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Radiographing an 'Expatriate' Space

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Abstract:

Drawing on an ethnographic approach to the study of radio this paper presents an ongoing project about locally produced radio among self-designated 'expatriates' residing in the south of Portugal. In addition to outlining the methodology and an initial mapping of minority radio initiatives in Portugal, the paper explores how local radio produced in a migratory context can contribute to the production of a locality (Appadurai 1996). Taking a station made by and for an atypically privileged minority as a case study the paper focuses on how production and consumption dynamics mediate lifestyle migrants' (Torkington 2010; O'Reilly 2009,2000) relation to the place they chose to live in. The argument holds that radio reflects and contributes to positioning the Algarve in relation to 'neighbourhoods' (Appadurai 1996) throughout the world while creating 'structures of feeling' (Appadurai 1996) informing the way it is appropriated. Ultimately, the paper tries to raise questions about the construction of belonging in the Algarve among British residents.

Keywords: radio, Algarve, locality, lifestyle migration

Introduction: The Project

This paper is part of a work in progress: a PhD project about locally produced radio among self-designated 'expatriates' in the south of Portugal. Framed within the interplay between media technologies and migration processes, the project builds on and problematizes the phenomenon of minority media.² To do so, as expanded on below, the exploratory project takes a case-study approach and focuses on how radio plays into the construction of belonging among British residents in the southern and touristy region of Algarve. Motivated by the specificities and potential of the medium for the research of reterritorialization in migratory contexts³ the goal

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² Significantly, the designation is not a consensual one (Siapera 2010; Lewis 2008; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Echchaibi 2002; etc.) and seems to be more easily recognized and situated when aggregating the term "ethnic" (therefore becoming ethnic minority media or minority ethnic media). It then easily and quickly refers to the issues of mediatized self-representation in a migratory context (Siapera 2010; Salim 2008; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; etc). However, most commonly an etic categorization burdened with power asymmetries, the term "ethnic" seems unadvisable as a qualifier without careful prior consideration. Whether there are investments on ethnicity underlying production efforts and uses of media in the context of self-representativity seems to be in fact a research question requiring case-by-case verification of what kind of strategic essentialisms are mobilized and for what purposes. As Echchaibi (2002: 40) puts it, it is important to conceptualize these spaces as more than essentially ethnic.

³ If media are now structuring and structural elements of migration processes (Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Morley 2000; Appadurai 1991; etc.), radio's particular features suggest it to be a strategic window from which to explore dynamics among reterritorialized collectivities. To be sure, its oral nature, participatory potential, strong local dimension, capability to bolster synchrony and immediacy, have been thought to stimulate the identification with fellow audience members, namely by encouraging and materializing perceived sharing and solidarity (Squier 2003; Tacchi 2002; Hendy 2000; etc.). Additionally, its banal character, ubiquitous presence and naturalized use engage senses and feelings in the relation of listeners with the technology, eliciting, for example, the reworking of memories in personal biographies and collective narratives or the organization of social relations in private domains (Squier 2003; Echchaibi 2002; Tacchi 2002). As 'the forgotten medium' (Hilmes quoted in Squier 2003: 20)

is to tackle the leading research question 'What role does radio play in migrants' management of their cultural identity?'

Monority Radio Mapping

The choice of this case study was preceded by a mapping of the initiatives of locally produced radio in Portugal engaged with the articulation of cultural diversity in some form. Overall, both the choice and the mapping resulted from an interest on the relatively unexplored dynamics of self-representation that articulate the realities of media and migrations in Portugal.

Predominantly, literature on the theme of media and migration in this context has been oriented towards the analysis of representations of the 'other' in mainstream media (i.e. Cabecinhas, 2008; Cunha et al, 2008, 2006, 2004; Cádima and Figueiredo, 2003). Studies are often either structured around a group or nationality (i.e. Filho 2008 and Pontes, 2004 on images of the Brazilian population in Portuguese media) or around a medium (i.e. Santos, 2005, on images of migrant women in the Portuguese press; Cunha 2009, 1996, around press and television). At times a connection is made with how media discourses are interpreted by those represented (i.e. Cunha, 2009; Brites *et al*, 2008; Carvalheiro, 2006)⁴. Additionally, some research projects have recently been focusing on the Lusophone world and the role of media in creating and interpreting that cultural-linguistic connection relating Portugal to some of its minorities, emigrants and other countries⁵. However, in spite of a solid and growing body of research, little is known about initiatives made by, for and about migrants and minorities themselves. In addition to an outdated country report to an international project that mapped the minority media landscape in Europe (Figueiredo 2003)⁶ there is only a study commissioned by ACIDI, the High Commissary for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Salim 2008)⁷ and a recently created database of images and sonorities of migrations related to Portugal that is being developed collaboratively.⁸ Other contributions focusing on minority media consist of case studies on the integration of digital technologies in the production of hip-hop music (Simões 2006) and visual culture (Campos 2009) in addition to the occasional section on migrants in more encompassing reports on media (Brites et al 2008). Overall, apart from a study on locally produced radio that considered minority programming (Bastos et al 2009), little attention is paid to the medium of radio.

