re-negotiate their sense of and orientation to home once they have relocated to a different place. Besides the notion of 'being' at home, which (in its idealised sense) roughly translates as a feeling of being comfortable and belonging and is strongly connected to the present, the concept of home is very much intertwined with 'where one is from'. It is a strong cultural convention that where one is from has a special importance for social identity. It also brings a more temporal aspect to the concept of home, for it unavoidably makes a connection with the past. As Myers (2006) notes, talk about where one is 'from' is at once routine, flexible (e.g. in terms of the scale of the formulation) and relational. In fact, it is more complex than one might suppose, particularly for people who have ties to more than one geographical location. For international migrants, we can suppose that any discussion of where one is from will bring up questions of national origins, therefore linking national identity with the concept of home.

In the first part of this chapter, I begin by discussing the theoretical concept of home and show how this is articulated in the data. I then go on to explore how national identity ties in with this, both theoretically and empirically. The overall theme of the chapter is the potential for lifestyle migrants to take up positions of multiple belongings through their connections to more than one place. One way of looking at multiple belongings is through the lens of transnationalism (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). This term is now widely used in reference to migration across many disciplines, with the common understanding that it relates to the retaining of ties and bonds with countries of origin and the (re)production of social practices and relations that connect the country of origin with the destination society. Thus, one of the fundamental aspects of the concept of transnationalism is its recognition that

'transmigrants' (Glick Schiller et al., 1995) develop identities that are simultaneously, electively and unproblematically grounded in more than one place. However, as we shall see, the ways in which the participants in my research take up (or not) these multi-positionings are by no means uniform.

8.1 Home-places

Although it is such a fundamental cornerstone in one's sense of identity, 'home' is by no means a fixed concept. The concept of 'home' can in fact be difficult to pin down, as extract 8.1 (taken from an interview with three teenage participants) shows. In this short piece of talk, various meanings are suggested: home is to do with origins, family, and feeling 'comfortable'. However, the unifying factor of all these meanings is place – *where* your family is; *where* you originate from; how you feel *in a place*.

Extract 8.1

KT: and what is home anyway
N: exactly
E: [yeh]
N: [there's] not really a definition
E: no
KT: is it (.) is it to do with place d'you think or is it more to do with where your family is and your-=
N: =I think it's more up to where you originate from
KT: do you think?
N: yeh
D: I guess that's just saying that's where you're from
E: well how comfortable you feel in a place I mean when I go to Greece and I used to go every year from a young child and when I- every time I go I feel like I've never left it's weird
KT: mm hmm
E: I feel SO at home I- I've got family there as well

In western culture, home is generally associated with a physical locale. This is reflected in clichés such as '*there's no place like home*'. It is also manifest in the fact that people are often required by institutional practices to be able to give a 'home address'. Those who do *not* have a recognised place in which to live are designated as 'homeless', a word with strong negative connotations (see, for example, Torck, 2001). Although mobility in general is celebrated in contemporary western culture, even the most mobile people are expected to have a place they call home, whilst

truly nomadic people(s) and those forced into mobility (such as refugees and asylum seekers) are often feared, reviled and discriminated against in western culture, due to the hegemonic social constructions of these groups (see, for example, Baker & McEnery, 2005; Cresswell, 2006a).

Besides physical location, the construct of 'home' also has more abstract, emotional connotations, such as (but not necessarily) feelings of positive affect like comfort and security. Yet linguistic expressions of this will often involve a place formulation (as we have seen in the data extract above) such as the locative relative pronoun *where* (e.g. in the metaphorical cliché '*home is where the heart is'*) or a locative preposition and/or adverb (I feel *at* home *here*), reminding us of both the cultural and psychological importance of the locatedness of home. Although the construct of home has been understood in a number of different ways across a range of academic disciplines (see Moore, 2000, for a comprehensive review), it is indisputable that it connotes a particularly significant place. Besides its spatial aspect, it therefore holds considerable social, psychological and emotive meanings for individuals and collectives, and, importantly, it is an open rather than a fixed concept (Easthope, 2004: 135).

In spatial terms, individual and collective identities can be associated with home-places on multiple scales, for one might equally refer to one's house or dwelling-place, one's 'home town', one's 'homeland' and so forth. Because of the opportunities created by the increasing mobilities of the contemporary world, it is also possible for people to have multiple home-places in different locations, both diachronically and synchronically. Home, in other words, does not have to connote just one particular place. The social aspect of home, as Massey (1994) has argued, is maintained and developed through the social relations that not only occur *within* the home-place (however it may be defined) but also stretch beyond it. This conception reflects her notion of places as unique but open nodal points in complex networks of social actions and interactions that spread out through space and time (Massey, 1995) and may be of particular relevance for migrants living transnational lifestyles.

The emotional and psychological facets associated with home are what make it an especially significant place for individuals. As discussed in chapter 3, humanistic geographers focused their attention on how people make themselves a home in the

world through their lived experience of and emotional reactions to it, particularly in terms of the (partly metaphoric) dualities of insideness and outsideness (Relph, 1976) and cosmos and hearth (Tuan, 1996). Tuan's concepts of 'cosmos' and 'hearth' stand for two scales and two sets of values; the hearth corresponds to the local, private, familiar, nurturing aspects of home, whilst the cosmos corresponds to the openness, the unknown, the freedom and the risk of what lies beyond it. Whilst these concepts might seem polarised, the "worlds and experiences that these terms conjure often overlap" (Tuan, 2001: 319). What pulls them together is the act of imagination (Cosgrove, 2001: 327). Both may be necessary to our full sense of self, for whilst the hearth (as home) provides security, the cosmos provides adventure.

Psychologists have made a number of claims regarding the ways in which people feel 'at home' in places, for example that home should meet the 'basic psychological needs' of safety and security and provide a 'haven' from the outside world (Clark & Uzzell, 2002; Sarbin, 2005). Other researchers have stressed that feelings of belonging stem from the intensely private aspects of social life such as family and relationship ties as well as cognitive processes and structures such as personal memories (Moore, 2000). It has also been suggested that strong psychological attachments to home-places have a significant temporal aspect, that is, they increase with length and continuity of residency (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Guiliani, 1991; Korpela, 1989). Feelings of home may also be argued to increase for some people when 'ownership' is present. Besides encoding a basic sense of territoriality, this can perhaps be related to the more 'public' aspects of the construct of home (Parutis, 2006) which are linked to perceived social status arising from various forms of economic and symbolic capital, including home ownership. One's sense of home can thus arise not only from intensely personal feelings, but also lived ideologies that form the basis of lifestyle choices and social identities.

Whilst we might therefore agree with Relph (1976) that home-places are centres of profound human experience, it cannot simply be assumed that 'feeling at home' arises from a universal set of meanings that are applicable to all people, at all times, in any context. The attachments that contribute to feelings of belonging are not only multiple but also highly contingent and may arise from a range of potentially conflicting sources (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008). Besides individual ties and

sentiments, these sources might be mundane, everyday objects and practices (Billig, 1995), shared social representations, or formal and informal group membership categories. Thus, attachments that lead to feeling at home may be based on relatively 'fixed' understandings of membership (e.g. through birthright, blood ties, citizenship etc.) combined with more fleeting solidarities and elective attachments, constructed according to one's own goals (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008), as regards lifestyle, for example.

Clearly, then, the ways in which being and feeling at home are discursively constructed provide fundamental building blocks of place-identity. As noted above, multiple spatial locations at varying scales are all possible sites of home (and, by extension, belonging), but they are by no means disconnected, for each of these spaces conditions the others (Morley, 2001). This is particularly the case for migrants, whose place-identities necessarily arise from interconnected roots/routes relationships (cf. Clifford, 1997; Gilroy, 1993). The analytical problem, then, is to go beyond a simple description of which sites are designated as home towards an understanding of how and why these various home-places are drawn upon in talk, and how they are interconnected to each other.

8.1.1 Home is 'here'; home is 'there'

As the participants in my research can all be considered 'full residents', it might be expected that they will discursively locate their current home as being primarily in Portugal. Indeed, all the participants (except Marion, who constructs her home-place as still being firmly located in the UK) state at some point that home is 'here' (i.e. in Portugal). However, this does not mean that their orientation to home is fixed, either conceptually or in the course of their talk. Most of the participants make discursive connections to a network of possible home-places, across time and space. Lynn's sense of home, for example, shifts across time: she refers to times in the past when she "`lived at home`", clearly referring to her 'parental home'. She also narrates how, early in her marriage, Portugal "`became a second home`", due to the frequency of their visits to the place. After living for several years in Portugal, she positions herself as being "`definitely`" oriented to "`here`" as her principal home-place. Likewise, Peggy emphasises the transition over time from having a frequently

visited "holiday home" in the Algarve to a "permanent home". She also signals that the transition towards a settled home-place was made by having "this small villa built". It is a common feature of British lifestyle migrant talk to stress home-ownership as an indicator of belonging in place; even one of the teenage participants told me "we moved into a rented home (.) and then now we've moved into a proper home which we bought".

Most of the adult participants make discursive connections to home-places in different locations, typically in the UK. Gillian is in fact the only adult speaker who categorically states that the UK is no longer a home-place ("the UK really isn't home at all I don't think of the UK as home at all anymore"). Jean, who has lived in the Algarve for thirteen years at the time of the interview and has one of the most consistent overall self-positionings as a happy and successful migrant who "wouldn't want to live anywhere else", nevertheless refers to 'home' as being in the UK at several points in the conversation. However, she (like other elective migrants) does sometimes repair this formulation (e.g. "when I go home I can't-well go home go back to there"), in a strategic attempt to erase any perceived incoherence from her narrative of migration. The use of the particle 'back' when referring to the UK highlights the ever-present possibility of 'return' to the home-land. However, it also draws on the PAST IS BEHIND conceptual metaphor and therefore conflicts with the discursive goal of positioning oneself firmly in the *here and now*. In general, then, the idea of 'going back' is rejected in talk ("I have no inclination to go back at all"; "wouldn't want to go back and live in England").

Not all lifestyle migrants identify their current place of residence as being a home-place, however. As we saw in chapter 6, Marion (a circumstantial migrant) is clearly not happy with her life in Portugal. It is unsurprising, then, that this is reflected in her rejection of Portugal as a home-place, despite having lived there for seven years and despite the fact that her husband and son are there and her assumption that *they* feel at home. She still explicitly positions England as her home-place (see lines 2, 9 and 14 of extract 8.2 below).

Extract 8.2

```
01    M:                they [her grandchildren]'re still over in England
02          (…) yeh so I get home (.) a couple of times a year to see
03          them
04    KT:   yeh
05    M:    unfortunately Doug [her husband] doesn't get over as often to
06          see them often cos you know when you've got your own
07          business you just can't
08    KT:   no you're tied to it
09    M:    and Mark [her son] he's not been home for two years now
10    KT:   hasn't he
11    M:    °back home° back to England yeh I don't think he classes
12          England as home any more
13    KT:   no?
14    M:    well that's the difference I still do
```

8.1.2 Ambivalent home-places

Of all the adults, Samantha (another circumstantial migrant) is the most ambivalent about her orientation to the here-place as home. Despite having lived in the Algarve for over twenty years, she reflects that "it's only much more recently that I've felt like I've been coming home when I come back here". This temporal formulation emphasises that feeling at home in Portugal has entailed a lengthy process. In fact, when discussing her present feelings towards Portugal as a possible home-place, she continues to position herself very much as an 'outsider'; she openly admits "I still feel like I'm in a foreign country".

