'AN EMPIRE LOST BUT A PROVINCE GAINED': A COHORT ANALYSIS OF BRITISH INTERNATIONAL RETIREMENT IN THE ALGARVE

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Abstract

The growth of international retirement in the Algarve has coincided with a number of changes in the international framework for population mobility as well as in the nature of the Algarve as a destination area. Tourism development, which is intimately linked to subsequent retirement migration, is particularly important in this. This paper considers the nature of the link between cycles of migration and of development in recipient areas, in the context of the remarkable and relatively late development of the Algarve as an area of tourism and retirement. The principal data sources for this study are 219 questionnaires completed by retired British nationals living in the Algarve, and a number of key informants. Cohort analysis of the questionnaires (in terms of arrival dates) provides the basis for an examination of changes over time in the socio-demographic profiles of the migrants, their motivations, their residential patterns and their integration. The results serve to underline the importance of a longitudinal perspective, and the need to disaggregate data on the international retirement populations living in the Algarve and other Southern European countries.

Introduction

International retirement migration is a relatively long-established form of spatial mobility, but a change in scale has begun to attract academic and policy attention in recent years. This is particularly evident in the Algarve where small resident British communities have existed since at least the 1930s. However, international retirement migration (IRM) to the Algarve is essentially a recent phenomenon; for example, 34.7% of those surveyed in the Algarve by this research project had arrived since 1990, and 71.2% had arrived since 1984, which is far higher than in Malta, Tuscany and even the Costa del Sol (King *et al*, 1998). The Algarve, therefore, provides an opportunity to study immigrants who had arrived in the region during very different stages in the evolution of international migration to the region.

Whereas the early settlers arrived in a largely unspoilt and little-visited region, by the 1980s the Algarve had already experienced large-scale mass tourism, urbanisation and recent immigration. Over time not only the scale of migration changed but also its composition, reflecting the widening social base of IRM and changes in the character of the Algarve. The increase in IRM was due to demographic shifts in northern Europe, changes in lifetime income flows especially following increases in early retirement/redundancy, the growth of inherited wealth, and the potential capital gains resulting from the late 1980s UK housing boom. Also important were increases in lifetime experiences of mobility either in relation to work (Salt and Ford, 1993) or international tourism (Shaw and Williams, 1994: 174-180). Both forms of mobility increased experience of travelling outside the UK as well as knowledge of particular destinations such as the Algarve.

The nature of the Algarve as a destination has also changed in the post-war period. Until the mid 1960s there was no airport in the Algarve and international tourism was limited at a time when there mass tourism was developing elsewhere in Southern Europe. Settlements such as Albufeira and Tavira were still mainly fishing communities, while the development of new tourism enclaves such as Praia de Rocha and Alvor was limited. In contrast, later migrants arrived after the Algarve itself had become a mass tourism destination, and was experiencing rapid urbanisation. In practice, then, there were two interlinked, parallel processes of change - in the streams of immigrants and in the destination area.

The aim of this paper is to investigate some of the similarities and differences amongst cohorts of migrants who arrived in the Algarve at different stages in its evolution as a reception area for IRM. This provides insights into the changing nature of the Algarve as a reception area and the changes in migrant flows. The focus is on British international retirement in the Algarve, which encompasses both IRM (direct migration to the area for retirement purposes) and the retirement of those who had moved to the Algarve previously for other purposes. It has previously been argued that international retirement migration is difficult process to pin down in practice, being heterogeneous and blurring into other forms of migration (Williams et al 1997) so that the division between IRM and international retirement is not always easily discernible.

This study contributes to population geography in a number of ways. First, it allows disaggregation of some of the sweeping assumptions/statements which characterise the debate about IRM (Williams *et al* 1997), and which often tacitly assume that these migrants are a homogeneous population sub-group. Secondly, we draw attention to the contingencies of place and, especially, time in the evolution of IRM and in this are sympathetic to Buller and Hoggart's (1994: 4) appeal for analysis to

be '..sensitive to the character and temporal specificity of population flows between places'. Thirdly, we highlight the need for models of IRM which take into account the life cycles of both the destinations and the migrants. This echoes Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) who argue that, in order to understand individual experiences, these should be contextualised in terms of how individual life cycles interact with the life cycles of reception areas.

This paper is organised into seven main sections. The first three sections contextualise the study: a brief literature review; an outline of the emergence of the Algarve as a destination for mass tourism and IRM; and a methodological note. This is followed by discussion of the results of a cohort analysis (related to date of arrival) of responses obtained from a 1996 questionnaire analysis amongst the retired British community living in the Algarve. The cohort analysis is sub-divided into four sections which, respectively, consider the basic demographic features and life histories of the cohorts, decision making, settlement patterns and integration.

Migration and destination area life-cycles

In common with international retirement and international retirement migration in general, the links between the evolution of destination areas and changing cohorts of international retirees is a largely under-researched area. There are, however, some useful points of comparison to be found in other research literatures related to tourism and different forms of migration. These have been reviewed elsewhere (Williams et al 1997) and only some of the more salient features are noted here.

Turning first to models of international migration, these are mostly concerned with labour markets, and given their preoccupation with replacement unskilled labour are not especially useful in interpreting IRM. One useful notion that can be taken from this literature is Zelinsky's concept of 'circulation', that is, leaving home with the purpose of returning. This has been elaborated in Cerase's (1974) conceptualisation of the cycle of migration and of return migration, which provides a reminder that there is at least the potential for retirees to return - and some do so - and that to focus only on the destination areas is to understand only a part of the cycle of migration. But the causes of and filters on labour migration are very different to those for retirement migration, therefore, the former literature does not provide a useful starting point for IRM studies (Williams *et al* 1997). Another focus of the literature on international (labour) migration has been the processes of assimilation. Many of the models developed to represent the assimilation of migrants into cities were originally developed in North America and their relevance to European experiences have been questioned (O'Loughlin 1980). Again, however, the differences in motivations, social rank (within the host communities) and family life cycle stages of labour migrants and of retirement migrants constrains the usefulness of such models. Nevertheless, there are useful parallels for this paper in the way that they have studied changes over time in the immigrant communities; for example, Ruile (1983) has demonstrated that changes in the behaviour of individuals can be ranged along a continuum from making continual references to 'home' communities to full identification with the host area of residence. Another valuable perspective is provided by the work on the migrants' social networks which have a major influence on their experiences in job and housing markets and their assimilation into different areas of community life (Castles and Miller 1993, p22).

Another, and probably more useful, starting point is the literature on intra-national retirement migration. Although now an extensive area of research publication, a surprisingly small number of studies have been concerned with retirement migration

as a cumulative process involving successive cohorts. Of particular note is Cribier and Kych (1992) which compares the results of a number of different surveys - of different time periods - of retirement migrants leaving Paris, hence linking changes in the composition of migration flows and in the external control of these. Since 1972 the rate of departure has declined steadily - and there is no sign of the temporal instability which characterises much of the cyclical housing-market related migration of the elderly in the UK.   They found that the age of emigration has fallen, as has the proportion born in the provinces rather than in Paris. Commenting on this study, Warnes (1993: 102) writes that 'Older Parisians have recently been acquiring the ability to sustain multiple place associations and experiences'.