In order to add to a rather incomplete picture of initiatives in the field of radio, the first phase of the project consisted of a telephone survey among local radios. Drawing on the list of the regulator entity for telecommunications (ANACOM)⁹, the inventory of initiatives provided by ACIDI and the aforementioned studies

technologically reinvents itself to meet new demands and realities of connectivity, radio presents a rich ground for research of the contemporary dynamics of movement it takes part in and of its own relevance in such context.

⁴ In addition to these publications there are two ongoing projects that focus on audiences' interpretations. Coordinated by Susana Trovão, from the Center of Research in Anthropology (CRIA), 'Migrant Family relationships at stake: 'internal' agencies, media debates and political practices' explores media uses and representations among migrant families. Also from the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, from the Center of Research in Journalism (CIMJ), 'Audience Transformations and Social Integration', incorporated in a COST Action (COST IS0906), is coordinated by Cristina Ponte.

⁵ In addition to Cunha's contributions (i.e. Cunha, 2010), two projects are currently ongoing: 'Identity narratives and social memory: the (re)construction of Lusophony in intercultural contexts', coordinated by Rosa Cabecinhas from the Center of Studies in Communication and Society (CECS) at the Universidade do Minho; 'Politics of Communication in the Lusophony', coordinated by Helena Sousa, also from same research center.

⁶ The project 'Diasporic Minorities and their Media – a Mapping' was coordinated by Myria Georgiou, from the London School of Economics, and was one of the research efforts undertaken by the European Media and Technology in Everyday Life Network (1995-2003). For more information on the project and the network see http://www2.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EMTEL/minorities/project_home.html [last accessed October 30th 2011].

⁷ This study focused on 'ethnic media' providing a non-exhaustive listing of initiatives and embracing a perspective that is debatable, as discussed in section 1.3.

⁸ The project was founded in 2008 by researchers working with CEMRI (Center of Studies on Migration and Intercultural Relations), based at *Universidade Aberta* (Lisbon). The database is meant to enhance immaterial heritage related to migrations and Portugal as well as to develop an openly editable platform that promotes a deeper reading of the materials referenced, the realities they showcase and their production dynamics to be used potentially as a teaching tool. It is available online on www.ism.itacaproject.com [last accessed October 18th 2011]

⁹ The updated list of existing enterprises in local radio production is available online at <http://www.anacom.pt/render.jsp?categoryId=42701> [accessed October 18th 2011].

available the preliminary research took place in early 2008. It was confined to local stations, which are commonly the sites of preference for migrants to take to the airwaves given the restriction in terms of resources (Echaibi, 2002: 40) as was confirmed. Provided the goal of the mapping was to later select a feasible case study for a qualitative research project, the survey was also restricted to FM frequencies within continental Portugal and was not meant to be exhaustive but to be able to identify different types of initiatives. Phone calls were followed by listening in online as well as by visits to stations and events announced on air whenever possible. To be sure, I asked about radio shows or other radio related initiatives engaged with cultural diversity and made by and/or for foreigners at the stations,¹⁰ provided it soon became clear that initiatives in Portuguese by long standing residents from Africa and Brazil were often not considered foreign.¹¹ This approach ultimately yielded a wider panorama than expected in spite of limitations related to the varying availability of stations' directors, amount of knowledge of the people I could talk to on the phone, outdated or wrong contact information and, simply, failure to answer the phone. Of 311 stations in continental Portugal, 140 contacts yielded data within the time frame allocated for the mapping. This allowed for 26 active and 25 past initiatives to be identified. The numbers are underestimates, as more recent studies and the volatile nature of the radioscope indicate,¹² and invite further research.

Very briefly, to contextualize the slots of air space just mentioned, most of which were shows,¹³ it is pertinent to note there were 11 initiatives in mainstream and public radio. In spite of some similarities with the mainstream broadcasting,¹⁴ local radios seldom seemed to host programs sponsored by state institutions and devoted to the promotion of intercultural relations and diversity.¹⁵ Also, they hosted the majority of initiatives made by, for, and about minorities. Remarkably, although these populations are thought to have 'restricted access to public space' and to be 'a sensitive public' provided there are indicators of some dissatisfaction about the way they are under- and misrepresented in mainstream media (Brites et al 2008: 245), the shows do not seem very concerned with political reinvidications related to the condition of being an immigrant apart from occasional citizens' initiatives included in associations' activities.¹⁶ Averaging two hours on the weekend or in the evening, programs mainly include music, information about legal matters related to integration, news from the country of

¹⁰ In practice, I inquired over the phone about the existence of the type of initiatives in question as well as the driving motivations underlying their establishment, their format, their duration, the human and technical resources entailed and both on and off air relationship with the audiences (of the station and of the show, in case they did not coincide).

