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Article abstract

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The Musical Expat: Privileged Migration and Baby Music Class in Lisbon

ANDREW SNYDER

Abstract: This article focuses on the role of children's music education in the settlement of Lisbon, Portugal, by "expats," privileged migrants who build community not with others who share an ethnic identity but rather with other international residents of similar class status, a phenomenon accelerated by the advent of remote work. By calling attention to the multicultural and pop aesthetics used in baby music classes at the Music Room, a private music school conducted primarily in English and marketed to expats, I show how expat children are sonically enculturated in cosmopolitan spheres and how expat cultural infrastructure plays a crucial role in promoting expat migration.

Résumé : Cet article porte sur le rôle de l'enseignement de la musique aux enfants dans un quartier de Lisbonne peuplé « d'expats », migrants privilégiés s'étant constitués en communautés, non avec d'autres personnes de la même identité ethnique, mais avec d'autres résidents internationaux de classe sociale similaire, phénomène qui s'est accéléré avec l'avènement du travail à distance. En attirant l'attention sur l'esthétique pop et multiculturelle des classes de musique destinées aux tout-petits à la Music Room, une école de musique privée où les cours se donnent surtout en langue anglaise à destination des expats, je montre comment les enfants des expats sont, par le son, culturellement intégrés aux sphères cosmopolites, et comment l'infrastructure culturelle des expats joue un rôle essentiel dans la promotion de la migration chez ces derniers.

In Lisbon's magical Jardim da Estrela in the summer of 2021, I sit with my baby daughter Ina in my lap as she fingers a rattle and asynchronously waves it to the rhythm of the Balkan song "Opa Cupa" that her teacher is

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playing on portable speakers. Her face brightens with a smile as she hears the rattle moving in her hands, and she rises up out of my lap to dance on the blanket covering the grass, wiggling her midsection — then she falls and laughs. The song ends, and the teacher says to all the babies in attendance in English marked by an Italian accent, "OK, now let's listen to the birds and make the sounds they make. What sounds do you here?"

The teacher, who lives in Lisbon and speaks fluent Portuguese, is indeed Italian, but she speaks in English to the class because it is the presumed lingua franca of the international group in attendance. In the weekly baby music classes I attended with Ina, around five babies accompanied by a parent sit in a circle that usually represents a wide variety of nationalities: we are US American, but I have met French, Australian, South African, Chinese, and Brazilian babies and families, among many others. These outdoor classes are organized by a music school founded in September 2019 called the Music Room, which has a physical location a ten-minute walk from the park in Campo de Ourique, a neighbourhood in which many international families prefer to settle. Founded by an Argentinian and a Swede, the school, by their rough calculation, is made up of 75 percent non-Portuguese students. English is its primary language of communication, and the school markets itself specifically to an international audience, generally focused on international repertoires that might fall under world music and global pop categories rather than local or traditional ones found in other Portuguese-speaking educational spaces in the city.

What conditions of migrant fluxes in Lisbon support the existence of such a school? Portugal has been known in the past century more as a country of emigration rather than immigration, as the country does not offer the wages of other Western European or North American countries. A Portuguese ethnomusicologist friend told me that when he moved to Lisbon to begin his PhD in the early 2010s, "no one wanted to know about Lisbon" (Anonymous 2022). Yet Lisbon in 2022, following a tourism boom that began in the early 2010s, has been attracting a massive influx of new residents — not only those from marginalized communities of the Global South driven primarily by economic push factors, not only retirees free from work in search of sunshine, and not only young Europeans briefly living a Bohemian Lisbon existence, but relatively privileged families from around the world seeking to settle. They are generally in search of what I often hear referred to by privileged migrants as Portugal's "affordable quality of life": sun, safety, cuisine, social services, and culture. This is a trend that has only accelerated during the pandemic as remote work became a norm, one that is increasingly being documented by international media, with the recent articles, "Welcome to Portugal, the New

Expat Haven" by the *LA Times* (Kaleem 2022) and "The New California Dream Is in Portugal" by the *LA Magazine* (Littman 2021) being only two examples.

While the term *expat*, short for *expatriate*, is embraced by some privileged migrants and rejected by others, it generally delineates the understudied phenomenon of migrants whose migration is not primarily driven by economic push factors. In the expat groups I follow online, some enthusiastically embrace the term while others point out its problematic implication of what Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels refers to as a "widespread social hierarchization of migrants" (2014: 139).[1] Sarah Kunz argues, "While a growing body of work conceptualises 'expatriates' as migrants, much public debate and some research indicates that those that understand themselves as 'expatriates' do not necessarily self-identify as migrants" (2020: 2145). Many expat migrants engaging in so-called voluntary or lifestyle migration come for the quality of life *despite* the low economic remuneration of the local economy, as they are not primarily dependent upon it and are able to take advantage of the economic gap between their incomes and local incomes.[2] I will use the term *expat* here not to reify the idea that expats are somehow not immigrants but to refer to the distinct economic condition that frequently accompanies their migration, though importantly not all who use institutions like the Music Room fall into this category. A young corollary of the expat is the so-called Third Culture Kid, or TCK, whose first culture is the parents' home of origin, second is the host country in which they grow up, and third is TCKs' purported shared experience of growing up abroad regardless of origin, residence, or place. The Music Room could be thought of as an instantiation of TCK culture.

Based on my participation with my own TCK daughter (and research partner) in these international baby music classes and interviews, this article focuses on Lisbon for Parents and the Music Room. I examine Lisbon for Parents as part of an expat social infrastructure that partly enables the existence of the Music Room, part of an emerging expat cultural infrastructure in the city. Despite Portugal's many draws, immigrating to a foreign country is a vulnerable and potentially alienating act, even for relatively privileged migrants, especially if one does not know the local language. It requires the navigation of a bureaucratic maze, local institutions and culture, and practical demands of living. Expat families find practical information about how to move as well as things to do once they arrive on English-language Facebook groups like Lisbon for Parents, which advertises the Music Room along with a myriad of other family activities. This growing network of social and cultural infrastructures aims to ease the process and make the jump more imaginable.

What motivates these migrants to resettle in a place in which they are not necessarily connected to local culture, and how do these growing infrastructures

seek to respond to the needs of privileged migrants? What musical expressions are used to attract families from such a diverse range of places to a music school marketed to them in Lisbon? How are young children enculturated in cosmopolitan social spheres with foreign expats through music?

I argue that these social and cultural infrastructures both respond and contribute to the increasing expat internationalization of Lisbon, making the city an increasingly desirable place to settle for families from all over the world.[3] Furthermore, I suggest that the use of international musical repertoires through English-language teaching at the Music Room is a response to a cultural desire on the part of expats to enculturate their children not as identifying as acculturated new Portuguese immigrants, nor as primarily ethnically identifying with their culture of origin, nor even as a hybrid of these categories, but as cosmopolitans whose identities might transcend these categories — "global citizens." I emphasize the attractive role of culture, and music education in particular, in propelling expat migration and its capacity to create international community abroad. Beyond Lisbon, I suggest that this emerging infrastructure is the result of a larger process of rapid economic transformation common to places with sunshine but relatively weak economies that is quickly changing a city like Lisbon, which was previously known as a relatively provincial European capital.

