

GERUM

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ARBETSRAPPORT

Conference proceedings for
the Lifestyle migration
Hub meeting
28-29 November 2019
Umeå University, Sweden

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Prologue

The lifestyle migration hub is a network of scholars around the world studying lifestyle migration (LM) and other tourism-informed mobilities. They focus on different forms of LM, in various receiving communities and from different perspectives based on sociology, anthropology, human geography and related fields. To keep in touch and exchange ideas and relevant news, the network uses a mailing list (currently 90 recipients), where periods of low intensity alternate with periods of more frequent e-mailing. Meetings have been arranged in Madrid (2010 and 2011), Lisbon (2013), London (2014) and Ljubljana (2016). The hub website is often updated to describe the status of research in the field.

Lifestyle migration refers to the relocation of citizens from affluent industrialised nations in order to find a more meaningful and relaxed life, usually in places with lower living costs and sunny or otherwise attractive climates. Often, they claim to be escaping from the “rat-race”, hectic lifestyles and pressures at work. Retirees, on the other hand, often claim to search for a more active old age by moving abroad. Scholars of lifestyle migration and tourism-informed mobilities are interested in the social conditions that lead individuals to pursue ‘the good life’ through geographic mobility and travel. Lifestyle-informed migration creates new forms of transnational community and identity. It also has important social and environmental effects on receiving communities. Studies have e.g. focused on North Europeans moving to Spain (O’Reilly 2000), or buying second homes in Malta (Åkerlund 2013), or on the migration of North Americans and West Europeans to Latin American destinations (Hayes 2015), and to South or Southeast Asia (Benson & O’Reilly 2018).

The expansion of case studies has led to new theoretical approaches to lifestyle migration that have enriched previous scholarship (Benson & O’Reilly 2016; Barcus & Halfacree 2018). Lifestyle migrants are often retirees or pre-retirees, but recent studies have also focused on transnational families, children growing up in lifestyle communities abroad, and on working age migrants who relocate for a better quality of life (e.g. Eimermann 2013; Korpela 2018). A novel field of investigation is domestic lifestyle migration (e.g. Walford & Stockdale 2016).

Since lifestyle migrants say they move in order to create a better life at the destination, scholars first explored the cultural imaginaries that have informed these relocations, paying close attention to the ideas they have about the places they are moving to (Benson 2010). Tied to this is the very notion that individuals can and should construct their own lives and their own communities—making lifestyle migration one of the key research areas for work on contemporary individualism and community. Individualistic cultural ideals and in some cases, post-colonial (and neo-colonial) imaginaries of exoticised landscapes may help structure individual travel and relocation (Hayes 2018).

Lifestyle migration scholars have, however, also been attentive to the material and environmental effects on receiving communities. Lifestyle migration typically develops in destinations where culture and landscape have previously been commodified by tourism-related corporations from the Global North. This leads to rapid development of the transportation, construction and real estate sectors in receiving communities, with detrimental effects on long-term/local residents and the environment. Scholars of lifestyle migration have at an early stage called attention to new forms of mobility and flows of migrants (Casado-Díaz 1999), as well as e.g. return migration related to Brexit (Giner-Monfort et al 2016).

Economic reasons are also significant contributing factors to lifestyle migration. Many relocate partly because of cheaper living costs, often related to the decline of pension and health care entitlements. As austerity programmes undermine the 20th century welfare institutions in Western Europe and North America, more and more potential migrants, especially retirees, seek ways to protect their lifestyles and savings (Hayes 2018). In Japan, demographic shifts have contributed to out-migration of

older citizens, searching for affordable care. Lifestyle migration scholars have studied how care is being increasingly offshored, including international care chains involving various and linked migrations with geographic locations at different levels of economic development (Ormond 2016). They have also studied how access to property, employment opportunities, and other amenities have shifted social burdens from North to South. Lifestyle migration scholarship overlaps with earlier scholarship on amenity migration (Moss 2006) and second-homes (Müller & Marjavaara 2012), and has in turn inspired research on lifestyle mobilities (Cohen et al 2015) and North-South migration.

Despite this significant body of work on lifestyle migration led by members of the hub, no meeting has been arranged over the past years. That is one reason why we arrange a meeting in Umeå in 2019, with the purpose to provide a new occasion to meet colleagues in real life, discuss ongoing research and future possibilities for collaboration. We intend to find new synergies and insights from anthropology, political science, ethnography, geography, sociology and other disciplines for joint future studies.

The remainder of the conference proceedings provide a detailed overview of participants, programme and presentations.

Kind regards,
Marco Eimermann and Mari Korpela

Many thanks to Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly for constructive comments on earlier versions.

We are thankful for financial support by Umeå University's Geography Department, Arctic Research Centre (ARCUM), and the University's collaboration with Umeå municipality and Region Västerbotten. FORMAS, a Swedish research council for sustainable development, has contributed through funding for the research projects 'Mobilising the rural: Post-productivism and the new economy' (grant 2011-72), 'Mobilities, micro-urbanisation and changing settlement patterns in the sparsely populated North' (grant 2016-344) and 'Money makes the world go round? Geographical perspectives on downshifting and voluntary simplicity as sustainable ways of life' (grant 2018-547). Finally, we greatly appreciate *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond* (RJ) for their research initiation grant.

Call for abstracts: LM Hub meeting 28-29 November 2019 (in Umeå, Sweden)

Theme: Practicing lifestyle migration in changing political, economic and environmental times

Since Benson, O'Reilly and colleagues published their seminal work on lifestyle migration in 2009, scholars have studied practices of the good life in various locations (Torkington et al. 2015), and developed insights into lifestyle migration – and migration more broadly – from different angles (e.g. Benson & O'Reilly 2016). Over the past ten years however, political, economic and environmental circumstances have changed in many places. For example, Brexit is studied in the BrexitBritsAbroad project. Elsewhere, president Trump's focus on domestic economic issues over international trade and collaboration is provoking fierce reactions from the public and the press, and we do not know what this may mean for different migration flows to and from the USA. Moreover, climate change increasingly affects individuals', states' and organizations' migration views and decisions. This lifestyle migration hub meeting therefore focuses on the questions:

“Which practices do potential and current lifestyle migrants employ in response to the shifting political, economic and environmental circumstances?”, and
 “How do lifestyle migrants navigate within these changing circumstances?”

“Practice” encompasses both structures (e.g. social norms, expectations, imaginaries, laws), agency and how interactions between structure and agency change over time. We want to investigate which changing political, economic and environmental circumstances are framing different types of lifestyle migrations, and how. How do imaginaries and (changing) real-life circumstances correspond and differ, and how do they affect people's views, practices and aspirations? We can also include the dark sides of lifestyle migration into the discussion; what happens when things do not go as planned and there are shadows in the lifestyle migrants' paradise.