¹¹ As the radio practitioners explained, musical genres from those countries (i.e. *Bossanova*, *Forró*, *Morna*, *Funaná*, *Kizomba*, etc.) have penetrated the Portuguese soundscapes, from people's private discotheques, to radio stations and night clubs – which has been suggested (Brites et al, 2008: 278) - and 'such music shows do not target a specific audience'.

¹² The aforementioned study on the locally produced radios, conducted by the legislative and regulatory body for telecommunications, *Entidade Reguladora da Comunicação Social*, in partnership with the *Escola Superior de Comunicação Social*, identified 58 stations with programs for foreign populations. These were not further discriminated in the study. Notably, the focus of the study was wider, concerning the whole universe of 347 local radios. Moreover, the authors admit that reporting through the surveys may have been swayed towards the desirable performance in what concerns programming. This may justify some of the disparity between results.

¹³ In some cases, stations integrate in their playlist other spaces without disturbing its harmony: special features in news bulletins; job and housing opportunities' announcements; discussion of matters particularly relevant for migrants in debate programs; the introduction of different musical styles. Occasionally, on the border with Spain, special shows and advertisements are broadcast in Spanish so as to accompany the cross-border transits and populations. All of these examples were presented as entailing the intention of serving foreign populations and/or facilitating intercultural relations in Portugal.

¹⁴ There were two main similarities. One consisted of EU oriented programs that could be found in both mainstream and local stations, similarly explaining and informing about the union's functioning. A second one related to the connections radio makes to Portuguese living abroad. Interestingly, only mainstream and public radio services produce shows widely explicitly focusing on the Lusophony.

¹⁵ In addition to '*Gente como nós*' (People like us), a show sponsored by ACIDI and broadcasted through TSF's national wide network, most spaces of the sort are broadcast by public service stations such as RDP Africa (namely with '*África Positiva*' (Positive Africa)) or *Antena 1* (with spaces such as '*A Fé dos Homens*' (People's Faiths)). Not necessarily showcasing life histories and successful integration stories, as the first two shows, nor focusing on religion per se, as the latter example, local stations host initiatives promoting intercultural relations such as students' journalistic pieces (i.e. '*Espaço Migrante*' in Rádio Planície).

¹⁶ An example is *Migrasons*, a show broadcast by *Rádio Zero*, a university student station in Lisbon, and promoted by the association *Solidariedade Imigrante* (Immigrant Solidarity). It discusses government's policies concerning immigration, quotidian realities stemming from larger conventions and conditions, etcetera. Similarly, *Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe* is a 15 minute bulletin aired in stations like *RDP África* and *Rádio Zero* about challenges facing African youth in Portugal among other issues. In contrast, '*O Esplendor de Portugal*' does not assume a minority perspective nor has an agenda to improve the minorities' standing in Portugal. The talk-show features weekly conversations with intellectuals from different nationalities and is aired by public service channel *Antena 1*.

origin and residence, and community making dynamics like promoting local events among the population they cater for and music requests and dedications.

Having started as early as 1987 and as recently as 2009, shows language(s) of choice, target-audiences, and disappearance reflect the migratory transits in which Portugal has been involved. Most illustratively, a large number of the shows that were discontinued followed the arrival, settlement and departure of Eastern Europeans.¹⁷ Also reflecting the migratory fluxes, there were seven shows produced by and/or aimed at populations from Africa, five by and for Eastern Europeans (Romanian, Ukrainian, Moldavian), three by and for Brazilians, three by and for Western Europeans (British, Dutch and French), two by and for Indians, two by and for (Luso) Venezuelans, and one by and for the Chinese in addition to two Brazilian owned and run stations (Tropical FM and Record FM) and a British owned and run bilingual station (KISS FM). Making dynamics of self-representativity more complex, some initiatives originated within the stations rather than in incoming proposals by members of minorities. In other words, some shows are made *with* more than *by* foreigners even if they do focus on matters specifically pertinent to some groups. For stations they represent not only a way to fulfill the legal requirement of serving the local population in its cultural diversity (Articles 12 and 49, section e), of the law n° 54/2010 concerning radio broadcasting), but also new audiences and advertisers. Some DJ's in fact migrated themselves with their shows from station to station in order to find the most favourable conditions, feeling at times exploited as 'the chicken with the golden eggs'. Interestingly, the recurrent reason given by directors who never welcomed initiatives relates to the legal indication to promote Portuguese language and culture (Article 32, section f) of the law n° 54/2010) and the coherence of the broadcast.