In calling the musical education of these migrants *cosmopolitan*, I lean on Martin Stokes's theorization of the term as exploring "how people in specific places and at specific times have embraced the music of others, and how, in doing so, they have enabled musical styles and musical ideas, musicians and musical instruments to circulate (globally) in particular ways" (2007: 6). This definition of cosmopolitanism "allows us to think of music as a process in the making of 'worlds'" (6), and I view the Music Room as part of constructing the emerging expat world in Lisbon. This is a world that is an identifiable, if porous, community that promotes encounters of musical and social difference between families of various origins. In contrast to other musical opportunities in Lisbon for young children, therefore, the Music Room does not function to teach Portuguese musical traditions or strengthen knowledge of Portuguese language — that is, it is relatively unconcerned with the local setting or place. Instead, it puts cosmopolitan migrants in community with each other through music in a relatively "placeless" setting,[4] which can be contrasted can be contrasted with the production of "place" by other musical institutions in Portugal.[5]

The impacts that expat families might have on the musical institutions and life of a city are not well represented in scholarship by models and trends that are closely related, such as music and migration, music and tourism, or music and gentrification. Scholars have shown how the music of migrant communities can strengthen community relationships, ethnic identities of origin, and a sense

of cultural home in diaspora.[6] Furthermore, since music and migration studies are often "related to poverty and the subaltern" (Krüger and Trandafoiu 2014: 2), the Music Room represents a very different process of musical "re-homing" (23), as it builds community not among others of the same marginalized ethnic or national identity but rather among other international residents of a similar class status.

Studies of music and tourism have shown how music is used to brand cities and set them apart on a global stage of competition between various destinations, constructing a sense of place for external consumption — in the case of Lisbon, especially through the local genre of *fado*.[7] Timothy Rommen argues that music in tourist settings "is often intended (and interpreted) as a sonic signifier of otherness (as a marker of difference), and consumed as such both locally and translocally" (2014: 7). But though many, if not most, expats found Lisbon first as tourists, foreign *residents* have different desires than tourists. In contrast to tourists, expat migrants in Lisbon may have no interest in actively consuming local culture as part of their daily lives, but they may want music classes for their children, familiar activities they would have sought out in their previous homes. Indeed, engaging in spaces like the Music Room for these migrants is part of making a home in, not being a visitor to, Lisbon.

Lastly, expat migration is certainly part of a process of the gentrification of Lisbon that has many other causes, including real estate speculation, Airbnbs, and tourism, as well as an economic recovery since the financial crisis. But the international dimension of this case makes it quite different from other such studies; indeed, people who are part of gentrification waves are not usually viewed as international migrants. We might think of the Music Room as the result of gentrification on a much broader, global scale than usually understood.

As such, this case of music and expatriate migration of families represents a fairly distinct one for understanding music and mobility, but it is a model that is likely only to become more prominent as work becomes increasingly mobile. Indeed, the increasing mobility of privileged labour that we have come to know as "remote work" provides some families the option to live abroad without worrying about the local economies of their new homes, an experience increasingly available to those in the middle of life and their children. Fundamentally, I argue that "expat music" and the "musical expat" be considered categories of musical activity in their own right, ones created by relatively privileged migrants who often express themselves through a placeless cosmopolitanism that aligns with both the "world music" and English-dominant global pop music aesthetics present at the Music Room. That is, privileged migration patterns are tied to the cosmopolitanization of music for the youngest migrants. In what follows, I autoethnographically recount my own experience migrating to Portugal and

navigating the migrant routes (Clifford 1997) that led me the Music Room's baby music classes. I then examine why Lisbon has become a destination and what the emerging infrastructures of Lisbon for Parents and the Music Room offer new residents.

Our Journey to Lisbon

As a white North American Anglophone in Lisbon, it is not uncommon for me to be asked if I am a "digital nomad" despite barely being able to use my own computer. Indeed, I am often viewed as part of the expat influx process, and even if I am fairly distinct from it, I have certainly been impacted by it. I finished my PhD in 2018 at UC Berkeley, having learned Portuguese through fieldwork in Brazil on Carnival music traditions (Snyder 2022), and I was accepted to a six-year research position at the Instituto de Etnomusicologia-Música e Dança at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa in Lisbon in late 2019. As my wife and I were evaluating this option, we became parents on March 15, 2020, when our daughter Ina was born one day before the Bay Area went into pandemic lockdown. As we struggled through the early months of pandemic parenthood in isolation, the postdoctoral opportunity in Lisbon emerged as the best option for developing my career, and I accepted the position. Though the faculty and staff in Portugal were helpful in answering my questions on the specifics of the offer, figuring out immigrating to Portugal with my wife and baby daughter in a pandemic was another matter.

I turned to other migratory routes. I did have the contact of an American in Lisbon, an event photographer who had photographed my brass band. He had migrated as a retiree in 2018 along with his wife, drawn by Portugal's status as one of the easiest European countries to which to migrate and exhausted by Trumpian politics. He pointed me to the Facebook group Americans and Friends-PT, a group founded in 1998 that has since 2017 operated as a "resource-intense community for people moving to and living in Portugal."[8] The group, now counting almost twenty-eight thousand members, has extensive documents in the Files section, with detailed information on applying for the D-7 "passive income" visa (e.g., income from investments, remote work, or pensions), the most popular route for expats moving to Portugal without a local job. It also contains files on estate planning, exchanging a driver's license, registering a birth, among many other subjects — in short, as much information as possible to help new migrants navigate the move. The page hosts endless discussions on social, cultural, and practical aspects of moving to and living in Portugal.

What I found there was not what I expected. I might have thought such a group would be filled with people who were moving because of a particular connection to the country, such as a job, family connection, or affinity for Portuguese culture or language, which was the case for me as I had done research in Brazil and was pursuing my career in Portugal. In fact, I saw that almost no one on the group had a job in Portugal, only a few had a family connection or a Portuguese spouse, and similarly, few considered themselves fluent in Portuguese. By and large, the community I met there was made up of Americans searching for a better quality of life and affordable access to Europe. In the height of the 2020 pandemic in Trump's America, the tone of many felt desperate — many of these people had simply had it with the United States' high cost of living, low level of social trust, violence, and incipient fascism. They saw in Portugal a safe, pacific, beautiful, and accessible place to start a new life, and they were only the representatives of one country among many others looking to make Portugal their home, usually despite little to no previous connection to the country.[9]

I moved for an academic opportunity, not because Lisbon had become a popular destination. But I also moved in search of many of the same advantages for which others were looking, including the social and cultural infrastructures for relatively privileged foreigners like myself that were being created since the mid-2010s. My participation in Americans and Friends-PT led Facebook to recommend Lisbon for Parents to me, and soon it recommended a wide variety of other "expat" groups, which I also joined for relevant information.[10] It quickly became clear to me how intrinsic the emergent social infrastructure of social media was to the experience of moving abroad for many, if not most, expats. These groups provided a forum for information exchange, tip sharing, and building community. Indeed, especially amid the challenges of navigating an international move during the pandemic, during much of which travel itself was not permitted, Americans and Friends-PT offered me a lifeline in learning how to remotely complete the bureaucratic tasks required for the visa — this despite having a job offer in Portugal and fluency in (Brazilian) Portuguese. Once we received our visas in February 2021, I boarded an almost empty plane with my wife and almost one-year-old daughter with three masks covering my face to arrive in our new city.