Because political, economic and environmental circumstances can both constrain and facilitate people's actions, the meeting aims to discuss developments in lifestyle migrants' (potentially) changing practices. Participants should clearly state their methodological and theoretical framework (e.g. “practice stories”, Benson & O'Reilly 2018). They should also indicate how their work is relevant for wider understandings of migration such as minor and major social impacts and outcomes for individuals as well as environments, e.g. studying the significance of gender in various migration circumstances. To identify avenues for further research, adhering to (one of) the following subthemes is encouraged:

- *Lifestyle migration and wider understandings of migration in changing political times*

This subtheme refers to political issues in lifestyle migrants' practices. For instance, what can we learn from Brexit or post/neo-colonialism? How do changing local or state policies affect lifestyle migration? What kinds of roles do imaginaries of sending and/or receiving welfare states play, regarding e.g. social security systems and prevailing gender roles in society? How can we perceive transnationalism and global inequality? For example, how should we study state supported immigration programs and tax benefits for desired immigrants?

- *Lifestyle migration and wider understandings of migration in changing economic times*

This subtheme relates to the economic side of lifestyle migration, including for example housing, or financing the aspired lifestyles. What are the effects of material issues and financial aspects (including financial crises) for lifestyle migrants' practices? Moreover, does lifestyle migration promote innovation and economic development, or can it be viewed in terms of downshifting or degrowth?

- Lifestyle migration and wider understandings of migration in changing environmental times

This subtheme relates to (lifestyle) migrants' perceptions of climate change, both before and after their initial migration. How do such perceptions affect lifestyle migrants' migration decisions and practices? Focus can be on how milder winters challenge winter activities in Arctic, Antarctic and Subarctic areas, or on similar but opposite challenges in warmer destinations with rising temperatures. A threat to practices and destinations in general seems to be the rising uncertainties regarding extreme weather conditions. Other issues in this subtheme include remoteness, sparse populations, resource extraction, peripherality and indigenous peoples.

This meeting has the same social objective as previous meetings: to provide an occasion to meet colleagues, discuss ongoing research and future possibilities for the hub. Which synergies can we find between insights from anthropology, ethnography, geography, political science, sociology and other disciplines for our current and future studies?

Please send your name, primary affiliation and a formal abstract of 250 words and up to 5 key words to marco.eimermann@umu.se no later than 7 October 2019.

We look forward to an inspiring LM Hub meeting in Sweden!

Best wishes,

Marco Eimermann, Mari Korpela and the local organizing team

Programme: Lifestyle migration Hub meeting 28-29 Nov. 2019. Umeå University, Sweden.

Theme: Practicing lifestyle migration in changing political, economic and environmental times

We kindly ask the participants to adhere to the following guidelines and we ask the chairs to make sure the guidelines are followed. *Presenters*: please prepare a 15 min presentation and allow 5 minutes for Q&A. We offer the *Keynotes* 30 minutes (Mari Korpela) and 60 minutes (Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly together).

Thursday 28 Nov. 2019

- 08.20 – 08.30 *Drop in*. Venue: room S312 in the Social sciences building.
- 08.30 – 09.00 *Introduction*. Dr. Marco Eimermann (Umeå University Sweden) & Dr. Mari Korpela (Tampere University Finland), including a short round of participants' oral presentations.
- 09.00 – 09.15 *Welcome!* Prof. Dieter Müller (Deputy vice chancellor of Umeå University).
- 09.15 – 09.45 **Keynote**: Dr. Mari Korpela (Tampere University Finland) *Living on the edge: lifestyle migration within changing political and economic circumstances*.

09.45 – 10.15 break.

10.15 – 11.55 session 1a.

LM and wider understandings of migration in changing **environmental** and **socio-spatial** circumstances **Chair**: Dr. Marco Eimermann (Umeå University Sweden).

- Prof. Dieter K. Müller (Umeå University Sweden) *Tourism and Lifestyle-led Mobilities*.
- Prof. Thoroddur Bjarnason (University of Akureyri Iceland) *The friendly invaders: Lifestyle migrants and the transformation of Icelandic fishing villages*.
- Šárka Tesarova (Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic) *How the motive of self-actualisation influences migration of singles and families? The changes in Prague hinterland in 2018/2019*.
- Dr. Cenk Demiroglu & Dr. Linda Lundmark (both Umeå University Sweden) *Snowballing the Ski Bums: Corporatization and Climate Change as Push and Pull Factors*.
- Dr. Ulrika Åkerlund & Dr. Fredrik Hoppstadius, (both Karlstad University Sweden) *Beyond the city life: the everyday life experiences among counterurbanizing young families*.

12.00 – 13.15 lunch at Universum.

13.20– 14.40 session 1b.

LM and wider understandings of migration in changing **environmental** and **socio-spatial** circumstances **Chair:** Dr. Stefan Kordel (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg Germany).

- Dr. Mari Nuga (Umeå University Sweden) *Personal narratives of downshifting and voluntary simplicity: adjust and migrate for your life?*
- Camille Hochedez (Poitiers University France) *Change your life to change your job: a case study amongst North-European migrant farmers in the Dordogne (South Western France).*
- Dr. Claudia Dávila Valdés (Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán Mexico) *Lifestyle migration in Mérida Yucatán. Socio-spatial transformations in the northern area of downtown.*
- Yana Yovcheva (Independent scholar) *Japanese lifestyle migrants in Austria and Bulgaria: structural determinants and their impact on choices.*

14.40 – 15.10 break.

15.10 – 16.10 session 2.

LM and wider understandings of migration in changing **political** circumstances

Chair: Prof. Thoroddur Bjarnason (University of Akureyri Iceland).

- Dr. Maarja Saar (Södertörn Högskola Sweden & University of Bristol UK), Ellu Saar (University of Tallinn Estonia) and Tiit Tammaru (University of Tartu Estonia) *Marrying lifestyle in migration and welfare magnet hypothesis?*
- Dr. Stefan Kordel (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg Germany) *Onward (im)mobilities and how migrants' mobility strategies counteract sedentarist logics of the state: empirical evidence from lifestyle migration research and refugee studies.*
- Dr. Roger Norum (University of Oulu Finland) *De-placing experience: Connectivities, mobility and the mediated production of experience.*

16.10 – 16.20 short break to arrange tables for the keynote dialogue.

- 16.20 – 17.20 **Keynote Dialogue** between Emeritus Prof. Karen O'Reilly (Loughborough University UK) and Dr. Michaela Benson (Goldsmiths, University of London UK): **Brexit Brits Abroad: The sociological implications of a complex, longitudinal (live, multi-modal) study.** This dialogue will be recorded and broadcast as podcast. It will be followed by a brief Q&A session. Moderator: Dr. Matthew Hayes (St. Thomas University Canada).
- 17.25 walk, bus (or otherwise) to town.
- 18.30 dinner at restaurant Orangeriet, incl. **evening talk:** *Climate change adaptation in land uses in northern Europe.* Prof. Carina Keskitalo (Umeå University Sweden).

Friday 29 Nov. 2019

- 08.40 – 09.00 *Drop in*. Venue: room S312 in the Social sciences building.

09.00 – 10.20 session 3.

