Master of Arts

in European Studies

The Portuguese Dream

A Promotion-Oriented Discourse on TikTok of

Post COVID-19 Lifestyle Migrants in Portugal

Author
Natalie de Souza

Supervisor
Mattias Nowak

Abstract

This thesis explores the discursive depiction of life in Portugual from the perspective of lifestyle migrants and digital nomads on TikTok. The aim of this thesis is to uncover the motivations of foreigners to live in Portugal, lifestyle migrants' integration into Portuguese society, and their acknowledgement of the growing gentrification issues in Portugal. The method used in this study is Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis and has been adapted to allow for analysation of social media videos and their comment sections. The research is supported with theories of nation branding and country image, concepts of social media, virtual communities, language and migration, and gentrification. The material consists of 25 videos posted to TikTok by lifestyle migrants and digital nomads living in Portugal, and was selected with certain criteria in mind to ensure a degree of similarity amongst the content and its creators. The analysis of the TikTok videos include language, visuals, and interactions between viewers and content creators via comments left on the videos. The results of this thesis find that Portugal is portrayed as an attractive country for relocation for many lifestyle migrants due to qualities such as climate, affordability, and language, among others. Although a major selling point for migrants, the wide-spread use of English in Portugal in addition to large expat communities, also appeared to be a hindrance in their ability to integrate into Portuguese society. The analysis also revealed that a large portion of the videos analysed addressed the topic of gentrification in Portugal, with several content creators shining a light on the privileges of digital nomads and existing issues of inequality in Portugal.

Key words: Portugal, digital nomads, TikTok, gentrification, critical discourse analysis, social media, lifestyle migration, remote work, integration, language, expats

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1   Introduction

After experiencing an economic slump since 2000,[1] Portugal suddenly saw a significant influx of immigration after an extensive period of emigration. This resulted in a considerable change regarding patterns of migration for a medium-sized country with just 10.4 million inhabitants. In 2017, more than 14,800 migrants arrived in the country compared to a previous negative number of migration, or rather a high level of emigration causing a reduction in the population of 629 people in the year prior.[2] Along with this relative steep increase in migration, especially considering the Portuguese context, the Iberian state has also seen a large wave of so-called *lifestyle migrant* arrivals in just the past two years; namely those on digital nomad[3] visas.[4] Lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals who choose to migrate to new, typically less economically developed places in the interest of a higher quality of life.[5] Becoming and being a lifestyle migrant, and especially a digital nomad, has during the last years constituted a growing phenomenon, made possible in part due to the digitalization and technological developments in combination with the COVID-19 pandemic, allowing many the option to choose where they live.[6] A factor which has indubitably contributed to the digital nomad phenomena, is social media; a gateway to a plethora of content from all around the world, including information about migration possibilities as well as so-called nation branding.[7] What separates content on social media from traditional patterns of communication, including promotion of countries, is the larger degree of genuinity regarding the

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[1] Reis, Ricardo. "The Portuguese Slump and Crash and the Euro Crisis." Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 2013, 143–93. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23594865.
[2] Statistics Portugal, Demographic indicators, Net migration (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual, Accessed March 5, 2024, https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&contecto=pi&indOcorrCod=0008269&selTab=tab0.
[3] A digital nomad is an individual who has the ability, through their earnings and type of career, to work independent from any specific location.
[4] Bárbara Baltarejo, "Um Ano, 2600 Vistos. Os Nómadas Digitais Gostam De Viajar Ou Vêm Para Ficar?," PÚBLICO, November 3, 2023, Accessed March 2, 2024, https://www.publico.pt/2023/11/03/p3/noticia/ano-2600-vistos-nomadas-digitais-gostam-viajar-vem-ficar-2068427.
[5] Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly, 'Migration and the Search for a Better Way of Life: A Critical Exploration of Lifestyle Migration', *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 4 (November 2009): 608–625, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01864.x.
[6] "Return to Office? How COVID-19 and Remote Work Reshaped the Economy," Princeton University Press, May 30, 2023, Accessed March 19, 2024, https://press.princeton.edu/ideas/return-to-office-how-covid-19-and-remote-work-reshaped-the-economy.
[7] Keith Dinnie, *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*, Reprinted (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2009): 47.

communicated content, as it often comes from laypeople recounting their personal experiences.[8] This, in turn, allows viewers - the recipients and consumers of information - to feel more closely connected to the digital content creators, generating a greater sense of credibility of the content consumed.[9]

The growing visibility of Portugal as an increasingly popular tourist hotspot, in combination with social media content created about tourism as well as ways of living in Portugal, has generally led to more affluent migrants discovering Portugal as a place to either temporarily live, or settle down in. Although this increase in tourism and arrivals of affluent migrants has improved Portugal's economy and GDP[10], it has in various ways not played in the favour of local Portuguese communities. According to prominent reporter of *Los Angeles Times*, Jaweed Kaleem, who wrote an article titled *Welcome to Portugal, the new expat haven. Californians, please go home,* the stark increase in the cost of living, due in large part to the *Airbnbification[11]* of major Portuguese cities, has pushed many locals out of their homes. This led to a situation where evictions of locals more than doubled within merely a few years.[12] As elaborated by two scholars within the field of geography, Karl Krähmer and Marco Santangelo, this new wave of migration, paired with a history of substantial emigration of Portuguese citizens[13], has led to a rapid gentrification of many Portuguese cities and neighbourhoods.[14]

[8] Alic, Adi, A. Pestek, and A. Sadinlija. "Use of social media influencers in tourism." Trade perspectives 2017 specialization and customer centered retailing (2017): 177-189.

[9] Lara Madureira and Bráulio Alturas, 'Impact of Social Media Influencers on the Portuguese Tourism and Travel Industry in a Covid-19 Era', in *Marketing and Smart Technologies*, ed. José Luís Reis et al., vol. 280, Smart Innovation, Systems and Technologies (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022), 391–403, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-9272-7_32.

[10] "2023 Country Report - Portugal," European Commission, May 24, 2023, accessed March 19, 2024, https://economy-finance.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-05/PT_SWD_2023_622_en.pdf.

[11] Airbnbification is the the evolving socio-cultural environment that Airbnb has created in urban neighbourhoods.

[12] Jaweed Kaleem, "Expats Are Moving to Portugal, Taking Gentrification With Them - Los Angeles Times," Los Angeles Times, July 24, 2022, accessed March 19, 2024, https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2022-05-12/california-expats-portugal-relocation-lisbon.

[13] da Costa Cabral, Nazaré. "Migrants' access to social protection in Portugal." Migration and Social Protection in Europe and Beyond (Volume 1) Comparing Access to Welfare Entitlements (2020): 345-359.

[14] Krähmer, Karl, and Marco Santangelo. "Gentrification without gentrifiers? Tourism and real estate investment in Lisbon." Sociabilidades Urbanas–Revista de Antropologia e Sociologia 2, no. 6 (2018): 151-165.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

This thesis aims to understand and analytically discuss the discourse on migration to, and life in Portugal as discursively depicted on TikTok by English speaking digital content creators, from the years 2021 - 2024. Methodologically, the analysis is conducted using professor Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis.[15] Using CDA allows a deep insight into the patterns of messages and meanings within and behind the information articulated online in relation to lifestyle migration to Portugal. The following research questions will be answered:

1) What are the main motivations that foreigners have for relocating to Portugal as discursively articulated by digital content creators?
2) How have lifestyle migrants integrated into Portuguese society?
3) To what extent do digital content creators acknowledge the issue of gentrification in Portugal resulting from the influx of lifestyle migrants?

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[15] Norman Fairclough is an English Linguistics Professor at Lancaster University, and one of the pioneers of Critical Discourse Analysis.

2. Background

2.1 The Tourism Boom and Connection to Migration to Portugal

In 2019, Portugal saw the arrival of 27.9 million tourists in accommodation; a significant increase of 10 million tourists annually from five years prior.[16] Portugal's tourism boom, in combination with the digital nomad visa and golden visa schemes[17], have resulted in masses of foreigners, especially affluent lifestyle migrants, moving to Portugal. Only five years later, that number has multiplied six fold to over 86,000 immigrants in Portugal in 2022.[18] Many have made the decision to move based on several factors, such as climate, healthcare, affordability, and safety, which make Portugal an attractive place to live, raise a family, and enjoy life.[19] When discussing migration to Portugal, it is important to differentiate between lifestyle migrants and labour or humanitarian migrants. Lifestyle migrants are those in search of a better quality of life and are privileged in the sense that they can easily relocate due to their citizenship and financial situation.[20] On the contrary, humanitarian migrants are those who feel compelled to move, such as: "(1) refugees, (2) asylum seekers, (3) internally displaced people (IDPs), (4) victims of trafficking, and (5) unaccompanied migrant minors."[21] Labour migration, on the other hand, is the migration of people with an intent to become employed or somehow earn an income. [22]

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[16] Statista, "Number of Overnight Tourist Arrivals in Portugal," March 6, 2023, www.statista.com/statistics/413252/number-of-arrivals-spent-in-short-stay-accommodation-in-portugal/, accessed March 6, 2024.

[17] A golden visa is a real estate investment scheme which allows individuals who purchase property in Portugal valued at half a million euros minimum, to be granted residency permits. For more information, visit the Portuguese Immigration and Border Services official website: https://www.sef.pt/pt/Pages/Homepage.aspx

[18] Statistics Portugal Institute, Demographic indicators, Net migration (No.) by Place of residence (NUTS - 2013); Annual, accessed March 5, 2024, https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&contecto=pi&indOcorrCod=0008269&selTab=tab0.

[19] Jaweed Kaleem, 'Welcome to Portugal, the New Expat Haven. Californians, Please Go Home', *LA Times*, 12 May 2022, accessed April 7, 2024. https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2022-05-12/california-expats-portugal-relocation-lisbon.

[20] Jennifer McGarrigle, Peter Scholten (ed.), Introduction to Migration Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), Chapter 10, Lifestyle Migration: 169-174.

[21] Cathrine Talleraas, Jan-Paul Brekke, and Franz Buhr, Peter Scholten (ed.), Introduction to Migration Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), Chapter 9 Humanitarian Migration, 151.

[22] Laura Oso, Paweł Kaczmarczyk, and Justyna Salamońska, Peter Scholten (ed.), Introduction to Migration Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), Chapter 7 Labour Migration, 117.

For the middle-class, specifically non-EU/EEA citizen lifestyle migrants, there exist several pathways for immigrating to Portugal. The most expensive option, the golden visa, is a popular option for those looking to retire in Portugal while also investing in property; typically valued at half a million euros, at minimum.[23] This visa grants applicants the right of residency in Portugal, after which they can eventually apply for Portuguese citizenship.[24] One of the earlier visas available to non-EU citizens, is the passive income visa, which requires that the applicant have a passive income stream of at least the minimum wage salary in Portugal (€820 per month in 2024) and allows them to stay in Portugal for several years, with the possibility of renewal, and eventually Portuguese citizenship.[25] One of the most recently released visas, which quickly rose to popularity, is the digital nomad visa. This visa was launched in 2022, and allows applicants who provide proof of earning at least 4 times the minimum wage salary in Portugal for the previous 3 months from remote work to live in Portugal for one to two years.[26]

The release of the novel digital nomad visa came with other amendments to Portuguese immigration law.[27] Portugal's Deputy Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Ana Catarina Mendes of the Portuguese Socialist Party, advocated for the new law during a plenary meeting of the Assembly of the Republic: "Portugal is a country of immigration. A country that receives, every year, thousands of immigrants who seek opportunities here. A country that wants to receive immigrants as it wants its emigrants to be received."[28] This decision did not come without controversy, however, as eleven of twelve deputies of the Conservative Party *CHEGA* made a statement by suddenly leaving the plenary session. According to *Publico*, a major Portuguese newspaper, they left the session while Augusto Santos Silva, President of the Assembly of the Republic at the time, responded to a

[23] 'SEF - Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras', Portal Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, accessed 10 May 2024, https://www.sef.pt.