The British station in the Algarve invited research for a number of reasons. First, the case met the criteria of being an established initiative (on air since 1992 and with preludes prior to the first licensing of local stations in 1989); of revealing synergies with the target audience and allowing and inviting audience participation; and of both resulting from and expressing a migrant's initiative. Second, radio enjoys a long and lively tradition among the British, which are one of the largest and most established groups among the foreign residents in the Algarve (Torkington 2010; Ataíde & Torres 2010)¹⁸ – coincidentally region with the highest number of local stations and with the third biggest radio audience nationwide (Bastos et al 2009: 65-66). Third, and more importantly, they constitute an under-researched and atypically privileged minority. Hardly visible either in the mainstream media or in academic studies,¹⁹ the British also do not seem to resort to media to have 'their voice heard'.

Remarkably, in the touristy context of the Algarve, British language and culture are rather dominant as English language music currently holds hegemonic status and the lingua franca of business and tourism is now spoken everywhere, from golf courses to supermarkets.

¹⁷ Out of the 25 past initiatives, 16 catered for Eastern Europeans and finished in between 2005 and 2009, having lasted anything between a few months and a couple of years. As the directors explained, these shows accompanied the arrival and settlement of a large foreign population at a time when Portugal lacked social structures to welcome newcomers. The shows 'lost purpose', in part, because of the fast mastering of the language and functional integration of Eastern Europeans, the emergence of entities to provide practical information to immigrants and the exodus that started when the economic crisis started to be felt in Portugal.

¹⁸ According to official statistics, the British were outnumbered by Romanians for the first time in 2009 (Ataíde & Torres 2010:37). They have in any case been a historically significant presence as the principal market for tourism and second-home ownership.

¹⁹ If in general British living abroad have not received much attention as migrants (Sriskandarajah e Drew 2006: 2), the presence of the British population in migration studies in Portugal has hardly been explored (Torkington 2010). British are featured only in tourism-oriented studies, Anglo-Portuguese studies (mostly in the area of Language and Literature), and in a recent linguistics approach to the residents in the most luxurious area of the Algarve (Torkington 2010). Migration studies rather focus on the notorious shift of Portugal as an emigration country (1960s/1970s) to an immigration country. The flows which have been mostly studied are the so called *retornados* (returnees) from the African ex-colonies after independence, who started arriving after 1974, and the striking 'waves' of migration from Brazil (1980s and early 2000s) and from Eastern Europe, namely Ukraine (early 2000s). The media have accompanied the trend, giving visibility, both positive and negative, to these groups. The British presence is hardly touched upon at a national level with the exception of occasional events (local celebrations of Prince William and Kate Middleton's wedding, burglaries victimizing British residents and the highly mediatized case of Maddie McKann, a three year-old girl who disappeared during a vacation trip to Portugal in 2007. Regionally, it emerges in the observations of the tourist industry's performance the British are significant contributors and the privileged market for the tourism board (i.e. Observatório do Algarve, 2010).

The case requires, then, questioning the presupposed subaltern condition associated both with minority media initiatives and the people engaged with them (Siapera, 2010; Salim, 2008; Lewis, 2008; Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005; etc). Considering enterprises of a group enjoying an advantaged social standing in the host context allows discussing the role of locally produced media in migratory contexts by raising the same questions (i.e. of mediation of efforts of reterritorialization and of maintenance of connections to home) from an alternative perspective. On the one hand, the case study possibly allows unravelling other dimensions, functions and uses of media that are instructive about contemporary forms of making sense of mobility and connectivity. On the other hand, given a connotation with a self-secluding attitude associated with strong cultural reproduction habits when abroad, of which the media are part and parcel (Torkington, 2010; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006; O'Reilly, 2000; King *et al.*, 2000), that does not prompt the preoccupations other migrant groups have involuntarily elicited when resorting to their media (i.e. Echchaibi 2002: 39), the case of media made by and for British self-designated 'expatriates' especially calls for a reflection of power relations related to the significance of minority media. The focus on one single case rather than a comparative study, as was initially planned, derived from a series of constraints (time, financial, et cetera) as well as the need for greater depth in a qualitative study with an ethnographic approach.

Methodology

In order to explore how radio programs play into processes of construction and negotiation of belonging in migratory contexts a two-pronged approach was chosen. Broadcasts are considered both cultural products and social practices (Spitulnik 1993). As cultural products, the broadcasts are conceived as material to fuel, maintain and negotiate not only social relations but also the cultural repertoire of cultural symbols and norms that producers and audiences draw on. As social practices, they are conceived as activities people engage in to bring the show to life both in production and consumption realms. Following a Media Anthropology approach, a large concern lies with relating texts to producers and consumers so as to unravel practices and processes of meaning making from both ends. In other words, this perspective tries to capture how making radio is present in people's communicative ecologies (Tacchi *et al.*, 2005) when they relate to themselves, each other and the places they have inhabited in their migratory trajectories.