On the other hand, she positions herself as still feeling very much at home in England. She relates feelings of belonging to her "strong sense of nationality", which in turn is related to a "very traditional upbringing" that instilled "strong traditions about being English". When she says (about England) "that'll always be home", her choice of 'that' rather than the more usual pronoun 'it' when referring to a place seems to suggest a more abstract yet more encompassing concept of home that is tied to values, traditions and memories rather than simply geographical location. This is made more explicit when she talks about going to her flat in York. Although she was born and brought up in the southeast of England, when she goes to York (where she has a flat as a base for visiting her sons who are at nearby boarding schools) "that is very much going home that feels like home when I go there". I ask her why this is so if she has never actually lived there:

Extract 8.3

```
01    S:    well because I'm going back to my culture and my people
02    KT:   mm
03    S:    um and I can go and do things that I did when I was a child
04          um (.) er like um go down to town on a Saturday morning and
05          and go into a butcher's shop and- and you know see things
06          that I saw when I was a child in a butcher's shop and you
07          know everything's totally familiar to me
```

Samantha's response shows that she is not equating feeling at home with 'settled' residence in a place over a period of time, but with a highly personalised (signalled by the use of the possessive pronoun *my*) and yet highly generalised identification with the 'culture' and 'people' of England (lines 12-13). For her, going to York affords the possibility (*I can*) of re-living childhood memories based on habitual activities (lines 16 -17) and the activation of a sense of place based on everything being "totally familiar", despite not having been physically present in that specific place (at least not at that scale) as a child. As the geophilosopher Edward S. Casey (2001: 414) puts it, "[p]laces come into us lastingly", inscribing themselves on the self in myriad ways, but "what lingers most powerfully" is the "whole brute presence of place" and, in particular, "*how it felt to be in this presence*" [emphasis in original]. In this way, we can regain a strong sense of place through stimuli in another place.

Samantha positions herself as being "lucky" enough to have "two homes". England is where she feels affectively most at home, as she clearly feels strong emotional attachments to the place. This is partly due to a sense of nostalgia for her home-land, and is perhaps partly because her children are at school there. Although Portugal has gradually become a home-place due to her positive affect for the place and the amount of time she has spent there, she still positions herself as an outsider. Paradoxically, this feeling of 'outsideness' may well be stronger because she has been there for so long without ever really being able to feel 'inside' the place in many senses. Yet her personal circumstances allow her to make the most of a lifestyle that involves fluid and flexible patterns of mobility and that allows her to live physically and emotionally between two places and to retain and develop many of the ties to the UK that she clearly perceives as necessary to her personal wellbeing.

Like Samantha (and Marion), the teenage participants in the research can also be considered as circumstantial migrants, and might therefore also be expected to project ambivalent orientations towards home. Once again, however, the data show that this sub-group is not homogeneous in terms of their self-positioning. Extract 8.4, which comes from the interview with Tom and Harry, shows that these teenagers have very different home-place attachments. Whilst Tom's orientation to 'here' as home is unproblematic (lines 1-4), Harry reveals a much more troubled sense of home.

Extract 8.4

```
01    KT:   and would you say that you feel completely at home here
02    T:    yep
03    KT:   does it feel like home to you
04    T:    yes (.) yeh
05    H:    yeh it does:: but when you go back to England you can (.)
06          you still miss it when you (.) sort of on the plane journey
07          home you think (.) I miss all my family an' stuff (.) when
08          you come- on your way back yeh
09    KT:   right
10    H:    but (.) that's only for like (.) half an hour away on the
11          plane and like yeh I'm going home it doesn't matter @@
12    KT:   uh huh
13    H:    I seem to (.) like-
14    T:    do you still feel like that's your home there
15    H:    no (2.0) I mean like when I go back for weddings or
16          whatever and I'm more with the family it feels more homely
17          then
18    KT:   mm hm right
19    H:    cos you've got like the whole family back together and
20          stuff (.) which you don't really have out here
```

Harry's ambivalence is marked by the relative incoherence of his articulation of the two home-places; it is not entirely clear from the transcript exactly when he is referring to home in Portugal or in England (lines 5 to 11). When Tom asks him (line 14) if he still feels like his home is "`there`" (England), Harry initially responds with a negative, but the ensuing long pause once again signals his uncertainty. He then evaluates his feelings of being with his extended family in England as "`homely`", something which he does not have "`out here`". The pre-fixing of the particle *out* is telling in terms of perspectivization, as discussed in chapter section 6.2.3.

Another participant, Neil, shows similar trouble in his talk about home (extract 8.5). He has just said that he goes back to the UK regularly ("`twice a year`") and I ask him what he feels about that place now:

Extract 8.5

```
01    N:    uh:m in a way it still feels like home
02    KT:   really!
03    N:    uhm but then again it's more like a holiday (.) this is
04          really really difficult (.) it will always be my home cos
05          that's where I originate from
06    KT:   yeh
07    N:    but in another way it's not really my home cos I don't live
08          there
```

He clearly has ambiguous feelings about returning to his place of 'origin' in the UK since "`in a way it still feels like home`" but on the other hand these trips are "`more like a holiday`", the implication being that holidays are usually spent *away* from the home-place. He comments on his difficulty in expressing his orientation towards home (lines 3-4) and expresses it in terms of the dilemma of feeling that you "`originate`" from somewhere yet no longer "`live`" in that place. The ways in which the teenagers negotiate and attempt to resolve these kinds of place-identity dilemmas are further investigated below.

8.2 National identity and place-identity

Although repeated reconfigurations of national boundaries during the second half of the twentieth century have led to a greater awareness of the fluid and somewhat arbitrary nature of nationality, this "has not destroyed an underlying belief in 'real' nationality as something imposed on us by birth or early circumstances and remaining essentially unchanged thereafter" (Joseph, 2004: 93-4). Yet there is no reason to suppose that national identity should be any more consistent, stable and immutable than any other form of social identity (de Cillia et al., 1999) and it must therefore be equally considered as constructed according to context. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that national identity is often constructed in discourse (whether public, institutional or private) as something essential and reified, albeit in a banal way (Billig, 1995). Claims to such a coherent and unproblematic national identity are often strongly grounded in place-bound parameters, including the nation itself as a spatial entity, ancestral links to place and one's place of birth. The latter is frequently perceived as a strong enough indicator of national identity in itself to stand alone

(Bell, 2009; Kiely et al., 2005). More often than not, life stories begin with reference to where one was born. The importance of birthplace in 'formal membership categories' (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008) is reiterated by the fact that it is generally requested and recorded on institutional documents relating to identity. It might therefore be expected that the place where one was born (and perhaps socialised in childhood and adolescence) will play a decisive role in individual constructions of national identity (Wodak et al., 1999: 153).

Taylor (2010) calls the narrative resource that links personal and family history with such places the 'born and bred' repertoire and points out that it is often used in storytelling to draw a distinction between those who 'authentically' belong somewhere and newcomers/outsiders. It thus has parallels with the myth of common origin, which theorists of the nation and national identity often cite. Nash (2003, cited in Taylor, 2010: 14) attributes the born and bred repertoire to nostalgia for a time when place, culture, ancestry and identity generally coincided, something which is no longer the case for many people in today's mobile world.

Among the adult participants in this research, Samantha was the only one to reflect on her feelings of national identity in relation to feelings of belonging by drawing on the 'born and bred' repertoire (see 8.1.2 above). On the whole, the adult participants seem to avoid making any direct reference to their individual sense of national identity, perhaps because of their desire to project a strong orientation towards the destination place. In this way, they do not wish to align themselves overtly with their own national ingroup as by positioning themselves explicitly as 'foreigners' they would be troubling their place-identity work by suggesting a sense of outsideness which they generally seek to avoid.

However, whilst it is reasonable to assume that adult migrants will continue to 'feel' British in some way despite moving abroad (even if they do not spontaneously express such feelings), I wondered if this would be the case for those who had been living in Portugal since a relatively early age. One of the differences in the topic guide that I prepared for the interviews with the teenage group was therefore to include questions about 'feeling' English and/or Portuguese. I was particularly interested in how they would construct national identity as impacting on belonging, including feelings about 'home'. Whilst for most young people there is a

strong sense of parental/nuclear family home, I was interested to hear what other constructions of home they might make salient, and to what extent these would be place-based. To recap, the eight teenage participants had all lived in the UK before moving to Portugal. Tom was the youngest when he moved (aged seven) and Diana was the oldest (aged fifteen). The others had all moved at around the age of ten or eleven, corresponding to the time when they moved from primary to secondary school. The remaining part of this chapter uses data exclusively from this sub-group of circumstantial migrants.

8.2.1 Linguistic realisations of national identity

In the data, there are several types of ideational representations of national identity in which adjectives of nationality occur as national identifiers. Linguistically, these representations can be distinguished by the speaker's choice of process type. These processes and their realisations, along with examples from the data, are set out in table 8.1.

Table 8.1: ***Process types and linguistic realisations of national identity***

	Process type	Realisation	Examples from data
1	**Relational: identifying**	***be*** **+ national identifier as quality**	**I'm Greek (.) well half Greek**
2	**Relational (attributive): possessive**	***have*** **+ national identifier as quality + noun**	**I <u>do</u> have a Brazilian passport**
3	**a) Communicative + relational: identifying** **b) Communicative: self-identifying**	***say*** **+ be + national identifier** ***call oneself*** **+ national identifier**	**I say I'm English and Greek** **so that's why I'd call myself (.) English**
4	**Mental : affective**	***feel*** **+ national identifier**	**I don't fee:l (.) like so:: Scottish now?**

The first of these process types (relational: identifying) represents an essentialist view of national identity by ascribing a static categorisation – what one *is*. This type of identity positioning may be based on powerful categories imposed by the nation-state and its institutions (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2008) and might well be backed up by relational attributive processes that represent cultural artefacts (such as passports) as codifying formal memberships (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008). The third process type identified encodes a means of public self-representation, whilst the fourth describes feelings of constitutive identity, which we can expect to be more flexible and open to negotiation than the other positions realised by relational processes. Indeed, there is a distinct cline of negotiability from type 1 (least negotiable) to type 4.

8.2.2 Multiple national identities and multiple place attachments

To begin with the first process type (nº1 in table 8.1), the example shows Ellie identifying herself as 'being' Greek, although she then mitigates this claim by adding "well half Greek". By convention, we would take this expression of a 'divided self' to mean that one of her parents is of Greek nationality. However, by examining the co-text to this remark (extract 8.6 below) we can see that her construction of her national identity is rather more complex:

Extract 8.6

```
01    KT:   uh huh (2.0) and what- what is your nationality anyway
02    E:    I'm Greek (.) [well half Greek
03    KT:                 [Greek          yeh so do you have a Greek
04          passport
05    E:    no I don't actually it's English (.) English passport but I
06          always go to Greece anyway, every holiday so
07    KT:   yeh so how do you – if somebody asks you like what's your
08          nationality (.) what do you say
09    E:    I say I'm English and Greek
10    KT:   mm
11    E:    but I al- I do feel very at home here
12    KT:   mm
13    E:    yeh and like the thought of- well my mum was saying that
14          she wants to leave (.) you know in a c- when my brother's
15          older in four years time or something the thought of not
16          being able to come here regularly is not (.) seeing I've
17          always been- basically I've been brought up here
18    KT:   ahh! yeh so you want to go away but you want to come back
19          home!
20    E:    @@@ yeh exactly! @@ you know um I really have enjoyed it
21          here
```

The first point to note is that it is in fact me, the interviewer, who has oriented the discussion of national identity to the formal identification category of nationality (line 1). Since Ellie responds accordingly with the relational identification process *be*, I then ask if she has a Greek passport. She replies that her passport is in fact "`English`", then immediately counters the implication of this (that she is therefore not 'formally' Greek) with the countering conjunctive *but* and the proposition "`I always go to Greece anyway`". She thus positions her self-identification of being (half) Greek as resulting from frequent visits to the place as well as, presumably, birthright. I then ask her what she 'says' (i.e. how she identifies herself publicly) if someone asks about her nationality. She modifies her initial positioning by using a *both/and* pattern (line 9) which is a typical linguistic realisation of migrant multiple belongings (Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007). However, she then switches to a more affective mode of belonging ("`but I al- I do feel very at home here`", line 11), which is based on her spatio-temporal experience in place ("`I've always been- basically I've been brought up here`", lines 16-17). By boosting her proposition through the inclusion of the emphatic use of *do*, she also seems to be countering possible hearer assumptions that as a 'foreigner' she would *not* feel at home in Portugal. Knowing already that she has plans to return to England to study at university, I then suggest that she wants a kind of 'cosmos and hearth' combination, namely the freedom and adventure of going away but the ability to be able to return to the place she thinks of as home. She agrees, and adds an intensified affective evaluation of her time spent growing up in Portugal ("`I really have enjoyed it here`", lines 20-21).