[24] "Ari - Autorização de Residência Para Actividade de Investimento." Vistos. accessed March 4, 2024. URL: vistos.mne.gov.pt/pt/ari-autorizacao-de-residencia-para-actividade-de-investimento.

[25] "Foreigners Act: Visa and Residence Permit Applications Will Be Simpler," ePortugal.gov.pt, accessed March 4, 2024, https://eportugal.gov.pt/en/noticias/lei-dos-estrangeiros-pedidos-de-vistos-e-autorizacao-de-residencia-vao-ser-mais-simples.

[26] Ibid.

[27] 'Assembleia da República aprova alterações à «Lei dos Estrangeiros»', Government (República Portuguesa, 21 July 2022), accessed May 9, 2024, https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=assembleia-da-republica-aprova-alteracoes-a-lei-dos-estrangeiros.

[28] Maria Lopes and Sofia Rodrigues, 'Deputados do Chega abandonam plenário em protesto contra Santos Silva', *Publico*, 21 July 2022, accessed May 9, 2024, https://www.publico.pt/2022/07/21/politica/noticia/deputados-chega-abandonam-plenario-protesto-santos-silva-2014529.

comment made by *CHEGA's* leader André Ventura. The comment in question was a firm opposition to the immigration law amendments, which would ease entry processes to Portugal for many more immigrants, notably benefiting those from former Portuguese colonies (CPLP - Community of Portuguese Language Countries).[29] Before exiting the meeting, Ventura expressed his opinions, stating that the left and the Government are opening the country's doors to those who "only want to come and live on subsidies" and neglect the Portuguese people who work and who were the ones who built and sustain the existence of Parliament. The multitude of pathways for migration and investment in Portugal has made migration to the country increasingly accessible for not only those with substantial wealth, but also middle-class remote workers.[30]

2.2 Government Incentives and Gentrification in Portugal

Once known to foreigners for its affordable living costs, Portugal has recently become too costly even for some expats and lifestyle migrants.[31] After the global economic crisis of the mid-2000s, Portugal came to be one of the poorest nations in Europe.[32] In an effort to boost the country's economy, Portugal's government put policies in place attracting wealthy foreigners to invest in the country, one of them being the Golden Visa, released in 2012. When Portugal initially landed on peoples' radars as a vacation hotspot and remote work haven, prices were generally low for those earning in foreign currencies. The Portuguese government's policies are seen as hasty decision making by some, as they omitted certain significant aspects such as cryptocurrency tax cuts.[33] This oversight led to Portugal gaining visibility as a 'crypto haven', as investors would not be taxed on their crypto derived capital gains.[34]

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[29] 'Alterações à Lei dos Estrangeiros simplifica procedimentos', Government (República Portuguesa, 30 September 2022), accessed March 4, 2024, https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=alteracoes-a-lei-dos-estrangeiros-simplifica-proc edimentos.

[30] For more information on migration pathways in Portugal, visit the Portuguese Immigration and Border Services official website: https://www.sef.pt/pt/Pages/Homepage.aspx

[31] Kaleem, 'Welcome to Portugal, the New Expat Haven. Californians, Please Go Home'.

[32] Kaleem.

[33] Pieter Haeck and Gian Volpicelli, 'Portugal's Digital Nomad Bubble Poised to Pop', *Politico*, 1 January 2023, accessed March 19, 2024, https://www.politico.eu/article/portugal-digital-nomads-bubble-gentrification/.

[34] Haeck and Volpicelli.

Aside from investors and entrepreneurs being drawn in, Portugal welcomed digital nomads and pensioners, with high incomes compared to local salaries. Along with the influx of digital nomads and lifestyle migrants, came a boom in short term rentals available through online accommodation rentals marketplace, Airbnb.[35] According to an article by *Politico*, the rapid Airbnbification of popular Portuguese cities has been maintained by some to be one of the main reasons as to the forceful eviction of many locals.[36] This shift in resident groups led to a stark increase in accommodation costs, and an overall bump in the cost of living for major Portuguese cities. In an article titled, *How a rise in digital nomads is driving people out of cities*, Dave Cook from Portuguese news publication *Publico* investigated the situation:

> But the Portuguese capital, like many other urban centres, is facing a housing crisis. Activists, like Rita Silva, from the organisation Habita!, say that this influx is worsening things for the location population: "We are a small country and Lisbon is a small city, but the foreign population is growing and it's very visible in the cafés and restaurants."[37]

The population of foreigners has grown so visible in fact, that in certain parts of the city, Silva claims, "you no longer hear Portuguese, you hear English." In his article, Cook proceeds by noting that creative hubs and co-working spaces have been appearing in what were previously traditional working-class areas. This is causing a rise in the cost of living, beyond even popular tourist spots such as Príncipe Real and Bairro Alto. So much so, that a one-bedroom apartment in a digital nomad hotspot costs, generally, 63% of a local salary.[38]

Due to its historic nature, Alfama has become one of the most popular neighbourhoods in Lisbon for tourism and lifestyle migrants. This area has been subject to staggering gentrification, which as a direct result of the skyrocketing inflation of rent, has forced

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[35] Peter Yeung, 'Portugal Passes "Right to Housing" Law As Prices Surge', *Bloomberg*, 8 July 2019, accessed April 6, 2024,
https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-08/housing-law-in-portugal-to-slow-gentrification?embedded-checkout=true.
[36] Haeck and Volpicelli, 'Portugal's Digital Nomad Bubble Poised to Pop'.
[37] Dave Cook, 'Como um aumento de nómadas digitais está a atirar pessoas para fora das cidades', PÚBLICO, 3 April 2023, accessed May 9, 2024,
https://www.publico.pt/2023/04/03/p3/noticia/aumento-nomadas-digitais-atirar-pessoas-cidades-2044843.https://www.publico.pt/2023/04/03/p3/noticia/aumento-nomadas-digitais-atirar-pessoas-cidades-2044843, my translation.
[38] Cook.

many locals out of their homes.[39] With 10.4 million residents,[40] and 2.9 million pensioners,[41] Portugal's retired population makes up nearly one third of the entire country's population. The elderly population is, of course, one of the most vulnerable to the consequences of gentrification, however other groups such as immigrants, low-wage workers, and parents have also been affected. In an article by *Euronews* titled *The Dark Side of Tourism: Lisbon's 'Terramotourism'*, a mother of two living in Alfama, receiving only €500 per month and paying €270 per month for rent, was evicted from her apartment. The eviction notice comes as her apartment block is being converted into short-term rental properties.[42] In another stark example of Lisbon's relentless displacement of vulnerable populations, Maria Lopes, aged 77, experienced intimidation tactics in the hopes that she would desert her apartment. Due to Lopes' low pension, she is unable to leave her home – as a result she lives in fear, "There is no use in painting my place now, I don't know when I'll have to leave. I barely have any energy left [...] I'm scared of the day someone shows up and I'll just have to go," she says.[43] Lopes' experience exemplifies general patterns of attitudes of gentrification, increasingly articulated by Portuguese locals affected by affluent migrant arrivals.

[39] Davide Mancini and Catarina Gomes, 'The Dark Side of Tourism: Lisbon's "Terramotourism"', *Euronews*, 19 September 2017, accessed April 8, 2024,
https://www.euronews.com/2017/09/19/lisbon-s-tourism-magnet-is-kicking-out-local-residents.
[40] Statistics Portugal Institute, 'População residente (Série longa, início 1991 - N.º) por Local de residência (NUTS - 2013), Sexo e Idade; Anual', 2022, accessed April 6, 2024,
https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&contecto=pi&indOcorrCod=0000256&selTab=tab0.
[41] Statistics Portugal Institute, 'Pensionistas da segurança social em 31 dezembro (N.º) por Tipo de pensão; Anual (2)', 2022, accessed April 6, 2024,
https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0004325&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=pt.
[42] Mancini and Gomes, 'The Dark Side of Tourism: Lisbon's "Terramotourism"'.
[43] Beatriz Ramalho da Silva, 'Luxury Homes, Short Lets and Shacks: Inside Lisbon's Housing Crisis', *The Guardian*, 22 December 2021, accessed March 19, 2024,
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/22/luxury-homes-short-lets-and-shacks-inside-lisbons-housing-crisis.

3. Literature Review

The following chapter provides a conceptual framework on existing literature and concepts within the field of lifestyle migration, remote work, social media and country promotion, and finally gentrification.

3.1 Tourism and Lifestyle Migration

In this section, the connections between tourists and lifestyle migrants are defined and explained. I also introduce the concepts of consumption-led and production-led migrants, and their connections to various kinds of migration. In the latter half of the literature review, the cultural phenomenon of the remote work revolution is explained.

Tourism, as described by English scholars Williams and Hall in three key points, is short term travel from days to months long, takes place away from one's local residence, and does not include the intent to visit destinations for employment or permanent residence purposes.[44] The aspect of non-permanence is traditionally a key differentiator between tourism and migration. However, lifestyle migration challenges this as it comprises both permanent and temporary mobility, as displayed in the below model. According to sociologists Benson and O'Reilly, lifestyle migration pertains to, "relatively affluent individuals, moving either part-time or full-time, permanently or temporarily, to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life."[45] Lifestyle migrants can be distinguished from other migrants due to their relative privilege in regard to their financial status and citizenship, allowing them ease of mobility, as stated by McGarrigle.[46] The key aspect of privilege is what allows lifestyle migrants the freedom of choice in relocation based on their preferences and visions in relation to quality of life.

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[44] Allan M. Williams and C. Michael Hall, 'Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption', *Tourism Geographies* 2, no. 1 (January 2000): 5–27, https://doi.org/10.1080/146166800363420.

[45] Benson and O'Reilly, 'Migration and the Search for a Better Way of Life', 621.

[46] Jennifer McGarrigle, 'Chapter 10 Lifestyle Migration', in *Introduction to Migration Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity* (Springer International Publishing, 2022), 169–89.
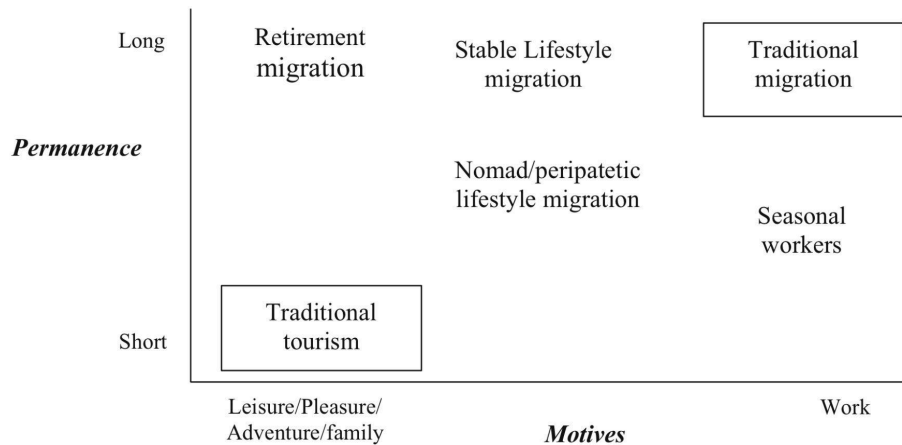
Figure 1 - Forms of mobility and the evolving tourism-migration nexus (Dinis, 2021)[47]

Two typologies have been discerned to describe migrants. Originally depicted by Williams and Hall[48] and elaborated by Portuguese scholar Denis, consumption-led and production-led migration are concepts which recognize the purpose of the migrant in relation to their mobility type. Production-led migration refers to migrants planning to work in tourism, whereas consumption-led migration relates to migrants aiming to benefit from a touristic environment.[49] Within this typology exists a further differentiation of migrant types. Production-led migrants can be categorised by labour, entrepreneurial, and return migrants; whereas consumption-led migrants can be classified by economically active and retirement migrants. However, as remarked by Dinis, the below model created by Williams and Hall fails to note the possibility of entrepreneurial consumption-led migrants.[50]

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[47] Anabela Dinis, 'Tourism, Immigrants and Lifestyle Entrepreneurship: The (In)Coming of People as a Key Factor for Sustainability of Low-Density Territories—A Case Study in Portugal', in *The Impact of Tourist Activities on Low-Density Territories*, ed. Rui Pedro Marques et al., Tourism, Hospitality & Event Management (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 149–82, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65524-2_7.