In the first months, we took care of many of the practical aspects of getting settled, finding a daycare for Ina, and finding for activities for her. After Ina spent her entire first year in social isolation, I was eager to find some relatively safe activities targeted to her. On Lisbon for Parents, I noticed a post advertising Music Room's baby classes in Jardim da Estrela. I contacted the Music Room in Portuguese — we are in Portugal after all — and received

Fig. 1. Our family in Lisbon's Gulbenkian Park in the summer of 2021. Photo by Jeff Spirer.

a response in what the school director Vanesa later called Portunhol (I later learned she is Argentinian). I was looking for classes in Portuguese, so I asked what language the classes were in, responding again in Portuguese, and this time I received a response in English explaining that the classes were mostly in English. Considering that English exposure was also good for Ina, I scheduled our first class. It was telling that despite my institutional ethnomusicology connections and linguistic abilities, through my engagement in social media for immigration help, I had already marked myself as an expat, finding it initially easier to find activities in English than in Portuguese in Portugal.

Why Lisbon?

By this point, given my activity on social media, it was not surprising to me that some amount of cultural infrastructure existed for expat families. But it remained somewhat shocking to me, as someone who had a job and clear explanation for what I was doing in Lisbon, that so many people, including parents in arguably the most demanding period of adult life, were decamping to Lisbon without knowing the language, without a connection to Lusophone culture, without any previous contacts, and without a local job. What was bringing so many people to Lisbon?

Since the end of what is still celebrated in Portugal as the "Age of Discoveries," the country has held a marginal economic position in Western Europe, and it still has the lowest minimum salary in Western Europe. This long history of marginality has led to a history of emigration, with Portuguese communities dispersed around the globe.[11] Having joined the European Union in 1986 after emerging in dire economic straits out of a nearly fifty-year dictatorship the previous decade, the country's economic situation improved progressively until the 2008 financial crisis, which hit Southern European countries especially hard. The "Troika," referring to a consortium of European and international financial institutions, bailed out Portugal and other "peripheral" European countries in exchange for strict austerity measures that gutted the social safety net.

But Portugal in 2022 is now viewed as an economic "success story," at least by those who have benefitted from its recent boom. German Chancellor Scholz praised the country in 2022 for its combination of "smartphones and surfboards," referring to the country's investments in tourism and digital infrastructure that allowed "digital nomads" to conduct their careers in Portugal (TPN 2022a). What accounts for this rapid reversal in apparent fortunes? Lisbon's progressive branding as a destination follows the hosting of a series of major international events, which prompted the renovation of various areas of the city and promoted its international profile.[12] This progressive rise in status was interrupted by the financial crisis of 2008, but as Calvo and Ramos recount, during the Troika, both centre-right and left parties worked together to promote the idea that investing in tourist infrastructure was the "only way to face the crisis…. [They] created several incentive programmes for tourist-linked real-estate activities that strengthened the neoliberal managerialism of the city" (2018: 50–61). Following Barcelona's earlier transformation into a model tourist city, Portugal advertised its sunny climate, long coastline, musical culture of fado, and gastronomy. By 2019, the country had won first place in various tourism awards, and tourism had reached 19.8 percent of the Portuguese economy. Ethnomusicologist friends in Portugal recalled a sudden boom of tourism in 2014, from a "little bit in August" to "practically the entire year."[13]

While this development of tourism has received considerable attention, less remarked upon is that the tourism boom was closely tied with an expat boom from the beginning not only due to the country's rise in profile but also because of the residency and tax incentives that investing in tourism was designed to offer investors. The country's leaders deregulated the housing sector, removing tenant protections, and offered tax incentives for investors to renovate houses, making way for a rapid transformation of the previously abandoned and dilapidated city centre. As short-term stays suddenly became

vastly more lucrative than long-term leases, Airbnbs quickly replaced the residents of traditional neighbourhoods like Alfama, and Lisbon became one of the cities with the highest tourist occupancy rate in Europe (Cocola-Gant and Gago 2019).[14] But many of these investors also moved directly to the city, investing also in a new life in Lisbon.

Tax schemes and investment opportunities would not alone be enough to draw privileged residents to Lisbon, of course. Many expats came in search of what they often call "quality of life," including the city's cultural offerings, moderate climate, natural beauty, access to public healthcare and education, and affordability (for those with outside incomes especially).[15] Private and public investments through the 2010s led to a process of beautification and improvements in infrastructure, such as Lisbon's riverfront walkways, bicycle paths, and expanded public transport. Increasing numbers of international visitors began to see Lisbon as a place not only to visit but to settle, with some famous examples, most notably Madonna, magnifying its profile. Lisbon's status as hip and cheap continued to draw artists from around Europe to make the city their home. The city became an increasingly popular place for European Erasmus study abroad students, and the annual technology conference Web Summit has since 2016 sought to put Lisbon on the map as a place of technological and

Fig. 2. A street sign referring to Lisbon as "Silicoin Valley," a reference to cryptocurrency investments in Portugal. Photo by author.

educational innovation — the "Silicon Valley of Europe." Portugal began to rise to the top of lists of countries with the best conditions for remote work (TPN 2022b).

Beyond the various quality of life factors, one of the reasons for Portugal's rise as a destination for living, in contrast to its Mediterranean neighbours of Spain, Italy, and Southern France, is the country's high proficiency in English, with the country having been recently rated as having the seventh-highest level in English as a non-native language (*Idealista* 2020).[16] Music Room director Vanesa related that "Here, everyone speaks English. I think it's not a problem to not speak Portuguese when you arrive" (interview). Indeed, many people move through the city, attempting to use English in all interactions, and English in Lisbon is treated broadly as a lingua franca, or the preferred "language for communication in international contexts," that is, in spaces that are presumed to be frequented by non-native Portuguese speakers (Berns 2009).[17]

Another attractive element of life in Portugal, especially to families, is safety, with the country scoring as the fourth-safest country in the world by the Global Peace Index.[18] In a profile of an American family that moved to Lisbon in 2021, whose members are described as "different kinds of immigrants … Americans, refugees from the insecurity they felt in Texas," the author recounts that when the high school daughter asks her new school about active shooter trainings, she is "confronted with looks of astonishment and informed that in Lisbon that is not done" (Lipkin 2022). American expats in Portugal are also distinct from their European counterparts in searching out the various benefits of Western European social democracies, including public healthcare and affordable childcare.[19] The Portuguese political climate is viewed as offering a relative respite from the growth of the extreme right. Until recently, Portugal had bucked the trend of other European countries by having no far-right party in Parliament. During the pandemic, the country was known as one of the least conflictual places regarding the restrictive measures to contain the virus, reaching the highest vaccination rate in the world by the fall of 2021.

