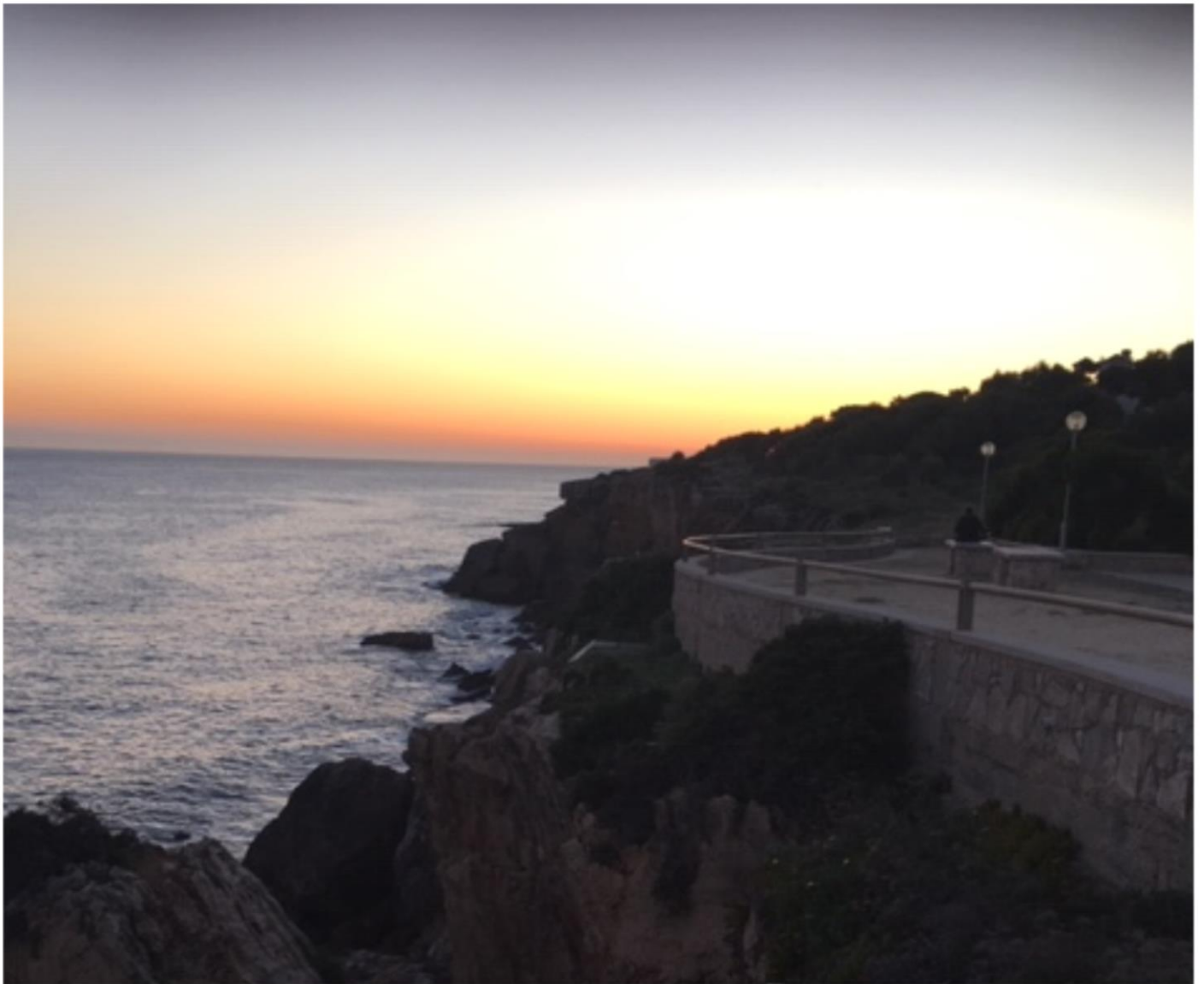# Making a Country to One's Own

## - Lifestyle Migration Though Informality and Transnationalism

**Master Thesis, May 2019, by Axel Eriksson**

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## 2. Abstract

This master thesis aims to juxtaposes two disperse concepts: lifestyle migration and informality. In a case study around the Lisbon and suburban areas, the focus directs on lifestyle migrants from northern Europe migrated to south to Portugal for an escape to a better quality of life, away from cold to a place fit them best. The literature review examines lifestyle migration critically through three correspondent concept fields; the power of mobility, transnationalism and sociocultural-economical essential variables to revise a wished or a specific lifestyle. It gives a critique of the literature on how it is presenting lifestyle migrants in research.

With empirical qualitative methods, the subject entering lifestyle migration from the angle of tourism expands it into mobility where it critically excavates of lifestyle migrants within Europe with the concept of informality. In-depth interviews, together with casual conversations with various groups, hold up the methodological groundwork on the empirical data. Moreover, the thesis shed light on informality, a field which recently becomes an emerging study within tourism expands it by examining new angles to receive a wished lifestyle.

The analysis takes new insights of the field of how project informality, not only to be an advantage for the lifestyle migrants and informality but it will highlight informality to be an illegal mare tool or an escape from poverty. A dialectic view of the migrants exist which show how power constitutes within directed policies by nations on the one hand, and established systems the other hand both, which will willingly and unwillingly keep lifestyle migrants' attached strings with both countries. For some, nation-state aid by citizenship and hypermobility empower one's life that fits better personal preference. However, it is also shown that the transnationalism of lifestyle migration also changes one's perspective of both the country of origin and the new host country. At first, it was an aspiration being away from cold and darkness, but afterwards, some even might antagonise their nation of origin.

The conclusion shows a possibility to include or exclude social and cultural barriers but might not fully grow into an integrated part of the society because of a lack of formal rights. However, constituted by mobility, they gain power through their status as lifestyle incentivised by the nation-state policies.

**Keywords:** Lifestyle Migration, Informality, Transnationalism, Mobility, Citizenship

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## 5. Introduction

During the last decade, Portugal had undergone a massive change in their mobility and migration (Padilla & França 2016), a country of emigration due to dictatorship (Åkesson 2018), now become a country to where people immigrate (Torkinton 2010), which makes it an interesting topic for new knowledge in mobility. During the economic crises in 2008, Portugal shifts focus from tourism to new forms of inwards migration. Lifestyle migration was a new tactic, among others, to combat growing tourism massification. Neither mobility nor tourism is especially new forms, but both have emerged from the globalisation project (William & Hall 2002). These different types of mobility expand above tourism definitions and emerge with concepts of lifestyle migration, which expands the concept of mobility and breaks the boundaries of what a visitor might entails.

In contrast to Urry (2016) who argues that mobility is not based on a North-South divide, the argument instead can be put as that mobility is an imaginary of economic power aided by the strength of the passport and their citizenship which allows mobility (Clausen *et* al. 2014; Bianchi & Stephenson 2013; Bianchi 2003). North-South migration is where inhabitants of the global North-countries has the ability to move with passport power. Not necessarily need to be those with economic advantages in the country of origin, but also those who can relocate North-South because finding a better average standard of *quality of life* (Janoschka & Haas 2014; Benson & O'Reilly 2009). It makes part of a life choice rather than migrating for asylum or refugee or for the survival or protection – hence it is *lifestyle* migration. One of the many definition on the phenomenon, Janoschka and Haas (2014:1-2) explain it as "predominantly belong to wealthy societies in the Western hemisphere, and they choose to relocate themselves partially or permanently in places with lower costs of living (often, but not necessarily located in lower income countries), thus capitalising the multiple opportunities that the existing differences of purchase power and social and symbolical power relations facilitate in a globalised world". It can be any lifestyle choice, economic benefit, social motivation, or political aspects will be discussed within this master thesis. They share similar experience as any migrant and must engage in similar patterns to the community with building up a transnational tie (Gustafson 2008) between their country of origin and their new habitual place. As they share similar features as asylum-seekers, lifestyle migrations often lack of (social) safety and security net and may lack of sense of the moral duty, or how to turn to others to try to fit within the new environment in the new community structure (Olsson & O'Reilly 2017).

There are different views in the academic debate and enriched with an endless argumentation to find a middle way path between various concepts which entails - what here is called - *lifestyle*

*migration*. Schoolers in a tentative option to evoke particular concepts and argument, it had sprung up various sorts of concepts which could (often) be used interchangeably. In fact, still there is a tendency of authors to use different or invent new conceptual or theoretical angles - from the well-established *lifestyle migrants* (e.g. O'Reilly & Benson 2009; Huete *et al.* 2013), *second-home migration* (William & Hall 2002; Müller & Hall 2018), there is also *International Retirement Migration*, or *IRM* (King *et al.* 1998; Gustafson 2001), *Expat community* (Dutt *et al.* 2018), *Transnational Migration* (Gustafson 2001) *Residential tourism* (Huete *et al.* 2013) *Lifestyle mobility* (Cohan 2013) *Secondary home residents* (Hiernaux 2009; *own translation*) or even more the obscure concepts '*recreational property migration*' (Åkerlund 2013), or *Employment-Related Geographical Mobility* (E-RGM; Cresswell *et al.* 2016), all which gives a broad range of papers, theories and ideas. Some concepts are more necessary than others, and some give further flavours more than others. But all relates mostly to the same phenomenon. However, even in the same concept area, the authors tend to ignore to embrace its tourists or migrant studies or ignore other authors within the same field. In return, it emerged a flourish of conceptualisations because it "disembogued in a multi-layered research field which is inspired by and rooted in different approaches from Social Anthropology, Sociology, Political Science, Tourism Studies, Urban Planning, and Human Geography (Janoschka & Haas 2014:13)" which create an interdisciplinary character although it becomes incredibly tricky compare and analyses.

Many authors tried to search for an umbrella term. Benson and O'Reilly (2009) tried to nexus residents living in another country, tourism and migration academic literature but came to a conclusion it never fully could be succeed to englobe all these ideas existing. Müller and Hall (2018) argue that an umbrella term is hard to achieve when the number of articles of the phenomenon continues to grow, and there is no significant hierarchical level which can be able to make a structure of terms. Therefore, the terminology hereon will be referred to as *Lifestyle Migrants*, nevertheless it does englobe a broad range of terminology that incorporate e.g. *Turismo Residencial* (Residencial tourism) commonly in official policy plan in Portugal (PENT n.d.; ET27 2017) and also from other Portuguese and Spanish written literature and some English literature (Patuleia 2011; Huete 2005; Huete *et al.* 2013, Mantecón *et al.* 2008; Sardinha 2013; Torkinton 2010; 2012).

Nevertheless, expats' role is fairly ignored in tourism literature as they play a significant role in the 'new' global society, mostly it is a great focus on motivations, but it is a lack of understanding of their role within host community (Dutt *et al.* 2018). Benson and O'Reilly (2014) seek further studies to include the informed experience, conceptualisation and commitment of the host community apart from choice and motivation or migrants' circumstances, a field which already heavily

explored. Those who forms part of the *host community* in a contemporary globalised and mobilised society might not be as straight forward as in (tourism) literature commonly wants to argue, especially in Europe where the concept of *host* it is not easy to distinguish when individuals move to different countries claiming it as one's own (Gustafson 1998; 2008; Huete & Mantecón 2011; Åkerlund 2013). A viewpoint still not explored within existing research literature is *host* aspects of the 'new host' from the "north hemisphere' community as a part of the North-South migration.

In belonging to a North-South migration, I experienced being a similar lifestyle migrant phenomenon in Portugal myself. I am born and raised in a middle-class Swedish home, moved to Portugal (2008-2017), during that time I thought myself as a part of *hosts* community, although now afterwards there are more doubtful viewpoint on myself on that regards. After gain more in-depth knowledge in tourism research, my role of the community duties came in a different light; paying taxes, helping others, know the language etc., are attributes which bound to a territory. In hindsight, I still with big efforts I never became engaged within the community or as a citizen because of my status as still officially living in Sweden. In a revision of this reflection on my official residence to Portugal, and also, few of my fellow citizens (friends and acquaintance) had any had official papers of residents in Portugal, I came to question the national engagement. It is through self-experienced, and was from me, possible to earn a transnational tie was able to live in Portugal. In which ways can lifestyle migrants navigate with of help transnational ties to reach their goal to live in another country?

This research derives partly from my own experience as part of a transnational community but also inspires from tourism economic articles which are on the horizon to explores new insights of alternative or simple economics within tourism. It brings new interesting questions of usage of power and the part of development. On new grounds, explore the role of informality where establishment make structural choices and navigation within the social systems. For example, Pécot (*et* al. 2018) analysed tourism establishment at Ecuadorian beaches who orient in between of (in)formality to gain a particular aspect of both dimensions. Informality intrigues individuals to reach a particular objective and can navigate within existing policy and social structures are intriguing. How does lifestyle migrants use different forms of informality to be able to live in another country? What methods might exist?

Interestingly, Nordic European migration is one which has a strong differentiation within migration (Glick Schiller & Frykman 2018). On the one hand, they have strong inwards or irregular migration, limit or prohibit migrants, often from the middle eastern, enter the country. On the other hand, outwards migration of Swedish citizens enjoys the freedom of travel of their passport status. There

is a dual migration structure which forms maintaining the order of transnational structures (Glick Schiller & Frykman 2018). One of these countries is Portugal (Torkinton 2010) which allows citizens from the European Union living in there to enjoy the freedom of having access to public services (Martins & Cavaco 2018; Padilla & França 2016). European Union is mostly accepted as *unified by diversity*, in a certain degree becomes accepted, in comparison with *non-European* or *external foreigners* who are different from the acceptable difference (Janoschka 2010). Within the European Union, citizens may take their legal status with them through the border in order to legitimise mobility (Ackers & Dwyer 2004). Which perspectives of their status (e.g. citizenship) can be utilised to reach their goal of a wished lifestyle?

These questions will guide this master thesis through the concept of mobility and power, transnationalism, and economic and social factors, and lastly, lifestyle migration characteristics, before moving on to identify and analyse how informality plays significant role examples which are applied to the questions.



*Image 1: Life: Estoril beach | Right: House in Cascais*

## 6. Literature Review

Lifestyle *mobility* emerges with the modernisation which resulted in a deterritorialization of society, with the technological advancement makes it mobility possible for a common purpose, shaped for a privileged few and alternated on who has the given possibility (Cohen *et al.* 2013). Lifestyle *migration* on the one edge of a spectrum opposite to tourism (Mantecón *et al.* 2008; Janoschka 2011a) and a fine line where tourism tips over to become migration (Cohen *et al.* 2013; Mantecón *et al.* 2008), however still outside the dimension of asylum seekers or refugee migration. Hiernaux (2009) saw that lifestyle migrants massively protest when called *tourists* as they recognize themselves different because they had adopted an *adequate* mode of living within a society which for them differs from tourism. Huete (*et al.* 2013) argue that regardless of these rejections, one must determine motivation or must be the vision from the local/host society. Stating to a person who dedicated their life to another place will be offered when determining them *tourists*, however, would *migrant* or *immigrant* gives other conjugation? A further debate exists on the struggle of classifying 'European Citizens' (Huete and Mantecón 2013) not to call them immigrants but instead *European Residents* which has economic and power capital, whereas an *immigrant* frequently refers to those of conditional economic problem and need (major) cultural integration (Mantecón *et al.* 2008). There is an extensive debate on where the individual belongs on a *tourism-migration spectrum* (see Mantecón *et al.* 2008). However, a subject which is beyond the scope of this thesis, therefore considered here that *lifestyle migration* is those individuals who choose to dislocate majority of their time outside one's country of origin, with motivations beyond of basic needs – difference from asylum-seeker – which pursuit a good or quality of life, whether it concerns employment or other economic necessities.

The literature review chapter consists of two major parts which present the underline factors; first of which draws discussion from the power of what constitutes mobility for lifestyle migrants, secondly, what embeds in the transnational ties, and thirdly, it will debate two characteristics - the socio-cultural or economic factor from literature. The second part will put light on lifestyle migrants from primarily how Nordic Migration is addressed in research. Thereafter, the theory chapter which starts by introducing different forms of informality from research, of how it is used within different research areas, and also how it relates to a Northern European lifestyle context. These chapters aim to highlight key characteristics which constitute lifestyle migration that is debated by researchers. These chapters will also help to analyse the characteristics of informality to shed new light on these aspects.

## Characteristic of Lifestyle Migration

### *Power & Mobility*

The *mobility turn* or the *new mobility paradigm* (Sheller & Urry 2006) goes to describe the complexity of movement and the contemporary which is a result of globalisation and technological shift allow us to be more mobile than ever before. With the technological aid, things, ideas, humans, and more, with the help of modernity, individuals can both do an embodied movement, i.e. travel and mobile in another region of the world as well as going in vehicles that assist mobile in both place and time, and do an imaginary movement, i.e. given us the information and transactions of ideas. These are pieces of the what Baumann (2000) calls the *liquid modernity*, where choice is a primary sociological action, thus consumption is an inevitable action that is reflected on each individual, all due to modernity that now allows freedom of movement of capital, people, money, images, and information to flow. Based on these ideas, Sheller and Urry's (2006) argue it presides that the idea of development is a continues and linear over centuries. These ideas embrace modernity is value; that developed must be taken-for-granted and something which gives a notion of modernity, and that it should be a common direction in which the global community together strive for (Parpart & Veltmeyer 2004). It also gives a notion of that in the past world inhabitants was fixed and unchanged, or that cultures in the modern 'periphery' from the west which not are as technologically advanced or in the same manner embrace the technologies are not more fixed then what modernity imagen them to be (Escobar 1997).

Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) took another approach to mobility. They argue that the world is bound in a *regime of mobility*. This *regime* direct instead certain access to parts of the world only for those part of the globe who grant the access – i.e. those with more power created a North-South divide with an unequal division or distribution of access which formed with disadvantages for some in terms of access to mobility, while others enjoy or even demand their freedom of movement. Those who have access to mobility is a form of power given by the nation-state legitimation imposing access barriers. The critique in the *regime of mobility* is on methodological nationalism, i.e. the viewpoint of how to see mobility in a globalised world, where authors' approach claims to legitimise fixed borders and the cultures contains within those borders. The *regime of mobility* is shown within the difference of transnational migration new positioning of countries which suffers from irregular migration (Glick Schiller & Frykman 2018). Historical change in the way of view migration and the new challenges (Glick Schiller & Salazar 2013; Glick Schiller Frykman 2018).