There is no published study of *international* retirement migration which provides a comparable level of detail on successive cohorts of migrants. The most useful cohort study is Buller and Hoggart's (1994) analysis of British migration to France. This systematically compares migrants who arrived before and after 1988.   The pre-1988 cohort was more likely to have lived previously in France, while the latter were more influenced by property prices, and - as would be expected - by positive feedback from earlier migrants. However, this study is limited in that their single temporal divide does not facilitate analysis of the growth of the British population in France in detail. While this may be less critical in France, where British settlement is geographically dispersed, an evolutionary perspective is critical to understanding population dynamics in areas where there are concentrations of foreign residents as in the Costa del Sol or the Algarve. The Buller and Hoggart study is also constrained in that it examines all British property owners and not only retirement migrants of any tenure group.

Counter-urbanisation, understood as shifting down the urban hierarchy (Champion 1989) is another research area which provides some useful pointers for research on IRM. The most significant aspect of this research is that it has shown that counter-urbanisation migration streams can be disaggregated into several distinctive strands, with the most important being retirement, changes in residential preferences and the availability of jobs. International retirement can be seen to involve elements of all these streams for it combines the retirement abroad of those who first emigrated to an area for work, and various forms of movement to seek out new life styles and living environments. This has been explicitly recognised in Buller and Hoggart's (1994) study of British house purchases in France which, conceptually, they locate within the processes of international counterurbanisation.

In the tourism literature, the most obvious starting point is Butler's (1980) resort life cycle model. This sets out a six stage idealised evolutionary model from the exploration to the decline stage. In essence, a small number of tourists arrive in the exploration stage; local residents begin to provide facilities in the involvement stage; large numbers of tourists arrive in the development stage, and control passes to external organisations; tourism has become a major part of the economy in the consolidation phase when numbers also level off; numbers peak in the stagnation phase when the resort is no longer considered fashionable; and there is then a decline stage which may become terminal if action is not taken to rejuvenate the resort. It is not inconceivable that IRM destinations may pass through the same stages, with property developers providing the external influence in the development stage. However, this model is essentially descriptive and, even for tourism - let alone IRM - lacks adequate explanatory power (Shaw and Williams 1994: 165). In addition, there is the added complexity that the numbers involved in IRM are smaller than in tourism, so that IRM - as in the Algarve, but not in Tuscany (see King *et al*

1998) - represents an additional population layer grafted on to the economic and settlement framework which has been structured by tourism.

While the resort cycle model provides a framework for considering IRM in context of the evolution of tourism resorts, the inter-relationship between the two forms of population movements is complex and the model does not predict when, if at all, retirement migration will be joined to tourism inflows. Karn (1977) investigates some aspects of this relationships in the context of domestic retirement migration and demonstrates how retirement migration has replaced tourism in many, once fashionable, English seaside resorts. The key link between the two population flows is the role of tourism in widening the search spaces of potential retirement migrants. This link is confirmed in the fragmentary evidence available concerning IRM to southern Europe. For example, Serrano Martinez (1992: 84) explains the massive concentration of foreign residents on the coast rather than the interior of Murcia in terms of their search for tranquillity and, above all, knowledge of the area from previous tourist visits.

Salvà Tomàs' (1996: 8-9) study in Mallorca adds to our understanding of the links between tourism and inward migration, and is particularly useful for its emphasis on the evolution of settlement. The first foreign residents were artists and retired people who were seeking places characterised by tranquillity and landscape beauty; at that stage, these place aspirations could be realised by buying homes in new coastal urbanisations as well as by purchasing and restoring older houses in the mountains. In the second phase, after 1986, there was a marked increase in investment, accompanied by the arrival of three types of inmigrants, each of which has a distinctive residential pattern. Long term holiday residents tended to purchase villas or apartments in coastal urbanisations away from the mass tourist zones; retired and early retired residents preferred new urbanisations; and foreign residents with high purchasing power bought properties in the mountains and in areas of landscape or cultural value. This study underlines the complexity of IRM, for retired migrants may be found in all of these migration streams.

While these studies demonstrate some of the links between tourism and retirement migration, they do not provide any guidance as to the timing of IRM in relation to the stages of the resort cycle model, or as to the relationship between settlement form and the structure of tourism development. To some extent, this is not surprising, for IRM is very much shaped by the contingencies of space and time (Williams *et al* 1997). It is a matter for empirical investigation, in the context of developments external to and within the destination area. The Algarve provides a case study for the evolution of IRM in one such destination area. The approach of this paper is broadly informed by the structurationist perspective (Chant and Radclilffe 1992) which seeks to combine individual and structural analyses. We begin by considering some of the salient features of the Algarve as an area for retirement.

The Algarve as a destination for IRM

Tourism in the Algarve barely existed prior to the middle of the twentieth century. In the early twentieth century, a handful of tourists stayed in the hill town of Monchique, and at the beaches of Monte Gordo and Praia de Rocha (Pina 1988). The first hotel was opened in 1918, the Hotel Grande do Faro, but of greater significance was the opening of the elegant Hotel Bela Vista at Praia da Rocha in 1936, which signified the leading role of this coastal resort. Foreign tourists, notably the British, also started to arrive in the 1920s and the 1930s, especially once

distinctive place images of the Algarve had been created by guides such as John Gibbons' *Afoot in Portugal.* In his 1936 follow-up volume, *Playtime in Portugal,* Gibbons set out the limits of the contemporary English tourist map of the Algarve: Praia de Rocha, Sagres and Monchique. This was a geographically constrained world which barely expanded in the years before the Second World War.

In the 1920s and 1930s small seasonal, British residential 'colonies' started to be established in the Algarve. Pina (1988: 223) comments that they were ' Retired mostly from the ex-British colonies attracted by the climate of the Algarve'. Their map of the Algarve was very similar to that of the tourists. Monchique was a favoured destination, where Gibbons (1936: 173) observed 'tiny colonies of exiles', and where '...one could live like a prince down that way for very little money indeed, of course, beside having the feeling of being a prince who had dodged the English income tax'. Whereas he considered that you could live at Monchique, in the hills, all year round, the other major destination - Praia da Rocha - was suitable for only nine months of the year on account of the hot summers. Salter (1974: 55) also recalls the expatriate communities at Praia who, in the 1930s, used to meet at the Casa Inglesa in Portimão: 'the ''remittance men'' used solemnly to meet and collect their cheques, pay their current debts, get slightly drunk and, in conclusion, arrange for the next month of living on credit'. In contrast - and clearly with little awareness of future changes - Gibbons concludes that 'in the rest of Algarve the Englishman at present would hardly think of living at all'.

The Second World War considerably retarded tourism development in the Algarve, but growth was subsequently renewed. Throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, there was a deliberate attempt in both marketing and hotel construction to target higher income tourists; construction of golf hotels, as at Penina and Val do Lobo, played a crucial role in this strategy. To some extent, the lack of an airport, which meant that tourists had to be routed via Gibraltar, Seville or Lisbon, kept mass tourism at bay. However, the opening of Faro airport in 1965 heralded rapid growth and popularisation. Thereafter, tourism overnights in hotels in the Algarve increased rapidly: from a mere 232 in 1950 to 31,417 in 1960, to 1.1m in 1970, and to 7.3 million in 1988 (Silva and Silva 1991). At this time there were two main tourism clusters. One in the centre east, around the airport at Faro and spreading out to the newly fashionable area of Albufeira, and the other in the west, centred on resorts such as Praia da Rocha and Praia da Luz, as well as the old town of Lagos (in the municipalities of Lagos and Portimão). These four municipalities alone accounted for 70% of all foreign tourist overnights in the Algarve in 1971 (Wuerpel 1974: 162).