Extract 8.7, which follows on directly from extract 8.6 in the interview transcript, shows how Diana also constructs her national identity in an ambivalent and at times even contradictory manner, both reflecting and building on the meanings that have been previously constructed in the preceding talk. Diana is also of mixed heritage; her father is English and "`half Swiss as well`" whilst her mother is "`fully Brazilian`", again echoing Ellie in her construction of a national identity that is potentially divisible into quantifiable 'parts'.

Extract 8.7

```
01    D:    um I just say I'm (.) Brazilian English uhm (.)
02    KT:   oh right
03    D:    but obviously well I've never lived in Brazil before but my
04          mum is (.) fully Brazilian so I could say I'm English but
05          my mum's from Brazil <but I do have a Brazilian passport
06    KT:   mm hmm
07    D:    and a Swiss one @@@!
08    KT:   yeh (.) and where- where do you feel most at home now would
09          you say
10    D:    uh:::m I don't think there is a place like where I most
11          feel- I mean I feel at home in Brazil, in England, (.)
12          maybe here a bit as well cos obviously I live here
13    KT:   mmm
14    D:    but there isn't a place- because every place I am- I'm
15          still- there's still part of me that isn't fully- like when
16          I go to England I'm still Brazilian and Swiss (.) when I go
17          to Brazil I'm still English
```

Picking up on my previous question to Ellie as to how she self-identifies publicly, Diana first claims to say that she is a composite "`Brazilian English`", although the inclusion of the adverb *just* seems to indicate that she feels that this public presentation of the self is a necessary over-simplification of a more multifarious sense of national identity. In fact, her attempt to articulate her national identity is linguistically complex; she moves swiftly between relational identification processes (to describe her mother and herself), relational possessive processes (having both a Brazilian and a Swiss passport) and behavioural processes representing experience in place ("`I've never lived in Brazil`"). Her difficulty in articulating a coherent sense of national identity is further marked by her repeated countering moves (introduced by *but*, lines 3, 4 and 5). Noticing her trouble, I change the orientation of the discussion slightly by asking her where she feels most at home (line 8). She seems to find this question difficult to answer as well, eventually opting to position herself as feeling at home in multiple places ("`every place I am`") whilst also retaining her sense of multiple national identities wherever she is (lines 16-17). Somewhat paradoxically, she claims to feel at home in Brazil despite never having lived there. On the other hand, although she feels at home in Portugal because that is where she lives (line 12), her feeling is mitigated ("`maybe (…) a bit`"), no doubt due to the fact that she has been there for a relatively short period of time.

The other participant who talks about his mixed heritage is Harry. In extract 8.8, I ask him about his nationality:

Extract 8.8

```
01    KT:   how about you Harry d'you feel that you've got like (.) a
02          strong nationality
03    H:    I'd say (.) E::nglish I was born in England so I'd probably
04          say English but (.) if someone asked me where're you from
05          originally (.) I'd probably say (.) I originate fro::m um
06          Pakistan, Kenya cos my mum was born in Kenya my dad was
07          born in Pakistan so
08    KT:   mm hm
09    H:    (1.0) but if someone- this is a spur of the moment thing if
10          someone said where're you from I'd say England
11    KT:   mm hm
12    H:    cos that's where I was born that's where I was brought up
13    KT:   mm hm
14    H:    and like Tom said I've sort of been taken from England to
15          here so you know
```

When I ask him if he feels he has "`a strong nationality`", like Diana he responds with a complex articulation of various possible positionings he could take up for himself. His uncertainty is marked linguistically by the repeated hypothetical modal ('*d [would]*) and the modal adverb *probably,* the elongated vowel sounds and, like Diana, the countering *buts*. His national identity initially comprises both his nationality (derived from the place where he was born) and his family origins (i.e. the places in which his parents were born). On further reflection, he decides that he would say he is "`from England`", now positioning his national identity more firmly in relation to lived experience in place by switching from national identifier to national toponym and drawing on the 'born and bred' repertoire (line 12). His conceptualisation of England as a significant centre of his lived experience is further evident in his formulation "`I've sort of been taken from England to here`". The vocally stressed, deictically anchored verb '*taken'* signals his lack of volition in the move to Portugal, reinforced by the passive form, whilst the use of the present perfect suggests continuing present consequences of a past action, perhaps in terms of his emotions. Deictic disjuncture is also apparent here, since one would expect the verb *bring* rather than *take* when referring to movement from *there* to *here*. As discussed in chapter 6, this type of transposition of the spatial deictic centre seems to happen in particular when speakers are referring to past events that had a strong

emotional impact; they project themselves back in time and across conceptual space to the 'original' deictic centre from which that event was experienced.

The final comment that Harry makes in this discussion of national identity involves a shift to talking about *feeling* Portuguese. He says: "see I wouldn't say-couldn't say I felt Portuguese but probably because I go back to England (.) a lot so:: (.) really (.)" He repairs his proposition (and thus modifies his position) by switching from the hypothetical *wouldn't* to the modal expression of inability *couldn't*. The reason for his inability to claim that he feels Portuguese is tentatively ('*probably*') based on the fact that he frequently returns to England. This means that he can evaluate England as a "sort of home away from home type thing" since going there "doesn't feel like a holiday". This is therefore contrary to Neil's proposition in extract 8.5 above.

8.2.3 National identity and feeling inside/outside/ in-between places

Overall, Vivianne seems to align herself most strongly with Portugal as a home-place. Although she attended an international school until she was eighteen, she has Portuguese friends, speaks Portuguese well and now studies at a Portuguese university. She says she has hardly been back to England since arriving in the Algarve. When I ask her if she 'feels English', she initially responds with an intensified negative ("no (…) not at all"). In extract 8.9, I probe this response:

Extract 8.9

```
01    KT:          so you don't feel that- so you don't feel
02           English at all
03    V:     well I have my roots but I mean I dunno!
04    KT:    yeh you don't know what it means to be English
05    V:     yeh (.) I s'pose I'm a bit of both (.) I can see myself
06           kind of Portuguese
07    KT:    alright. Why?
08    V:     I don't know. It's cos I've like <to me this is all I
09           remember, I don't remember much of England, like all my
10           growing up I s'pose was here
```

Vivianne modifies her position with the claim "well I have my roots", although she seems to be using this metaphorical version of the 'born and bred' repertoire in its most formulaic and clichéd sense since rather than expanding on this, she follows it immediately with the countering *but* and vague language ("but I

mean I dunno!"). When I suggest "you don't know what it means to be English", she agrees at first but then switches her positioning by introducing a relational identifying process verb (line 5). However, the vague quantifying expression *a bit* downscales the proposition which is further mitigated by the hedging device *I s'pose*, showing her ambivalence towards her claim. She then goes on to reflect that she can "see herself" (thus positioning the claim as objective, looking at herself from the outside) as "kind of Portuguese", again mitigating the identification. I try to probe this positioning further by asking her *why*. Her response is based on memories of place – "this" (here) is all she remembers; she does not remember "much of England". As Portugal has simply become 'home' to her – something which she confirms at another point during the interview - her sense of 'Englishness' has perhaps been lost through assimilation in the local place, or at least this is the identity position she wishes to project.

However, this type of affective self-positioning, i.e. feeling 'inside' place (and therefore to some extent at least as feeling 'Portuguese') through prolonged lived experience, is by no means taken up by all the teenage participants. Tom's positioning is quite markedly different. We should recall here that Tom has been living in the Algarve since the age of seven. Like Vivianne, he does not make regular trips to England and can remember very little about living in England. He initially answers my question about nationality by relating national identity to language: "I wouldn't call myself Portuguese cos (.) I don't speak Portuguese really". He develops this interrelationship in his expansion on the topic (extract 8.10):

Extract 8.10

```
01    T:    cos @@ my feeling this is like (.) England taken for
02          Portugal you know
03    KT:   mm hm?
04    T:    really (.) the only difference is the weather (.) people
05          but they're all (.) most of them (.)[they all speak
06          English]
07    H:                                        [and the way they act]
08    KT:   mm
09    T:    but it's (.) closer to England than it is to Portugal <even
10          though it's in Portugal d'you know what I mean
11    KT:   uh huh
12    T:    in the community that I live in. so that's why I'd call
13          myself (.) English
14    KT:   uh huh (.) ok (.) but do you feel English? I mean do you
15          actu- I mean does that mean anything to you? °if you say
```

```
16          that you were (.) Englishº apart from the fact that you
17    H:    used to live there
20    KT:   ºused to live thereº
21    T:    not really no
```

He suggests that "this" (presumably a deictic reference to the Algarve) "is like England taken for Portugal", citing the weather as the "only difference" - even the people "all speak English". Using a spatial metaphor based on a NEAR-FAR schematic orientation, he suggests that the Algarve is "closer to England than it is to Portugal", particularly in terms of the "community" that he lives in, which is why he would self-identify as "English". When probed, however (lines 14-17), he admits that he does not really *feel* English. Later in the interview, there is a further shift in his positioning when he claims to "feel Algarvian". In fact, his conceptualisation of the Algarve is something akin to a transnational space, where migrants can forge their sense of identity and community "not out of a loss or mere replication, but as something that is at once new and familiar – a *bricolage* constructed of cultural elements from both the homeland and the receiving nation" (Kivisto, 2001: 568). Faist (2000: 45-46) makes explicit how these transnational spaces are distinct from places, in that unlike place, "[s]pace has a social meaning that extends beyond simple territoriality; only with concrete social or symbolic ties does it gain meaning for (…) migrants".

Whilst I would certainly contest the view that place can be reduced to simple territoriality (see chapter section 3.2), the concept of a transnational space that transcends national borders does seem to make sense. However, rather than distinguishing the concept of transnational space from place, I would rather view it as a different kind of place, one that is constructed in the imagination through discursive practices, and which is instinctively bound up with identity. Such spaces are omnipresent in the fluid and shifting 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai, 1996) of the contemporary, globalised world, as are the resulting third-space identities (Bhabha, 1994) which challenge both traditional understandings of national identity being tied to the 'homeland' and notions of 'authentic' cultural identities. In constructing the Algarve as a transnational space, Tom therefore feels entitled to extrapolate and take up a third-space identity position for himself, eventually claiming "you know as

much as the Algarve is Portuguese and English I'm Portuguese and English".