While Cresswell (*et al.* 2016) argue in favour of the *new mobility paradigm* that it shed light away from the place-bound view allowed a broader view. Although, those arguments are rather 'mindful' to compare (im)mobility associated with, e.g. labour with social fixity, instead of recognising the unequal distribution of choice around mobility. It focuses more on a social elite. It does not raise aspects of given difference such as either in class, race, gender, or the global capital (Glick Schiller & Salazar 2013) or of that matter, distribution of global fixity and mobility from north-south/east-west where one part of the world manage and control their border (Talyor 2005). Shamir (2005) argues that the migration regime is highly rigid West/North globe, which defends itself, placing borders prevent migration, especially from the East/South, results in a *mobility gap*. While to the contrary, the global West/North gains access to free mobility to the opposite side of the world usually is framed as *freedom* or *escapism*. These migrants form part of lifestyle migration. The south society address also migration from the north that influenced the societies not always with prosperity and influenced them in comparison to before the migratory expansion (Hiernaux 2009).

Lifestyle migration is embedded within this regime of mobility, take advantage of passports to be able to move. The flow of people and material gives a globalised world, but not free from hierarchical power. Transnational tourist or migrant use the freedom of mobility as a tool to be able to practice the status of their citizenship, refers it to values and acts that is added onto the citizenship - where on a fundamental level, the modern nation-states define belonging to a socio-political community which in turn creates parallel senses and belonging (Clausen & Andersson *forthcoming*). Citizenship is a given membership by birth denoted from a nation-state, which is an effective community with mutual recognition, while in return secures a series of rights and obligations, thus citizenship becomes the tie between citizen and state institutionalised by the state (Marshall 1970 & Faist 2001; 2009, cited in Clausen & Andersson *forthcoming*), but when mobility occurs and when people change country, still demand certain right of the new host country which proclaimed from the informants (Appendix 2). Citizenship becomes a symbolic power inherent with a different form of power, still have rightsholder of other countries, and due to symbolic power citizenship allocates access in certain aspects, such as mobility and the ability to change their surroundings (Bianchi & Stephenson 2013). A similar point to tourism where it easy to neglect the adaptive capacities of the social, economic and political aspects in different interest groups (Bianchi 2003), both the state and individuals might overlook these basic structures of what the citizenship might entails. The effect in the power of travel comes both in the ability to travel when examining core motivation from lifestyle migration. Lifestyle migrants, as well as tourists, are incorporated with structures of the transnational space.

## *Transnational Liaison*

The transnationalism concept from migration studies explains a complex nature of different unique processes where individuals form (new) identities beyond their nation-state borders (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013) that creates ties between cultures and new ideas. Globalisation has transformed the scope of the citizenship, which in case of the, e.g. European Union draws away from the static notion to being fluid (Bianchi & Stephenson 2013) allows citizens in different states execute transnational exchanges. Therefore, a lifestyle migrant produces a transnationalism tie (Gustafson 2008) - a hybrid culture between the new host place and the country of origin in terms of the sphere of influence, businesses, cultural phenomenon – a liaison between countries and political influence. There is an individual gain by moving multiple locations which in return creates multiple identities (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013), and thus influences the surrounding where migrants settle (Gustafson 2001; 2008; Clausen & Velazquez 2011). Results in the different future development of the cultures, but according to Gustafson (2008), not necessarily produce any economic influence but helps to mix cultural or social influences between different worlds.

Contrary to that argument that transnationalism would not produce any economic influences, Gascón and Milano (2018) examine three tourism destination in Latin-America that development comes with a price, in fact, the higher range for both goods and real estate market. Lifestyle migrants have more than a social factor influential when introducing economic incentives from their home country, despite their previous economic power at home, it gives them an inherent power over the economy, a factor which is able to give a huge sphere of influence and ability to decide over the locals' will. The influence of lifestyle migrants resulted in an exclusion for native/local groups, and it emerged parallel socio-cultural societies that rarely intreated apart from some of the few services created by the lifestyle migration or which the lifestyle migrants wished to exist for their own benefits. Thus, the influential culture liaison may not, in every case be equal. However, it does create economic development, which in turn may result in the exclusion of others, normally those with less economic power. One must reflect on what kind of development and who is included or benefit from the development process for the transnational liaison.

Hayes (2015) noticed the lifestyle migrants in Vilcabamba, a tourism destination in Ecuador, made overemphasised their political view regarding their country of origin and became more *individualists* when choosing a new prepatent place. They exaggerative *counter-cultural* against the home culture and they proclaimed an *anti-industrial* of the new country. It is a sign of differentiating themselves from tourists, thus can position themselves as an opponent of the Global North in trying to preserve their vision of a new home. It perceived the new place as a more authentic life in this

search for this *good life*. Clausen and Velazquez (2011) argue that lifestyle migrants instead of frames themselves as tourists they may transform their new place as an extended version of the authentic tourist experience. Although, despite the authentic experience, they shaped their new host place with economic factor by bringing in both culture and economic capital to the community. There are transnational ties, however, depends on who created the ties and for what purpose. Instead of enhancing the local culture, the North Americans in Mexico draw up they perceived locality, which brings cultural elements from other parts of the country which not necessarily specifically from that part (Clausen & Velazquez 2011). The argument on transnational ties between cultures and countries benefit only becomes a chimaera in an attempt to draw an obvious positive conclusion in favour of certain development. Instead of an argument on that endorse cultures, it may exaggerate the intention to view that lifestyle migrants provide with '*good*' development. Seldom, however, the view on development is positioned on a local perspective, but rather it is the perspective of those who have power which brings *good* development and a positive change (Parpert & Valmeyer 2004). Discussions of development are beyond the scope of this thesis but certainly a gap further to develop. Nevertheless, the ties to their country of origin not necessarily need to be strong because they are living in a new place. Huete and Mantecón (2013) argue that the transnational ties are embedded within power of the lifestyle migrants where in this case British citizens could choose which culture to utilise for their own benefit and exclude those cultural aspects which are not for them favourable thus remain their perception of *status quo*. The status quo is held by the country because the policies are directed towards different groups who gain different benefit from policies. Schneider and Ingram (1993) analyse policies from the *social construction* of target of populations. The authors demonstrate how different groups in society are targeted differently, all though how the policies are constructed or how it is implemented. The messages of the police always have differentiated outcome send out to different groups in society (Ingram *et al.* 2007).

Indeed, as Gustafsson (2001) argues that life, cultures, norms, ideals and practices blend into a local adaptation, not become a necessity but rather as a choice of picking an identity. As seen from previous examples, the transnational ties shape communities in various ways. While the lifestyle migrants tend to choose their cultural and social aspects, they also bring in economic and political capital to shape their community, while the community has fewer options of choosing which aspects to include. The lifestyle migrants also choose which liaison to define while living there, thus can create a space of their perception, unable for the locals to choose what benefit it might entail receiving lifestyle migrants.

*A Socioeconomic or Sociocultural Aspect? Or Both?*

One of the most prominent debated aspects by researchers has been about the core motivation of dislocation in lifestyle migration. The emphasis from scholars put weight on whether it derives from an economic factor, but others reject the idea of privilege citizen to insisting focus on the longing of a better life. From a social-cultural perspective, O'Reilly and Benson gave a well-defined explanation as the "drive toward a better way of life, the meaningfulness and value ascribed to a particular place, also potential for self-realisation that is embedded within the notion of special mobility. The 'good life' takes many shapes and forms […] to seek refuge from workday describe as the shallowness, individualism, risk and insecurity of contemporary (Western) lifestyle in the received authenticity of meaningful place" (2009:3). It closely resemblance to experiences of a tourist, but where the emphasis on duration at the place. Mantecón (*et al.* 2008), in this regard, listed the differences between tourism and lifestyle migration through various scholars the different outcomes of the motivation, such as economic reasons firmly, the time comes to a more permanent stage, a different form of consumptions. Most similarities were in forms of organising life by using tourism relation regarding people but yet in a manner of the act of assimilation. However, Benson and O'Reilly (2009) argue that the purpose of being a lifestyle migrant comes with the intention of authenticity and a source of escapism *from* something to find new experiences. The most common feature of the migrants is the search for a better life from *before*, thus motivation of time or job not matter. Therefore, lifestyle migration may entail either retirement or full- and half-time employment (Benson & O'Reilly 2009). However, it may not be an obvious case that life becomes better *per se*, but instead, move abroad becomes a process and a search for *quality of life* more than the actual outcome after dislocating to another country (Benson & O'Reilly 2009; Huete *et al.* 2013).

Taking this into consideration, *migration* reflects in tourism where they migrants justify similarities between tourism-migration mobility. Janoschka and Haas (2014) specify lifestyle migration not only for a capitalistic migration, but it is a cause their ability to move with their passport power, which is able to search for '*freedom*' to have a 'good life'. Thus, the main sources derive from a search for the 'sweet spot' of where the *quality of life* exists. Huete (2005) recognises specific drivers with often comes, in her study in Southern Spain, with a perception of warmer weather, health, economic factors, and which been previous tourism development and the particular lifestyle which gives them this extra *quality of life*. King (*et al.* 1998) examine British International Retirement Migration, who concluded that it does not necessarily need to be rich individuals. Despite the economic background, they search a better life and a place with heat from the sun and another culture. Although never highlighted by the author, the missing point is on the relative economic factor

which benefits from being able to make the step to move to a new host country. Similar to what could be seen by the informants in the case of Portugal that pointed out that they had a much cheaper livelihood there (Appendix 2). Lifestyle migrants' choice of place often entails in a search for somewhere of the lower cost of living (Gustafson 2001; 2008; Mantecón *et al.* 2008; Benson & O'Reilly 2009).

Examine these aspects further, Clausen and Valazquez (2018) noted economic incentive not pursue travel, but rather is related power at the new host country. Their study in Mexico shows that North Americans, despite the status, have a lack of policy direction, which in turn shapes the sociological attributions by a transnational community. The transnational community did not come with a blank card. Instead the migrants mainly from North America brought with them the social agency and power, and not at least, cultural capital, which helps them to shape the space they settled. The authors point out that "scholars assume tourism activities as *given* without questioning their origin" (Clausen & Velazquez 2018:64). In other words, tourism as well as lifestyle migration, is embedded with power differences and thus not based on equal grounds, instead it may be groups which have the power - cultural, economic and/or political - that shape the community.

From another example in the Gold Coast Spain where the lifestyle migration created conflicts between the state and local population, where the locals resisted the lifestyle migrants when the state established new laws against them as they felt that the new law made lifestyle gain the (perceived) power to be able to resist the local community (Janoschka 2011b; 2010). In this regard, lifestyle migrants became a form of elitism that they change their life to another (poorer) country, changing their sociological setting to become a 'hyperbourgeoisie' (Hiernaux 2009). As from the Mexico case where the migrants are medium- and high-income groups and not need to be retired and not necessarily need to be from those classes (Clausen & Velazquez 2018). The lifestyle migrants are influencing the place even if that is no intention, and the new host community becomes an 'elite power' must not be neglected when analysing the context.

As stated previously above, lifestyle migrants may not necessarily be directly from the high-end hierarchy of the economic spectra and may not perhaps be wealthier individuals who choose to move, but rather wealthier in comparison to the local population. Arguing, as Torkinton (2010; 2012) or Benson and O'Reilly (2009), that lifestyle migrants are not a motivated by economic and political factors, and that lifestyle migration not lead necessarily to better opportunities but comes down to a *quality of life*. Instead, it must be argued that the very choice of the destination can be for other the reasons than just socio-cultural affiliations. It can even be institutionalised from the nation-state which creates beneficial reforms in bilateral agreements, e.g. tax break giving benefit

when moving to the country (Åkerlund 2013) and policies which give a certain message (Schneider & Ingram 1993; Ingram *et al.* 2007). Ignoring the socio-economic power factors will miss the target of core context of the phenomenon. In cases such as British people in Spain are not able to move back for a future economic downturn (Huete *et al.* 2013; Acker & Dwyer 2004), are realisations only after making a choice, and this is a subject which turns outside this thesis.

The ability to mobility and freedom of travel not is only from an economic privilege but an inherent structural privilege. Åkerlund and Sandberg (2015:353) summarised it:
*"The concept of privilege illustrates structures and systems which facilitate the performance of lifestyle mobilities among certain groups of individuals. It also illustrates social identities and positions arising from this privilege, how to place identities are constructed and mediated and how these positions and representations affect both the mobility decision and the ways in which the 'new lifestyles' are performed".*

The *quality of life* is an essential factor for lifestyle migration, different from tourism they search for a new life with a new desire of something better than the country of origin. Ignore economic dimension might skew the idea of the core motivation. As an example, Olsson and O'Reilly (2017:133) in their special issue of migration have an aim to strap "the role of lifestyle [to be] moving away from the view of Lifestyle Migrants as a distinct category of migrant, and away from an emphasis on fluid migration forms in the context of privilege". Arguing of such essence and ignore socio-economic factors will make a naïve image of the phenomenon, which becomes impossible to view it with a nuance dynamic without losing major building block of the basic structure of what constitutes lifestyle migration.

There is a dual system of how to view the lifestyle migrants. Either it might be a narrow association of a bourgeois freedom that modernisation allows them to be mobile or legitimisation of the one who has the power to define reality (Huete *et al.* 2009) in the new country. In compare to tourism, lifestyle migrants assume themselves as an adequate citizen/resident to integrate themselves, and where it is claimed that the nature of the lifestyle migrants have a tendency to facilitate to blend different cultures which give a cultural mix or hybridity (Gustafson 2008). From another viewpoint, the cultural mix not necessarily needs to be emphasised and may even create two separate communities where lifestyle migrants settle in larger numbers (Clausen & Velazquez 2018). It is expected that both the host and lifestyle migrants benefit from a transnational exchange. Instead, lifestyle migrants establish their homes within a resident contact, draws different conclusions of their residency (Janoschka 2011a; 2011b).

## Characterisation of Nordic Lifestyle Migration

Before entering the theory chapter, first, it will be brief examine the literature on Swedish migration. The sheer number of articles bring Swedish (among other Northern European nationalities), an already well documented topic, especially from southern Spain (Olsson 2017; Woube 2017; Huete & Mantecón 2011; Huete *et al.* 2013; Gustafsson 2001; 2008) and Malta (Åkerlund 2013; Åkerlund & Sandberg 2015) who took the topic on Swedish citizens within different forms of lifestyle migration, where the retirement migrations are the most common topic researched. Portugal is to a much lesser degree covered, but e.g. examined by Torkinton (2010; 2012), with only a few mentioning of the Nordic citizen. And only a handful of articles of Portugal, the Malta and Spain are destinations to be able to compare due to the fairly similar contexts both European countries and within the same distance range. Even though it showed that i.e. retiree migrants, come with different background, Portugal, Spain, Italy; all have their distinct characteristics and may not essentially have very similar (Casado-Diaz *et al.* 2004). The numbers of the research directing lifestyle migration to Portugal are almost non-existing, let alone Swedish or northern European migration is even fewer. English-speaking literature, also both Portuguese and Spanish journals, gives very few examples. Torkinton (2010; 2012) and (King *et al.* 1998) explore mostly Algarve region (south of Portugal), whole Patuleia (2011) and Roca (*et al.* 2011) and Martins and Cavaco (2018) taking from the Oeste (north of Lisbon), but a fairly unknown are but where it is opportunities for a study field (Torkinton 2010).

The studies of Swedish lifestyle migrants cover mainly within primary two places, in Malta, the Swedes tend to settle within a dispersed area (Åkerlund 2013), and in Spain where they tend to search to enclaves (Huete 2005; Huete & Mantecón 2011), primarily the retirees. Based on these discussions, the lifestyle migration is part of both *quality of life* dimension and a privilege dimension which drives the motivation, both features which are common in Swedish and Northern European migration. Choices may not only be factors of knowing the culture or sociological aspects such as an opportunity of learning new people from that country but instead, for many individuals, the choice of the country becomes state-funded by tax incentives, cheap housing cost or low cost of living as a romanticized living (Åkerlund 2013). As well, they keep a secure connection to Sweden and to keep the link in order to gain the best of the two worlds (Åkerlund & Sandberg 2015), which mimic a self-freedom - away from the coldness of the country (weather and social). Some use their trans-locality and multilocality position to gain benefit from both from, e.g. healthcare (Gustafson 2001) to receive what they perceive most optimal. Some even use a seasonal retirement, making strategies to gain the best of the countries (Gustafson 2001). By retirees, some political-legal

initiatives and arrangement give them status to gain benefit (Gustafsson 2008) but give no further attention to that they may use statuses to gain double or transnational benefits.

Olsson (2017) closer examined Swedish citizen *social clubs* in Spain. Although not the main focus of the article, social clubs gives insight into the difficulty of keeping the legal status both according to the Swedish and Spanish states. National social clubs helped to clarify the legal status, such as having the right tax number, their legal status of the retirement fund. Some Swedish citizens are not sure of their permanent stay in the country because they have not yet decided where to live, they may live within an in-between system (Woube 2017). The Swedish migration to southern Europe characterises from a pull effect from the lower cost and the style of living (Gustafson 2008) looking for the Spanish lifestyle, which reflects their imagination (Huete 2005). The connection to back to Sweden is in a high degree, because of its long-time at the destination, especially Spain, has been in mind for the Swedes due to the vacation their resort destination (Gustafson 2008) connected with a long history of vacationers arriving in Spanish territory over a long period.

Huete and Mantecón (2013) made one of the most comprehensive studies with Northern European, among other citizens, living in Spain. They saw sociological and political implication when this group lost freedom mobility to return to their homeland due to the bubble burst of the inflated real estate market. Suddenly it changed their previous apathy within the Spanish political system and became heavily involved, while also a second group turned absent of the political interest not concerning themselves. It noticed they instead took a decision within an informal path and put concerns over the language and the lack of willingness to exchange experience between the community groups. They had no prior experience in using the social system, therefore does not or cannot use the informal system, in comparison to those who are from the place (Huete & Mantecón 2011). Interestingly, there is a double informality, where the Northern European on the one hand use their informality between the system, on the other hand, they cannot or does not use the country's informal system. It tends to stretch what is concerning legal status or policy level, but in another way, lifestyle migrants do not have equally social-cultural means to informality not to be included within the new host country. The lifestyle migrants suffer an *internal otherness* and thus become more dominant, highlighted when political struggle arises (Janoschka 2010). Lifestyle migrants' informality is used in a situation such as passports and nationalities where the (il)legal part does not provide aid in this situation and therefore next we must look closer to what informality imply.

## 7. Theory

### Formal & Informal

Tourism studies are on the horizon include different forms of informality. Cave and Dredge (2018) recognise that alternative economy - informal, unpaid labour practice, community co-creating - creates variety where individuals are acting outside different fields to create further and/or other exchanges values beyond pure economic reasons. Furthermore, in tourism there are unnumbered forms of encounters of the informality, all from taxi, tour or city guide, food, to sex service and drug traffic (Simoni 2015) which for exchange between the receiver and the one who give the service, operates within a formals space to reaches specific goals, not only purely economic aspects but also stretch into a social or cultural fields. It is essential to understand what actions are possible to take through informality, where it frequently in research a put a light on and used by those individuals with less power. First, it will show the research on how in different methods informality is used and thereafter it will examine how lifestyle migrants utilise informality to make their living situation possible.