LM and wider understandings of migration in changing **economic** circumstances

Chair: Dr. Stefan Kordel (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg Germany).

- Jordan Pinel (Poitiers University France) *Economic strategies of the French retirees in Morocco: take the “for” and leave the “against”?*
- Qiujie CHEN (PSL Research University Paris France) *Hostel Economy of Lifestyle Migrants on the Tibetan Plateau.*
- Lucie Remešová (Charles University Prague Czech Rep.) *Privileged Migration to the Peruvian Capital of Lima.*
- Outi Kulusjärvi & Marika Kettunen (Geography research unit, University of Oulu). *Socially sustainable tourism and the (im)mobilities of the youth.*

10.20 – 10.50 break.

10.50 – 12.10 session 4.

LM, **theoretical and methodological** issues in changing political, economic and environmental times.

Chair: Dr. Ulrika Åkerlund (Karlstad University Sweden).

- Dr. Daniel Tomozeiu (University of Westminster London & Birkbeck College London UK) *Intercultural Communication Theory as a Lifestyle Migration Analysis Framework.*
- Dr. Maria A. Casado-Diaz (University of the West of England, Bristol UK) *And life goes on: a qualitative longitudinal study of lifestyle migration to Spain.*
- Dr. Brenda Le Bigot (University of Poitiers France) *At the crossroads of migration: Backpackers in Thailand and Retirees in Morocco.*
- Dr. Matthew Hayes (St. Thomas University Canada) *Coloniality and Global Social Position in the Lifestyle Migration of French and Italians in Morocco.*

12.10 – 13.25 lunch at Universum.

13.30 – 15.30 session 5.

LM and transnational issues in changing political, economic and environmental times

Chair: Dr. Charlotta Hedberg (Umeå University Sweden).

- Dr. Charlotta Hedberg gives a short introduction
- Dr. Raúl Lardiés Bosque (Universidad de Zaragoza Spain) *Transfrontier mobility, aging and care among lifestyle migrants in Northern Mexico.*
- Research prof. Myriam Colmenares (University of Guadalajara México) *Central American migration in Mexico: economic and political lifestyles.*
- Dr. Olga Hannonen (Post-doctoral Researcher, Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland) *Changing trans-border mobilities: Russian second-home owners in Finland.*
- Dr. Doris Carson (Umeå University Sweden) *Does tourism entrepreneurship help or hinder integration? Experiences of international lifestyle entrepreneurs in rural Sweden*
- Dr. Ann Elisabeth Laksfoss Cardozo (University of Stavanger Norway) *Economic aspects of seasonal transnational lifestyle migration from Norway to Alicante, 1965-1994.*

15.30 – 16.00 break, and preparing room for round table discussion.

16.00 – 17.00 coffee, tea and round table discussion. LM Hub practical issues, future collaborations and developments, ideas and initiatives for emerging LM research.

17.00 – 17.15 rounding off. Dr. Marco Eimermann (Umeå University Sweden).

17.45 dinner at Pub Rött.

Abstracts (in alphabetical order of main presenter's last name)

- Dr. Michaela Benson (Goldsmiths, University of London UK). michaela.benson@gold.ac.uk
See Emeritus Prof. Karen O'Reilly (Loughborough University UK) K.OReilly@lboro.ac.uk.
- Brenda LE BIGOT, University of Poitiers – Migrinter (research team). brenda.le.bigot@univ-poitiers.fr

At the crossroads of migration: Backpackers in Thailand and Retirees in Morocco

As part of my participation in the Lifestyle Migrations hub meeting, I would like to propose a theoretical and methodological reflection on the crossing approaches between different forms of migration. The purpose is based on the empirical contributions of a geography thesis defended in 2017 which focused on backpackers in Thailand and retirees in Morocco. First, the intervention will review the main results of this research, highlighting the difficulties and interests of crossing these two migrant lifestyle groups. In particular, I will show the interest of a spatial and multi-scale approach to understanding the translocal lifestyles studied. Secondly, I will present a project currently being developed that considers the intersections between "privileged" and "constrained" migration. This project is a continuation of the reflection carried out during the thesis on the notion of "privilege" and is part of a perspective of a recognition of lifestyle migrations within migration studies in France. This part of the presentation will focus on visa policies, and in particular working holiday visas for young people. The example of Australia makes it possible to formulate the hypothesis that these mobilities, often presented from the perspective of tourism, consist of a real migration policy linked to the wealth that these young people represent in terms of labour force for low-skilled employment sectors. This presentation is intended as a means of collective reflection to allow for a broader dialogue with the Hub's participants.

Keywords: backpackers, Thailand, retirees, Morocco, privileged migration

- Prof. Thoroddur Bjarnason, University of Akureyri Iceland. thorodd@unak.is

The friendly invaders: Lifestyle migrants and the transformation of Icelandic fishing villages

Icelandic fishing villages mostly grew out of the 20th century industrial revolution of the fisheries as young people all of the country migrated the shortest distance from farm to shore. The fishing villages grew as the fishing fleet and processing facilities grew larger and more efficient, and reached their zenith in the mid-1980s. The introduction of individual transferrable quotas (ITQs) in 1990 led to massive geographical concentration of the industry, increased corporate profits and technological development. Coupled with the more general challenges of rural and remote communities, the decreased need for manual labour led to prolonged depopulation. In recent years, very cheap housing and vacant industrial buildings have attracted a wide array of lifestyle migrants both from the Reykjavík capital area and from other countries. In this paper, three cases emerging in the Westfjords will be discussed. In one village, a former fish baiting facility has been transformed into a creative space with work space for visiting artists, a café and an online rural cultural journal. In another, an abandoned bank has been reinvented as a centre for innovation and entrepreneurship, coupled with the provision of basic financial services and facilities for telework. In a third, the former headquarters of the defunct co-op have become an alternative school, modelled on the Nordic Folkehøgskole. In each case, a diverse set of actors have drawn on various local and external resources to reinvent the villages to a different degree. The implications for social, economic and cultural development of the local communities will be discussed with special emphasis on relations between lifestyle migrants and long-time residents, conflicting visions of desirable futures, and relevance to regional development policies.

Keywords: Fishing villages; Lifestyle migrants; Creative class; Gentrification; Regional policy

- Dr. Doris Carson, University of Umeå Sweden. doris.carson@umu.se & Dr. Marco Eimermann, University of Umeå Sweden. marco.eimermann@umu.se

Does tourism entrepreneurship help or hinder integration? Experiences of international lifestyle entrepreneurs in rural Sweden.

