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Norwegians in Spain: A society in limbo

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Foreword

The purpose of this study was to analyze attitudes and behavior of a selection of Norwegian migrants on Costa Blanca, Spain. The foremost intention through the course of this study was to give an insight into the perspectives of realities that is portrayed by these individuals as migrants in a foreign country. The Norwegian migrants were interviewed on a face-to-face basis on location in Spain in relation to anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation, authenticity and conflicts and relationships.

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Abstract

Since the 1950's Spain has been an attractive country for vacationers, meanwhile, a part of tourism evolved and since the 1980's Norwegians and other North Europeans have migrated to the coasts of Spain. The comfortable, healthy climate and the relaxed way of life have attracted thousands of Europeans in the last decades. The rapid growth caused Spain to build *urbanizaciones*, which developed into ghetto-like communities that were designated solely for foreign tourists and migrants. To this day, Norwegians have created their own communities with their own Norwegian goods and services in Spain. This thesis will focus on Norwegians that have migrated to Costa Blanca, with special emphasis on Torrevieja and L'Albir.

The Norwegians were interviewed in relation to how they perceived their anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation, authenticity and conflicts and relationships with other groups in Spain. The research showed that less experienced migrants generally have both inward and outward directed anti-tourist attitudes while experienced migrants have directed their anti-tourist attitudes inward. Mainly experienced migrants perceive social differentiation from tourists, while the research also indicated social stratification among migrants in the community. The majority of the Norwegian migrants did not have an authentic 'Spanish' life in Spain, as only a few very experienced migrants were heavily integrated and spoke fluent Spanish. The majority of migrants also perceived to have a good relationship with the resident Spaniards and the Norwegian tourists. They however perceived the Spanish to be severely lacking English capabilities and the tourists to be drinking too much alcohol and have outrageous behavior. The study indicates that experience and the capability of speaking Spanish are the most important aspects in influencing the attitudes and behavior shown by the migrant Norwegians on Costa Blanca.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Spain & its history of tourism

In the 1950's Spain was in a perilous situation in relation to its socio-economic and political situation. Although the country did not actively participate in World War II, it was almost completely ruined after the civil war that lasted from 1936 to 1939 (Mantecón, 2010). Following the civil war, Franco emerged as the country's new leader. His support and ideological association with fascism led Spain further into geo-political isolation. However, during the mid-1950's Franco's system of autarky was found to be unmaintainable and new ministers were soon appointed to manage Spain's economy (Mantecón, 2010).

The new ministers tried to make Spain more available for the Western world, and in 1959 the Stabilization Plan was implemented to further modernize the country. The creators of the plan identified tourism as one of the important aspects for improving Spain's socio-economic situation (Mantecón, 2010).

In the 1960's North Europeans had an increase in both disposable income and leisure time, and at the same time transportation, mainly aircrafts, became more economical and more comfortable (O'Reilly, 2000b). Now the North Europeans, and especially the British, started to travel to Spain's coastal towns and the growth of the mass-tourism during this decade caused a rapid development of apartment blocks and tourist hotels (O'Reilly, 2000b) and also paid for the country's industrial development (Mantecón, 2010).

The tourists were attracted by the warm climate, low prices and the newfound safe political environment. Furthermore, the rapid influx of mass-tourism and subsequent mass-consumption in Spain caused the creation of cities and towns that were basically designed solely

for these purposes. This was notable along the Spanish coast, where the infrastructure in areas such as Fuengirola and Torremolinos were virtually built in an instant (O'Reilly, 2000b).

Mass-tourism continued throughout the 1960's, however, some tourists started to stay longer than normal vacations and started a more seasonal movement, which is associated to a phenomena known as 'wintering' (Jacobsen, Selstad & Pedregal, 2009) and some also moved there more permanently, although they were a minority, at least until the death of Franco in 1975 (O'Reilly, 2000b). These events further directed Spain into a new phase.

1.2. Migration

Migration is a term that covers a wide range of movement of people, typically intended for the purpose of transnationalism, i.e. moving from one country to another, and is often associated with refugees and workers seeking new destinations (Gustafsson, 2002). In this paper, the word migration will have other implications and will focus on Norwegians who have partially or fully migrated to Costa Blanca, Spain. The majority of the Norwegians and other North Europeans on Costa Blanca are typically associated with retirement migration (Gustafsson, 2002; Casado-Díaz, Kaiser & Warnes, 2004; Rodríguez, 2006), lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) and health migration (Breivik, 2011).

During the 1980's the administration in Spain became attentive to the fact that tourism was to a high degree a seasonal phenomenon, and consequently produced very little income during the winter months. To overcome this fact, Spain encouraged foreign nationals to invest and buy property and land in Spain, and it was relatively inexpensive compared to North Europe. Migration was made much easier with the emergence of the European Union in 1992, which

enabled citizens to travel and reside without difficulty within Spain and other membership countries (O’Reilly, 2007).

Constructors and builders in Spain were quick to capitalize on the country’s plot to develop to new markets and constructed tall, cheap apartment blocks, often of lesser build quality for incoming migrants. These small communities of houses, made especially for foreign people, were often build nearby of popular tourism resorts and are known as urbanizations (O’Reilly, 2000b) and are found all over the Spanish coast today. The migration trend is therefore closely connected with tourism and its history in Spain. The most important areas for migration and urbanizations today in Spain are Costa Blanca and Costa del Sol on the mainland, the isle of Mallorca and the Canary Islands (O’Reilly, 2007).

To differentiate between migration and tourism, Hall & Williams (2002) has defined five main forms of tourism-related migration. However, the authors specify that these categories are neither fully inclusive nor mutually exclusive. For a clearer overview of these forms, they are presented in a table:

Table 1: Tourism-related migration forms

	Mobility		Age		Property ownership
	Temporary	Permanent	Younger	Older	
<i>Production-led migration</i>					
Labor	x	x	x		
Entrepreneurial		x	x		x
Return		x	x	x	x
<i>Consumption-led migration</i>					
Economically active		x	x		x
Retirement	x	x		x	x

Source: Hall and Williams (2002)

To further differentiate between migrants and tourists, O'Reilly (2000a) defined four different types of migrants, according to their orientation to 'home'. They are:

- Fulltime residents. Lives in Spain all year, may visit home country as a vacation.
- Returning residents. Lives in Spain, but travels to home country during the summer.
- Seasonal visitors. Lives in home country, but travels to Spain during winter. (Wintering)
- Peripatetic visitors. Moves back and forth from Spain to home country erratically.

The Norwegian migrants who participated in this research were mainly retirement migrants but also entrepreneurial migrants and labor migrants, who either were fulltime residents, returning residents or seasonal visitors in Spain. Hall & Williams' forms of migration will be used in combination with O'Reilly's types to categorize the Norwegian migrants as precise as possible. A detailed overview of all the participants in the research will be presented later in the paper.

1.3. Explaining the dominant forms of migration

A significant amount of North Europeans and Norwegians that have migrated to Spain are considered as retirement migrants. As the label suggests, these migrants have retired from work life. In Norway normal retirement age is 67 and 62 for early retirement, so this group is identified by usually being above the age of 62. They are also usually property owners in both countries (Hall & Williams, 2002) and research indicates that they are typically upper middle class (Gustafsson, 2002). Retirement migrants have a high level of mobility and have a tendency to travel to their destination country and back home several times each year (Rodríguez, 2006;

O'Reilly, 2000a). Nevertheless, this group also showed great variations in many aspects during this research.

This group of migrants is also difficult to get an extensive overview on; very few apply for a residence permit, which makes them undetectable to Spanish statistics (Gustafson, 2002). The main reasons for this is often that some of the retirees fear that they will lose economic and social rights in their home country, and often there are no real benefits of registration with the local authorities (Rodríguez, 2006).

To further complicate their definition of existence in Spain, the retirement migrants has some facets of being a tourist, a migrant and a resident in Spain which contribute to their invisibility in the statistics (Cazes, 1998, as cited in Rodríguez, 2006). A retired tourist in Spain becomes a migrant when he is staying longer than a typical tourist, or the vacation house is used so frequently that it becomes a residence. For some scenarios in retirement migration, the words tourist, migrant and resident becomes interchangeable (Rodríguez, 2006). A retired fulltime resident in Spain can become a tourist when he or she visits the home country to meet family and friends (Gustafson, 2002). Some of the retired migrants in Spain will therefore find themselves as being *residential tourists*, as defined by O'Reilly (2007).

Residential tourism is a phenomenon within migration where the migrant basically becomes a reversed tourist. There is a complex process behind this phenomenon. Some of the important factors behind this process are the globalization that have resulted in increased interconnectedness and a "smaller" world, mass tourism that have resulted in people travelling more than ever, and increased mobility and fluidity in travel (O'Reilly, 2007) that is characterized in liquid modernity (Franklin, 2003). After a short while, living in Spain becomes the new "normal" for the migrant, and will therefore not be considered a tourist in that country,

because a tourist seeks the extraordinary (Franklin, 2003). The extraordinary experience for the migrant then becomes when she/he visits the home country as a tourist, usually for an important event or just a vacation (O'Reilly, 2007).

Health migration to Spain is a migration form that is based on migrating to improve the well-being, the quality of health and life and is therefore due to health-related motives (Breivik, 2011) among others. Research indicates that health migrants are predominantly retirees, and therefore some will overlap with retirement migration. Very few, if any, forms of migration are mutually exclusive or inclusive. Health migrants are likely to stay in Spain until the health is so deteriorated that it is no longer possible to live self-reliantly or the money is all gone. The return home can then be difficult for the migrant if all connections and networks are broken or gone. It is therefore important for many migrants to keep in touch with family and friends; this is often done using communication technology through personal computers (Breivik, 2011). Breivik's research illustrates also that many health migrants are in mid-life and not in retirement age, though most are disabled and not able to work in Norway. Nevertheless, health migration from Norway is likely to become a burden on the Spanish society and health care industry that already struggles with high expenses and debt. However, many health migrants are contemplating returning home in spite of a better quality life in Spain (Breivik, 2011).

Lifestyle migration is another major form of migration among Norwegians and other North Europeans on Costa Blanca. The migration form, as the name would indicate, is based on the belief that migrating to another country can bring a better life. Lifestyle migration is the search for a better life abroad. These people are usually affluent and will consequently have the means to acquire a home in Spain (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Often there is a trigger event that is the main reason behind the migration, like losing a job, retirement or another traumatic

experience. Lifestyle migration can become a self-realization experience, to get away from the negative events that may occurred and take back control and be true to self and life. In order to maintain the newfound life in Spain it is normal to start a small business and become an entrepreneur (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) and cater particular goods or services to other migrants in Spain, especially retirement migrants. These migrants often desire to be their own boss and are therefore more in control in how much they are working and can consequently balance between work and leisure time, which is important to them. And the coastal Spain highlights the way of life many lifestyle migrants desire; leisure, relaxation and escaping the ordinary back home (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

1.4. Stereotyping

Norwegians, as well as other North Europeans that have migrated or spend a large portion of the year in their second-homes in Spain, have suffered being stereotyped (O'Reilly, 2000a). These stereotypes includes: having a lack of integration into the Spanish society, solely enjoying the idle life in the sun, having problems communicating because they have not learned the language, consuming too much alcohol, desiring to return home again, having a delightful time, that everyone is elderly and poor, and even being criminals (O'Reilly, 2000a). The stereotypes are both many and conflicting.

These stereotypes may have several causes. One may be *collective representations*, a term first coined by Èmile Durkheim (O'Reilly, 2000a) where all the popular, non-scientific ideas, images and assumptions are collected into a mindset where some individuals represents a whole homogenous group. A few bad apples spoil the bunch, one might say. Even television shows such as soap operas and documentaries in Great Britain and Norwegian shows like

Charter fever (Norwegian: Charterfeber) may be causes of creating stereotypes or reinforcing already existing ones. These reality television shows displays Northern Europeans being loud, offensive, drunk and with a very limited capacity of the native languages in Southern Europe. One might unintentionally ignore the fact that these shows are semi-staged or even fully staged for entertainment purposes and that they do not represents the realities.

Participants in this current research also blame newspapers for solely focusing on negative events and stories that have happened on Costa Blanca, and ignore all the positive aspects that people have enjoyed for many years. There are communities in Spain, such as L'Albir, L'Alfàs del Pi and somewhat Torrevieja that are heavily populated with Norwegians and offering Norwegian services such as school, doctors and groceries to those who are living normal lives there as migrants (Haug, Dann & Mehmetoglu, 2006).

1.5. Explanation of 'In limbo'

Though the original meaning of the word *limbo* has religious denotations, this thesis does not wish to infer any religious implication to the usage of the word herein. The title of this thesis was inspired by Nash's (1970) book "A community in limbo: an anthropological study of an American community abroad" that describes Americans living in a small colony in Barcelona, Spain. *In limbo* is in this context is used to describe a state of being between places, an intermediate or transitional state of being and in this thesis pertains solely to socio-psychological mechanisms that are found in migrants. The words purgatory, heaven and hell that may usually be associated with *limbo* have nothing to do with this thesis' adaption of the word, and no misperception between the meanings was intended by the author. Hence, describing the small

Norwegian society on Costa Blanca, Spain as a society in limbo relates to the migrants' state of being between a tourist and a resident.

1.6. Norwegians in Spain

There are no definitive numbers on how many Norwegians that are living in Costa Blanca, there are however some indications to how many Norwegians that are living in Spain. According to the Norwegian ambassador in Spain, Torgeir Larsen (n.d.) and the official website for Norway in Spain, Noruega.es (n.d.), the number of people who are living in Spain, either part or fulltime, is estimated to be 50 000 or about 1% of the total population of Norway. Even though this number is authoritatively estimated, it cannot be considered as fully reliable.

Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie (2004) investigated Norwegian retirees in Spain in relation to their social background, economic status, previous experience abroad and early retirement. This research was done on the behalf of NOVA, Norwegian Social Research (Norwegian: Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring) and will be applied as a supplement to previous mentioned research to give a more detailed demographic overview on specifically Norwegians in Spain, not just North Europeans that have been the focus in most papers.

The findings of the Norwegian retirees' social background show that the majority (74%) is 'young' retirees between 60 and 74 years of age. According to most statistics, there are more male than female retirees living in Spain, although, according to this report this is because houses and registration forms are predominantly signed in the man's name. This report indicates that there are more single Norwegian women than men living in Spain (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004). Retirees above the age of 80 are underrepresented in Spain, which indicates that for most

retirees, living in Spain is a temporary migration and that the majority returns to Norway when the health is deteriorating (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

More than 70% of the Norwegian migrant retirees in Spain are in relationships, either as married or domestic partnership, which is higher than retirees living in Norway, which indicates that retirement migration is predominantly a venture for couples and that only a few single retirees are willing to move alone to a foreign country. The report also indicates that newly widowed men in Spain are encouraged and even helped by fellow migrants to find a new spouse or partner while remaining in Spain. Single women reported that most activities are couple-based and that life in Spain becomes lonely (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

Norwegian retirement migrants included in the report have a consistently high education level and only 1 in 10 have solely received primary education. The relative amount of retirees in Spain with university education is double that of retirees in Norway. The education level is also reflected in that several of the Norwegian migrants or their spouses have previously held leader positions within private and public businesses or have previously owned their own business. If these factors are considered as cultural capital (Bourdieu 1995, as cited in Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004) then social class is an important indicator to what kind of retirees that chooses migrant life in Spain. Summarizing these factors, Norwegian migrants do not differentiate in social background in relation to other North Europeans that have migrated to Spain (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

The average household income for Norwegian retirees in Spain is higher than retirees in Norway, and there is also less variation in the income, suggesting that neither the people with the lowest nor highest income do migrate to Spain (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004). This supports suggestions from other researchers, such as Gustafson, (2002) that retirement migrants from

Norway and North Europe are mainly upper middle class. The reports also showed that non-resident migrants have a slightly better economy than resident migrants. Explanations to this may be that the more affluent migrants desire a more economic freedom from obligations and more flexibility in their travel or that they have too many possessions in Norway to apply for emigration (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

Another factor of economic situation is property ownership. The report shows that fewer retirement migrants in Spain (69 percent) own property in Norway than retirees living in Norway (85 percent), though this varies significantly. Non-residential migrants in Spain have a much higher percentage of property ownership in Norway with 91 percent, while residential migrants in Spain has a lower property ownership percentage with 38 percent. Probable explanations for this may be that some of the migrants sold their property in Norway to afford property in Spain or that property ownership regulations are restricted for emigrated citizens. This may be supported by the fact that 86 percent of residential migrants own a property in Spain compared 58 percent of non-residential (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

In addition to this, 40 percent of the migrants own a cabin or leisure related property in Norway. The number is higher among non-residential (45 percent) compared to residential migrants in Spain (33 percent). Conclusively, a significant amount of the retirement migrants in Spain owns more property than a representative selection of retirees living in Norway and only a small amount (7 percent) of retirees in Spain does not own a property in either Norway or Spain. As much as 61 percent owns an extra property in addition to their main property of living (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

Previous studies such as O'Reilly (2000) have shown that migrants in Spain often have experience of living outside their native country for a longer period of time before migrating,

several also due to work. In this report, the researchers asked if the retirees had previously stayed three months or longer abroad before migrating to Spain. Out of 774 participants, 35 percent had previous experience of living abroad at least three months. Though the research did not uncover the type of experience, it shows that a significant amount of people that chooses retirement migration in Spain have experience in living abroad (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

Half of the participants who have university education reports having experience living abroad, while 30 percent of the participants with primary and secondary education report the same, displaying that education may be a deciding factor. The residential migrants also state more often, with 40 percent, that they have previous experience of living abroad compared with non-residential migrants with 31 percent (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

Previous research such as King, Warnes & Williams (2000, as cited in (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004) have linked international retirement migration with the increasing possibility of early retirement. The average age of retirement for the participants and their partners in this research is 61 years; while the median age is 62 years. The youngest early retiree was 58, with the latest retiree was at 65 years of age. There are no indicators that these numbers are different from other retirees in Norway (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

Conclusively, the Norwegian retiree who has chosen a migrant life in Spain seems to be more resourceful than the average retiree in Norway, especially among the non-residential migrants. In relation to education, income and property ownership these migrants are significantly above the Norwegian average, previous experience of living abroad and early retirement is also normal for this group. This image of the retiree is different from previous mentioned stereotypes of a fragile and lonely retiree in Spain. Nevertheless, this group is far from homogenous, and exhibit several variations. The main impression is that the Norwegian

retirement migrants are relatively affluent. The process of migrating to Spain is usually costly and takes courage to do so, as there are several risks in migrating, especially potential health problems (Helset, Lauvli, Sandlie, 2004).

1.7. The Norwegian Church Abroad & The Norwegian Club Costa Blanca

The Norwegian Church Abroad, also known as the Seaman's Church, is an NGO/voluntary organization that "aims to be an ecclesial, cultural and social meeting venue for all Norwegians abroad" (Sjømannskirken, n.d., own translation). Previously it primarily served Norwegian sailors abroad, but now functions as a meeting venue for all Norwegians abroad. It provides all the normal functions as churches in Norway, in addition to diaconal services and crisis and family counseling (Sjømannskirken, n.d.). In this research the church seem to function primarily as a meeting venue with diaconal services for Norwegians. In Costa Blanca they have churches in Torrevieja and L'Albir.

The Norwegian Club Costa Blanca is an association that is open for Norwegians or 'friends of Norway' and they have locations in Torrevieja and L'Albir. Their statutes state that they are "Creating comfort and support and promote fellowship between Norwegians and friends of Norway on the Costa Blanca.", "To be an agency for contact and interaction.", and "To work for the solution of joint tasks of a practical nature." (DNKCB, 2011, own translation).

Costa Blanca, literally meaning "white coast", is a commercially named coastline that extends north and south of Alicante on the south-east coast of Spain and is a part of the Autonomous region of Valencia (Jacobsen, et al. 2009).

1.8. Purposes and objective

This master thesis aims to answer six main research questions. (1) To what extent do the Norwegian migrants on Costa Blanca dissociate themselves from the tourists and tourism from Norway? (2) What are the implications of any anti-tourism attitudes? (3) To what extent do the Norwegian migrants socially differentiate themselves from tourists and tourism? (4) To what extent do the Norwegian migrants on Costa Blanca perceive the authenticity of their existence as migrants on Costa Blanca, Spain? (5) How do the Norwegian migrants view the Norwegian tourists that visit Costa Blanca and the resident Spanish population? (6) How is the relationship between them as migrants the two aforementioned groups (Norwegian tourists and resident Spanish)?

The purpose of this study is to understand the Norwegian migrants' existence on Costa Blanca through these elements: anti-tourism attitudes in ordinary life and towards tourism in general, social differentiation from Norwegian tourists, potentially other migrants and Spanish residents, authenticity in their existence as migrants on Costa Blanca, relationships and conflicts between them as migrants and the 'others' as tourists and Spanish residents. This is performed through analyzing their attitudes and behavior. This thesis aims to give an in-depth understanding on how Norwegian migrants experience their lives abroad on an everyday approach.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. *Anti-tourism*

For many people in the Western society today, the words ‘tourism’ and ‘tourist’ have negative associations. Some individuals even take several precautions to avoid the stigma of being labeled as a tourist, such as hiding the nature of their travel, their motivations for traveling and their social background (Miller & Auyong, 1998). The anti-tourist wants to distinguish himself/herself from the ‘typical’ tourist and wants to avoid the shallowness of a destination that he/she feel the ordinary tourist is experiencing (Jacobsen, 2000). The anti-tourist loathes the idea of tourist groups that stops for a brief moment at each site and the superficial experiences it brings. These attitudes are far from new, and go back at minimum to the late 1700’s when tourism to Rome became popular (Jacobsen, 2000).