Fieldwork in the Algarve, consisting in long and short stays spread throughout a year, has taken shape as I continue to branch out from the broadcasts that I have been registering both at the end of the computer stream and at the studio. To be sure, the strategy has been to 'follow the radio', to use Marcus' (1991) metaphor for multi-sited ethnography, to events announced on air, establishments of advertisers with salespeople who are looking for contracts; second hand shops of 'charities' whose campaigns are promoted and so on. Looking for the agents and dynamics bringing the radio to life, observation is made both at the station and during accessible reception instances (at food/book/second-hand shops and cafés) as well as in some private settings (inside the car). Interviews are meant to gather the perspectives of other radios and English language local media as well as of listeners, advertisers, DJs, decision-makers and other agents related to the station.

The Station

As its multinational team are quick to remind me and its clients, the 'Algarve's number one', as the KISS FM's slogan boasts, is the *only* station broadcasting in English in the region and licensed to do so. It contributes to the maintenance of a public sphericule (Gitlin, 1998) created by local media (comprising three English owned and run local newspapers, an array of magazines and the radio station), the internet (namely an array of 'expatriate' oriented websites with useful information and directories of services for living outside of the UK), small media (pamphlets of local businesses and events, municipal cultural agendas, phone cards, etc.), UK newspapers distributed in touristy focal points, satellite television and radio options, locally produced novels and an upcoming

film about a foreigner's life in the Algarve. The encompassing mediascape include other Portuguese media with English editions (i.e. the trilingual free-ad newspaper 123 Algarve, the online news portal *Observatório do Algarve*) as well as a number of national and local newspapers, radios and television channels. "Expatriates" may turn to Portuguese TV films with subtitles so as to work on their Portuguese, especially when the satellite signal is obstructed by rain. Research so far suggests media diets do not change substantially when moving to Portugal with the common exception of listening to radio in the car and buying local newspapers. Not requiring great language proficiency, music national radio stations such as *M80, Antena 2, RFM, Rádio Comercial and Rádio Cidade* compete with KISS with 'golden oldies', classical music, easy listening and pop music playlists – something that the other fifteen Algarvian stations do not seem to achieve²⁰.

Set up by a radio *aficionado* who had previously been involved in pirate radio both in London and in the Algarve, the radio evolved from a soul music oriented station to a commercial enterprise. Having always been connoted as 'the English station', KISS FM tried to draw a Portuguese listenership closer with an audience research that determined a 25-35 year old female target group. In contrast, the English language programming always aimed at the general Anglophone foreign resident population according to the multi-national station's staff. Nonetheless, references in the broadcasts suggest stronger connections to the UK. In addition to English language advertisements featuring British products, services and multinational companies that punctuate the playlists, news bulletins in English are retransmitted from the UK, weather bulletins weekly feature both the Algarve and the UK, usually along humorous comparative remarks, and a handful of shows are presented by English DJ's who spontaneously resort to British banter, UK sports/media/history... references and matters concerning the local social life revolving around British organization and interests (i.e. pantomimes and other amateur-dramatics productions; British Legion's Poppy campaigns; pub quizzes and so on).

An Elusive Target Audience

Although little is known about the British population residing in the Algarve, broadcasts reflect what is safe to say about these 'expatriates': beyond the retirees who conflate positive ageing with seaside living with a move to the Algarve, there are younger people hoping to explore the growing niche-market serving British tourists and residents while raising a family. Correspondingly, popular live shows working as community-making spaces focus mostly on oldies music at lunch-time and on Sunday mornings whereas the early morning's English language news, weather bulletins and exchange rates are intended by the programs coordinator and sales team to capture the morning drive-time, when people go to work or drop their children at school. This is the most recent scenario, which started to evolve since the 1980s, accompanying the popularization of the Algarve as a destination. According to informants who have resided in the Algarve since the 1960s, the pioneers included artists and high-class tourists in search of the exotic and remote, some retired military personnel and families who tried to start a life here. Unlike many who arrived since the 80s, these first settlers are fluent in Portuguese in addition to being well aware and involved in local life even if they may position themselves still as foreigners. Moreover, usually without UK based business income, pensions or investments, they are part of the 10.795 (Ataíde and Torres 2009) registered residents in the Algarve.

However, free circulation rights within the EU and the relaxed regulations on employment and residency allow a much larger population to remain unaccounted for. The British Consulate's estimates on permanent residents in the Algarve build on 40,000 thousand people, which constitutes roughly 10% of the Algarve's population. A realistic picture should include also non-permanent residents who, however, challenge boundaries between tourism and settlement and seep through statistics. To be sure, as modalities of travel evolve people find ever more creative ways of living in more than one space at a time (migrating, circulating, touring and altering

²⁰ During the research no other English language initiative was on air. There was possibly some competition when other stations had shows.

movement patterns and legal status along the way, by starting as tourists, possibly becoming second-home owners, residents and returning to being visitors). Also blurring distinctions, as Torkington (2010: 99-100) notes, the 'expatriates' engagement in the same activities as tourists (eating, drinking, playing sports, relaxing) in the same places (i.e. golf courses, marinas, pubs, horse-riding facilities, hotels, spas, restaurants) while displaying similar behavior (use of language, style of socializing, etc) and appearance further approximates tourists and residents. Such overlapping and porous categories obstruct the attempts of profiling the people engaged in these mobilities and of classifying and understanding permanence in southern European contexts like the Algarve (King et al 2000; O'Reilly 2000; Torkington 2010) which do not resemble urban settings like Lisbon or Porto but may resonate with the areas of Madeira and Central Portugal.