The development of the Algarve as a destination for foreign settlement lagged behind that of tourism, but it had become a significant feature as early as 1970. Wuerpel (1974: 164) wrote that 'Permanent residency is being established in the Algarve by foreigners in increasing numbers, the official record for 1970 listing 511 men and 469 women as holding residential permits'. 56% were from the UK, which reflected the geographical distribution of tourists. This led one Algarvian weekly newspaper to comment that 'Great Britain may have lost an empire but she seems now to be gaining a province' (Wuerpel 1974: 164). It would have been more accurate, however, to have commented that Britain was 'gaining' a number of enclaves in the Algarve, for the geography of settlement was one of fragmented and discreet nodes.

The geography of settlement in the 1960s and the 1970s was often moulded by a few individuals acting as agents of change. For example, a small number of British developed Praia da Luz after about 1960, with the key being the promotion of the

Luz Bay Club. One key informant, a developer, estimated that there were 25-30 foreign residents at Praia da Luz in 1969 but that the pace of development had picked up markedly in the late 1960s, fuelled by fears that the Labour government in Britain would raise income taxes. Meanwhile, at Monchique, 'Brigadier' Douglas Graham, ex British army and ex Kleinwort Benson, started building holiday houses at nearby Foia in 1963 and this gave birth to a small British colony whose members included ex-generals, masters of hounds and 'old cronies' from the City (*Algarve News*, 7th December 1984, p13).

The Portuguese military coup of April 1974 caused a hiatus in the development of both tourism (Lewis and Williams 1991) and residential settlement. One long-time resident, commented that the airport had been closed for a short period and '...vigilantes patrolled the countryside and towns, searching cars and intimidating those residents who stayed - many left'. By 1976 democratic elections marked a return to more stable political conditions, and by 1978 there was renewed growth of tourism and inward migration. The character of the Algarve was about to change. One key informant commented nostalgically, and with some exaggeration, that as recently as 1980, 'It was a backward rural area. The motorway didn't exist... It was all donkey-carts then'. Thereafter, mass tourism, accompanied by internal migration and growing foreign immigration, would change the face of the Algarve.

Any attempt to understand the present nature of international retirement communities in the Algarve is bedevilled by a scarcity of reliable data. According to Eurostat (1994) there were 8,900 British residents in Portugal in 1992, representing 27 % of all foreigners in the country. The 1991 Population Census records 3,080 British residents in the Algarve, but this is considered a gross under-estimation; for example, the British Honorary Consul, in an interview in 1995, estimated there were at least 10,000 British people living in the Algarve (which itself may have been an underestimate because of the discontinuation of embassy registration obligations). Another indicator is provided by the 3208 British Pensions paid in Portugal (House of Commons 1995), a number which excludes the early retired, seasonal migrants with a base in UK, and those British persons not entitled to a state pension. Equally significant is the estimate that the number of pensions paid to persons living in Portugal increased 37.2% during 1990-5, a rate of growth well above that for neighbouring Spain, which reinforces the view that this is one of the 'newest' areas of British settlement in Southern Europe. While the British are probably still the largest group of international retired migrants in the Algarve, this is changing, with increasing numbers of German developers and German purchasers becoming active in the housing market. In addition, rising real incomes in Portugal since 1986 (Williams 1992) have also contributed to the growth of second and retirement home purchases in the Algarve by the Portuguese.

The net result of these changes is reflected in the population statistics for the Algarve. Whereas the population was in gradual decline through much of the twentieth century, and fell from 325,000 to 268,000 between 1950 and 1970, thereafter there was a demographic reversal. The population had recovered to 325,000 by 1980 and reached 340,000 in 1991.

Survey methodology

The study of the motivations, behaviour and experiences of the international retirees in the Algarve requires primary data collection given the lack of adequate secondary data sources (Williams *et al* 1997: 119-20). The census considerably under-

enumerates foreign residents and only covers limited aspects of their activities, life histories and settlement. In addition, the value of the census is undermined by problems over the definition of who is a resident, confusion between nationality and last country of residence, problems of dual nationality and, above all, unregistered immigration. Confidentiality rules exclude the use of records held by the local authorities for taxation and land ownership purposes, and the lists of foreign resident permit holders complied by the Foreign Residents Bureau.

Given the lack of adequate secondary data, the only alternative was a survey of the British community and, as described in King et al (1998), this was organised around a questionnaire survey and in-depth face-to-face interviews. In the absence of any reliable list of British residents in the Algarve, the questionnaire sample was assembled via a number of sampling strategies which were designed to try and reach all segments of the retired British population in the Algarve. The main component of the survey was a postal survey of a sample of 500 members of the Association of the Foreign Property Owners of Portugal (AFPOP).   In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality, the questionnaires were distributed by AFPOP itself. They were sent to British residents aged 50 years and over, and were selected randomly from AFPOP's membership register. In addition, one of the largest leisure groups in the Algarve - the Carvoeiro Association for Social Activities - also distributed 100 questionnaires to a sample of their membership. Finally, a programme of purposive sampling, via personal networking, was pursued amongst other formal and informal social groups so as to ensure the widest possible distribution of questionnaires amongst the target population. The sample was assembled in 1996 during mid-September to mid-November, this being one of the peak periods when peripatetic British residents are to be found in the Algarve. These various methods produced 219 usable questionnaires. Interviews were also undertaken with key informants such as the British Honorary Consul, property developers, doctors, and church leaders, and their comments inform the following analysis.

For the purposes of this paper, the respondents were classified into four cohorts. A cohort is defined by data from the chronological sequence (Henry 1976) and in this case we are concerned with immigrant cohorts based on the date of their first arrival to live in Portugal - whether to work or retire. More precisely, because data was only available from a survey taken at a terminal point in 1996, the analysis is of surviving immigrant cohorts. They are defined with respect to the life course and the time periods chosen were 1961-75 (29), 1976-85 (44), 1986-90 (83), and 1991-6 (63); the number of respondents in each sub group is indicated in parentheses .

The longest established group of residents stretches back to 1961 and so includes individuals who have lived in the Algarve for up to 35 years, and who had arrived prior to the opening of Faro Airport and the onset of mass tourism, and during the years of the Salazar dictatorship. 1975 has been chosen as the cut-off for this cohort so as to reflect the changes in political circumstances which were described earlier. The second cohort, 1976-85, coincides with years of economic recovery and democratic consolidation, and the growth of tourism and foreign settlement. Both cohorts experienced a period of rampant inflation (well over 20%) and significant devaluation of the Portuguese escudo during the late 1970s and early 1980s, followed by periods of IMF-imposed severe economic austerity (Williams 1992). The third cohort, 1986-90, arrived when there was both a marked take off in mass tourism in the Algarve (Lewis and Williams 1988) and a property boom in the UK which, according to some key informants, triggered a boom in inward retirement migration. Finally, the fourth cohort, 1991-6, arrived in a period when property prices

in the UK and the Algarve had been severely depressed by economic recession. One property developer estimated that house prices in the UK had fallen by approximately one third in the period 1991-5, before the market showed signs of modest recovery during 1996. Therefore, there were distinctive conditions in the host country and in the UK in the time periods in which these four cohorts arrived in Portugal.