The concept of anti-tourist roles, or role distance, is used to describe individuals who are attached and committed to a role but who wish to distance themselves from the identity that accompanies it (Goffman, 1961: 110, as cited in McCabe, 2005). Therefore, the anti-tourist shares many of the same properties as the tourist, but the anti-tourist refuses to accept the characteristics that come with being a tourist. Therefore, anti-tourism should be regarded as a mindset, not a physical state. It seems the anti-tourist is worried that their sense of individuality and personality is threatened by being part of the *others*, creating a separation between what they are and what they are doing. This gives them a possibility to create their own simulated uniqueness and deny the characteristics that follows the role of being a tourist (Jacobsen, 2000).

Buzard (1993, as cited in Miller & Auyong, 1998) expressed harsher, but similar views:

Snobbish 'anti-tourism', an element of modern tourism from the start, has offered an important, even exemplary way of regarding one's own cultural experiences as authentic and unique, setting them against a backdrop of always assumed tourist vulgarity, repetition, and ignorance. (p. 5)

This quote by Buzard indicates that the anti-tourist desire authentic and unique experiences, which may be a partial explanation for anti-tourists' attitudes towards tourists. MacCannell (1973) claims that tourists will never have a completely authentic experience and that experiences that feel authentic are staged. Anti-tourists have probably recognized this and moves away from typical tourist attractions that to them are perceived as fake or staged. This is reinforced by Jacobsen (2000) who states that "it is often assumed that many anti-tourists believe that the possibilities of experiencing something authentic and typical are inversely proportional to the number of tourists present in an area" (p. 287)

Another critic of anti-tourists is Fussell (1980, as cited in Miller & Auyong, 1998) who adds to the characterization of anti-tourists by saying this:

As I have said, it is hard to be a snob and a tourist at the same time. A way to combine both roles is to become an anti-tourist. Despite the suffering he undergoes, the anti-tourist is not to be confused with the traveler: his motive is not inquiry but self-protection and vanity. ... Abroad, the techniques practiced by anti-tourists anxious to assert their difference from all those tourists ... involve attempts to merge into the surroundings, like speaking the language, even badly. Some dissimulations are merely mechanical, like a man's shifting his wedding ring from the left to the right hand. A useful trick is ostentatiously not carrying a camera. (p. 47)

Fussel, as well as Buzard characterizes anti-tourists as ‘snobs’ whom have no respect for ordinary tourists. Fussel’s quote has a sarcastic, though quite serious tone and it claims that the anti-tourist does not have any sincere interest about experiencing new destinations, but only their own vanity and will go to great lengths to uphold it.

In relation to this thesis’ research about migration, anti-tourism attitudes among the migrants are measured by several different questions, evaluating both how they view themselves, their stay in Spain and tourists from Norway. In relation to the research objectives, it was important to measure how conscious the migrants were of their attitudes towards tourism, and if they avoid behaviors and venues that are associated with tourists.

2.2. Social differentiation

According to Dictionary.com (n.d.) social differentiation is defined as “the distinction made between social groups and persons on the basis of biological, physiological, and sociocultural factors, as sex, age, race, nationality, etc.” This thesis partially studies how the Norwegian migrants socially differentiate themselves from tourists on Costa Blanca. This concept will perhaps relate somewhat to the anti-tourism attitudes concept because their attitudes towards tourists may be likely to affect their behavior and further differentiating themselves from tourists.

Social differentiation is likely connected to role theory, which characterizes behavior patterns. Role theory explains that people in certain social positions hold expectations towards their own behavior and others’ (Biddle, 1986). The basic idea of role theory is that persons of a certain social identity will in a certain situation behave in a predictable way, creating patterns that can be identified and labeled as a specific role. Role theory is made up by several different

social concepts and mechanisms: “patterned and characteristic social behaviors, parts or identities that are assumed by social participants, and scripts or expectations for behavior that are understood by all and adhered to by performers” (Biddle, 1986, p. 68).

The Norwegian migrants could be considered as a social group in itself, but that would be rather simplified. There are variations within the socio-economic spectrum of migrants on Costa Blanca (Helset, Lauvli & Sandlie, 2004) and conversations during the research on location even revealed social differentiation tactics, for example cliques with specific requirements (such as owning a Mercedes-Benz car), within homogenous communities. This was however only an interesting observation of the Norwegian migrants. For all purposes in this research, the Norwegian migrants on Costa Blanca were considered as one social community, socially differentiating themselves from tourists.

2.3. Authenticity

The concept of authenticity has been thoroughly discussed by academic researchers since the 1960's and is still an important notion within the tourism writings (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). According to Trilling (1972, as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) the word ‘authentic’ was used in a museum context when experts sought to determine “whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them or ...worth the admiration they are being given” (p. 93). Today, authenticity within tourism is more concerned about culture and its heritages and pertains to the real and the genuine, but it is much more complicated than that (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Within tourism, authenticity can be divided to describe two quite basic aspects; the experiences that the tourist have and the objects on the tour (Wang, 1999). Furthermore, Wang

(1999) proposed a revision of these aspects and introduced the terms *objective authenticity* and *constructive authenticity* to expand and elucidate object-related authenticity and *existential authenticity* to clarify activity-related authenticity in relation to personal experiences.

Objective authenticity “refers to the authenticity of originals” (Wang, 1999, p. 352) and the authentic experiences are therefore connected to the natural value of an object. Constructive authenticity is about the authenticity that is assumed to an object by the tourists in relation to their expectations, imaginations, beliefs, etc. Constructive authenticity has therefore much dissimilarity and varies from person to person and can therefore be regarded as symbolic authenticity (Wang, 1999)

Existential authenticity has a long conceptual background and has been discussed by academics and philosophers alike. In the ordinary sense of the words, existential authenticity “denotes a special state of Being in which one is true to oneself” (Wang, 1999, p. 358). Existential authenticity can therefore be, unlike object-related authenticity, not tangible or real, in a physical sense (Wang, 1999). For example, a dance involving tourists recreating rumba in Cuba can be viewed with different aspects. If the dance is considered within an object-related authenticity and viewed as a reenactment of the dance, it is surely fake authenticity in a MacCannell (1973) sense of the word. However, if the dance is viewed in an activity-related fashion, it can create a sense of genuineness within the minds of the tourists, giving it existential authenticity. For many people who are seeking nature, beach, adventures or just visiting family and friends, the objective authenticity does not matter per se; they pursue their own authentic individualities (Wang, 1999).

The classic critics towards authenticity, such as Boorstin (1961, as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) claims that tourists (or migrants as an extended phenomenon of tourism) are never

able to experience authenticity in foreign cultures because of the large incursion of them and that they rather prefer the inauthentic products and lifestyle that is presented to them. MacCannell (1973) continued the criticism of authenticity in a tourist setting and claimed tourists only can have pseudo-experiences and doubted that they could even identify authenticity in a foreign country. Furthermore, he suggests that the native population created false fronts to entertain the tourists while creating back areas to protect their meaningful culture and traditions from being corrupted by tourists.

Moreover, to experience something authentic MacCannell argued that the tourists need get away from the main streets and shopping centers that are mainly staged attractions. To counter this, the native population could set up false back regions to simulate the authentic and deceive the tourists even more, thus making it potentially even more inauthentic than the front regions (MacCannell, 1973). Pertaining to the migrants in Spain and MacCannell's theories of staged authenticity, the urbanizations that were solely build to accommodate the influx of migrants can be somewhat compared to the staged back regions, since both the urbanizations and MacCannell's (1973) back region is a simulated authenticity.

It can therefore be argued that many migrants living in these urbanizations in Spain are living a simulated authentic life and their experiences cannot be regarded as genuine in relation to MacCannell's and Boorstin's theories. However, in remembrance to Wang's (1999) explanation of existential authenticity, one might argue that the migrants in Spain does not seek MacCannell's and Boorstin's objectivistic definition of an authentic experience, but a pure existentialistic life with sunny days and a comfortable climate.

In relation to the research objectives of this thesis, the authenticity of the participants' existence as migrants in Spain was measured by questions pertaining if they perceived like they

experienced the *real* Spain, had they adopted Spanish traditions, how well they were integrated in the Spanish society and what they perceived to be their home. These questions relate more to the activity-related aspect of authenticity and therefore the existential authenticity theories as mentioned. Object-related authenticity, though still present, was deemed to be less significant.

2.4. *Conflicts*

Arguably, tourism is one of the world's largest international activities. The economic impact it has on countries is therefore highly significant. However, the economic profit that comes from tourism is the consequence of a process where cultural and environmental capital is traded for monetary capital (Robinson, 1999).

Here, environmental capital is the natural resources and the aesthetic landscape the country possesses, while cultural capital is the traditions and the lifestyle that the native population has. Conflicts may potentially arise when tourism, and migration as the phenomenological extension of it, over-uses or exploits these capitals (Robinson, 1999).

The mission of the World Trade Organization is 'to develop tourism as a significant means of fostering international peace and understanding, economic development and international trade' (Robinson, 1999, p.3). Even though the economic development is visible, and the host communities can relish the cultural benefits that come with tourism, there are no real evidence that tourism, or migration as an extended phenomenon of it, is fostering international peace (Robinson, 1999).

Tourist and host interactions have been frequently studied and most studies have alluded that the cross-cultural relations have several benefits and they are usually mutual. Reisinger

(1994, as cited in Robinson, 1999) have studied the tourist-host interactions and have identified positive and negative effects. Some of the positive effects that have been identified are:

- Learning each other's culture and customs
- Reducing negative perceptions and stereotypes
- Developing pride, appreciation, understanding, respect and tolerance for each other's culture
- Increasing self-esteem
- Developing friendships

Reisinger (1994, as cited in Robinson, 1999, p. 9) identified these effects in a tourist-host setting, but it is probable that they can also be adopted in a migrant-host setting, as they require similar interactions as host and hostee. The negative effects that were identified are:

- Developing negative attitudes about each other
- Tension, hostility, suspicion and misunderstanding
- Clashes of values
- Feelings of inferiority and superiority
- Communication problems
- Ethnocentrism
- Culture shock.

(Reisinger, 1994, as cited in Robinson, 1999, p. 9)

These effects can probably also be adopted in a migrant-host setting. However, it seems that the negative effects somewhat outweigh the positive effects, not only in quantities but also in gravity (Robinson, 1999).

The conflicts that arise between the tourism industry and the host country are often based on the usage of the environment and natural resources or the commodification of the host country's culture. The industry that follows migrants is likely far less demanding for the host country's environment and the culture. Usually, the Norwegian migrants desire to live close to normality in the new country (Haug et al, 2006), thus not commodifying the culture to the same extent as tourism. The 'industry' that follows migrants is typically entrepreneurial migrants who start businesses to cater to the other migrants' needs (O'Reilly, 2003), such as interpreters, grocery stores, physicians and optometrists. These businesses are likely to be less demanding for the local resources than tourism related businesses and ought not to be associated with commodification of local culture.

Tourism/tourist-migrant conflicts have not received much attention. It is probable that anti-tourist attitudes are the source of any conflicts between these groups. In relation to the research in this thesis, any visible conflicts between the Norwegian migrants on Costa Blanca and their Spanish hosts or Norwegian tourists will be described. Though not directly asked to the Norwegian migrants, any observed conflicts between migrants will also be described.

2.5. Liminality

There are two concepts in this theoretical framework that is not directly researched in this thesis, they are however important for understanding the mindset of the Norwegian migrants and is therefore indirectly important to apprehend their answers.

As O'Reilly (2000a) commented, a significant amount of migrants from North Europe that lives on Costa Blanca can be associated with an escapism lifestyle. They migrated to escape from the drudgery of everyday life to find a place in the sun with comfortable climate and way of

life. Selänniemi (2001) argues that some of these tourists, or in this case migrants, do not actually *visit* a place, because they are not interested in it for its distinctiveness, but they want to get away from work and home and experience a change in the everyday life. These people travel to the liminoid zone.

The liminoid zone is a place where the person feels free to do things and behave in ways that would normally not even be considered and where the sun shines and life is relaxing. Often, these tourists seek familiarity in the liminoid zone, mostly because of safety and meeting people who speak the same language. This is particularly true with the elderly tourists who often lack the foreign language skills (Selänniemi, 2001).

A liminal state of being is mostly associated with tourists who are on a short vacation in tourists resorts. However, there are many similar motivations between the liminoid tourist and the migrant. They both seek sun, comfortable climate and relaxed lifestyle. It can also be argued that many migrants also seek familiarity and safety since they form quasi-ghetto communities, such as L'Albir, where they have Norwegian shops, services, food and a significant amount of Norwegian people. Furthermore, it is likely that after a while, the liminoid zone for the migrants phases into normality.

There are three stages of liminality, the preliminal stage when the person is likely at home in the normal state of being, the liminal stage when the person is in an abnormal state of being, and postliminal stage when the person returns back to the normal state of being (Selänniemi, 2001). The social anti-structure that the liminoid zone creates is also known as *communitas*. *Communitas* is a transitory existence with loose social bonds which are created without many obligations and the normal social structures are less important. It seems that the

‘anti-self’ of a person, the destructive and adventurous part may be more dominant than the ideal self in the liminoid zone (Selänniemi, 2001).

2.6. The tourist bubble

As with liminality, the ‘tourist bubble’ is not directly researched in this thesis, it is however an important concept to understand in relation to the Norwegian migrants and their answers to the research questions and their behavior.

Although there are some different understandings on what the ‘bubble’ is, it is often understood as a territorial separation in a foreign country, a physical enclave with home-like establishments and foundations to avoid the strange and foreign that may induce culture shock and any involvement with the otherness (Jacobsen, 2003). Jacobsen (2003) comments that tourists with a certain level of experience in travelling and language skills are less likely to seek inside the ‘bubble’, and usually have a more broad ‘explorer’ type attitude towards tourism.

Tourists come to these ‘bubbles’ to experience ‘home’ in a different and maybe even an improved version. By doing this, they are physically in the foreign country but are on the outside of the native culture, creating their own reality and version of the place (Jacobsen, 2003). This aspect of the concept has similarities with liminality (Selänniemi, 2001). They are seeking familiarity, but at the same time something different.

Although both phenomena are focused on tourists, similar behavior can be found in migrants. However, pertaining to some migrants, it seems that the initial touristic ‘tourist bubble’ evolves into quasi-ghettoes where they have their own Norwegian language, their own culture, stores and services. Norwegians and other North European migrants are seemingly prone to

create a 'bubble' where the native culture of the host country stay on the outside of the bubble, while recreating their own home-like culture inside the bubble.

These concepts (liminality and the tourist bubble) are included to give a better understanding of any attitudes and behavior that may be uncovered in this research. Although they are mainly pertaining to tourism and tourists, they can seemingly also be applied to migrants, as they share many similar motivations, attitudes and behavior. As established previously in this thesis, migration is an extended phenomenon and of tourism in which it has its roots.

3. Methodology

3.1. Design

The objective of this research paper was to evaluate the migrated Norwegians' perceptions of their own existence on Costa Blanca through an analysis of their attitudes and behavior. The paper aims to give an in-depth understanding of the migrated Norwegians, and therefore the data was collected through a qualitative method. The study focused on Norwegians who have partially or permanently migrated to Costa Blanca on the Spanish south-east coast, predominantly the Torrevieja and L'Albir area.

A qualitative design was chosen due to the nature of the research questions, as it has the larger potential to give a more detailed understanding of a phenomenon, especially when dealing with subjective realities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Furthermore, quantitative methods are primarily used when trying to measure and analyze relationships between variables, while qualitative methods focus more on the processes behind the phenomena and how the social experiences are created and try to give them meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Van Maanen (1979, as cited in Merriam, 2009) explains that qualitative research is:

...an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (p. 520).

Thus, qualitative research aims to understand the realities that have been constructed by people and their experiences (Merriam, 2009). In addition to this, "qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3), giving the researcher a unique *on the inside looking in* perspective, which is rarely accomplished in quantitative research.

3.2. Sample methods

A mixture of different sampling methods was applied during this research. Due to low probability of meeting Norwegians who were willing to be interviewed on the street, several meeting points for Norwegians in Spain were identified prior to travelling to Spain. The identified meetings points were: The Norwegian Club (Norwegian: Den Norske Klubben) which is located in both Torrevieja and L'Albir on Costa Blanca and The Norwegian Church Abroad (Norwegian: Sjømannskirken) which is also located in the Torrevieja area and in L'Albir. The three sampling methods that were applied during the research were: purposive sampling, quota sampling and network (i.e. snowball) sampling (Neuman, 2008).

The Norwegian population on Costa Blanca is largely uncertain in terms of numbers, but it is estimated that the total numbers of Norwegians who owns a house or apartment in Spain is about 100 000 (Helset, Lauvli & Sandlie, 2004), while the number of Norwegians living in Spain is estimated to be 50 000 (Noruega.es, n.d.) The objective was therefore not to reach a representative sample of the total population but an extensive sample of the different types and forms of Norwegian migrants found on Costa Blanca. Therefore, different methods of sampling were needed.

The purposive sampling was used to identify Norwegians who were eligible to be included in the research. To separate Norwegian tourists from migrants, O'Reilly's (2000a) definitions of migrants were applied. Therefore, only Norwegians who were seasonal migrants, returning residents or full residents were eligible for the research. Seasonal migrants are defined by spending the winter in Spain (at least two months, usually January and February). Returning residents lives in Spain, but returns to Norway during the summer months. Full residents have

completely migrated from Norway and lives in Spain all year long, only returning to Norway for holidays.

The quota sampling method was applied to secure an exhaustive sample. The following factors were identified to be vital in having an exhaustive sample:

- Have all of the three migrant types represented.
- Variable participant age using Erikson's (1995) definitions: Young adult (<40 years old), Middle-aged (40-65 years old) and Mature (>65 years old).
- Various migration mobilities as defined by Hall & Williams (2002): Entrepreneurial migration, labor migration and retirement migration. There were however some retired participants who opted to work as volunteers at the local Norwegian Church Abroad.

These factors were all successfully reached in the sample and will therefore be considered an exhaustive sample, though not necessarily representative of the total population.

The third method applied was network sampling and was used to fulfill the quota set. Active Norwegian entrepreneurial migrants in Spain do not generally meet at The Norwegian Club or The Norwegian Church Abroad, and are therefore more difficult to find. Therefore, it was necessary to sample this group outside of unplanned selection.

3.3. Achieved sample

A total of 13 participants were achieved in this research. 10 of the participants were interviewed in the Torrevieja area, compared to 3 in the L'Albir area. The main reason for this discrepancy was the interviewer's proximity to the Torrevieja area, while visiting L'Albir was more than 200 km of travel each day. Here is a detailed overview of all the participants:

Table 2: Summary overview of interview participants

Identification	Type	Form	Sex	Age	Other notes	Location
Interviewees 01	Seasonal	Retirement	M/F	70 - 75	Married couple	Torreveija
Interviewee 02	Fulltime resident	Working	M	50 -59	Bolivian wife and children	Torreveija
Interviewee 03	Fulltime resident	Retirement	F	65 - 69	Widow	Torreveija
Interviewee 04	Returning resident	Retirement	M	65 - 69	Living with wife	Torreveija
Interviewee 05	Returning resident	Retirement	F	80 - 84	Widow & volunteer	Torreveija
Interviewee 06	Returning resident	Retirement	M	70 - 74	Living with wife	Torreveija
Interviewee 07	Returning resident	Working	F	50 - 59	Living with husband	Torreveija
Interviewee 08	Returning resident	Retirement	F	70 - 74	Volunteer	Torreveija
Interviewee 09	Fulltime resident	Working	M	45 - 49	Wife and children	L'Albir
Interviewee 10	Fulltime resident	Retirement	F	60 - 64	Fulltime volunteer	L'Albir
Interviewee 11	Fulltime resident	Ret. / Working	F	60 - 65	Retired, working part-time	L'Albir
Interviewee 12	Fulltime resident	Entrepreneurial	M	35 - 39	Owens a business	Torreveija
Interviewee 13	Fulltime resident	Entrepreneurial	F	30 - 35	Self-employed	Torreveija

3.4. Data Collection

The data collection was based on 13 in-depth semi-structured interviews that were performed in a face-to-face manner on location in Costa Blanca, Spain. DeMarrais (2004, as cited in Merriam, 2009) defines an interview as: “a process in which a researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study” (p. 55). The interviews were fully digitalized recorded with a digital voice recorder with the interviewees’ consent. The recorded interviews lasted between 9 minutes and 11 seconds at the shortest and 58 minutes and 52 seconds at the longest. The digital recordings allow for an accurate representation of the interviewees’ answers and give a possibility for direct quotes from the interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen because it gives a possibility to adapt the questions towards the participant. Some questions may not be suitable for all types and forms of

migrants, while some questions with interesting answers are suitable for follow-up questions on the same topic, allowing the interviewer to extract more information from the interviewee.

Interviews as the method of data collection was chosen due to what Patton (2002, as cited in Merriam, 2009) explains:

“We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. ... We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that prelude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things.

The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person’s perspective.” (pp. 340-341)

Interviewing is therefore necessary to understand how people see the world they live in and how they relate to other people and events, and sometimes interviewing people should be considered as the only way to get relevant data (Merriam, 2009). There are also certain guidelines that the interviewer should follow during the interview of a person. According to Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutsh, & Cook (1965) “the interviewer's manner should be friendly, courteous, conversational and unbiased. He should be neither too grim nor too effusive; neither too talkative nor too timid. ... should be to put the respondent at ease, so that he will talk freely and fully.” (p 576).

The interview process started therefore even before the interview itself. There was often a short conversation before recording the interview, to *break the ice* between the interviewer and the interviewee. When the interview started the interviewee was asked simple demographic questions about when he/she first arrived or settled in Spain, how they live in Spain in relation to residency and if they foresaw a future in Spain before asking questions relating to the main research questions.

The participants of the interview were asked to talk about their attitudes and behavior on the subject of their existence as migrants on Costa Blanca, Spain. The interview questions were divided into four parts: (1) Demography and stay in Spain, (2) Anti-tourist attitudes, (3) how migrants/residents socially differentiate from tourists and their attitudes towards the authenticity of their existence on Costa Blanca, (4) their relationships and potential conflicts with tourists and resident Spaniards.