[48] Williams and Hall, 'Tourism and Migration'.

[49] Dinis, 'Tourism, Immigrants and Lifestyle Entrepreneurship'.

[50] Dinis.

	Mobility		Age		
	Temporary	Permanent	Younger	Older	Property Ownership
Production-led migration					
Labour	x	x	x		
Entrepreneurial		x	x		x
Return		x	x	x	x
Consumption-led migration					
Economically active		x	x		x
Retirement	x	x		x	x

Table 1 - Source: Williams and Hall (2002, 26)[51]

3.2 Digital Nomadism and the Cultural Phenomenon of the Remote Work Revolution

The mass shift to remote work during the Covid-19 pandemic has challenged the working norms for many around the world, leading to a more normalised remote work culture, as stated by German researchers Voll et al.[52] Due to the enhanced accessibility and standardisation of remote work, there has been a spike in digital nomads. As maintained by social anthropologist Mancinelli, digital nomads are working individuals who are able to travel while working remotely from essentially any location offering wireless internet access. [53] A nomadic lifestyle is attractive to digital nomads as they are able to, while working, benefit from an entirely new environment; learn a new language, live within new cultures, and gain new experiences.[54] According to Lacárcel et al. in their publication titled *Decoding Digital Nomad Destination Decisions through User-Generated Content*, digital nomads choose their destination based on "amiable climate, accessibility, convenient time zones, personal ties (family or friends), a diverse array of leisure activities, or adequate

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[51] C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams, *Tourism and Migration New Relationships between Production and Consumption*, 2002.
[52] Kyra Voll, Felix Gauger, and Andreas Pfnür, 'Work from Anywhere: Traditional Workation, Coworkation and Workation Retreats: A Conceptual Review', *World Leisure Journal* 65, no. 2 (3 April 2023): 150–74, https://doi.org/10.1080/16078055.2022.2134199; Cited in: José Ignacio Sánchez-Vergara, Marko Orel, and Ignasi Capdevila, '"Home Office Is the Here and Now." Digital Nomad Visa Systems and Remote Work-Focused Leisure Policies', *World Leisure Journal* 65, no. 2 (3 April 2023): 236–55, https://doi.org/10.1080/16078055.2023.2165142.
[53] Fabiola Mancinelli, 'Digital Nomads: Freedom, Responsibility and the Neoliberal Order', *Information Technology & Tourism* 22, no. 3 (September 2020): 417–37, https://doi.org/10.1007/s40558-020-00174-2.
[54] Beverly Yuen Thompson, 'The Digital Nomad Lifestyle: (Remote) Work/Leisure Balance, Privilege, and Constructed Community', *International Journal of the Sociology of Leisure* 2, no. 1–2 (March 2019): 27–42, https://doi.org/10.1007/s41978-018-00030-y; Cited in: Sánchez-Vergara, Orel, and Capdevila, '"Home Office Is the Here and Now." Digital Nomad Visa Systems and Remote Work-Focused Leisure Policies'.

work opportunities."[55] Qualities such as climate and recreational activities constitute a large part of a digital nomad's decision-making process in regard to destinations, however, part of what makes up a digital nomad's identity is the need to create a balance between travel, productivity, and psychological demands.[56]

Being that digital nomads are technologically inclined, the manner in which digital nomads receive information regarding travel and migration destinations often comes from social media itself. Furthermore, many scholars agree that online social platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube provide digital nomads with travel inspiration and establish a system through which digital nomads can connect with other like-minded individuals.[57] Through these networking platforms, locations which offer culture, authenticity, and opportunities to become involved in local communities can be discovered, which are valued qualities to digital nomads.[58]

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[55] Francisco Javier S. Lacárcel, Raquel Huete, and Konstantina Zerva, 'Decoding Digital Nomad Destination Decisions through User-Generated Content', *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 200 (March 2024): 123098, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2023.123098.
[56] Sánchez-Vergara, Orel, and Capdevila, '"Home Office Is the Here and Now." Digital Nomad Visa Systems and Remote Work-Focused Leisure Policies'.
[57] Lacárcel, Huete, and Zerva, 'Decoding Digital Nomad Destination Decisions through User-Generated Content'.
[58] Lacárcel, Huete, and Zerva.

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1 Nation Branding and Country Image

For the purpose of developing a theoretical framework on promotion-oriented activities, regarding countries, it is necessary to delve into the very clear elaboration of two concepts: nation-branding and national image. English scholar, Keith Dinnie from the University of Dundee, one of the pioneers of the field of nation and city branding, defines the nation-brand as "the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences."[59] While this definition relies more heavily on the nation's cultural uniqueness and significance, another definition, provided by de Vicente in Jaffe and Nebenzahl's in their book *National Image & Competitive Advantage: The Theory and Practice of Place Branding*, argues that nation branding "uses marketing strategies to promote a country's image, products and attractiveness for tourism and foreign direct investment."[60] In addition to the aforementioned definitions, professor Ying Fan has noted that nation branding is essentially a country's entire image in an international context, and that it is the product of the impressions of that country among global stakeholders.[61] Therefore, this definition acknowledges that the image of the nation-brand exists in the mind of the consumer and thus is not a completely controllable variable.[62] In other words, a discursively constructed image of a nation and/or a state may metaphorically speaking "live" in the collective consciousness of people for a long time, partly disconnected from the initial process of construction itself. The "images" may be of direct socio-political and cultural importance, according to professor Philip Kotler, as "people's attitudes and actions toward an object are highly conditioned by that object's image".[63] Jaffe and Nebenzahl claim that an image consists of the individualistic understandings that one has with the object of the image, and that interestingly, it is not necessary for an image to exist in order for one to create an

[59] Dinnie, *Nation Branding*.
[60] de Vincente, 2004; Cited in: Eugene D. Jaffe and Israel D. Nebenzahl, *National Image & Competitive Advantage: The Theory and Practice of Place Branding*, 2. ed (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2006): 138.
[61] Ying Fan, 'Branding the Nation: Towards a Better Understanding', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 6, no. 2 (May 2010): 97–103, https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2010.16.
[62] Dinnie, *Nation Branding*.
[63] Philip Kotler, 1997, 607; Cited: Jaffe and Nebenzahl, *National Image & Competitive Advantage*.

image of it in their mind. The following narrative is used by Jaffe and Nebenzahl to provide an example of this concept's meaning in a historical context:

> More than 750 years ago, the Jewish philosopher Maimonides, in discussing the superiority of the human mind, asks his readers to imagine a metal ship that can fly in the air (Gorfinkle, 1966, 41), an object that was out of the realm of reality at his time. While today we can actually fly in such a ship, for hundreds of years it existed only in the minds of scholars who read the writing of Maimonides or were otherwise exposed to the idea of such an object.[64]

Being that the substance of one's mental images regarding an object doesn't necessitate the real existence of that object, what is it that then shapes the image and how can actors within nations and states generate desired images? Culture, as articulated by English researcher Simon Anholt in his article titled *Why Brand? Some practical considerations for nation branding*, is often a crucial part of creating a country's preferred vision in regard to nation branding.[65] Motivations behind nation branding stem from the desire for nations to "attract tourists, to stimulate inward investment and to boost exports."[66] As asserted by Anholt, "culture is next door to tourism," which is to say that culture acts as a gateway to creating interest in a place as more than just a tourist destination, but as a place with rich cultural experiences.[67] Thus, culture may be seen as an important resource and a crucial element in the discourses promoting nations and states. Emphasis is placed on active creativity and entrepreneurship in the processes of promotion, as places are in need of people with ambition and imagination to construct a "spirit of creative entrepreneurship."

Nation branding can be differentiated from product branding, as stated by Jaffe & Nebenzahl, due to the various stakeholders involved such as individuals, businesses, and public authorities.[68] Subsequently, they assert that a central theme about a nation, which is then utilised by different relevant entities, is the key to success regarding promotion of a nation or a state. However, it can often be financially and administratively challenging to develop a campaign as a result of the various actors involved.[69] Generally, traditional marketing strategies would require the involvement of various stakeholders, hence the

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[64] Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 14.
[65] Simon Anholt, 'Why Brand? Some Practical Considerations for Nation Branding', *Place Branding* 2, no. 2 (April 2006): 97–107, https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.pb.5990048.
[66] Dinnie, *Nation Branding, 17*.
[67] Anholt, 'Why Brand?'
[68] Jaffe and Nebenzahl, *National Image & Competitive Advantage*.
[69] Jaffe and Nebenzahl.

difficulties encountered. However, modern day technological advancements such as social media platforms, provide an opportunity for affordable place marketing.

> People are the only efficient and cost-effective advertising medium for reaching large numbers of other people. The brand has to be like a little travelling-salesman kit which is given to the limited audience one actually can afford to reach, and which equips them to spread the word on behalf of the brand to millions of other people. And they will do this for free, rather effectively, time and time again, simply because they want to, and because somebody has succeeded in firing their imagination.[70]

A thorough deconstruction of nation brand image is given in Keith Dinnie's book, *Nation Branding – Concepts, Issues, Practice.* In discussing the most influential elements to one's image of a nation, he states[71] that these images are derived from "personal experience through working or holidaying there", "word-of-mouth", and among other things, "portrayals of the country in film, television or other media." Taking into consideration that this publication was released prior to the recent and rapid advancement of modern digital technology, it can be presumed that social media networking platforms would feature prominently in Dinnie's works on nation branding. While not directly researching within the fields of discourse theory and discourse analysis, Keith Dinnie, de facto, elaborates what may generally be conceptualised as mechanisms of discursive constructions of meaning regarding social and geographical places and spaces.

4.2 The Social Media Landscape and Digital Content Creators

4.2.1 Virtual Communities

In order to discuss digital content creators and their role on social media platforms, first the conditions through which these creators post their content must be defined and deconstructed. Professors in Management Richard P. Bagozzi and Utpal M. Dholakia's article *International Social Action in Virtual Communities* discusses *virtual communities.*[72] Virtual communities are a form of digital environment, which can be found for example, on social media platforms. Bagozzi and Dholakia's article provides a comprehensive look into what constitutes a virtual community. This explanation is broken down into five parts.

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[70] Anholt, 'Why Brand?', 104.
[71] Dinnie, *Nation Branding*.
[72] Richard P. Bagozzi and Utpal M. Dholakia, 'Intentional Social Action in Virtual Communities', *Journal of Interactive Marketing* 16, no. 2 (May 2002): 2–21, https://doi.org/10.1002/dir.10006.

The majority of virtual communities occur around a shared interest which could relate to a certain topic or product, personal hardships, or demographic characteristics. Similarly to physical communities, "virtual community members feel a 'consciousness of kin'—an intrinsic connection toward other members, and a collective sense of separation from nonmembers."[73] The authors go on to state that most virtual communities follow social norms such as using shared language and creating boundaries, and committing to collective goals. Despite the physical distance, virtual communities can provide many similar benefits as traditional communities to those involved. Contrasting to the format of traditional media, content in virtual communities is created via active participation. In turn, this shapes the community and ascertains its influence on participants. Finally, Bagozzi and Dholakia highlighted the importance of "communication content", which is essentially the way that people communicate in virtual communities to express themselves while lacking social cues. At the time of publication, the most prevalent forms of virtual community were chat rooms, e-mail lists, newsgroups, and other text-based communities.[74] Although the virtual media landscape has evolved substantially with time, these insights remain relevant to modern day video-based virtual communities.