At first glance, informality connects and predominantly referred to as the black or illegal spectrum, such as in the informal economy. Some decades back, scholar took a narrow perspective on informality, Porters and Schauffler argue that "the informal entrepreneur is not a low- productivity marginal actor, but something of an economic hero who manages to survive and even prosper despite state oppression" (1993:40). It was seen as a part of the social order, it where it not resinise a gap, however instead put the informal economy as a failure of the state. Some authors tend to recognise the formality as the legal right standard, which is the aim towards, and so informalisation leads to poverty (Nazier & Ramadan 2015) but fail to recognise the aim of the informality.

To gain a more comprehensive perspective of the field of informality, it will be taken knowledge from other fields of studies beyond the tourism sphere which some of fields had gone deeper within the incorporated informality into other views on what informality constitute. Urban development studies give such a perspective. In examining the unregulated forms of informal urban settlements and how they are formed, Roy (2005), argues that the link between the state and the informality in three aspects; (1) In the lack of acknowledgement from the state of some of their citizens' who become exempted from the policy planning. The state (un)willingly produce the informality. A lack of distribution of power to individual may lead them to use informality as a mean to operate within their reality that had been established by the state. (2) A state may create rights to exclude some citizens that results in unevenly distributed power. Thus, informality is a

mean to restore 'order' and bring the informality within a formalised market. A fundamental issue is the unequal distribution of wealth and ownership among citizens, which in turn shape their space or limit affordability (Krueckeberg, citrate in Roy 2005). This example was from a *global south* context but fitted equally into a *Global North* context. The state has legitimised the mobility and migration flow by policy, but still able to use informality in their status as foreign citizens gain a certain lifestyle, thus, gain unequal power in regard of their non-citizenship. (3) Lastly, Roy's argument on policy tells that informality within urban planning often glorify the image by the nation-state on what constitutes as universal and 'good' or 'best' practice in planning and policy, and how the state support an effort to constructing a utopian vision but which never able to reach those claims. With these three points, informality as such does not becomes a residuary product of *good effort*s which antipodal bad or failed planning of policy and law. Instead, informality is the edge of what policy is able to accomplish, indeed a product of the never-to-be-able closing gap from creating policies, but rather an always further expanding of policy which goes hand-in-hand when plans are father established.

Informality in migration studies also issuing how to operate and mediate their role within formalised space. Bastia (2015) looked closer to South-South migration in Buenos Aires Argentina where other ethnic state citizens choose the city due to multinational agreements, but the alien citizens have few or no documentation, but alternatively mediate within the formality organising themselves in a formal group within informal settlements and dwellings to give a voice to the governmental bodies. Despite the sort-of-informality, sometimes wrongly refer as an *illegal action*, they used informality as a response to the exclusion of the nation-state. Thus, informality may never become clearly defined. These alien citizens have, due to its formality in a foreign nation legitimise become members of a particular community, formalise their stay and formalised themselves in groups with a voice that helps them to air their thought and concerns, which it turn becomes hard to differentiate their status from other nationals,

In further example, Biggs (*et al.* 2012) examined informality within the tourism and economic, saw that informal economy in Thailand was widespread due the communitarian responses to the crisis that gives the members resilience where the formal economy not reaches. In crisis situations such as the tsunami 2004 villages could use informal power and network with quick agency response to reach particular aims. While the state supported in various sort, the informal sector had a higher capacity in which response to save their life because it indicates the embeddedness in their business. The informal network structured in social capital that gave civic associations and engagement as an asset (Putnam 1993). In response to the slow government structure, the social capital build network

between family members, enterprises, local community, or between local government and individuals. Instead, Biggs (*et al.* 2012) notice that other (external) entities which not was tied or took benefit from informality. Only those who had links within the community could act in a similar vain to community members. It shows that informality between community members helps to respond to national economic downturns with other sources of incomes because they could share these sources through other means in respond to the crises.

From these three examples from a different study, fields have similarities indeed, as Altrock (2012) argued that formal should *not* be linked informal with legal or illegal. There is not a clear depiction of where the formality begins and where it turns over to an informal action. The three examples from Roy (2005), Biggs (et al. 2012) and Bastia (2015) examine informality form community members with lesser power, where (non)citizens using a field of informality that has been out locked from or using the gap of policy's formalised field. The neo-liberal economic and utopian top-down directed policy-making limitations allow 'alternative' navigational field.

Nevertheless, from higher power structures such as governmental and nation-states, itself structures might also utilise the informality field to their benefit. Dredge (2005) saw that governmental structures in Australia included informal networks in policies. Governmental structures must, therefore, seek an informal network to execute their power. It forms collaborative action which blurred the role of what is considered as public and privet actions in tourism policymaking. When the government seek group formation diction, they went back and forth through formality. These neo-liberal trends, Altrock (2012) argues, lead to informality that could be used against those with power, complementary and supplementary, which cuts welfare. In turn, it leads to alternative practices. Working within an informal field allow those who have unequal opportunities offered by a formalised structure and who are provided with an inadequate social means such as education to obtain abilities to use other means (Truong 2018) to navigate between policy gaps.

Tourism is embedded with informality that turns beyond the control of authorities, but the informality can, and must, be prolonged within forms of activities other than pure economical (Simoni 2015). The informality, as such, might not be linked to illegal or formal but should be dimensioned to the same practice (Altstock 2012). The vision on informality in such regard draw attention away as a pure 'survival mechanisms' (Porters & Schauffler 1993) or as it should be a 'last resort' (Nazier & Ramadan 2015) to more nuanced and healthy approach on informality. Informality goes through power differences and hierarchies, used in different methods to accomplish an objective which not had been included in a formalised structure. The wealth creating

is not an end-goal, as neo-liberalism would argue for, but informality explores its limitations (Truong 2018). Indeed, regarding Porters and Schauffler (1993) and Truong (2018) it gives a notion, thus not explicitly said, the non-wealthy take advantage of the informal sector because it is where they can operate – thus might have less regulatory control, and within this field improve their livelihood.

The argument from this comes from the notion of privilege; these examples are mostly based on low-income individuals to navigate through the policy system. Similar to the informal tourism encounter (Simoni 2015) who help the tourists to navigate further than economic gains. The privileged lifestyle can in a similar vein, as any individuals, to navigate through dimensions of informality related to what a tourist aims to encounter within informality. The lifestyle migrant and tourists alike will seek social and cultural benefit through informality within their perspective (Simoni 2015). In return, it generates the desired lifestyle.

### *Lifestyle migration & informality*

Migration forms within different fields within governance from a nation-state where lifestyle migrations (and tourism) is embedded within other policy fields, more regarding trade and international human rights law (Betts 2011). In the European Union, lifestyle migrants take advantage of the legal system which allows countries, based on the flexible framework, gives formal rights to move within the other nations' boundaries without constraints (Ackers & Dwyer 2004). Within the regulatory and legal framework some individuals might "'cherry picking' and the careful manipulation of European and national systems" by buying a property and given themselves legal status in property speculation and within income tax regimes or other fiscal frameworks (Ackers & Dwyer 2004:471). Their transnationality is embedded within the core aspect of European Union, where countries create a political project to bring modernity to a place with the help of the mobility (Janoschka 2010), or in a way believe in bringing the modernity to where such migrants will settle. Laws are created to enable a commitment with the idea of what the European Union contains and be a part of the European project. All citizen should share the same ideal – European citizenship.

However, migration policies create complications if informality is within different borders and have different legal system, then people would fall behind the legal system, such as such King (*et al.* 1998*)* notice the under-registered lifestyle migrants in Spain's coast, especially the retirees, that went under the radar from the national and local governance to avoid certain restrictions such as registrations in the country sometimes without state control. Even though they were outside the official electoral and legal democratic voice, they form an effective control of the place they settled, and profoundly

influence their community and surroundings. Gehring (2016) gave indication from retirement migrants using their countrymen's social network to mediate between the current host country public healthcare system laws. It required them to register themselves in the new host county or make privet insurance. Gehring (2016) also showed that Dutch citizens used different status as European citizen or tourism insurance to still have their foot in their home country, which then not completely cut their ties. Similar to the low-income individuals made from previous examples of the *global south*, the lifestyle migrants had a privilege of social capital, which is created within different fields of the informality. The power comes with the passport and the citizenship, thus not in search for economic value (c.f. Benson & O'Reilly 2009) but rather search for a symbolic value (Clausen & Velazquez 2011).

This ends the theory chapter and literature review. With all consideration of these two chapters, it will analyse the empirical data. Next chapter outlines the methodological structure from fieldwork and empirical data.

## 8. Methodology

To contextualise a result of the empirical data, it is best believed to capture aspects from both before and after the fieldwork. Inspired by Graugaard's (*forthcoming*) article on self-reflexive of the researcher vs researched, in a similar vein I will apply personal reflections of the process. When applied similar ethnographic methods in the Arctic as previous research, she realised these methods was taken for granted and began to noticed flaws within her own fieldwork. Therefore, being transparent of the outcome has become an essential tool in a reflective mode of the methodology and be a part of the learning process. Presenting and comparing the idealistic view of research methods but also of the outcome is an important tool of reflectivity. The reflexive thought process and guided by failures which allows a transparent view of the methodological chapter and which creates validity. Moreover, in this master thesis I read generally describes methodological terminology more than its effect and focus more on aspects of describing the actions and less on what terms imply apart, in seeking to captures acts and thoughts throughout the process to gain insight into my action – away from images that tend to glorify processes of right or ethical decisions which only told in the aftermath. Presenting a more comprehensive view of the fieldwork will shed light on the philosophical aim of qualitative research is believed to demonstrate a trustworthy(ier) methodological processes.



*Image 2: At Cascais/Estoril ocean promenade in search for informants*

## Research Inquiry

Basing this master thesis research on a qualitative ethnographic constructivist approach, that aims to catch an *emic* perspective of the phenomenon of lifestyle migration to explain individuals and their experience of the world which explains their world as heterogeneous as possible (Ayikoru 2009). The initial core focus was on interviews of Swedish people living in Portugal where the informants themselves explain their view of their world; how they are placed and interactions with their world. The research was conducted through methodological ethnographic tools, mainly interviews and partly by causal conversations frequently falls under a broader set of categories of qualitative research (Adams 2012). The ethnographic methods examine everyday life from a certain period, examine of what is done and said within both formal or informal context that allows evaluating arisen issues from available from the examined context (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007).

The ontology bases a broad set of data from a wide range of interests, age, gender, position. Previous studies in similar fields frequently specify cases to narrow it down within categorisation, results a narrow empirical data gives similar results. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) arguing that tourism research often holds a pre-set of values before the research when putting the research object in narrow-defined categories. Indeed, the nature of tourism (and here migration), generally is embedded within complex systems of categories; host or local, foreigner or tourists, home or away, different gender, class, age, financial liability, personal history, among many other features. The multitude produces numerous terminologies and categories that are frequently used within the process of methodology. Furthermore, also drawn from the instructional discussion, the nature of tourism research and especially within lifestyle migration, it excludes large groups what is researched by using broad sets of categories, resulting in view tourists from one angle often without following one specific purpose, e.g. only examine retirees. Typology, as such, usually fails to provide further insight within the subject and the tourism interaction (Phillimore & Goodson 2004) and articles thus turn out with the same affirming answers. On the one hand, it verifies the data from different studies, but on the other hand, it does not shed light on another phenomenon within the same context. Therefore, it is important to set a few limited barriers of whom to include within a case study. Therefore, I had gone in a contrary direction from the previous study within a similar field where the general consideration on specific categorisation has been dissolved, partly because the field allows it, partly because it may be the newness within the field of informality is not yet covered in greater extent and therefore must not to narrow it down into a specific category. It believed to minimises a bias nature which in beforehand chose a direction - a tendency from the previous studies. On the other hand, however, it might fail to englobe a broad of sample size that

results in diverse response not able to analyse and compare the collected empirical data. Moreover, ethnographic research requires a flexibility process as the already researched knowledge quickly become tried out. Thus, if not push the boundaries, it cannot go into knew epistemological areas (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). In a global sense, the aim to retrieve a broader data set was done, although there is a spread of the data which is a sense gives many strings which had to be attached. However, it gives an enrichment of the analysis.

With this stated, the subject handled aimed to expand the epistemological boundary to analyses the context through basically three sets of categories; Lifestyle Migration (1) which outline in the literature review; the case set in and around Lisbon area (2), and link or origin to Sweden (3).



*Image 3: View over Lisbon before interview*

## Methodological Case Studies

The fieldwork on Swedish lifestyle migrants was based on a single case study, situated in the Lisbon surroundings. The scene will be further outlined in detail in the following chapter. Case studies and when study communities, it must encompass a real-life and in-depth situation where inquiries rely on different sources and different technical situations that guide the data collection of the aim of the research (Yin 2009). Apart from the Lisbon area, the case study is based on the Swedish lifestyle

migrants to receive multiple viewpoints and to compare these views in various angle. Therefore, I told the informants to invite friends and family, either Swedish or foreign citizens, e.g. Portuguese friends. However, it was not in greater extent realised as the informants did not in a greater extent did it themselves, but it should have given balance and multi-angles to overcoming a straightforward point of view from the Swedish and from one type of group. In those two interviews it happened, the other nationalities did instead counterpart some of the answers give their point of view on how to define the Swedish groups and their identity where they belong.

The main contradiction within employ case studies in social science, especially within the constructivist approach, is generalisations. Guba (1990) argues that a generalisation is not possible in constructivist research and should only reflect on what is observed and analysed from an observable world, thus impossibly not through a mindset to capture the 'real' world. Contrastingly, Yin (2009) states that there is a different kind of generalising, where the case study must generalise from the theory, but not about the world. Therefore the case studies necessary should apply *analytical* generalisation where the researcher must compare the empirical data within the case. However, such arguments are not satisfying to explain the contradiction within the case studies' generalisation as constructivists observable universe should not generalise the empirical data. Case studies must, therefore, be viewed case by case. It must also explain the fractions of the existing world not to become a single phenomenon incomparable with other cases, but where the result can make epistemological contributions that are able to generalise from the specific case, it must, therefore, be done with an analytical *abductive* process. Thomas (2010) argue that the case study generally bases argument on looser generalisation *induction*, taking the small to the big, but often fails to use the theory correctly - cases alone cannot confirm theories. Analysing abductively makes it possible to generalisation 'fluidly', i.e. going back-and-forth from the theory and the empirical evidence still aim to admit failures and limits of the analysis process (Thomas 2010). Abduction reasoning can confirm both theory and case simultaneously, better confirm the phenomenon in a general sense.

To summarise, this case study is based on a shred of multi-sources evidence, from informants, and invite different persons which broader the validity for the result which will be the base on abductive analytical reasoning that grounded on both theories and the empirical evidence.

## Ethnographic Research

Focusing on qualitative empirical data collection will enhance the new phenomenon of informality a concept which is on the horizon as a field within tourism. Ethnographic research, which

comprises research within a small phenomenon, the researcher must recognise and position themselves as a critical interpreter of the social aspects (Patel 1997, citrate in Hollinshead 2004). As already implied, I have lived several years and already established acquaintances and network might but also a quite clear vision of Portugal in general from work in tourism information service as well as academic specialisation in Portuguese-speaking societies, I have a quite clear insight of the social aspects. The ontological considerations in tourism, Hollinshead (2004) argues, must fully acknowledge to families with the study field, and to be able to use tools correctly, where the complex field tourism is constantly changing. Both require time to understand given the right tool, in this case, interviews and conversation notes. The ethnographic fieldwork was comprised on March 11-28, 2019 but started before in the search for informants to make quality time at the place. Adams (2012) argues that ethnographic research must provide a long-term connection to the place, to combine various research to understand the nature of the socio-cultural conation to the community. With agreeing on this statement - to overcome a short extent on the field, the case study already is already well-known, thus no effort in knowing the surroundings was needed, the subject of culture. Although it has been important to understand how to use both countries, Portugal and Sweden, to be able to live in a new county and how they might use informal methods. Fieldwork and this case study were based primarily on interviews as the empirical source to gain knowledge about different methods, while secondarily empirical data was through informal conversation which should gain potential ideas of the phenomenon as well as potential questions which could be asked for later interviews. Ethnographic research implies that the research should understand the relationships of what is told from the participants, draw the elicit information what has been relevant from their side (Rossetto 2014) and to analyse it within the theories. The theories have been chosen before the fieldwork was started, so the aim of the fieldwork was already clear. The participant observation has been done between interviews which search for other comments or more questions which could be raised during interviews.

*Image 4: Meeting informants in the morning*

## *Interviews*

The focus of gather empirical data was through interviews. This part will debate the philosophical aspects of what interviews entail for this research, after that, it handles the process of sample collection, and finally, what interview techniques used and how it was performed.

### *Considerations for methodological interviews*

The objective of empirical data collection aims to find informants in a real setting – for them a familiar place where they consider as daily life. It may not describe or alternate their reality, but it maintains their perception, values and norms (Holstein & Gubrium 1994, through Hollinshead 2004) of the case. Both the epistemological searching and the ontological setting resulted in different implications when meeting the informants in a 'natural environment', which becomes in a place where the intormants find themselves most contestable. A result perceived to derives from a specific environment - one ontological setting closest to daily life, thus closer to the aim of the thesis. The informants met at their location is believed to maintain aspects from their daily life, and not alternating the thought if meeting them in Sweden or conduct the interviews by phone. Not to claim that one setting produces more or better valid empirical data, but because the setting

produces a flavour of response which is closer to what is their place thus, it may maintain norms and values from that place.

Referring to the power structures in interviews is essential, especially questions regarding sensitive questions such as to identify and informality. Kvale (2006:483) highlights that interview sessions are not a dialogue between two persons but are a product of a hierarchical setting with an inherent asymmetry where one has the power to distribute questions, time to speak, and subject in the search for some substance in the question, or, in search of "interview-produced knowledge". Few of the many details will be brought up here, but the one that is an important aspect for the interview sessions, it had been a 'therapeutic' and more-or-less manipulative setting to obtain substantial answer (Kvale 2006). It was not possible to dismantle the objective directly to the informants. Instead, the sessions were constructed to find a middle path in between disclose the objective and hold an open conversation between the informant and the interviewer still an aim to respect their view. In order to do so, I aired privet experience to expand the conversation for open and honest answers to gain an insight on their daily basis to gain knowledge on how their transnational integration which allowed them to use both countries. However, some of the questions asked became too detailed, which made it difficult for the participants to answer. Questions about citizenship and responsibilities (Appendix 1) were not firmly responded. Some questions were changing in the during the process or eliminated because it gave no answers. Others I kept, which indeed was hard to answer, but still kept them in trying to receive some answers.