It should be noted that all the interview questions were asked in Norwegian. The questions are therefore translated from the original Norwegian to English for this thesis, the questions were not necessarily asked in the order that is represented here, as these questions are grouped in themes. Table 3 shows the complete interview question agenda (translated from Norwegian). Questions 1, 2, 3 etc. are the basic questions that were asked, a., b. etc. were possible follow-up questions.

Table 3: Interview questions

Part 1 – Demographic elements

1. When did you first travel to Spain?

- a. How long have you lived in Spain?
2. What type of migration? (Fulltime, returning resident, seasonal visitor)
3. What form of migration? (Retirement, working, entrepreneurial)
4. Do you foresee a future in Spain?
5. What is your general age? (30-34, 35-39 ... 55-59, 60-64, 65-69 etc.)

Part 2 – Anti-tourist attitudes

6. Do you see yourself as tourist during your stay in Spain?
7. Do you feel that Spaniards generally treat you like a tourist?
 - a. Do you have a reaction when you feel treated like a tourist?
8. Do you try to avoid typical tourist attractions such as the beach or busy shopping boulevards in Spain?
9. What do you think of reality TV-series such as “Charter fever” (Norwegian Charterfeber) and “Life in the South” (Norwegian: Sydenliv) that portrays Norwegians in different settings in Spain and other South Europe countries?

Part 3 – Social differentiation and authenticity

10. Do you see the difference between a resident Norwegian and a Norwegian tourist?
 - a. If so, how?
11. What do you see as your “home”, Norway or Spain?
12. Are you more concerned about keeping the Norwegian lifestyle and traditions or adapting to the Spanish lifestyle and their traditions?

- a. (The interviewee is given examples such as Christmas, siesta, late night dinners etc. if she/he asked for examples of Norwegian/Spanish customs)
13. Do you feel integrated in the Spanish society?
 - a. Do you speak Spanish?
 - b. Are you participating in Spanish activities in your leisure time?
 - c. Or is the Norwegian Church Abroad/The Norwegian Club more attractive than Spanish activities?
14. Do you feel that Norwegians living in Norway have any special perceptions about how the Norwegians living in Spain are?
 - a. If yes, what kind of perceptions?
 - b. Do you think that the media have influenced the perceptions?
15. Do you feel that you are experiencing the “real” Spain more than a tourist who are here on vacation?

Part 4 – Relationships and conflicts with tourists, residents and natives

16. What do you think of the behavior of the Norwegian tourists in Spain?
17. Would you rather avoid or meet Norwegian tourists when you are out in Spain?
18. How do you generally feel treated by the Spaniards?
 - a. How are Norwegians and other foreigners generally treated by the Spaniards?
19. Should the Spaniards be more considerate of Norwegians or facilitate the conditions better for Norwegians in Spain?

- a. For example Norwegians who are not capable of speaking any Spanish

Possible additional question:

20. Would you like to make a final comment on your total experience so far in Spain?

In addition to the digitally recorded interviews the data collection also partially consisted of several long conversations that were not recorded. These conversations include persons who were interviewed, but also people who preferred not to be recorded in an interview, totaling about 3-4 hours of non-recorded conversations. These conversations cannot be directly quoted; only notes of the information were written down and will therefore not be used as direct findings and will only serve as supporting evidence for the results.

These conversations were useful and helpful because it allowed gathering information that was either forgotten by the person during the interview or was about a sensitive issue that the person did not want to be included in the recorded interview. These issues included: alcoholism, sicknesses, loneliness, intra-migrant conflicts, elitism and suicide. Specific events and persons will not be disclosed nor discussed in this thesis. Examples of intra-migrant conflicts and elitism will however be mentioned, though they will not be connected to any specific persons other than what was officially recorded during the interviews.

3.5. Reliability and validity

Qualitative research in social sciences is arguably based on people's perceptions, assumptions and perspectives on the reality (Merriam, 2009), while on the other hand, the

concepts of validity and reliability were originally developed within the natural sciences where the epistemology of qualitative research is significantly different (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Reliability is often understood as the ability to reconstruct or replicate the research findings if another study using similar methods repeated it. The ability to replicate a qualitative research has been questioned several times (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Merriam (2009) explains this by stating: “Reliability is problematic in social sciences simply because human behavior is never static, nor is what many experience necessarily more reliable than what one person experiences.” (p. 221) Therefore, reliability within a social scientific qualitative study is harder to measure because human behavior and feelings are not reliable, because they can change almost on a day-to-day basis.

Interviews in qualitative studies are regarded as non-repeatable because each participant in the interview is only enquired with the set of questions once and the questions will also slightly vary from participant to participant, making it impossible to repeat the study and replicate the identical findings (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002), thus making reliability redundant.

Validity usually refers to the precision and correctness of the research and is often described in two dimensions, external and internal validity (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). However, within the social scientific qualitative research Lincoln & Guba (1985, as cited in Ritchie & Lewis, 2003) suggested the words ‘*credibility*’ and ‘*transferability*’ as more appropriate terms instead of internal and external validity. These words describe more accurately what the social scientists are striving for.

In this research the questions and interviews were originally performed in Norwegian. The interviews were then fully transcribed into written Norwegian before it was translated into English. This may arguably be a clear threat to the internal validity, or the credibility, of the

research. Due to time and budget constraints a professional translator was not used; all interviews were transcribed and translated by the author of this thesis. During some of the interviews the researcher also verbally agreed to statements or questions made by the interviewee on some rare occasions, which can be considered as not being fully neutral during the interviews. This may consequently be a threat to the internal validity and the credibility of the interviewer.

It is believed that the transferability and generalization of the findings are somewhat present. This study uses a wide variety of participants, varying in age, marital status, type of migration and form of migration. One of the plausible threats to the generalization is that the majority of participants were recruited from The Norwegian Church Abroad, which in the Norwegian society in Spain acts as more of a meeting and socializing venue than a religious venue. It is therefore difficult to assume, without prejudice, that migrants that meet at a certain venue can be generalized or directly compared to migrants who do not meet at a certain venue. The external validity, or transferability, of this research may therefore also be questioned.

3.6. Data analysis

After all the interviews were finished and the author returned from Spain the interviews were then fully transcribed from the digital files that was copied from the Digital Voice Recorder device that was used during the interviews. The interviews were transcribed in Microsoft Word and then imported into QSR's NVivo 9 software for qualitative data analyzing.

The text was then analyzed and coded to highlight different attitudes and feelings that could be attributed to the different concepts defined in this thesis: anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation, authenticity and conflicts. The researcher is therefore able to create themes and

groupings from the interviews and allows the possibility for comparing answers of the different migrants and finding similarities and dissimilarities among the interviewees.

3.7. Limitations to the study

Research is an uncertain task, especially in a foreign country where the potential participants live among non-potential participants. This required the researcher to make important decisions regarding limitations and external validity of the study. Since some of the potential participants live and work in a Spanish setting with many other nationalities the researcher was required to find a venue where only Norwegians would gather and the Norwegian Church Abroad, which has two churches on Costa Blanca, was identified as the most important meeting venue for Norwegians in Spain. Most interviews were completed either inside or outside of these churches. All except one of the random interviewees were recruited from The Norwegian Church Abroad, thus making it a limitation of the study. Another limitation was the amount of time for preparation of the data collection. The data collection took place late January and early February, making it only two weeks of preparation for the interview questions, planning the schedule, venues and other details pertaining to the trip.

Another limitation was the long travel distance to L'Albir, which is recognized as the densest populated Norwegian area on Costa Blanca, with over 200 km of travel distance each day. Therefore, the amount of participants from the L'Albir area was lower than desired. The majority of participants are from the Torrevieja area due to the close proximity of the researcher's accommodation.

Non-random sampling was employed because some forms of migrants do not usually meet at Norwegian venues due to work. Entrepreneurial migrants were therefore recruited

outside of random selection, using the network sampling. Although the researcher previously never had met the participants they were recruited through personal network contacts. The importance of having this form of migrants in the study outweighed the potential internal validity threats.

4. Implementation and results

The purpose of this part is to present and analyze the findings and results of the data collection. QSR NVivo 9 software for qualitative analysis helped to produce the themes that are presented in the following parts.

4.1. Background information

This part of the chapter is dedicated to the participants' background information that was disclosed during the interview. This information is vital in order to give context to the answers of the participants and should be taken into consideration when reading the subsequent parts of this chapter. This part is also known as the demographical part of the interview questions where the interviewee was asked questions pertaining to when he/she first visited Spain or how long he/she have lived here, what type and form of migration he/she is and if he/she foresaw a future in Spain.

The first interviewees, Interviewees 01, were a retired couple in their 70's that was sitting inside of The Norwegian Club in Torre Vieja. The first question was when they first went to Spain:

Man: *"This year, 3rd of January this year. I have worked and lived in eastern Norway for 50 years. We sold the house in Vestby and took over a small farm in Nordland county. So instead of walking around in January and February with ice and changing weather and temperature, we thought to try Spain for this year, now we can walk and have a good time. And we think that is very fine, and we feel very good."*

Do you foresee a future in Spain?

Woman: *"Yes, absolutely"*. Man: *"But in January, February and March, not during summer."*

(Interviewees 01)

Interviewee 02 was a deacon in his 50's working in The Norwegian Church Abroad in Torrevieja.

"I started working here almost four years ago, before that I had only been on one trip. The year before I started here, in the summer, we were two families who rented an apartment together. It was typical tourism. The reason that we sought here was we had lived in South America for many years and learned Spanish. And we wanted to practice it. So I thought that when we had first learned Spanish we had to use it a bit. And it was one of the main reasons that we sought here. Here it was set up with Norwegian school and my girls goes to school here. And now I work as a deacon in the Norwegian Church Abroad. ... I am completely settled here fulltime, but we work in a Norwegian company. We pay taxes to Spain and we have everything here."

Do you foresee a future in Spain?

"Yes and no. It's a bit depending on the children; the children grow and will eventually attend school that may not be here in Spain. But in relations to work we think it's very nice here. It's challenging and I have a lot to do. You do not know what you are going to in Norway, if you apply there. Gradually, then maybe the kids apply for boarding school, or they can also go to high school down here."

(Interviewee 02)

Interviewee 03 was a retired widow in her late 60's that was interviewed outside of The Norwegian Club in Torrevieja

"My husband and I bought an apartment in Spain in 1997. My husband was a sailor and he sailed. I've been here since, more or less. My husband died in 2000. So he did not get the great pleasure to be in Spain. I've been here alone since he died, it has gone really well. I am a full-

time resident. I've been back in Norway, but not more than once. I do take advantage of the time here and taking care of homeless dogs and cats. I feed and walk with them. And I often go to the Norwegian Church Abroad, it is very nice. Look at the beautiful architecture. It was inaugurated by Princess Martha Louise in 2004 I think. I call it God's Glass House, as I say: "you do not throw stones in God's Glass House.""

Do you foresee a future in Spain?

"At least I am here now. The future? I've been here since '97; it's been fourteen years now. I am still Norwegian taxpayer as I always have been. I am the widow of a sailor; I still have my house in Norway and have not burned any bridges behind me. So if my future is in Spain, time will tell. I'm very happy here. It is so nice to meet the Spaniards, and I always feel welcome."

(Interviewee 03)

Interviewee 04 was a retired man in his 60's living in Spain with his wife as a returning resident and was interviewed outside of The Norwegian Church Abroad in Torrevieja.

"6 years ago, I retired in 2007. Then we moved down here permanently. We thrive and feel good down here. ... Not quite fulltime resident, but we have a house here. We return home May 25 and return back again September 14. We have a house in Norway, I have worked in Oslo for 46 years in the same company, but now I'm retired so we moved home to where I come from, Åndalsnes. There, we bought a house 12 years ago, and the main house is owned by my brother. So we live there in the summer. It is cozy; we have a boat and the sea. We travel down to Spain and feel good; we do exactly the same here as we do at home. Only difference is we get some better weather. I have psoriasis on my head, and it is so much better when I'm here, almost nothing now. We're quick and healthy, and I am 68 years old now. We are active and involved in

clubs. They help us if we have any problems, helps us with nurses, banks and everything and we get lower prices. ... Oh yes, here we will be as long as we bear to travel.”

(Interviewee 04)

Interviewee 05 was a retired widow that working as a volunteer at The Norwegian Church Abroad. She was in her early 80's and was interviewed inside The Norwegian Church Abroad.

“It's 22 years ago that we got the apartment, but before that we had a vacation on Gran Canaria. And we had one year as a holiday in Benidorm and we also had a holiday in Fuengirola. And then we bought an apartment here, I wanted to buy an apartment in Gran Canaria because it was the best climate for him [deceased husband], but he said, "no, it could be war again, and then we will be off the coast of Africa and be dependent on the airplanes.” So we got an apartment here, and my husband passed away 17 years ago and since then I have been a resident, and live here. I'm here all year, except summer. ... Yes, I would like to stay here in Spain.”

(Interviewee 05)

Interviewee 06 was a retired man in his early 70's living in Spain as a returning resident in Spain with his wife and was interviewed outside of The Norwegian Church Abroad in Torrevieja.

“The first year we went in the motorhome and we did that a couple of years. But then we sold the motorhome and bought us an apartment instead of it. My wife was not fond of the mobile home life. So now it is four years that we have lived in the apartment here. ... We are here about three months in the fall and three months in the spring. Last summer we went a trip to Spain since it

was so bad weather at home. ... Well, I'm 71 years so I do not think as much about the future. But I have no plans to sell the apartment."

(Interviewee 06)

Interviewee 07 was woman in her 50's working as an accountant in The Norwegian Church abroad living in Spain as a returning resident with her husband who worked fulltime in the Church and was interviewed inside the Church.

"We started when we bought a house here, it was probably in 2003. ... I work here in the church; I work as an accountant, with a 50% position. ... I live here all year round, but during summer I am in Norway. I have a bit of a long summer vacation, and since I work 50% I sometimes take some time to go home. I was home in December and this year I will go back in March. ... Well, for now. I could have imagined having... we've sold everything we had in Norway; I would like to have something in Norway in the future. When you get older you think more about health and the pension. It's also easier with the language and similar things."

(Interviewee 07)

Interviewee 08 was a retired woman in her early 70's living in Spain as a returning resident and working as a volunteer at The Norwegian Church Abroad where the interview took place.

"We came to Spain in 2001, 11 years ago. We are here from September until May. So we are usually at home one month around Christmas, we go to Norway in mid-December and return in mid-January. ... I work as a volunteer at church, I also have the responsibility for the social working group that we have here every Wednesday. That is what I'm doing here, it is both socially and nice. ... Yes, I think I have my future in Spain. Both me and my husband is suffering from rheumatism so we have it much better here, after all it is warmer here, even if it's a bit cold

here now, it is warmer here than at home (in Norway). We have it much better here. As long as we are so healthy that we are now, we will probably stay here.”

(Interviewee 08)

Interviewee 09 was a fulltime resident in his late 40's working as a diaconal associate at the Norwegian Church Abroad in L'Albir where the interview took place. He has a family of four children.

“We came to Spain in 2006. We started a job at the Norwegian Church Abroad in 2003 in London, we were there for 3 years and then we got the job here in Spain. So we went down to Spain in 2006 and have been here now for five and a half years. I work as a diaconal associate; I also have a janitor and maintenance responsibility for the building here. Diaconal associate means that I help with the diaconal work such as home visits and sick visits. Helping people who have come into trouble here and help get them home to Norway and stuff like that. There are no social offices here in Spain for the Norwegians, and the embassy often refer to the Norwegian Church Abroad. There are many such types of missions. ... I also expect to stay here a few years.”

(Interviewee 09)

Interviewee 10 was a retired fulltime resident in her early 60's who worked fulltime as a volunteer at The Norwegian Church Abroad in L'Albir where the interview took place.

“We have been on a small holiday in Spain before, but never more than that. So the first time we were in this migration setting was in September 2011. Before that we had only been on holiday in Barcelona. ... We are here as full time residents, so we have work commitment of three months at a time, three months in the fall; we came down in January and will work until Easter. I'm working here as a volunteer. We are winter assistants; we have a working week of

37.5 hours, so we are working at least that. Some weeks it may be more, we had a day two weeks ago when we worked 13 hours in one stretch, it was because someone was absent and we had to give a little extra. ... Do you know what? I say that I could have done this for the rest of my life, it's so nice job I have. I really enjoy what I do."

(Interviewee 10)

Interviewee 11 was an early retired fulltime resident in her early 60's working part-time at The Norwegian Church Abroad in L'Albir where the interview took place.

"We came here in April last year; we have been here now about one year. I work here with a 33% position as a diaconal associate and took early retirement as a 62 year-old. Now I live here permanently, full time. We go on a holiday to Norway in the summer; we were also at home for a week in relation with the New Year's Eve. ... It's a little difficult to say if I see my future here in Spain, but it's really nice to live here climate wise. I'm a little rheumatic, so I think the climate is very nice since I react to the cold and stuff at home, so it is very good."

(Interviewee 11)

Interviewee 12 was an entrepreneurial migrant in his late 30's; living fulltime in Torrevieja where he owns his own business and the interview took place at a local café there.

"I moved here in September 2002. When I first came here I started to sell houses, like many others did when we got here. Gradually, after we had been working for a big real estate firm a while we left the firm and started on our own. We wanted to earn money by selling houses for ourselves, on our own account. So when the market got worse we started to rent out apartments and a cleaning firm which was natural when it comes to renting out houses. We also made it mandatory to have the apartment cleaned by our firm. Then it became more and more apartments so we separated out the cleaning firm as independent and began to advertise. So

today is mostly rented apartments that we wash. We also clean for the Guardia Civil police; we also clean in the Norwegian Bakery and the apartment block where I live, that are they only ones outside of the rented apartments. We have eight employees and we clean down from Benidorm to Villajoyosa, near Alicante. Alicante is home to nearly no Norwegians. We clean in Santa Pola, La Marina, Guardamar and Torrevieja. Also some places south, but not as far as Murcia. ... I see a future here as long as the Scandinavians are traveling as much here as they do now. We've not had any drop in business so far, it has been stable."

(Interviewee 12)

Interviewee 13 was an entrepreneurial migrant in her early 30's; living fulltime in Torrevieja where she is self-employed and the interview took place at a local café there.

"The first time I came to Spain was when my family moved to Gran Canaria in 1984. So we lived there from 1984 to 1989. After that, in 1997, I moved to Barcelona as an exchange student and I came here to Torrevieja in 2002, in February, so I've lived here 10 years now. I work self-employed as an interpreter, I government authorized. I have some written translations and I am also a translator in the field, in hospitals and elsewhere. I'm in Norway only on holidays, three weeks maybe, perhaps 4-5 weeks. ... It depends on the workload and the economy. As long as there is a job here, I want to live in Spain; it's not so easy to get a similar job in Norway."

(Interviewee 13)

4.2. Anti-tourist attitudes

The part of the chapter focuses on anti-tourist attitudes, feelings and behavior that were reported by the participants during the interviews. Most of the answers are gathered from the questions that were directly linked with anti-tourism but also from other questions where

participants reported similar attitudes. In addition to anti-tourist attitudes, there will also be neutral and pro-tourism attitudes since these were also reported on questions pertaining to anti-tourism.

Some problems arise when several answers are overlapping between anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation and conflicts. Certain quotes will therefore overlap between these concepts. The analysis in NVivo 9 created chronological line of answers. The quotes for each part will therefore start with Interviewees 01, Interviewee 02, etc., and each interviewee will have included numbered references to each concept (Reference 1, Reference 2, etc.).

Interviewees 01

Reference 1

Woman: *“No, we see ourselves as visitors, not tourists.”*

Reference 2

Man: *“It’s okay with tourists in the sense that people who sits on the sidewalk cafes, it does not bother me. I think it is wonderful to sit on the promenade and have a light lunch and a glass of wine.”*

The interesting observation in this interview was that the elderly married couple who were first time visitors in Spain acutely refused to label themselves as tourist, although they had only been there for less than three weeks and had similar behavior to tourists.

Interviewee 02

Reference 1

“No, I don’t see myself as a tourist. And yes. No, because we have work here. Although it’s clear we live in an area with a lot of tourism. We live here permanently and travel to Norway every summer, so it’s a bit like both sides. It feels like I work in a Norwegian ghetto with Norwegian language. But I speak Spanish and have a lot of work here to do in hospitals and with local people. In this area here (La Siesta, Torrevieja) it is perhaps 50% Spanish, the rest are foreigners of various kinds.”

Reference 2

“Yes, I can almost say certainly. We are very little on the beach, no one in our family. I’m the only Norwegian in our family, my wife is from Bolivia and my two daughters are also from there. None of them are attracted by the sun, it is rather the opposite (laughter). They are never on the beach, sometimes they have volleyball on the beach with the school, but never sunbathing in the sun, we have no need. And as for shopping, we have to shop from time to time, but never in the typical shopping streets.”

Although Interviewee 02 was above-averagely integrated in the Spanish society with a Latino family, speaking fluent Spanish and showed clear unwillingness of being associated with tourism he conceded that he was surrounded by a Norwegian ghetto and Norwegian language with tourists on an everyday basis. Interviewee 02 observed therefore the contrast of being between the Spanish and the Norwegian, of being *in limbo*.

Interviewee 03

Reference 1

“No, I see myself as a Norwegian in Spain, as a guest in Spain. I have also become acquainted with the residents who are here, learned a little Spanish. I am not so well traveled in Spain, but I

find much to do here in Torrevieja. The developments have been significant here since I arrived. Quite a lot has happened here. The mayor has done a lot of work for tourism here.”