Many small villages across rural Sweden have attracted international (mostly intra-European) lifestyle migrants in recent years moving north to enjoy the relative isolation and access to untouched nature and outdoor activities. With local employment being limited, these migrants often become self-employed in tourism by converting consumptive lifestyle interests into productive businesses. Their participation in the labour market as entrepreneurs is usually highly valued by local community stakeholders, meaning that these migrants hardly ever feature in public debates around international migration and integration. Nevertheless, our research suggests that they face considerable challenges in accessing local networks, thus raising concerns about their ability to integrate from an economic, social and cultural perspective. This study examines the role of tourism entrepreneurship in the integration process to understand how the mix of lifestyle and tourism interests, and the resulting business practices, hinder or contribute to integration. The study is based on extensive qualitative fieldwork in several communities across rural Sweden, drawing on interviews with migrant entrepreneurs, discussions with local community stakeholders, and ethnographic observations. Our conceptual framework identifies several types of lifestyle tourism entrepreneurs based on their lifecycle stages, personal lifestyle goals, business growth aspirations, seasonal business focus, target markets, employment strategies and mobility practices. We further illustrate how these interconnected dimensions affect the migrants' local network practices and integration efforts. We present a number of contrasting cases where different local-migrant interactions and integration experiences have emerged. These range from cases of open conflict and local-migrant tensions, co-existence of separate local and migrant bubbles, temporary integration of local-migrant networks around specific events, to long-term collaboration and learning between migrants and local residents. The findings emphasise the importance of transnational networks (both economic and social) and cultural institutions in facilitating or hindering local integration. We also discuss how a lack of integration and the emergence of local tensions can facilitate new development outcomes for local tourism industries, thus questioning the mantra of integration as the ultimate goal for remote communities seeking socio-economic rejuvenation from in-migration.

Keywords: tourism lifestyle entrepreneurs; local integration; transnational networks; tourism development; remote village communities

- Dr Maria Casado-Diaz, University of the West of England, Bristol, UK.

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'And life goes on': a qualitative longitudinal study of lifestyle migration to Spain

As noted by Benson and Osbaldiston (2014:9), 'lifestyle migration represents the coming together of various contingencies - biographies, individual agency, historical and material conditions, internal and external constraints as well as culturally significant imaginaries - at a particular point in time'. This paper advocates the usefulness of De Haas (2011) aspirations-capabilities framework and O'Reilly (2012a) theory of practice for the consideration of both structure and agency factors in the analysis of lifestyle migration, as well as the relevance of longitudinal qualitative studies for 'understanding life development and social change as an ongoing process in which structure and agency interact' (O'Reilly 2012b:519).

Recent scholarship has focused on the relationships between migrant subjectivities and the quest for a better way of life, a quest that does not end with the act of migration but continues into post migration life (Benson 2010; Benson and Osbaldiston 2014; Casado-Diaz et al., 2014). Thus, it is crucial to investigate the passage of time on the migrants' lived experiences, perceptions and meanings of

the 'good life'. A qualitative longitudinal approach is used to investigate the transformations on the post migration lived experiences of a sample of British retirees living in Spain (2008; 2013-14; 2018). The migrants' practice stories illustrate the complex interplay between contextual structural frameworks and the migrants' individual agency and, ultimately, their capacity to adapt to a changing political and economic environment and to their very own ageing process. Through the analysis of the practice stories of our respondents this paper illustrates the transformative nature of migration and the significant role of individual agency in the search for a better life.

Keywords: lifestyle, retirement migration, longitudinal, practice stories, life course

- Qiujie CHEN, Université Paris Sciences et Lettres, Qiujie1024@gmail.com

Hostel Economy of Lifestyle Migrants on the Tibetan Plateau

Following the success of Qinghai-Tibet Railway connecting the Tibetan Plateau and the inland China in 2006, as the tourism sector becoming an economic cornerstone of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), lifestyle migrants with their emerging hostel business have quickly grown into a sparkling symbol of local tourism market - an important but rarely-examined phenomenon in contemporary China.

Two fieldworks were conducted respectively in 2018 and 2019 in Lhasa city, the provincial seat of TAR. The collected data suggest that lifestyle migrants on the plateau, mostly from the inland, display unique nature on several aspects especially certain moral advantages rooted in the traditional Chinese hermit culture. But incoherent with the commonly self-portrayed non-materialism ideology, the investment risk has always been among the defining factors toward the relocation which leads to several popular hostel investment strategies adopted by the group after the relocation.

This study also unveils that purchasing properties is not favored by lifestyle migrants in Lhasa as most of them will be returning the inland in no more than three years. In the early stage, the hostel transfer fee is commonly considered as the financial fuse, but in cope with the quickly shifting market tastes as well as a series of new public policies implicated by the authorities in the following years, the group progressively adopts several new methods including volunteer scheme, multi-ownership, multi-level contracting, crowdfunding and such, which not only reflect the complexity within the group but also unfold a shadowed aspect of their life in the imagined Shangri-La.

Keywords: lifestyle migration, hostel, innovation strategy, middle class, China

- Myriam Colmenares, Research professor, University of Guadalajara, México
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Central American migration in Mexico: economic and political lifestyles.

It is believed that immigration takes something away from the local population and it is possible to argue that in fact migration in general drives the economic development of the host nations and also transforms in a certain way the culture of the places where they are established. In economic terms, the reception of migrants means an important boost in terms of productivity, growth and training of human resources. The migration of Central Americans to Mexico in its struggle to reach US lands is not an isolated phenomenon to understand the economic and social dynamics that Latin America is experiencing due to the lack of opportunities in their countries of origin. With the exception of Spanish migrations and the reception of exiles from Latin American dictatorships, Mexico has historically been a highly restrictive country towards immigration. Faced with a controversial scenario between North and South America where Mexico plays a more unifying role than an intermediary, the political and economic systems we live in today generate changes in the way of seeing and studying the migratory phenomenon. Thus, the pattern of Central American migrations in Mexico is diverse and changing over time. Faced with this situation, the starting hypothesis for this analysis is that not all movements of the Central American population towards Mexico are directly or exclusively related to economic situations, but are political pressures that are triggered by social behaviors.

Keywords: migration, Central America, Mexico, economy and politics.

- Claudia Dávila Valdés, Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán. claudavila@hotmail.com

Lifestyle migration in Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico. Socio-spatial transformations in the northern area of downtown.

The public policy of revitalization and touristification of the historic downtown in Mérida has had the objective of transforming the area to attract second home residents. The success of this policy has been observed for approximately 15 years, with a small but continuous arrival of new residents from the US, Canada, and in less numbers, from Europe. Through the application of interviews, field work and the use of different official databases we analyze in this study this lifestyle migration in the northern area of the historic downtown. The new residents have taken advantage of the exchange rates and low cost of living to buy old deteriorated mansions, to restore them. The remodeled houses symbolize for the immigrant a new lifestyle. Services offered also become more diverse and sophisticated. Some local investors have also discovered the advantages of selling to a demographic group with more financial resources. In general, we show that the process that Merida has gone through, of being a city with a cloistered and local sociocultural profile, to a cosmopolitan city with cafeterias, tea houses, beer houses, bars, and restaurants that serve French, Italian, German, fusion meals; art galleries, boutique hotels, and crafts stores with products targeting individuals with more social and symbolic capital and more purchasing power. We also include in our analysis the perceptions of Yucatecans who still live in the neighborhood where these changes continue to occur, and their relationships with the new residents.