### *Contact with Informants & Sampling*

The mission to find contacts to interview sessions, apart from the above consideration, it aimed to have a broad spectrum of informants with different background and through different sources. At first sight, before fieldwork started, I tried to move away from my established network to gain new insights beyond my pre-established assumption that give a more view which give a natural insight. Nevertheless, in the end, my network helped to reach certain people anyway. Some of which also became part of conversation notes with their conversation in the talk about the subject.

I contacted informants from basically three methods; first, was to contact people from a close acquaintance, but still not close to me, avoiding bias. Second, was from social media groups, especially from Facebook, where I received most of my replays. Lastly, third, meeting people on the street who try to engage in conversation, which eventually leads to interviews. For the two last points, I tried to use *snowball sampling* method, were both from my personal network and from the informants, where I receive some more informants (Bryman 2012). The method was used to reach people who not should have been reached from another method (Bryman 2012; Bernard 2006)

with the benefit, what Bernard (2006) highlights, the possible sample size could grow for each recommendation, and where few members which who are disbursed with a vast area.

Over 60 persons for interviews had been contacted; from the street, in Facebook groups, and through acquaintances. Finally, it became 17 in-depth interviews of totally 22 informants. Three interviews were in groups; one was a couple, one of pair of friends one, and one group with Portuguese and Swedish relatives, and the single majority interview. All except one was recorded with permission and transcribed, lasted between 50 minutes up to 2 hours, but the majority around 1 hour. The interviews were transcribed directly translated to English and some non-relevant information were cut due to it was considered outside the main purpose, or it was personal chat not related as empirical data for the thesis. The only interview not was recorded instead was detailed written notes during the interview sessions. All transcriptions are in the appendix (Appendix 2). The interviews were in Swedish except one as the wife could not speak Swedish. All the informants are based only on references, in agreement not to disclose their identity, thus given fictive names and classified with roundabout age group (*young adults*, *middle age* or *retirees*). The time living in Portugal varied from a few months to 16 years. They were living in 4 different areas, *Lisbon*, *Coast/Cascais*, *Lisbon Suburb*, or *surrounding Lisbon* (in the rural areas). Their daily activity varied from being taken *retirement*, *working* or *self-employed*, or *not working*.

### *Interviews Sessions*

Interviews come with an objective or the aim to gather information, which already discussed, involves power relation (Kvale 2006) which is undisputable must be overreached to get satisfying answers to the main research question but make the balance not to overwhelm with the questions directly taking up the result. Questions must reflect the situation. There are two interviews that are on the mind, either semistructured or unstructured interviews. The advantage with the above method gives an informal setting, given out by general topics, while the latter method allows the structure of guides what need to be covered (Bernard 2006). The aim of the interviews was definite, to know the details of their informality where semistructured benefit, but also more their place-bound situation where semistructured gives allows to receive answers to specific doubts. Finally, I follow the advice from Bernard (2006:213):

*"Unstructured interviewing is excellent for building initial rapport with people, before moving to more formal interviews, and it's perfect for talking to informants who would not tolerate a more formal interview […] structured interviewing—and even semistructured interviewing—feel somehow unnatural […that…] can get in the way of your ability to communicate freely with key informants"*

The format of an instructed interview was used to gain an understanding of their tendency to answer questions and to give flow in the conversations, especially in small talks and, what I in this thesis call *conversation notes* (Appendix 3). The unstructured nature of casual interviews allowed further insights in the in-depth interviews to seek new questions. Therefore, an interview guide was made (Appendix 1). During the more formal sessions, the goal was to become a form of the conversation by using the nature of unstructured interviews. All questions in the interview guide were not always covered because of the necessity of the answer, the flow of the conversation, and not the duration of the sessions. For the most part, the sessions were open, which opened several ideas of how informants use both countries and informality. Their ideas and thoughts about it were not directly mentioned in the questions. However, it reviled mostly through subordinate clauses, as they not really understood or realize the necessity. It might have come from the conformity of the nature of the conversation. Some informants told that they expected to be asked narrow questions of yes and no, instead I came with open, non-obvious questions with direct answers, and conversation pieces with own interpretation and reflection, making the interview sessions more of conversations rather than a '*question-and-answer*' sessions, but hard questions to answer. However, also, several ideas were covered to getting a piece of in-depth information. Jenning (2005) suggested that interviews can come in several layers of sessions of interviews, while two meetings/encounters, and/or different group constellations (i.e. alone or in groups), and with different formality, it might result in different answers which leads to different knowledge. However, it never succeeded to find the participants for more interviews than one. So, it kept the initial structure with one meeting. It could be interesting thoughts but was not very apricated by the informants. There was also in all interviews asked to get more people at the sessions, but few of the informants took the initiative or were willing to speak with other people in a first meeting. Only two of the meetings it took the form of more than one person (apart from couples), which lead to several interesting thoughts.

## *Casual Conversations*

During the fieldwork period, as a method of understanding the subject, I had in various forms added a supplementary collection method to gather empirical data apart from interviews. From my previous contacts and their acquaintances at the location, I took several opportunities to talk to them about the subject. I did not record these, as the in-depth interview, due to the conversations were not about to give information in the first place, but conversation lead to these subjects, and they were talking about the subject of how they felt which gave valuable information as empirical data. The gathering has not been systematic but instead asked casual questions of various sorts. In some conversations, it might not produce a direct trust between the informants and me as a

researcher. In some situations, only ask causal questions was enough to make it suspicion, which asks for records would work for them to be out of the question.

Employ such method produced ideas and thoughts, where the data and facts which both could support a further developing the questions for upcoming interviews and which helps to add trustworthy data and triangulation for the analysis. The method brings alternative points of view not to be bound to an interview situational environment where the dichotomy of interviewer-informant did not occur (Kvale 2006) thus may produce another set of answers alternative to what comes in the interview sessions.



*Image 5: One of Cascais's beaches. One of the places where interview sessions were held*

## Analysing & Coding

After multiple responses from informants, in the post-interview analytical process, I aim to find links between different responses from various interviews (Rossetto 2014), which in return expands and verify one subject. The interviews were during an extended time, and sometimes contained much information which was purposely done to give comfort and trust and to revile an later answer, therefore coding of the content has been done through predetermining codes which arose while reading and transcribing interviews (Hsieh & Shannon 2005) through the transcriptions of the interviews and notes from conversation. Therefore, the analysis derives from a *summative content* where it goes through data, searching for keywords which guide the process. It helped to define themes and patterns which emerged to the predefined labels set beforehand, still however try to be flexible in what content emerges. The labels guide by the theoretical and literature review which had been written and before fieldwork, which in turn had been guided by the research questions.

The analysis is, as discussed above, in an abductive logic (Thomas 2010), which allow using both fieldwork data and research as triangulation and verification on of fieldwork.

## Validity

Researchers should, as Hammersley & Atkinson (2007:15) puts it, "have no external, absolutely conclusive standard by which we judge it", whereas the knowledge gained in fieldwork must be assessed on its own. The result of the methods used must lead to a dependability perspective (Hirschman 1986). A human being in a social world makes the researcher informative in different methods. Thus, they must react to the given situation to be subjective and erroneous not to become bias (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). In other words, the researcher must be informed or educated of the world to make set the truth to be credible (Hirschman 1986). In this sense, as already discussed, the world which is interpreted in research is reasonably small sample size will not or cannot tell the whole picture or the 'truth', but mare produces a story of the informants which may further lead to new content to further research. More data, however, does not itself imply a more reliable result (Ryan 2005).

It is considered in this master thesis that knowledge must be a multi-layered and multi-faced which entails it may develop various interpretation (Nonaka 1994) which can verify gathered empirical data with the help of personal knowledge from a personal background (Nonaka & von Krogh 2009). In other words, my previous knowledge as being a resident in Portugal, it helped to validate the empirical data. On the one hand, the knowledge gained can be compared, as well as it was compared and discussed with the informants. I can thus help with my own previous experience and knowledge judge the gathered empirical data. Therefore, the data can become both transferable and data may last over time. It can be conformable; the data is supportable in a non-prejudiced manner (Hirschman 1986). However, as discussed above, the pre-set knowledge may have a bias input of ideas that I might perceive beforehand. The data must speak on a *just* term with a 'fresh' mindset to overcome these barriers. By using a multi-layered data collection and with the extensive knowledge of the case, and place it with the knowledge of research, it contributes to an insight of the content which may enrich the material to find new paths in the research.

## Ethical Perspective

The fieldwork was guided on an ethical principle that participants had been anonymous. All names are feigned, among other details, identification to locations or other names which might be mentioned. No personal data should trace to the informants unless they reviewed their transcribed

interview. When contacted, all informants voluntarily contacted me after publishing at the Facebook groups. In that occasions, when anyone who no longer wanted to participate, it was assured their details and conversation were deleted, which not occurred. All informants had a general knowledge of the purpose of the interview beforehand. The context of the conversation and the questions would summarise the purpose, or if that was not clear, they got answers to the questions afterwards. The informants also had the possibility to read the transcription or even confirm the transcription, which one participant wanted to send and read the transcription. None of the informants wants to confirm it before, which was an option.

## Discussion of Methodological and Research Limitations

The major theme with the methodology chapter has been on the previous knowledge and assumptions over what already been discussed and introduced with the discussion of the subjects. To a certain degree, biased viewpoints have been acknowledged. It had been significant concern over the preparation before fieldwork. What concerns the sampling methods because I have my history and personal network from Portugal. The fact cannot reject that the time spends in fieldwork was short. Researchers must build-up trust and relationship between the informants (Phillimore & Goodson 2004), which not is able to do during short research time. The network and my *a priori* knowledge benefited the research and jumpstarted the fieldwork because there was no need to learn the place and culture. Contrary though, it may give a biased view with predefine assumptions built during over ten years experiences. It had, however, build a starting point to both contacts and conversation pieces. In acknowledging both interview sessions must have outside biased standpoints can avoid literature review as a guide. Furthermore, qualitative research and constructivists argue that in itself, bias cannot be entirely avoided or neglected (Ryan 2005). With the help of research and discussions with supervisor, ideas and thoughts ha to a degree discussed.

The sampling was done through a few forms of interactions, whereas the main source of informants came through Facebook groups, and to a lesser degree, informants met randomly on the street. Also, two informants come through personal contacts. The informants could themselves contact me, thus not all random selection – thus it could give bias answers. The empirical data, however, was about informality and thus does not demand a random selection, as long as the empirical data is valid. The getting of saturated answer never comes in certain questions. It may imply that either, (1) not get enough answers or which had meant that a larger quantity of informants should be gathered; or (2) longer duration of interviews where the answers can be varied which holds up for diverse triangulation with the help of the answers. The latter was chosen,

although the former cannot be completely disclaimed as less valid. One could argue a potential pitfall would be not having quantitative guidance to make an input, which helps the researcher systematically to what research deems necessary (Bryman 2012). Either way, I argue that the subject is still unclear at a research level. Thus the complexity of the subject is too nuanced to gather in a qualitative method.

Regarding the process of sampling, Hollinshead (2004) put several interesting ontological issues within tourism research, where two deems important to highlight of the fieldwork. These limitations are similarly applicable to lifestyle migration as to tourism because its similar 'effect' on mobility and the thesis had an entry point through tourism. Nevertheless, the first point of Hollinshead is the *doxa* (i.e. common belief on a collective population opinion) in one specific ethnic group not necessarily need to be coherent throughout a group. In other words, because one specific group of citizens they might not have a similar perspective of the subjects, even though the informants had fairly similar backgrounds, e.g. citizenship and living in another county, but not their conditions. The second in sampling difficulties is the, what Hollinshead calls, 'post-colonial' movement where a group are keen to redefine themselves against the state. In other words, informants might be aware of their culture, thus position them in the realm of the world of mixed culture, thus may distort their answers in favour of what ought to be said. They may equally redefine themselves differently. The informants where (mostly) 'Swedish' and being 'lifestyle migrants' but they may review themselves in another way in the interviews sessions. The empirical data must, therefore, be critically analysed. Most of the informants made contact after posting on Facebook, which may confirm only one group in the ontological setting, thus might reflect only one outlook on the *doxa*. The empirical data, therefore, must be triangulated with different samples to receive a focused point. With the spread of different groups, it cannot be denied that several viewpoints on the issue or skewed view from the empirical data occurred. Therefore, with abductive logic, it may overcome to disclose a nuanced image rather then what directly said. The sum is bigger than its parts. The *doxa* could be triangulated with notes from other forms of a methodological and qualitative collection of data.

The transcription in the appendix reveals to have a longer and more in-depth interview in comparison to the *conversation notes* which are smaller. It must be seen the dimension of the newness of the subject: firstly, lifestyle migration has not in a further extent been studied in the Lisbon area; The chosen question was specifically on the Swedish interviews; and therefore, the subject cannot be seen as complete. Qualitative research does not reflect pure facts but to bring hypothesis and

test as an integral part of the research (Phillimore & Goodson 2004), as done by testing new ground with new concepts.

Ryan (2005) asked if a group of participants can reflect a whole community? In other words, can we generalise the ideas of a few individuals? As stated, not doing qualitative research it will not neglect the viewpoints of the informants. The informants' ideas are as valuable in the eyes of qualitative research. In this regard, it cannot be generalising to an absolute degree (Thomas 2010). It must be reflected in the context which will not come to absolute truth. With not was the purpose. The thesis confirms and transfers the epistemology into to find new context to continue to deepen the researcher further.

Lastly, it has not been an extended focus of the 'local' residents' perspective. It could give some viewpoints and broaden the empirical data. The effort was made to a lesser extent, but not to a broader degree as it was not the objective of this thesis. The collection of data was enough to fulfil the focus of the research questions even though it might give a more nuanced view and give a 'thicker' analysis of the subject.

This discussion on limitations will end the methodological chapter. The chapter had fulfilled insights of the fieldwork and the collected empirical data. Next chapter will highlight points for the case study before moving on to the analysis of the data and the fieldwork.

## 9. Setting the Scene of the Case study

This chapter introduces the case of the fieldwork, where the empirical data of the lifestyle migrants. The chapter informs about the case of the location of the fieldwork process and to later about the subject to understand the concepts; why it emerged and what the discussions are. This knowledge is facilitated to grasp the situation in Portugal, their choices of policies, why some people are there, and what led to the situations of lifestyle migration began in Portugal.

### About Portugal & Lisbon: Geography & history

The study case bases Lisbon Portugal with some of the surrounding municipalities. Portugal is situated on the western Iberian Peninsula, head out towards the Atlantic sea, surrounded by Spain, and include the island group Azores and Madeira, and englobes a bit over 10 million inhabitancies. The country was a colonial lasted with the 'Overseas provinces' which was abolished after the democratic restoration and fall of the Estado Novo regime during the Carnation Revolution in 25th April 1974. Today the Lusophone[1] world stretch to their former colonies, today Brazil has most of the speakers with nearly 250 million speakers and many more as second languages, not to forget the creole languages based on Portuguese.



*Image 6: Left: Alfama, old Lisbon's narrow streets | Right, Estoril's cost and with typical '19 century house*

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[1]Portuguese speaking countries something refers as *Luso-*; Lusophony or Lusophone etc. derived from the word Lusitania, a historic region on the Iberian Peninsula from the celtic Lusitanians and coined by Luis de Camões's 15 century national epic poet novel *Os Lusíadas*, where Portugal named Lusitania.

Lisbon is located close to the middle of the country on the west side and the governmental capital and cultural centre of the country, with a metropolitan area just under 3 million inhabitants, and situated at the mouth of Tejo [Tagus]. The area includes ten surrounding cities/counties, from the western point of the mountains in Sintra to the western coastal Cascais, and also includes the south of the river where many of 'modern' suburbs are located which swallows the northern cities which become part of the suburban sprawl. The contemporary Lisbon is a multi-cultural city still noticeable with people different part of the globe, from former colonies, but also Pakistan, China, and eastern European countries outside the EU borders. Interviews which was held mainly in Lisbon and Cascais. One informant came from Almada, a suburban city south of Tejo, two interviews were from the rural area east of Sintra, and two interviews were just outside Lisbon metropolitan area north of Lisbon.



*Image 7: Map over the case area: Lisbon, Cascais, Estoril and Sintra*

Lisboa [Lisbon] is the central city centre where some of the informants lived. Cascais and Estoril are where most of the informants lived. Just under the south of the river, Almada was one of the informants, and Sintra and out to the sea to the west lived some of the informants. Just north of the map is where two of the informants lived [2].

## Migration Processes in Portugal

### *Historical Aspects of Migration in Portugal*

The current migration and the uprising of contemporary policies ground on historical attributes. Portugal's migration flow dates of the hundreds of years of the diverse formation and creation of the country, which root in every aspect of the country's history. The mix of colonial past, including the slave trade and global merchants, thus the colonial power is stretching the most extended ultramarine possessions (Arenas 2015). Add to the complexity, the large emigration from the dictatorship which, in its downfall 1974, resulted in large Portuguese returnees, *retornados*, from the decolonisation process, and not at least its economic boom in the 1990's where immigration from other, often colonial, countries; Angola, Moldavia, Ukraine, and Brazil (Padilla & França 2016; Åkesson 2018). Furthermore, Portuguese citizens left the country after the 2008 economic crisis which becomes the first European ex-colonial countries that in a larger number leave for the more economical beneficiary in the former colonies, such as to Angola (Åkesson 2018). Today 5% of the population originates from a foreign country which establishes intermix culture of intercultural belonging (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira 2012). Study migration in Portugal, one must be familiarised with the complex integrated sociological process and how it had (re)construct contemporary construction of the society. In other words, Portugal should be less resistance to racism and more knowledgeable and expectable to *the other* because they have a collective self of society (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira 2012). Such ideas are firmly rejected by Arenas (2015) who linked it to the colonial *lusotropicalism*, a quasi-theory from the Brazilian nineteen-hundreds anthropologist Gilberto Freyre who justify a multi-ethnic and tolerant mixed racial society - a world exception to be racial coherent and tolerant because of the colonial past and ethnical mixture, which the regime of the Portuguese dictator used to justify their modern colonialism. Such racial profiling is still absent, Arenas (2015) argues, it resonates the colonial trajectories in a different part of the society but still the complex colonial past echoes into the modern analysis of the migration policies. In an analytic standpoint, it interesting to understand the eager to attract lifestyle migrant, they understand the duality of the policy regulation and how it had formed the current policies.