As international families have poured into Lisbon, the central western part of the city — including the neighbourhoods of Campo de Ourique, Estrela, Rato, and Príncipe Real — have been especially in demand (Fig. 3). These walkable, contiguous neighbourhoods are near to but not located in the more touristy, nightlife neighbourhood of Bairro Alto and other waterfront neighbourhoods. International schools (private schools taught in a language other than Portuguese and using international curricula) located near this area have both attracted and responded to the influx of foreign families.[20] The presence of French international schools has made Campo de Ourique a favourite of French families in particular, which the site vivrealisbonne.com

calls "un petit Paris." International schools are marketed to foreign parents who prize an international education and student body, where they can use English (or French) with administrators and teachers. One major meeting point of international families in this area is the Jardim da Estrela, a nineteenth-century romantic English-style public park. Especially around the park's elaborate play structures, one hears a wide variety of European languages beyond Portuguese among the families enjoying a sunny day (Fig. 4). The Music Room's outdoor baby music class in Jardim da Estrela was my first occasion to visit the park and witness the vibrant, international atmosphere that attracts so many families to make that area of Lisbon their home. Indeed, it is a space that often represents the most public expression of Lisbon's expat culture, offering a wide variety of expat activities in public space.

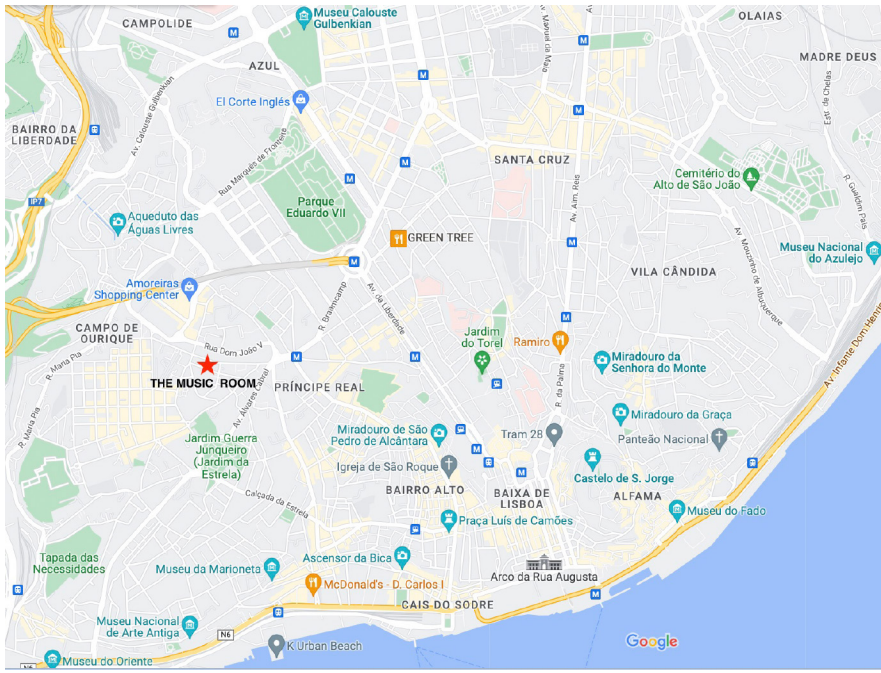

Fig. 3. Map of Lisbon showing location of the Music Room. From Google Maps.

Despite Lisbon's assets, creating a new social life and context for foreign families abroad is inherently a challenge. While I have heard many international residents relate that creating connections with Portuguese people, communities, and institutions is easier than in Northern European countries, others — especially those from Southern European countries, Latin America, and Brazil — have described the Portuguese as "reserved," "conservative," "enigmatic," or

Fig. 4. The playground at Jardim da Estrela. Photo by author.

"repressed." Especially in comparison to the extroverted stereotypes of their Spanish neighbours or former colony of Brazil, Portugal is indeed perceived as maintaining a level of social insularity and quietness, musically symbolized by fado's aesthetics of silence (Gray 2013).[21]

English journalist Barry Hatton (2011), in his history of Portugal, perpetuates what I call the myth of Portuguese inscrutability, calling attention to the supposed difficulty of the language, especially in comparison to the closely related and allegedly easier, Spanish language: "The seemingly impenetrable language, the sound of which was once likened to windsurfing from consonant to consonant" (6) is a barrier "to a more intimate acquaintance with Portugal" (17–18). The presumption that non-Portuguese will not, or even cannot, learn Portuguese, combined with the high levels of English proficiency mentioned above, reinforces the expectation among Portuguese that English will be the

preferred language of communication with foreigners, which creates an obstacle to learning the language. As Hatton mentions, this linguistic barrier can also create a social barrier for entering Portuguese communities if Portuguese is treated as an exclusive "in" language. The reflection of Kiwi mother Tara, who participated in the Music Room, is not unique:

> A lot of them are very confident in their English, and they don't seem to think that it's all that important or necessary for someone moving here to speak Portuguese or actually learn Portuguese. It's actually somewhat challenging as a foreigner to find situations in which you really get to be addressed in Portuguese because people constantly want to switch. Portuguese people have very drastic perception about how difficult the language is. (interview)

While the use of English can be welcoming and facilitate cross-cultural connections, this attitude toward the Portuguese language by Portuguese and foreigners alike can impede access to Portuguese-speaking spaces and reinforce international residents' tendency to create community primarily with each other.

Creating Community Abroad

The variety of factors described above makes Lisbon an attractive place for expat families but simultaneously one that some may feel is isolating and socially or linguistically inaccessible. A new social media genre of expat groups advising each other how to *leave* Portugal has recently emerged, as many realize that the various benefits of life in Portugal are not necessarily a recipe for long-term happiness. In this context, the social and cultural infrastructures being built for expats play an important role in both attracting and keeping expat communities in Portugal. The various expat social media groups seek to fill a gap of social infrastructure, not only providing helpful information for immigration and settlement but also organizing social events. They also provide a medium for businesses and organizations that market to expats to advertise their goods and services.

The final section of this article profiles the leaders of the Facebook group Lisbon for Parents and the Music Room, showing how expat social infrastructures like Lisbon for Parents create the conditions of possibility for expat cultural infrastructures like the Music Room. Both Giulia of Lisbon for Parents and Vanesa of the Music Room speak Portuguese as a non-native

language, but they elected to do their interviews in quite fluent English, a mark of the dominance of English in our interactions. Unlike expats who are divorced from the local economy, they could be considered what Ian Stone and Cherrie Stubbs (2007) call "enterprising expatriates," who "establish business ventures" (433) generally "focused upon expatriate and tourist demand'" (440) that might act as a "diversion, source of fulfilment and a part of lifestyle itself" (439).