Keywords: Lifestyle migrations, socio-spatial transformations, Touristification

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Dr. Linda Lundmark, Department of Geography, Umeå University. linda.lundmark@umu.se

Snowballing the Ski Bums: Corporatization and Climate Change as Push and Pull Factors

The Urban Dictionary provides two definitions for a “ski bum” as “a skier, usually male, in his late 30’s or older, who generally spends the entirety of his life at ski resorts” (jer, 2005) and “one who works for low pay in exchange for benefits for example free skipasses or the coveted multi area season’s pass as well as good deals on gear” (just another bum, 2006). While these popular definitions reveal some hints to push and pull factors behind this unusual lifestyle (Zaritsky, 2013), there is a couple of emerging issues reshaping its patterns. As Evans (2010) notes, 50 years ago during the advent of the ski bum in North America, dead-end jobs at ski towns sufficed to provide a living with minimal comfort but maximum skiing. However today the ever-increasing resortification of ski areas (Campbell & Skyes, 2006) and further the corporatisation of their ownerships (Clifford, 2002) have resulted in inflating property values, loss of the idyllic character and arrival of the immigrant workforces. This in return has shrunk the geographies of ski bums throughout North America. While alternative venues such as backcountry and Telemark skiing terrains may seem to help partly save the ski bum lifestyle (Evans, 2011), the near future is expected to double the trouble as the impacts of climate change become more visible and the main amenity for ski bums – the (powder) snow – continues to diminish spatiotemporally (Porter, 2013). In this proposed study, the aim is to explore the Swedish ski bum community and the factors driving them to this alternative lifestyle through snowball sampling based qualitative techniques. The results are intended to shed the light on specific push and pull factors to the existence of these communities and future implications on how emerging trends could alter their mutual relationships with their geographies.

Keywords: ski bum, lifestyle migration, amenity migration, push and pull factors, snowball sampling

- Dr. Marco Eimermann, University of Umeå Sweden. marco.eimermann@umu.se

See Dr. Doris Carson, University of Umeå, Sweden.

Or see Dr. Svante Karlsson, Karlstad University, Sweden.

Or see Dr. Mari Nuga, University of Umeå, Sweden.

- Dr. Olga Hannonen, Post-doctoral Researcher, Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland olga.hannonen@uef.fi

Changing trans-border mobilities: Russian second-home owners in Finland

Trans-border second home mobility is an established lifestyle trend in different parts of the world. Russian second-home ownership in Finland is an example of such a trend that has been developing in Finland since the year of 2000. Since then the phenomenon has grown and declined due to economic and socio-political changes. The Ukrainian conflict in 2014 has become one of the most recent events that has brought significant changes to Russian second-home mobilities in Finland, leading to modifications of mobility regulations and policies on both sides of the border.

To address the changes in Russian second-home tourism, this paper presents an overview of the recent mobility changes both in Finland and in Russia. These changes are discussed under the 'mobility regime' and 'governmobility' conceptual frameworks. The empirical material for the paper includes interviews with Russian second-home owners (n=27) conducted in summer 2017. By looking at owners' narratives about their everyday life in Finland, the paper defines main issues around second-home ownership that are driven by recent political changes.

The analysis makes a deeper connection between the discussed issues and the changing socio-political climate in Finnish-Russian relations. Through the case of Russian second home tourism in Finland, the paper contributed to the wider discussions about the politics of tourism, trans-border and lifestyle mobilities.

Keywords: second home, mobility, Russians, Finland

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Coloniality and Global Social Position in the Lifestyle Migration of French and Italians in Morocco

This paper explores how French-European and Italian lifestyle migrants narrate their global social positions in reference to regimes of global inequality and global mobility. These migrants are aware of global inequalities, and they also demonstrate awareness of their privileged positions in global hierarchies, yet in their understanding of their own place in post-colonial Morocco, these positions are often naturalized and detached from colonial histories, from which they benefit. The paper demonstrates common ways that global inequalities are justified or elided. French-Europeans distinguish themselves from colonials in Morocco and dismiss the oppressiveness of the French Protectorate, evoking the apparently peaceful transition to independence in Morocco relative to Algeria. They understand global inequalities not in terms of histories of dispossession and unequal political economies, but rather in cultural terms, in reference to work habits that reproduce hierarchical interpretations of race and ethno-cultural difference. Their emplacement in a Muslim society is also the source of reflection for many European lifestyle migrants in Morocco, one which evokes contemporary debates about European multiculturalism. French-European and Italian migrants in Morocco narrate their global social positions differently, and generally also contest historical legacies of colonialism, from which they may benefit, but with which they are not attached.

Keywords: coloniality; lifestyle migration; postcolonialism; global inequality; Morocco

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Change your life to change your job: a case study amongst North-European migrant farmers in the Dordogne District (South Western France).

If previous studies underlined the role of the "rural idyll" to make the decision to emigrate towards isolated rural areas (Lord, 2008), especially among retired people, we would like to highlight a new category of North-European migrants who settle in the Southwestern French countryside: migrants

who come to France to set up in farming. We will question the process of foothold by and in agricultural activities, and more widely in rural areas.

Our proposal is based on in-depth interviews with 16 North-European new farmers who set up in the Périgord District. We completed this material with interviews among agricultural organizations and with a statistical analyse of the rural demographical dynamics, in order to better understand the role that migrants play in more general demographical and agricultural trends. Studying this figure of new non-traditional farmers coming from North Europe allows us to highlight a new pattern of lifestyle migration that meets economic migration in a changing environmental context. We will focus on 3 points:

(1) motivations to migrate to the French countrysides: the migration allows the new farmers to achieve a professional project as well as to start a new life. The characteristics of the Périgord District finally meet the migrants' aspirations.

(2) North-European farmers bring innovations in the local farming systems. They are key players of the development of sustainable farming systems. They practice organic farming and develop direct local food chains and on-farm diversification. They also contribute to maintain agricultural systems facing crisis (the dairy sector) and, moreover, to create new gardening systems.

(3) Finally, those new farmers contribute to demographic and residential dynamics in the Périgord. This raises the issue of hosting policies and initiatives to help them to set in farming. We will show that to set in farming relies more on local professional networks than on foreign community networks.

Keywords: lifestyle migration, new farmers, North-European migrants, sustainable farming, Dordogne

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Globalising Swedish countrysides? A relational approach to rural immigrant restaurateurs with refugee backgrounds. (Cancelled)

The main purpose of the study is to connect rural immigrants' business ventures and development in Sweden with relational perspectives on their proximate and distant family and co-ethnic networks at structural and individual levels. We employ a relational approach and draw on in-depth interviews. In the context of urban–rural relationships' meanings for the restaurateurs' business benefits and constraints, we address two questions: What does embeddedness in proximate and distant family and co-ethnic networks mean for the interviewed restaurateurs and for their businesses? and How do previous and anticipated transitions in the restaurateurs' families influence their business decisions and migration trajectories? The results suggest that the interviewees employed transnational dimensions in their social embeddedness and that they maintained material and emotional relationships with their countries of origin. The restaurateurs contribute to a globalisation of Swedish countrysides, but their socio-economic potential for countering rural depopulation in Sweden is not fully realised. Also, the study illuminates how individuals influence, and are influenced by, place-to-place mobilities on a daily basis and during their life course.