### *Contemporary Policies in Migration & Tourism*

To understand what shaped Portugal's migration and why it began to move many people to Portugal, it must have an in-depth understanding of the complexity of the country's policy. Through these lenses, together with Swedish lifestyle migration, the empirical fieldwork data will be analysed. Through this, it is able to understand the informants because it was its frequent

discussions. It also helps understands why many of the informants (not all though) choose Portugal. The movement of people from Sweden to Portugal not come in a vacuum and is a result of policy changes from the historical aspects. Padilla and França (2016) reviewed the Portuguese migration policies in a qualitative analysis and notice a shift of regulation which focused on integration policies, mirroring the complex colonial and migration history. They saw instead that policy previously focused on returnees and low-level migration labour, which then attracted immigration. The contemporary focus had been shifted to control and social cohesion with an excessive emphasis on high-quality workers, investor immigrants with special visas. A result, many of many, of the high national emigration *brain drain* of Portuguese citizens to other European countries. The policies gave an attempt to balance the deficit with attracting wealthier new migrations. Therefore, the Portuguese state had a dual view of immigration, on the one hand, there is a form of racial bound from the colonial and Lusophone world that made Portugal blend country but leaving questions of racial profiling of who belong to the country. Paradoxically for the same reason, it was the cultural melting pot allows the contemporary immigration policies open-up for foreign citizens (Padilla & França 2016) especially high skilled workers, in comparison to the previous attempt to attract lower-skilled workers from eastern Europe.

In the recent economic crisis which gave ribbles over Europe and the world, Portugal got the trio, widely known as *Troika* (the European Central Bank, European Commission and International Monetary Fund) as a consequence of the bailout when Portugal fell into a massive debt crisis, which also alarmed all European Union. It lost several years in much-needed development to be able to close the gap which the country had ever since the closed dictatorship until 1974 (Legido-Quigley *et al.* 2016). The country, with the external steering economy from the *Troika*, needed to find new financial means, and a various attempt they attract other residents to the country, the *Golden Visa* programme (officially 'Residence Authorization for Investment Activity') was established 2012 with the purpose to attract new foreign residents given them freedom of Schengen mobility and a pathway towards citizenship with few, but low, investments, give access to millionaire migrants (Montezuma & McGarrigle 2018) which also brought other ideas into place such as the *Non-Habitual Resident* (NHR) status who provides with different forms of tax incentives.

Within the same period, tourism took part in policy plans within the new state migration scheme resonates within tourism strategy and action plans. The major strategic plans within tourism *PENT* (*Plano Estratégico Nacional de Turismo*, or *National Strategic Plan for Tourism*) launch 2007 and ended 2015, had ten focus areas with an overall objective to spread out and diversify Tourism in all the country's regions (PENT n.d.). In the same time, the types of migration shifted now from migration

to tourism with the current policies believed to have a closer resemblance of consumption as of tourists (Conversation note 6, Appendix 3). Although heavily commercialised and market-driven, the central piece of PENT was to embrace all country's resources to not agglutinate within then the already existing tourism centres, but to help to diversify country's regions, thus saw the potential in tourism to highlight its potential. One of the 10 (and later more added) cornerstones was to integrate and increase *Residential Tourism* (together with resort complex), to embraces foreigners to purchase real estate as an integrated part of the tourism sector, as well as taking into consideration the massification of tourism could be a fight against mass tourism that gave a "*potential of the region, but without massification*". In following policies, the similar attempt called named '*LIVING*' which aimed for citizens and investors foreign citizens such as entrepreneurs, students and researchers to constitute to a multicultural environment (ET27 2017).

Martins and Cavaco (2018) critique the policies on a failure of the political and economic crises the two decades prior which started an urge to find new economic viable plans via the neo-liberal sector, they argue, caught attention on tourism and residential housing but it resulted in gaps in tourism policies, spatial planning, and urbanisation and real-estate liberation. These plans, the authors continue, where prioritise the expansion of tourists resort and real estate from foreign economic capital. Thus, it opens doors of market expansions in order to gain economic profit, especially from the new trend of North European (Patuleia 2011). Instead the state redirected policies to only a forging market of residential tourism, partly because of the unfinished tourist estates from bad planning from municipalities, and partly that the state grabbed real estate business gaining easy access to capital from foreigners to establish themselves in the country because hotels and other tourist accommodation must have high sets of regulations (Martins & Cavaco 2018). Nevertheless, lifestyle migration in Portugal has increasingly grown over the last decades and it "*cannot be denied that growing numbers of Northern Europeans are migrating to Portugal*" in the same time they have a growing number of tourists (Torkinton 2010:100). The objective of the plans has been to strengthen housing market for private stakeholder and given new residencia permits, such as *Golden Visa* programme, or given tax incentives NHRs, with flexibility in licencing real estates and construction (Martins & Cavaco 2018), and the tourism strategic allowed and shaped various groups to establish their life there.

### Swedish Migration in Portugal

Before moving to the analysis, it will outline first the status of the number of Swedish citizens living in Portugal. No reliable official statistic of the number of Swedish citizens changes their permeant

living residency to Portugal as they not are obliged to report themselves to the embassy (Conversation note 3, Appendix 3). However, the official statistic dating to 2017 shows a steady rise of Swedish holding Swedish passports which went from 2633 in 2016 to 3559 in the following year[3], and might 2018 well exceed 4000 inhabitants. Some of the informants call for a number over 5000 people, most living in the Algarve, the landscape of southern Portugal, but cannot be confirmed. Torkinton (2010) examine the foreign statistical flow arguing that the exact number for the total foreign European residents might be five-fold of the official national statistic. Nevertheless, historically, the northern European citizens searched mainly to two regions, Algarve and Lisbon metropolitan areas, although more had moved to rural regions which before not been seen as attractive (Sardinha 2013). The focus of this case study is Swedish around the Lisbon area. On the one hand, it was not in the same extent, inhabitant or have a history of lifestyle migration. On the other, it is not yet excavated in research.

One of the major points and frequently stated by the informants, was the attract migrants with NHR-status, which grants low personal taxation and even full tax-exemption on passive income earned of those from other EU countries but in return obliged relocate permanently to Portuguese territory frequently shown in Swedish media. A debate in Sweden highlighted the personal gain when moving aboard especially to Portugal (SVT 2017, Jan 25), but the current government (in the stage of writing) tentatively in renegotiate the agreement on the ground of unfairness as those who move there taking their full pension on five years then moving back to Sweden not contribute to either system (SVT 2018, Aug 26). From the Portuguese national government were not willing to withdraw the exemption, claiming it on not being an offshore country, but Sweden threatens to withdraw the double tax agreement, similar to the Finnish did a few years prior (Observador 2017, February 24). The disagreements continue.

After the outline the case study with major point of debates and history of migration in Portugal, some policy, and the specific area of the fieldwork, the following chapter will present and analyse the empirical data which collected from the case according to the methodology.

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[3] Statistic based on SEF (Immigration and Borders Service) and Montezuma & Mc Garrigle 2018)

# 10. Analysis

The following chapter will four-parts analyse the collected empirical data of the lifestyle migrants informants the context of Portugal on how lifestyle migrants perceive and understand their position in living in a new country and as lifestyle migrants or if they take action in their new country. The chapter compares literature and theory with the empirical data by first examining the informants' own perspective on Portugal, the home country as well their eventual change. Secondly, the analysis focusses the transnational ties back to the country of origin. Thirdly, it will analyse the position of eventual power to decision-making and how they perceive their position in society. The final part will excavate informal methods which may link them and how it makes it able to live in Portugal. Each analytic chapter will end in a summary discussion on each topic.

## Perspectives

### *Making their new Country to their own*

Casado-Diaz (*et al.* 2004) argue that lifestyle migrants have different backgrounds despite being from the same nation, therefore not categorise people in different nationalities in one single category. In a general term, it not makes groups having similar intentions or motivation just because they came to the same background. The informants have various sort of direction of life and their aims to move to Portugal varies. For instance, Jenny (Int 1[4]), Jennifer (Int 2), Louise and Jordan and Nina (Int 10) was working in Portugal, but still came for the sun, Fanny (Int 4) and Sanne (Int 7) came for the feeling of not having a proper good life back in Sweden and left not in the sense of loss, rather according to the lack of anything meaningful over there thus find better in Portugal. Similarly, other informants had come partly for tax benefits, such as the couple Kristin and Bengt (Int 4), the friends Johan and Mikael (Int 6), Kent (Int 11), and Iren (Int 13) but between them also slightly different reasons. A comment which unifies all informants was a heavily emphasised of a wish for living where it is heated from the sun, sunlight, and away from a cold climate. Must notice though, they had nothing against their home country *per se*, but instead because of the feeling Sweden was not '*their type'* country to live anymore where the culture might not be how they thrive in, or the political system or viewpoint did not suit, or just not felt of belonging to the nation. Benson and O'Reilly (2009) took these positions on lifestyle migrants, which they search for the *quality of life* rather than for trying to make their life in another place than their home country.

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[4] All reference of *interview* and *conversation notes* are written 'Int" or Conv note" existing in appendix 2 and 3.

Likewise, it fits the informants' ideas of searching for a new place. The quality of life had a significant effect on the choice and making Portugal their own country.

Interestingly all informants pointed out little previous experience of Portugal, only with few exceptions they had visited there once, only thereafter searched for a house in the yearning to live in the south. Portugal was not the end-goal from the start. It resonates on how Clausen and Velazquez (2011) argue that new places have a more authentic life – the *good life* – in contrast to Benson and O'Reilly's (2009) *quality of life*. Instead of framing themselves as tourists, they transform their new place as an extended version of the authentic tourist experience. But while living there, it appears as they gained another perspective of Portugal. After moving to the south, they have the perspective that Portugal was not developed. The perspective had changed. The country was not as underdeveloped as they previously perceived. Feelings nation and nation-state transformed their thoughts over time. It became more than a nice warm clime and nice food. They gained new perspectives, and they learned new details about the country's culture and society. The terms of quality of life had expanded not only to warm weather and sunshine but also to appreciate the culture from a new perspective. Still, however, could keep the authentic touristic life.

In trying to absorb the new nation's culture, they try to lose the strings towards the country of origin, in an attempt to distance them from the old country favour of their new to become integrated. An example was Susanne (Int 7:135), who stated that Sweden, not a good country to live: "More and more though I think that going back to Sweden it's enough to be there 5 days". For the informants, there is a happier life, such as Karin (Int 9:159) who stated, "when people are coming here, they realise that it is actually quite nice here it is good weather and is much better than southern Spain". They point on Portugal's culture and society as more authentic, not only to their home country but frequently compared to Spain where which is more inauthentic, whereas contrarily Portugal still poses the magic of an authentic feeling, culture and society. It confirms the *good life* (Clausen & Velazquez 2011) they gain by their move, and thus confirm their choice, which makes it possible to compare their life to Sweden, perceived as inauthentic. Even if it is their country of origin, cannot connect themselves to that culture, as it is not theirs or apply to them. Therefore, choose their culture as which fit them and may also see as more authentic or as *the good life*. As an example, Fanny (Int 3), Sanne (Int 5) and Iren (Int 13) whom all proclaim that Sweden is a stressed country which unbearable to live and with high-stress level or unfriendliness. For them, Portugal is a unique place which helps them to make their new authentic, thus better to live in comparison.

Asking questions on what both counters could teach and bring from one another (Appendix 1) the interviews came instead with little obstructions in finding negative details about Portugal. Almost exclusively good assurance of what Portugal have, and there were none-to-few recognitions of something bad existed, at least no substantial criticism, in contrast to Sweden which suffered more criticism. The appraisals that arose mostly experienced the negativity aspects just as a part of their new life, not value it to be criticized. Most informants seldom or never visit their country of origin after moving down (Int 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16); such as Jessica (Int 15) who moved to Portugal once after visit many times, and thereafter they never visit their home country again since 2011. It recalls how O'Reilly and Benson (2009) arguing that the core motivation is the search of a freer life, away from the western lifestyle. And also, how Escobar (2007) argues that a new country's cultures can be perceived as less advanced than one's own. They have a projection on the country's culture as less advance is partly an objective of the move to the country. It is also a search away from the western lifestyle as they perceive - a more authentic place and life. It is a part of making it their own country, making it to their culture. Criticise the new home country is an assurance of their move, they put a stand on their position and choice, which with it can compare their living with others from their own nationality. It recalls as a taken-for-granted projection on a less developed country argued by Parpart and Veltmeyer (2004) of the country should be less developed than their country of origin. In their position, they moved to a less developed country to be freer as push away their own culture. They could possess an adequate mode of living (Hiernaux 2009). Therefore, being negative to their new culture contradict their choice, instead reaffirm the choice. Not visiting the country of origin, is also a reaffirming their choice, they have the power of mobility. Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) argue that mobility must shed light on different social status. There is a social status not moving back, the mobility not only exist of themselves, but also family and friend, who also is granted with the mobility to move, and thus not suffer from social isolation because of chosen to be fixed. Such a choice does not have any consequences. They might move and be mobile without any consequences.

Form an initial view, some of the informants' first the projection on the new country was not very positive. Kerstin and Bengt (Int 4) before they moved to Portugal had a slightly more cynical view on culture and life there. However, after moved and live as retirees changed their viewpoints, now instead referring Sweden as a country with problems and thus express its concerns on how people, politicians and other individuals act there, especially concern the immigration to Sweden: "They [migrants to Sweden] just don't get it - "what are you doing". That has been changing (Int 4:67)". According to them, Sweden is perceived as a brink of collapse. It had much changed since they moved, and also during life in Sweden. They argue that the Swedish state cannot take care of their

own citizen, thus, change the country. Therefore, according to them, they frame it as the right choice to move. Thus, they change their perception of the home country, and Portugal instead is a breeze to live in, but also a breeze in getting away which helped them instead: "We were very happily surprised. Everything was just so painless as it has been. That you can do anything like this (Kerstin & Bengt Int 4:56), move to Portugal becomes an assurance, not only a choice, but stated that: "We would move to Portugal anyway if we had the tax credits or not, because we came to the conclusion that here it's the place we will thrive, weather was calling, the language, the easy way, and closeness to Lisbon (Int 4:59). The climate was the motivation, though it becomes reassuring that Portugal is the choice moving south. Mikael (Int 6), just under 50 years old and already retired, explains with no doubt choosing Portugal because the choice had been recommended for their best benefit. In general, the informants had no idea of Portugal as a country before they moved but only from a tourist point of view. For those who had NHR-states (retried who are eligible to grant tax-incentives) did it for their own wallet first, choosing their country according to it. The sun and heat is a must, but Portugal as a country is not, but only become a plus that the country has evolved while moving there.

These are explanations of how to try to capture a particular kind of lifestyle. In a certain degree, they searched for a type of lifestyle they imagen it would be, therefore creating the new home to become as that how they imagen. Huete (2005) make examples of a '*Spanish lifestyle*' which fit their view. When asking if there is a something which Sweden could learn or bring to Portugal (Appendix 1), there was mostly with doubts, but on the opposite direction, what Sweden could learn from Portugal, there was much quicker response with no much hesitation. One of the few things which came up was related to Portugal's bureaucracy, but not much more the people or mentality. In the same way, they are accepting the 'challenge' which faced, have no problem in with the system, Lotta (Int 14:284) said that: "I'm more of a person who is like. 'when in Rome, do as the Romans", because what is existing that is what I am using". As a part of their present lifestyle, they seem to have the time to meet these 'challenges' walk into, as Nina (Int 10:189) explained: "I don't want to change the country. I come here to live here to experience it, I don't come here to change anything". It is part of, as they projected, the 'Portuguese lifestyle' fits their desired lifestyle. It compares to Huete's (2005) 'Spanish lifestyle'. It is harder to live at the place in this regard, but a better life as a whole. However, they reflect on their situation in their position, thus become a 'Portuguese lifestyle', but only how to come in contact with that life, a lifestyle only with their position, incomparable to what a Portuguese would experience the life. It becomes the projection of the authentic life, how they experience it.

It is not about the economic factor which plays the role. The informants came to Portugal, not for it to be changed, but it may reflect on their perception of what they experience the country. They come to a new nation with new cultures, which they may choose to take part in, or not. They may play with their identity, pick and choose of any identity they might fit them. In this regard, they come in an in-betweenness that makes a private situation. As within such an in-betweenness, they pick and choose a wished identity in the new country from each country. Not only they may pick and choose the system they fit best (Ackers & Dwyer 2004), it also allows to get away from the obligations of their home nation-state, still, manage to have lived in another country and be free from their nation's identity. Such as in the case of Fanny (Int 3:36): "And then, I think that... you know when you are landing at Arlanda, and everything is just so -*schwush*- Everybody's so stressed! You know, and you just feel *oooaaaaa* - like this it's every time". They did not need to take that culture anymore or social obligation. It also recalls how Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) were arguing for the concept of transnationalism migrants had a reconfigure or shape their identity depending on a context beyond their nation-state's border. They perceive their new country as a breeze in the sense of being able to move they attach the new country as their own, where they can create a new tie between cultures and their ideas. Bianchi & Stephenson (2013) stating that globalisation had to change the scope of citizenship, reflecting in that they are - of course, are willing to move into the country, not because of the tax incentives, but for their personal gain of what the culture may provide for them. For these two previous informants, there was not the country which was the incentive it was the experience. In a similar conclusion made from Åkerlund (2013) that Swedish people were moving to Malta, not only for the warm weather, it also has a link to the tax breaks. Both the friends Johan and Mikael (Int 6) chose the country for such purpose. Mikael (Int 6:113) stating that if it was not for the "tax situation been there, which made me the possibility who could finance my life, I would never be here". Declaring the situation that the tax was a primary incentive, but still have the good weather has been a primary source. The motives are entangled. Interestingly, there are other factors which are encountered, not only purely economic factors but also a great variety of factors which not only one of them can be easily pointed out. It calls against the as Benson and O'Reilly (2009) and Torkinton (2010) proclaiming that lifestyle migrants were not coming primarily for the tax incentives but for the good life. Indeed so, the factors are that their choices of the destination are one of the major factors which cannot in these cases be omitted. Move to Portugal for taxes becomes the primary and the country

secondary, such as how Kent (Int 11:215) feels about it: "If I feel that it's so *cool* to pay taxes[5], 'so I don't want to make any tax allowance'. Who is arguing in this way? Nobody, I would say!". If there is a country to move to, there must be a for the tax incentives. Partly some of the informants moved due to the tax reasons, but also to the sun and the good weather. In such a statement it shows the obsession of taking the taxes, and not for the sake of the weather. It goes against what Olsson and O'Reilly (2017) that north migrants are moving due to the desired lifestyle, which may in itself be accurate, however, also it must be argued as in the literature review for it to become a naïve projection to exclude such a phenomenon which becomes a building block to choose a destination and making it their home in another place. Taxes are for some of the informants a primary source and motivation which cannot be denied.