Reference 2

“A tourist will enjoy the beach and will soon be brown from sunbathing. ... I think that the tourists here are different, it depends on whether they are here a week, two weeks, 3 months. Tourists are tourists. I can only answer for myself”

Reference 3

“I avoid everything to do with the sun and I avoid the beach. My husband loved the beach and stuff. The only thing we can experience is to become sunburned. I may not be the most typical migrant; you have to ask others about it. I’m not that adventurous as a widow. I bring home the homeless dogs and cats, there is a lot of them unfortunately. We have no stray animals in Norway.”

Reference 4

“Drinking themselves wasted and stuff? I say that it gives the wrong picture. It's clear that those people are in groups, they come together and they drink in order to dare to be honest and communicate with their inner voice. How they actually perceive themselves and others, they do not dare to do it sober, they must have some alcohol first. But it could become a bit too much. Spain has some cheap booze, you know.”

Reference 5

“They behave like assholes sometimes, when they get drunk. They are very disrespectful, at least could be, when they are out in groups. I do not go out, but constantly hear and see in the newspapers that the Norwegians are known to be drunk on the town. It is not positive.”

Reference 6

“They (tourists) think that it is not good coffee here or real, good food here. Spaniards are known for having some of the world's healthiest foods and coffee. Some have thoughts and ideas when they come here, and those thoughts must be turned away at once.”

Interviewee 03 outspokenly showed anti-tourist attitudes, not only pertaining to her own existence as a migrant but also towards tourists who come to Costa Blanca.

Interviewee 04

Reference 1

“Yes, I actually think of myself as a tourist in Spain. I have joined the communal registration here; have to pay electricity and stuff. We must have a 9-number to buy things, yet I do see myself as a tourist, not as a Spaniard.”

Reference 2

“No, I'm not trying to avoid typical tourist attractions. I walk on the beach almost every day. I am not lying on the beach, but I walk on the promenade and meet the people I know on several occasions.”

Reference 3

“I have traveled a lot; no matter where I am there is trouble in the tourist areas. You can be sure that it is a Norwegian or Swedish. It is almost never a bad guess, but also English. They also have a number of rude people. Then we get a little embarrassed. We were in London a few years ago, we went out there. Then there was a man who could not walk properly, leaning up against things and walking around and fell down everywhere. They were Norwegians (laughter).”

Reference 4

“I do not avoid the tourists, I like talking to people, so if I encounter someone so I talk with them. They are curious about us too, the prices and how much it costs to rent here, and expenses.”

Interviewee 04 showed little anti-tourist attitudes, probably due to essentially seeing himself as a tourist. The only type of tourism he showed some contempt for was openly drunken tourists that caused embarrassment and troubles.

Interviewee 05

Reference 1

(Laughter) “No, I’m a resident.”

Reference 2

“Basically, yes, I try to avoid tourist attractions. The beach is a bit because of old age, before we went a lot to the beach. But that is what is has become to.”

Reference 3

“The tourists I have been in contact with here in Spain have been completely normal. But I know there are many who go on a short trip and drink almost the whole holiday, it is regrettable, but that’s the way it is. That’s what journalists have seen and, but they are the ones who act out visibly, we can both see and hear them. That is a shame. The Spaniards are not like this.”

Reference 4

“Tourists keep to themselves, but those who come here are welcome. That is nice, and there are many tourists who are dropping by the Norwegian Church Abroad.”

Interviewee 05 showed anti-tourist attitudes towards her own existence in Spain, and labeled herself as a resident and preferably avoided tourist attractions. Nevertheless, Interviewee 05 did not show any anti-tourist attitudes towards regular tourists.

Interviewee 06

Reference 1

“Yes, we are just as tourists here in Spain. I do not know. Well, maybe. I speak bad Spanish, only a little.”

Reference 2

“I do not know how the neighbors look at me, if they look at me like a tourist. I do not know what the neighbors do by the way. When I go to the store I am quite a normal man. When you cannot speak Spanish it is not so much contact you can get with the Spaniard’s, none of the Spanish can speak English. Maybe some of the younger people can speak a little.”

Reference 3

“I think the Norwegian tourists behave quite well. They are at least popular when they come, at least the majority, but it probably goes both ways.”

Reference 4

“No, I’m not trying to avoid the tourists. Our circle here is the Norwegians too; we live in the same place. Since I have communication problems with the Spaniards it will be like that. We have some Spanish neighbors and most greetings are like “ola, ola,” and “good morning”. ”

Interviewee 06 showed little anti-tourist attitudes overall. He reported that there were little communication with the Spaniards and would rather be around other Norwegians.

Interviewee 07

Reference 1

“No, I do not regard myself as a tourist here in Spain. I see myself as resident. A Norwegian resident who do not speak much Spanish, but I understand some.”

Reference 2

“No, in this area here I do not feel that I am being treated like a tourist. There are so many residents and immigrants. We really are immigrants. So I do not think so.”

Reference 3

“Yes, in the worst tourist season in the summer I avoid it (tourist attractions like the beach and shopping); I try to go somewhere else.”

Reference 4

“Sometimes the Norwegians are a little drunk, and it could become a bit embarrassing. So it's almost like you would rather speak English instead of Norwegian (laughter) so that others do not realize that we are Norwegians. No, otherwise it's probably okay. If they behave like that then I think it's embarrassing.”

Reference 5

“If I am honest I would I would say i rather not meet with Norwegian tourists in Torrevieja (laughter).”

Interviewee 07 showed anti-tourist towards her own existence and towards tourism in Spain and at the same time reported little Spanish skills and being an immigrant in a heavy foreigner populated area.

Interviewee 08

Reference 1

“Yes, I feel that I am being treated like a tourist by the Spanish, I probably do. And it is because we do not speak the language well enough. Also, I think it has something do to with the area

where we live because we live in an area where there is very little Spaniards really. It is mostly Scandinavians.”

Reference 2

“I do not respond when I am treated like a tourist, because it must be expected. I think so, yes. We have come to a country here and they welcome us, so we have to expect to be seen as tourists.”

Reference 3

“The reality TV series is quite terrible, because it's not like that, not at all. How can they even send that stuff? I'm embarrassed. It is absolutely terrible.”

Reference 4

“I think that the behaviors of Norwegian tourists are good here, but we've been other places, like in Gran Canaria, where they do not behave well. But here we have not experienced anything that we did not think was all right.”

Reference 5

“No, I do not avoid Norwegian tourists. I enjoy talking to people, so it's nice when Norwegians come and we discover that there are several Norwegians who are here. And we have it very well here. So I would like to see more Norwegians here, I think it's terrific.”

Interviewee 08 has accepted that she is seen as a tourist and would like more Norwegians in Spain, although she showed some anti-tourist attitudes towards tourists that did not behave well.

Interviewee 09

Reference 1

“No, I do not regard myself as a tourist. You can say that it is difficult to integrate into the Spanish when you work and socialize with Norwegians all the time; it's about 2000 Norwegians

living here in L'Albir. It is also difficult to integrate into the Spanish, we are in the middle of being Norwegian, Spanish and tourists, and it's like a mix. But it is rare that we have the time to be a tourist here, we have an everyday life down here. So in many ways, we have as a common Norwegian life in Spain."

Reference 2

"No, I do not feel treated like a tourist. But you can say that we who are permanent residents, Spanish will be very happy if you learn some Spanish. I have Spanish friends so I know some Spanish, and they become very happy. I would not say they treat me like a tourist."

Reference 3

"Yes, I avoid tourist attractions, absolutely. Not only because of my own experiences, I believe that those who have lived here for a while withdraws further and further away from L'Albir and tourism. 20 years ago, L'Albir was just orange crops down to the sea. I think probably that the longer you stay the more you will be drawn away from the typical Norwegian."

Reference 4

"I have a good impression of Norwegian tourists down here; I welcome Norwegian tourists every day in the church here. I think that in this place (L'Albir) it is not a typical youth destination to travel down to, there is no young people who travel here to party. Thus, it becomes more elderly people who travel here, and I have certainly a good impression. I think I have almost not seen a drunken Norwegian, I have of course seen it, but it is very rare for the 5 years I have lived here."

Reference 5

"It's a split decision; part of our job at the church is welcoming Norwegians who are here for shorter or longer periods, you greet people in the door and we should welcome people, no matter

who they are. But in my private life it becomes a bit different. An example is the schools; the local school here has 250 pupils. Half of them were replaced from last year, it says little about how many people come down here. It is clear that I automatically select those, it may sound a bit cynical, that choose to remain here. Some are here for three months, some are here for six months and some are here for one year. How much energy should you use in private on people that you know will be leaving in three months? You socialize as usual, of course, but you might be more reserved in relation to entering into friendship with too many. It's a sea of people to choose here, we will automatically be friends with those who are permanent residents, are those that are here for slightly longer periods. That is it."

Interviewee 09 reported problems of being in the middle between the Spanish, Norwegian and tourism, although showing anti-tourist attitudes towards his own existence as a migrant in Spain he was very welcoming towards regular tourists.

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"No, I do not. No. Now I'm at work. But it was a wonderful time when I came down here in September and then we had six weeks of only summer. Then we could go swimming every day after work. We had no time to sunbathe, but for the swimming. If you had a tired body you could just swim it out. We were a bit in the pool, but mostly in the sea. So it was lovely, it was so great."

Reference 2

"Well, I have not been here much; it's so incredibly many Norwegian here. And in the restaurants it's the Englishmen who have fish and chips, you also have Chinese restaurant. There are not many people in the restaurants that are Spaniards either. So they probably see me as a

tourist. Yes, I believe so; I cannot speak their language when I buy something from them. So they see me as a tourist, absolutely.”

Reference 3

“No, we go on the market. We think it is fun. It's nice to go in the shopping streets, but we don't have time for sunbathing like tourists, but if we have time so maybe we can do it. But in winter now it's a little cold.”

Reference 4

“Have not seen that much, but that in general I know that there are some tourists who act stupid, especially if they have been drinking alcohol. They want wild parties and parties on the beach. Sometimes you can get a little embarrassed of being from Sweden or Norway.”

Interviewee 10 is fairly new as migrant in Spain and has accepted that she is seen as a tourist.

However she shows some anti-tourist attitudes by criticizing tourists that behave badly because of alcohol and may be embarrassed of being associated with drunken Norwegians in Spain.

Interviewee 11

Reference 1

“Yes, I think probably so because they do not know if I am a tourist or resident. So they probably think that I am a tourist.”

Reference 2

“It has been very good; now I only meet the tourists who come to church and they are completely sober, to put it that way (laughter). And otherwise it's rare I see someone who is drunk or disruptive. So in general it has been very good here in L'Albir, they enjoy themselves.”

Reference 3

“No, since I speak very little Spanish I think it's nice to meet tourists. Of course, when we go out to restaurants we go with people I know, you usually don't go to the restaurant with a random tourist. Here at the church we meet the tourists, and it seems like they are having a good time here.”

Interviewee 11 shows little anti-tourist attitudes and speaks of positive tourist experiences in L'Albir. She also reported having little Spanish skills and therefore prefers the company of Norwegians.

Interviewee 12

Reference 1

“No, I do not see myself as a tourist anymore. Maybe after my second year here I saw myself as a native, I did. I am working here, I make friends, networks and I have an apartment and car. To me that is native and normal. It's just a little warmer here.”

Reference 2

“No, I do not avoid the typical tourist attractions; I just do not have time for it. I'm not so much in Norwegian and Scandinavian spots, but it's not because I avoid it, it's just something I do not have time for. I sit down now and then on the beach with a chair, I do. But I've never been a beach person anyway; I prefer to be in the pool. I would rather go to Spanish places because I have a great interest in Spain and Spaniards.”

Reference 3

“Yes, I have an opinion. It's portrayed very falsely, it has in the media. It is very negatively focused. There are of course some Scandinavians that "ruins" it for others, it is clear that alcohol is a problem for some. The way of living here is completely different compared to Norway. Mostly what they write in the newspapers that I do not agree with, many people have

adopted an opinion about this city (Torrevieja) and the Costa Blanca and will therefore only drive through, just because of rumors and a negative image.”

Reference 4

“Yes, but I think there is much prejudice and guesses. They cling to the few stories that exist, which is negative. I think it's perfect to live here. As to what I've read and heard, I think that people have more negative than positive perceptions about living here. Had it not been for my job here I would not know if I'd live here. I probably would have moved to a larger and more Spanish Town. About half who live in Torrevieja are foreigners, and it was around 2070 Norwegians here, so it's not much Norwegians comparatively, about 1%. So I do not see them too much.”

Reference 5

“It depends on whether it is a daytime or night-time setting. They behave pretty much okay. In the evening, and night it becomes a little worse with some mischief. That's what happens when you go on vacation, and then it is okay. They are usually a little louder and more outrageous.”

Reference 6

“I think it's very nice to meet the tourists; I get the chance to promote what I do. But we are a small group of friends who are locals who runs shops here. We have Spanish friends, Hungarian, Polish, Russian and English. There are over 154 people who live in the city, it makes it interesting.”

Interviewee 12 shows little anti-tourist attitudes. The avoidance of tourism is not because of anti-tourism attitudes, rather from being so integrated in Spain that the notions of tourism has become insignificant and tourists are rather seen as potential customers.

Interviewee 13

Reference 1

“No, I do not regard myself as a tourist (laughter). I feel very integrated. I follow Spanish eating times, have Spanish friends, I speak Spanish and pretty much everything Spanish. I feel very integrated in relation to that.”

Reference 2

“No. No, that is, in the beginning when I came here 10 years ago i had to find my place and it was a lot of new culture, new work culture. Before I had been in the academic culture of Spain and now I was in the work culture suddenly. And I wanted to prove to the others that I was not a short-lived insect (Norwegian: døgnflue), because there are so many that are here 1 or 2 years and they go back again, that is what I mean by short-lived insect. So you must show that you are capable, that you are serious and all that. But now it's been so long and I have a proven it for all the people I'm close with and working with, so it is no longer a problem. So I do not feel that I am being treated like a tourist in any way.”

Reference 3

“No, but I avoid it during the summer when there is a lot of people here, especially national tourists. I avoid places like Carrefour, shopping centers and the beach that is right down here where I live (Playa de los Locos). Where you have to be five cm apart from everyone else. So then I take the car and head out to the larger beaches where there are less people. I have absolutely no objection to be tourists, because I'm kind of a tourist, but I do not feel like a tourist. I'm probably more settled and integrated than other tourists.”

Reference 4

“No, I do not have a Norwegian TV so I have not seen anything on Norwegian television in the last ten years so I have no opinion on how the Norwegians in Spain are portrayed.”

Reference 5

“Yes, I think maybe. They think that life in Spain is just a fun party. With cheaper alcohol and tobacco, everything is cheaper. But they must understand that no matter where you live there is an everyday life, whether you are a tourist, retired or self-employed. No one can live by partying 24 hours a day, because we have to pay for our things here and ne responsible and march on. We cannot lie on the beach all day.”

Reference 6

“I believe there are some tourists who are careless if I may say so. There are some that come and thinking they are king of the hill and are not mindful, that in Norway we are doing very well financially and some young people come here and may have a tendency to slip out a little on the party side. There's too much partying and loss of inhibitions and you lose the ability to tread carefully because there are many people who have financial problems. In particular the recent years following the financial crisis that came to Spain. There are people here who live below the minimum, then the Norwegians comes down here and parties and showcases that they have a lot, can leave for vacations and spend money. This may cause situations and conflicts with the Spanish and they may be robbed or beaten down.”

Reference 7

“I think it's okay to be with tourists and I think it's okay to be a tourist, but I cannot be a tourist here in that manner. But those who are tourists in general should be a little more careful and humble because the financial and social situations at the places they come to may not be so good.”

Reference 8

“I think it is not right to go to Spain on a chartered trip to sit in the Norwegian restaurants, eating Norwegian food and watching Norwegian television, everything to be Norwegian. That for me would not be Spain.”

Interviewee 13 shows some anti-tourist attitudes towards her own existence as a long-time migrant in Spain. Anti-tourist attitudes are more linked to tourists who do not behave while drinking and becomes careless and do not think about the country and the inhabitants they are visiting.

To summarize this anti-tourist attitudes section the results are both varied and somewhat surprising. The general theme is that the intermediately experienced and integrated migrant's show more anti-tourist attitudes towards tourists and the most experienced would rather spend their leisure time with Spaniards or other well integrated migrants. New migrants are split on the anti-attitudes of their own existence, in general the fulltime residents would rather not be associated with tourism while returning residents are more willing to accept to be seen as tourist, the common factor of new migrants are that they often do not speak the language and therefore prefers other Norwegians who are similarly not integrated in Spain.

An interesting observation is that Interviewee 12 and 13 who should be considered as the most integrated of the participants, have stepped beyond normal migration and considers themselves almost natives of Spain and have therefore have adopted a more tourist friendly attitude because their entrepreneurial businesses are dependent on tourists from Norway. Like some Spaniards they recognize that tourists are important for their financial situation.

Another interesting observation is that the seasonal migrants who only had stayed in Spain for a couple of weeks and had behavior similar to tourists would not identify themselves as tourists, only as *visitors*. It seems that several participants associates the word 'tourist' with

negative experiences such as drunkenness and making noises, which seems to be the biggest generator of anti-tourist attitudes among the participants.

4.3. Social differentiation

The chapter focuses on social differentiation, which is linked to feelings and behavior to how the migrants socially differentiate themselves from tourists. Some interviewees also mention social differentiation from Spaniards. All Interviewee and references are in chronological order.

Interviewees 01

Reference 1

“No... I cannot say. We have not had the time. We have been here (The Norwegian Club in Torrevieja) and drunk coffee and read newspapers.”

Interviewees 01 have only stayed in Costa Blanca for 3 weeks when the interview took place and have therefore little experience in social differentiation between migrants and tourists.

Interviewee 02

Reference 1

“Yes, you can see it a little bit. You quickly notice those who have never been here before.”

Reference 2

“Yes, we are freezing here now. When we see people who wear shorts in the city, we think that it is safe to say they are Norwegian or Swedish (laughter).”

Reference 3

“It does not give an accurate picture, as many Norwegians who live down here; we're talking about 50,000 on the Costa Blanca coast in winter. There is little that goes under the category of pure drinking trips. Although there is no doubt that it exists. But our biggest group is climate

refugees who live here; they are mostly pensioners and disabled who are here in the winter, and both autumn and spring. There are also those we have most of in the church. They live a relatively normal life; they just want to live in a warm climate. But then you have a few, what you can call drinking trips, but they are tourists, short-term tourists.”

Interviewee 02 is a fairly experienced migrant and focuses on clothing as one of the factors of differentiation between tourists and migrants. He reports that tourists from Norway and Sweden will wear shorts when the migrants wear long clothing during wintertime. Interviewee 02 also states that tourists are more likely to go to Spain on drinking trips while migrants are predominantly climate refugees.

Interviewee 03

Reference 1

“Yes, at least I hear the difference. We look quite the same. They are more reserved. Tourists have a completely different experience; they feel more like "oh, it's so nice here." They experience it and visit it. They may have been on the market or may have been robbed. It is typical tourist to be robbed. They lose both money and wallet, everything. It's typical tourism. So you have the residents, we are the more relaxed. We are perhaps a little more like the Spanish. But I am not relaxed and will never be. The personalities among Norwegians are different, but we do not dare to be different. Are we? ... There are not many people who dare to be different in a small town. They try not to stand out. I have North Norwegian genes so I'm a little different; we're talking straight from the liver. Norwegians try not to hurt anyone with their talking, but when the Spaniards talk it sounds like they are mad at each other. They sound like enemies, but are good friends afterwards. We Norwegians cannot bear to disagree any time and shall have the same opinions about everything. It gets very boring. But we need the rules; we

should not throw stones in glass houses of God. You should not taunt. It's someone who stands who is being bullied. And that is what the group is good at, find someone who stands out and bully on. That is the group's weakness that they think is strength. I'm that person. But I dare to be alone."

Reference 2

"What is the Norwegian lifestyle and traditions? It is very comfortable with a siesta; it's so hot that people cannot bear to work at midday. It's for practical reasons."

Reference 3

"I do not have to drink myself or is much outgoing. I'm 67 and still childish, but not so shy anymore. You cannot be shy when you're almost 70 years. When I was young they thought I was being superior, but I was just shy. Everyone has something good in them."

Reference 4

"I see how the rich Norwegians are in relation to Spanish; Spanish does not earn much money. Although prices are lower here everything's relative, it is just as expensive for those who live here, maybe even more expensive. I give to beggars, I do. I also give to people I know and may need a little bit what I do not need. I feel very well received. The same does not happen in Norway, where there are not many beggars, they are thrown away. We are well treated here in Spain."

Interviewee 03 mentions several different factors within social differentiation from tourists, other migrants and also Spaniards. She states that it's typical for tourists to get robbed and lose their valuables and they are there to experience and visit places while migrants are more relaxed.

Interviewee 03 also states that in a small community there is pressure to not differentiate too much from the others and that those differences may cause bullying. She also stated that

Spaniards are more aggressive talkers while Norwegians are afraid to hurt anyone with their talking and that Norwegians are generally richer than Spaniards. Drinking much alcohol was also mentioned as a differentiator between tourists and migrants.

Interviewee 04

Reference 1

“Yes, you see the difference between a resident and tourist. You can spot the tourist is if you go to the outdoor restaurants in Torrevieja down here, you can see quickly who is a tourist and who are permanent residents. Tourists who are 14 days or three weeks can be out and eat every day, all days. They do not make food at home. They like to eat out. And it is easy to spot them. It applies to some Norwegians and Swedes, Danes are a little better. Norwegians and Swedes stand out a little sometimes, so you can see that they are tourists. They think it is straight forward here; tourists do exactly as they want. But we must have laws and rules here.”

Reference 2

“Yes, Norwegians in Norway cannot understand what we do here to make the days to go by; they wonder why on earth we would travel down here. I had an acquaintance that could never imagine being here, now she has been here for three years. We are doing exactly the same as at home, we get up in the morning and make breakfast. We wash clothes, wash our cups and we are out shopping, go to cafes and meet other people. It is exactly the same as home here. There is almost no difference. Many Norwegians in Norway are negative about us; I think there is much envy basically and that they actually could imagine the same life.”