To conceptualize these tourism-informed mobilities that are no longer contained in the idea of 'International Retired Migration' (i.e. King et al 2000), the notion of lifestyle migration has been developed (O'Reilly 2000, 2008; Torkington 2010).²¹ At a conceptual level, for the proponents of the concept lifestyle is inscribed in larger dynamics of commoditization of leisure and broadly encompasses aspirations of a more relaxed, healthy and informal way of living. Fundamentally, it underscores the 'conscious choice not only about where to live but also about how to live' (Hoey cited in Torkington 2009: 127). Unlike movements catalyzed by economic hardship or the search for financial security, Lifestyle Migration then concerns the phenomena of «relatively affluent individuals moving (...) to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life» (O'Reilly & Benson 2009: 621). It is already used as a category of practice namely by reports on British emigration (Skriandajah & Drew: x).

KISS' advertisements, which extend to other English language media, index the interests and needs of the target audience, rendering the abstract notion of lifestyle more concrete and confirming some demographic and sociographic contours of the population. They place pools and barbecues, golf courses and orders from the UK in the international residents' daily lives besides indicating a preference for English speaking staff, preoccupations with insurances of various orders and irritation with 'red tape'. To be more precise, the services and products advertised, from the handy man that does odd jobs to large moving, construction, real estate, security, cleaning and design companies, indicate a common aspiration for an ideal of living relaxedly in the sun by the pool but suggesting a spectrum of sophistication and quality of services. Still, all relate to finding, selling and renting property as well as moving, renovating, refurbishing, maintaining, securing, heating and decorating a house. Complementing the scenariou, leisure is yet another leitmotif as advertisements publicize particularly spas, concerts, golf courses, family activities, sand sculpture exhibitions, etc. This requires the amount of resources that attract banks, legal authorities, accountants, insurance companies and so on that collaborate when selling services. For those who are still active, business opportunities are widely announced especially as fairs, business networks' meetings and multinational companies become more popular. Indicative of an ageing population among the foreigners, health concerns are answered by private clinics and alternative therapies are also common among the commercial breaks. Finally, catering also tourists, rent-a-cars, hotels and, restaurants and foodstuffs' shops with British products and brands are featured.

Radio and the Production of Locality: the 'Algarve'

Remarkably, tracking the connections between the station, the advertisers and their clients reveals more functional links between the Algarve and the UK, Spain or Gibraltar than with Lisbon: multinational companies easily have their headquarters in the UK and people quickly travel to Gibraltar to avoid the paperwork of getting

²¹ For further information on the idea see the research on the 'Lifestyle Migration hub', available online at http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/ss/lmhub/lmhub_home.html [accessed on October 20th 2011].

married in a different country. This shapes the socio-economic realities making up the Algarve's current dynamics that create it as a particular locality, to use Appadurai's terminology and theory.

Appadurai's proposal of the notion of locality articulates the process of place-making in the age of intensified global circulation of people, goods and ideas. By taking on board the importance of the imagination and perception while not losing sight of historically grounded and power-infused contextual dynamics that render places very concrete sites for everyday life, Appadurai proposes locality is a social place whose nature lies in the lived experience of and in a globalized world. More concretely, the author relates actual social formations (which he calls 'neighborhoods') with 'a structure of feeling' (which roughly translates into the way place is appropriated, sensed and inhabited). Such articulation falls at the intersection of various flows along what Appadurai calls 'scapes' (technoscapes, ethnoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes). Ultimately, this dynamic relation specifies and situates locality to the extent it works to produce in a recognizable way particular conjugations of place, subjects and their relations to contexts, products, practices, and so on. It is then in the tension between local and global, between individual sites of agency and globally defined fields of possibility that locality is produced (Appadurai 1996: 179).

If the way the place is imagined is key to how it is constantly being created that is intertwined with the position of neighborhoods in relation to each other. The present argument holds that the radio reflects and contributes to the production of a locality. Although artificially singling out the Anglophone and rather British social reality that coexists with multiple other forms of living (in) the region, I focus on the 'Allgarve'. The expression has been made official by the regional tourism board as its promotional brand so as to encompass the diversity of leisure opportunities and natural landscapes the region offers.²² However, the phrase captures what the Allgarve also 'sounds like' due to, and especially among, Anglophone northern Europeans. Moreover, it evokes modalities of inhabiting places that are popular enough to constitute a map of the English-speaking Algarve. 'Allgarve' is then becoming for the project, a shorthand way to address the locality most of the informants relate to.