Generally, a *content creator* is an individual who produces digital content (videos, images, etc) as posts on social media platforms. An *influencer* is an online personality with a substantial amount of followers. At present, the terms are occasionally used interchangeably[75], particularly with the steadfast evolution of the social media landscape. For the purposes of this research, and with regard to the upcoming publications referenced, the term "influencer" will be interchangeable with the term "content creator."

4.2.2 Social Media Influencers and the Travel & Tourism Sector

Through their engagement with virtual communities, digital content creators have influence on their viewers, which, therefore, allows them to impact consumer behaviour. In the publication *Impact of Social Media Influencers on the Portuguese Tourism and Travel Industry in a Covid-19 Era,* Portuguese scholars Lara Madureira and Bráulio Alturas

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[73] Wellman & Gulia, 1999, cited in: Bagozzi and Dholakia, 5.
[74] Bagozzi and Dholakia.
[75] Dennis Ortiz, 'What's the Difference Between Creators and Influencers?', *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 March 2024, https://deloitte.wsj.com/cmo/whats-the-difference-between-creators-and-influencers-f68c026c.

explore the social media landscape, and in particular, social media influencers (SMIs) and their growing influence within the travel and tourism (T&T) sector. Due to the personal nature of the content posted by SMIs, audiences are more likely to become engaged with the SMIs content, and thus, take an interest in something or make a purchase decision.[76] As asserted by Norman Fairclough, the theoretical concept of *conversationalization* explains interactions which are informal in nature, and result in "increased openness" on behalf of the conversations participants.[77] Similarly, the personal disposition of the content, and therefore the community created, allows the audience to connect to the SMI on a level somewhat comparable to that of a friend or role model. Madureira and Alturas underscore social media's influence on consumer behaviour and the ability of SMIs to "elevate the image of the place, increasing the likelihood of people visiting a particular destination."[78] In relation to the tourism industry, which can be related to lifestyle migration, these scholars view social media influencers as possible spokespersons of particular places. This line of reasoning may, in the context of the present thesis, be seen as a relational, cyclic pattern whereby promotion of positive attitudes towards a country - knowledge and attitudes promoting that country contributes to increased tourism, which may itself lead to further growth and promotion of knowledge about the country. It may, in turn, lead into increased lifestyle migration. A discursive socio-psychological cycle - a relational pattern - appears, where images and perceptions interact clearly with concrete human activities.
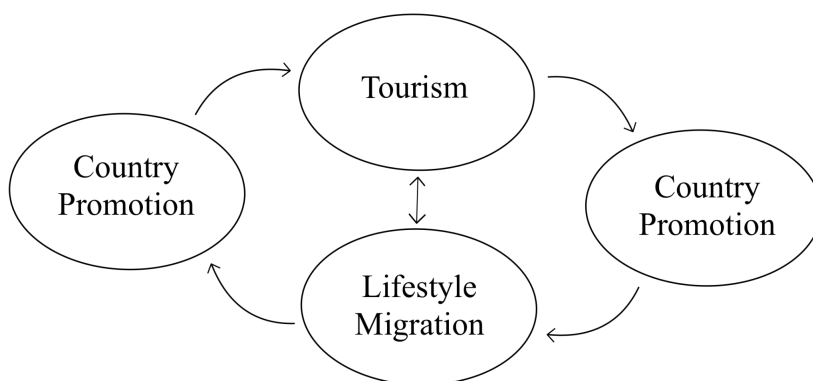
Figure 2 - Cycle of Tourism, Lifestyle Migration and Country Promotion. Source: own work.

In other words, the processes of tourism and lifestyle migration, in my opinion, creates a cycle whereby tourism leads to a 'discovery' of a destination, which then leads to the

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[76] Madureira and Alturas, 'Impact of Social Media Influencers on the Portuguese Tourism and Travel Industry in a Covid-19 Era'.

[77] Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 1995, 101.

[78] Madureira and Alturas, 394.

former tourist becoming a lifestyle migrant, which, in some cases leads to more country promotion by the lifestyle migrants/digital nomads, which may boost more tourism. In this cycle, concrete human actions - travelling, moving, experiencing, informing - are connected to a socio-psychological realm where knowledge, images and attitudes are continually constructed and reconstructed, distributed and redistributed. Such processes can be discussed in terms of discursive practices, power and knowledge, which leads me to the next section.

4.2.3 Social Media Influencers and Soft Power

Social media plays an increasingly important factor in the discussion around life in Portugal as information is quickly disseminated and viewers can get real first hand "reviews" of others with a similar background to them, on their experiences migrating to Portugal. Additionally, digital content creators, especially those with smaller-scale engaged communities, have a large degree of influence and power over their audience. Recent studies have shown, in fact, that mid-level influencers – those with a smaller number of followers – have the potential to gain higher levels of engagement and impact due to the closer community atmosphere that they create.[79] According to scholars Adi Alic, Almir Pestek, and Amila Sadinlija in their book chapter titled *Use of Social Media Influencers in Tourism,* "This phenomenon is referred to as the 'Power middle' or 'Magic middle' and can drive on average 16 times higher engagement rates than paid media and owned alternatives and naturally, at a much lower cost."[80] Using discourse analytical terminology, one could argue that the digital content creators can both construct and socially embody their own knowledge - perspectives, images and attitudes - exercising thus what Michel Foucault elaborated in terms of "le savoir-pouvoir," relational meetings between power and knowledge.[81] In simple words, the digital influencers are not only content creators, they are also actors who possess and exercise power over other people's imaginations, worldviews and feelings. In this context the concept of *discursive psychology* (DP) may be mentioned. While this concept is not directly part of the critical discourse analysis (CDA), and thus not used as a methodological tool in the present thesis, it does constitute an important element

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[79] Adi Alic, Almir Pestek, and Amila Sadinlija, 'Use of Social Media Influencers in Tourism', in *Trade Perspectives 2017 Specialization and Customer Centered Retailing* (Faculty of Economics and Business Zagreb & Croatian Chamber of Economy, 2017), 177-189.
[80] Alic, Pestek, and Sadinlija, 182.
[81] Foucault, Michel (1995). Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

of a broader framework of discourse theory. It can, at least, be noted here that discourse psychology, epistemologically, seeks to study and understand engineered human interactions, which lead to new patterns of knowledge about and perceptions of various social, cultural and/or political topics. Furthermore, this field of studies orients scholarly attention towards collective memories, images, identities and feelings, which is of relevance regarding lifestyle migration, seen as knowledge based decision-making about moving to different countries. Promotion of life in Portugal, articulated on Tiktok, may thus be conceptualised as discursive practices where power and knowledge interact.[82]

The relative influence and thus use of power is not a physical, countable phenomenon. Rather, one should here elaborate the meaning of power within the above-mentioned socio-psychological framework, which leads us to the concept of *soft power*, introduced by the political scientist Joseph S. Nye Jr.[83] Fundamentally, soft power is "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments," as stated by Joseph S. Nye and cited in *The Routledge Handbook of Soft Power*.[84] Essentially, it is about utilising charismatic qualities and resources to achieve one's goals. Processes of such utilisations are of discursive character. They are about discursive constructions of attractiveness - positive and appealing knowledge, imaginations, perceptions and feelings. An ability to promote something or someone as attractive is a powerful activity. Although Joseph S. Nye Jr. himself did not work within the field of discourse theory, I argue that his interpretations and conceptualizations of soft power are somewhat in line with the general understanding of power-knowledge relations as manifested within the broad field of discourse analysis.[85]

Although the term traditionally originates from a political and international relations standpoint, many of the interpretations of the concept can be applied to the social media and influencer landscape. Nye himself noted that nations and political figures are not the only actors who have the potential for this kind of power, but that "Even individual celebrities are able to use their soft power."[86] Justification for this claim is grounded in the

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[82] For more information concerning discursive psychology, see Tileagă C. and Stoke E. (Ed) (2017), *Discursive Psychology. Classic and contemporary issues*.

[83] Hendrik W Ohnesorge, 'The Gift of Grace', in *The Routledge Handbook of Soft Power*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2024), 35.

[84] Joseph S. Nye Jr., 2004, cited in: Ohnesorge, 36.

[85] Hendrik W Ohnesorge, 'The Gift of Grace', in *The Routledge Handbook of Soft Power*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2024).

[86] Joseph S. Nye jr., 2013, cited in: Ohnesorge, 37.

fact that modern day technological developments have allowed for the rapid and widespread global dissemination of information, which has created new spheres of influence, including public and private individuals.[87] As an outcome of the amount of information influencers share with their communities online, as well as the intimate manner in which they do so, viewers often view them as more than just social media personalities. According to Adi Alic et al:

> Many followers consider influencers as friends, people who they truly know since they share so much of their real life with them. Such relationship can lead not only to positive reactions of potential customers among the followers of social media influencers, but a much faster move to those followers actually taking action.[88]

Thus, digital content creators on social media platforms hold sufficient influence, or soft power, to affect their followers' purchase decisions.

4.3 Role of Language in Migration

There is a growing body of literature that recognises the importance of language in migration, due to recent developments in geopolitics, technology, and society.[89] However, there exists a lack of research specifically in regard to the role of language in lifestyle migration. The most relevant scholarly publications discuss language in skilled migration, which will be the main focus of the following sub-chapter.

Language is an important factor when looking into migration because it shapes identity, breaks down boundaries, and creates community through social interactions. Some scholars have labelled this *simultaneity*, whereas *layered simultaneity* is the phenomenon of obtaining various identities and actively participating in multiple communities, with the use of language. According to professor of applied linguistics Suresh Canagarajah, this practice allows one to socio-psychologically transcend their physical location. Canagarajah also notes that a new term, *superdiversity*, was created by social scientists to explain new

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[87] Hendrik W Ohnesorge, 'The Gift of Grace', in *The Routledge Handbook of Soft Power*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2024), 37.
[88] Alic, Pestek, and Sadinlija, 'Use of Social Media Influencers in Tourism', 180.
[89] Suresh Canagarajah, *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language* (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 2-3.

communities formed by migrant populations in European cities.[90] What distinguishes this new term from previous characterisations of migrant communities, is that these communities are more varied and nuanced in comparison to earlier descriptions of segregated ethnic communities. In superdiverse communities, people from different countries and ethnicities create new communities and participate in social interactions in their new place of residence, through their shared language.[91] These situations can, in other words, be labelled as discursive community formations. By practical and direct communication and social interactions - discursive practices - collective feelings of belonging and unity are formed.

There is also a disagreement within language and migration research which questions "whether 'skilled migration' is something that should refer to and include both short-term and permanent movement of people in relation to work or not."[92] Language policies of various organisations and governments are typically a result of the country's national language policy. Language practices, while often in line with the language policies, are more naturally indicative of the linguistic customs of skilled workers.[93]

4.4 The Meaning of Gentrification

Much of the literature written on gentrification has centred around the socio-economic and cultural reasons for gentrification.[94] According to Scottish Geographer Neil Smith in his publication, *Toward a Theory of Gentrification,* the majority of literature on gentrification focuses on current developments and their implications, as opposed to examining the causes of this phenomenon.[95] He states that two explanations for gentrification have been delineated: cultural and economic. The cultural category explains that due to changes in the lifestyles of young middle-class professionals, settling down in urban areas has been more advantageous than following in their parent's footsteps by purchasing a home in the suburbs. In "post-industrial cities", according to D. Ley, there is a focus on leisure and

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[90] Canagarajah, 2.
[91] Canagarajah.
[92] Loy Lising, *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language* (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 296-297.
[93] Loy Lising.
[94] Neil Smith, 'Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (October 1979): 538–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002.
[95] Neil Smith.

consumption rather than labour due to white-collar service jobs outnumbering blue-collar productive jobs.[96] Production patterns are influenced by consumption patterns, "inner-city resurgence is an example of this new emphasis on consumption," as stated by Smith. The economic category posits / establishes that as a result of the increasing costs associated with purchasing newly built property, and the increasing distance of these homes from the city centre, there is a newfound appeal to buy and renovate old properties in urban areas at a lesser expense.[97] Many scholars emphasise that the motives behind this behaviour stem from the economic advantages of living closer to work, especially with the costs to commute, both the rising prices of petrol and public transportation. As indicated in neoclassical theory, *suburbanisation[98]* is based on a preference for additional space and the ability to afford it, whereas gentrification is the outcome of a shift in preferences or limitations affecting decision-making.