While cohort analysis provided useful insights into changes in the cycles of immigration and the development of the Algarve, the value of this approach needs to be qualified. First, while reliable memory recall can be expected in respect of factual information, such as ages and occupations, this is less so in the case of motivations and feelings. Secondly, the survey is affected by differential survival and return migration rates in each cohort. Nevertheless, the following results reveal a number of significant features of the evolution of the retired British community in the Algarve via a series of cumulative inflows.

UK retirement to the Algarve: the cohort sequence

The first section of this paper examines the demographic characteristics, occupational and educational backgrounds, and lifetime experiences of living abroad of the successive cohorts. By way of introduction we recount how the Algarvian sample compares in these respects to the surveys undertaken in Malta, the Costa del Sol and Tuscany (King et al, 1998). Given the focus of this paper, the most important difference to note is that the Algarve has the highest proportion of migrants who have arrived since 1990; in other words, in relative terms it is the newest destination area. The relatively young age profile of the Algarvian sample - a quarter are aged between 50 and 60 - is consistent with this history of recent immigration. In addition, there is a relatively high proportion of men in the Algarvian sample (61.5%) compared to the average (54.9%) for the four samples; this gender bias is probably the outcome of the particular methods of contacting respondents.

Turning to the Algarve, there are few differences between the basic demographic features of the cohorts. The main exception is the differential gender balance, for there is a markedly higher proportion of women in the 1961-75 cohort (Table 1). This is not unexpected given gendered survival rates and the age differences between the cohorts; 62.0% of those who emigrated to Portugal in the period 1961-76 were aged over 70 in 1996. The impact of differential survival rates was poignantly commented on by an informant, a lay preacher, who had arrived in the early 1970s: 'I have buried quite a few of those I first knew in the Algarve'. The first conclusion to draw, then, is the obvious one that there is a different balance between active and frail people in these cohorts. Not only have the earlier cohorts seen the Algarve being transformed around them, but their own needs and resources have also changed. However, it should not be assumed that the cohorts are homogeneous, for 38% of the earliest cohort of arrivals are still aged under 70, reflecting the fact that they first emigrated to the Algarve while still relatively active and possibly economically active. There are therefore important differences between those who migrated to the Algarve when they retired and those who have passed from employment to retirement while living in the Algarve. They are likely to have very different resources and UK connections, which underlines the need for careful disaggregation of categories such as 'expatriates' or 'retirement migrants'.

The vast majority of the sample - 72.9% - are living in two-person households (Table 1). This conforms with evidence from other studies of (mostly domestic) retirement

migration in the UK, France, the USA and Australia that ' ... middle and upper income groups, house owners, married couples and those without dependent children as being most likely to move around the age of retirement from paid employment' (Warnes 1994, p 69). The two person household is particularly dominant amongst the 1991-6 cohort, but the proportion declines steadily across the other earlier cohorts of arrivals. As would be expected - reflecting differential survival rates - the largest proportion of single households is in the earliest cohort. This also has the highest proportion in households of 3-5 persons, reflecting the need for increased support and care with increasing age and frailty.

Turning from the current demographic profile to ages when first emigrating to Portugal, there are two important differences to note (Table 2). First, *amongst the surviving populations in our sample,* the earliest cohort does, of course, have the highest proportion (48.35%) aged under 50 on arrival in Portugal. In contrast this applies to only 25% of the 1976-85 cohort and is even lower for the two more recent cohorts. These data partly reflect the interval to the survey date and differential survival rates but they are also influenced by our sampling methodology which only included those aged over 50 in 1996 and therefore excluded many recent inmigrants in the later cohorts. These differentials underline the fact that the retired British population in the Algarve has accumulated through complex processes of migration (and return migration) at different ages, for different purposes and under different circumstances.

A second point to note is that international retirement migration to the Algarve predominantly involves early retired or young retired persons. If only the most recent cohort (where the impact of differential survival rates is muted) is considered and those aged under 50 at the time of arrival are excluded, then 57% were aged between 50 and 60 when they first emigrated to Portugal. It is very much a case of retiring while still relatively young and able to enjoy a potentially long period of active life. However, age is not in itself a barrier to emigration for 1.4% of the total sample, and 2.4% and 1.6% of the two most recent cohorts, were aged 70 or over when they emigrated to the Algarve.

Turning to previous labour market experiences, evidence from long distance domestic retirement migration in the USA and Europe suggests that most migrants will be drawn from the middle and higher income groups. (Warnes 1994). This is confirmed in the Algarve with 72.4% of the total sample being classified as belonging to social class one or two, according to their last full time employment; this is broadly comparable with the social class composition of the British populations in the Costa del Sol and Tuscany (King *et al* 1998). Moreover, the high status of the Algarvian sample is confirmed by their educational background, which - in terms of years of study - is second only to Tuscany.

The cohort analysis reveals relatively few differences amongst the migrants in terms of their social and occupational backgrounds (Table 3). Using the standard social class definitions of the UK's Registrar General, more than one half of each cohort was classified in social class 2, and only in 1991-6 did the proportion in social classes 3 manual, 4 and 5 rise above 10%. IRM is essentially the prerogative of the relatively well off, but it is not exclusively the preserve of the rich. One key informant, a developer, stated that ' A cross-section they are here - the rich and the ordinary joes like me'. We would concur but would emphasise that they are not a representative cross-section of the British population.

Social class is, of course, a crude indicator of wealth and of life-style. Several of our key informants emphasised there had been a change over time in the social backgrounds of the British retirees. A developer who had arrived in the early 1970s considered that many of the earliest settlers had been 'ex colonials' - whether in colonial administration or business - and had been attracted to the Algarve in the 1950s and the 1960s by the climate and the low wages of domestic servants. Another key informant concurred, stating that the early settlers were ' ... ex colonials seeking sun, a cheap life and tiffin'.

While we lack data on the very earliest settlers (pre-1960), it is possible to refine knowledge of the occupational backgrounds of the sample by considering employment status (Table 3). The highest proportion 'never employed' was in the first cohort, but this can be explained by gendered survival rates and labour market participation. The most significant feature is the decline over time in the proportion of employers while the proportion of self-employed increases. This does suggest a broadening of the social base of IRM, and we can speculate that , as Hoggart and Buller (1994: 93) observed in France, this is partly because the housing boom had a ' catalytic effect on buyer activity'. The fact that the highest proportion of employees is to be found in the 1986-90 cohort, which benefited most from the UK house price boom, adds weight to this suggestion. Moreover, one developer commented that in the 1980s ' ... a new wave of retired settlers were replacing the original settlers... these later arrivals increased in number as the property boom in the UK meant people were able to afford their dream homes in the sun'.

Further evidence of changes in social composition comes from analysing the economic sectors in which the respondents had been employed. For this purpose they have been classified in terms of whether their employment provided intellectual (the professions, the arts, the public sector) or material capital (production of goods and services, and trade). While a crude measure, there is evidence that - if the 1961-75 cohort is excluded - over time the balance shifts from those with intellectual capital to those with material capital. The questionnaire data do not allow us to explore the intricate and complex cultural and social shifts that underlie these data, but - as with the employment status indicators - they do identify a change over time in the social composition of immigration.