Interviewee 04 states two factors that socially differentiate migrants from tourists. The first is food; while tourists go out to restaurants and eat the migrant will have the majority of their meals at home. The second factor is that migrants live their everyday life in Spain, while tourists seek

the extraordinary. He also states that negative notions about Norwegian migrants in Spain originate from envy.

Interviewee 05

Reference 1

“I can see much difference between a tourist and residents in the winter, because we residents dress with jackets and long pants. Tourists come in t-shirts and shorts (laughter).”

Reference 2

“If one reads the daily newspapers, one can get a much skewed impression. It seems that journalists have gone to some hotel to interview people who are at the pool beds with drinks and believe that they are all that. We live a completely normal life here, just as we do in Norway. Some go on the tour of Spain with bus tours and guided tours, both south and north.”

Interviewee 05 has similar opinions to what previous interviewees have stated. Tourists have less clothing on compared to a migrant. Migrants also live the ordinary life while some Norwegians believe that they are living extraordinary like tourists.

Interviewee 06

Reference 1

“We are unfortunately very little on the typical tourist places like the beach; we only go there when we have visitors. When my daughter and son are visiting as they want to go down at the beach every day, otherwise we are never there. We eat at home more than we eat out. We are out maybe twice a week, something we never do at home. Very rare at least, and never now that we have grown older. It is very cheap to live down here. When we got home just before Christmas and were going grocery shopping, we got a great surprise; two bags of food costs 5-600 kroners. Here in Spain we can buy a lot for 50 euros, a cart full.”

Reference 2

“No, I do not see the difference between a resident and tourist. As long as you are a foreigner you are a foreigner, but we are treated nice and politely. It is we who have the money, and almost the entire city (Torrevieja) is full of tourists. They are very polite at the restaurants, the food is good and the people are nice, as long as you have money to pay. But it is like that everywhere.”

Reference 3

“I have seen on the reality series about Norwegians in the south, but I am very little interested in it, it has little to do with reality. Some believe that people go down here just for the alcohol, but that's just nonsense.”

Reference 4

“Yes, but I do not know quite what Norwegians in Norway think about us. Many people think it's just partying and drinking without worries (Norwegian: sus og dus), but it is not like that. But I am not sure if people have a particular perception about us.”

Interviewee 06 also states that migrants will have the majority of their meals at home. He also states that there are no visible differences between tourists and migrants and that there are only foreigners as one grouping. He, like other interviewees state that they are living normal life and are not there to drink alcohol and live life without worries.

Interviewee 07

Reference 1

“Sometimes, I maybe see the difference between a resident and tourist. How they dress, the tourist often dress with less clothes. If it is below 20 degrees they still wear their shorts, they are

on holiday in the south and will dress like it no matter what. But generally you cannot see the difference.”

Reference 2

“No, I am embarrassed to be Norwegian (laughter). Such TV shows are just extreme examples. Here it is not so much charter holidays; there is more on the Spanish islands.”

Reference 3

“It may well be that Norwegians in Norway has a special opinion of Norwegians in Spain, this would be portrayed as negative as it is on TV and in papers. And it's almost that Spain is portrayed as a kind of a developing country, but it has come as far as Norway and then some, with both this and that.”

Interviewee 07 also mentioned clothing as one of the biggest differentiator, even though she is an experienced migrant, Interviewee 07 did not recognize other factors of social differentiation between a tourist and a migrant.

Interviewee 08

Reference 1

“We are not really beach people, we are not. But I think we function like any other Spaniards who live here, we go to the markets and to shop for the groceries, the malls and we are attentive on what is happening in the city, going to concerts and do what the Spaniards are doing here. We glide into the environment really.”

Reference 2

“Yes, you see clearly the difference between a resident and tourist (laughter). They have very much clothes on. First and foremost, one can say that it's the clothes; they go with so little when they come here. We are usually well dressed. They are so thin clad and are concerned about the

sun when they arrive and if temperatures etc. is good, it's so much difference. They will experience things and, even if we have guests and they will be out we need to get ordinary things done as much as possible.”

Reference 3

“Yes, I think it's important to have both Spanish and Norwegian customs. When we are in Spain we are in Spain, we eat Spanish food and we go to the Spanish shops. We're not going to buy Norwegian food when we are here. We feel that we should do what is normal in the country we are in.”

Reference 4

“You can say that I do not really speak Spanish well, relatively poor language-wise, but I try. We're very much in the church here, it's very nice here. It's Spanish history evenings here, there are many Tuesdays during the year we have about Spanish history here, and it's pretty exciting. We also have Spanish dance groups and Spanish shows, we have flamenco shows here, and a lot of Spanish happens in the church here, we always try to attend them.”

Reference 5

“Yes, it is clear that people in Norway have a particular opinion about us. I even notice it with our friends and people we talk with at home that they say “we have seen this, is it like that?” ... It's absolutely horrible how they behave, how Norwegians behave like when they are in Spain, how they have it. It is quite a job to disprove it, how it really is in Spain. I think that the media and the newspapers give a negative impression of how it is in Spain.”

Interviewee 08 also brings up clothing as one of the biggest differentiator. She also brings up her own willingness to integrate the Spanish as another factor of differentiation from tourists and that migrants are living the ordinary life doing ordinary things in Spain.

Interviewee 09

Reference 1

“Yes, I see the difference between a resident and tourist. You can often see it by looking at them. It can be anything from a backpack on their back or socks in sandals to pale skin. There may be many things like that we can see on tourists. But we’ve been here for years so we know a lot of people and know who the residents here are.”

Reference 2

“I know down here in Spain the media might have made a fraudulent picture of how it really is, at least in the past. When the media came down here to make the interview about how Norwegians were abroad they may have done the interviews in bars and restaurants at 11 at night. I think it gives a skewed image of how things really are; in this municipality we have two Norwegian schools and 350 students in total. It says something about how many families that live here. Many live here for a short period, while some are living here permanently, and have their everyday lives here. It is wrong to focus on alcohol and restaurant life. I have the impression there is a Norwegian life down here. Of course we have challenges with social issues, but that exists in Norway too, of course. It's hard to say, but most often the media gives a skewed image of how it really is here. They are looking for headlines.”

Interviewee 09, like other migrants, focuses on clothing and their ordinary experiences as the main points of social differentiation from tourists and that media gives a false impression of how they actually live.

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

“Yes, i see the difference, I do yes. They have it worse financially, absolutely. If we have porridge left over here at the church, we will call a man, and he gives it to gypsies and the people living here. Tourists are leaving clothes which we collect and pass on to the poor. We see that there is much poverty and people who have a simple life. When we go to market we do not bargain a cent, because that's what they want and they need it.”

Reference 2

“There is so much more peace with a Norwegian resident and he does not complain so much. A tourist will go straight on, want to get through the sights and do a little of everything. Residents here often come to the church, we have very many good offers to what they can do, and the resident uses it extensively. So there is a difference there.”

Interviewee 10's first reference of social differentiation was about the difference between a Norwegian resident and a Spanish resident, where the focus was at the economic difference and the migrants' willingness to help the native residents. She also states that migrants are more peaceful and complains less than tourists. Migrants also use offers and services by the Norwegian Church Abroad more often than tourists.

Interviewee 11

Reference 1

“I love culture, so I try to get me some of that. Otherwise, I love to lie on the beach at times so I try to take part in both. When we have visitors from Norway there will be some tourist attractions that we go on. Otherwise, I'm on the diaconal team here at the church, we go to visit the hospital, two private hospitals to visit Norwegians there.”

Reference 2

“Yes, sort of, the residents have settled down and are probably keen to integrate into Spanish society, more than a tourist.”

Reference 3

“No, I have not felt it that much, but maybe someone believes we are living the sweet life here in Spain. I think most here probably comes because of their health and that is why they live here permanently.”

Interviewee 11 state that resident migrants are more settled and willing to integrate into the Spanish than tourists and also focuses on that some perceptions about the migrants are wrong and that the majority are health migrants, not party migrants.

Interviewee 12

Reference 1

“Yes, usually, because the tourists are very poorly dressed when they have just arrived here. But otherwise it's not that much difference. I can spot them if they come with a Bergans backpack.”

Reference 2

“I have adopted the Spanish way of life; I relax in the middle of the day and start working again afterwards and also the eating habits. I'm not feeling there so much I miss in Norway, pizza Grandiosa perhaps, and meatballs.”

Interviewee 12 also mentions clothing as one of the differences and states that there is not much visual difference between a resident migrant and a tourist. He also mentions that he have adopted the Spanish lifestyle, which differentiates himself from tourists.

Interviewee 13

Reference 1

“Yes, i see the difference. In general, there is a difference between those who work here, pensioners who are here and the tourists who come on charter for a few weeks. So you have three groups: those residents who work, the residents who are retirees and tourists who come here who might be children and grandchildren of pensioners. So you see the difference between them. The people who are working down here have probably a more normal life, pensioners have an everyday life here, but many do perhaps bring with them problems from Norway, like alcoholism, while the tourists who come here go to the beach, sunbathe on the beach and go out to eat at night and live only the good tourist life.”

Reference 2

“I’ve never been in a May 17 parade, and have never been near a May 17 parade. The first year I was in Spain I worked on May 17 and I was in a small town and met drunken Norwegians who were not so decent. They walked around with bare torsos and the world's largest flag. I am Norwegian and proud to be Norwegian, but the May 17th I celebrate when I'm in Norway. I have no need to confirm identity or nationality in front of anyone. I am myself. To celebrate the May 17th, Norway's Constitutional Day in Spain, for me is not quite understandable. Maybe it's okay if you have children and celebrate it for the children, with ice cream and food maybe. Beyond that I see no need to show the world that we are Norwegians. We are in Spain and many of those attending the May 17 parade criticizes when foreigners try to celebrate their national day in Norway. But then they come here and celebrate without even worrying about the Spaniards' feelings.”

Reference 3

“Most Norwegians who live here think it is a different situation than when foreigners come to Norway, because they leave money behind in Spain, and apparently the foreigners do not when

they come to Norway (irony). For me, it is very wrong, because it does not matter if you have money or not, because you are a guest in a foreign country and that must be respected.”

Interviewee 13 is differentiating between two types of migrants compared to tourists. She states that working migrants have the most ordinary life while some other migrants might bring problems with them from home, but still try to live a normal life. Tourists on the other hand seek the extraordinary and will not live the ordinary life. She also indicates that she is well integrated in Spain and will therefore not exuberantly celebrate her nationality in front of Spaniards which may be considered as rude behavior by Spaniards.

To summarize this section about social differentiation, the most important factor seems to be clothing, which is of course the easiest to perceive visually. Migrants show that they are acclimated in Spain by displaying heavy clothing during wintertime, while tourists who are acclimated to the colder Norwegian climate will experience the Spanish winter as warm weather and will therefore wear less clothes than the experienced resident migrant. Another social differentiation is that resident migrant feels strongly that they are living the ordinary life and do the same ordinary things that they would do at home in Norway. Several interviewees claim that resident migrants are more peaceful, settled down and willing to integrate into the Spanish society while tourists seek the extraordinary, eat their meals at restaurants and will not live their life as they would home in Norway. Several interviewees also do not want to be associated with drinking alcohol and living the sweet life which is often associated with tourists and state instead that health is the major motivation for migrating to Costa Blanca.

4.4. Authenticity

Interviewees 01

Reference 1

Man: *“That is an interesting question. We have no other intention than to stay here and walk here without slipping on ice and breaking bones. We are not here to get to know Spain and travel around the city and see the museums. We are here to walk and feel well. We have walked several miles almost each day. It is a nice small town (Torrevieja), where you don’t get plenty of traffic, lots of people, lots of pocket thieves, and a lot of shit that you would rather not have. Both in Barcelona and Madrid one must have a tight grip on clothes and bags and stuff.”*

Reference 2

“Norway and it will always be Norway. It will never happen with the setting we have now that we can call Spain home. I’ve never been interested in investing in anything just to be stuck in one vacation place. I have always had the attitude that on vacation, you can drive around a bit and be here and there to become familiar with new environments. And I think probably that even if we get 2-3 winters here, so it may well be that we are going another place in the winter. Can be anywhere, could be Morocco and Turkey. Woman: No, not Turkey. (Laughter)”

Interviewees 01 state that they are only in Spain to get away from the Norwegian winter and have no interest in any authentic Spanish experiences. Their motivations for seasonal migration are purely superficial and have no real connection to Costa Blanca.

Interviewee 02

Reference 1

“No, I do not feel that we are experiencing the real Spain. We have to enter the inland, and live in a typical Spanish small-town. Here, I think it's too little Spaniards, especially where I live it is very little. I miss living more in a Spanish setting.”

Reference 2

“It is both. We have a house in Norway, but we are working here and we have a house here in Spain so we call it home.”

Reference 3

“For me it is important to learn from the Spanish lifestyle, what they think and do. I am not very interested to have the Norwegian lifestyle, but I'm definitely interested in learning Spanish things. It is clear some things you do not quite understand, like siesta, for example. We feel it is difficult to adjust to, people are working so late in the evening.”

Reference 4

“Very little Spanish activities, most activities we are doing here (Norwegian Church), we also have Spanish culture here at the church. But there is too little, far too little.”

Reference 5

“It is clear that there are so many Norwegians at work here, so sometimes it is nice to have contact with the Spaniards, and mingle with them in the spare time, and it is not a secret.”

Reference 6

“I think many would like to learn Spanish, but once you get a bit older it is not so easy, as if you were taking a course in school. I know that personally, and I do not think Spanish is an easy language. ... The most important thing is to practice the language, and then you'll enjoy it.”

Interviewee 02 states that he does not live an authentic life in Spain and indicates that it is because of all the foreigners who live nearby that they are the biggest reason for inauthenticity.

Although he speaks fluent Spanish, prefers to mingle with Spaniards in his leisure time and calls Spain his home it is not enough to have a genuine Spanish life. He states that an authentic Spanish lifestyle can only be achieved if you are living in a small town of inland Spain.

Interviewee 03

Reference 1

“What is “real”? We have different points of view.”

Reference 2

“Spain is what you see today, which is over the fence here and outside the gate. There are a lot of English here. It is a little different to stay in a Spanish area. In this area you need to speak much English, and there are few Englishmen who learn Spanish, some do. I feel my time here as real, because I have been working on the sea and been many places in the world and seen. I am very alert and welcoming, very active. Maybe even to someone's irritation.”

Reference 3

“Away is well, home is best (laughter). No, I would never call Spain as my home, but I have the house here. It is my residence, but I pay taxes to Norway. I also pay what I need here too. So I do not know completely, it may be my replacement home until further notice. But I have my home in Norway still. Many have burned all the bridges and sold everything at home. After 10 years so many people think of moving home, the reason I do not know, but many do. We're Norwegian, and the home country is always Norway, I believe. One thing, to have manners is international, to look at each other's eyes, smile, say “good morning”, be polite and have respect for each other. It is international. Our body language, being more open, it matters a lot. You do not have to speak perfect Spanish, English, German or French. If you are opening up more, make eye contact, attention when people talk with you. It is important.”

Reference 4

“Integrated? Yes. It is very open here, people greet and shake my hand and says, “So likeable you are,” it's not often you experience that. I feel my world as very open, that I get in touch with people.”

Reference 5

“I am one of the few who have gone to the Spanish College, learned Spanish and have Spanish teachers. In order to communicate better, I have Spanish banks and have no problem with it. I'm lucky, I feel privileged. I will help and share my benefits with others.”

Reference 6

“I brag about my country. I am very proud of my home country. It is a great place to live. The priest here is very good at creating a bridge between the Spanish and Norwegian culture.”

Interviewee 03 state that her existence on Costa Blanca is authentic because she has lived here for a long time, know some local Spaniards and have learned some Spanish and feels integrated. She also state that Spain today is what you see on Costa Blanca where foreigners almost outnumber Spaniards in some places, and that Norway will always be ‘home’ for Norwegians.

Interviewee 04

Reference 1

“Yes, we get it all here. Culture we have here, Spanish evenings we have here at the church. I'm really into Spanish history here. As long as you pay attention and are joining, it is very much happening here at the church, also theme nights about Spain. So we get much more culture than people who come here for 14 days and are staying in hotels.”

Reference 2

“It is Norway which is home, oh yes. You know when it starts to get hot here in May, when it is 20-25 degrees in the evening and at night, we miss home. My wife is very fond of the spring, but we have not bothered about it lately, the last two years we've been here in May. We usually travel back to Norway during spring time. When it is May 17 here, there are so much Norwegians out here to celebrate May 17 in the streets.”

Reference 3

“Yes, I think it's important to keep the Norwegian tradition, I do. But it's not so easy to lose some traditions here either. It was here at Christmas, and I think it was a little sad; we went to the church and ate Christmas dinner. There was fake snow, packages and Christmas trees. But we usually go home for Christmas; we have two grown daughters in Norway and five grandchildren.”

Reference 4

“No, do not speak Spanish. I can speak some, however. I am learning a little. The people I spend time with are speaking English. Spaniards are also good at speaking English. We are always going to the Three Kings festival on January 4, with all the spectacle and Spaniards. Then we are together with the Spaniards, eating by the harbor. I like going to the church here as well; I am here a lot, 3-4 times a week. I live not too far away so it's a short distance to walk.”

Interviewee 04 states that the Norwegian traditions are most important, and is not very interested in living a Spanish life and considers Norway to be home. He indicates that he enjoys Spanish culture evenings at Church.

Interviewee 05

Reference 1

"It's like my girlfriends who say, "What are you doing in Spain for a whole year?" Then I reply: "What are you doing in Norway throughout the year?", "Hahahaha" they answer then. I do the same here as in Norway, I cook, I shop and I am involved with the church here, The Norwegian Church Abroad. I have more acquaintances and friends here than I have in Norway."

Reference 2

"Yes, I feel I am experiencing the 'real' Spain more than a tourist."

Reference 3

"Both are home. But it is Norway that is completely at home, I have family there."

Reference 4

"I am not out late as some Spaniards do and I do not have much siesta ... On Wednesdays I work as a hostess in the church, it means that I greet everyone who comes here and I welcome them in."

Reference 5

"I speak Spanish and have Spanish neighbors. It is very international in the street I live, like Spanish, French, German, English, Scots, Norwegians and Swedes. But I have no activities outside this church."

Interviewee 05 states that she experiences the 'real' Spain more than tourists would, but at the same time she lives in an international neighborhood, works as a volunteer at the Norwegian Church Abroad, and has no Spanish activities in her leisure time. She does consider Spain as her home, but Norway is seen as the principal home because of family.

Interviewee 06

Reference 1

“Do not quite know what the real Spain is, almost only tourists who live here. Sometimes we take a ride and drive inland. They see us as foreigners, and it does not matter to us.”

Reference 2

“I still see Norway as my home. I say “we go home to Norway,” when we travel to Spain we are travelling to Spain, nothing more.”

Reference 3

“Yes, I keep my Norwegian habits and traditions. I am too old for anything else. It is not so good when I have communication problems; I speak very little Spanish and poor English.”

Reference 4

“No, I do not feel integrated in Spain and I am not attempting to do so. I thrive as a tourist and a foreigner.”

Interviewee 06 does not claim to have an authentic life as a migrant in Spain and indicates that his motives are superficial and considers himself as a tourist and a foreigner in Spain. He also indicates that the authentic Spain is inland and not by the coast.

Interviewee 07

Reference 1

“You know what? I do not think I experience the real Spain more than a tourist. In this area here, there are a lot of tourists and immigrants who live here so it is not the genuine Spanish; you have to go inland to get it.”

Reference 2

“It is Spain that is home. But it's also Norway... Both places are home.”

Reference 3

“I am very keen to keep the Norwegian customs and traditions, yes, but I'm also interested in the Spanish traditions and customs. But Christmas and everything similar is very important.”

Reference 4

“No, I'm not integrated into Spanish society. Friends and everything is Norwegian, so I am not integrated in the Spanish, no.”

Interviewee 07 admits that she is not integrated in Spain nor experiencing an authentic Spanish life and indicates that her lifestyle revolves around the Norwegian community. She also states that you have to go to inland Spain to experience the authentic Spain.

Interviewee 08

Reference 1

“Well, I really feel that I live here, I do. When we are here then we say that we are going home to Norway, but when we are in Norway, then we say that we are going home to Spain. So I feel really that we live here, we have a Spanish car and we are really functioning in the society here.”

Reference 2

“It is very difficult to say whether I experience the real Spain more than a tourist. For we live in a very touristic area. It's not exactly very genuine; I think we need to stay more in the inland of the country, where there is a little more Spanish around. So I think we would slide into a little more into the real there. The way we live now I do not feel that it is the real Spain actually.”

Reference 3

“Both are home, certainly both. We're Norwegian, and we realize that we are Norwegian. But when we are down here I feel very Spanish. I must say that since we have children and

grandchildren at home we get a little homesick, that is clear. But when I'm in Norway I wish to go to Spain, we've got a lot of friends here. Then we take a week's trip home when we are here."

Interviewee 08 states that she feels like she is living a Spanish life as a migrant on Costa Blanca. However, she also states that where she lives has many tourists and has therefore little Spanish genuineness and therefore feels that the setting is not the real Spain. Interviewee 08, like other interviewees, stated that the authentic Spanish can only be found in inland Spain.

Interviewee 09

Reference 1

"I believe absolutely that I experience the real Spain more than a tourist, I personally have several experiences with Spanish craftsmen each day, I have to make orders in Spanish, I have to take part in the Spanish community, and I speak Spanish every day. I am probably treated as a normal resident, in a way."