When multiple actors are involved in the process of gentrifying a place, who is to blame when gentrification occurs? Pursuant to Smith, there are two categories of actors in gentrification, producers and consumers.[99] One should not dismiss the role of producers in the process; landlords, developers, real estate companies, and government agencies, etc. In fact, due to the desire to profit, the driving force of gentrification comes from a need to produce. Smith highlights that the 'relationship between production and consumption is symbiotic, but it is a symbiosis in which production dominates.' Consequently, the resurgence of urban living has been motivated more so from economic rather than cultural reasons as the primary motivator is the potential for profit.[100] Smith argues that one of the most significant concepts in better understanding the process of gentrification, is 'potential ground rent.' Depending on a property's location, it is possible to raise rent costs substantially, leading to increased profits for the property owner.

[96] Ley, D. 'Inner city resurgence in its societal context' (1978), Cited in: Neil Smith, 'Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (October 1979): 538–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002.
[97] Neil Smith, 538-39.
[98] Neil Smith, 539.
[99] Neil Smith, 'Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People', *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (October 1979): 538–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002.
[100] Neil Smith, 540.

5. Methodological Framework

5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The methodological framework applied in this study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a method that is known to be both a broad movement within discourse analysis as well as a methodological approach.[101] Various scholars within discourse analysis believe English scholar Norman Fairclough's approach to be the most developed within the critical discourse analytical movement. The aim of CDA, as Jørgensen and Phillips state, is "to shed light on the linguistic-discursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change in late modernity."[102] One of the claims in critical discourse analysis is that unequal relations of power are created and reproduced within social groups as a result of discursive practices. CDA, therefore, aims to uncover the function of discursive practices, including those encompassing unequal power relations, in the conservation of the social world.[103] I have chosen critical discourse analysis for my research as it will provide a deeper look into not only what the content creator is directly saying but also their demeanour, their surroundings, the images they choose to portray in the video, and the overarching context within which the discourse occurs.

5.1.1 Three-Dimensional Model

To conduct my research, I will use Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis, which allows us to understand how language is used within society. This model claims that "every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions"; text, discursive practice, and social practice.

The first dimension, *text*, consists of the formal linguistic characteristics of the text such as vocabulary, sentence structure, grammar, etc. As articulated by Fairclough, analysing text will consequently result in analysis of the discursive practice, and vice versa, as the line

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[101] Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (6 Bonhill Street, London, England, EC2A 4PU, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2002), 60-66, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871.60.
[102] Ibid, 61.
[103] Ibid., 63.

between analysis of the two dimensions is extremely fine.[104] *Discursive practice*, the second dimension, is the intermediary aspect between text and social practice.[105] It is the means through which language is used to generate and consume texts. Lastly, the third dimension, *social practice*, pertains to the wider practice around the discursive event, and how it moulds the disposition of the discursive practice.[106] According to Norman Fairclough, this method of discourse analysis "includes linguistic *description* of the language text, *interpretation* of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and *explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and social processes."[107]

Fairclough's three dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis is used in my thesis to analyse the discourse within video content promoting and discussing lifestyle migration to Portugal. By using this model, it is possible to explore the power dynamics at play with regard to affluent migrants' privilege and their impact on local Portuguese communities.

5.1.2 Material

The material chosen for this study consists of twenty-five videos from fifteen digital content creators, posted in English, available on the video-based social media platform TikTok. The chosen videos are those created originally in English as the aim was to analyse the discourse amongst the lifestyle migrants themselves, most of which are either native English speakers, or post video content mostly in English.

The content analysed was chosen with the following criteria in mind:

The video features a content creator who lives in Portugal or has plans to migrate to Portugal in the near future, and one or both of the following criterion;

   a) The video discusses the content creator's motivations to move to Portugal or, in general, their newfound life in Portugal.
   b) The video addresses the effects of the recent migration boom on local Portuguese communities.

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[104] Fairclough, Norman. Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, 73.
[105] Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method (6 Bonhill Street, London England EC2A 4PU United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 69.
[106] Fairclough, Norman. Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, 4.
[107] Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 1995, 97.

The videos chosen have been found by using search terms related to the study (i.e. 'moving to Portugal', 'life in Portugal', etc.) as well as hashtags (i.e. #digitalnomadportugal, #expatinportugal, #americaninportugal, etc.).

Table 2 - List of Content Creators

Content Creator TikTok Handle	Number of videos analysed	Number of followers	Link to content creator's TikTok page
@vik_glu	4	15K	https://www.tiktok.com/@vik_glu
@emmygoesplaces	3	47.5K	https://www.tiktok.com/@emmygoesplaces
@roamawayfromhome	3	26.6K	https://www.tiktok.com/@roamawayfromhome
@caracelestewest	2	240.7K	https://www.tiktok.com/@caracelestewest
@daveinportugal	2	40.6K	https://www.tiktok.com/@daveinportugal
@yvonneivanescu	2	36.4K	https://www.tiktok.com/@yvonneivanescu
@shrugmyshoulder	1	21.6K	https://www.tiktok.com/@shrugmyshoulder
@jesuiselixir	1	14.2K	https://www.tiktok.com/@jesuiselixir
@angelina.hairculture	1	969	https://www.tiktok.com/@angelina.hairculture
@meant2be_here	1	3.5K	https://www.tiktok.com/@meant2be_here
@jordancandlish01	1	255.8K	https://www.tiktok.com/@jordancandlish01
@ellengoodlett	1	2K	https://www.tiktok.com/@ellengoodlett
@alixdoyle	1	5.4K	https://www.tiktok.com/@alixdoyle_
@helenakirschbaum	1	1.9K	https://www.tiktok.com/@helenakirschbaum
@emilydamon3	1	164K	https://www.tiktok.com/@emilydamon3

For clarification purposes, the following definition is provided to illustrate how each dimension is utilised in relation to Norman Fairclough's three dimensional model. The *text* dimension encompasses everything in the video itself, i.e. the visuals and audio of the video, the text written on-screen, and the demeanour of the content creator. Next, the dimension of *discursive practice* includes an interpretive analysis of the comments left on the video by both the viewers and content creator, as well as an examination of the discourse between the actors involved. Finally, the *social practice* dimension constitutes a discussion on the socio-cultural context within which the events of the discursive practice take place.

5.2 Research limitations

Due to the digital nature of this study, the information gathered for the analysis is solely based on what is visible and accessible to me on social media platforms, by utilising relevant search terms. Consequently, videos which did not include the search terms or hashtags used, may not have been found and analysed. Additionally, the content chosen to be analysed was solely content created in English, which excludes content creators posting in alternative languages.

6. Findings and Analytical Discussion

The following chapter presents and discusses the findings of the critical discourse analysis conducted on TikTok videos using the three dimensional model by professor Norman Fairclough. This chapter is divided into three sub-chapters: Motivations for Migrating to Portugal, Integration into Portuguese Society, and Acknowledgement of Gentrification. Within these sub-chapters, all three dimensions of Fairclough's methodological model are systematically applied: the text, the discursive practice, and the social practice. The findings from critical discourse analysis are additionally elaborated in light of the theoretical perspectives presented in this thesis. Language, visuals, and interactions between content creators and their audience in the comments section are analysed in order to uncover the deeper messaging behind the videos, as well as the socio-cultural impacts of the videos.

6.1 Motivations for Migrating to Portugal

The following section is centred around the most prevalent discourse regarding digital content creators' motivations to migrate to Portugal. The language - the communicated messages and meanings as well as the rhetorical patterns - from TikTok videos is examined. The interdiscursivity of gentrification, culture, cuisine, and language is explored.

6.1.1 Text

Regarding the first dimension of *text*, the majority of TikTok videos analysed contained similar messaging in relation to the digital content creator's motivations to migrate to Portugal. The articulated sentiments focused on a lifestyle attainable in Portugal due to its landscape, climate, culture, economy, and safety.
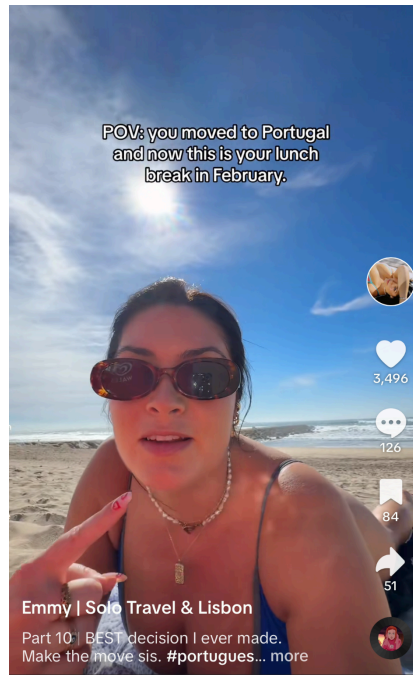
One of the most frequently mentioned motivations for migrating to Portugal was climate. The amiable weather and diverse landscape is depicted as allowing residents great opportunities to enjoy the Portuguese sun and beaches. Among the videos analysed, some did not directly express that the climate was what drew them to migrating, however it was indirectly conveyed through visuals. Originally from the UK, Emmy (@emmygoesplaces) is a digital nomad who migrated to Portugal seeking better life conditions. In an analysed video (pictured above) she is seen laying on the beach and says: "Not to rub it in anyone's faces but this is my lunch break" as she points the camera towards the beach behind her; the blue sky and waves crashing on the shore in clear view.[108] The use of the idiom "to rub in someone's face" provides a feeling, a connotation that Emmy is in a better position than the viewer. In this TikTok video, Emmy both directly and indirectly implies to her audience that living in Portugal allows a lifestyle of relaxation and leisure, for example, by frequenting the beach during one's break on a working day. Thus, a message encompassing an interaction between relaxation/leisure/work is discursively constructed. Similarly, another example of such a promotion-oriented discourse can be seen in Elixir's (@jesuiselixir) video titled "The number one reason to be a digital nomad." In the video, she says, "here's the number one reason," and goes on to point the camera towards the sky

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[108] Emmy (@emmygoesplaces), "POV: you moved to Portugal and now this is your lunch break in February." Video, February 20, 2024, accessed April 1, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@emmygoesplaces/video/7337749651329764641?_t=8m0ixcH1HaS&_r=1

on her beautiful balcony, showing the strong, bright sun.[109] Again, this video subtly conveys to the audience that life in Portugal means the opportunity to live in a sunny and warm climate, which contributes to socio-psychological well-being. The creator claims climate as the "number one reason", meaning that, for her, climate ranks very highly as a motivation to live in Portugal. In the case of this video in particular, she uses the term "digital nomad", which perhaps also insinuates the freedoms afforded by working as a digital nomad, and the ability to dictate one's own physical location as well as working hours. Both of the previous TikToks mentioned constitute, de facto, a form of nation branding narrated by individuals.