In common with other areas in southern Europe (King et al 1998), the retired British in the Algarve have considerable lifetime experiences of international migration. Almost one half (47.9%) had previously lived abroad for at least three months, and 37.7% had lived abroad either exclusively or for part of the time during the last five years prior to moving to Portugal. This underlines the complexity of IRM - it is not simply a case of direct movement from the UK to the Algarve at the end of formal employment. One estate agent expressed this with some feeling: ' I don't see myself as an expatriate, you see. I do not regard England as home although I was born there'.

There are some variations over time in the lifetime mobility experiences of the cohorts (Table 4). The older cohorts are more likely to have been spatially mobile (prior experience of living abroad for at least 3 months) while for the most recent cohorts, especially 1991-6 arrivals, retirement migration to the Algarve is likely to have been their first experience of living outside the UK. Not surprisingly, the same differences are observed in the distribution of patterns of residence between the UK and abroad during the last 5 years before emigrating to Portugal. To some extent cohort wastage explains these differences; the survivors in the first two cohorts are disproportionately those who moved to the Algarve at an earlier age, and they may

have different histories of life time migration compared to those who had migrated to the area specifically for retirement,

This raises the question of where the different cohorts had been living previously, and more specifically whether the earliest cohort was more likely to have been composed - as some informants and commentators had suggested - of ex-colonials. This is difficult to assess as the terms 'colonials' and 'ex-colonials' are imprecise and are used as short-hand life-style labels as well as specific locational references to having been employed in the administration of or the economies of ex-colonies. However, in terms of countries of residence prior to emigration to the Algarve, it would be expected that there had been a decline over time in the numbers who had been in the colonial service, as the British colonial system was dismantled in the post-war period. Similarly, it could be expected that the proportion who had worked for multinational companies - in a wide range of countries - would have increased over time, as a function of the globalisation of trade and production. The data provide some confirmation for such trends. If the percentage who had lived in the Caribbean, the Indian Sub-continent, Latin America, Africa and the Far East are considered to approximate to those who had lived in less developed countries, including the ill-defined notion of a 'colonial' situation, then the proportion does decrease steadily across the cohorts from 24% in 1961-75 to 14 % in 1991-5. This is matched by a corresponding increase in the proportion who had lived in Europe and North America. There is some evidence then of changing social composition.

International second home ownership provides another indicator of previous experience of at least some of the challenges of living abroad, such as the complexities of housing purchase, local bureaucracy, and housing and living costs. There is ample anecdotal evidence that second home ownership has increased as part of the tourism boom in the Algarve, but there is a paucity of data on this. Changes in the percentages in each cohort who had owned a second home in Portugal prior to emigration actually display an erratic pattern. It is therefore more important to emphasise that second home ownership has been one of the important conduits leading to retirement migration in all the cohorts, and for one quarter of the total sample.

While previous labour migration provided one channel for acquiring knowledge both of living abroad generally as well as of specific countries, tourism provides another and more widely available route. Warnes (1994: 69-79) has emphasised its importance: ' For many people, the outer reaches of their mental maps are formed mainly by holiday locations'. It would be expected, given the growth of mass tourism to the Mediterranean region since the 1960s (Williams 1997), that later cohorts were more likely to have experience of overseas tourism. Tourism works at two levels: particular knowledge of specific places, and general experience of travel outside the UK. The latter is clearly important, and in France, for example, Buller and Hoggart (1994) found that 43% of their respondents had never previously visited the *département* in which they had purchased a house.

In Portugal, as in other areas in Southern Europe, tourism (88.9%) has been by far the most important channel for acquiring prior knowledge of the country; work connections accounted for only 3.7% and family connections for 4.1% of responses (Table 4). The cohort analysis further illuminates this subject. Over time the proportion with no previous knowledge of the Algarve has declined markedly, and this was claimed by only 6.3% of the 1991-6 cohort. The main reason for this is the increase over time in the proportion who had previously taken holidays in Portugal, but note that this applied to almost three quarters of even the 1961-75 cohort.   More

than one in ten of the earliest cohort had worked in Portugal prior to retiring there, but this is influenced by the age structures of the cohorts (Table 1). Also noteworthy is the small increase in those with family connections from zero in the first two cohorts to 6% in each of last two cohorts: there does, therefore, seem to be some evidence that family reunification becomes one of the motives for retirement migration over the course of the migration cycle.

Migration decision making

Decision making related to IRM would be expected to change over time, as the selectivity of emigration, external circumstances, and the nature of the Algarve as a destination area change. However, the cohort analysis suggests there is surprisingly little variation.

To begin with, we examine the spatial mobility options considered at the end of formal employment. The earliest cohort were least committed to the Algarve in the sense that they considered a wide range of options, particularly other countries; only 38% considered no other option except the Algarve. This proportion increases steadily across successive cohorts to 50%, 59% and 60% It may be that as the Algarve became better known through tourism, and perhaps as its infrastructure developed, so there was increasing and specific commitment to retire there.

Turning to the actual reasons for emigration, if the Algarve is compared to other Southern European study areas (King *et al* 1998), then climate is considered to have been particularly important. Relatively high levels of antipathy to the UK are also evident amongst respondents in the Algarve. It is likely, however, that particular groups of emigrants will have distinctive reasons for emigrating to the Algarve.   This accords with Wiseman's (1980: 144) argument that 'greater specificity is needed to recognise both the diversity known to exist among elderly migrants and the wide range of reported reasons for moving'. Some diversity is evident in the cohort analysis (Table 5). The climate and the quality of the environment (often specifically meaning the landscape) was by far the most important reason for emigrating to the Algarve for all cohorts, but it was particularly marked in the first and the last cohort. A dislike of, or rejection of the UK, was relatively important in the 1961-75 cohort (23.5%).

Another feature is that, examining successively the earliest to the latest cohort, the proportion stressing an attachment to Portugal and, or its people increases. This is to be expected as the proportion with prior knowledge of the country, especially from tourism, also increased over time. Such attachments were strongly emphasised by our key informants. One informant, who had arrived in the late 1980s, compared Spain and Portugal: 'The people are entirely different. The style is in Spain but the friendliness is in Portugal. That's why I picked Portugal - I can find style in Paris!'. Financial reasons were an attraction but were not paramount in the choice of Portugal. They were stressed most by the 1976-85 cohort, and in this the comments of a developer who had arrived in the 1960s are interesting:

> 'The ones that bought originally bought for snob value - properties cheap to buy and run, and no taxes. And of course, the cost-of-living at the time. Those things have now changed.'

This is not to say that there are no financial advantages in retiring to the Algarve but that this is not one of the principal reasons for choosing this region.

One theme that does not specifically emerge from the questionnaires is the idea that some of the migrants are seeking a 'lost' Britain, in terms of ill-defined values and lifestyles, in the way that many house purchasers in France are considered to be seeking a lost rural Britain (Buller and Hoggart, 1994). Earlier commentators on the Algarve, observed traces of such sentiments. For example, Myhill (1972: 124) wrote that Praia da Rocha was a:

> ' between-the-wars celebration of the Velha Aliança .... it is England which has suffered most change in the interval. Any Englishman over forty is bound to feel profoundly at home in Portugal, as he recognises sensations and attitudes he has forgotten since his infancy'.