Keywords: embeddedness, entrepreneurship, refugees, rural depopulation, social networks.

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Climate change adaptation in land uses in northern Europe

Climate change adaptation has often focused on small-scale or community perspectives. But if we take the case of land uses in northern Europe, such as reindeer husbandry or forestry, they are not necessarily - or at all - only small scale or purely community based. In addition, 'communities' - in a

Swedish understanding based on the municipality - are not necessarily as "small scale" as the theoretical orientation would expect, and may not even be relevant to treat in a more limited conception. This presentation discusses results from climate change adaptation studies including a 'community study' in northern Sweden, illustrating an understanding of northern areas that differs from what might be assumed in international and mainly Anglo-American literature on northern areas. The presentation thereby also reflects on the more recent inclusion of northern Sweden along with northern Finland and Iceland in an 'Arctic' context, thereby implicitly coming to compare these with historically Arctic areas with very different prerequisites.

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Onward (im)mobilities and how migrants' mobility strategies counteract sedentarist logics of the state: empirical evidence from lifestyle mig. research and refugee studies

Taking the new mobility paradigm as a starting point, this article provides a broader perspective on migration processes that goes beyond decision-making processes, the journey and the arrival, and addresses onward mobilities instead. In this regard, we assume that people permanently negotiate the decision where and how to live by means of various mobility practices and the establishment of place-based belonging. In order to capture different migrant groups, we provide empirical material from two different mixed methods case studies: (1) a study on relatively affluent lifestyle migrants in coastal areas and the rural hinterland in Spain and (2) refugees, who were initially placed in rural Bavaria, Germany. We firstly aim to unravel mobility processes among lifestyle migrants and refugees after arrival in Spain or Germany. Secondly, we aim to identify how migrants' mobility strategies counteract sedentarist logics of the state. Empirical data show that migrants' onward mobilities vary at length and thus blur boundaries between residential and everyday mobility. While negotiating mobility and immobility, they develop agency and learn to decide whether, when and how to be mobile or to be fixed to places and establish strategies how to deal with territorially based logics of the state. Thus, state authorities are highly interested in regulations to identify where people reside. Apart from security issues, particularly welfare states have to find solutions how to be responsible for people in a way that goes beyond territorially based registrations. In conceptual terms, results finally provide empirical evidence for a broader understanding of migration, especially considering onward mobility and forms of desired immobility.

Keywords: migration, new mobility paradigm, lifestyle migrants, refugees, agency

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Living on the edge when time goes by: LM within changing political and economic circumstances

It has often been claimed that lifestyle migration is a manifestation of individualism. Although such a discourse definitely exists among lifestyle migrants, I want to emphasise that people always make their lifestyle choices within existing political and institutional structures, and situations change with time. First of all, lifestyle migrants need to take into account issues related to visas, residence permits, social security benefits, health care systems, children's education etc. Secondly, even when most lifestyle migrants want to escape careers and rat race, they need money to maintain their lifestyle. Very often, their income strategies are vulnerable. In this paper, I pay attention to various economic, political and institutional factors that affect lifestyle migrants' lives. I argue that it is particularly important to pay attention to what happens to people's options and choices when years go by. In other words, we should pay more attention to the changing circumstances of lifestyle migrants in the long run. Moreover, lifestyle migrants, and their children, obviously grow older, which eventually changes their situations fundamentally. Yet, the ethos of lifestyle migration is often an attempt to live in "a timeless paradise". Such an attempt is, however, eventually a "mission: impossible".

Keywords: structures, income strategies, time

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Socially sustainable tourism and the (im)mobilities of the youth

In the last few years tourism growth has been rapid in Northern Finland. This has contributed to positive development in this sparsely populated region. In the summer 2019 it was reported that net emigration had turned into net migration in Lapland. Still, there is labour shortage in the tourism sector. The lack of skilled labour force has been identified as the problem. Recruitment campaigns have been set up to attract employees also internationally. Lifestyle migration can aid in this. At the same time, local youth in the destination municipalities migrate to the growing centers and southern Finland. Decisions to move are often based on educational goals. Urban lifestyle also attracts the northern youth. Life in the home region seems appealing only for few, while the move away is necessary for many. It is not self-evident that returning back to the north later on becomes an option. However, already now there are some young who are searching for alternative paths in order to stay in the home region.

How well do the growing tourist resorts serve as spaces where lifestyle goals of in-migrants can be realized? Are the resort spaces attractive environments for the local youth? Do the current resort development encourage the local young people to seek an alternative life paths in the northern environment? In this presentation, we discuss our initial research ideas for the study of tourism destination development and its social sustainability by looking into the (im)mobilities of the youth.

Keywords: destination development; social sustainability; hosts; youth; lifestyle immobilities

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Economic aspects of seasonal transnational lifestyle migration from Norway to Alicante, 1965-1994

Economic conditions, both in sending and receiving countries, have always played an important role in migration. In this presentation, I explore how Norwegians made their dreams come true as labor migrants, retirees and investors in Alicante in the early period from 1965 to 1994. I have divided it into two distinct phases, the first from 1965 to 1987, and the second more intense and more eruptive from 1988 to 1994. This was both due to Norway's dependency on oil to Spain's position in Europe (from very affordable closed economy to a full-blown market economy of the European community in 1994). I also explore how national currencies affected these early migrants.

Firstly, Norwegians were unable to export capital from Norway - unless it had been acquired abroad (i.e. through shipping or trade) to buy houses before the mid-1980s. At the same time, the Spanish economy was bleak after the 1973 energy crisis, which coincided with high rates of unemployment as hundreds of thousands of Spaniards returned from other European countries throughout the 1970s. It was quite difficult to get a work permit and most Norwegians in Alicante lacked necessary skills. This led to illegal practices such as working without permits and smuggling of money. It also led to circular and seasonal migration to combine a preferred lifestyle with economic necessities. On a more personal micro-level, through interviews (personal or through newspapers) and other documents I trace some of the so-called pioneers and their changing or persistent professional lives over several decades.

Keywords: Economic lifestyle migration, labor and retirement migration, housing

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Transfrontier mobility, aging and care among lifestyle migrants in Northern Mexico

The most northwestern part of Mexico has emerged during the last two decades as an important destination for retirees coming from the USA. The attraction of retirees to live along this coastal area is favored by the geographic proximity of the USA, which is conditioning much of the mobility and behavior of these retirees. This contribution analyzes the retired migrants living in the coastal and southern area of Tijuana. Besides knowing the main reasons to settle in this area, we try to evaluate how is social and daily life of this population. Also, we want to know how is this 'ageing across borders', the need of care and social support, and the challenges regarding these aspects. The main sources of analysis are 29 in-depth interviews conducted in 2009, a questionnaire completed by almost 100 retirees, and recently, feedback from retirees about how they are managing the process of aging while living in Mexico. The results point that the main reasons to relocate to this border area economic, cultural, and environmental, combined with the advantages of residing close to the USA. The great number of associations created and maintained by these North American in this area and the close contact maintained among these retirees, must be highlighted as a main tool for socializing. In terms of care and social support, most of the retirees expect to grow old in Mexico, they use social and medical support both in Mexico and in the USA, and return plans are scarce.