Second to climate, regarding the most desirable qualities of living in Portugal articulated in the analysed material, is the low cost of living. Some content creators recognize that the "low cost of living" is relative, and is based on their perspective as foreigners from, for example, the United States of America or the United Kingdom. In one video, by @meant2be_here, titled "5 things that blew my mind when I moved to Portugal," the first thing mentioned is the price of wine and beer. The content creator states that it is "so cheap compared to the U.K." while showing the audience videos of wine and beer.[110] Likewise, Dave (@daveinportugal) states, "if you're from the US, Portugal can seem relatively inexpensive."[111] He goes on to mention how much a meal can cost in Euros but also states the conversion in United States Dollars, insinuating that his viewership is expected to be mostly Americans. However, not all posters on TikTok acknowledge the cause of and the reasoning behind the relative affordability of Portugal. In a TikTok video, digital nomad @shrugmyshoulder remarked that Lisbon is "cheaper than many European capitals, and attractive for digital nomads seeking affordability"[112] but fails to note and elaborate any deeper reasoning for Lisbon being more affordable in comparison to other European capitals. It is remarked that, for digital nomads, Lisbon is an attractive place to live, likely

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[109] Elixir (@jesuiselixir), "The number one reason to be a digital nomad living in Portugal." February 12, 2024, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@jesuiselixir/video/7334699075473853701?_t=8m2QYw0adtI&_r=1
[110] Printers Daughter (@meant2be_here), "5 things that blew my mind when I moved to Portugal." August 7, 2022, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@meant2be_here/video/7129133910038023429?_r=1&_t=8lAbNH4C50D
[111] Dave (@daveinportugal), "Top 5 reasons to move to Portugal." June 24, 2022, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@daveinportugal/video/7112624760021863726
[112] ShrugMyShoulder (@shrugmyshoulder), "5 reasons why lisbon is such a popular destination for digital nomads." October 14, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@shrugmyshoulder/video/7289719886748683522?q=digital%20nomad%20portugal&t=1711990654461

due to digital nomads earning higher wages than Portuguese locals. The discursive representations of affordability are however not backed up by deeper, comparative discussions on socio-economic issues such as, for example, general levels of income or costs of living in a larger European framework. From an interpretative perspective, one can note that the articulated messages and meanings demonstrate mainly a "field" of discursive psychology, more than deeper discussions on economic and social topics. Capturing the morphology of discursive psychology is, however, in line with the aim of the present thesis, and therefore carefully noted and exemplified.

Regarding the visuals, the TikTok video opens with a man on a balcony, working on his laptop, wearing a t-shirt and shorts. As the video progresses, it also shows some of the most popular tourist sites in Lisbon. Both the visuals and the audio of this video signals to the viewer that Lisbon is an inexpensive city which enables a low-stress and remote working environment.

Most videos also brought up in their content - in the dimension of *text* according to Fairclough's model - the Portuguese food, as a benefit to living in Portugal. The analysed videos generally depicted a message that the food is appetising, fresh, and affordable. In a laid-back video about why Emmy (@emmygoesplaces) decided to move to Portugal, she exclaims that "Portugal has some of the best food I've ever eaten in my life. Especially if you like fish, you're in for a treat, honey."[113] Using the socio-linguistic aspect of critical discourse analysis, one can note that Emmy's first sentence is formed in an active voice, with Portugal being the first and main subject of the sentence. She also makes her statement quite powerful with vocabulary such as *"best"*, *"ever"*, and "in my *life"*.They constitute clear discursive representations with a potential to influence the minds of the audience. Theoretically speaking, the main power of discourses is the so-called "power over knowledge",[114] which includes the possibility of influencing people's images, perceptions, attitudes and feelings. In discourse analytical terms, the powerful, clear statements and visuals articulated by Emmy, and others, may be seen as - unconscious or subconscious - uses of informative power. Her second statement provides an endearing

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[113] Emmy | Solo Travel & Lisbon (@emmygoesplaces), "GRWM As I tell you all the reasons why I decided to move to Portugal." June 24, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@emmygoesplaces/video/7248219994725649691?_r=1&_t=8m4N1umsSRN
[114] Foucault, Michel (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group

quality, as the use of the word 'honey' creates an informal and personal relation to her audience. This sentence, in turn, indicates that fish is Portugal's specialty pertaining to cuisine. In the same vein, digital nomad Cara (@caracelestewest) addressed her adoration for Portuguese food, "I know I've said it before, and I'll say it again – the food. I can't even describe how fresh the food is. My body has never felt better."[115] The emphasis Cara placed on the beginning of the sentence by using repetition denotes that she is very passionate about the high quality of the food. She even states an inability to describe the extent of the food's freshness, indicating that there aren't words accurate enough for a description. Using a hyperbole she then boldly articulates that her body has "never felt better," which suggests that her physical wellbeing was significantly improved by her migration to Portugal.

Among the discourse depicted in the analysed TikTok videos, the kindness of the Portuguese people was one of the frequently stated motives for migration to Portugal. In her video titled "Why I would recommend relocating to Portugal," Cara (@caracelesetewest) articulates to her audience the following: "Number one, the people are incredibly kind. I have never met kinder people than here in Portugal - and it's just a genuine kindness. Whether you're on the train or at a restaurant people are really kind and go out of their way to help you."[116] This statement being the first point in her video adds increased importance and weight to it. Cara's word choice, repetition, and dramatisation discursively depict that she is highly passionate about acknowledging and promoting the perceived warmth of the Portuguese people. She utilises strong vocabulary such as "incredibly kind" and "genuine kindness" to describe the Portuguese people. The words "kind" or "kindness" appears four times throughout her statement, which further consolidates the message. Generally, following the reasoning of Norman Fairclough, one could say here that the content creators are including the readers and viewers in a communication of an imaginative enterprise, where the audience is metaphorically invited into a linguistic and communicative process in which images and perceptions are distributed, both by language itself and as well by emotions.

[115] Cara | Digital Nomad Mom (@caracelestewest), "Reasons I love living in Portugal vs. The U.S." January 1, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@caracelestewest/video/7191158694506220846?_r=1&_t=8m6QEk5b50a
[116] Cara | Digital Nomad Mom (@caracelestewest), "Why I would recommend relocating to Portugal." March 12, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@caracelestewest/video/7209737591803890986?q=how%20I%20moved%20to%20portugal%20as%20a%20digital%20nomad&t=1711988124003

Lastly, she exaggerates her statement further with the use of a hyperbole when she says, "I have never met kinder people than here in Portugal." This amplification of the character of Portuguese nationals can be delineated as a way of positively branding the Portuguese nation. Revisiting the previously mentioned conceptualisations of professor Ying Fan,[117] regarding nation branding, we see an example of a message where the Portuguese country and its people are given an essential image in a larger international context; favourable impressions of the Portuguese nation are communicated with words: "I have never met kinder people than here in Portugal." Although Ying Fan focuses on official actors in processes of nation branding, one can argue that the communicative and socio-psychological mechanisms of articulating and socially spreading positive impressions of a country and its people follow similar patterns.

One motivation brought up by several of the content creators whose videos were analysed, was that English is commonly spoken in Portugal. Although this was listed as a motivation to relocate, it is also an extremely relevant aspect of the upcoming category of integration in Portugal. Therefore, it is briefly mentioned now, and further elaborated on in the upcoming subchapter, *Integration into Portuguese Society*.

Finally, it became apparent that many content creators chose to migrate to Portugal to create a greater sense of personal safety. Although it was a topic articulated by some content creators, curiously, it drew a greater amount of dialogue in the comments sections of these videos. The following paragraph will touch on the *text* articulated by the video creators regarding safety in Portugal, however the following dimension of *discursive practice* will go into further detail on the subject. The videos analysed revealed that lifestyle migrants in Portugal are feeling more secure and comfortable than in their previous residence. Digital nomad Dave (@daveinportugal) made a comparison between Portugal and the United States by noting that "Portugal is much safer than California."[118] Dave's statement suggests that his viewership likely consists of many North Americans who are aware of the level of safety in California, and his strong word choice specifies a great level of increased safety in Portugal, in comparison to the state of California. While

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[117] Fan, 'Branding the Nation'.
[118] Dave (@daveinportugal), "Is this place the California of EUROPE?" January 6, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@daveinportugal/video/7185426565503962414?_r=1&_t=8m6RzednTvs

using her own personal experience, Cara (@caracelestewest) explains, "I can walk alone at night and not feel afraid for my life."[119] This quite dramatic and powerful statement signals to the audience that Cara's sense of safety has considerably increased since migrating to Portugal.

6.1.2 Discursive Practice

Concerning the second dimension of *discourse practice*, the following subchapter analyses the discourse taking place in the production and distribution of the TikTok videos. Seeing as the comments of a video are a place where users of the social media platform interact and react to the video, it is a part of the *discursive practice.* Therefore, in the following section the comments sections of the videos are examined, as well as the interactions between commenters themselves, as well as between commenters and the creator of the video.

While many comments were generally expressing the viewers' desire to visit or move to Portugal, those which were the most striking regarded safety and lifestyle migration. In relation to the previously mentioned discussion about safety in Portugal, the comments analysed suggest that many of the viewers were inclined to place safety as a high priority. Interestingly enough, even in instances where the video did not directly mention safety, it managed to become a topic of discussion in the videos' comments. In a video by digital nomad Yvonne (@yvonneivanescu) titled "How is life in Portugal?" She takes her audience through some of her favourite aspects of living there such as the weather, history, culture, food, wine, and people. Although she makes no mention of the aspect of safety in Portugal, the most liked comment (402 likes) on the video states, "pro: safety." Following this comment, another viewer replies, "I would pay more for safety than anything else, so Portugal is on my list of places to visit." The comment stating that safety is a "pro" to living in Portugal is extremely short and to the point, suggesting that they are firm in their belief that safety is the main benefit to living in Portugal, and likely place safety as a high importance quality. The second comment was posted as a reply to the first, meaning that the individual acknowledged and agreed with the commenter, and would also choose to pay a high price to feel secure.

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[119] Cara | Digital Nomad Mom (@caracelestewest), "Reasons I love living in Portugal vs. The U.S." January 1, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024,
https://www.tiktok.com/@caracelestewest/video/7191158694506220846?_r=1&_t=8m6QEk5b50a

On the contrary, in another video Cara (@caracelestewest) lists safety as her number one reason that she loves living in Portugal versus the United States. In the comments section of this video, one TikTok user says, "Number one and I'm already sold (laughing emoji)." Cara then writes a reply to this comment saying, "Seriously feels so nice to walk around at night and not feel like something bad is around the corner." With her reply, Cara illustrates through previous personal experience, what living in the U.S. felt like, and re-affirms that her experience has greatly improved since leaving the U.S. The image of safety which Cara depicts draws with it strong emotions of security and relief, which are impactful for those considering relocation to Portugal. Thus, this is a powerful illustration of the image and nation branding framework theorised by English scholar Keith Dinnie in his works on nation branding.

The mention of the United States was not merely a singular occurrence in the discussion around safety, however. Dave's (@daveinportugal) video titled "Top 5 reasons to move to Portugal" stated that Portugal has been rated the top three safest country in the world. The most liked comment on the video, with 429 likes stated: "I'm an American woman, I don't need 5 reasons." Her statement is short and direct, however the message conveyed is multi-faceted. Despite not stating her reasoning, by saying that she is an American woman and therefore doesn't need five reasons, she indirectly implies that safety would be reason enough to make a move abroad.

In the following example, digital nomad Cara (@caracelestewest) posts a video discussing reasons she recommends moving to Portugal. One of the comments on her video, similar to others, says they "want out of the US," to which Cara dramatically articulates, "we will escape together." The desire from the commenter to want to leave the U.S. suggests a discontentment with the current socio-political environment of the country. Her choice of words are very clear and direct, implying that she is determined in her desire to relocate. The reply from Cara, using the words "we" and "escape" reflects a sentiment of togetherness and community, as well as a shared understanding and dissatisfaction with their current locations, and a sense of urgency in needing to migrate.

6.1.3 Social Practice

In terms of the *social practice* within the category of motivations to migrate to Portugal, the technological environment within which the migration discourse occurs, can be seen as a strong example of a virtual community. Within this virtual community, due in large part to the hierarchical nature of social media landscapes, there exists elements of soft power which contribute to instances of nation branding, for example.

As a dynamic social media platform, TikTok exemplifies a thriving environment for virtual communities. Shaped by the digital content creators' use of *conversationalization*[120] and informal demeanour, as well as active participation around shared interests via the comments section of videos, users of the platform find community despite the physical distance and technological manner in which the social practice takes place. A video in itself, especially one in which the digital content creator themselves speaks to the camera, presents an interpersonal sentiment for the viewer. This, in turn, allows for a higher likelihood of relatability, and therefore, attention paid to and interaction with the video.