This does not specifically emerge in the questionnaire responses, but may underlie those answers which stressed a dislike for the UK and or attraction to Portugal and its people. One long-resident informant did comment on this, but in the negative sense of stating that 'there is no rustic charm left - just the people and sentimental and historical relationships with the country'.

Motivations are one of the most difficult areas to analyse through questionnaires and a subsequent analysis of in-depth interviews may help to deconstruct such expressions as ' liked country' or 'liked the area'. Nevertheless, not all decisions were based on extensive rationalisation. The choice of Portugal could be arbitrary as one widowed interviewee, living in Loulé municipality, explained:

> ' We decided to give it a whirl and came to look in Portugal. I hated it when we first arrived - poor dead-looking dogs lying around all over the place. It was so dirty and arid looking. I said I would prefer to go to Spain but we were too tired to drive on'.

There are some predictable differences between the cohorts in the reasons given for their choice of area within the Algarve (Table 5). The earlier cohorts put more stress on functional locations with good access to services but, by the 1990s, the development of infrastructure and roads meant that this was less important. In contrast, later cohorts were repelled by the increasing levels of development in much of the coastal Algarve, and put more stress on choosing a location which they associated with rurality or tranquillity. The next section considers the geography of settlement in further detail.

Migrant settlement: in search of the Algarve

Two main aspects of settlement are considered: location (as indicated by municipality of residence), and type of settlement. As the Algarve developed, and especially as tourism intensified along the coast, there are likely to be significant differences in the initial settlement patterns of the migrants. There may also be residential adjustments in response to such pressures but these are not considered here.

For the locational analysis, the municipalities have been grouped into three main clusters (Figure 1): the Faro sub-zone in the centre east, composed of Albufeira, Faro and Loulé municipalities; the Portimão sub-zone in the centre-east made up of Lagos, Portimão and Lagoa; and all other municipalities (that is the far west and east, and the interior).

The attractions of the Faro zone, close to the airport, have remained constant across all cohorts and the largest changes are in the attraction of the Portimão sub-zone; it was the preferred first location of more than one half of the first cohort but its popularity declined to 37.7% in the more recent cohort (Table 6). In contrast, other locations outside these two central nuclei are more attractive to the 1991-6 cohort. This is consistent with the expressed reasons for choice of location within the Algarve, with the most recent cohort placing greater stress on the place attributes of quietness and rurality, and the need to avoid congested tourist areas. Dispersal would also have been facilitated by improvements in the transport infrastructure of the Algarve, particularly the reductions in travel time to the airport, consequent upon the opening of the motorway to the west of Faro.

A disaggregated analysis reveals a more complex locational pattern, but which also accords with expressed motivations. Within the Faro sub zone, there has been a sharp decline in the attractiveness of Albufeira; it accounted for only 21% of the first cohort, but for 6.5% of those who arrived in 1991-6. This was matched by an increase in the share locating in Loulé from 11% to 21%; in particular, the inland areas of Loulé, at around the 200m contour have become more attractive. These are more rural areas with good views, good access to the airport and little tourism activity. Outside of the two main sub-zones, the largest increases in initial locations have been in the municipalities of Silves and Tavira; the first is an attractive inland rural area, while the latter is a relatively underdeveloped coastal area.

A starting point for the analysis of settlement form is the four-fold classification of destinations into: urban, urbanisation, villa and farm (King *et al* 1998). Each of these idealised types provides different opportunities for integration with the host and expatriate communities living in the Algarve. Field observation confirms that all four exist within the Algarve, However, for confidentiality reasons, the addresses provided in the questionnaires are not sufficiently detailed to allow this level of classification to be used. Instead, we use a simpler and cruder threefold categorisation: coastal urban areas and *urbanizações* (urbanisations); coastal semi-rural areas (approximately south of the main east west road, the EN125); and the coastal interior (north of the EN 125), the mountains which border the Algarve to the north, and the far west coast. The use of the EN 125 is arbitrary, especially as its line has to be projected east of Faro to make it useful. However, it does have meaning in the mental maps of the British community. Not untypical was the following unsolicited comment form one key informant, discussing her own choice of residential area: 'We didn't want to live in an urbanisation or be near one. We wanted to be north of the EN 125 - the main road - for peace and quiet'. A note of caution is necessary, however, for it is possible to exaggerate the differences between these zones given that the Algarve is a relatively narrow littoral strip. As one informant commented about his home at S. B. Messines, located well to the north of the EN 125: 'We are about 25 to 30 minutes from the coast. We are at the end of a valley, which is virtually the last inhabited valley in the Algarve'.

The analysis of first residential locations on arrival in the Algarve (Table 6) by settlement type shows significant shifts over time in the preferences of the cohorts. The first cohort were overwhelmingly (64.3%) in the coastal urban areas and *urbanizações*. By 1991-6 - when tourism had transformed the nature of these places - they attracted only 36.1%. Instead, there was a shift by the second cohort towards the coastal rural areas, and by subsequent cohorts to the interior and the far west. An informant who had originally built a second home in Albufeira before moving out in 1988 commented on how the area had changed and had led him to move to the rural interior:

' Albufeira used to be a wonderful place. Now there are buildings all the way along and if we had known how it would become, we would never have chosen to live there. We bought the house in Albufeira before all those changes took place. I remember how it used to be with all the orange trees and the peace'.

Migrant integration and place attachments

The final section of the analysis considers aspects of migrant integration with both the host and the expatriate communities. The linkages with the host communities are likely to vary across the cohorts not only because of the role of time in developing such ties, but also because of differences in their social, settlement and motivational characteristics.

We begin by considering language which is one of the most powerful channels for and obstacles to social inter-relationships (Table 7). The proportions who consider that they are very/quite fluent in Portuguese decline from the earliest to the most recent cohort. This is as expected but the extent of the differences is greater than might have been anticipated, particularly with respect to the first cohort. Differences in verbal skills are mirrored in the data on reading and writing (form-filling) abilities. There are three possible reasons for the enhanced linguistic skills of the first cohort: that they were linguistically more adept because of their educational and previous occupational experiences; that they had no alternative but to learn Portuguese given that this was then the language of local businesses; or they were more adept at the language because they arrived in the Algarve at a younger age and were more likely to have worked before retiring. There is little evidence in our data to support the first hypothesis, and while the second may be tenable, it is likely that the age of emigration and engagement in economic activity (which of necessity requires language skills) is the real key. In addition, the need to learn Portuguese may have declined over time given the growth of the expatriate community and of tourism. One business owner who had arrived in 1987, told us that:

> ' I would get much more out of living in Portugal if I could learn the language. I find it very difficult. We have had lessons but we are dealing with 99% of tourists all of the time, so we don't get involved enough with the local Portuguese community. You have to be dedicated but it requires time and effort.'

Business conditions in the 1990s may no longer dictate that the effort is required.

Another indicator of integration is association activity. In contrast to language skills, the picture here is more mixed and there are no consistent variations across cohorts. The 1961-75 cohort is most likely to belong to exclusively expatriate clubs, while the 1986-90 cohort is most likely to belong to dominantly Portuguese clubs. It may be that the pattern of informal associational activity may show more distinctive cohort differences, reflecting the importance of language skills, but we lack quantitative data on this. Instead, most of the evidence from the key interviews suggests that informal associations tend to be superficial, and that few real friendships are formed between nationalities.