Giulia is an Italian freelance designer and mother of two who moved with her family to Lisbon in 2017. She had been living with her family in Copenhagen, Denmark, where she was happy but her Italian husband less so, as he found the language challenging and the weather miserable. Giulia was particularly impressed with the renowned Scandinavian infrastructure for children and families: "Denmark is the best place to be for families. It's a family-oriented culture. I loved the way society is designed for everybody to create the same possibilities in life, and I think Portugal is not that at all" (interview). She found that in Denmark, society itself was organized around creating community for families, such as the moms' groups created by public hospitals for new mothers. For her, if Copenhagen were a ten for families, Lisbon would only be a six. In Lisbon, she did not find any organized groups for foreign families, and not initially speaking Portuguese made it difficult to meet other families at her children's schools. She recounted:

> I felt that it was difficult to create connections with the locals. They actually don't need them because they have already established networks…. When I came to Lisbon, I kind of felt a loss, because I was like, what do I do now? How do you find friends? That goes for new parents or when you move to a new country if you're a new parent. You need somewhere to belong, because, of course, moving to a city abroad can be very lonely. (interview)

Building community for families, she felt, was especially needed by expat families who did not send their children to costly international schools that do seek to provide some community. In the absence of institutions that provide meeting points for foreign families and firmly believing in the maxim that "it takes a village to raise a child," she began to use the internet platform Meetup to find other foreign families. She organized play groups, picnics, Halloween parties, and house concerts for families, including with Ina's future music teacher mentioned above. This emerging network led to her founding the Facebook group Lisbon for Families in 2018, initially called Lisbon for Foreign Parents,

though she eventually wanted it not to appear exclusive to locals. Starting small, the group now has 6,200 members. "At first," she tells me,

> I was really pushing the group for people to get in because I wanted to be a good resource for anyone that needed it, but without doing anything I now have hundreds of requests per week. Half of them are people willing to come to Lisbon, people who are looking at Portugal because it's been everywhere [in the media] — for digital nomads, for freelancers. People are told "it's amazing," "it's great" in all the magazines. In the last five years, the amount of families that moved here has built up a lot. I really see it as a skyrocket. That's also why there's more and more international schools opening, more services coming up, and also the people themselves are building things…. I want to help. (interview)

All of this organizing she did in her non-native language of English. Indeed, although Portuguese is one of the official languages of Lisbon for Parents, almost all conversations on the page are conducted in English, and many of the contributors are non-native English speakers. People ask and answer questions about living in Lisbon with a family, with long conversations detailing schools, daycare, family infrastructure, adapting to life in Portugal, and family activities like the Music Room. Giulia rattled off a list of nationalities when I asked who was using the group: "Definitely Americans, South Africans, British, English, Nordic countries, Germans, Italian, Australia, various parts of Asia" (interview). At many other points in this research, such an impressive list of countries was enumerated, but one can also note the prominence of the Global North in these lists. Indeed, she was clear-eyed about the less diverse class profile of those primarily using the platform: "At the moment, moving to Lisbon is not ideal for everyone. Lisbon is suitable for people who are either coming with their own job or income. Mainly the people who are in the group are middle to high income" (interview). Taking advantage of this opportunity, she has recently begun offering her services as a professional relocation expert for foreign families to navigate finding housing, neighbourhoods, activities, and schools. As the group has grown larger, she plans to decentralize the model by finding Lisbon for Parents neighbourhood "ambassadors" who can serve as local point people for newly arrived expats.

On the Facebook group and her related blog, she began writing articles, detailing, for example, the best neighbourhoods for foreign families, and creating a calendar of activities for families at museums, neighbourhood events, and music festivals, which are also updated in her newsletter. For her, the roles

of arts and arts institutions in creating community, what I am referring to as cultural infrastructure, is vital:

> I was really trying to give options to families with things to do because when you have kids your weekends are not like "I'm gonna relax now." You have to have options for things to do, but it's also good to have options that are not too cheesy and are good for families. That's why I share museum things and why I organized home concerts. And I was trying to help the Music Room a lot.

Indeed, the Music Room, which was founded in 2019, benefitted greatly from the social infrastructure and organized community that had been recently built up, and they paid to advertise their new business on Lisbon for Families, where I found them.

Music Room

The Music Room is the brainchild of Vanesa, an Argentinian who left Buenos Aires twenty-five years ago and has lived in several other countries since. With a history of vocal performance and other small-business entrepreneurial endeavours, Vanesa's desire to found an international music educational space emerged from her experiences with her own young children in music classes in Miami and Barcelona that were especially marketed to foreigners. In those classes, "I found myself meeting people in the same situation, foreigners from other places. It was a meeting point for me, and a connection moment with my daughter who was just starting music. So, there were many things in that special moment that I wanted to replicate. That was one of the bases of this project." When she moved to Lisbon in 2017, she "looked for such classes and didn't find them," a hole she ultimately decided she wanted to fill herself (interview). Not wanting to take on the project of founding a music school alone, she teamed up with a Swedish mother, Karin, who had grown tired of Scandinavian climates, came in search of Lisbon's quality of life, and brought her own musical experience of guitar, flute, and dance as well as an "alternative" Scandinavia approach to education.[22] The two met as mothers of children at Campo de Ourique's international school Redbridge, and during surfing outings they developed the plan to open the school together, which they accomplished in September of 2019. Gathering students from their network of international schools, Lisbon for Parents, and word-of-mouth within the expat community, the school has since built a devoted following.

The name *Music Room*, in English, refers to the intimate educational setting they have sought to design. One enters a small welcoming room where Vanesa and Karin work, and stairs then take students down into two adjoined basement rooms, where assorted musical instruments are displayed on the walls and found in the corners, alongside a piano and guitars (Fig. 5). A table is set up for drawing where children gather before and after classes and where parents meet and chat in a variety of languages, making friends, planning playdates, and building community (Fig. 6). The school is located in Campo de Ourique, which they sought out as an ideal location due to the neighbourhood's international profile and proximity to international schools. Vanesa enumerates the nationalities that contribute to the Music Room's diversity: "England, France, Portugal, China, Singapore, Italy, America, people from everywhere" (interview).

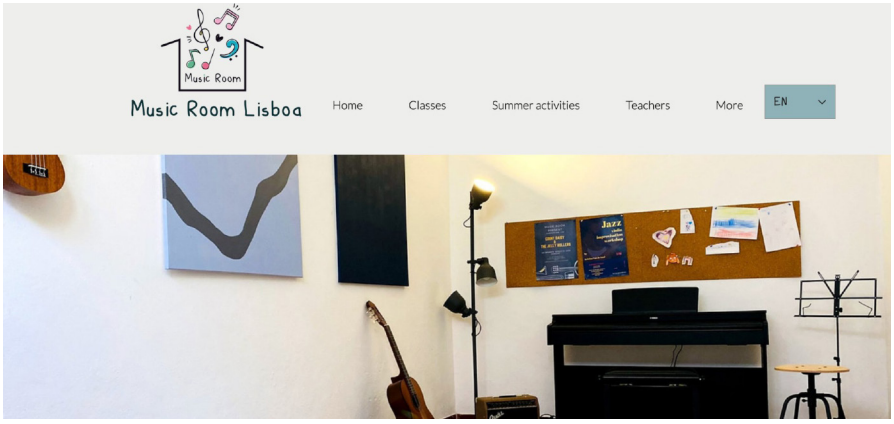

Fig. 5. Screenshot of Music Room homepage displaying main classroom.