### *(Changing) Perspective(s) on Sweden and Portugal*

One of the most striking arguments in the conversations with many informants was when encountering aspects of changing the perspective on their arrival to Portugal in relation to Sweden. As discussed before, there seems to be a minimal critique of the new host/home country. Portugal can also become an eye opener or crystallise their view on Sweden. Fanny (Int 3) who came to Portugal five years ago have a pessimistic view on what Sweden has become compare how Portugal. The Swedish people, according to her: "are so afraid today, and you can feel that. It feels so insecure in Sweden if I compared to here. Here I am always safe. I never felt any problem going home late at night, or something like that. Of course, it happened things here too, but calmer here" (Int 3:38). The question if Sweden has changed according to her own perspective, she replies that "it's a lot tougher climate in Sweden. We are not careful with each other anymore. it is just like this… it's colder... I don't have the same empathy anymore (Int 3:38). Kent (Int 11) had similar ideas on Sweden which came on the path of decadence: "…you want to have your welfare and the safety net. I can claim that Sweden is that country which the politicians are claiming it is. For real! You can see that emergency in 10 hours and waiting even though I had been prepaying show my taxes. If I'm going to call the national tax agency: 'it is 167 persons before you' – seriously! I have been paying to get these services through my taxes" (Int 11:212).

These arguments resemble how Hayes (2015) examined lifestyle migrants in Ecuador, where it was an exaggerative *counter-cultural* to the country of origin. Of the informants, in time came an outside perspective on Sweden as a country, not living in it, but still can and have contact with news from

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[5] A statement made by the member Mona Sahlin (Swedish Social Democrats) first in 1994 and later in 2010 as party leader, rhetorical it should be 'cool to pay taxes' contrary to the opposition not lower taxes argue for pride in pay tax.

the home country. It also resembles a good life perspective from Clausen and Velazquez (2011), where the counterculture comes into reality when seeking to establish their life in another country. The good life becomes a comparison the country of origin where the good life not exists and becomes for them an eye-opener that they can see Sweden clearer or for them a proof of Sweden how actually had become. They become challenged by their perception of how they viewed the country and gained other dimensions in their life. A majority of the informants when asking what Portugal should learn their home country, the responses became vague. The most common response was the bureaucratic system, which must be changed. But the informant may take taking the culture for what it is, such as Lotta (Int 14:217) "I became so in love with this place, we all did. the food is clean, and it was charming in a raw sense: ugly houses in concrete and, the people were friendly everybody took care of us. they could have a wagon which was 50 years old still using it until its breakdown. It is genuine in a way". Everything is in a raw sense and charming instead of Sweden, which not have the same charm. The country of origin becomes an imperfect place. In the most part, it is an uncritical view of their new home country which they project all fondly. Also, in resembling Kerstin and Bengt (Int 4) got had a crystallised perspective the country of origin. Also, sort-of counterculture towards Sweden in that Sweden not is a country they once thought, or at least how they perceive use to be. In their argument, they stated that "Undoubtedly, you are right on the topic of Islam. Because when you are going here everywhere, you feel so safe, it's fantastic. and there is where many people have been encountering. because they see that it was as Sweden before" (Int 4:66), they felt as 'victims' of the policy. They are framed with a positive message of the policy (Ingram *et al.* 2007) which convey them to use the system laid out. However, some Portuguese have a different perception of the same policy (Conv note 1) where they see foreigners living in Portugal as taking the money. The concept of integration is beyond the scope of the thesis. However, they might not be fully integrated despite their own viewpoint on the subject, because they have the policy against their favour. In other words, some policies have multiple trajectories depend on the position in society (Schneider & Ingram 1993). Lifestyle migrants become privileged in the viewpoint of the people, but not might see it themselves from their position.

Oppose to Hayer (2015), however, there is nothing show that it become *anti-industrial*, but rather to the contrary, where the informants almost unanimously have realised their view was skewed, thought that Portugal was behind in a certain way, how Johan (Int 6:110) expressing it: "I'm paying for private healthcare which I think works very good or even better sometimes". His thought on Portugal that it was not that type of country before moving there. As well, Kerstin and Bengt (Int 4:55) stated that "It has been so easy to move down here", all were digitalised such as tax deflation,

paying water and gas, which is different from what they though in the beginning. The informants had a harder time to grasp what a country Portugal was. It recalls of how Clausen and Velazquez (2018) explained North American in Mexico, which transform their culture when coming to Mexico from the Global North to the Global South, not caring of what culture it brings, instead have an idea of how 'Mexico' should be in their view. There are similar traces of how thoughts on Portugal become. Before it was a Global South-country though realised that it might in a certain degree be better when being in Portugal, thereafter, transform the view. Some of them change their view to that Sweden in return not be the country which has the standards. It is a tendency of those who live a fewer amount of time in Portugal, such as Jennifer (Int 2) and Louise (Int 8) has a quite sceptical perspective on Portugal, but those who lived a long time have changed their perspective. With such mindset, the informants had believed that they, on the one hand, arrived at a 'backwards region' a more undeveloped or backwards region, rather going to the Global South to the 'underdeveloped world' they could go to the European Union where they believed they have family similar ideas and perspective. Although, on the other hand, still see the further extension of the 'Global South' as a part of a more underdeveloped world, but it seems as they learned to appreciate the otherness as more than just underdeveloped south and authentic. Global South are those part of the world which are perceived to have less power of mobility and are a part is of the world which is perceived less developed than their own country (Bianchi & Stephenson 2013; Parpert & Valmeyer 2004). The European Union may be perceived as one unity with common family rules but still (Janoschka 2010b), be able to come to a more authentic place. 'Global South' in this regard not necessarily mean to go to an 'underdeveloped' country, but Portugal still becomes *less* developed country than their country of origin. Lifestyle migrants move south to a place where they perceive this authentic experience. Portugal is embedded within this type of mindset – a less developed country and a country still intact its authentic life. However, still within the European Union, which they can enjoy the mobility. They moved to a new place away from Sweden and got a culture which they think would appreciate more – a more authentic life. There is a tendency that the country of origin, in this case, Sweden, is always around the corner, which can help them to provide a service which needed. However, the informants seem to appreciate the otherness which they begin to understand as not 'underdeveloped' as previously projected when made a choice. Thus, they may break away from the world projection on the Global South, that it should be less developed or less technological advance (Parpert & Valmeyer 2004; Escobar 1997)

There are though pre-set qualities which enhance when being mobile. Huete (*et* al. 2013) they have an adequate model of living instead of the tourists. They can choose their life which they want, and not gain short-term ideas; local society must be in a greater extent taken into consideration. Irene

(Int 13:254) expresses it as: "I don't know, it feels so much more difficult to be home in a way. I don't know how to explain it, but it is more and more this pre-set society". If not enjoy the Swedish social environment, it is *just* to change the country. The informants have the ability to choose a lifestyle. Unquestioned and uncritically to the deterritorialization (Cohan *et al.* 2013) where they are a part of a country which shapes them as individuals.

There is a tendency on how to image the new country. Before living in the new country, both Jennifer (Int 2) and Louise (Int 8) only there a shorter while, around 6 and 3 months respectively, has a critical perspective on Portugal, but still, it exists in a with almost all interviews. In time they informants who live longer there could embrace the culture to their own, even see it as a cultural aspect which is favourable and then later discover the benefits of it. Only later, they can discover the benefit of the state incentive policies, which in the beginning, was not intended for them (Schneider & Ingram 1993). After a time, however, those who live there longer while not get the same idea of the nation, as Ylva (Int 16) who live in the country for 16 years gave a more nuanced image on Sweden and Portugal: "Now I know how everything works. And I cannot go and be frustrated about that all the time. that's how the way it is. And, of course, had become frustrated on that sometimes. Don't misunderstand me. I'm not going around and 'everything is so wonderful'. Of course, you don't do that. Nowhere is perfect, I don't say that Portugal is better or that Sweden is better" (Int 16:320). She made Portugal her home, still have Sweden as a point of reference where she gets a contact through her daily works, but also can give ideas news from Sweden.

The lifestyle migrants who now are living in the country for some time gain a capacity to explain different phenomena (Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013) but still cannot harder to see the borders from the two worlds. Living in a place extended time may grant the ability to compare culture positive and negative sides clearly, but as those who live during less time in the country, it is harder to capture the culture, either become to hardcode on either side. Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) argue that lifestyle migrants gain multiple identities, one in each nation with different cultures. Gustafsson (2008) argues that lifestyle migrants produce transnational ties with a blended culture. Although the Swedish people are few, compare to the inhabitancy in the Lisbon area (Conv note 4), a drop in the sea to other nationalities living there. However, the informants concretise and confirm their new home's culture, absorbing and legitimise it to their choice. The blend and hybrid culture, despite their few informants, to compare, the lifestyle migrants absorbing the culture more than acknowledge their own. As written previously, Portugal was not an obvious specific choice. However, it is not able to determine if there they got multiple identities of the nation after an

extended time. Although if the informants have an attempt to absorb a new culture by being in favour of Portugal and oppose Sweden. Partly they enjoy the culture, but they may also frame their new identity *away from* Sweden, which confirmed their choice of lifestyle they desired. They may though choose culture traces themselves. Contrary to Gustafsson (2008), it does not form multiple identities they may choose a cultural identity, granted by mobile.

### *Sub-discussion: Perspective*

The lifestyle migrants search for a life which must be more than just *quality of life* (Benson & O'Reilly 2009), but it resonates in the area of belonging. The lifestyle migrants had chosen their new home in a tentative of sense of belonging. It is a perception of authentic, which drives an extensive positive view on Portugal without clear though on nuances. Though, it shows that those who have been less time in Portugal had a general negative perspective on Portugal.

However, the aim is not to come to Portugal, but as stated indirectly by several informants as they refer to living in another country due to tax reduction and sun and in this case well Portugal offers that the aim is to go away from Sweden. Only after spending time in Portugal, some informants realised the positive sides and learn that some aspects are better there, and sometimes goes over to an exaggerated perspective on both countries. Like Sanne (Int 5:85) express it: "No, not at all! I wasn't going away from Sweden. I was going to Portugal. And that's the difference in that! I feel no aggression against Sweden. Portugal doesn't work well for the Swedish people. Portugal works well for Portuguese. If they insist on being in Portuguese and then it's going to be a problem" which resembles Huete's (*et al.* 2009) argument that lifestyle migrants have difficulties to have an outside view on themselves as able to have freedom. The informants may find it possible to define their reality of how to live their good life, thus fame it as the *quality of life*. Living abroad does not uphold social bonds with the country of origin., it prolongs the transnationality in which the mobility by their fellow countrymen helps them to access the freedom of mobility can therefore also visit. In their perspective, there is no grander sacrifice moving out, because there is no *gap* the common mobility.

## Links to Portugal & Back Home

*Dependency on which Country?*

When it comes to the informants' ties to their country of origin, there were few in which still have their registration recently back there. Hence, those who were granted with NHR-status – i.e. those who gain state recognised tax incentives by Portugal - must unregister themselves from Sweden in order to formally to gain these special tax incentives. Kerstin and Bengt (Int 4), Johan and Mikael (Int 6), Susanne (will take benefit; Int 7), Kent (Int 11), and several other people from the Swedish Club gathered at the beach walk (Conv note 4) are those informants who had gain benefits of the Sweden-Portugal double tax agreement. The subject was also debated Fanny (Int 3) Sanne (Int 5) Jordan and Nina (Int 11), Jack (Int 12), Iren (Int 13), and Lotta (Int 14) with mixed reviews - a point which became frequent in the discussion. Nevertheless, Iren (Int 13) who not herself gain the possibility however put a summarised statement which explains the general positive viewpoint: "I think it's very bad that a thing which is called 'tax refugee' because it is only 'tax planning'. And people there they are not refugees, but they just take it so hard" (Int 13:266). Moreover, when meeting a Swedish group in their weekly casual meetings at the beach promenade, they were not happy in communicating with new people who try to get some information (Conv note 4). According to the informants, both a nation-states representative and a harsh news media coverage had put them in an unbearable light. With very upset by someone would call them 'tax refugees'.

Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) argue that people who are moving forms a new identity in their new country. Associated with one identity in informants' country of origin was not appreciated. According to them, once they moved away, their identity was towards their new home and not wanted to be labelled as foreigners. However, they are dependent on a majority back in their country of origin. They have a dependency due to their citizenship and on inhabitants on the country of origin still, claim to a disconnection to their home other than friend and family. Kerstin (Int 4:79) stated that the "privet retirement funds that give us an incentive to leave when that system of rules which gives us a basic demand back. It's not very difficult to comply with those rules". It is not difficult to comply with the rules of the country, however, must depend on the nation-state; rules, social and political standpoints, or economy. Policy rules are formed in agreements of both countries, thus become dependent on both countries. They had, however, move away from that country and must comply with the rules there at the same time they are not citizens which can vote.

An example of dependency was Kent (Int 11) who not was content with Sweden's minister of finance change the tax agreement: "that is how Magdalena [Andersson (Sweden's Minister of Finance)] has been pressuring on '[*with a silly voice*] *They want to take apart of the Swedish welfare and, then*

*they want to move away'*. They need to look themselves in the mirror. This is the way she has been speaking. What welfare? Do you understand what I mean? Because I don't feel that I am offering myself moving to Portugal so I can save my own money". Their ability to move, the informants inherent the power of mobility, partly granted by the states' agreement on policies which gives them the initiative to change country, and partly because they have the economic factors on their side. They become affected by their home country in a way that they were moving *away* from but are also dependent on them. In this regard, they are not able to change their sociological setting at where they live and want to resist thoughts on 'hyperbourgeoisie' (Hiernaux 2009). However, contrastingly they are able to change the country. It recalls to the quote of how Åkerlund and Sandberg (2015:353) argue for lifestyle migrants' situation it "*illustrates social identities and positions [which] arising from this privilege, how to place identities are constructed and mediated and how these positions and representations affect both the mobility decision and the ways in which the 'new lifestyles' are performed*". It becomes a choice of mobility, and the right and freedom they gain from their citizenship. They are able to resist their situation in their home country but continues to keep its links. They may 'offers' oneself to Portugal or to another country, seems not to be the to make escapism or leap responsibilities of either country. Inevitable to leap into a 'hyper-bourgeois' (Hiernaux 2009) profile in an appearance of hypermobility.

Furthermore, on the one hand, being mobile, which is makes them willingly change the country to plan their taxes, in a place where they must comply with the rules and legal framework from that country. On the other hand, they are living in conditions made by both countries thus must also comply with the rules of their home country. On this point, Huete (*et al.* 2013) are granted the bourgeois freedom of mobility, allowed by modernisation and the legitimisation to define their reality. However, what is legitimise their reality is the grant of state public agreement, in a country they should not associate with other then irregularly visit the country. Furthermore, noted by Marshall (1970) and Faist (2001; 2009, through Clausen and Andersson *forthcoming)* that citizenship comes with a series of rights which comes with a place where to live. However, these rights become skewed. They must feet either country simultaneously, which they rejected they have. None of the informants, on an exception of one, had residency (or citizenship) in Portugal, e.g. no formal rights to vote in a national election or through their methods become part of the community or nation-state. Their status becomes blurry in that they live in a country where they do not have the formal right, still expect the grant of civil rights in that country. They gain, however, a symbolic value which comes with economic power or power within the country's policy, which in turn indirectly can change the towards a direction they deem necessary. They must pressure frameworks in both countries, which makes their situation. The formal rights substitute through other means. For

instance, Karin (Int 9), Kent (Int 11) and Kestin and Bengt (Int 4) involve them in Swedish gatherings, such as women clubs, the business community, church or similar. It is not only that these Swedish clubs in foreign countries are, as Olsson (2017) saw, one who helps them with legal status and questions, but also can become a force in change into their favour although it is not their explicit purpose. To the contrary, the informants in Portugal were not willing to change the new country. When asking them, the answer was that they have no intention to change. A change will threaten the choice of living in Portugal, as it becomes inauthentic (Clausen & Velazquez 2011; Benson & O'Reilly 2009). As they moved from Sweden to have another type of life there, it excuses free from the responsibilities of the nation-state. It becomes a form of power not to change the place to maintain the place authentically. Freedom of mobility also becomes freedom from their responsibilities. Noted by Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) and Janoschka (2010a), that transnationalism gives individuals a new form of identity and explain why they transform their citizenship into some fluid entanglement in European Union. It creates personal instability relation to countries. However, tax incentives must attach them and make them dependent on their decisions. Comply with the rules means that they must cut their ties to Sweden, in terms of registration, changing their formal address. Simultaneously they must somehow attach to the country of origin more where friend and family are located, as they argue for the only contact. Mobility comes with conditions, as Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) argue for a *regime of mobility* based on passports and nations. They grant freedom of mobility, offered by both the nation-states, however, still bound to them; their policies and legal framework. Rights will not extend with freedom of mobility.

### *Tourism and Immigration*

It was stated that this thesis is not going to acknowledge the difference in tourism and immigrant difference. However, it was one of the final questions in interviews, or when the informant mentioned the subject (Appendix 1), immigration was brought up as a discussion point. It was a difficult question to avoid because it appeared spontaneously with the informants. The informants had no irritation on being called immigrant, in contrast to Hiernaux (2009), who describes that lifestyle migrants seen as immigrants should not be part of the society. However, some of the informants hesitate more if they asked if they were. Jack (Int 12) who were constructing their house had hard to link himself as part of the society, even though he wanted to, saw his limitations in the perspective of the Portuguese. He was labelled as a foreigner, and it was noticed when he tries to renovate his house when he gets the prices:

*"… You just get prices which are astronomical, in compare when you know how much earn. Many of the gardeners might earn a lot of tourists. You would see the difference in the prices if you were going to a Portuguese to do it. Because they may take the foreigner because they will earn more money from them […] I feel it's difficult to be screwed over all the time and must be on your guard. […] I myself have been fooled in this way…"* (Int 12:245)

Although Jack (Int 12) is seen as a tourist in the eyes of the Portuguese, he still understands them as they want to urge to earn money. Free mobility, however, does not bring automatically social equity among the lifestyle migrants and Portuguese in terms of being treated as a Portuguese. Instead, the Portuguese might perceive lifestyle migrants as more temporality than being a permanent residence, thus be able to take advantages of them due to that him being from Northern Europe, by the Portuguese considered a rich country. It entails that he can benefit from them because it is perceived that he should be rich or have resources than the local inhabitants. Gustafson (2001, 2008) argue that lifestyle migrants influence their surroundings in terms of business and/or cultural influences. Of course, transnational society is through transparent, even though they are citizens of the European Union. Bianchi (2003) argues that in tourism, it neglects an adaptivity in behaviour. Portuguese can take advantage of newcomers because either they do not understand the systems, or they may not be invited within that social sphere. Was confirmed when in a casual meeting with Portuguese acquittances when speaking to them about the subject (Conv note 1). Some of them had a sceptical idea of what the Portuguese bring, and they 'rubbed' and expresses arguments as to why they could not do the same to them. It recalls Huete's (*et al.* 2013) argue that lifestyle migrants assume their status of being adequate citizens, thus different from tourists. It is also correlated with how Huete and Mantecón (2011) experience that in crises lifestyle migrant could not use the informal system within the society when the economic system broke down, they had no network. Similarly, to the Swedish in the same situation, it is not inside the informal system to become part of the network in Portuguese society.