Reference 2

"I think that both Norway and Spain are both a bit home, that is, when we're going to Norway in the summer then we say that we are going home, but when we have been on holiday in Norway then we say that we are going home to Spain. It's both; you get in a way a second home. But if it's Norway or Spain, which is home, I have not decided yet. We have lived here for over 5 years and have established ourselves with a house so we feel this is most at home right now."

Reference 3

"When it comes to food we like to have the Norwegian cuisine and have the Norwegian brown goat cheese on the table and stuff like that. But otherwise we try to strive to approach the Spanish with paella and enjoy the Spanish food culture. But there are some things that are very difficult to adopt, such as working hours. Most Spaniards have the siesta time in the middle of

the day, so they go back to work at 4:30 and works until 8 in the evening. It's something we Norwegians are spoiled on. The day rhythm is not something we strive for. Maybe we can have the best of both cultures.”

Reference 4

“I feel partially integrated because of the language is very important to be integrated. For now, I manage myself in Spanish, but as long as you are not able to have deep conversations, it is difficult to integrate fully. But I have Spanish friends and we do the best to integrate us, but it's a bit difficult to integrate actually. I have four kids; two of them have been in Spanish schools here, so they are fluent in Spanish. Even so, you're always foreigner here. I've talked to people who have married into Spanish family and have lived here for 20 years still feels like a foreigner. I think the best you can do to integrate is to learn the language and then you come far. But you will never be completely integrated as a foreigner no matter what, I think.”

Reference 5

“Yes, I think that for Norwegians living in Norway, it seems wonderful to live here in Spain. And they may have been influenced by the image the media has given over time. But there is a TV series on television now that is called "Far from home" (Norwegian: “Langt hjemmefra”) where the Norwegian Church Abroad is featured, it shows Norwegians in different situations in different countries. And it gives a better depiction of how things actually are.”

Interviewee 09 states that he feels integrated and have enough Spanish experiences in his everyday life to call it a ‘real’ or authentic life in Spain. He also claims that a foreigner will never be able to be completely integrated in Spain, even though you can speak the language fluently and have a Spanish family. Interviewee 09 strives to adopt the Spanish culture, but also admits that he would like the best from both cultures.

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

“Yes, I think I do. I would say so. We travel around and visiting villages, experiencing a lot of things and see how they really live and it was incredibly simple. When we were up in a small town here we were at a restaurant, there was a woman named Mercedes that was the owner. In the restaurant there were lots of cloths hanging from the ceiling with writing and pictures. She could speak no English, and we could not speak Spanish. We wanted to have freshly squeezed orange juice. Then we had to take an orange and showed her to do "so and so" and we understood each other that way. So we found some “pearls” like that here. We were traveling to Torrevieja and was in a house which they called "the shell house", it was a person who had pasted on the house over 500 000 shells over 12 years. It was very special. So now he had opened for people to add a few euros in a box so he could get something to live on. It's good that some people try to do nice things they could live on.”

Reference 2

“It is Norway which is home, absolutely.”

Reference 3

“Yes, it is still the Norwegian traditions which is important, I know too little of the Spanish.”

Reference 4

“No, cannot say that I feel integrated, but it's a bit special with L'Albir since it is such a large Norwegian colony. There are so many Norwegians who go to Spain but they do not want to go here, they want to speak Spanish and learn Spanish. They think it's too many Norwegians here.”

Interviewee 10 refer to her trips to two attractions as evidence for authentic experiences in Spain, but generally she does not feel integrated in Spain and lives in L'Albir, a Norwegian colony and admits there are too many Norwegians there to experience the genuine Spain.

Interviewee 11

Reference 1

“No, I do not. I see myself as part of Spanish society, but I understand that the Spaniards have some difficulties in integrating us who come to settle permanently. It is perhaps difficult to speak Spanish, because we work here at the Norwegian Church Abroad, here we speak Norwegian at all times. If you are going to grocery store it's the supermercado, where you can just go and say what you want, so there is also little talking. Where I live there are a number of Englishmen and Dutchmen. So it's a bit difficult to integrate into Spanish society. But you can take part in cultural things. I have been to concerts and they are held here by the Spaniards. So it is very important.”

Reference 2

“I live a little on the outside of L'Albir, so maybe I do. But in L'Alfaz del Pi municipality there are many foreigners who live, and then it becomes sort of a ghetto for foreigners here. There are very few resident Spaniards living in L'Alfaz del Pi municipality, it is perhaps 40% or something like that.”

Reference 3

“Right now, my home is in Spain, but we've also a home in Norway where we have a house. And we are often watching Norwegian television so we keep track of all the political happenings in Norway.”

Reference 4

“Yes, when we go to restaurants we go out later and we eat later than normal and when we eat together we also have dinner later than in Norway. We also have a siesta in the middle of the day, so we have adopted some Spanish customs and traditions.”

Reference 5

“The Norwegian Church Abroad is the first priority, but we try to get some Spanish traditions if there is a cultural event happening.”

Reference 6

“Well, I have not seen on the reality series, actually, but I have heard about it. It fits very poorly compared to how the people really are here, at least in this area. So even if there is someone in the main street here now and maybe drinking a little too much, I would think that 80 - 90% of the residents have a real normal life without excessive behavior in any way. So I would say that Charter Fever series is exaggerated. You see here today many people who play boccia and they try to have a normal everyday life.”

Interviewee 11 lives in L’Albir which is a Norwegian colony; she calls it an ‘almost-ghetto for foreigners’ and states that she speaks Norwegian all the time. The need to learn Spanish is therefore nonexistent in L’Albir. Interviewee 11 state that Spain is her home and that she has adopted some Spanish traditions, but still prefers activities in The Norwegian Church Abroad.

Interviewee 12

Reference 1

“No, I do not, because now I speak the language fluently. Then you get a different treatment from them, even if they see that I am a foreigner. I want to speak Spanish, but sometimes they prefer to speak English, so then they speak English and I speak Spanish. There are many people who do not know Spanish and they start speaking English with Spanish, but if they manage to

...speak some Spanish words the Spaniards are very pleased. They feel strongly about, as the French and Italians, that you integrate yourself in Spain, in the language and culture.”

Reference 2

“It is Spain that is home, it is. That's because I have friends and networks and what I mentioned earlier. I also had parents who lived here for seven years before they moved home three years ago. I am in Norway once or twice a year on holiday, usually celebrate Christmas there. Before I celebrated Christmas every other year in Spain, but now it is every year in Norway. Trying to go to Norway in July during summer, but then it is high season here so it is not so easy to go.”

Reference 3

“I feel well integrated into Spanish society, I have started my own company, know the laws and regulations, have employees who are Spaniards. I do feel like it.”

Interviewee 12 states that he is well integrated in Spain and feels that it is his home. Interviewee 13 also have his own company, speaks the language fluently and do no participate in Norwegian activities.

Interviewee 13

Reference 1

“I live in the real Spain; you have to live in it to experience it. To put it another way: I am not part of the Norwegian culture in Spain, I do not go to Norwegian restaurants, hanging not with the Norwegians and I do not go to the Scandinavian shopping center. I follow the Spanish systems.”

Reference 2

“I say that here in Spain is home, but Norway is home at home with mum and dad. But I have no particular life or a place to stay in Norway right now.”

Reference 3

“I live probably the Spanish lifestyle, but I still have some traditions from Norway, the Norwegian traditions. Some important traditions are still stuck in me. For example: baked saffron buns for Christmas, decorating for Christmas and stuff like that, things that have become regular. I take bit of this and some of that and then mix it together into a strange result. It might be 50/50, but I live in a Spanish way when I live here. The old traditions are well engraved in me; they are with me no matter what.”

Reference 4

“Yes, I feel fully integrated in Spanish society. If I have with me some Spaniards who want to experience or sample Norwegian cuisine it may be that we visit some Norwegian sites. Or if I have visiting Spanish who want to try some Norwegian food I may go to the Scandinavian shopping center to buy food. But I also try to have the people closest to me integrated in my roots and my traditions so they can have tasted the Norwegian flavor. I think it’s important that they understand a little of my roots too.”

Reference 5

“One must support the local community that they have around them also support the Norwegian community, but if you want to see the Spanish, one must seek out the Spanish. Then you have to go outside the community, but you don’t have to go far to experience it. Simply go to the city center of Mijas, there you have the Spanish. But one should also be trying to participate in local festivities when it is organized by the Spanish.”

Interviewee 13 states that she is very integrated in the Spanish society; she speaks fluently Spanish, has Spanish friends and does not seek Norwegian activities. However, old traditions and

her roots from Norway are still important. Interviewee 13 also claims that if you seek genuine Spanish experiences you have to avoid all activities connected to the Norwegian community.

To summarize this section on authenticity, it arguably seems that participants who live in the Norwegian colony in L'Albir and international neighborhoods in Torre Vieja does not feel like they are living authentic Spanish lives. The major deviation from this appears to be the language factor. Participants who have a perceived stronger command of the Spanish language have reported more authentic Spanish lives than participants who do not speak Spanish. The participants who speak Spanish are apparently more willing to go outside of the Norwegian community, have Spanish friends and seek connections in the Spanish community. This strongly indicates that language is the catalyst to authentic Spanish experiences and everyday life.

Several participants also reported that authentic experiences could only take place inland of Spain and claimed that internationalism and tourism weakened the possibility for an authentic Spanish life. This indicates that the participants feel that tourism and internationalism corrupts the authentic Spanish, which is why the coastal Spain is not considered as a possible area for genuine experiences. Some participants stated that they enjoyed Spanish theme nights in The Norwegian Church Abroad, while not showing much motivation to go out the actual Spanish places to experience the Spanish culture. This indicates that a majority of the migrants prefer the staged authenticity of the Spanish culture (MacCannell (1973) as they have the security of a Norwegian community while experiencing something different.

4.5. Conflicts and relationships

This chapter focuses on conflicts, but also anti-conflicts, that the participants reported during the interviews. Conflicts or anti-conflicts relate to the participating migrants relationship

with tourists, resident Spaniards and also fellow migrants. Interviews and references are presented in a chronological order.

Interviewees 01

Reference 1

Man: *“We think Spanish people are wonderful, we cannot speak Spanish but we communicate as best as we can. I think it is very poor knowledge of English among Spaniards in general, both younger and older. But with a little chat and gesturing you can get what you want. And I think they are easy to get in contact with, they do the best they can, although they do not speak the English language. So we have nothing to complain about when it comes to the Spaniards. But to mention a negative factor, there are many dogs in the area. But not everyone is good at picking up crap from the dogs.”*

Reference 2

“No, except for those who reflect on the whining. I do not think it's common to have something against those who invest in an apartment in Spain, everyone who wants should do it. But those who travel down here and use the energy to write in the newspaper how awful it is here, I think that's pathetic.”

Reference 3

“But there are many who go down here and are fascinated with easily accessible alcohol, neglecting their kids and driving while drunk. That might one read about, but we have no relationship to it.”

Reference 4

“It's nice to meet the Norwegians. It's exactly the same for us with the Norwegians, whether they are residents or tourists. It is the same home in Norway, it's not all that are open and think it

is fun to get to know people. Many will keep for themselves, but I think it is good to get to know people. I know many people here (The Norwegian Club) and I go and talk with them here.”

Reference 5

“I think it has been positive, have nothing negative to say about Spaniards. Except that even the younger ones who are in business and similar, I had expected adequate knowledge of English that we could converse in an easy manner. It is bad, I think, that surprised me.”

Reference 6

“No, I think not. I am pleasantly surprised by the traffic, for I have heard a lot about, that they drive directly through everything like the Italians, but it is not true. They stop and let you go across the street, they wave and smile. That was a positive surprise.”

Interviewees 01 state that they believe the Spanish people are wonderful, open and welcoming people. However, they are also frustrated with the language barrier and complain about the Spaniards lack of English knowledge. They are also unhappy with the owners that do not pick up their dogs' feces. Interviewees 01 are in general pleased to meet other Norwegians, both tourists and residents, but show disdain for tourists who abuses alcohol and publically complain about the conditions in Spain.

Interviewee 02

Reference 1

“I think there are some above average tourists that they are in the upper class, with a superior way of being, at least when they in hospitals or restaurants, they almost expect that people are going to speak Norwegian, at least in English. Spanish generally, speaks little English. It is mostly highly educated people who might have learned some English. In private hospitals they have interpreting services, but public hospitals do not have interpreters. It is about 20-25

different languages, with lots of nationalities that are down here. Then they are told that they must fend for themselves. The Spanish want to save money, so they do it like this. So the people do not always understand what is happening.”

Reference 2

“It's a little varied; it is one part that can be called language problems. It is the cultural differences that make it possible to misunderstand each other a bit. Even here at the church, we have not focused on having Spanish-speaking. So at hospital where I am a deacon and showed that I could speak Spanish I was told, "Finally, a Norwegian who speak Spanish." So it is clear that they are frustrated that Norwegians do not speak better Spanish than they do. It is a language barrier.”

Reference 3

“I think probably Spaniards would benefit from learning better English. I think they start a little later (with English), and they have a weaker English teaching than we have in the Norwegian school. As a big tourist country like Spain, I think they would have benefited from it. They are not as the French, who have no interest in talking English, which is not the problem. It's more about English being a little difficult language for the Latin language group to learn. That is where the problem lies. Some Spaniards may also think as the French, "they come here they must speak Spanish".”

Interviewee 02 state that there are some Norwegians tourists who come to Spain on their high horse and believe that they are better than others and think that the Spaniards should now know Norwegian or English, and Interviewee 02 indicates that he does not approve of such behavior. Although he understands the reason why Spaniards do not speak better English, he states that it

would be in their own interest to learn more English, and would probably profit on it on a longer basis.

Interviewee 03

Reference 1

“Norwegians talk a bit much behind the back and gossip, they do. ... I think most people would have more benefits from learning the language. They say for example: “They do not even speak English here.” They're not talking English when they have not learned it in school. They learn French, and Spanish is one of the major languages of the Western world. Why should the Spaniards learn English?”

Reference 2

“It is so nice to meet the Spaniards, and I always feel welcome. When we meet Norwegians or Swedes who go to the park here, they do not even greet each other. It is our culture; there is nothing wrong with it. It's just so shut in and heavy, especially when you are widowed and alone. If you talk to someone in the group, they have perhaps other views on it.”

Reference 3

“I speak a little Spanish, I'm outgoing and greet and smile a lot. So I will not be considered as anything, I feel included in the urban landscape. It's not something I have contemplated. I am treated like a human.”

Reference 4

“One should not be too active, according to some. I really enjoy the Norwegian Church Abroad; its mission is to be inclusive.”

Reference 5

“What is not so good, "taking a Spanish one" as they say, is that you do not arrive at the correct times and appointments. I do not like that. Appointments are essential to keep. People in Spain have some different thoughts about the time and keeping time. Spaniards have a little more fluid time, but they are good workers. They are very clever and have determination. Many believe that the Spaniards are lazy. Norwegians keep themselves among the Norwegians; there are so many Norwegian clubs here. There are no Spaniards who are included there. I do not go to The Norwegian Club, it is narrow-minded. The club has a structure that is difficult to penetrate; you will not find that here (Norwegian Church).”

Reference 6

“But I also experience the opposite, that I will be scorned because I am who I am. Perhaps it is not only typical Norwegian, but also Swedes, Britons and even Indians do. People do not like that other people get more attention. Less attention is okay, but not more. By all means, not more attention. “Law of Jante” (Norwegian: Janteloven) has never bothered me. Bullying, we did not experience bullying when I was young. It has come with all the other new that have come, ADHD and all that, right. So now we are judged from head to toe, what you fail at. Not what you have, but everything that is wrong with you. But it is not typical Norwegian either, it has become like this all over the world. You have to try to be vigilant, take care of the new and the old people. They do not care about me, because I can take care of myself.”

Reference 7

“I have so many positive experiences, but one should not close their eyes to the negative things you can fix, hypothetically. I take care of my own business, but I'm not afraid to say that we Europeans have a lot to learn, how we treat each other. Take part in each other and include

each other, not make too many cliques, for groups are difficult to get through. Here in Spain we can learn a lot, I think.”

Reference 8

“If I were to judge a man after my first impression, it will say more about how I see myself in that person; it is myself I judge. You recognize yourself in that person, what I see in myself, I can see in others, and judge me. Isn't that wonderful? Judging others on the basis of your own person.”

Reference 9

“We must begin with ourselves; we cannot address other people like they do here. It is quite serious. It's something about manners and courtesy, some people have difficulty learning how to address fellow man in a polite manner. ... It is dangerous to speak too much, although we have freedom of expression in Norway, it is the special groups who are allowed to benefit themselves of the freedom, while others are gagged out. There are such things as I am concerned with, it is so important to have friends. That's why people go in groups; they do not dare to be alone.”

Reference 10

“To put it simply, I avoid all Norwegian. Except the church here, where I go. I do not seek Norwegians, I have so many nice neighbors who are English, German, Spanish, Italian, Austrian, Polish, and I feel it provides better company. So I do not seek the typical Norwegian, but I do not always avoid it. I do not avoid the people of Norwegian Church Abroad here. And most people are nice, obviously. I cannot go around thinking that people are negative, that says more about me.”

Reference 13

“They do not take into account Norwegians more than others, but the respect of fellow human beings. They have a completely different relationship to family and take care of the elderly. It has something to do with upbringing and education, and respect. We Norwegians have unfortunately lost some of it. The elderly are tossed in the old homes where they lose everything. If you lived with your grandmother, you would have learned a lot from her. People who are well educated are much easier to talk to than people who have butted heads in the wall and might not want to learn more. They are difficult to deal with.”

Interviewee 03 state that she has a good relationship and attitudes towards Spaniards. The conflicts seem to relate to people in general, especially Norwegians and Nordic people in Spain, and mainly other migrants. Interviewee 03 indicates that she feels bullied and shut out of some social groups, or cliques, inside the Norwegian community in Torre Vieja and therefore avoids everything Norwegian except the church itself and seeks therefore the Spanish inclusiveness. She states that other Europeans have a lot to learn from the Spaniards, including respect, inclusiveness and manners. The only conflict she has with Spaniards seems to be related to time, and she thinks Spaniards sometimes are not so good at showing up for appointments at the correct time.

Interviewee 04

Reference 1

“Some Spaniards are very nice, but other Spaniards have a problem with many people. I know some Spaniards who have gotten unemployed, and they are very bitter and such. So they always say that “Scandinavians have enough money”, so they are slightly more bitter than they have been before, especially young people. But Spaniards are very nice people. I enjoy being with them.”

Reference 2

“Siesta is something darn silly, I cannot understand what they are still doing with it, now have their air conditioning and everything, they have mid-day off work because they think it is too hot. People are starting to work at 8 o'clock in the morning and work to 2 pm and are the home until 17 and then they work to 9 in the evening. I do not care for it; it's a minus in Spain, the siesta of theirs.”

Reference 3

“I have an opinion on the reality series. There is a place called the Lomas, up in the hills north of here. It is home to many retired Norwegians, and they are living a life that is not good. They drink away the pension and have no more money left, getting debt and are unable to make up for their debt and have even less money next month. It is very much like that here. There are many lonely here, they travel to Spain and come here to enjoy life. But you cannot enjoy life alone here. They do not go out, they shut themselves in and then it is easy to drink beer and wine. It is somewhat common here. And the church has also the deacons here and they send out people to those who cannot manage themselves and need help.”

Reference 4

“We are very well treated by the Spaniards, it is not a problem. Right now there are many Spaniards who are tense and they have bad economy. Someone must leave their houses, so right now there is a crisis here and it affects the mood of the people. People are not willing to chat much; they have so much to think about. We had a Spanish man as a neighbor, who owned the house. Now he does not own it, the bank took it so now he rents it from the Housing Bank. He has lost all his money, but as long as he pays the rent he allowed to live there. It is very difficult to sell these days. So I'm sad because I feel sorry for them. So we give a lot of money to poor

children, there are collections everywhere. Also in the Norwegian bakery and we collect a lot into it.”

Reference 5

“Yes, I think they should create better conditions for foreign who come here and have more brochures and things in both English and Spanish. If you find some brochures here it is only in Spanish. If you buy a manual, it is only in Spanish. There is no bother with anything else. And even doctors here hardly speak English. We have a regular doctor; we who live here have a business card as we call it, with the doctor. And they say that Spanish is the primary language and not English. You must bring a translator everywhere, if you come to a public office you can't understand anything, the bank here has become much better. But the first year I was here in the bank they could only speak Spanish. Then we got problems. Now it has changed a lot. So they should be better to have it in both English and Spanish.”

Interviewee 04 indicates that he generally has a good relationship with the Spaniards, although he does not like the tradition of siesta and he feels that some Spaniards are bitter and frustrated due to the bad economy and may take some of the frustration out on Norwegians, he however feels sorry for their situation. He also states that Spaniards could be better at making more information available in English, not just Spanish. Interviewee 04 also indicates that he does not care for some people who comes to Spain, shut themselves in and drinks their life away. He shows no conflicts towards tourism, as he previously mentioned that he identify himself as a tourist.

Interviewee 05

Reference 1

"No, the Spaniards are very polite and very neat, especially if you are foreign and have learned a little of their language. And you must not believe everything they say as they try to flatter and says, "You speak so much Spanish", you should smile and just say "Thank you, it was nice to hear" (laughter). They are very friendly and helpful, and you will be treated in the same way as you treat their people."

Reference 2

"The Spaniards treat Norwegians just like Norwegians treat the Spaniards. If they are very positive and friendly, Spaniards are too. But if the Norwegians are on their high horse and treat Spaniards as their servers they will not become popular. But I think the Spaniards I've met are very nice and sympathetic, everyone."