In order to receive all of these diverse students, "English is the main language of Music Room," Vanesa tells me, but other languages proliferate (interview). Though half of the teachers are Portuguese, they also hail from England, Italy, Kazakhstan, France, Colombia, and Brazil, and they are generally working musicians in Lisbon's vibrant music scene. They list the languages in which they can instruct on the school's site, primarily mentioning English, Portuguese, French, and Spanish, though all general communication and group classes are conducted in English. Indeed, Vanesa stressed that the staff and majority of the teachers do know Portuguese, which she views as important for attracting a variety of students and families and integrating into the local neighbourhood. She insists, "We don't impose that we have to speak in English" (interview). Though the school markets itself especially to foreigners, the goal "is not to think about only the foreigners, but about everyone" (interview). Still the

Fig. 6. Colouring table at Music Room.

school's prioritizing of English rather than Portuguese reflects the dominance of English in the city's process of internationalization.

The Music Room sought to distinguish itself as a music school by being not only an international meeting space but a pedagogical one not defined by values of classical rigour, discipline, and formality that Vanesa saw in the Portuguese musical education system and classical pedagogy more broadly. Rather, the Music Room would put a high value on being what she described as "fun," encouraging "alternative" pedagogical approaches as well as promoting multicultural repertoires and what one teacher called a "pop aesthetic." As Vanesa recounts, "Music education was for me very strict with very long hours, and there was a lot of suffering connected to the learning of music, so I wanted to have a space that was joyful and where you love to play music and enjoy the learning process" (interview). Though as of January 2022, 75 percent of the seventy students were foreign by Vanesa's estimation, a significant number of Portuguese families also participate, motivated, according to her, by a desire to search out alternative and fun approaches to music education and access to a multicultural and English-dominant space for Portuguese children to develop their English skills. Notably, however, specifically Portuguese repertoires are not prioritized in the offerings over other genres and no class specifically focuses on

them. Not only are they offered elsewhere in the city, focusing exclusively on them would like not fit with the cosmopolitan aesthetic the school has sought to design. Indeed, the school does not position itself as a space for foreigners to gain knowledge of local traditions — as a cultural bridge to Portugal — but as one where a less rooted, multicultural approach prevails, one that might be replicated in any other global city.

Although still a young project that was disrupted by the pandemic soon after opening,[23] the school has set up a learning trajectory available to people of all stages of life, but especially for children, divided according to age. "My Little One and Me," the baby music class in which Ina participated, is for children two years old and under and uses music for socialization and enjoyment, seeking to develop, according to the Music Room website, "language ability, motor, movement and sense skills through rhythm games and instrument-playing." Toddlers and young children then can continue to "Introduction to Music," where they are introduced to rhythm, pitch, and timbre, (what Vanesa calls the "concepts of music"), and they try different instruments to discover their potential affinities. Beginning at age five, the school offers individual classes for various instruments, including piano, guitar, flute, violin, voice, and drums. They also offer group classes for children, including a vocal ensemble focusing on repertoire in English, French, and Portuguese; a ukulele class; a blues band for teens; a music therapy class for kids; and a digital music class in which students learn to create tracks with Garage Band. Because the physical space is quite limited, the school also sends teachers to students' homes.

Beyond this standard curriculum, the Music Room offers directed jam sessions, hosts concerts, rents practice space, offers birthday parties, and creates "fun days" during local holidays and summer workshops devoted to particular musical skills, themes, and repertoires. For adults, they offer the all-female Lisbon InterJazzional Choir, which sings jazz, swing, and pop tunes — the international profile of which is clear from the name. They seek to be a social and cultural resource on many fronts for the expat community. The school does not embrace one particular musical pedagogy but rather leans on the diverse backgrounds of its teachers to direct classes as they see fit. Through Music Room classes, Ina learned from an Italian flautist, a Portuguese percussionist, and a Kazakhstani guitarist (Figs. 7 and 8). At her baby music classes, she met children from Brazil, New Zealand, South Africa, Hong Kong, Canada, Poland, Sweden, Romania, Israel, Italy, and other countries.

Despite this attempt to create a coherent learning trajectory, the school suffers in maintaining a consistent student body due to the transience of its clientele. Some families I met were tourists or in Lisbon on short stays and looking for things to do with their children, an example of the enduring

connections between Lisbon's expat cultural infrastructure and its tourist infrastructure. Rather than requiring a registration fee and monthly payments, the school allows students to pay for classes on a "drop-in" basis. Indeed, the

Figs. 7 and 8. Ina at outdoor Music Room classes in Jardim da Estrela. Photos by author.

families attending the classes had some familiar faces but also differed from week to week.

Ina's primary music teacher through the Music Room was the Italian flautist introduced above who has lived in Lisbon since the mid-2010s. Though English was her default language of communication in the class, she often addressed the children and families in one of several other languages she knows (Portuguese, Italian, French, and German), making the classes a diverse multilingual universe intended to be open to as many expat populations as possible, regardless of linguistic capacity within Western European limits. Her musical background is likewise diverse, having studied flute in Paris and completed an MA in ethnomusicology at Paris 11 Orsay on Turkish music in Berlin. Her classes incorporate a wealth of knowledge of Brazilian music, music of the wider Mediterranean (especially her home country of Italy), the Balkan musical universe, and other Lusophone countries like Cabo Verde. Drawing especially on the experiential Dalcroze method, which seeks to integrate musical sound with body movement, the class is often bounded by an opening song, the Brazilian "Marinheiro só" which uses call and response to engage the parents, and the closing calypso "Day-O."

Within this structure, she often focuses on themes for each class, such as the Italian tarantella, punk songs for baby moshing, or Brazilian Carnival music, and these themes are often amplified by relevant story books. Children play with a variety of percussion instruments, imitate the sounds of nature, and dance to punk songs and Balkan brass tunes. They learn circle dances, such as the Brazilian *ciranda* as well as the Italian "Giro Giro Tondo" and Anglo-American "Ring around the Rosie," both of which end in all falling down. For her, it is more important to introduce children to a wide range of musical traditions in a playful way than to replicate what she views as standard children's repertoires. During the beginning of the pandemic in April 2020, she released a video in English through Music Room's YouTube channel in which she teaches parents the Japanese lullaby "Sakura" (meaning Cherry Blossoms) to sing with their babies, accompanying herself with Zimbabwean *mbira*, Brazilian *tamborim*, and other instruments (Music Room Lisboa 2020).

Each class at the Music Room is distinct and based on each teacher's particular experiences, training, and repertoire — Ina's Kazakhstani teacher, for example, focused more on teaching standard English children's repertoire, such as "Old McDonald." But her Italian teacher's diverse approach to music education for babies and toddlers also resonates with the school's broader multicultural values to, as Vanesa states, "share different musical traditions of the world," a goal she views as personified by the international profile of the clientele, teachers, and directors of the school.