There were correlations in how informants were more comfortable with the language are more flexible in their term of using tourist or immigrant. An example was Jenny (Int 1) who told that she stops being a tourist in the eyes of the Portuguese when she begins speaking with people, and thus become less seen as an immigrant and thus skip over from the internal otherness (Janoschka 2010) where the lifestyle migrants not considered to becomes a part of the society. Also, Lotta (Int 14) explains how her daily life change when she had put her children within the Portuguese public school where she finds herself within the society in comparison to the other in the same village she and her family live and when she compares other families she knows. It might even be a protection mechanism to be a tourist. Fanny (Int 3:42) expresses a very liberating idea of being a tourist:

"…you are always somehow a tourist in their eyes. What is positive with that is that you can do anything, because she's just a foreigner anyway. Can make a fool of yourself. It doesn't matter. I think it's very liberating. You have that security in a way: 'she's just a tourist'. I think they see me as a tourist, of course". Hence, it is uncomplicated to skip over the fact that they are immigrants. Instead, they frame them as a *tourist* rather than embrace to become, how Janoschka (2010) express, *internal otherness*. Becoming a tourist in their new life, on the one hand, may obliterate the internal society. On the other hand, may filter obligations as residents in the new country - to leap the responsibilities which I entail with being a member of the society. The transnational link cuts through their residence, which creates two parallel sense of belonging. They may pick obligations or neither responsibilities from any of the nation-states (Clausen & Andersson *forthcoming*). Furthermore, it contradicts what Benson and O'Reilly's (2009) argue about an emphasis should be on duration. It becomes instead embedded within belonging, making it further part of how to interact with society. It does become becomes an *escapism (*Benson & O'Reilly 2009)*; away* from a life in Sweden. However, still, it may be able to bring the culture from their country. Which with they may frame oneself as tourists thus become a tool to separate some details, though in a certain way there is a tendency to blend cultures and give a cultural mix (Gustafson 2008) but frame oneself as tourist give oneself the power to decide what culture to mix and not.

### *Ties to Portugal & Going Back to Home*

Most informants had little or no plan move back in the near future, and almost all had registered them in the country. In some cases, because of knowing they will live outside, such as Jessica (Int 15:303) had problems "I thought it was a little bit wussy. We didn't really agree on that, but I thought it would be much better to do it in 100% direct. and it is very happy to do it in this way. My thought was to only do one at once". Even though she and her husband wanted officially to move, they delayed it until they felt secure doing it. In a similar vein, Jordan and Nina (Int 10) had no plans to go back to their home countries and moved around Europe, e.g. Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, and at the moment, they had no plan away soon again. However, they had no problem with registration with all the countries. Furthermore, the informants with NHR-status to grant tax incentives must, by law integrate themselves with the Portuguese system to be able to grant the tax breaks but demands professional advisory to fix it. They must break from all formal living in Sweden only to a minimal degree of being in Sweden such as they may have a 'summer house'. What is defined as a summerhouse Kent (Int 11) told it not clear by any legal framework - it could be a house or apartment. These lifestyle migrants will always have a home in Sweden which

they can go back, they break up the ties to Sweden, though by law prevent them from being in Sweden.

It recalls how Bianchi and Stephenson (2013) argue the scope of citizenship in Europe, that the static notion of EU citizenship nowadays ad become more fluid, instead of the static nation-state which primer one state over another. However, they may also use their citizenship as a tool to move around the European Union (Clausen & Andersson *forthcoming*) they may also express their right to be mobile. Lotta (Int 14:286) try to answer the questions: "The state? Responsibilities? Me as a Swedish citizen? Should they have our responsibilities towards me? when I leave here? – Yes, I think so because I am born in Sweden. then I feel that that they don't have any right to cut me off. I must have a right to be able to be mobile around the world, still, be able to be Swedish" — a taken-for-granted action in the right to travel around the world. Similar to Shamir (2005) argues for the Global North or the West world, they gain access through escapism and freedom to travel the world. Being mobile or move to another part of the world has no hurdles. Their status and situation frame in the same area as tourism from the west/north; they come with free movement and ability to move back. Jenny (Int 1:10) who lives and work in Portugal express as it "is because I'm thriving well here, and if I go back to Sweden I need to have work because of here I get the same challenge, same differences so moving back only for the family for its own sake, I would never do". According to how Shamir (2005) argues that mobility is for certain people, in certain countries who are free to be mobile may choose the situation at any moment they wish. Lifestyle migrants choose their place to live. They might not pick the place due to economic reason or must work for a better life, but for their own motivation gain where it feels best for them culturally or socially. They have the financial, social, and cultural ability to be mobile and are able to be mobile – not only to go to be lifestyle migrants but also able to move back. Moving back is not always an option as they are tied to Portugal. It stretches to the degree that a free movement which ties to the country and thus has the ability whichever day leave, to Sweden, or to another country.

### Sub-discussion: Links to Portugal & Back Home

Lifestyle migrants must acknowledge their double position, the informants who gained tax incentives made by a double agreement between both countries has an impact on some of the informants' situation. Even though they possess citizenship in their country of origin, but live in another where they make an impact, but they are not able to formally have the power of decision-making as they would have in their country of origin. In their new country, they may lack citizenship, thus lack of formal rights such as a vote. However, they control their situation through

other forms for power, or otherwise, they become without means to direct their future and only in the hands of others. A question is if how attached are they of the country if the tax benefits disappear, would they stay or move no another country in a similar vein as in crisis an in Spain (Huete 2005). Attach and willing to live Portugal exist, but the trade-off is the lack of formal decision-making. But the trade-off is to live in another country. It is, however, not acknowledged by the empirical data. They feel though attached to the country mostly if making it into an extended version of tourism, similar to Clausen and Velazquez (2011), the *good life* – the *authentic* life.

Not speaking the local language does make them feel more as a tourist. The language seems to transform the appearance to become something else. Being immigrant has the particular conjugation of how to act, that immigrant is in a certain way, and for some, being tourist makes for some more value. Lotta (14:289) express it as: "I think you can I come here and put yourself up on a pedestal and think that you are 'best, biggest and Beautiful', but you have to be smooth and respectful, and responsive. an be able to reform yourself". Being a tourist come with other conjugations then what immigrants would come with, and thus recalls of how Clausen and Andersson's (*forthcoming*) reflect on the deception on that immigrant is a someone who is illegal and abuse the system. In a certain degree, they do not reflect upon themselves as taking advantage of any system. Therefore, an immigrant in a certain way makes them feel as it must be blend within the place, similar to how Mantecón (*et al.* 2008) argue for immigrants has other pressure on them to assimilate. However,they were framed as a tourist – not seen as assimilated. As tourists, they did not need the same degree to be assimilated. Similarly, they cannot take advantage of the system of informal *populous*.

## Power & Decision-Making dressed in Mobility

### *Involvement in Society*

The informants in a general degree were outside the political and decisional system, whereas they have no direct means to either become into it by either change their surroundings or for that matter willingness to change. Johan (Int 6) illustrates in his comment with his friend that they as foreigners are outside the social system, he replies: "What are thinking that, exactly as you say, I have been choosing it myself. And I like it. It may be cowardly done, but I do like it in one way. I can live in the external system in a way" (Int 6:102). Interestingly is that he can choose himself to be outside the system, doing what he pleases at the place, to not to involve with the system and involve with whom he wants to be. Thus, he chooses lifestyle according to what pleases him. With this, his friend Daniel (Int 6) response: *"You [Johan] don't become affected by this. But if you are moving not being enormously rich, you have come here in a different environment, and you had moved here without any money at all. You moved here for another reason, and that is another level. You couldn't move here to Estoril or Cascais, but you have to live in a not-so-good suburban area to Lisbon, and then you are a part of that system"* (Int 6:103).

Daniel was aware of their situation in Portugal and may not easily come inside society. They were aware of how privileged they were in the country. Similarly, it was illustrated in the conversation with the Swedish retirees who met once a week talking, they understood their privileged situation, although they sense formal power to change their surroundings (Conv note 4). The same with Lotta (Int 15:312) who reviewed herself in the situation of being a privilege when travelling and lived in other countries before which she could in any situation go and come back. They cannot perceive themselves have any power to change, however talking to Portuguese acquaintances (Conv note 1) had not the same idea as them which indicates that lifestyle migrants have ability to change, different however between the Portuguese and the local inhabitants.

Despite lifestyle migrants had no formal power, it resonates from how Gascón and Milano (2018) argue about lifestyle migrant's desire to be at the country, still, be able to form part of social exclusion. It is also resonating in Shamir's (2005) mobility gap, where they frame their situation on 'get away' to another part of the world, it frames as escapism from the country of origin. The informants knew their position in society, but also make it able not to do anything within the society. It is an escape from Sweden, which gives the possibility to be social self-exclusion from Sweden *and* from Portugal. Therefore, they entail a double edge sword where escapism comes in between two dimensions. They travel outside Sweden, and with this choice to be outside that society. But also move to another society, which they can also, in claiming their non-similarity to

be outside their new host country. It makes them able to have a desired lifestyle with the help of double exclusion with the help of escapism. It also goes over to a touristic experience (Clausen & Velazquez 2011) where they have fewer incentives as framed as tourists make it a prolonged vacation of living in a place. Claiming a belonging and non-belonging simultaneously, they create a bubble of exclusion. The unwillingness to change place was very apparent form the informants. In such regard, they try to resist their own reflection of being a 'hyperbourgeoisie' (Hiernaux 2009) and frame them away from the privileged status or linking the best of two worlds (Åkerlund & Sandberg 2015). This is mimicking the self-imposed freedom. It fits their status, their situation and their choice of lifestyle.

Almost exclusively the informants were unable to involve in politics or decision-making in the new host country, except for Ylva (Int 16) who lived in the country for 16 years lost track of media coverage in Sweden. When asking if they were able to take part in the development, they instantaneously connect the development to a political system or to electoral votes. The standing outside the system, they may feel they are outside. The change is in the hand of other eligible voters, Karin explains (Int 9:170) "If you engage yourself in the municipal politics or voting or anything like that. Even if you are Swedish to send you can vote in this, of course, you can if you want you can". An answer is similar to others. They search for the special lifestyle – Huete (2005) explains as the 'Spanish lifestyle' – where it is more search on the perception of a foreign – non-Swedish lifestyle. But they might not be aware of their ability to change or develop the country (Clausen & Velazquez 2011). Instead, they frame themselves as outside the spectrum, build up by an unawareness of policy which build-up for them, in order for them to come to Portugal (Martins & Cavaco 2018). The informants do not reflect on that they are a piece of the puzzle or a product of the policies. Instead, to think that they are a minor individual within the big machinery with no ability to change. It might come into the unsureness of where to live, which correlate of Woube (2017). The Swedish lifestyle migrants will not enrol themselves in the political scene as they are hypermobile, and not 'suffer' from the *mobility gap* (Shamir 2005) and can take the chance to be mobile once again. Thus, their wish for a lifestyle evolves into a belonging, not to any country. Thus, they do not feel themselves belong to any country. With their mobility, they can choose a location; they can choose where to live. They do not need to belong to Portugal. They can choose which degree they want to belong or to involve, thus, always frame themselves as foreigners whichever is most suitable.

Also, most of the informants answered, similar to how Nina (Int 10:189) reflects on her changing the country: "I don't want to change the country. I come here to live here to experience it. I don't

come here to change anything". Hence, the informants want to be away from their country of origin. They want no change. It correlates to how Parpart and Veltmeyer (2004) argue for development – a skewed view on a taken-for-granted development which projected onto the Global South, the underdeveloped world, must raise their standards according to be compared to the developed Global North. From the informants, it is not as south as the researcher was discussing. Still, the informants are in the European Union, where thoughts and ideas are received to be equal (Janoschka 2010). However, the same tendency exists in the informants' perceptions of Portugal, that they choose a 'Global South'-country make it their new – authentic - home. They are freer compared to when they lived in the country of origin. They now received the *quality of life,* of a perception that being 'less developed' instead of going away from a 'developed' country. A change in the development of their new world would as such taken away their choice – the quality of life would disappear.

### *Privilege*

Privilege status generally is inherent with their situation. Cohan (2013) state that it is the lifestyle which brings mobility (together with the technology), which makes it possible to aim for a particular lifestyle when being mobile. Baumann (2000) in his expression of *liquid modernity* where freedom of movement of individuals and things shapes the contempered society, lifestyle migration gives the possibility for people bring their modernity into their mobility - who are granted mobility by their citizenship – make it able to choose the lifestyle. Nina and Jordan (Int 8:196) state that for them, it is not an automatic privilege, but freedom of being who they are. Jordan tells that:

*"…I have a very well-paid job, compare in Portugal, which has a very very low pay salary and have a very low cost of living. And we have a huge privilege there to live in this country as where it is a very low cost of living. And we have a very normal European good salary, that is a privilege."* Nina fills in with that *"…which makes me the privilege to do whatever I love. because he has that well-paid job where I can still do my photography…".*

They may, in this regard, choose their lifestyle because of mobility and being granted the possibilities. They aim for a particular lifestyle. The choice to move from their home country is to enjoy their lifestyle. They have a well-paid job in a country which pursues it. Otherwise, they might choose something somewhere else. Jordan and Nina (Int 8) also aim for being 'European Citizens', because of their chance of various forms of mobility, they been caught in political entanglement which put the hard situation. Hence, they have citizenship in various countries, drivers-licence, and insurance within different European countries. They , therefore, seek to find a mobile home such as in a boat registered in a special free country which makes them even more flexible in their

country and mobility. Thus, finally, it makes them able to pursue their dream of being mobile, not entangle within the country.

It correspondences to King's (*et al.* 1998) argument on a privileged status of lifestyle migrants may not be a form of being wealthy or have money. Although, some of the informants have, on the one hand, not a status of being rich in Portugal or came there for being a privilege. Nina (Int 10) had not a very wealthy life before her time in her home countries in the north. The same with Jenny (Int 1), Patricia (Int 17), or Jennifer (Int 2) all which quite average pay work in Portugal. Some as well have very small income or no income at all (Sanne Int 5 & Fanny Int 3). While some had a well-paid job, if there were no alternative moving back, however, in comparison to how asylum-migration situation might be, lifestyle migrants have the ability to return. They always are able to choose *because* of the economic factors *to* enjoy a whished lifestyle. They might not wish to return, but a possibility exists. Nevertheless, the connection with the country of origin persists, especially form of citizenship (Bianchi & Stephenson 2013) which cannot or would not neglect. The aim of the empirical data, it cannot correlate what Huete and Mantecón's (2013) saw with British citizens which moving back when the host country's economy failed, but the situation correlates quite well to the set-up of their situation. It recalls how Simoni (2015) argues for informal tourists encounter who in their travels opt out the social phenomenon and renounce of how lifestyle migrants seek benefits most suitable in their life. To not include oneself in the society, makes it easy not be included in any social sphere, their home country and of their new country. Otherwise, they must take social responsibilities. They, therefore, surf on the wave on being 'European Citizens' which legitimise free movement (Ackers & Dwyer 2004), and as tourism and tourists, they hide their responsibilities (Bianchi 2003). Lifestyle migrants can claim that they have the same goal as a citizen within the European Union, but similar to Janoschka (2010), they only may frame it as such. Lifestyle migrants take a pass-free at the construction of the European Union, frame them as tourists, free them from responsibilities, but still must have informal means of changing their life situation.

### *Sub-discussion: Power & Decision-Making dressed in Mobility*

The informants were aware of their situation as lifestyle migrants, and what it entails to become and use their situation. They might opt out their responsibility as a citizen in one country, or even 'cherry pick' (Ackers & Dwyer 2004) certain angles which helps them to reduce things which not suit them. The socio-cultural phenomenon might be pick up or tasted away. Even if they are bound to the country, they may choose not to involve in any country. Notwithstanding, they do not want

to change anything because they came there to live there, but then become how Janoschka (2010) explains an *internal otherness* thus separate themselves from the social community. However, unlike Janoschka (2010), it results in a frame of escapism as they put themselves outside the political system, or for that matter could 'cherry pick' cultural or social systems. In one hand, define the place as their own because they have the right to me mobile and have the right through the policy to live there. On the other hand, they might not be involved in society, even if they would like. They do impact the very existence of their presence in the country. For the lifestyle migrants themselves, both are a saviour in policy entanglement, as it gives work and income; a message of policy structures (Ingram *et al.* 2007). They also have the ability to move as their mobility allows them. Moreover, they have groups which could be used for specific purposes when needed. On the other hand, they have some people against them at the country of origin where not are in favour of the policy of the citizens, who perceive the own county's policy as a failure, thus send wrong messages to the people (Schneider & Ingram 1993).

Questions could arise in what if the state-policy focus change in Portugal. Would it be the same involvement, or is it able to move to another place? If not speaking the language, they lose their voice in society on the one hand. On the other hand, they might be a more significant voice, as the whole is larger than the sum of each part.

## Informality

### *Hyper-Mobile Registration*

Janoschka (2010) arguing lifestyle migrants in the European Union claim their rights in both countries as they travel or living in different places within the zone. In the same manner, the lifestyle migrants use methods in a similar manner, claiming rights to live in another country but with the help of another. It was encountered several options of how to have Sweden in the 'background' still being in Portugal.