Beth, who moved to the Algarve at a later age than Tom, does not claim to 'feel Portuguese' in any way, but like Ellie (extract 8.6 above) she offers her positive affect for the place as compensation for her lack of 'belonging' to the national collective: "I don't feel Portuguese but I don't- you know I'm quite- I like Portugal but I don't necessarily feel Portuguese". On the other hand, her admission to feeling 'English' is countered by an attachment to the here-place, this time expressed in terms of national football allegiance:

Extract 8.11

B: I dunno I feel English I don't- I don't feel Portuguese but I feel like when they play football and stuff I sort of I really support them

As a variation on the notorious 'cricket test',[97] the 'football test' is often used among lifestyle migrants in Portugal to articulate belongings. Therefore, her declaration is an expression of an elective attachment which is relatively 'weak' in comparison to 'stronger' attachments, for example to family (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008: 46), but is nonetheless a vital part of the construction of migrant belongings. Beth's eagerness to position herself as having multiple place attachments is further evident in extract 8.12 below:

Extract 8.12

```
01    B:    <yeh when I go back to England I do find it quite easy to
02          sort of get- sort of (.) I don't feel like it's an
03          unnatural thing to be in England, I feel quite (.) settled
04          in England when I go back
05    KT:   mm hmm
06    B:    I don't feel like this is different an'
07    KT:   yeh
08    B:    the pace of life in England is much- is different in
09          England but it doesn't bother me, some people go back and
10          they find it very hectic and things, [but ]
11    KT:                                       [mm hm]
12    B:    I find it quite easy to get back into that and then come
13          back (.) to Portugal and (.) chill out again (.) so I can,
14          I don't know I don't feel like-
15    KT:   you don't feel like a stranger in England=
```

[97] The origins of the term are attributed to Norman Tebbit, the former Conservative MP, who said in an interview in 1990 that the extent to which Asian immigrants had integrated into British life could be gauged by which side they supported in international cricket matches.

16 B: =no (1.0) well I also don't feel a stranger here, so

Although she talks explicitly about feeling 'settled' on her return visits 'back' to England, which have been more frequent and of longer duration than most of the teenage participants (with the exception of Harry – see above), the attitudinal positioning in her claim "I don't feel like it's an unnatural thing to be in England" is interesting for its negation, which in terms of Engagement suggests that she is acknowledging other, alternative viewpoints (Martin & White, 2005: 118). This is reinforced by the negation in her next utterance ("I don't feel like this is different") and her concession that "the pace of life is much – is different in England" although this does not "bother" her personally. She then directly projects the voices of other lifestyle migrants ("some people"), who evaluate England as being "hectic and things" (a clear intertextual reference to the 'England is a stressful place' repertoire commonly drawn on by adult elective migrants). She, on the other hand, claims to find it "easy to get back into" whilst also being able to come back to Portugal and "chill out again". She is thus positioning herself as feeling comfortable in both places and, by extension, as feeling equally 'inside' one place or the other. I check this by suggesting that she does not feel like "a stranger" (i.e. an outsider) when she goes to England (line 15). She agrees, but is quick to add "well I also don't feel like a stranger here".

However, there is a noticeable degree of 'disfluency' in the above extract, marked by pauses, false starts and hesitations, hedges and vague language (*sort of; and things; I don't know; well*). Disfluency occurs in spoken interaction for many different reasons and must to a certain extent be considered 'normal' (Leech et al., 2006: 149), in particular as a feature of teenage talk (see, for example, Stenström et al., 2002: 86 - 104). Although Beth does not come across as a particularly 'fluent' speaker throughout the whole interview, there is evidence that her disfluency increases whenever she tries to articulate her feelings of 'belonging' in relation to the two central places in her life, England and Portugal. This contributes to the sense of an ambiguous, 'in-between' place identity.

The tensions between claiming multiple belongings and the feeling of not fully belonging to one particular place is also evident in the following extract from the interview with Ellie, Diana and Neil:

Extract 8.13

```
01    E:    I think it's nice to feel comfortable in different places
02          you know
03    KT:   uh huh
04    E:    the more places the better! @@
05    D:    yeh but then again you don't belong to anywhere
06    E:    well who wants to belong?(.)  [oh well I] don't
07    D:                                  [not me! ]
08    E:    to one specific place (.) I don't know how do you feel Nick
09    D:    he wants to belong to Scotland not to England
10    E:    [@@@@]
11    N:    [@@]  (.) er (.) I - in a way I feel like I belong to
12          Portugal
13    KT:   mm
14    N:    but there's always part of me that thinks  no:: I'm not
15          this isn't rea::lly my home (.) cos it's not where I
16          originate from? but
17    KT:   mm
18    N:    I dunno I think it's really difficult to (.) like to pick
19          where my home is
```

Ellie takes up this idea of feeling at home, or, as she phrases it, feeling *comfortable*, in different places ("`the more places the better!`") with a positive evaluation ("`it's nice`"). Diana retorts with the suggestion that this leads to not belonging "`to anywhere`". The use of *to* in this and the subsequent formulations is interesting, for (grammatically) it puts place as the possessor (of a person). However, Ellie claims that she would not want to "`belong to one specific place`", again reiterating her self-positioning as being comfortable in multiple places as well as suggesting her desire for the freedom of being a 'global' citizen.

Neil positions himself as being in a more liminal state, for although "`in a way`" he feels like he "`belongs to Portugal`", the fact that he does not "`originate`" from there leads him to feel as if "`this isn't rea::lly my home`" (line 15). He is thus drawing on the 'born and bred' repertoire as a contributing factor in the construction of a home-place. His identification with his origins thus seems to be much stronger than the other two, and to some extent echoes Harry's (extract 8.8 above). Whilst both Ellie and Diana position themselves more positively in relation to their lack of rootedness in place (see also extracts 8.6 and 8.7 above),

Neil's final comment in extract 8.13 seems to suggest that he finds it more problematic. The intensified negative evaluation that it is "really difficult to pick" (line 18) where his home is seems to imply that he feels that this is something that he *should* in fact be able to do.

In the interview with Neil, Ellie and Diana, when I ask them if they "feel Portuguese in any way", I suggest that this might particularly relate to Ellie and Neil since they have been in Portugal for "such a long time", thus implying that length of residence in a place contributes to feelings of belonging through identification with the national group. Rather than answering directly about 'feeling Portuguese', however, Neil chooses to respond by assessing his diminishing feeling of 'Scottishness' with quantifying formulations:

Extract 8.14

```
01    N:            er I dunno I don't- I s'pose in a way I don't
02          fee:l (.) like so:: Scottish now?
03    KT:   uh huh
04    N:    like if I felt a hundred percent Scottish when I came maybe
05          it's like (.) sixty or seventy percent now
```

This is something which he assesses as happening over time (marked by the deictic "when I came" as compared to "now"), no doubt in response to my own temporal formulation. Although he thus echoes my proposition that physically being in a place over time contributes to feelings of national identity, he relates it to weakening feelings of his Scottish national identity rather than increasingly feeling Portuguese. Whilst this perhaps suggests that he is *indirectly* positioning himself as feeling 'more' Portuguese as he moves further away from feeling *completely* Scottish, Neil does not in fact explicitly claim at any point in the interview to 'feel Portuguese'. On the other hand, he does reflect that he feels "a bit foreign" when he returns to Scotland (extract 8.15). With the lexical choice 'foreign', his perspectivization is that of an outsider in relation to the Scottish national identity collective:

Extract 8.15

```
01    N:    there is a bit of me that I feel a bit foreign
02    KT:   yeh=
03    N:       =cos when I go back everyone goes ahh (.) you don't- you
04          don't have the same accent anymore um like (.) not like
05          your skin's a different colour but=
```

```
06    E:                                        =@@@@@!
07    N:    it's like oh you're tanned when everyone else is so white
08          you look like you're from a foreign country or something
```

He projects other voices in Scotland (line 3) as being the basis for his feelings. His account of what these voices express is based on their perceptions of him as no longer sharing the typical characteristics of the ingroup: he *sounds* different ("you don't have the same accent anymore") and he *looks* different, as if he is "from a foreign country". His formulation of this (lines 4-8) is interesting: with the disclaimer '*not like*' he seems to be at pains to show that these voices are not evaluating him in what might be perceived as racial terms – i.e. as having a "different colour" of skin, which is all too often the basis for negative racial stereotypes. Of course there is an evident contradiction in that the comparison between "tanned" and "white" (line 7) is a colour-based distinction. Being 'tanned', however, has a strongly positive connotation in Western culture as it is typically associated with tourism and leisure, and thus privileged identities. For most lifestyle migrants, a year-round suntan is indeed viewed as an identity marker, a literal 'branding' of the body (Caldas-Coulthard, 2008) that advertises the fact that one lives in a hot and sunny country and as such serves as a symbolic marker of positive place-identity based on lifestyle choices.

8.2.4 Existential outsider, global nomad or 'international loner'?

When I ask Callum if he 'feels English', his initial response is that he feels "international". Later in the interview I return to this and ask him to describe that feeling:

Extract 8.16

```
01    KT:   yeh (1.0) Callum you feel international
02    C:    yes! (.) international.
03    KT:   how would- how would you describe that, feeling (.)
04          international=
05    C:                =um not really a part of the English culture
06          but not really a part of the Portuguese culture
07    V:    he's a nobody!
08    B:    @@@@@@@@ so you're actually [a nomad]
09    C:                                [yes yes]
10    V:                                 [alien]
11    [general laughter]
```

12 C: I'd like to say a lone ranger actually or a nomad or a
13 gypsy
14 [laughter]
15 C: yes a loner OK
16 B: an international loner=
17 C: =an international loner
18 KT: mm
19 C: °(XXX)°
20 KT: so does that worry you that you don't have a sense of
21 national identity
22 C: er not really @@@=
23 B: =he's got a passport!
24 C: I've got a passport (.) yep that's what I need
25 KT: hmmm (2.0) so- so you just don't think that's important, to
26 have a nationality, or a national identity
27 C: there's not really that much point in a nationality, is
28 there?
29 (2.0)
30 KT: [I don't know]
31 C: [I can't think of anything] all that important about it

Unlike the other participants, he explicitly uses the *neither/nor* strategy to describe his feelings in terms of national culture (lines 5-6). His friends jokingly pick up on this implication of 'existential outsideness' (Relph, 1976) to suggest a variety of identifying epithets for him. Vivianne first suggests "a nobody", implying a *lack* of identity. Beth suggests "a nomad" (which Callum agrees with), implying that his identity is mobile, not place-bound. Vivianne further suggests "alien", implying a complete outsideness, but Callum rejects this and offers his own preferred identifications: "a lone ranger actually or a nomad or a gypsy". Whilst this is clearly not intended as a serious comment, nonetheless it is noticeable that all his preferred terms are strongly tied to mobility. After some laughter, he modifies his self-identification as a 'lone ranger' by nominalising the epithet to become "a loner". This reinforces his projected identity of being outside collective social groups rather than taking up a third-space position which implies an identity that stretches across places and the groups and cultures associated with them. Beth finally suggests modifying this to "international loner", which Callum seems to accept through his repetition of the phrase and thus reinforces his claimed identity position as global, mobile and highly individualised.

I then probe this identity position by asking if it 'worries' him that "you don't have a sense of national identity". My implication is that such a position is potentially insecure and troubled. His casual response ("er not really") is followed by Beth's assertion that, after all, "he's got a passport!", and Callum's

claim "yep that's what I need", implying that the passport is of importance only as a fundamental formal requisite for international mobility, rather than as symbolising a formal membership categorisation whereby a passport confers a sense of belonging through nationality and citizenship (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007). When I check this implication by suggesting that he does not think nationality or national identity (in fact two different concepts) are important, he replies with a generalised claim (realised by the existential process clause "there's not really that much point in a nationality"). Yet his complete commitment to that proposition is withheld by various hedging devices (lines 27-31).