(Dis)placing the Musical Expat

One of the themes found in the essays in *The Good Immigrant* (2016) is how privileged migrants can retain the privilege *not* to integrate into the home society, one less available to marginalized migrants who are expected to integrate into their host societies while simultaneously confronting racial discrimination and economic marginalization.[24] We might see the Music Room classes as indeed allowing expat migrants to participate in non-local spaces while also not confronting the expectation of integration. Distinct from other models of migrant music, the classes, overall, do not function to instill either migrants' musical traditions nor local ones — they neither function as a protection of migrant culture(s) nor a bridge to the local one(s). The musical repertoires that are presented reflect a wide array of traditions, none of which is prioritized over another — importantly including local Portuguese musical traditions. They embody what the "musical expat," a person who voluntarily disinherits their home country but is not necessarily searching for long-term integration in the host society, might be searching for to educate their Third Culture Kids.

The Music Room is only one example of an exponentially growing network of institutions, activities, and events that form what I have called Lisbon's expat cultural infrastructure, which largely functions in English, from comedy and game nights in bars to art collectives and much more. This cultural infrastructure is designed to help create a context for the growing influx of foreigners who do not necessarily speak Portuguese or have any connection to Lusophone culture to build a life in Lisbon. It is enabled by the growing social infrastructure of social media, like Lisbon for Parents, and other communication networks in English that aim to help expats navigate the challenging process of relocating to a foreign country.

As remote work has expanded during the pandemic and allows some families a higher level of global mobility than ever before, this kind of infrastructure will become increasingly prevalent in areas around the world that advertise their "quality of life" despite relatively weak local economies (or because of them, as they make these places affordable for more privileged communities). I have argued that this infrastructure both reflects and promotes Lisbon, suddenly a destination not only to visit but to live, as an internationalizing, cosmopolitan city accessible for expat settlement. By creating a feedback loop of more expat migrants who build more institutions marketed to them, expat cultural infrastructure can be understood to have a tangible impact on migration patterns. Indeed, I see parents in Lisbon for Parents cite institutions like Music Room to parents who are considering making the move as evidence that Lisbon is livable for expats.

In contrast to tourist infrastructures that assert the distinctiveness of place, they can offer a relatively placeless palate that is, in the case of the Music Room, designed to accessibly allow parents to promote in their children a cosmopolitan identity over one that is more firmly grounded in local culture. The world music and pop aesthetics and English dominance of such spaces are forged by these expat desires. Like international schools, the Music Room represents a parallel class universe developing in Lisbon that is designed to maintain a privileged and globalized sociality in the setting of a relatively poorer country than those from which many privileged migrants hail. In their best expressions, such spaces for musical expats are viewed as utopian expressions of cultural diversity and encounter — but in their worst, they can be legitimately viewed as contributing to gentrification by rootless people supplanting local culture.

Indeed, as Music Room parent Tara told me, "These kinds of groups aim to replace something that people who are from here already have, but that's difficult to accomplish" (interview). Indeed, these groups have inherent limitations compared to local institutions as they are fundamentally less tied to the fabric of local society. The Music Room may provide an excellent space to meet foreign families, but it is less integrated into Portugal's larger music education system, which, though intentional, has drawbacks for accessing the country's major musical institutions. Though its relative lack of cumulative pedagogy passed from class to class is perhaps a function of its short-lived existence, it is also perhaps a result of leaning on a diverse group of teachers with varied pedagogies and foci less connected to local repertoires and approaches.

Our participation at Ina's other baby music classes, Música de Colo, contrasts strongly with the Music Room. These classes are housed at my university research centre and are a suite of three courses for children aged newborn to one, two to three, and four to five, and they are designed with the full backing of childhood research and pedagogy developed by Edwin Gordon. Rather than relying on drop-ins, the classes require a registration fee and monthly payments, creating a stable and committed student body that follows a coherent and cumulative pedagogy. Conducted entirely in Portuguese, they do count among their members a few foreign families. These families (including our own), however, generally speak Portuguese, and few if any families that do not speak the local language participate. They especially draw on Portuguese folkloric dances and songs rather than promoting a self-consciously multicultural repertoire, and they provide a foundation for accessing Portugal's music education system, including the *conservatórios* (public music education institutions) and *bandas filarmónicas* (philharmonic band tradition widely participated in by all ages). Though also frequented by a relatively privileged group of families, as the families are mostly white and educated, the kind of

placeless cosmopolitanism promoted at the Music Room is not their goal; rather, they serve to instill and reproduce a knowledge of Portuguese musical traditions, an instantiation of place. The Music Room, by contrast, might be thought of as at the liminal margins of music education in Lisbon. Its privileged status as a cosmopolitan alternative also, paradoxically, divorces it from the privileges of being at the core of the society.

The different demographics at the Music Room and Música de Colo might lead us to ask whether an expat cultural infrastructure only perpetuates the existence of what Giulia calls the "expat bubble" or whether it can also integrate expats into local institutions and society. This is a question for further research that will likely be easier to explore in the coming years when expat families have built a longer history in Lisbon, as the settlement of expat families in Lisbon is a recent development. But, though I have shown how Lisbon for Parents and the Music Room primarily serve to create community among expat families, I would venture briefly to suggest that they are not necessarily doomed to perpetuate their own social bubble. The category of "expats" is a diverse one that cannot be neatly reduced to either being segregated from local society or fully integrated into it. There certainly are families who come to Portugal with little intention to learn the language or form local relationships, and they are likely to lean heavily on the expat cultural infrastructure.

But like Giulia, Vanesa, and Ina's Italian Music Room teacher, my own family uses this infrastructure, but we also speak the local language and are dependent on the local economy and its cultural offerings. My eventual befriending of Ina's Italian music teacher, whose daughter has become Ina's friend, has also led me to be more integrated into the local music scene, where I have played with Portuguese musicians, as well as Brazilian, Italian, French, and others. Likewise, the Music Room itself is also not a parallel universe untouched by local society. Twenty-five percent of its students are Portuguese, half of the teachers are Portuguese, and the Portuguese and foreign teachers are generally well integrated into Lisbon's cosmopolitan music scene, which they sometimes introduce to interested students and families. Vanesa has sought in particular to create connections with the local neighbourhood, organizing events with local businesses: "I think the school also contributes to Portugal. We have neighbours who are super happy to listen to music all day long and who love seeing children around. I think we contribute to the neighbourhood as well" (interview).

While we can locate the Lisbon for Parents and the Music Room as parts of an identifiable phenomenon of building expat social and cultural infrastructures, these categories are also porous, and the differing nuances of experience are captured only in each migrant's story. For Ina, a bilingual American-born child living in Portugal, the Music Room classes are but one

aspect of her cosmopolitan baby and toddler life in Lisbon, as she moves between diverse linguistic and cultural spaces in a contemporary European capital marked by an increasingly international profile.