Reference 3

"Spanish people do not speak much English; this is because of the past, if a Spaniard from the middle class and higher learned a different language than Spanish, it would be the French language, because it is the neighboring country to Spain. Secondly, French was the diplomatic language. So when we came to Spain, there were almost no people who spoke English, perhaps in a hotel that they could know a little bit. ... But I must say that I think that Spaniards are trying their best to understand what foreigners say. Englishmen they expect everyone to speak English, and often they do. ... We have English neighbors and they came down here one fall and then they said they would take us to a nice little market, in a small village which they called "Allmoreadee," we did not understand what it was. So when they spelled it, it was actually "Almoradí." If you do not find the way there and ask for directions to "Allmoreadee" the person do not know, because he does not recognize it as "Almoradí." But otherwise they are very willing to try and understand. ... It is the most appropriate when the foreigners who come here have to

adapt instead of the opposite. I have the impression that the whole world is moving down here, Russians, Japanese, English, German and French. And then you have us from Scandinavia.”

Interviewee 05 focuses on the language aspect of conflicts, and she understands that Spaniards do not often speak fluent English. She also focuses on mutual respect, and that it is important for both sides to treat each other well so that the favor will be returned.

Interviewee 06

Reference 1

“I feel well treated by the Spaniards, very nice. As long as you can make up for you financially. Right now that is the problem, the money. And with the Norwegian welfare system we have it good down here.”

Reference 2

“No, I do not think Spaniards should take foreigners more into account. I do not know. I have not had any negative experiences at least. Do make sure you have everything locked down here, because they steal, you know, then being sold everywhere. We need to lock everything; you cannot go from a bike or something. After 5 minutes it is gone. So it's a little different at home. When I'm out walking the dog in the evening I lock the door behind me. It's a little sad. I had a burglary last year, in the spring last year. Broke into the apartment at noon, had only been out a little while. I had just locked a door, an iron door, but they got up it. One morning I came out they had taken the wheels of our car and it sat on the brakes. ... It becomes a habit, to lock everything. Cards and passes, I have hidden them if they come into the house again.”

Interviewee 06 had little references to conflicts during the interview. He indicated that Spaniards will treat Norwegians well as long as they can pay for themselves. He also focused on a previous

bad experience where his home in Spain was broken into and indicates that he feels less secure in Spain than in Norway.

Interviewee 07

Reference 1

“No, the Spaniards treat Norwegians in a nice way. Spanish, at least in this area might not be like that, but they are okay.”

Reference 2

“No, I really don’t think the Spanish should take other residents into more consideration. Many Spanish people do not speak English; Spanish is a world language so we cannot expect it really.”

Interviewee 07 states that Spaniards and Norwegians have a good relationship and that Norwegians just have to accept that Spanish is a worldwide language and that English is therefore not a highly prioritized language in Spain.

Interviewee 08

Reference 1

“I think the Norwegians are well treated here; Spaniards are aware that they are somewhat dependent on the Norwegians and the money we bring, I feel they greet us and find it enjoyable. They are helpful if you try to speak the language and cannot get it correct, they are helpful to try to explain and help you, and take good care of us.”

Reference 2

“No, I do not think Spaniards should take more account of foreigners who are not so good in languages, I think they are doing the best they can.”

Interviewee 08 shows similar opinions, that Norwegians are well treated by Spaniards and that they are generally very helpful and tries to understand the Norwegians. One important factor to the relationship is apparently money that the Norwegians leave behind. Interviewee 08 also state that Norwegians cannot expect Spaniards to take foreigners that do not speak Spanish into more consideration.

Interviewee 09

Reference 1

“I feel very well treated; Spaniards are a very hospitable people. In our area here, they are at least happy with the Norwegians presence, not because they are dependent on us, perhaps, but over several years, the affluent Norwegians have left much behind. Norwegians are helping to build a part of what's down here, plus the fact that Norwegians are not keen to be involved in politics and involved in determining and control things. They are involved in having a holiday here, have a good life here. I do not think Norwegians are dominant in politics here, for example, I think the Spaniards appreciate that. As long as we behave well they will behave well against us.”

Reference 2

“I think that, ideally, the Spaniards should have been better at speaking English. They would have reached more tourists. But in Spain they actually learn English at school. They learn Spanish of course, but in our area there is a language called Valencian they must learn as well. So they already have two languages, and then have English as a third language. Probably they learn two different Spanish languages at the expense of English. Spanish is a world language, it is a huge language. So there are many Norwegians who are disappointed that the Spaniards have not learned Norwegian, since we have been here for 20 years. But I think that

Norwegian is a microscopic language and why should the Spanish even care about learning Norwegian? (Laughter) Of course, they could have learned more English, ideally. I think that particularly Norwegians who have lived here a long time should rather strive to learn more Spanish.”

Interviewee 09 states that Norwegians and Spaniards have a good relationship and indicates that money is an important aspect of that relationship. Norwegians unwillingness to involve themselves in local politics is also cited as an important aspect that Spaniards appreciate. Interviewee 09 also states that in an ideal world Spaniards would speak better English but understands the reason why they do not. He also states that long-term Norwegian migrants should rather learn Spanish themselves instead of complaining that Spaniards do not speak English.

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

“No, we live with each other and must accept that we are a little different, so I do not avoid Norwegian tourists.”

Reference 2

“I know little about it, so I do not know if I can comment on it. We have a Spanish cleaning woman; she's very social and very friendly. So there we have a very good relationship. ... One time there was a place where we were not allowed to pay by card, we had to pay cash. Maybe they look at us with more suspicion, pure and simple. Otherwise, I have little knowledge of it.”

Reference 3

“No, I think not. We are coming to a foreign country, so it is us who have to make ourselves understood. It is not the host country who should do something, no. We should probably learn Spanish, we are the ones who are living down here.”

Interviewee 10 is a fairly recent migrant and has therefore little conflicts to report of. Although she suspects that Spaniards are a bit more cautious towards foreigners, she indicates that Spaniards and Norwegian generally have a good relationship. Interviewee 10 also states that it is the foreigners that have to adapt to the new country and learn their language, not the other way around.

Interviewee 11

Reference 1

“Most Spaniards are very nice, but some probably think that we who live here permanently, for example, when we arrive at a public hospital and we request an operation there, and then it's probably a few Spaniards who react to it. Since we have so much money we could have had that operation at home maybe. But most of us who live here have the insurance, so they go to a private hospital. Actually, we are creating jobs for the Spaniards, and probably most people realize that. So they live well off tourism here in Benidorm and L'Alfaz.”

Reference 2

“They could have been a little better in English, but they are not. There will probably be a new generation that is.”

Interviewee 11 believes that Spaniards are nice in general, but states that some Spaniards believe that some Norwegians take advantage of the public health system. Interviewee 11 also mentions that Norwegians create jobs for Spaniards and how they live comfortable because of tourism in

certain areas. She also states that Spaniards ideally could speak more English, but somewhat accepts that they do not.

Interviewee 12

Reference 1

“Scandinavians are treated well here, they are. We make jobs for the Spaniards as well. They might be a bit tired of tourists perhaps, but they mostly speak well of Scandinavians. We do not make much out of us compared to Englishmen and Finns; it is usually those who scream the loudest.”

Reference 2

“Spaniards do not think that they must take more into account, because they believe that foreigners have to learn their language. But they could have done a little effort to speak English, they could have done that. Because they know that the Costa Blanca have many tourists and that many migrants live here and that they are usually older and do not speak Spanish. If the old migrants do not speak English it will certainly not help either, because the Spaniards do not speak English either. You get dismissed pretty quickly if you do not speak Spanish. The Spaniards in Torrevieja could have done something with it. The police in Torrevieja are now sent to have English courses in Alicante, and that is important. But mostly some more people could have taken English courses. But then Britta (another entrepreneurial migrant) would not have a job here, since she is a translator.”

Interviewee 12 indicates that Norwegians and Spaniards have a good relationship and some of the reasons for that are because the Norwegians do not make much noise and that they create jobs and therefore stimulates the local economy. He also states that Spaniards should learn more

English for their own benefit and also reports that some Spanish officials are undergoing English courses.

Interviewee 13

Reference 1

“Spaniards are generally very open and very happy to talk with foreigners and they are helpful. Spaniards think it is okay with some kinds of people, Norwegians are very accepted, and so is the British. But some people from Eastern Europe are not always very welcome. Norwegians leave a lot of money and the Spaniards know it.”

Reference 2

“No, I think they are very patient with the foreigners; but they have problems with Norwegians who do not speak anything other than just Norwegian. They go alone in the hospital, they go alone on the plane, and normally everything will be okay. All Spaniards are trying their best to make themselves understood, if not, they have phone number to someone who speaks a Scandinavian language, so they really try to help. Health professionals may be upset from time to time when they try to speak English with the Norwegian who even don't speak English. Then they ask how long the Norwegian has lived here and they answer "I have lived here for 10 years." And he cannot even say anything in Spanish, then the Spaniards may be upset because the foreigner have been in this country for 10 years and cannot even say "hey, how's it going?" In general within the health service and police they are very tolerant. Within the international department at the police station where people are to apply as new citizens the officers are very harsh and not very helpful. The foreigners must either speak Spanish or just leave from the office without help.”

Interviewee 13 is a fulltime migrant and has lived in Spain for a number of years and she states that Norwegians are one of the most accepted foreigners in Spain and that they are very open to help the Norwegians as well as they can. But the Spaniards may become frustrated over Norwegians who have lived in Spain for a number of years and still cannot communicate in Spanish at all. Although the situations are solved most of the time, the Spaniards are often resolute on the language issue; Interviewee 13 states that some officials will deny the foreigner any help unless all communication is in Spanish.

To summarize this section of conflicts and relationships, it seems that in general the Norwegians have a good relationship with the Spaniards and vice versa. A significant amount of the interviewees indicate that money is a major positive contributor to the relationship while some point out that Norwegians do not make much out of themselves during their stay in Spain and prefer not to be included in local politics.

The utmost mentioned conflict issue was language and how the majority of Spaniards do not speak English. The participants were however divided in their views to solve the conflict. Some of the interviewees stated that Norwegians and other foreigners should accept that Spaniards do not speak English and should rather focus on learning Spanish. Other interviewees stated that there are many foreigners who are living in Spain and the Spaniards should therefore learn English for their own benefit. Overall, the Spaniards got great appraisals from the Norwegians as being a welcoming, helpful and kind people.

A minority of the interviewees mentioned intra-migrant conflicts. This issue was arguably seen as a more sensitive issue and was probably therefore not brought up during the official interviews. The interviews and conversations during the data collection led the researcher to believe that 'cliques' was the most prevalent issue in intra-migrant conflicts. These cliques

often had certain criteria that had to be fulfilled before a person could join. One example that was brought up by an informant during one of the conversations was that there is an ‘Only Mercedes-Benz Owners Club’ inside the Norwegian community. Apparently, these clubs and cliques may be the source of a significant part of all intra-migrant conflicts.

Most of the Norwegian residents’ conflicts with tourists was mentioned in the ‘anti-tourism attitudes’ section. According to these interviews, the Norwegian migrants have an overall good relationship with both resident Spaniards and tourists. There are however some issues that are dominant. With tourists the most significant issue is alcohol and offensive behavior. Alcohol was also mentioned as a problem within the migrant community; all the interviewees however distanced themselves from the issue and stated that the problem only affects a minority of the migrants.

5. Discussion

Each of the concepts will be discussed in its own section. This will help to summarize the gathered data with the appropriate theoretical framework that has been presented earlier in this thesis.

5.1. Anti-tourist attitudes

As concluded in 'implementation and results' the interviewed migrants showed varied and somewhat surprising attitudes in relation to anti-tourism. While there were no definite assumptions made, the general theme was that migrants who were fulltime residents, most experienced and spoke the Spanish language was more likely to distance themselves from tourism, at least in relation to their own existence on Costa Blanca. However, they were also likely to accept normal tourist behavior and showed no significant external anti-tourist attitudes. While migrants who were returning residents and did not speak the language were more likely to identify themselves with tourists, one exception being seasonal visitors 'Interviewees 01' who would only refer to themselves as 'visitors'. One common aspect of the interviewees was the shunning of alcohol abuse and drunkenness associated with tourists and some migrants.

It can therefore be assumed that some of the migrants are aware of the stigma that follows the word 'tourist' (Miller & Auyong, 1998) in Southern Europe and Spain, where abusing alcohol is a part of the stereotypes that follows particular tourists and migrants (O'Reilly, 2000a). Jacobsen (2000) argues that an anti-tourist also distinguish themselves from tourists because they believe that the tourists only experiences shallowness on the destination. Although Interviewees 01 distinguishes themselves from tourism they admit that their motives for travelling to Spain as

seasonal visitors are purely superficial and will therefore experience the shallowness just like the tourists.

Can the distinguishing from tourists therefore be contributed to the ‘snobbiness’ and ‘vanity’ that Buzard (1993, as cited in Miller & Auyong, 1998) and Fussel (1980, as cited in Miller & Auyong, 1998) claims the anti-tourist possesses? These critics argue that the only real difference between a tourist and an anti-tourist is snobbiness. Although Interviewees 01 are technically tourists and have the same habits as tourists in the same age group would potentially have, they would rather be identified as seasonal visitors. They see the tourists as ‘them’, even though they cannot be visually or technically distinguished from themselves.

If the interviews were analyzed independently Interviewees 01 would certainly fit Buzard’s and Fussel’s description and would therefore be considered ‘snobby’ anti-tourists in their perspective of the concept. However, if one sees the interviews in its wholeness it should be considered more as simple role distancing (Goffman, 1961, as cited in McCabe, 2005) than snobbiness. Several of the interviewees, especially returning residents, had no problem with identifying themselves with tourists, even though most of the interviewees would at the same time have prejudice towards some ‘other’ tourists because it is, as mentioned, associated with the stigma of alcohol abuse and outrageous behavior. The majority of anti-tourist attitudes in some of the migrants seem therefore not to be originated in snobbiness but rather the fear of being stigmatized as noisy alcoholics.

The most experienced and integrated migrants showed little external anti-tourist attitudes, but more towards their own existence as migrants. After learning the language and acquiring Spanish friends and acquaintances it seems that the Norwegian migrants want to associate themselves less and less with the Norwegian community in their leisure time and subsequently

will distance themselves from being identified as tourists or even as migrants, but at the same time accepting that other Norwegian tourists are now an important part of the landscape on Costa Blanca.

5.2. Social differentiation

A significant amount of the interviewees stated clothing to be the most prevalent differentiation tactic; tourists often wore short clothing while the migrant wore long clothing. This may be attributed to physiological reasons since migrants are more acclimated with the Spanish temperatures while tourists who come to Costa Blanca are still acclimated to the Nordic temperatures. According to the definition of social differentiation presented earlier in the thesis, physiological differences are included within social differentiation and therefore validate clothing as a social differentiation tactic for migrants.

But should clothing only be considered as physiological differentiation? According to role theory (Biddle, 1986) certain roles hold expectations towards their own and others' behavior in a group, and that the identity they create generates patterns of behavior that becomes predictable. Since so many interviewees mentioned clothes can it be a part of the migrants' identity? Then the clothes are not just purely physiological differentiation but a socio-cultural necessity to be identified as a migrant by the others in the group. Since a significant amount of retirement migrants have anti-tourist attitudes (Gustafson, 2002) and also being primarily upper middle class (Helset, Lauvli & Sandlie, 2004) it is likely that their expectations towards being a higher than average social class and having internal anti-tourist attitudes are the main reasons for socially differentiating themselves away from tourists. The results also indicate that experienced migrants are more likely to be aware of the social differentiation factors from tourists.

The conversations and especially one recorded interview also showed that social differentiation within the migration community exists. Unlike the differentiation from tourists, the differentiation within the migrant community seems to be related to socio-economic factors. This is based on information about cliques and groups within the Norwegian community that selects members based on socio-economic factors and status, such as owning a specific brand of car, like Mercedes-Benz. Reportedly, these cliques and groups are the basis of some intra-migrant conflicts. The interviewer even witnessed an altercation that took place during an interview where the interviewee shouted an expletive words to a bypassing migrant because the interviewee felt that the other migrant talked behind her/his back.

Non-recorded conversations that took place during the data collection also indicated that there is some social stratification among the Norwegian migrants, there was however no conclusive evidence to back up this indication within the recorded interviews. The conversations however revealed that there were some migrants, both women and men, which were members of or associated with Freemasonry. Although it is a completely legitimate organization, it is also associated with elitism (Urban, 1997), which in turn indicates social stratification within the Norwegian migrant community.

5.3. Authenticity

The findings that were related to authenticity indicated that a significant amount of the interviewees did not feel that they lived in an authentic setting. The interviewees who reported that they lived authentic were the participants who were most integrated in Spain, including having connections to the Spanish society and people. They also had more experience as migrants and they often spoke the language, at least to a certain degree. These interviewees were

also younger than the average interviewee, there is however not enough evidence to support that this is a general trend.

Several interviewees also stated that the authentic Spain only could be found inland Spain in a small town and indicated therefore that there were seldom any authentic experience of the Spanish on the coast. Several interviewees also cited tourism and internationalism as the biggest contributor to the non-authentic Spain. The findings also indicated that the people who found the Norwegian community in Spain as most important were also the ones who did not have an authentic life in Spain.

Several of the interviewees stated that they enjoyed the Spanish culture, including the dances, the food and the people. But the same people often stated they could not speak the language and they had little connection to the Spaniards. The Spanish culture they enjoyed were almost always performed in The Norwegian Church Abroad, where they arranged Spanish theme nights with dancing, food as other culture. According the interviewees these theme nights were quite popular among the migrants. The classic critics of authenticity such as Boorstin (1961, as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) and MacCannell (1973) have argued that tourists, or migrants as the phenomenological extension of it, never will experience the authentic because they rather prefer the simulated authenticity and be presented with the inauthentic products, that is produced in this case by The Norwegian Church Abroad.

The interviewees claim they have authentic Spanish experiences because they learn about Spanish culture, even though it is in a Norwegian setting. Not only is this staged authenticity according to MacCannell (1973), it is not even staged to act like a Spanish setting, and it is rather a validation of Boorstin's (1961, as cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) critique that tourists prefer the simulation and the inauthentic. Therefore, according to these critics the Norwegian

migrants living on Costa Blanca will never have authentic experiences because they are surrounded by a simulation of a Spanish community which in reality is filled with Norwegians and other foreigners.

The 'authentic' that is stated by the interviewees to be inland Spain is therefore rather a vision than a reality for the migrants, it is presented as a utopia for authenticity, but very few migrants reported to have been there. It should also be noted that some of the migrants that reported to have an authentic life have distanced themselves from the Norwegian community and are integrated to the level that they almost see themselves as natives. This is true regarding the entrepreneurial migrants. But it is also claimed by an interviewee that foreigners never can be truly integrated in Spain and therefore never are able to reach true authenticity.

Wang (1999) therefore described the concept of existential authenticity, where the subjective experiences of authenticity is more important than the objective experience authenticity. Some of the interviewees truly feel that they experience Spanish although they are in the middle of a Norwegian community. Then, according to Wang (1999) the interviewees arguably may experience the authentic Spanish if they truly believe so themselves, even though from an objective perspective only experience the simulation of something authentic. They experience the simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1981) of Spain.

Even though Wang (1999) may argue for existential authenticity, it is never possible to achieve the complete existential genuine, nor the complete staged authenticity. Baudrillard (1981) explains that "The impossibility of rediscovering an absolute level of the real is of the same order as the impossibility of staging illusion. Illusion is no longer possible, because the real is no longer possible." (p. 15). The migrants will therefore continue to find themselves between

the illusion and reality of having Norway in Spain and the illusion and reality of Spanish in the Norwegian community.

Some of the more integrated interviewees indicated that they have found themselves in middle between the Spanish and the Norwegian. They are *in limbo* between the Spanish and the Norwegian and are not sure if they truly are in either states, and therefore experience a mix of the authentic and simulated. Although this is partially true for the majority of the interviewees it is stronger in some of the more experienced migrants.

It is also reported that several interviewees feel that they live in a ghetto-like community, where the language is Norwegian, the food is Norwegian and the local services are Norwegian. It only has some resemblances of a real ghetto, and should therefore be described as a quasi-ghetto. This is certainly true for L'Albir with a distinct Norwegian dominance, while Torrevieja have more different nationalities and is therefore less likely to have only one nationality ghetto-like conditions.

One thing that the data collection showed was how important The Norwegian Church Abroad and The Norwegian Club were for the community. These venues work primarily as meeting and socializing venues for the Norwegian community. The venues also act as beacons for the inauthentic and the simulated reality that the Norwegian migrants live in on Costa Blanca. As long as the migrants seek these venues they indicate that they prefer the inauthentic products and lifestyle which is thoroughly criticized by the likes of Boorstin and MacCannell and it is probable that this is the leading motivation for the highly integrated Norwegians for not seeking to these venues.

These findings that pertain to authenticity also support that some of the Norwegian migrants on Costa Blanca lives in the 'tourist bubble' as described by Jacobsen (2003). The

'tourist bubble' often centers on the Norwegian churches and clubs on Costa Blanca, where the Norwegians have created their own little reality inside these 'bubbles' and they recreate Norway in Spain. It is a home away from home.

The research also found indications of liminal behavior in some of the interviewees. Especially the people who only speak Norwegian are quick to seek out the familiar, similar and safe in Spain, which are other Norwegians and the Norwegian community. Some of the interviewees also did not visit Costa Blanca for the place itself, but for the sun and the climate which is another trait of liminal behavior (Selänniemi, 2001). Some migrants do not stay long, and as mentioned by an interviewee there are often changes in the population, which often creates loose social bonds between the migrants, which is another aspect of liminal behavior (Selänniemi, 2001).

5.4. Conflicts and relationships

The findings concluded with that the Norwegians generally have a good relationship with the Spaniards, but also the tourists. The most stated reason for conflicts was language problems, usually that the Spaniards lacked proficiency in English. The most stated reason for conflicts with tourists was alcohol and the subsequent disorderliness. As previously mentioned, anti-tourist attitudes and social differentiation are also reasons for conflicts, usually with tourists and other migrants.