From my own personal background, I knew beforehand that it is possible to be in both countries, which were a question which I asked. Live informal in the country is a method of being inside the country, still figuring out what to do in life next. Jenny (Int 1) and Patricia (Int 17) live in the country and working for some few years, but still, are registered in Sweden at their family's home. Louise (Int 8) only just finish school, could live in other countries before coming to Portugal, officially live with her mother so she can travel and live in different countries. In referring to the registration, Jennifer (Int 2:20) stated that:

*"Partly, it is that I never registered in Sweden that I moved to a foreign country. Well, I never needed to do that. But to the contrary which will get a salary from my employment, I need to be able to have a write my address, and because of that I need to have an address written here, and then I had to registration at my address here."*

She yet not changed the address to Portugal, but also never told the Swedish authorities she moved and is registered by parents, though the authorities in Portugal know where she lived there. She can pass through between both countries. That is not hard, asking Jennifer (Int 2:19) it was not hard to move: "Well I think that it is easier if you are doing me through some kind of graceful not Portuguese, I think. moved here though, is just to move, it's nothing hard in the end." It is not only the *mobility gap* (Shamir 2005) makes lifestyle migrants process hypermobility with a passport which grants fluid mobility, but also fluid in the registration context. They make them live in both countries simultaneously. Roy (2005) saw that in the case of the state may exclude people from certain kind of environment or states which there allows the existence of have maniple realities. In the case of Portugal, however, pose them self-exclusion of either society, still being included in both registrations. It becomes a hyper-mobility within the policy.

In a similar vein, Iren (Int 13), also could choose when to register in Portugal. She and her husband tried to live in Portugal for a time renting a house to feel the situation before they decided to live permanently in the country. In this regard, it is becoming self-imposed mobility, trying out lifestyle before moving further in the decision. They are imposing freedom of mobility within the gap in

policies (Roy 2005), which allow them to decide their place. Not to state that they are outside the community later on but still can claim their rights to travel within their freedom and search for the *good life*. Åkerlund (2013) argue that the choice of destination is more than socio-cultural concerns, as it is also might be institutionalised on a state level, normally beneficial such as. tax break. However, it becomes a step further where the policy gap is institutionalised, which helps to combat socio-cultural steps to move. Impossible to determine within this analysis, but if this gap not existed, if it was harder to move to Portugal, would it be as Åkerlund (2013) argue, that it is even more then socio-cultural gaps which to overcome, would these individual moves?

The field of gaps in the policy makes it possible to not make any registration in the country, Fanny (Int 4) still is registered in Sweden, not making it as any difference, claiming that: "I am registered in Sweden still. We chose to do that. Because I don't work here, so it feels so unmotivated to unregister it myself. Then I'm going back home around three times a year. And if I want to go to any health centre or something like that. It should be so difficult" (Int 4:36). She registered at the embassy, but they have no obligation count of the citizens in Portugal (Conv note 3). Fanny (Int 4) lives with her new husband in suburban Lisbon, had had the network with him, so she has no need to use the healthcare system, because she does that when being home in Sweden, although she also has privet insurance in Portugal. She gains the different status informally - a multi-layered strategy in the form of transnational policies and connection with the help of the EU (Gustafson 2001; Huete & Mantecón 2011). Similar to Porters and Schauffler (1993) tend to see the state oppression as informally because it makes them survive. However, it can be argued with this that the informality makes it able to form a lifestyle migration environment. It becomes not an escape from Sweden of its legislation, but a mean of escapism (Benson & O'Reilly 2009), and it is not illegal, it is a variant of using methods outside the 'normal' field of (Cave & Dredge 2018). It makes them hyper-mobile, able to change the country as pleased and thus to pick and choose the best of the countries. It becomes the opposite of the *mobility gap* (Shamir 2005) that they can flex the systems, which in turn helps to be mobile.

### (Un)willing (in)formality

Even though it is possible to live in Portugal without registration, there are sets of obstacles which is imposed by the states. The informants who had NHR-status - those who are granted tax-breaks from the states had no other options than to follow the formal rules to be able to grant the access. Imposed by the states to move to Portugal, they gain access to tax benefits. There are heavily controlled by the states and must reinstate them in either one country or cannot be in Sweden enough time before they can lose their tax incentive (Conv note 1; Kent Int 11; Kerstin & Bengt

Int 4). Åkerlund (2013) and Åkerlund and Sandberg (2015) argue that this is one of the incentives which makes these individuals must to stay in the country to earn the privileged status. Chose Portugal still have no option to meet grandkids, such as Kerstin and Bengt (Int 4) when they were moved to Portugal and were afraid, they could not come enough times: "there were a few people who actually moved back because they thrive so well here. The grandchildren can come down, so no because they want to go to their grandparents also" (Int 4:51). But as Kent (Int 11) visits Sweden little less but have his holiday home to be living there come back to the family "And then I have a so-called 'holiday cottage'. But other than that, I only have children and grandchildren. Otherwise, no choice left. all day companies are gone, everything is away" (Int 11:215). It becomes a self-imposing un-freedom in their quest for freedom. The state policies formalise their fixity, which in return, they were not against. But a formalisation for their freedom becomes contradictory as the state questions their decision-making to *get away* from Sweden. In Kent's (Int 1:223) quote above, it shows that there is a tendency that he had a retreat to go to, he later tells that he can live there, but it as he sees it not defined what a summer house is, he has an apartment which he can go back. Although that point cannot be confirmed, it indicates that there is an informal action. The apartment is not defined by the policy; he may live as 'normal' in Sweden. He does not do it, but the possibility exists.

These incentives restrict mobility, but other also from within the European Union also exist, as Janoschka (2010) argues, the idea of the European Union is to bring mobility to the citizens but executed by some, however, which is restricted by the states for them to be able to consume in the country (Padilla & França 2016). Hyper-mobility extends within their connected families and friends as visits – mobility stretches when they choose more restricted mobility. Although, it seems to by-pass state-imposed mobility when buying a summer house in the form of an apartment which does not seem to be restricted by any policy. Also, Johan and Mikael (Int 6) also know acquaintances who use the different mean of living outside their country, such as living in Spain but have a post box in Portugal, or Jordan and Nina (Int 10) gave an indication that it exists that there are people who have different forms. None of them which could be confirmed, but the tendencies towards taking informal means. Ackers and Dwyer (2004) argue that there are formed by policies in the European Union to 'cherry pick' their status. It is nothing the informants were agreeing, but these have to be possibilities. With citizenship, they maintain the order of transnational structures, similar to how Glick Schiller and Frykman (2018) argue. But it contradicts the claim on being tourists. In the eyes of policies in Portugal, they do not become tourist (ET27 2017; Montezuma & McGarrigle 2018).

The most informants wanted or tried to register or make their status right. Some contrast to this was Fanny (Int 4), Jenny (Int 1), Patricia (Int 17) and Jennifer (Int 2) where formality registered in Portugal but formally that they contributed to the country. Patricia (Int 17) claimed her work as a holiday representative, she contributes to the country with the help of her work and spreading the good word. However, none of them paid taxes in the country. Nevertheless, there were situations where informants tried to make their situation as formal as possible but lost the ability to make it right because of the complex bureaucratic system. Making a living in the country and a wished lifestyle, they use informal methods. Nina and Jordan (Int 10) in 6 countries combined; married at a Swedish embassy in Morocco only because to have the right papers, and the other countries they could not prove they were unmarried; drivers licence Sweden and Germany which must be changed when it expires in the new country; insurance in the Netherlands. Recently they moved from Spain to Portugal but became so bureaucratically complicated with an entanglement that they had no other choice than to use informal methods in registrations. Ackers and Dwyer (2004) indicated that the European Union does have the formal right without constraints, but they saw that some actions were taken not always was on purpose. Jordan and Nina (Int 10) had no other method than attaching strings of their formal citizenship. It makes them be able to migrate and thus take actions within forms of informal methods. They cannot be fully formal in any country. The state inevitable failure to be able to close the gaps between citizens outside their own country, they become 'lost in translation' – not able to 'translate' their citizenship to another country. Still, however, they must keep their citizenship and keep the formally, which makes them engaged between countries and residencies. Porters and Schauffler (1993) compared the informal entrepreneur as an economic hero who could survive despite state oppression. In the case of Portugal, they try to survive in with the help of informal actions. But not to forget they were hyper-mobility to move around the European Union (Shamir 2005; Janoschka 2010), allows them to overcome the gaps of policy with mobility. In the quest of a wished life, and if compare to asylum-seekers, they were free to use different kinds of life situation and choosing their place to live.

### *Informality - a Mean to Lifestyle*

As in the above analysis, several methods of how to employ from both countries. Some other examples were Jennifer (Int 2) who rented her apartment in Sweden for a higher price that she only may work half-time in Portugal. She is given a liberating life which granted when moving South. Before Kent (Int 11) knew how to register the goods when moving to Portugal, he did not register the car in Portugal the fore he was cross the border to Spain once over every 6 months to overcome the transfer tax of the car price which is more expensive than in Sweden. Sanne (Int 4) also had

social security in the form of disability pension. Yet another example was Susanne (Int 7) have insurance in Sweden, so if it happened anything in Portugal, she could easily get home if urgent. What the informants have resonates to Ackers and Dwyer's (2004) 'cherry picking', however, in these cases they might pick aspects they could; taking some part from Sweden, to bring it with them to their new country. It becomes informal insurance which secures them a life lifestyle they desired.

In Bastia's (2015) view on Argentina's South-South migration, which showed how immigrant operate within other forms of informality but mediate their role within formalised space. Critically, acknowledge that it is not only the 'South-South' migration but also 'North-North' migration where the informants operate informally to gain access to a different lifestyle. Unlike Nazier and Ramadan (2015) who argued that the informality leads to poverty, but informality is a much wider spectrum of usage and who may use informal methods. It acknowledges that informally is used within a different context for different situations. The informants use informality in a formal context, as Gehring (2016) noted, migrants from the north mediate between the countries. They possess formal means within existing policies and legal framework but have other informal methods within the same systems. It goes beyond the border of illegal or legal (Altstock 2012), on the one hand, not illegal to take policies or actions in Portugal, but may not against be '*right*' action. They are also taking advantage of social structures by their position as lifestyle migrants. Susanne (Int 7) who bought a new house with her husband and they needed people to work in the house:

*"he was taken for work into another company. So, we only pay for the company. We got good contact with him and we discover what salary he had […] And when that work was done, he came in work for us. And then he got a more normal salary […] They are working very hard. No, it never feels good too using people. […] I have a guy who I asked for "ah yes, can you come here some hours - yes I can maybe some hours next week". And, of course, he has another work, and then of course we are paying him for those 2 hours, so he thinks it's worth to come here instead." (Int 7:131)*

She took a position as a migrant from the north given the possibilities give a higher salary, even though she stated: "because we are not millionaires" (Int 7:131). The informant reflects on their own status, compares it to others who possess better situated economic life. But pay for work in the formal sector, only because that is possible and wants to have that person working for her, and she may pay the extra to get that service. In this way, she helps the part of the community economically with those who are working hard and gives work. In another perspective, it might raise prices of others in the community, only afford for those who have money. The rise of the price of all in the community to have a better economy, as they may have a meagre salary, lifestyle

migrants may rise their potential power. Nevertheless, this analysis is not to excavate the economic factors. It must, however, take the example as they get the power to choose. They may take informal actions, within the formal economic sector with their position, thus have the power to choose who does the job, how it should be done, and evaluate the quality. Not only do they mediate between the country of origin (Gehring 2016) but also, they may navigate and mediate between different system. They can help cherry pick (Ackers & Dwyer 2004) whom to hire, way of labour, and economic advancement; in comparison to the locals. Thus, not only the poorer sector (Truong 2018) that navigates with mean with informal actions for an objective. It recalls Jack (Int 12) earlier who had problems within the social informality. He, as a foreigner, could not take part in the lower prices when constructing his house, that informality makes them not automatically included.

### *Sub-discussion: Informality*

In agreeing on the argument of Roy (2005), that informality can something do good or do the best practice. Individuals want to live their lives in one place, with this using those methods with is lay on the table to grab. It is, however, not an illegal activity, also what the informants strongly condemned. It links rather to the edge of what policy may accomplish (Altrock 2012). Informality fills the gap within the cracks of what policies is able to accomplish. The informality for the lifestyle migrants not purely economic creates a choice of freedom of life.

The question is if they have achieved the *quality of life* – getting away from the shallowness from their home country (Benson & O'Reilly 2009) if lifestyle migrants must search for quality with the help of informality. They received their qualitative life with the help of informality. As already highlighted informality has not anything illegal terms or oppose to the mindset being inadequate, it assists in receiving the desired lifestyle where the informants have to use their country of origin, or any other country to make a choice. The question is if that is freedom or escapes from another country because the transnational link exists, still, depend on another county. However, with the informality, the informants completely not cut the ties. It raises the question if the move from Sweden to have an authentic life, as they are able to hang into Sweden. Is it the authentic experience as Benson and O'Reilly (2009) argued? Arguably, the purpose is to gain new experience, but it is hard to tell where the tourists and where the immigration starts. They have a dependency on two (or more) countries is sometimes necessary to fulfil a wished lifestyle.

How Porters and Schauffler (1993) and Nazier and Ramadan (2015) argue that informality most is more than a way of survival. It becomes a mean to make a wished lifestyle. It could be comparing with Bastia (2015) there is a common link which in both the 'South Migrants' and 'North Migrants'

were using the informality in a situation to get to a specific place. Whereas the 'wealthier North' may have the power to use it for a specific purpose which is powered by hyper-mobility. The wealthier can operate within a landscape which is, but it is framed differently accordingly to once place of the globe (Truong 2018). Informality is, or how it projected, which is a mare imposes of a usage, where it can be used by the privileged. It is not about less regulatory control to improve livelihood. It is not illegal, nor legal - it becomes in-between status framed as the non-wealthy take informal actions, as well as lifestyle migrants, may gain a possibility to travel and to be mobile.

## 11. Discussion

In the quest of *quality of life*, lifestyle migration is embedded within several different transnational ties to make it able, in a certain degree, have a preferred status. The mobility will not fully cover the status of lifestyle migrants, thus still to some degree have ties back to their country of origin, willingly or unwillingly. Using informality ties with the nation-state cannot be eliminated due to the nation-states are an attachment. Cut the strings may lose their status as lifestyle migrant and means to informality, which imply that they lose the desired lifestyle. What plays a role between the nation-state is a citizenship and political results, therefore, in ties which might come dual responsibilities; back to their nation-state but lives in another. Instead, they try to keep both of the nation-states on arm length distance to not fully be able to lift one foot from either of them. Contradictorily, still trying to attach the new state's culture as close to them. Similar to tourism, as Bianchi (2003) noted, different groups can allow themselves to exclude different political, economic and social groups, lifestyle migrants may also frame a self-excluding dressed as tourism, to gain a particular desired lifestyle. It allows them to define their reality and their lifestyle (Huete *et al.* 2009) with a transnational tie between countries they connected. These ties may also evoke a gap in which the new host nation-state. On one the hand, they may not enter the social community of the new nation and may not enter their informal actions. On the other hand, they socially and culturally (apart from family and some friends) cut their ties with their nation-state of origin, however still depended on the same nation's rules and framework.

The informants became open to learning a new perspective of the world's order. The division becomes blurry what could be inherently *good* or *bad* in either country not become distinguishable. This discernment may turn against the country of origin in proclaiming its failure in comparison to the new country. In turn, it reaffirms their choice of lifestyle, their mobility and they are desired to belong to the new nation-state. Paradoxically, still a certain attachment to the home country – thus not completely cut ties nor attached. The desire to live outside their country of origin, Portugal *per se* not necessarily become the aim, but as a mean to be outside a culture they did not conform within their mindset. Attachment to the new county comes only after time, not before or when moving there. Neither is the economic factor the objective. For some, they got in the worse position, but the social factor drives them there. Therefore, the two aspects blend into a complex mosaic of motivation, where one cannot exclude the other. The economic factors are indeed becoming a social factor. Polity gives lifestyle migrants a privileged status. The messages in policy (Ingram 2007) focuses on the privileged group in Portugal. The informants do create a sphere of influence dictated by policies that gives them the ability to act based on their status through the

power of the policy. This might not be an effort for the lifestyle migrants but may not comprehend the direction of policy in their favour. If lifestyle migrants frame themselves as tourists, they may use the system in both countries are there, which in various degree contagiously can be used without hinder of mobility. Being a tourist help them to leap responsibilities of either nation-state, thus frame it as escapism within permanent mobility away from their country of origin.

The desire to find a perfect fit between countries may result in exclusion from either state. Using transnational informal methods from the country of origin may result in social and cultural exclusion. Language becomes an important role and tool to enter society. It seems as the lifestyle migrants must cut the ties with the home country to access social means with the new country. However, in this manner, they might lose their hypermobility and the power of what mobility give access to, and which maintain the perception of the good life and quality of life.

## 12. Conclusion

This master thesis had taken a step towards new findings in lifestyle migration. Going outside the realm of motivation and into a mindset of what constitutes lifestyle migration, juxtaposed lifestyle migration with informality. With the help of political and policy decision, lifestyle migrants navigate their status with the help of both countries, making it able to not entirely cut their strings towards their home country to reach an aim to or desired live outside the country of origin. Citizenship of the country of origin does matter for living in the new host country. Their status, not as mare residents, grants access to mobility makes their status important because they can move if not fit their lifestyle. It is an urge of living abroad which drives them out of the country, not the country itself. With the help of informal actions, with different small means, they entangle themselves with both countries for their own benefit. The status becomes critical, because they are mobile, in some degree outside control of both nation-states. Motivation cannot alone explain the choice as it becomes entangled within the several layers of mobility, policy or other access to benefits.

The empirical data shows informality is used as a mean. Formal registration is one factor which shown effective, especially when deciding the type of life before definitely settle. It is shown that cars insurance registration, social security, as well as other different forms of earning money that may be use as means for their new life. However, informality does not transfer in a social context, integration is also an introduction to various forms of informality. A dual residency allows using their status as citizens in one country, on the one hand, to gain access to certain benefits, on the other hand, they find certain benefits in the other country not being citizens there. Also, they fall into *gaps* in other aspects, such as in responsibilities. Having another citizenship tied with transnational connection helps them to be in-between two countries.

This thesis scratched the surface on transnational informality in lifestyle migration. Further studies may take one of either step of informality; over/under of formal registration in either country, informal methods of earning money to live a simpler life not to work as much as lifestyle migrant, or different kind of insurance, similar to Gehring (2016), to make it possible to have a quality of life. Furthermore, studies can also direct a macro-economic focus where it can evaluate the scale and effect of informality such informality. Lastly, as this study mostly focused on the lifestyle migrant, further insights can view on how the local residents perceive them. Informality within lifestyle migration can also further examine the using policies, and how to position different groups are reaching to them (Clausen & Gyimóthy 2016), or how to include informality within the governmental structures (Dredge 2005).

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## 14. Appendix

*(See annexed document)*