In relation to migration discourse, virtual communities on social media platforms could perhaps be a vital step in prospective migrants' decision-making processes. Ultimately, social media influencers create a sense of certain expertise in their discourse, especially when they relate with the use of personal experience. The act of watching a video about one's experience with moving abroad can possibly bring the viewer a sense of information or knowledge gain, allow them to feel they're not alone in the process of relocation, and thus create community. However, a further step towards becoming part of a community involves interaction within the comments section of a video.[121] Making the time and effort to write and leave a comment on a video suggests a greater involvement in the topic at hand, and a hope to either make an impact discursively, or receive a reply to a question. Observations made during the analysis of the promotion-oriented videos showcased an interest in the viewership to interact with the digital content creator, whether it be a positive or negative interaction.

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[120] Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, 1995, 101.
[121] Alic, Pestek, and Sadinlija, 'Use of Social Media Influencers in Tourism', 180.

The wider social practice, particularly as it relates to promotion-oriented content, also involves a certain degree of soft power. As the digital content creators discursively articulate their views and experiences they, whether intentionally or not, use attraction to gain the audience's appeal. Content creators can be considered as friends of audience members due to the personal and intimate manner in which they share information with their followers. In the example of motivations for migrating to Portugal, digital creators are sharing their personal favourite aspects of living in Portugal, their newfound lifestyles, along with vibrant images of their environments. Additionally, most of the videos analysed were of the creator talking directly into the camera, for either parts of the video, or the entire duration. This creates an environment primed for active audience engagement and participation, therefore, leading to the content creator holding influence over their audience.

6.2 Integration into Portuguese Society

The upcoming subchapter critically analyses the discourse of integration into Portuguese society from lifestyle nomads living in Portugal. Integration into a new country encompasses many various aspects of daily life, including friendships, language, culture, and more. Therefore, throughout the videos analysed, the majority of discussion surrounding integration focused on language barriers, finding community, and Portuguese culture.

6.2.1 Text

In regard to the *text* dimension of critical discourse analysis, the videos analysed generally showed a desire to integrate into Portuguese society from the content creators, however, a lack of language acquisition discourse perhaps suggests a lack of permanency in their relocation.

In Cara's (@caracelestewest) video titled *Why I would recommend relocating to Portugal* (pictured above), she engages in discourse surrounding expatriate communities and provides an example of an already quite prevalent expat community in Portugal. "There's already a very large expat community here. I'm actually a part of the blacks in Portugal facebook group, and it's a great way to connect with other people who are moving here too."[122] In regard to vocabulary, Cara's use of firm language and short, non excessive commentary illustrates a certain level of confidence and wisdom within the realm of expat communities in Portugal. Her recommendation to viewers that online expat communities are a "great way to connect with other people" illustrates the discursive construction of expat social networks in Portugal, positioning Cara as an expert in the area. Her statement also depicts that she, too, made local connections with the help of online expat networks. However, it is necessary to examine, with a critical lens, the possible implications of finding community through online expat groups. Although these platforms offer valuable resources for immigrants in Portugal, they may also perpetuate narrow-minded discourses, prioritising expat relationships rather than local integration.

Some content creators, however, did touch upon their experiences making local friends and immersing themselves in Portuguese culture. In a video by digital nomad couple Taylor and Mike (@roamawayfromhome), for example, Taylor stated, "We now are making local friends here in Lagos." This statement suggests, with the particular word "*now,*" that the local friends are perhaps a rather recent development for the digital nomads. Similarly, in a conversation-style video by digital nomad Emmy (@emmygoesplaces), she discursively articulates her personal experience being an immigrant in Portugal, specifically in regard to making new local connections.

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[122] Cara | Digital Nomad Mom (@caracelestewest), "Why I would recommend relocating to Portugal." March 12, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@caracelestewest/video/7209737591803890986?q=how%20I%20moved%20to%20portugal%20as%20a%20digital%20nomad&t=1711988124003

> I didn't want to move to a country where I was going to feel really unwelcomed. Some of my TikTok comments have made me, but it is what it is, I'm an immigrant so I have to take it. People - so the Portuguese friends and the people living here who I've made friends with - are amazing. I love the Portuguese people, I love their way of life, I love who they are, and I just like getting to know people from different cultures, I think it's really interesting and what keeps life interesting. Also the fact that there's other nationalities here, so you get to meet people from all over the world like Germany, Brazil, like Cape Verde.[123]

The distinction between "the Portuguese friends and the people living here who I've made friends with" suggests that the friendships Emmy has made have been with both Portuguese people as well as other immigrants. Her excessive use of the word "love" insinuates a strong passion for the Portuguese people and their way of life. Although, there is no further elaboration on her Portuguese friendships (how she met them, how long they have been friends, etc.) she does go on to state a few of the other nationalities she has met. As she articulates her experience meeting a diverse group of people, "you get to meet people from all over the world," there is an insinuation of privilege in her statement. The use of the word "get" in her sentence suggests that meeting people from a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures is an opportunity to create a diversified community. While this discourse on community and friendship-building is encouraging, Emmy neglects to clarify whether or not she experienced periods of hardship attempting to create local Portuguese friendships.

In an aforementioned video, digital nomad Cara articulates her experience with language as an immigrant in Portugal, being that she is a native English speaker:

> English is actually widely spoken. In Portugal, a lot of their movies and television shows are not dubbed, meaning that the content is spoken in English but has Portuguese subtitles. Of course, it's a little harder to get around in small towns if you don't speak Portuguese, but in the larger towns people are more likely to speak English.[124]

In the first sentence she uses the word "actually," denoting that perhaps it is not a common perception that English would be widely spoken. She goes on to exemplify one way in which Portugal utilises English in everyday life, which is through their televised content. Cara claims that films and television are "not dubbed" to Portuguese, making the content

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[123] Emmy | Solo Travel & Lisbon (@emmygoesplaces), "GRWM As I tell you all the reasons why I decided to move to Portugal." June 24, 2023, accessed April 1, 2024, https://www.tiktok.com/@emmygoesplaces/video/7248219994725649691?_r=1&_t=8m4N1umsSRN
[124] Cara | Digital Nomad Mom (@caracelestewest), "Why I would recommend relocating to Portugal."

more accessible to English speakers. Regarding daily communication with Portuguese people, she makes a differentiation between communication in small versus large towns. Cara states that "it's a little harder" to communicate in small towns if you don't speak Portuguese, whereas people are "more likely to speak English" in larger towns. Although the video creator makes her audience aware of the realities of living in Portugal as a non-Portuguese speaker, she fails to make any mention of learning the Portuguese language. Thus, an impression can be made that Cara is not addressing those who plan on living in Portugal long-term, otherwise, the possibility of learning Portuguese would have been addressed. Discursively, an association can be made to the housing and cost of living crises occurring in large Portuguese cities, due in part to the overwhelming number of lifestyle migrant arrivals. The above quote by Cara can be seen as a result of involvement in a *superdiverse* community. Due to the shared language, in this case English, lifestyle migrants like Cara create their own groups with other English speaking immigrants, and thus are further inclined to be Portuguese language averse.

6.2.2 Discursive Practice

The analysis conducted on these TikTok videos in relation to integration into Portuguese society revealed that most content creators find community with other expats rather than locals, and omit discussion about learning the Portuguese language. However, even in videos where language was not mentioned, viewers sometimes left comments asking the digital creator about language.

Seeing as I take personal interest in the topic of lifestyle migrants in Portugal, in my free time I occasionally consume similar content to that which I analyse in this thesis. Consequently, one of the comments left on a video was left by me, and received a response from the original poster. Due to its relevance, it is included in the following analysis. The video titled *How/Why I moved to Lisbon* was posted by British digital nomad Alix (@alixdoyle) and featured her casually walking through the streets of Lisbon as she explained the backstory of her move. The comment and response are as follows:

Comment: How has it been making Portuguese friends? Or are most of your friends international?
Alix's response: Most are international but I have made a few through friends (smiling face with hearts emoji). I think new people get together more than locals because we need to make new friends whereas they already have their long term friends / family here!

With this question, my intention was to gain a sense of the ease or difficulty with which lifestyle migrants make friends with Portuguese nationals. Her first sentence demonstrates that although the majority of her connections are foreigners, there is an inclination to interact with locals, specifically through mutual acquaintances. Alix, with her statement "we need to make new friends," exhibits a deep desire to create new interpersonal relationships, regardless of whether they are Portuguese (locals) or foreigners (expats or lifestyle migrants). However, her final statement suggests a challenge when attempting to form new relationships with locals. Perhaps pre-existing Portuguese social networks are too deeply rooted in societal practices, including shared language and culture, to establish new, foreign connections.

How do foreigners view the importance of language acquisition in relation to integration into Portuguese society? Based upon the comments analysed, those who engaged in discourse about language were quite adamant on the importance of obtaining a certain level of language skills as an immigrant, although there were mentions of the difficulty of the Portuguese language becoming an impediment to acquisition. Intriguingly, the videos on which these comments were left did not make mention of Portuguese language study, suggesting that it is, nonetheless, a consideration that prospective migrants make while deliberating their relocation. For example, a few different viewers left comments asking if it was necessary to speak Portuguese in order to live in Portugal, especially seeing as it can be considered a challenging language to learn. One of these comments received a reply from another viewer stating: "yes!! it's important to also integrate into a country you immigrate to." This reply takes into consideration the significance of respecting the multi-faceted process of integration, rather than simply remaining in a socio-cultural enclave of expatriates. Cases in which migrants do not integrate, but instead form separate communities with other migrants who share the same language, are referred to as *superdiverse* communities, according to professor of Applied Linguistics Suresh Canagarajah. Upon the analysis of the videos in relation to integration, it is apparent that many lifestyle migrants desire to become part of a community in Portugal, however, due to

certain circumstances such as language, and pre-existing expatriate communities, they often remain in English speaking circles.

6.2.3 Social Practice

With regard to the *social practice* in which the integration and Portuguese language discourses occurred, there are multiple factors which should be taken into account to accurately contextualise the discourses; legal components, socio-cultural aspects of digital nomad work, and linguistically partitioned communities.

The basis for which most of the lifestyle migrants are able to relocate to Portugal is the amendments made to Portuguese immigration law.[125] Legally speaking, it can be assumed that the majority of the lifestyle migrants arriving in Portugal have taken the necessary visa pathways for migration. Although the digital nomad visa is a rather recent addition, in general, many members of already existing expatriate communities in Portugal would have arrived by way of investment, on the golden visa. Thus, inferring that the community of English speakers, particularly westerners, was already moderately developed and laid the foundation for a welcoming environment for newcomers. Portugal, therefore, can perhaps be considered to have what Suresh Canagarajah coined *superdiverse* communities; as the segregation of English-speaking lifestyle migrants is quite nuanced and diversified.[126] This phenomenon can explain both, in part, why digital nomads are flocking to Portugal, and how they are able to make meaningful connections in their new location without fully integrating into Portuguese society.

The technological landscape through which digital nomads operate is also partially responsible for the lack of determined integration, as these digital natives have a unique way of living due to the essence of their work. Their working culture, as exemplified in the various aforementioned analyses, tends to be quite flexible in nature, allowing for more freedoms and higher earning potential. However, their work being independent, and remote in nature, suggests that they are not regularly exposed to locals by way of their employment, creating further barriers to interaction with Portuguese nationals.

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[125] 'Assembleia da República aprova alterações à «Lei dos Estrangeiros»'.
[126] Canagarajah, *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language, 2*.