As stated in the theoretical framework, Reisinger (1994, as cited in Robinson, 1999) have studied conflicts in a tourist-host setting, and have identified both positive and negative effects from the interactions. The positive effects were: learning each other's culture and customs, reducing negative perceptions and stereotypes, developing pride, appreciation, understanding,

respect and tolerance for each other's culture, increasing self-esteem and developing friendships (p. 9). All of these effects, except increasing self-esteem, were reported by the interviewees. This probably validates that these effects can be used in a migrant-host setting, not only tourist-host.

Not all of these effects were though often reported, some only once. Although the relationship was stated to be good by the majority of interviewees, they usually did not elaborate on what kind of effects that resulted from a good relationship. Many interviewees stated though that they appreciated the Spanish culture and wanted to learn more about it and that they enjoyed being around Spaniards and develop friendships with them.

The negative effects found by Reisinger (1994, as cited in Robinson, 1999) are: developing negative attitudes about each other, tension, hostility, suspicion and misunderstanding, clash of values, feelings of inferiority and superiority, communication problems, ethnocentrism and culture shock (p. 9). Several of these effects were personally reported by the interviewees, such as developing negative attitudes, suspicion, misunderstanding, clash of values and communication problems. Other effects such as feelings of superiority and ethnocentrism were reported to exist in other tourists and migrants, but not in themselves. It was also reported that the Spaniards became upset if they perceived that Norwegians took advantage of their health resources in this hard-pressed economy, as they believe Norwegians have the resources to pay for health expenses themselves. The findings validate that these effects may also be found in a migrant-host setting in addition to tourist-host setting, and show that the relationship between Norwegians and Spaniards, although good, has certainly potential for improvement.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has described the Norwegian migrants' existence on Costa Blanca through their anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation, authenticity and their conflicts and relationships with other groups. The research has shown that the Norwegian community on Costa Blanca is an interesting social grouping with varied attitudes and behavior with intriguing intragroup dynamics. The interview answers that have been recorded and subsequently analyzed showed that the core concepts of this thesis; anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation, authenticity and conflicts and relationships are not only important independent variables for the Norwegian migrants, but also interconnected concepts as shown by the interview answers.

The research objectives stated that this thesis aimed to understand the migrants' existence on Costa Blanca through these concepts, and although these concepts are not all-encompassing, they still cover some important aspects of their existence. Anti-tourist attitudes divided the interviewees into two distinct groups. One group included the interviewees with internal anti-tourist attitudes. These attitudes were directed towards their own existence in an everyday life setting and the interviewees refused to associate themselves with tourism, although the majority had positive relationships towards other people they saw as tourists. The other group had external anti-tourist attitudes; this group showed unfavorable attitudes towards tourism, but not any distinct attitudes towards their own existence as migrants. No interviewees reported extreme attitudes, as they were either weak or intermediate. Overall, the results were somewhat surprising as it showed that the most experienced migrants had generally less anti-tourist attitudes and virtually only internal attitudes, which was also true for the least experienced migrants. The external anti-tourist attitudes were mainly found in intermediately experienced migrants.

Social differentiation divided the migrants into mainly two groups; those who perceived a difference between migrants and tourists and those who did not perceive a difference. The ones who perceived a difference were in a slight majority, and the main theme was clothing. There was also a minor third group who also reported social differentiation within the migrant community. The matter within the migrant community often pertained to social stratification. Overall, the results showed no surprising findings. The experienced migrants were more conscious of the differences, and clothing is of course the most prevalent visual aspect of a person and easiest to differentiate between groupings on.

Authenticity showed three different groups. The first group contains interviewees who outright denied that they lived an authentic life as migrants in Spain. They concluded that the tourists and the foreigners were too dominant to warrant an authentic existence and that authenticity could only be found inland. The second group was interviewees who claimed they lived an authentic life in Spain, although the interviewees' authentic Spanish experiences were staged Spanish culture in the Norwegian community and they had little relations with the real Spanish culture. The third group consists of migrants who were heavily integrated in the Spanish society and had little or no relations with the Norwegian community and had therefore more legitimate claims of living more authentic, even though they admitted its limitations.

Overall, the results showed little surprising information. New migrants with little knowledge of Spanish would generally never claim to live an authentic life in Spain; however, they sometime claimed to have a more authentic life than a tourist would. Some intermediately experienced migrants claim to have a somewhat authentic life in Spain, because they experience Spanish culture. A significant amount of these migrants state that this culture is experienced through theme nights in The Norwegian Church Abroad, and should therefore not objectively

viewed as authentic experiences. The third group consists of the most experienced and integrated migrants. They speak the language and have regularly more interactions with Spaniards than Norwegians and are therefore expected to have more normal 'authentic Spanish' lives.

'Conflicts and relationships' should practically be seen as a dependent variable in this research, as it depends to a certain degree on anti-tourist attitudes, social differentiation and authenticity. Interviewees with external anti-tourist attitudes are likely to perceive conflicts and a lesser relationship with tourists, while interviewees with internal anti-tourist attitudes are more likely to socially differentiate themselves from tourists even though they reportedly have a good relationship with them. Interviewees who are more conscious of social differentiation are also more likely to perceive to have an authentic existence on Costa Blanca. They are also more likely to have internal anti-tourist attitudes and better reported relationship with the resident Spaniards. Overall, the research indicates that experience as migrants and language are important factors for influencing attitudes and behavior towards these key concepts.

One of the greatest limitations to this study has been how the participants were recruited. Finding a random Norwegian in the streets of Torrevieja has very low probability. Venues where Norwegians gather are therefore much more efficient. Qualitative studies like interviews are usually more time consuming than quantitative studies like questionnaires, and venues such as airports are therefore less practical for qualitative studies. The remaining potential venues are therefore social gathering venues for Norwegian in Spain. It is likely that migrants who gather at these venues have different perspectives than migrants who do not. 11 out of 13 participants were recruited from these venues which may give a skewed representation of reality. Jacobsen et al. (2009) found that 41% of migrants never had visited a Scandinavian association during their stay and therefore a significant amount. It is therefore likely that Jacobsen et al. (2009) research

shows migrants who are generally more adapted in the Spanish society and proficient in the Spanish language, while a significant amount of this thesis' migrants are not. The findings can therefore not give a fully representative view of how all Norwegian migrants behave and feel in Spain, rather Norwegians who visit or work at Norwegians associations in Spain. Due to the lack of statistics of Norwegians in Spain, there is no certain evidence for how many Norwegians who are living in Norwegian communities compared to those who do not. Findings also suggest that well-integrated migrants do not seek out the venues that include other Norwegians.

Future qualitative research on Norwegians in Spain or Costa Blanca should try to overcome the obstacle of skewed representation. While a pure network (snowball) sampling method could potentially overcome the obstacle of finding participants outside of the Norwegian community, it will also have the problem of skewed representation and therefore not the complete reality of the diversity that exists among the Norwegian migrants in Spain. However, this thesis never intended to give a representative sample of the complete population of Norwegians on Costa Blanca, though it would be interesting for comparing results in future researches.

7. References

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8. Appendices

8.1. Appendix 1 - Total experiences

This section presents the ‘total experience’ of the interviewees’ stay in Spain and was an additional question to the primary questions during the interview. Some of the interviewees were asked if they could summarize their stay in Spain or give a comment to how they have experienced Spain so far. This was done to extract more information from the interviewees. This is however only supplementary information and should only be considered to give a better perspective on the primary information and is therefore located with the appendices. This is also presented in a chronological order.

Interviewee 03

Reference 1

“The Spaniards have much to teach us Norwegians, they always have time. And when they are in stores, they talk to each other. I know a little Spanish and have attended Spanish school. There are many Norwegians who do not know Spanish; they do not learn the language. Thus, it is much worse than it should have been. I’m not talking about everyone, but I’m talking about a majority. Then we have the cliques. We have cliques in Norway and cliques here. There is nothing wrong with it, but it is closed. One has to go outside the periphery and learn a little about the people. ... I am very honest and do not talk behind the back of people, in general I would say that Spain is a wonderful place for Norwegians to be. I’m not a group person and have no problem of being alone. I am very fond of Spain and Spaniards, not so fond of Norwegians in Spain though, I must admit. But that does not mean I dislike them.”

Interviewee 04

Reference 1

"I can add at this time that we have it very well here; we are healthy, even with ailments such as arthritis, multiple sclerosis, psoriasis and other things. It's a very nice climate, and sea salt is good for the health. We went to Torre Vieja for the good climate. Here you can swim in the sea salt and the clay is also good. Otherwise, we have Norwegian doctors here, Norwegian dentists and Norwegian craftsmen. We also have The Norwegian bakery and Norwegian grocery stores, two here in Torre Vieja. We really have all we need here. And now we get fresh fish from Norway and cod, it travels from Norway on Tuesday afternoon and is here on Thursday morning, comes with trailer. We buy shrimp from a Dane who receives shrimp from the trailer every week, fine Norwegian shrimp. We can buy Norwegian pork and there is obviously a different price. We have a meat producer similar to Gilde here; it has meat in all sorts of types, also some Norwegian goods. There are large shops here in Torre Vieja, where we can go and buy meat. And we have Carrefour where Norwegians get 6-8% discount if you are above 65 years and they have 4,000 kinds of goods. We have also Carrefour credit card and receive a 10% discount on fuel. So they arrange everything so that people will thrive here. But there are many Norwegians here, and there are some petty criminals. Several who have been caught by NAV Norway and Tax Office of Middle Norway (Skatt Midt-Norge). They have been here and checking up on people, last year and again this year. Some people try to scam on their taxes you know, working while receiving social security. When it is discovered it is announced in the newspapers. And then the Spaniards react, of course. They say that "Norwegians only work illegally and taking jobs from us." It's not the case. There have been many audits here. Then there are the few who do not pay their house taxes here in Spain and think they can do whatever they want. The day they sell the house they caught and get a tax penalty. And then there's a new tax that has been introduced by the Ministry. Just because they want to capture all Norwegians who did not pay it,

if you want to get back on the tax you have to down the local government and get the tax certificate. Half have not done so; they have only received their social security and moved to Spain. So if you cannot display the certificate then you will pay tax for all the years you've lived here in Spain. Those who have been honest can get the certificate and send it to the tax ministry in Norway and regain what you paid on the new tax. Torrevieja municipality has urged people to sign up because they get more money from the government in Madrid. But people do not dare to register, it's unbelievable. It's a completely different system here; you have to have a 9-number you get when you register. The Norwegian Club is trying to get people to sign up here. When they are here so long, 3-4 months, Torrevieja will receive more money per resident, so they work a lot on it, trying to get foreigners to register. And there have been many Russians here, newly rich Russians buying up 2-3 and 4 apartments. But the Russians must have a visa, and they are very noticeable as well. Great cars they have too. Torrevieja is a great place to be, big city, it has around 100 000 people living here. Then we have L'Albir, such towns are very transparent. So there are many people who move from there and down here. After living there for a while then it becomes "cliques", is not like that down here. It is not much to do there in small places, so they are visiting the neighbor with the wine bottle on the table. Torrevieja is quite big, with Orihuela and Guardamar as neighbors, many places to go. Some thrive in L'Albir, while some say that it is too intimate and too little."

Interviewee 06

Reference 1

"I thrive here; and it's so simple that if we do not like it here then we go home. But we have no plans to do so. As long as we have our health and we can bicycle and walk we will stay. I see people in wheelchairs down here who intends to spend their life here, which is not for me."

Interviewee 07

Reference 1

“I think it's very positive experience to live here; it's cheaper than staying in Norway, the climate, although it's a bit cold now, is better than staying in Norway. So we fled from the cold winters and snow. However, it is positive to be here. Spaniards are generally pleasant and welcoming. There are so many people expect them to speak English, but we cannot expect that.”

Interviewee 08

Reference 1

“It is a good country to live in; we have it very well here. It's sunny and warm, good food. We have it very well; i wish there were more pensioners and people living at home who could travel and stay here a bit more. I think probably that negative reports in the media have influenced that not so many have come here; I do not believe that everything they have read about us is correct. They are very hung up on that Norwegians when they go to bars and go to the beach they act very silly. So I think that many people are stuck on that thought.”

Interviewee 09

Reference 1

“The Spanish people experiences bad times here now, and I think that we as Norwegians have benefited from Spain for 20 years, it has been very good. And we have established several Norwegian colonies in Spain. I think that it is time that we give something back to Spain, giving something tangible back to Spain, from Norway since we are so well received here. I have no great ideas how to do it, one thing is to start small, have a community based commitment to give back to Spain because they are struggling. I think it would be appropriate.”

Interviewee 10

Reference 1

"I think the work of the church here is very good, it's also a very good advertising for the Norwegian Church Abroad, because I tell people how good it is and they say "that sounds like so much fun, we would also like to do it." So I think that the list of volunteer applications will be long soon. I think it's so beautiful here, I meet so many positive and kind people and people have more time and they are experiencing much socially as well. Yesterday we had a theme night with a lady from Hamar, who sang and had a Prøysen evening. We had to reject the people in the door; there were over 160 people in here. So here we have concerts, choirs, readings and lots of other things so it's really good to be here."

Interviewee 12

Reference 1

"Moving here has been the most interesting thing I've done in my life. It was a challenge in the beginning here, I could not speak the language, I knew no one here either. I was supposed to move here with a friend, but it fell through, so I moved anyway. It has been fun, a lot of challenges. No regrets on that. I took a quick beginner's course in Norway to learn a little Spanish, but since I lived in Norway and did not practice it was useless. So I came here to Spain and took a four month course with a Spanish teacher who could speak fluent German, English and Spanish. It was absolutely perfect. I learned the language quickly because I was very interested in the language. I turned on the television, radio, in the car and listened. I listened to the people in stores, read books and analyzed. I was very interested in the language, and then the learning goes pretty fast. After eight months I could have normal conversations, after a year and a half I was able to speak fluently, but you learn new words every day. I don't understand why other long-term residents don't learn the language, but they often live in urbanizations with

other Norwegians, they do. But with the time they have at their disposal, they should definitely learn Spanish; it is used in so many places around the world. My parents did not, and they regret it very much today. They had 7 years to do it. But they do not learn Spanish because they go to Norwegian locations and in the grocery stores you don't really need much Spanish. However, some Norwegians who live here like to have a Norwegian society; they believe that's the easiest for them. But it is a different situation in L'Albir than it is down here in Torrevieja. If you spend much time with other Norwegians in the beginning here it may ruin the chances to learn Spanish. All my friends are Spanish speaking and can speak Spanish to each other if there is a Spaniard at the table, so then we speak also Spanish together. I think many Norwegians want to experience Norway in Spain rather than the real Spain. Those who have stopped working and have retired down here will rather have it that way. Many also say that "Spain would have been good had it not been for all the Spaniards," and I've actually heard it in person. And it provokes me a bit; it's not good at all. In countries such as Portugal, Spain, Italy and France they expect you to learn their language. And if you have taken residence in a country and live there more than six months a year you should learn the language. Back in Norway, they may be concerned that foreigners should learn Norwegian, but when they come down here it's not so important anymore. That provokes me too. They shoot themselves in the foot a bit. There are some reasons that people are moving away from Norway. Many of those who move here like the salt lake water and the fresh air. It is warm here, another way of living, it is more comfortable."

Interviewee 13

Reference 1

"I have a wish that people could learn to be a little more humble and perhaps understand that there is nothing better or worse than anywhere else and believe that something is best. The wonderful, the beautiful, the perfect utopia does not exist here. When the Spaniards asks me: "Brita, do you not imagine going back to Norway?" I answer "Yes, but Norway has its good things, the less good things and negative things, just like Spain." I would like to have a mix where I'm taking the best from both countries, but it is unfortunately not possible.

I guess that people want to experience the unknown, while having the safety of the known. We know we can always go back, it's not like we emigrated on a forever basis, and it may be that something happens that makes me go back. It is worse for those who do not have that option."

8.2. Appendix 2 – Pictures and comments from L’Albir, Costa Blanca

The pictures presented here were taken during the research in Spain. All pictures were taken in L’Albir by the author and illustrate ‘Norway in Spain’.



The picture to the left is taken on the main street in L’Albir and translates to “The Norwegian Book Café”. Below the header it states: “Varied menu, good atmosphere and delicious today’s dish”. The middle of the poster presents meals that are served throughout the week. The description shows heavily Norwegian influenced food and offers.

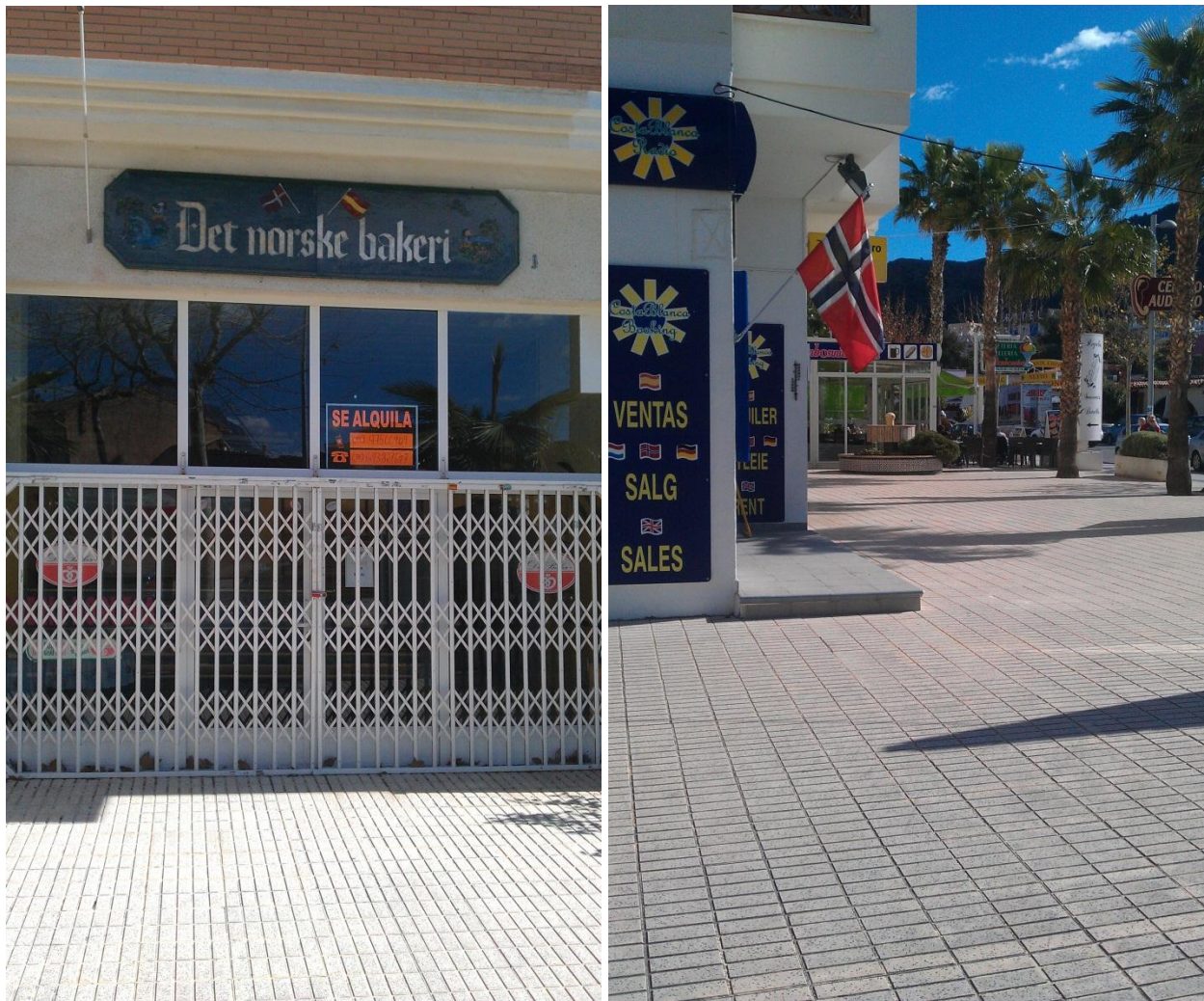
The picture to the right is also taken on the main street. The sign states: “Norwegian goods – Large assortment – international and Scandinavian goods” and “Welcome – We speak Norwegian”.



This picture is also taken on the main street of L'Albir. It reads “Clínica Noruega”, “The Norwegian Clinic” and shows the Norwegian flag as a cross, illustrating it as a Norwegian Health Center



This picture is taken on the corner between the main street and a side street, stating “The Norwegian Optometrist” in both Norwegian and Spanish language, accompanied with figures reminiscent of the Norwegian flag.



The picture to the left states: “The Norwegian Bakery”. Above the text are two small flags, to the left is a Norwegian flag and to the right is the Spanish flag. They are standing back to back. Below is a sign in the Spanish language and states “For rent”, indicating that the bakery is moving out of the building.

The picture to the right is showing a Norwegian flag hanging on the side of the building. The flag was far from alone on the main street and it illustrates the importance of marking L’Albir as ‘Norwegian’.



The picture of this sign was taken in a side street of the main street in L'Albir and shows three Norwegian services. The above is "The Costa Blanca Clinic" with Norwegian and British flags on the siden. Probably indicating a joint Norwegian-British clinic where both the countries' people can get treatment.

The middle is "Spaniatjenester" or "Spain services". It is a Norwegian business on Costa Blanca tha provides house brokering, renting and other services associated with houses, such as insurances and security.

The below business on the sign is "The Norwegian Bakery" as pictured above. It offered pastries, desserts and baked goods in a Norwegian custom. It was an extension of the Norwegian bakery in Torrevieja.



Another Norwegian clinic in L'Albir, the sign states: "Norwegian Health Center – Salus". It is situated just off the main street in L'Albir and is one of several clinics found in very short distances. This illustrates the need for several clinics in L'Albir and probably validates the findings that a large population of the Norwegian retirees on Costa Blanca are old and in need of health care to enjoy their stay in Spain.