Keywords: Aging, Transfrontier mobility, Lifestyle, Retired migrants, Mexico.

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Tourism and Lifestyle-led Mobilities

This presentation revisits residential mobilities along and across various scales. In this context, it reviews the major topics of the debate such as global processes of multi-residence and local impacts; post-colonialism transnationalism, return and circular migrations; and migration, gentrification and tourism in urban spaces. As a result of this review it is acknowledged that residential mobilities and multiple dwelling are not only signified by stretching over temporal and geographical scales. Instead even regarding motivations and space-time use lifestyle mobilities contest traditional ideas of migration and tourism. This is done by moving what has previously been experienced as extraordinary such as migration and tourism into the mundane. Hence, the presentation underlines the emergence of new mobilities as central aspect of societal change in the 21st century and asks for a further development of a mobilities paradigm.

- Dr. Roger Norum, University of Oulu Finland.

De-placing experience: Connectivities, mobility and the mediated production of experience

James Clifford has noted that travel is not merely about going places; it is a conceptual and geographic displacement intended to catalyse consciously enriching experiences. Concomitant with the rise of so-called experiential travel, changes in the production, consumption and mediation of such experience have 'de-placed' the doing of travel, shifting it from a phenomenon bound up with place to one focused rather more on the self. In this paper, I discuss the mediated and mobilised practices of a range of mobile actors, from tourists to lifestyle migrants and so-called digital nomads, who use mobile devices to locate, map, navigate, produce and consume their experiences of destination and of movement. Considering the ways travel exists across digital, material and sensory environments in several ethnographic contexts, I analyse the role played by multiple experiences, practices, relationships, social worlds and localities of travellers (both on the move and on and off the web) in fashioning new subjectivities of contemporary mobility. I question the components of these new subjectivities and the subjects produced out of digitised, narrativised and prosumed forms of mobility. If, as Roberto Simanowski has recently argued, the subjective experience of the present itself is being

eroded by our penchant for structuring, capturing and fixing experience's moments, then the new digital practices of travellers become a key context for analysing the shifting natures of the social processes and technological mediation of mobility.

Keywords: mobility, media, place-making, experience, consumption

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Personal narratives of downshifting and voluntary simplicity: adjust and migrate for your life?

An ongoing interview study investigates the social and spatial dimensions of downshifting and voluntary simplicity. With the help of phenomenological methodology where data collection and analyses are focused on the informants' own living experiences of downshifting and simplicity we aim to explain the phenomenon's true meaning and essence. By the time of this presentation on LM Hub in Umeå, 13 free conversations (unstructured interviews) have been carried out in Westrobothnia and Westrogothia, Sweden. The process of analyses takes its first baby steps in combination with the interview-process.

We consider our informants to be relatively alternative who look for individual solutions to live according to their values that strive towards simpler life. We have taken under deliberation the selection of living-place and previous migration decisions, alternatives to economic calculations and traditional labor and work, the questions of welfare states continuity, BNP-calculations in national economy, the concerns about traditional gender roles in households and in the society, and last but not least the upheaving concerns of climate change and the Earth's future.

Some first emerged important themes and theoretical generalizations will be presented and discussed in front of this gorgeous audience of lifestyle migration researchers. Why here? We aim to contribute to the growing literature of lifestyle migration, on the complexities and messiness of migration and it's relations to individual life directories, on urban-rural connections and dichotomies, on environmental and health related concerns in (lifestyle) migration, and even relations and bonds to the places.

Keywords: individual life directories, alternative livelihoods, consumption, environmental concern, class

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Brexit Brits Abroad: The sociological implications of a complex, longitudinal (live, multi-modal) study

The Brexit Brits Abroad project (<https://brexitbritsabroad.org>) is a ground-breaking sociological study that questions what Brexit means for Britons resident in other European Union member states. Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and the UK in a Changing Europe Initiative, the work has been ongoing since May 2017 and to date has included 272 face-to-face interviews, longitudinal internet-mediated research with over 200 British citizens living in the EU27, two surveys with over 1460 individual responses, as well as extensive document analysis.

Our aim has been to track the negotiations and what these mean for the political rights, social and financial entitlements of these Britons, and to bear witness to an often overlooked human face of Brexit, and its implications for questions of identity, citizenship and belonging. Dissemination of our findings has been ongoing and targeted towards diverse audiences, featuring: online testimonies from our panel members; a regular podcast; reports presenting our findings from case studies in France and Spain; our own and guest blogs; newspaper articles; keynotes and public events; expert advice and policy reports; as well as (ongoing) academic publishing. Our output also includes infographics, animations, graphics and information sheets.

In this presentation we will discuss and reflect on the many and diverse sociological issues that have been raised by the project—from the methodological to the conceptual and theoretical. Our conversation is likely to **focus** especially on: the diversity of British abroad; power and intersectionality; home, belonging and identity; bordering and citizenship; and practice theory.

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Economic strategies of the French retirees in Morocco: Housing, family and economic issues.

International retirement migrations have brought a number of destinations that show in a new light, "North-South", well-known migration fields. Thus, let's emerge the development of a migratory flow of French retirees to enroll in a residential project linked to the research of a "better way of life" and the logic of lifestyle (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). In their residential mobility, these retirees develop strategies and residential choices that put forward different "modes of living" (Bonvalet, Dureau, 2000). These different choices for a type of housing or habitat, for a place or another, according to various temporalities often take to arbitration the issue of social and family of retirees. Based on the contours of the entourage and the location of its members, its absence or its regular visits, housing and its practice are designed differently. But in this strategies, we can also see economic issues taking into account by the retirees. The diversity of residential choices has to be connected with different strategies that go beyond the individual dimension, the couple and its restricted project. Considering these aspects, our comments will fuel the problem of territorial anchoring and networks at retirement in the light of economic strategies. How retirees maintaining them in the familial network, planned the housing in front of the economic issues? The biographic dimension will be at the heart of our analysis focused on interviews collected in Morocco between 2017 and 2019 with French retirees residing in Morocco during the whole year or part only.

Keywords: Retirement, French, Morocco, housing.