From the evidence of this extract (and from my recollections of the actual interview), I would suggest that his identity construction (and the joint construction resulting from the participation of his friends) is deliberate and playfully performed. This is supported by my impression of Callum from outside the interview context; I know him as someone who actively engages in the construction of an 'alternative' (in the sense of not 'mainstream') identity in a variety of ways, including cultivating a certain 'look' and engaging in particular forms of social practice that set him apart from others. My observations of the social group that Callum is most affiliated to (i.e. British teenagers living in the Algarve) tell me that there is very little adherence to this kind of alternative identity position; Callum in many senses is quite strikingly different from his peer group. This extra-contextual perspective helps to elucidate why Callum might strategically seek to discursively position himself as an outsider in order to distinguish himself from the other participants.

Yet there are other signs in the interview text that Callum does indeed experience his 'home-place' as an outsider. As I discussed in chapter 6, an analysis of spatial deixis may point to less self-conscious positionings. Callum does in fact present an ambivalent identification with his current home-place through his spatial deixis. He uses the expression *over here* on several occasions:

C: um (.) I didn't really have any say in (.) whether we were supposed to come **over here** or not

C: I think it's better that there's not this whole sort of binge drinking culture **over here**

C: but you can get taxis they're a lot cheaper **over here**

These instances of *over here* can perhaps be accounted for in that the first example is referring to his family's initial move to Portugal, therefore prompting an adverbial expression of movement, whereas the other two are examples of Callum talking about what he perceives as a general state of affairs in Portugal, rather than his more personal experience. Indeed, he does tend towards the use of a simple *here* when talking more personally, for instance in terms of personal affect ("I would like to stay here"). Yet there are some very telling instances of a shift in perspectivization during the interview. The first comes at a point where we have been discussing the extent to which the participants 'feel Portuguese':

Extract 8.17

```
01    KT:   and Callum do you feel Portuguese at all?
02          (1.5)
03    C:    in a wa:::y
04    KT:   mm? in what kind of a way?
05    C:    I'm there in spirit, not exactly on the language side but-
06          (1.0)
07    KT:   mm
08    C:    but other than that, yeh I s'pose
```

Callum's hesitant response "in a wa:::y", which comes after a significant pause, needs a probe from me which produces a shift in spatial deictic reference: "I'm there in spirit". Given that we are located in Callum's house, in Portugal, the shift in deictic reference from 'here' to a highly objectified 'there' signals a shift from a literal geographical framework to the realm of the imagination. However, this very shift is indicative of an ambivalent identification with the *here*-place, a claim that is supported by the fact that Callum makes the same kind of deictic shift at a later point in the interview. He has been explaining that he is going to leave Portugal to study in England, but would like to return to Portugal at some point:

Extract 8.18

```
01    C:    no but if there was stuff here like that I could °(XXXXX)°
02          sort of a university that I'd like to go to here then (.) I
03          would stay here obviously
            (…)
04    KT:   ok so you think you might be going temporarily just to
05          study and so on and then eventually might-
06    C:    <it's a bit like an island you know you can stay there
07          but(.) every now and then you have to go back to the main
```

08 shore to get supplies

In the first turn of the above extract, Callum uses *here* three times whilst justifying his reasons for leaving Portugal and simultaneously affirming his desire to stay if he felt it were feasible for him. After my checking move (lines 4-5), Callum interrupts with a rather startling change in positioning, again distancing himself from his home-place by objectifying it as an imagined place. This is marked by the deictic shift from *here* to *there* and the pronoun change from *I* to impersonal but generalised *you*. Portugal (or the Algarve) is likened to an "island" where one might wish to be but cannot stay for long without returning to the "main shore" (perhaps England?) to "get supplies". As the conversation immediately preceding this extract has been on the topic of higher education, the metaphorical 'supplies' are presumably the forms of educational and cultural symbolic capital that Callum feels are unavailable to him in Portugal. This is perhaps due to his lack of Portuguese language skills (note his utterance "not exactly on the language side", extract 8.17, line 5, above), but also seems to be drawing on a socio-cognitive representation of Portugal as a place with limited socio-cultural resources, which resonates with the repertoire of Portugal as an underdeveloped, poor country discussed in the previous chapter.

8.3 Summary of the findings

This chapter has explored how multiple belongings are discursively constructed in talk. I began by considering orientations to home, and found that the concept of home is not fixed, either conceptually or across stretches of discourse. Most of the participants make discursive connections to a network of possible home-places, across time and space. However, for elective migrants, a marked discursive orientation to 'here' as the home-place helps to project a 'successful' and settled migrant identity by making the here-place a valuable asset in one's life-story. By spatially locating 'home' as being in one's chosen residential place, a strong place attachment is suggested, which contributes to an overall positive place-identity.

Not all lifestyle migrants identify their new place of residence as being their home-place, however. Many discuss feelings of ambivalence towards what counts as

home. It is clear from the data that the circumstances in which one made the move to Portugal are fundamental in one's orientation to home. For migrants who had no inclination to make the move in the first place, it is unsurprising that, like many other migrants around the world, nostalgia for the preferred home-place along with a sense of alienation and outsideness in the present home location make it difficult to settle.

It has been suggested in the literature that place attachments become stronger with time and continuity in place (Moore, 2000). However, the data show that this is not such a straightforward relationship, at least in the discursive construction of place attachments. Recently arrived migrants may project a very strong orientation to their new home-place, whilst spending many years abroad may result in a greater level of self-reflection upon what counts as home, particularly if, like Samantha, one's life becomes divided between two places. In this respect, she might be thought of as corresponding to the "archetypical post-modern transmigrant" (O'Reilly, 2007b) whose experience of living in transnational space translates into an ambivalent but nonetheless positive and privileged form of place-identity.

The teenage participants in the research also have ambivalent orientations towards home. Once again, however, the data show that this sub-group is not homogeneous in terms of their self-positioning. Some reveal the dilemma of feeling that you 'originate' from somewhere yet no longer live in that place, whilst others show strong affective orientations to home in Portugal but are simultaneously planning to return to the UK in the near future. Indeed, many are on the threshold between hearth and cosmos (Tuan 1996) as they ponder their future options. What seems to be common to all these young migrants, who were born and in some measure brought up in one country before moving to another and have thus spent formative years across borders, is that their ambivalence towards home-places is tied up with constructions of national identity. They talk about this by taking up individual positionings that relate to place attachments, formal membership categories and belongings, thus showing how individual, collective and institutional identities are intertwined. What stands out in the data is that the teenagers make very little use of essentialised constructions of national identity to position themselves. When they do

use relational processes, the construction is either mitigated in some way, showing uncertainty or an unwillingness to commit to the proposition, or is presented as being contingent on other factors. These factors include imagining being called upon to self-identify publicly (linguistically marked by use of the verbal processes *say* or *call myself*) and also, importantly, place-related factors. They draw on narrative resources such as being 'born and bred' in a place, residence in place, frequency of/reasons for visits to places, and affective evaluations of place. In other words, they do not position themselves as part of a 'given' national collective, but rather construct their national identity to position themselves individually according to their unique situations.

Although there is some noticeable 'trouble' in 'doing' national identity work in interaction, marked by the frequent shifts, dilemmas and even contradictions in their positionings, it should be pointed out that this may be to some extent accounted for by the fact that, as I noted in chapter section 5.2.3, the interviews with this age group required much more input from me, the interviewer. This may have influenced the data as they sought to reconcile their positionings with the ways in which they interpreted my frequent questions. However, it has to be said that there is very little evidence of this ambivalence being problematic in terms of their sense of self. In fact, there is no real reason for them to have 'troubled identities'; after all, these are highly privileged young people, destined for the future global elite (O'Reilly, 2009a). They live in transnational spaces which provide them with choices; they seem to embrace their ambiguous feelings of national identity and build upon them to construct hybrid identities that reflect the opportunities they see as being available to them. Their sense of themselves as being global citizens with a privileged position in the local place their parents have chosen for them as the home-place comes across quite clearly in the data, suggesting that these teenagers see themselves as 'glocal' citizens with corresponding glocal place-identities. I will return to this in the following chapter, where I will bring together the findings of my analysis in a final discussion.

Chapter 9
Discussion and conclusions

"We don't want to put anyone in the shadow, but we, too, claim our place in the sun."

The above words are a translation of an infamous quote from a German parliamentary debate at the end of the nineteenth century, which marked the beginning of the "Weltpolitik" strategy based on colonial expansion.[98] This quote is said to be the origin of the English expression *a place in the sun*, which suggests a position of advantage or privilege. In Britain, this phrase is nowadays inextricably bound up with lifestyle migration, due to the popular television series of the same name in which presenters help members of the public find their 'dream homes' abroad. A sub-title for this thesis might be 'Making a place in the sun', since it investigates discursive place-making and how this impacts on social identity. Ongoing place-making activities (including discursive practices) in the Algarve certainly position British lifestyle migrants as a privileged social group. Many of the participants in this study construct place-identities that stress the advantageousness and privilege of their position as residents in Portugal. This self-positioning is grounded in discourse that emphasises individual circumstances, emotions, feelings, choices and decisions, as well as their relational ties and values; in other words, they present themselves as individuals who are fortunate enough to live in a place that corresponds to their sought-after lifestyle.

The collective dimension of their place-identity is more problematic. On the one hand, since they are already positioned as members of the privileged elite by discourse in the public sphere, they are inevitably speaking from that position, even if they choose not to take up such a position explicitly in their talk. On the other hand, their discursive construction of elective belonging is troubled by the fact that their lack of integration in the 'host' community reinforces an 'outsider' position.

[98] The original German "wir wollen niemand in den Schatten stellen, aber wir verlangen auch unseren Platz an der Sonne" comes from a speech by Bernhard von Bülow, subsequently published (1907) in *Fürst Bülows Reden nebst urkundlichen Beiträgen zu seiner Politik. Mit Erlaubnis des Reichskanzlers gesammelt und herausgegeben von Johannes Penzler. I. Band 1897–1903,* Georg Reimer: Berlin. (source: http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Deutschlands_Platz_an_der_Sonne).

Their lack of integration stems not only from their inability to communicate in the local language but also from their social practices and social relations, which are centred on a dimension of place whose material aspects, meanings and identities have evolved in order to accommodate lifestyle migrants. Although this 'outsider' status might cause some trouble in their talk about their experiences, in practice their lack of integration is a form of collective self-marginalisation; they seem content to remain on the edges of the 'local' society and make their own 'place in the sun'. This positioning might therefore be said to have overtones of (neo)colonialist discourse.[99]

To go back to the quote with which I opened this chapter, it seems to encapsulate the 'claim' to a utopian form of place that lifestyle migrants assume to be theirs. At the same time, the claim is mitigated by discursively positioning oneself as not wanting to make this claim at the expense of 'others', namely the 'host' population. This mitigation serves to position the self more positively in an imagined moral geography that serves to legitimate particular identities in specific places. The first part of this final chapter develops this line of thought by bringing together the main findings of the various dimensions of my data analysis and discussing them in the light of the theories that have informed my research, the context(s) in which the data is embedded and, of course, the research questions that guided the analysis. I then go on to evaluate the study, particularly in terms of the general aims of the research as set out in chapter 1. Finally, I suggest some future lines of research.

9.1 Discussion of the findings

9.1.1 Elective belonging

One of the questions that might well be asked in the context of this research is why place-bound identities are still important in an age marked by globalisation and mass mobilities. Part of the answer is, I believe, provided by the school of humanistic geography which stressed the profound human need for associations

[99] Although neo-colonialism is generally understood as referring to "the largely economic rather than the largely territorial enterprise of imperialism" (Spivak, 1999: 3), it is of course impossible to separate economic imperialism from geographic contexts.

with significant places. Although the ways in which people make these associations and the ways in which places are significant have undoubtedly been affected by the vast social changes that have taken place in late modernity, I want to claim that links between people and place are still an important facet of social identity.