Notes

1. Sarah Kunz (2020) writes of the contested use of the term *expat*, which she argues is racialized as white and indicates a "legitimate" or "good" migrant (Cranston 2017; Nikesh 2016). The term is often deployed in contrast to the term *migrant* due to the negative views of immigrants in Western countries.

2. Cocola-Gant maintains, for example, that Lisbon housing "prices correspond to global, not local, consumption power" (qtd. in Matoušek 2022).

3. Certainly, for some expats who might be more interested in actively engaging in local communities, this process of expats "overrunning" Lisbon might make the city *less* attractive. Nevertheless, I suggest that the process of building cultural infrastructure for expats largely facilitates the snowballing increase of privileged migrants making Lisbon their home.

4. Here I draw on John Connell and Chris Gibson (2004), who argue that the "world music" industry has deterritorialized place, culture, and identity, as people and cultural expressions circulate increasingly without clear roots based in a sense of place.

5. This sense of locality is elicited in how the bands "evoke and perform *terra*" (Brucher 2005: 26), literally "earth" but usually referring to a band's place of origin and its community. Through playing Portuguese marches in the traditional festivities of their local municipalities, "filarmónicas create and affirm identities grounded in place. Filarmónicas invest a sense of place with social values that reiterate concepts of tradition, loyalty, honor, and prestige" (Brucher 2005: 3).

6. In the case of Portugal, see Pardue (2015) on Cape Verdean migrants, but many ethnomusicologist have studied the musics of less privileged migrants and their role in maintaining ethnic identity abroad, such as Shelemay (2006), Sugarman (2004), and Monson (2000).

7. The collaborative research project directed by Iñigo Sánchez, "Sounds of Tourism," has focused especially on the impacts of tourism on the transformation of Lisbon's musical offerings, including fado (see http://www.soundsoftourism.pt/; and Sánchez 2017). Fado, in particular, is not a participatory musical tradition, nor is it a particularly open scene even for Portuguese, as discourses of "being born" with the gift of being a *fadista* proliferate in the scene (Gray 2013). Though fado is a noted tourist offering, musical genres have rarely been mentioned as the primary draw for moving to Portugal in the expat forums I follow (unlike places with musical cultures with more international projection, such as Brazil).

8. Americans and Friends-PT, https://www.facebook.com/groups/505958149761247.

9. Among those from countries with relatively privileged populations, Brazil, France, Italy, and UK migrants still vastly outnumber Americans, of whom there are approximately ten thousand residents, but this is quickly increasing.

10. These groups include Expats in Portugal Q&A; American Expats, Immigrants & Friends in Portugal & Spain: Leaving the USA; Expats with Kids in Portugal; Families Moving to (and Living in) Portugal!; Californians Moving to/Living in Portugal; Alternative Families in Portugal; Français à Lisbonne; Brasileiros em Portugal; and others.

11. After the 1960s, a decade of impoverishment and colonial war, 750,000 Portuguese had emigrated to France alone. More recently, nearly 600,000 of the approximately 10,300,000 people in the country emigrated between 2011 and 2015 during the financial crisis.

12. This includes Lisbon's selection as the European Capital of Culture (1994) and the Lisbon Universal Exposition (1998).

13. While a distinct migration phenomenon from the one considered here, it is important to note the many less privileged communities from South Asia, East Asia, the Middle East, Lusophone Africa, Brazil, and Eastern Europe who also migrated to Portugal to work in the country's relatively stronger economy during this period.

14. These foreign investments were incentivized by the Golden Visa program, which essentially sold residence and a path to citizenship, and thus a foothold in Europe, for those willing and able to invest five hundred thousand euros in the country, usually in real estate. The program requires visa-holders to spend only one week in the country per year, but some also came to live in the properties they purchased. The introduction of the D-7 "passive income" visa in 2007, which provides legal residency to those proving an ability to earn at least the minimum salary without depending on Portugal's economy, brought a wave of privileged new residents to Lisbon's city centre and other parts of Portugal. In 2021, a faster "digital nomad" visa was created that circumvents some of the requirements of other migrants for those making four times the minimum wage. Many foreign residents benefit from the Nonhabitual Tax Resident scheme, which limits taxable income for higher income foreign residents.

15. This situation is changing quickly. While long-term Lisbon residents have complained through this process that the city has become less and less affordable for those making local salaries, the post-pandemic boom of even more expats moving to the city in 2022 has shot up prices to the point that privileged expats have begun declaring Lisbon no longer an affordable city, and even now an expensive one on a global level. For local residents, these developments have created a crisis of affordability for many and "collateral damage inflicted on the social fabric of Lisbon," as the rise in property values and rents has far outpaced local salaries (see Ramalho da Silva 2021).

16. I have most often heard this explained as due to the fact that — like other small European countries such as the Scandinavian countries and Holland and unlike larger European countries such as Spain, France, and Italy — Portugal has tended not

to dub its English-language media, leading Portuguese from a young age to constantly hear the English language. Indeed, in a study of the increasing use of English in Portuguese universities, Vincent Kirklaan, Gillian Moreira, and Kees Boerma note, "Small countries are normally more active in internationalisation because their home market is smaller and there are fewer potential partners within the country" (2008: 249).

17. It is important not to romanticize the use of English as universally accessible or non-controversial. As a Portuguese speaker, I believe my life would be very socially limited if I only relied on English. Furthermore, many people, especially older people, do not speak English well and resent the assumption that they should speak English in their own country.

18. Though I have heard migrants from various countries speak favourably of the country in this regard, including Western Europeans, for migrants from countries that are notably more violent, such as Brazil, this has been a top concern. For US American families with whom I spoke, whose country rates on that scale as 122 out of 163, this has been a major factor to make the move as they watch the ceaseless spate of school shootings in horror. See Vision of Humanity, "Global Peace Index," https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/?fbclid=IwAR3pVCqPGIHXcpWxRSBLXFUDeg7-zyIYiz_-wwZHtrPWA9DiU8wpFQ9RRdI#/.

19. More recently, Californians, especially "digital nomads," have been aggressively courted by Portugal promoting itself as the "California of Europe" with a similar climate and coastline. The "escape" of one woman to Portugal profiled by the *LA Times* "from her native California came amid growing costs of living, encroaching wildfires and a waning sense of safety" (Kaleem 2022). My own wife was profiled about the impact of increasingly frequent wildfires on our decision to leave California for Portugal (Martins 2022).

20. These include the long-standing French School (Lycée français, founded in 1907) alongside newer schools, such as The British School of Lisbon (2019) and the French/English-language Redbridge (2017).

21. See Leal (2000) on the cultural origin of stereotypes of the Portuguese character as insular and introverted.

22. Scandinavian countries are viewed in Europe as progressive on many fronts, including childhood education and development.

23. The school only existed for six months when the pandemic hit, forcing it to close for three months, push many of its activities online, and conduct its in-person activities with a range of covid precautions, including having classes outdoors in Jardim da Estrela.

24. One could also note classic gendering and racialization of "good" and "bad" migrants, in which the most "threatening" migrants are viewed as young men of colour, while white families with economic resources are often viewed as unthreatening economic and social resources.

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