The extent to which links with the UK have been maintained provides another perspective on integration into the life of the Algarve. This can be assessed in a

number of ways, with the most salient being the amount of time spent in Portugal in the last year. If migration is intended to be permanent, then it could be hypothesised that there would be a linear decline over time in migrants' links with the UK, and with corresponding increasing amounts of time being spent in Portugal. Reality is far more complex because of the personal care needs associated with increasing frailty and the possibility of return migration. The cohort analysis reveals a complex pattern. The earliest cohort has a highly polarised pattern of residence. It has the highest proportions spending less than 27 weeks in the Algarve as well as the highest proportion spending more than 45 week of the year there. The questionnaire data do not explain these differences but increasing frailty requiring time be spent in hospitals or the homes of relatives in the UK may explain the relatively high proportion absent for lengthy periods of time. The most recent cohort is the group with the most peripatetic life style and is least likely to spend more than 45 weeks a year in the Algarve, which perhaps is a function of their age. While these differences are of note, perhaps of greater significance is the evidence of the peripatetic life styles of large proportions of all the cohorts, indicative of the emergence of new, highly-mobile, post-work life styles.

Another indicator of the extent to which ties are maintained with the UK is the number of trips made to that country in the last 12 months. About a quarter of the total sample made no trips at all, indicating a high degree of separation from family, friends and activities in the UK. Otherwise there is very little consistent variation amongst the cohorts, which suggests that there is no simple relationship between length of residence in the Algarve and maintenance of ties with the UK. In contrast, there is a clearer pattern of differentiation in terms of second home ownership in the UK. Just over 30% of each of the first three cohorts had maintained homes initially in the UK, but this proportion increased to 47.6% for the fourth cohort. The reasons are not clear; while being related to the difficulties of selling houses in the depths of the 1990s housing depression in Britain, there may also be increased propensity to dual residential patterns, perhaps reflecting the greater resources available to the most recent cohort of migrants. The data on whether second homes were still maintained in the UK in 1996 show relatively low levels for the first two cohorts but just over a quarter of the latter two. Therefore, there is a small group who maintain a 'bolthole' in the UK even within the longest resident cohort.

The final indicators of links with the UK are the responses to a number of questions concerning likely future residential strategies in the face of hypothetical changes in circumstances (Table 9). Such data have to be treated cautiously given that they deal with hypothetical rather than actual circumstances. The proportion who would stay is very high even in response to a number of extreme hypothetical circumstances. In the total sample, 34.8% would stay on even if they could no longer do their own shopping, 30.9% would stay on even if their or their spouse's health worsened, and 41.6% would stay even if they had to give up running their homes.   The level of commitment is greatest amongst the earliest cohort and is generally lowest in the most recent cohort, which provides evidence that length of residence does lead to stronger attachment to the Algarve either because of positive reasons or because of decay in the ties they once had with the UK. The strength of place attachment was powerfully expressed by one elderly informant who, in the course of discussing her future stated that if she was no longer able to support herself, then 'I'd just wade out to sea I think !'.

Conclusions

This paper presents a portrait of one of the relatively newer international retirement destinations in Southern Europe. It is a community which has its roots in the inter-war years but which experienced decisive growth only from the 1960s. To a large extent that was fuelled by the expansion of tourism into a mass industry, a process which brought the Algarve into the search spaces of a widening group of British people approaching retirement age. Other changes also encouraged IRM to the Algarve such as the increasing numbers who had experience of working abroad (including the Algarve itself) as a result of economic globalisation, increased wealth and pension incomes, and improved infrastructures in the Algarve notably the opening of the airport in 1965. In other words, international retirement was encouraged by a particularly favourable conjuncture of global national and local developments. The result has been the growth of substantial retirement of British nationals in the Algarve, involving both IRM from the UK or from a range of countries around the world where they had been working, and the 'staying on' of labour migrants in the region.

While IRM is socially selective, being concentrated in the higher income groups, and amongst the early retired and the active elderly, the migrants are not socially homogeneous. This is obvious in the difference between a small number who have retired with little wealth and small pensions and who are struggling to survive financially, and the extremely wealthy who own houses in several countries, and lead highly mobile life styles. It is equally evident in the different opportunities, life-styles and circumstances of those who live in a large property on a luxurious coastal *urbanização* such as Val do Lobo, and those who live in small apartments in a tourist centre such as Albufeira or in a converted farmhouse on the lower slopes of the Serra de Monchique.

Some of these variations amongst the international retirees can only be understood if a longitudinal perspective is adopted. Cohort analysis, according to date of arrival, provides one approach to studying the evolution of international retirement, and it is particularly useful in drawing attention to the adjustments in the settlement patterns of the migrants in response to the development of the Algarve. It is also useful in highlighting significant linguistic differences between the cohorts and in their attachments to the Algarve, measured in terms of likely responses to a number of hypothesised deteriorations in their personal circumstances. Cohort analysis is equally useful in discounting some of the supposed differences between the earliest settlers, 'the colonials' who settled around Monchique and Praia de Rocha and those who have arrived in recent years. While there were no individuals in our sample who had arrived in the Algarve before 1961, the study did encompass a 35 year period in which the face of the Algarve was substantially transformed. In this period, the cohort analysis identifies remarkable similarities, not differences, across a range of social and demographic features, as well as in the motivations of the migrants. There are, however, limitations to the cohort approach when, as in this instance, data is only available for surviving cohorts.

While we have largely focused here on the aggregate features of the cohorts, it should not be forgotten that these, in turn, can also be very diverse. Every retired migrant has a story to tell and in this paper we have only begun to tease out some of these individual life histories. The immigrants are part of complex circles of friends, family and activities which transcend international boundaries, and have redefined their individual notions of territoriality. The conjuncture of individual life experiences played out against a number of distinctive economic, political and social shifts, particularly in the UK and Portugal, suggests that a structure and agency framework is appropriate for studying the phenomena of international retirment and IRM.

Finally, a cohort analysis is useful not only in helping to refine the research literature on international retirement and IRM but in terms of developing policies in response to the challenges posed by these late twentieth century phenomena. One of the most significant challenges is that a large number of British and other nationals are experiencing the shift from active to frail old age (with the concomitant implications for health and welfare provision) in countries such as Portugal, where they are foreign nationals. Those in different immigration cohorts tend to have very different needs and resources, and strategies for responding to such challenges.