Tuan (1996) suggested the most significant places are those which correspond to 'hearth'; places that are familiar, comforting, nurturing and provide safe havens from the 'outside' world. In short, 'hearth' generally corresponds to 'home'. Perhaps it makes more sense to say that hearth should *ideally* correspond to home, for there is not always a direct correspondence between the place we call home and attributes of positive affect that Tuan suggests. However, if the correspondence *is* there, then it can be drawn upon as a discursive resource for constructing a positive sense of self-identity and emplacement in the world.

Humanistic geography also provided a way of looking at how people identify with places through the dialectic of insideness/outsideness (Relph, 1976). Insideness is basically achieved through some kind of lived experience of place, although it may well be pre-activated 'vicariously' through a variety of media. These days, consumer-based discursive practices like place-branding stress the fit between targeted social identities, values, lifestyle practices and the place itself, and might therefore contribute to a sense of place.

These perspectives point to the simple conclusion that people, in one way or another, are concerned with creating place attachments. These attachments feed into modes of belonging (Jones & Krzyżanowski, 2008; Krzyżanowski & Wodak, 2007), which are crucial elements of the broader concept of migrant identities. These identities, in turn, are necessarily constituted through practices that involve both movement and attachment (Fortier, 2000). This was my departure point for much of the empirical part of my research, which focused on how modes of belonging are constructed in talk. I began my data analysis by asking: **how do speakers position themselves and others in relation to place(s), and how do they use these positionings to construct modes of belonging?** This corresponds to the micro-level of text analysis, which may also be illuminating in terms of the micro-level of the migration process (see chapter section 2.2). That is to say, micro-level analysis may tell us something about the individual motivations, values, and identities that

underlie the decision to move to another country and that impact on the ongoing process of adapting to life in a different place. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the situational/interactional context in which a discursive event takes place means that it would be wrong to conclude that these speakers' accounts are objective portrayals of any fixed 'reality'. Their self-presentation is largely the result of how they wanted to be understood within that context. Since I told them at the outset that I was researching British migrant experiences in the Algarve, this inevitably shaped the way in which they presented their experiences and which identity positions they took up (or not) in the (co-constructed) accounts of their lived experience in that particular situational context.

What emerged from the data were two distinct 'typologies', which I call elective migrants and circumstantial migrants. This is, I believe, an important finding precisely because it emerged from the data. At the interpretation stage, it proved to be more insightful than my original categorization of participants according to their stages in the life course, especially in the case of the adults. In chapter 6, I showed how the elective migrants in my study consistently evaluate their place of residence positively, particularly in terms of affect, in order to stress the 'fit' between themselves, their reflexive and evolving life stories, their lifestyle expectations and the affordances of their Portuguese home-places. To further support this 'here-place celebration', they engage in contrastive 'there-place derogation'. These discursive strategies enable them to stake an affective claim to belonging to their adopted home-place. They also work to construct a sense of belonging at the level of their immediate neighbourhood, which seems to refute the possibility that they live in what might be thought of as non-places (Augé, 1995) or 'inauthentic' places. These places, if they exist, are reserved in the geographical imagination of the participants for 'other' lifestyle migrants who lead a different kind of lifestyle (see chapter sections 6.3.2 and 7.4). The overall impression that this creates in talk is that these migrants are happily settled in their chosen place of residence. Conversely, the most reluctant of the adult migrants (Marion, a circumstantial migrant) reveals her nostalgia and longing for the place she has had to leave behind and constructs a rather negative picture of her current place of residence. Thus, rather than considering the data provided by Marion as a 'deviant' case that does not fit the

'regularities' that occur across the adult data, the fact that her positionings are often precisely the inverse reinforces my claim that the regularities are normative among elective lifestyle migrants.

Clearly it is not enough to simply identify one type of discursive strategy and draw conclusions from that. Thus, in order to further explore the data from the perspective of belonging, and bearing in mind that evaluations in talk are, in general, relatively strategic, I also looked at what I consider to be less self-conscious features of talk. By relating these features to the insideness/outsideness dialectic suggested by Relph (1976), I was able to draw further conclusions on how elective migrants construct modes of belonging through projecting a sense of 'insideness' in their new place of residence, whilst circumstantial migrants are more likely to project their sense of 'outsideness'. Linguistically, this is achieved through a range of positioning devices, including indexical place formulations (marked and unmarked forms of spatial deixis), prepositional phrases and other place formulations which stem from spatially-oriented image schemata (IN-OUT; CENTRE-PERIPHERY; NEAR-FAR). Once again, the findings point to a strong orientation to the here-place in the case of the elective migrants. On the other hand, the data from circumstantial migrant Marion show that feeling unhappy and unsettled in a place is reinforced by spatial deictic disjuncture and frequent transpositions of the deictic centre to an ontological space where England, the longed-for place, is conceptualised as 'here'. This undoubtedly has to do with where her emotional 'centre' is located (see chapter section 6.2.4).

Orientational image-schemata derive from embodied experience and form the basis of our imagination (Johnson, 1987). Thus, the inside/outside dialectic is of vital importance in both the geographical imagination and the presentation of the self in talk. Furthermore, these devices are building blocks in the discursive construction of imagined landscapes in terms of the social groups (notably tourists and 'other' lifestyle migrants) who are positioned as being 'in' or 'out' of particular 'parts' of these landscapes. This is a typical strategy for self-presentation; by aligning oneself (or not) with place-bound collective identities, one inevitably positions the self.

In chapter 8, my analysis of how the adult speakers discursively orient to home supports the overall findings of chapter 6. However, by bringing in data from

another circumstantial adult migrant (Samantha), I was able to show how it can be misleading to attempt to categorise migrant identities in terms of their linguistic orientation to either 'here' or 'there' as the most significant home-place. Samantha's marked ambivalence towards what constitutes home emerges from a much greater level of self-reflection than that shown by the elective migrants (whose primary concern in the specific interactional setting is positive self-presentation as happy, comfortable and settled in place, and therefore as a 'successful' migrant). Samantha, perhaps by dint of the 'insideness' she has accumulated by the amount of time she has spent in the Algarve, does not feel the need to present herself in such coherent terms. She openly acknowledges both her 'outsider' status and feelings as a 'foreigner', and her 'strong' sense of English national identity. The elective migrants do not explicitly acknowledge any of these aspects. On the other hand, Samantha is the only one of the adult participants who lives a literally transnational life, since she has recently acquired a second home in England and thus makes frequent trips between both places. By evaluating herself as being 'lucky enough' to have two homes, she translates these transnational practices into a privileged form of place-identity.

What stands out from the elective migrant data is that the speakers' relationships to place are expressed almost entirely in terms of self-identity. That is to say, there is very little in the data that could be described as strong evocations of place. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that I did not seek to elicit detailed representations of place, but it does also seem to indicate that the local place in which they live is not particularly significant for elective migrants beyond its relationship to their desired lifestyle. In many ways, Portugal (in general) and the Algarve (in particular) are empty signifiers which can be filled with meanings and identities that suit the migrants' goals. From a privileged position, local place (at varying scales) can be evaluated mostly in terms of its lifestyle affordances. We should of course recall that not only is the quest for a certain type of lifestyle a major motivating factor in this form of migration, but also that elective belonging is relationally constituted through positionings towards other places. This enables people to evaluate their area of residence against other possible places (Savage et al., 2005: 29). Having a certain type of 'home' in a certain place contributes to the

generation of social distinction (ibid.: 12), which further reinforces elective belonging.

Yet in this way, the adult speakers' representations of place seem to be formulated almost in contradiction to my working definition of place, for it might thus be argued that place is, in fact, a 'mere backdrop' or arena for the social practices and social relations that are constitutive of a certain lifestyle to be played out. However, place-making activities are required even for such apparently 'passive' representations of place. Through their talk, these migrants are actively engaged in the construction of a 'place within a place', or a different dimension of place. Place-making is of course not entirely dependent on discourse; it has a very real material aspect. However, this material aspect is inevitably entwined with discursive practices. To recall Tuan's (1991) words (cited in chapter section 3.3), language has the power to 'call places into being'. The place in which lifestyle migrants imaginatively and discursively locate themselves as residents has a clearly different set of meanings to those which shape the place-identity of, for example, their Portuguese neighbours who have been 'born and bred' in the same place, or other groups of migrants who have gravitated towards a place which offers work opportunities. For lifestyle migrants, the meanings of the place they currently call 'home' are strongly connected to what might be broadly defined as place branding practices, which are certainly grounded in discourse, and which seek to establish one identity of the place (among many possible others) by associating it with a particular set of lifestyle affordances. As Rose (1995) put it, the social, collective meanings and identities of place are always established from particular social positions, reflecting and elaborating the values and intentions of specific social groups. The place-identity positions that are taken up in talk about lifestyle migration are therefore simultaneously already available (since they are embedded in socio-cognitive representations which constitute part of a hegemonic discourse that legitimises this type of migration) and negotiable, according to how strongly the speakers seek to align or distance themselves from such positions. This depends on the specific interactional setting, which may well dictate how speakers want to project themselves and be understood in terms of their preferred identities and specific interactional goals.

The findings I have discussed so far seem to suggest that self-positioning is focused on the individual self. That is, speakers want to be understood primarily as individual agents in control of their own life-stories. This ties in well with the individualisation thesis of the late modern world (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) which sees the 'stage-managing' of one's life story and the bonds and networks (including networks of places) surrounding it as being an active requirement of social life. The quest for the 'right' kind of lifestyle, and the place in which it can be enacted, is thus part of the reflexive project of the self (Giddens, 1991) which is embedded in the 'life politics' (Giddens, 1994a) that underlie the ways in which privileged identities are performed. Such life politics, however, have an inevitable impact on the politics of place, which, in turn, is interlinked with the more collective dimension of place-identity.

9.1.2 Collective place-identity and the politics of place

Despite the fact that the adult participants seem to be concerned with the presentation of the individualised self, the individual does not exist in separation from the social world and the social groups who inhabit it. Therefore, a further aim of my analysis was to explore the more collective aspect of place-identity, including how and why the adult speakers take up (or reject) emplaced collective identity positions (e.g. as part of the 'British in Portugal' collectivity), how they position their 'hosts', the Portuguese, and how these positionings impact on modes of belonging and ultimately the politics of local places. This analysis, reported in chapter 7, allowed me to build on the first stage of analysis and to investigate another dimension of place-identity. I aimed to address the final research questions: **how do positionings index ideologies and contribute to the politics of place? Which of the collective positions made available to them do speakers take up and what is the effect of this in terms of place-identity?**

One of the main findings of this part of the analysis is that the elective migrants seem to avoid deliberate self-positionings as members of a British community in the Algarve. As part of their constructed mode of elective belonging, they seem to want to project a sense of attachment to the host group. However, this is dilemmatic since they invariably do not speak Portuguese, which makes it difficult

to claim social integration with this group. When this issue arises in talk, it invariably causes trouble in identity work. One of the ways speakers attempt to resolve this trouble is by drawing on positive stereotypes of Portuguese people and representations of their behaviour in place, which they seek to consolidate by appeals to their 'insider' status which provides instances of personal experience with which they can back up these stereotypical evaluations. In this way, their affective claims to belonging are further supported by self- and other positionings in an imagined moral geography, where the 'other' is positively positioned.

Another way they achieve an indirect sense of alignment with the Portuguese is by discursively positioning themselves as being morally 'outside' the British lifestyle migrant collective, or at least a certain sub-group of this collective: the ultra-wealthy who embody the elite identity constructed, for example, by the Golden Triangle place branding practices. The most common strategy for this is to represent oneself as not only having a 'different' lifestyle but also as being spatially separated from 'them'. The Portuguese, who are necessarily constructed as an outgroup, are also provided with their 'own' places in the imagined landscape; hence the constant discursive boundary marking between what is 'authentically' Portuguese and what is not. These 'Portuguese' places are positively valued, for connections with these places (either as a neighbourhood resident or even simply by frequenting 'Portuguese' restaurants, for example) seem to work as markers of elective belonging.