6.3 Acknowledgement of Gentrification

Through the analysis of the twenty five TikTok videos, it is discernible that the topic of gentrification in Portugal is of extreme relevance and importance to the videos uploaded to the social media platform, and to the case of lifestyle migrants in general. In relation to the discourse of Portugal's cost of living and housing crises – some videos addressed the issues, some comment sections were overflowing with intense commentary when the video didn't address it, and one creator in particular uploaded insensitive videos which ridiculed the Portuguese economic situation.
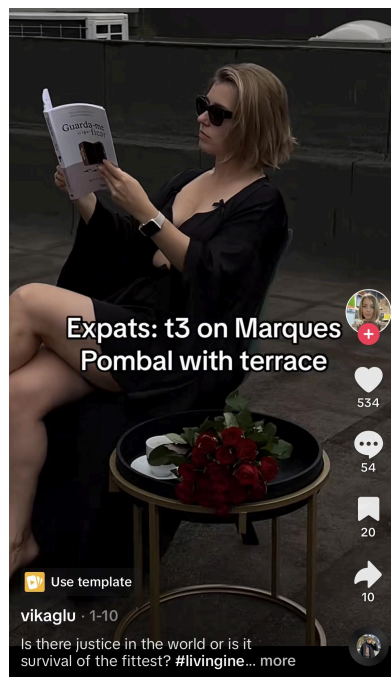
6.3.1 Text

While analysing videos for the *text* dimension in Fairclough's three-dimensional model, it was made quite apparent that digital content creators and viewers alike are aware of the current urban displacement crisis. In general, the creators who did acknowledge the current climate of socio-economic inequalities, of which there were several, effectively disseminated to their audiences the realities of living in Portugal, and addressed the privileges held by digital nomads, due to the nature of the digital nomad visa and its requirements. However, only a small minority of creators commented on the matter in their videos which were heavily country promotional discourse based. The following analyses of

the *text* dimension will include references to videos which both address the problems stemming from gentrification in Portugal, as well as taunt them.

In a thorough video discussing the low wages and high accommodation costs in Portugal, one digital nomad declares transparency as she articulates to her audience that the digital nomad visa requires that she earn four times the minimum wage in Portugal every month. She ascertains, however, that "the negative of that is sometimes Americans come in and they pay crazy amounts of rent, which then increases the overall rental market. We don't want to do that." She refers to "Americans," insinuating that digital nomads in large part, originate from North America. Her use of the word "crazy" to denote rental amounts, suggests that prices are in fact extremely elevated. Finally, at the end of her statement, she displays a desire to abstain from involvement in the worsening of the situation.

On the contrary, in a display of blatant disregard for the social inequalities prevalent, especially in major Portuguese cities such as Lisbon, digital nomad Vittoria (@vik_glu) posted several videos in which she provoked offence to locals in Portugal. For example, one of her videos (pictured above) opens with the content creator herself walking through the streets of Lisbon as the text on the screen reads: "Locals in Portugal: renting one apartment for four to cover expenses." The video then cuts to Vittoria reading a book while sitting on a terrace with a large bouquet of red roses next to her. The text on top of this scene states: "Expats: t3 on Marques Pombal with terrace." The caption on the video reads: "Is there justice in the world or is it survival of the fittest?" The initial segment of the video references the working class in Portugal who, in response to escalating living costs, are subjected to multi-generational cohabitation. Furthermore, she references a "T3 apartment" (a three bedroom apartment) and "Marques Pombal" (an area in central Lisbon), insinuating the extravagant lifestyles expats are able to attain due to higher incomes, in comparison to the majority of the Portuguese nationals. In juxtaposition with the subsequent section of the video, eulogising the glamorous lifestyle of the affluent expats, her portrayal of "locals in Portugal" is profoundly insensitive. Finally, her caption with the question "is it survival of the fittest?" suggests that perhaps economic and social disparities are each individuals' responsibility, neglecting to consider the greater systemic components. In turn, this kind of discourse perpetuates harmful stereotypes and disregards the underlying causes of social inequalities in Portugal.

6.3.2 Discursive Practice

The comments analysed as to examine the *discursive practice* dimension, exposed the sentiments held by both the Portuguese and international populations of viewers, as they watched the videos. Additionally, the following analysis brought to light the interactions between the content creators and their audiences, which reveal a distinct pattern of criticism and accusation, in relation to the topic of gentrification.

Overall, the majority of videos analysed contained at least one comment which blamed the content creator, or digital nomads as a whole, for the current inequalities in Portugal. One of the most apparent attitudes repeatedly found were Portuguese nationals voicing their disdain for the current socio-economic circumstances in Portugal, as they were personally affected, having fled Portugal to seek greater opportunities abroad. Comments such as "they are not expats... they are gentrifiers" and "To any and all digital nomads thinking of moving here - don't. We don't want you here." were plentiful, and more frequent even, on videos which ignorantly deemed Portugal affordable for affluent lifestyle migrants.

Similarly, discourses of caution were prevalent amongst the Portuguese viewers, essentially aiming to discourage prospective migrants from making the move. For example, a couple of TikTok comment threads from Emmy's video are as follows:

> **Comment:** I agree, best country in the world (heart emoji) but most of us are leaving because we can't afford it, it's so sad.
> **Emmy's response:** Yeh the accommodation price is steep!
> **Comment reply:** Guess why.

> **Comment:** And yet you are the reason young people and Portugal cannot afford to live in their home cities.
> **Emmy's response:** Yes I am the sole reason.
> **Comment reply:** You know I meant the digital nomad community. receiving their salaries from countries like UK and then living in places like Portugal and raising the cost of living for the locals. don't play dumb hun

These two comment threads suggest that the blame for the entire cost of living and housing crisis falls solely on the lifestyle of migrants. However, the commenters fail to address the other actors involved and at fault for the problems. According to Geographer Neil Smith, there are two classifications of actors involved in gentrification: producers and

consumers.[127] Producers are those with the power and influence to create the pathways for the consumers to occupy homes, and obtain the necessary legal documentation to relocate; government agencies, developers, and landlords for example. In regard to the comment threads above, the viewers leaving comments are blaming Emmy (the consumer) rather than looking to the producers who enabled her to relocate to Portugal.

6.3.3 Social Practice

In the realm of the *social practice* under which the discourse on gentrification takes place in the analysed videos, the foundation for the current socio-economic climate is uncovered. Portuguese nationals are dissatisfied, as exemplified in the *discourse practice* dimension, with the recent circumstances/events taking place in their country; displacements en masse, rising costs of living, and long gone affordable accommodation. These circumstances are an illustration of the cultural and economic categorisations labelled by Neil Smith in his article titled *Toward a Theory of Gentrification.* He establishes that young professionals are moving to urban areas more frequently due to lifestyle advantages as opposed to living in suburbia, and that this option is more economically viable. Perhaps this theory of cultural and economic reasoning can be applied to the Portuguese case, as the vast majority of lifestyle migrants are not only moving to urban areas, but to entirely new countries for economic and cultural purposes. Portugal, as proven in the *Motivations for Migrating to Portugal* subchapter, appears to have ample benefits for lifestyle migrants, especially digital nomads. Digital nomads are, for the most part, flocking to major Portuguese urban areas to make use of cafes and co-working spaces, while also exploring the city on their breaks. Although migrants are the ones in focus, gentrification would not occur without the involvement of other actors in the process.

As mentioned in the previous section on *discourse practice*, there exist two main actors in the process of gentrification: producers and consumers. The urbanisation discourse displayed in the TikTok videos analysed failed to point blame at any actor other than the lifestyle migrants. However, the various visas and incentives created to attract lifestyle migrants to Portugal were initiated by the Portuguese government themselves, one of the producers. The real estate agencies and developers tasked with converting entire property blocks, and evicting its residents, are also producers in this process. Another striking

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[127] Smith, 'Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People'.

example of producers is the extreme Airbnbification taking place in major Portuguese cities, causing rental prices to spike, and marking entire neighbourhoods as tourist enclaves. Although these actors (producers) are the enablers of gentrification, and the transformations would likely be infeasible if it weren't for them – the consumers are the visible actors to society, and therefore are viewed as the main culprits.

7. Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis was to analytically explore three aspects of lifestyle migrants migrating to and living in Portugal – their motivations to migrate, how they integrate into society, and how they discuss the current climate of gentrification in Portugal. Through a detailed critical discourse analysis conducted on twenty-five TikTok videos, it has been illustrated that lifestyle migrants choose Portugal as their relocation destination due to attractive qualities which benefit their lifestyles. Some of the aspects of their lifestyles, de facto, prevent them from seamlessly integrating into Portuguese society, such as language and pre-existing expat communities. Finally, many video analyses revealed that gentrification is a topic of discussion among lifestyle migrants, however the manner in which it is discussed was varied. The following concluding remarks will provide a brief overview of the connections between the analyses conducted and the methodological and theoretical frameworks, as well as recommendations for future research on the subject.

An observation made both during the analysis and the development of the theoretical framework, was the cycle through which tourism and lifestyle migration flow. Tourism, as it creates visibility for a destination, eventually leads to lifestyle migration to the location. Some lifestyle migrants, exemplified by the digital nomads in the TikTok videos analysed, go on to promote the destination, whether intentionally or not. Thus, leading to further tourism and lifestyle migration to the country, and so on. Within this cycle exists also the aspect of power and influence of the digital creators, by way of the content posted. Virtual communities created on social media platforms, within which discursive psychology, or the influence of the content creator is exemplified, breaks barriers of formality and creates welcoming environments which allow for trust in the digital creator.

In summary of the findings of the critical discourse analysis conducted on the TikTok videos, the incentives found for lifestyle migrants to relocate to Portugal were manifold, however a few were repeatedly echoed throughout many videos. Portugal's reliable and pleasant climate was, seemingly, one of the strongest motivators for migrants. Second to climate, and of course one of the reasons for objectionable discourse referenced in section *6.3.2 Discursive Practice*, was Portugal's relative affordability for affluent migrants. Another notable motivation for many migrants to opt for Portugal is the widespread use of the English language, even amongst the Portuguese population.

The aspect of language, in fact, can also be understood as a justification as to the inability of lifestyle migrants to fully integrate into Portuguese society. As articulated by Professor of Applied Linguistics Suresh Canagarajah, this would be an example of a *superdiverse* community, whereby migrants in European cities form new communities based on a shared language.[128] Additionally, due to an already existing thriving expatriate community, newcomers perhaps find it difficult to break apart from the familiar. As articulated in one of the analysed videos, a lifestyle migrant expressed their opinion that Portuguese social circles are typically long-term friendships and connections which are particularly challenging to break into.

This apparent separation of locals and lifestyle migrants creates an even further divide as it relates to gentrification. Major Portuguese cities such as Lisbon and Porto, of course offer advantages for migrants like digital nomads. However, along with the surge of affluent migrant arrivals also comes forced evictions and displacements of locals due to spikes in accommodation costs and the construction of new short term housing. Along with this rapid transformation of urban Portuguese areas, comes the online criticism of affluent migrants who have chosen to relocate to Portugal. To reiterate what was elaborated on in section *6.3 Acknowledgement of Gentrification*, lifestyle migrants, specifically those who make their lifestyles public on social media, are exposed to hostility for their apparent involvement in and fostering of the gentrification taking place in Portuguese urban areas. As posited by scholar and Geographer Neil Smith, there are two actors involved in gentrification.[129] Due to the fact that they are the visible actors, as the consumers, they receive more blame than the enablers of this drastic urbanisation, the producers. Generally, the analysis conducted on the TikTok videos exposed the intricacies of migrants in Portugal, particularly digital nomads – why they migrated, how they live their lives, and how they interact with their viewers in the comments section to discuss significant aspects of lifestyle migration.

My recommendation for future research within this field is to dig further into the relationship between social media trends and migration as well as golden citizenship and visa schemes. Due to the accessibility and increasingly extensive use of social media at present, it would be interesting to research its relationship to lifestyle migration to a greater

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[128] Canagarajah, *The Routledge Handbook of Migration and Language,2*.
[129] Smith, 'Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People', 540.

extent, and the impacts on viewers' decision-making. Alongside the growing popularity of nomad visa schemes, golden visa and citizenship schemes could be a captivating area of research, specifically pertaining to their ethics and legality.

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