Radio and the Production of Locality

The radio reflects and contributes to locality's (re)production in a variety of ways. First, it helps positioning the Algarve in relation to other places, inscribing it in a constellation of neighborhoods through the linkages that production dynamics created with music and radio scenes elsewhere. Building on the recent recombinatory, distributional and archival possibilities, production geographies are reconfigured transcending borders. Although the possibilities of connectivity brought about by the internet dethroned KISS as a privileged gateway of distribution of music in the Algarve, they opened the possibility for more affordable ways to make radio. Yet, the personal connections of the founder in the British radio scene earned the station the access to advertisements and jingles' production companies as well as voices. Some of the latter also appear in voice-tracks of pre-produced shows that are sent in to the station. 'Late Night Algarve', a show that was recently discontinued, was usually recorded from the show-host's home studio in Scotland. Some of the listeners he befriended when becoming more than just a visitor to the Algarve used to speak back to their radio sets when he read the weather bulletins and other local information off the internet. Notably, even in the cases of show hosts who were not in the founder's social circles and whose shows are not geographically situated (namely, the late night dance, house and techno programs) the radio provided a significant connection to the Algarve: the station lent publicity to DJ's from all over the world who thus gain reputation and credibility among local night clubs, where they apply to work in the summertime when on tour.

²² For more information on the tourism board's reasoning for the expression see <http://www.allgarve.pt/en/what-is-allgarve> [last accessed October 30th 2011].

Similarly, albeit on the other end of the broadcasts, the audience's feedback also indicates how reception instances reflect and reinforce the approximation of the 'Algarve' with an array of neighbourhoods related to the tourism markets connected to the Algarve. In the absence of podcasts or asynchronous availability of broadcasts²³ and in spite of time differences, people tune in through the Internet as the messages and music dedications arriving through email, phone-call, text-message or Facebook post to live shows signal. For Facebook posters, often times tourists who enjoyed listening to KISS when driving rented cars, messages revolve around nostalgic memories from a great summer. Requesting the name of a song they cannot stop thinking about or seeming to try and evoke the taste and good feelings associated with the sun and fun all the way in their offices and homes wherever they are in the world (as the map in Fig.1 suggests).



Figure 1 – Map of visits to the station's website in between August 2010-January 2011, provided by KISS FM



Figure 2 – Facebook post of a runner doing marathons to fundraise for causes

Regular listeners tend to have greater connections to the Algarve (owning a house and/or returning regularly and for larger periods of time) and add messages to be read out on air to their Facebook posts. More than others who use the radio to connect to a mass of unknown people in the Algarve, (i.e. people who come from the UK for a cause as apparent in Fig.3), regular listeners use the radio to connect to each other, the Algarve and their own biographies, revealing a deeper and more textured affective relationship to the Algarve (Fig 4). Also, as listeners, people can follow the lives of most regular participants as they update the show on how it has been to go back to the UK after years of living in the Algarve, for example. The latter then become regular visitors and adopt a particular register when writing messages. To be specific, they usually make a point of complaining about the weather where they are and of mentioning when they are next visiting. Additionally, they constantly take part of anniversary/birthday/special event greetings with music dedications that seem to serve to maintain their presence among social networks they feel part of in the Algarve. The following excerpt from the Sunday morning show conveys this:

An email came in: 'Good morning, just to let you know that we had a chilling minus 18 in Glasgow, when going to work this morning and we're stuck in the snow with the truck for 12 hours. We've just been jealous of all you good people in the Algarve. Could you please say hello to all on the Grove camping site and happy birthday to Allison in Olhos de Água? We can't wait 'till December when we get back there.' And it was signed William and Jennifer. This is for you'²⁴

²³ The only exceptions to this are the podcasts created by some DJ's themselves and posted on their own/personal websites (i.e. 'Thank God is Friday' show, 'Atlantic beat' show).

²⁴ People's names are fictitious for the sake of anonymity.



Figure 3 – Facebook post from an internet listener



Figure 4 – Facebook post featuring memories of the Algarve

However weak these ties may seem, it is their lubrication that strips their banal nature of a trivial quality, as Grannovetter (1973) suggests. This helps creating a sense of community by adding to, for example, investments of these people such as organizing activities (i.e. pub quizzes for fundraising for social solidarity) during their time in the Algarve.