On the other hand, what also emerges from the data (and indeed supports my own observations of the social practices and social relations among lifestyle migrants in the 'Golden Triangle') is a sense of collective self-positioning that seems to stem from an SCR of a social hierarchy based on economic resources and symbolic capital. This SCR invariably places the Portuguese on a lower level than 'us', the British in the Algarve. This is often achieved by grounding such hierarchical positionings indirectly in repertoires of place (e.g. '*Portugal is a poor/developing/backward country*'), but the underlying SCR nonetheless positions the Portuguese as being in need of 'our' help. This, in turn, reinforces the frequently deployed repertoire which functions as a justification strategy for (collectively) being in the Algarve: '*we bring the money in*'.

The underlying ideology therefore appears to be based on free-market capitalism, where the trading of land/property is supposed to be beneficial to both parties (i.e. '*us'* and '*them'*), and thus seeks to emphasise a form of social practice based on mutually advantageous exchange, rather than highlighting power-based divisions between social groups. Furthermore, as I explained in chapter section 1.1, despite the inevitable physical and socio-cultural transformations which lifestyle migration provokes, many of which are potentially negative, it is generally encouraged by host societies as a particularly beneficial, and thus 'legitimate' form of migration due to its discursive framing as a form of extended tourism. In regions such as the Algarve, which are economically dependent on tourism, this discursive framing serves many political interests and, moreover, feeds into the hegemonic ideological proposition that economic growth is a fundamental aspect of social wellbeing in local places. This goes some way to explaining why there is so little contestation of the phenomenon. Yet whilst this appears, on the surface at least, to indicate an unproblematic and even mutually beneficial relationship between lifestyle migrants in the Algarve and their hosts, as Benson and O'Reilly (2009) note, this does not mean that such relationships are necessarily symmetrical, since shifts in power and capital tend to consolidate differences among the various social groups who are, in one way or another, stakeholders in place.

An alternative view of lifestyle migration locates it in the real estate sector rather than the tourism sector. From this perspective, local economic elites, mainly property developers, stand to reap more economic benefits from the process than any other group, and therefore have a vested interest in perpetuating it (Mantecón, 2010). They are thus likely to form powerful lobbies at the level of both local and national territorial planning politics. As a prime example of how this may affect the material development of places, we need look no further than the proliferation of 'integrated resorts' currently under construction in the Algarve, as encouraged by the National Strategic Plan for Tourism (see chapter section 4.4.2). As I discussed in chapter section 4.4, in the 'Golden Triangle' area, not only are English-speaking, northern European lifestyle migrants clearly the target market for the sale of such properties, but it is often the case that the property developers and the estate agents are also northern Europeans. Moreover, in this particular area it is a well-

known practice to purchase and register properties through off-shore companies, meaning that property purchase tax, municipal land taxes and capital gains taxes can be avoided.[100] From this perspective, the economic benefits that lifestyle migrants bring to the region are not as clear as might be supposed.

An alternative reading of the '*we bring the money in*' repertoire suggests an ideology based on consumer culture, in which the symbolic meanings of commodities are important aspects of the 'currency' of lifestyles (Chaney, 1996). In this way, the 'goods' (both tangible and intangible) on offer in the place, and perhaps even the local place itself, are simply conceptualised as commodities in the increasingly complex geographies of consumption (Mansvelt, 2005) that characterise the globalised world. From their privileged economic position, lifestyle migrants are able to 'afford' these commodities, and may therefore feel entitled to stake a claim to the place.

Thus, lifestyle migrants may have to resolve an ideological dilemma that arises from both 'investing' (economically, affectively and morally) in place and 'consuming' local place as part of their lifestyle requirements. Ideologies of consumer culture tend to link consumerism with hedonism and excess, and portray consumption as "a playground for freedom and the dreamworlds of affluent, narcissistic and self-absorbed consumers" (Mansvelt, 2005: 154). This does not sit well with an ideology that sees the free market economy as reciprocally beneficial, and might explain why lifestyle migrants are careful *not* to portray themselves as mere hedonists, and to stress lifestyle affordances of place *other* than leisure, pleasure and conspicuous consumption. Moreover, they may seek to construct an outgroup of *other* lifestyle migrants who are associated with such lifestyle practices, and who are characterised by their association with *other* places in the Algarve. In any case, individual members of privileged groups do not have to accept received notions about who they are - they can construct nuanced, often conflicting accounts

[100] In 2002/3, the Portuguese Government decided to attack offshore property ownership by producing a list of blacklisted countries (including Gibraltar, where the majority of such companies were registered) and by introducing heavy penal taxes to discourage the practice. At that time, more than 50% of properties in the *Freguesia* of Almancil were found to be owned by offshore companies. The intense political lobbying that followed led to a further change to the law which reduced the penal taxes. Meanwhile, it did not take company administrators long to find other places with similar jurisdictions which were not on the Portuguese blacklist, and so the widespread practice continues today.

of their positions in both the social and physical spaces through which they move (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2005). This is more than evident in the data, and helps to explain why the 'trouble' that appears in their identity work (see chapter section 7.2) does not necessarily lead to troubled identities.

9.1.3 Multiple belongings and hybrid identities

Clearly, for those who have the privilege to be able to freely *choose* their place of residence, the decision can be based on lifestyle considerations, since choice of residential place is a significant lifestyle indicator and therefore an integral part of self-identity. But what can we say about the young circumstantial migrants whose parents' choice of residential place was 'forced' upon them, albeit with their well-being in mind? What stands out from the teenage data set is the way in which they show their ambivalence towards place, home, national identity and the notion of belonging but at the same time use this very ambivalence to negotiate highly individualised, hybrid place-identities. Whilst the elective adult migrants work to project a sense of fixity in local place to bolster their positive self-image of being comfortable and settled in their chosen place of residence, the teenagers embrace the possibilities for mobility which they see as inherent in their own imagined lifestyles. Although they display positive affective alignment for their current home-place, many are poised on the threshold of cosmos/hearth as they prepare to move away. On the one hand, they want to maintain their attachments to the place they grew up in and express hopes that their parents will maintain this home-base after their own departure, but on the other hand they are quite certain that this place offers very little in the way of future opportunities for them. They see imminent return to their previous 'home-land' not as a step backwards, but forwards into a new world of possibilities. Whilst they evaluate their experiences of living in a 'transnational space' and attending an international school positively, they are also aware of the boundedness of such a marginal community that is physically located in Portugal but in almost all other senses is 'outside' Portugal. Rather than problematising this, they seem to incorporate it into hybrid identities that are fed by

multiple place attachments and, in many cases, claims to flexible, multiple and ambivalent national identities and modes of belonging.

For Bauman (2004), ambivalence is the key to 'liquid modern' identities. This stems from the insecurity and uncertainty that characterise liquid modern times (Bauman, 2000, 2007). The longing for identity arises from utopian dreams, which in turn stem from the desire for security, since "floating without support in a poorly defined space, in a stubbornly, vexingly 'betwixt and between' location", is exhilarating in the short term but is ultimately an anxiety-prone condition (2004: 29). Yet neither is "a fixed position amidst the infinity of possibilities" an attractive alternative in an age where being inflexibly 'fixed' gets "increasingly bad press" (ibid.) In ethnographic studies of lifestyle migration, the ambivalence or the 'betwixt and between' liminality (Turner, 1967) of these migrants has been repeatedly noted (e.g. Hoey, 2009; Korpela, 2009; O'Reilly, 2007b; O'Reilly & Benson, 2009). Indeed, for contemporary migrants, finding themselves in a liminal or transitional stage between places and cultures might well be expected.

However, I would not interpret the ambivalence that emerges from this data set as indexing liminal identities. Some conceptualisations of liminality suggest a very negative state – a state of being 'lost', of 'falling into abysses' (Stråth, 2008). Although liminality does not have to be understood in negative terms, there is an underlying assumption that a liminal stage of belonging arises within a process of transition; i.e an assumption that this process involves a passage from one mode of belonging to another. This is also not the case for the teenage migrants in my study. They seem to select and combine myriad attachments, including place attachments, to create a particular mode of belonging which is not linear in the sense of moving from one mode to another. In fact, these participants show no signs of wanting to cross the threshold to belonging in one particular local place. Most of them are comfortable with their modes of multiple belongings, which translate into privileged hybrid identities. This might well be to do with their age, and in some cases, their mixed heritage. On the other hand, the data suggests that it is not necessarily those of mixed heritage who are more comfortable with multiple modes of belonging. Therefore, I can speculate that their lived experience in place is strongly connected to their construction of place-identity. The experience of living in transnational

spaces has provided the opportunity for taking up third-space identity positions (Bhabha, 1994), from which vantage point they can positively evaluate their migration experiences.

9.1.4 'Glocal' place-identity

It is important to remember that in my study, these third-space identities are constructed from an already privileged position. Even Callum, who constructs an 'international', global, mobile identity by seemingly rejecting place attachments, is able to do so because of his privileged position as a 'transnational citizen' who can actively choose how local places impact on his modes of belonging. This brings me to the final point I would like to make in relation to my findings. As I suggested in the introduction to this thesis, I believe it is crucial to examine the global-local dialectic in order to better understand the concepts of place and place-identity in the contemporary era. 'Glocalisation' (Robertson, 1995) can imply the meshing of the global with the local in new and imaginative ways. The data suggest that the discursive construction of lifestyle migrants' place-identity can be thought of as a glocalised process. The status - and social identity – of lifestyle migrants in their adopted place of residence is ambivalent (O'Reilly, 2007b). On the one hand, they remain in many ways outsiders, positioned (from the 'outside') as members of the global elite (in terms of material and economic privilege) who live in (self-) marginalised and exclusive third-spaces rather than being 'rooted' in local place. On the other hand, the interview data with migrants suggest that they respond to a basic human need to create meaningful associations with local home-places as posited by the humanistic school of geography, even if it is for the purposes of constructing an elective mode of belonging. As Koller (2007) has argued, in an era marked by the encroaching standardisation and uniformity of globalisation and its decontextualised and fragmented lifestyles, consumers are feeling a greater yearning for the 'authentic', the 'traditional' and the 'local' aspects of place, whilst simultaneously enjoying the products, services and amenities available to a globalised elite. In other words, a 'glocal' place-identity seems to simultaneously reject and embrace values that are typically associated with late modern urban

cultures. It might therefore be said that one of the hallmarks of lifestyle migration is the discursive construction of a utopian, glocal place-identity, which could also be thought of as making a 'glocal place in the sun'.

Elective belonging can be understood as a glocal process of creating both functional and emotional attachments that permit various kinds of global connections to be drawn. For many, the place in which one lives is simultaneously a base for the activities and practices of daily life *and* a fundamental part of one's life-story. It is a place that is embedded in a lifestyle project subject to constant revision and change in order to preserve or enhance one's position in society. Here, I am using 'position' in Bourdieu's (1998) sense of what people obtain in a certain field through their resources, including both economic and symbolic forms of capital. Local places thus play crucial roles within global and globalising processes of mobility such as lifestyle migration as they become sites for new kinds of solidarities among people who have chosen to live in particular places because of their symbolic value in terms of their own lifestyles and life-stories, and "whose deep concern about where they live is unlikely to be overlain with extraneous concerns arising from knowledge of others who have historically lived in the place" (Savage et al., 2005: 53). Once again, this might be said to have overtones of neo-colonialism.