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Table 1   Demographic profiles of cohort survivors in 1996

Date of arrival	Gender % male	Age % 70+	Household size (%)		
			1	2	3-5
1961-75	48.3	62.0	41.4	48.3	10.3
1976-85	68.2	47.7	34.1	56.8	9.1
1986-90	63.9	31.3	12.2	79.3	8.5
1991-96	61.9	1.6	12.7	87.3	0
Total sample	62.1	30.2	20.6	72.9	6.5
No. of respondents	219	219		218	

Source: Authors' survey

Table 2   Age in the year of first arrival in the Algarve

| | % in age group (years) | | | | |
Date of arrival	≤50	51-60	61-70	70+	No of respondents
1961-75	48.3	44.8	6.9	0	29
1976-85	25.0	36.4	38.6	0	44
1986-90	14.5	48.2	34.9	2.4	83
1991-96	7.9	52.4	38.1	1.6	63
Total sample	19.2	46.6	32.9	1.4	219

Source: Authors' survey

Table 3   Social class, employment status and material/intellectual capital

Date of arrival	1	2	% Social class 3NM	3M/4/5	Armed Forces	No. of respondents
1961-75	4.5	63.6	18.2	9.0	4.5	22
1976-85	14.6	63.4	22.0	0	0	41
1986-90	10.5	56.6	23.7	6.6	2.6	76
1991-96	12.3	64.9	8.8	10.6	3.5	57
Total sample	11.2	61.2	18.4	6.6	2.6	196

NM = Non-manual, M = Manual

Date of arrival	Never employed	Employer	% employment status Self-employed	Employee	No. of respondents
1961-75	17.9	14.3	17.9	50.0	28
1976-85	6.8	25.0	11.4	56.8	44
1986-90	4.9	18.5	18.5	58.0	81
1991-96	7.9	12.7	28.6	50.8	63
Total sample	7.9	17.6	19.9	54.6	216

Date of arrival	% material/intellectual capital* Material	Intellectual	Other	No of respondents
1961-75	55.0	40.0	5.0	20
1976-85	36.1	63.8	-	36
1986-90	51.4	45.6	2.9	68
1991-96	56.8	39.2	3.9	51
Total sample	50.4	46.9	2.9	175

*Material capital defined as commerce, manufacturing and personal service employment. Intellectual capital defined as employment in law, medicine, civil service, education, creative arts
Source: Authors' survey

Table 4   Spatial mobility indicators

% of respondents who, prior to emigration, had:

Date of arrival	Lived abroad for a period (> 3 months)	Owned second home	Resided in last 5 years in:		
			UK only	UK and abroad	Abroad only
1961-75	51.7	20.7	53.6	17.9	28.6
1976-85	59.1	36.4	57.1	14.3	28.5
1986-90	48.2	19.3	64.1	20.5	15.4
1991-96	38.1	28.6	67.2	8.2	24.6
Total sample	47.9	25.6	62.2	15.3	22.4
No. of respondents	219	219	209		

Date of arrival	% who had prior knowledge of Algarve via*				No. of respondents
	None	Holidays	Work	Family connections	
1961-75	17.2	72.4	10.3	0	29
1976-85	20.5	79.5	0	0	44
1986-90	13.3	79.5	6.0	6.0	83
1991-96	6.3	88.9	0	6.3	63
Total sample	13.2	81.3	3.7	4.1	219

Source: Authors' sample

*Multiple responses permitted

Table 5 Principal reasons for emigration: country and place

Most important reasons for emigration to Algarve (%)

Date of arrival	Financial	Climate/ Envt.	Dislike UK	Follow friends/ spouse	Like people/ country/ way of life	No. of respondents
1961-75	5.9	58.8	23.5	5.9	5.9	17
1976-85	16.1	51.6	12.9	12.9	6.4	31
1986-90	7.8	54.7	14.1	4.7	18.8	64
1991-96	8.3	64.6	14.6	0	12.5	48
Total sample	9.4	57.5	15.0	5.0	13.1	160

Most important reason for choice of area within Algarve (%)

Date of arrival	Views/ beauty	Access	Quiet/ rural areas	Miscell- aneous	No. of respondents
1961-75	21.7	39.1	30.4	8.7	23
1976-85	20.0	36.7	36.7	6.7	30
1986-90	31.1	37.7	16.4	14.8	61
1991-96	26.9	17.3	42.3	13.5	52
Total sample	26.5	31.3	30.1	12.6	166

Source: Authors' survey

Table 6 First area of residence: zone and settlement type

% living in municipality within:

Date of arrival	Faro* sub-zone	Portimão** sub-zone	Other	No. of respondents
1961-75	35.7	53.6	10.7	28
1976-85	26.2	54.8	19.0	42
1986-90	35.9	51.3	12.8	78
1991-96	31.1	37.7	31.1	61
Total sample	32.4	48.1	19.5	210

 * Faro, Loulé, Albufeira
** Lagoa, Portimão, Lagos

Date of arrival	Coastal urbanization	% living in settlement type: Coastal rural	Interior & west coast	Total
1961-75	64.3	17.9	17.9	28
1976-85	47.6	33.3	19.0	42
1986-90	46.8	29.9	23.4	77
1991-96	36.1	32.8	31.2	61
Total sample	46.2	29.8	24.0	208

Source: Authors' survey

Table 7   Indicators of integration and links with UK

Date of arrival	Language: % who speak		Reading: % who read		
	Very/quite fluently	A few words/none	Portuguese newspaper at least occasionally	Official forms with few problems	No of respondents
1961-75	58.6	10.3	65.5	58.6	29
1976-85	27.3	11.4	40.9	43.2	44
1986-90	22.0	19.5	45.1	36.6	82
1990-96	17.5	28.6	31.7	34.9	63
Total sample	26.6	19.3	43.1	40.4	218

Membership of Clubs

Date of arrival	British only	Expatriate only	Dominantly Portuguese	Mixed membership	No of respondents
1961-75	27.6	55.2	6.9	58.6	29
1976-85	29.5	47.7	6.8	52.3	44
1986-90	32.9	40.2	13.4	65.9	82
1991-96	23.8	46.0	9.7	54.0	63
Total sample	28.9	45.4	10.1	58.7	218

Source: Authors' survey

Table 8   Links with UK: past and potential

| Date of arrival | Weeks spent in Portugal in last 12 months: | | | | | |
	1-26	27-39	40-44	45-49	50-52	No of respondents
1961-75	13.8	13.8	13.8	27.6	31.0	29
1976-85	4.5	13.6	27.3	18.2	36.4	44
1986-90	9.6	12.0	20.5	26.5	31.3	83
1991-96	14.3	22.3	15.9	17.5	30.2	63
Total sample	10.5	15.5	19.6	22.4	32.0	219

| Date of arrival | No of trips to the UK in last 12 months | | | |
	0	1-2	3+	No of respondents
1961-75	27.6	48.3	24.1	29
1976-85	36.4	31.9	31.9	44
1986-90	22.9	59.0	18.0	83
1991-96	25.8	51.6	22.6	62
Total sample	27.1	50.0	22.1	218

| Date of arrival | Maintenance of home in UK: % | | |
	Initially	Still maintained	No of respondents
1961-75	31.0	13.8	29
1976-85	31.8	9.1	44
1986-90	32.5	26.9	83
1991-96	47.6	27.0	63
Total sample	36.5	17.8	219

Source: Authors' survey

Table 9   Staying on: conditional responses

% who would stay

Date of arrival	If could not do own food shopping	If own or spouse's health worsened*	If spouse died	If had to give up running a home	No of respondents
1961-75	48.0	59.1	53.3	30.4	22-27
1976-85	37.2	39.5	33.3	18.4	38-44
1986-90	38.0	23.4	42.6	12.0	76-79
1991-96	23.3	24.6	42.3	6.7	57-60
Sample total	34.8	30.9	41.6	13.8	194-207

* excludes widowed, divorced and never married

Source: Authors' survey