Finally, the radio broadcasts contribute to the production of locality by reinforcing the circulation of alternative locative markers. More than invoking references that are drawn from a British history and imaginary,²⁵ the broadcasts contribute to establish particular place-naming. On the one hand, DJ's of live shows, like any English speaker, automatically draw on expressions whose circulation and consolidation they contribute to. The most illustrative example is 'the Golden Triangle', an expression created by real estate agents in order to associate a resort area with luxury and glamour. Addressed, literally, as 'the area between Vale do Lobo, Quinta do Lago and Almancil' the expression finds no match in Portuguese but has gained a life of its own and is even used to refer to events (i.e. 'the Golden Triangle Exhibition'), although mostly among 'expatriates' and within the 'Allgarve'.²⁶ Additionally, shop addresses and events' locations are pronounced with an accent both in advertisements and in live shows. Only rarely translated (i.e. a charity organization in Vale do Lobo is called the Woolf Valley Charity), places gain variations on their names: *Albufeira* (älb ö öphëë/ru) becomes älb ö öphëwřü ; *Loulé* (Lölë) turns into L ö ölēë; *Lagos* (Läg ö ösh) into Lëëgöš or Lügöšh, *Portimão* (P ö ö/rtëmüöⁿ) into Poorwřtëmëö²⁷ If at times advertisers request that pronunciation in order to have it recognized by their target public, English-speaking foreigners, such carving of new sonorities for places in the region through radio broadcasts is not always purposeful or even conscious. In fact, the production team has even repeatedly sent recordings of the Portuguese

²⁵ To give some examples, although without conscious intentions to exclude other listeners, DJ's eventually draw on well known phrases of famous British comedians to make jokes, promote competitions that require familiarity with British music and television and praise appeals to support the British Legion.

²⁶ For a rich and in depth exploration of this place-naming dynamic see Torkington (2010).

²⁷ For the sake of easier readability in comparison to the symbols used by the International Phonetic Alphabet, the respelling system used for phonetic transcription was the Concise Oxford Dictionary's. To consult the symbols see the Wikipedia entry's tables at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pronunciation_respelling_for_English#endnote_cod [last accessed October 30th 2011].

pronunciation to the English voices who figure in the advertisements so as to avoid mispronunciation. What is more, the station's DJ's try to correctly indicate locations and do, as is common among 'expatriates', mock tourists and other residents for following the common misguidance of their own native languages when referring to places. As such, laughing at the idea of 'ãlb õ õph ũ wrũ' or 'Phũwr õ õ' DJ's will still use the established English pronunciation of Portuguese names.

Notably, place naming is associated with the highlighting of an 'Allgarve' map that is composed of venues repeatedly used for events promoted by and largely for 'expatriates' (performances, fairs, etc). This is telling of how the radio plays into the creation of structures of feeling and ways to inhabit the Allgarve. Most of the events are meant to fundraising for causes deemed to be of pressing need for a region that has, in many ways, been neglected by a Lisbon-centered government and has grown mainly through tourism. For organizers like Mary, these activities are a way to feel more involved and connected to the Algarve even if they fuel socializing among circles of people whose leisure preferences are rather British and may resemble the aforementioned closed off stereotype. Commenting on an Old Time Music Hall she organized to provide equipment and assistance to local fire-fighters Mary explained:

M: (...) if you are not working it is very, very difficult to meet people. (...) not having an inroad or a connection... this gives me that facility to be able to do that. And I really start to feel that I am living in Portugal! (...) I feel part of it! I don't belong to a club or a bridge club or something like that (...). And actually, you should be giving something back to your community. We are very, very lucky to be living here. We feel very fortunate to be living here. So we need to be putting something into the community! (...) You know, I'm not just sitting there taking. I really appreciate living here.

The radio's messages supporting and announcing these events and later reporting on what was accomplished play into an active social life symbolically connected to the UK but grounded in personal trajectories and aspirations oriented to engaging with the Algarve as 'home'.

Conclusive Notes

In order to explore the specificities of locally produced radio made by and for a privileged minority and the way it mediates the construction of belonging in migratory contexts the idea of production of locality (Appadurai 1996) appears to be particularly useful. It allows capturing the relationship between production and consumption dynamics in an articulation that calls attention to the specificities of the case in question. Besides drawing the Algarve closer to neighborhoods that reposition a region of Portugal in an international scene, the radio plays into the reproduction of 'structures of feeling' relating lifestyle migrants' to the place they chose to live in. Uniquely, it points to the sensorial dimensions of the 'Allgarve' with its oral and ordinary nature: alternative place naming is heard on air rather than felt in print and phatic messages with personal undertones expressing both maintenance of social ties and affective relation to place are integrated in live shows rather than letters to the editor. Albeit only as part and parcel of other larger agents and strategies at work in processes of reterritorialization (i.e. mobilization for social solidarity as a means to 'give back' and foster local development), radio related dynamics also raises questions and clues relating concerning the construction of belonging of lifestyle migrants. What kinds of connections with place are explored by engagements with the public sphere through 'charity' work supported by the media? What is the role of local background sound and company - that is often replaced by sedentary media diets grounded in the country of origin - in the processes of making sense of displaced people's lived experience? What kinds of 'structures of feeling' and forms of belonging are relevant when, as King (2000: 137) discusses, integration may not be the most relevant goal for British residents nor, therefore, an adequate concept to elaborate on their mobilities and connectivities?

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