On a final note, it is worth remembering that the concept of glocalisation has also been viewed as encapsulating the idea of social inequality. For Bauman (1998), glocalisation is 'globalisation for some, localisation for others' meaning that geographical and social mobility are dichotomized in a world where there has been a re-stratification of society based on freedom and movement, or lack of it. Some people are liberated and empowered by global mobilities, whilst others are 'imprisoned' in a specific locality. Paradoxically, hegemonic discourses that (re)produce integrative 'glocal' identities are simultaneously reinforcing the 'glocal' dichotomy that underlies much of the social inequality in the world.

9.2 Evaluation of the study

9.2.1 Effects of the research assumptions on the research findings

In my view, one of the most rewarding aspects of doing qualitative research is that it produces findings in the form of detailed descriptions and interpretations from a diversity of perspectives. In doing so, it adds rich layers to the possible ways in which social reality can be experienced and understood. However, the question of the generalisability of the findings, or what Hammersley (1992) calls empirical generalisation, inevitably arises. This is especially so if the research is based on data provided by a small sample of a large population, which is the case of this study. The extent to which the findings can be transferred beyond the particular sample to the wider population and other settings begs the questions of validity and reliability.

Reliability is seen by some qualitative researchers in the social sciences as an alien concept (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). This is particularly the case in the constructivist school, which is founded on the premise that there is no single 'reality' in the first place. From this perspective, replication of research is an impossible goal (ibid.). As I stated in chapter section 1.2.4, my own position is influenced by social constructivism but in its weak form. In other words, I make the assumption that there are external realities beyond the construction of a text. I therefore have to assume that at least some of the research findings are potentially replicable among a similar research population under similar circumstances. If I doubted this, I would have to be skeptical about the significance of the phenomena under study. This means that I cannot simply ignore the issue of reliability. I have therefore tried to increase the robustness of the research by what is sometimes referred to as internal validation (Silverman, 2000). This involves reflecting on issues such as whether the data sample is at least 'symbolically' representative (see chapter section 5.1) and whether the analysis was carried out systematically. This meant avoiding 'cherry picking' in the data by comparing a range of different linguistic parameters of analysis across the whole data set, and integrating 'deviant' cases that did not initially appear to conform to patterns found in the data into the analysis. I have also tried to ensure that my interpretations are well supported by evidence from the data. Crucially, I have endeavoured to supply as much information as possible about the research process throughout the thesis.

Although the issues surrounding **validity** are complex in qualitative research, it should at the very least be noted that validity is an important key to effective

research (Cohen et al., 2000). In its most simplistic terms, validity refers to the correctness or 'precision' of a research reading, and is thus associated with 'measurement' (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). Yet validity, like reliability, cannot be understood in the same terms in qualitative research as it would be in quantitative research. As Maxwell (1992, cited in Cohen et al., 2000: 106) has pointed out, qualitative researchers need to be cautious about working within a positivist agenda where validity is concerned. In other words, it makes no sense to take an anti-positivist view of the social world and then try to demonstrate validity in terms of positivist notions.

Perhaps the best way to approach the issue is to see it as a matter of degree rather than an absolute state. The degree to which validity can be accounted for in qualitative research has been widely debated. Hammersley (1992: 69) says that a research account is valid "if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise". Although he was arguing in the context of ethnography, his statement can be extended to most case studies in the social sciences. From this perspective, a concern for validity in qualitative research has to do with its level of credibility. This leads back to the appropriateness of the methodological framework and the research methods used, as well as the quality of analysis and interpretation that takes place (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003: 274).

Thus, research that takes a data-driven approach can make evidence-based claims, but caution is needed in any extrapolation of the findings. I want to stress, then, that I am not making any strong claims as to the representativeness of my data or the overall generalisability of my findings. I have interpreted the findings from a detailed discourse analysis of a small sample of data that emerged from a specific interactional context in conjunction with my own observations of a social phenomenon in a particular geographical area. I have also been informed by the relatively small body of empirical sociological research on lifestyle migration. Like many qualitative researchers, I can make no greater claim to the validity of my research than that. This means that ultimately, I can make only 'modest' generalisations (O'Reilly, 2009c) about my empirical findings in terms of transferring them to the wider population of lifestyle migrants. On the other hand, since I

position myself in the broad paradigm of critical research, I have to be able not only to situate my findings within the broader social macro-context in which they are embedded, but also to provide a critique of the social phenomenon I am studying. I have attempted to do this in section 9.1 above. This lays my work open to accusations that my interpretations of the findings are value-laden and biased. In fact, I do not accept that any academic work is value-free, even that which purports to be entirely 'neutral', since there are always alternative perspectives which can be explored. In my view, part of the appeal of a 'critical' approach is that it is openly motivated by the aim of providing a sound, academic basis for the questioning of social life from a moral and political perspective (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2003). Naturally, the 'objectivity' of the findings may well be questioned, but this can be compensated by a more reflexive approach to research which seeks to make the whole research process as transparent as possible.

9.2.2 Limitations of the study

Besides the issue of generalisability that arises from the necessarily small data sample used in this research, I am also aware that there are some further problems with the validity of the dataset. An analysis of the identity work done in talk should ideally look beyond a single communicative event to consider the work done by the same speakers across multiple interactions, since this might be the only way to verify any internal consistency of the ways in which speakers do identity work in interaction. It would also have been enlightening to examine how identity work might vary in different types of interactional situations by the same speakers. In other words, triangulation of the data would have been useful. Triangulation serves not only as a means of investigating the convergence of data, but also as a way of revealing as much about the different dimensions of a phenomenon as the similarities. This approach to triangulation is therefore concerned with reflecting the complexity and multi-faceted nature of the social world (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006).

I had initially planned to conduct focus groups as well as interviews, since this would undoubtedly have yielded a different, yet complementary type of data. However, research decisions have to be taken, not least in respect to the

manageability of the study. I felt that more data would ultimately have impacted on the depth of analysis that I wanted to attain, so I opted to limit the data collection to one method. The decision to use research interviews rather than focus groups was based on the consideration that focus groups are generally considered to be a site for generating data to explore social issues, attitudes, and opinions and to display and discuss differences and eventual consensus within a group (Lewis, 2003), whilst an interview can provide an opportunity for generating in-depth, personal accounts of life experiences and for exploring more complex life-world processes (ibid.) including social identity.

A further limitation to this study that I would like to register is the recognition that there are many other possibilities for analysing even the relatively small amount of data that I collected. One thing that perhaps stands out is the neglect of gender dimensions in my analysis, especially since the adult participants are all women. As I explained in chapter section 5.1.2, this was not a criterion defined at the outset of the data-gathering stage of the research. However, it seems that many women in the Algarve are the true 'full' migrants and clearly have a different migration experience from their husbands and partners. This would make gender aspects of migrant place-identity an interesting line of further investigation.

In a sense, discourse analysis is never complete. The more narrowly the parameters for analysis are pre-defined, the more likely it is that important aspects of the data will be missed. On the other hand, allowing the data to 'speak for itself' runs the risk of an unfocused and superficial analysis of too broad a range of parameters. I tried to compensate for this by combining both methods and opting to approach the data from different theoretical angles. In the presentation of the analysis, I have included short examples and longer extracts from the data to counterbalance the perspectives of showing the patterns that emerged from systematic analysis and engaging in close analysis of stretches of discourse. The latter approach allowed me to reveal features such as trouble and repairs in identity work, the joint construction of meaning, switches in positionings and so forth.

9.2.3 Contributions of the research

One of the main contributions of my research is, I believe, related to what might be termed 'theoretical generalisation' (Hammersley, 1992). Qualitative studies can contribute to support and develop existing theories through an abductive approach that moves between data and theory. Moreover, by combining apparently eclectic methodological tools within an interdisciplinary and multi-perspective framework, something that is positively encouraged within the broad research paradigm of CDA, diverse and maybe unexpected angles on the relationships between different theoretical concepts can be revealed.

The overall aim of this research was to shed some light on the theoretical interrelationships between discourse, place and identity. By combining social theories of language (that is, SFL and especially Appraisal theory), some aspects of cognitive linguistics and positioning theory, I have developed a specific methodology which proved to be a useful means of exploring the under-researched concept of place-identity, which, as I see it, is largely constituted in and through discourse. My rationale for combining SFL and cognitive linguistics stems from my understanding of the relationship between place and people to be grounded in lived experience of the structured social and material world and the mental models that these experiences feed into. As this relationship is partially constructed, negotiated and communicated through a range of discursive practices, it is by exploring these practices that we gain insights into place-identity.

I developed and applied a specific method of positioning analysis to operationalise the research (i.e. to move from linguistic and social theory to data analysis) because this provided a way of linking micro- and macro-levels of analysis by considering how individual and collective positionings index broader social identities and ideologies. In addition, positioning analysis allows for the fact that both individuals and social groups are always already positioned by others, through other discursive practices. As noted in chapter section 3.1, Jenkins (2004: 15) suggests that identity results from the "dialectical interplay of processes of internal and external definition". In the light of my research, I would suggest that 'positioning', rather than 'definition', is a better way of conceptualising the

internal/external dialectic that feeds into identity formation, because 'definition' implies something relatively fixed and already achieved, whilst positioning is a much more subtle way of capturing the dynamic, processual, shifting nature of identity, as well as accounting for how identity is negotiated in talk according to participant aims and goals within the situational context.

The second general aim of this study was to contribute to cross-disciplinary research, since the vast majority of work on lifestyle migration has been conducted within the field of sociology. I believe that discourse analysis methods can be fruitfully applied to complement both ethnographic accounts and more quantitatively based studies of migration. As a methodological tool, discourse analysis can help to build a more credible inside perspective on what the migration process means to individuals, as well as how hegemonic discourses on migration are formed and serve to position migrant groups. Whilst my own study has focused on place-identity, I believe that the specific methods of discourse analysis that I have employed can be used to study many other aspects of social identity, which might also be related to place-identity, such as gender, social class, national and ethnic identity, and other highly contemporary forms of identity, such as 'virtual' identities.[101]

The other main contribution of my research can be related to my aim of extending the agenda and applications of CDA. By investigating how 'privileged' identities are constructed through discourse, and by critiquing the social phenomenon within which this identity construction is framed, I hope to have contributed to an understanding of how inequalities in social and spatial relations are (re-)produced through hegemonic discourses that both constitute and are constituted by what count as 'legitimate' and justifiable forms of social action. This, in turn, feeds into the politics of place which has very real social and material impacts. Further investigation of the many aspects of the politics of place in my research site is something I aim to do in order to expand the scope of this study. Future lines of research might include how other migrant groups in the Algarve

[101] Myers (2010, chapter 4), for example, provides a good account of how bloggers situate themselves in the geographical world and in the blogosphere through linguistic devices such as deixis and adverbials. However, although he touches upon how this relates to 'identity claims', there is ample scope for a more in-depth study of the relationships between place and virtual identities.

construct place-identities, and how the Portuguese 'hosts' construct the identities of lifestyle migrants, as well as other groups of migrants.

9.3 Final words

One of the problems with interdisciplinary research is that it can easily become too ambitious in its aims and therefore lack a specific focus. Although my own excursions into hitherto personally unknown disciplinary territories was one of the most enriching experiences of doing this research, I also found that the research process was to some extent hampered by my own desire to gain an ever-broader multidisciplinary perspective. I eventually had to make decisions about which theoretical perspectives would provide the cornerstones of the research. Bringing together the perspectives from these various disciplinary sources, without over-simplifying them on the one hand and creating a coherent framework on the other, was one of the biggest challenges I faced. I sometimes felt that I was at risk of losing my way in the light of the array of possibilities thrown up by my background reading. I hope that I have ultimately managed to produce a convincing study that takes up the call for interdisciplinary research in the social sciences and contributes to the body of academic work on lifestyle migration, especially in the context of my own home-place. At the same time, I hope the study has also made a place of its own in the broad field of applied linguistics, where as a researcher I feel I most belong.

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