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Privileged Migration to the Peruvian Capital of Lima

My research field is in the Peruvian capital of Lima, where I am doing investigation about privileged migration, which is very closely interconnected to lifestyle and romantic migration. The purpose of my fieldwork is to describe the character of this migration and the group of my informants. They are mostly from Western Europe and United States and they are able to have in Peru – according to them – more fulfilling quality of life; they find much more opportunities in Peru than in their countries of origin. Most of them also admit, that they feel somehow privileged in Peru and that they are treated better way in several areas in comparison to Peruvian locals; mostly in search for work, public services and in partner relationships. Being from Europe or United States and being "white" is viewed from their experiences as being more competent in the workplace than a local Peruvian and also more desirable in partner relationships; having foreign "white" partner raises the social status and image. On the other hand, they are treated differently when it comes to payment; they are charged higher prices on everyday experiences (in shops, taxis etc.). This ambivalent position is very new for them and made feel most of them rather uncomfortable. These applied double standards are challenging for them; they could hardly be considered "local" no matter how hard they try to adapt, learn Spanish, have local friends etc. They are always seen as the "gringos" with its negative and positive aspects.

Keywords: Peru, Lima, privileged migration, romantic migration, whiteness

- Ellu Saar, University of Tallinn Estonia. See Dr. Maarja Saar (Södertörn Högskola Sweden & University of Bristol UK), and Tiit Tammaru. Tiit Tammaru (University of Tartu Estonia).

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Marrying lifestyle in migration and welfare magnet hypothesis?

This presentation focuses on the interlinkages between welfare policies, return and migration intentions and social class. Drawing on the idea of lifestyle in migration, the presentation combines quantitative and qualitative data to illustrate the point that the best potential lifestyle and quality for different social groups might be achieved in different geographical contexts. Furthermore, it illustrates how the welfare policies applied by the states might have a distinct impact on which social groups find it appealing to live in this country. Our case focuses on Estonia and migration flows in between Estonia, Finland, UK and Sweden. The main argument is that because of the neoliberal policies applied in Estonia, conditions are created where for certain social groups Estonia becomes a preferred location because of potential lifestyle benefits whereas for other groups lifestyle and life quality become prime reasons for leaving the country. The subjectivity of lifestyle choices and its relation to social class have not been studied in depth by lifestyle migration scholarship because of its overwhelming focus on middle class. If we however make shift towards talking about lifestyle in migration instead of lifestyle migration, class becomes an important topic. This presentation includes data from four different projects carried out throughout the years and therefore allows for a relatively comprehensive analysis of the connection between migration and lifestyle for different social groups migrating from and back to Estonia.

Key words: lifestyle migration, neoliberalism, welfare regimes, social class, return migration.

- Prof. Tiit Tammaru (University of Tartu Estonia). See Dr. Maarja Saar (Södertörn Högskola Sweden & University of Bristol UK), Ellu Saar (University of Tallinn Estonia) and Tiit Tammaru.

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How the motive of self-actualisation influences migration of singles and families? The changes in Prague hinterland in 2018/2019

This presentation offers a current study about the motives and reasons that families who changed their place of residence had for moving from Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic, to the countryside or to a non-metropolitan area where they buy or build their own house. This study explains how residential change, particularly moving out of an urban area, can solve the desires or needs of individuals or families. Motivation plays a key role in the decision about a new place for living and it is always the combination of many reasons which influence the result. The focus is on the dynamic of the process of making decision. The first part is the way to the “trigger” which makes the final solution to leave. The second part of the process is “searching for the place”. This research aims to illuminate the consequences between motives and the patterns in the decision-making process, which are determined by a set of decision steps. This is the decision-making process so-called “tree of decision” which can create specific patterns. There is a famous study by Paul Rossi from the 1950s which focused on the basic motives for moving. This study used a methodology called “reason analysis”. This method is designed for analyzing a process of decision-making and the adjusted version of this method will be used in this research.

Keywords: counterurbanisation, lifestyle migration, amenity migration, motivation, reason analysis,

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Intercultural Communication Theory as a Lifestyle Migration Analysis Framework

During a lifestyle migration process there are several cultures that come in contact. Unlike other types of migrants, such as refugees, economic migrants and even expats, lifestyle migrants make an

informed choice to leave a cultural context they are familiar with and to build their lives in a less-familiar cultural context. Exploring the motivations, expectations and outcomes of this process is a complex research task. The paper argues that a number of intercultural communication approaches can provide a suitable analysis framework to analyse the complexities of lifestyle migration. Internalisation and internalised culture are presented as the basis for analysing identity and motivations. At the same time social positioning and acculturation can both be used to consider the expectations and outcomes of the lifestyle migration process. From a practical perspective, intercultural communication approaches have been a basis for amending legal, social and political contexts around the world, in order to facilitate successful interactions between culturally diverse groups and individuals.

Keywords: intercultural communication, internalized culture, acculturation, theoretical framework

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Japanese lifestyle migrants in Austria and Bulgaria: structural determinants and their impact on choices.

Lifestyle migration has become increasingly popular in recent decades among Japanese of diverse backgrounds and ages. While the common denominator in their stories seems to be a desire to live in (a) place(s) that would allow them a better quality of life, their choices of destination(s) and styles of living vary. According to Benson and O'Reilly (2009), these choices are a function of both structural constraints and individual agency. Based on a comparative qualitative analysis of the conditions present in the two host countries and in-depth interviews with migrants, this paper aims to explain how different structural factors determine who chooses to live where, how, and why. The current research finds that the number, demographic profile, and types of lifestyle migration practiced by Japanese choosing Austria differ significantly from those in Bulgaria. This appears to result from not only objectively existing structural limitations within the host countries (such as immigration policies, employment opportunities, and wage and price levels), but also from determinants in the migrants' country of origin (such as prevalent cultural narratives about the destinations, as well as socio-economic, political, and cultural developments), alongside their individual circumstances (such as cultural, economic, and educational capital).

Keywords: Japanese lifestyle migration, Europe, structure-agency

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Beyond the city life: the everyday life experiences among counterurbanizing young families

In the project we analyze counter-urban migration as a relocation strategy to improve the social sustainability of everyday life (i.e. better work-life-balance and quality of life) among young families in Sweden. Previous research in Sweden consists mainly of register-based studies in which the complexity of everyday life cannot be fully explored. In international counterurbanization studies, lifestyle is often either overlooked or treated in a simplified manner emphasizing "the rural idyll" rather than embracing the complexity of daily lives. The project will use a qualitative method approach collecting interview data from families moving out of metropolitan areas to smaller (semi-)urban settings. Based on mental mapping, qualitative deep interviews and walking interviews, the analysis aims to answer the following research questions: a) How do counterurbanizing young families experience, understand and integrate with place(s) in relation to mobility and place-based resources? b) How is the everyday life actively performed in the aspiration of social sustainability/"the good life"? c) How do counterurbanizing young families value the post-migration changes in everyday life? d)

What is the role of media and digital communication in the migrants' understandings and expectations of places as bases for a socially sustainable everyday life? Two themes are recurring throughout the project. First, we argue that migration should be viewed as a relational event, a life course perspective thus offer an understanding of the individual histories surrounding migration. Second, a focus on the values of place-bound resources pinpoints how the experiences of the local context matter in families' everyday lives.

Keywords: counter-urbanization; young families; place-bound resources; life course; mobile methods

end of abstract section

Brief report from the meeting

The “lifestyle migration hub meeting” in Umeå (November 2019) was one of the biggest gatherings of researchers studying different forms of lifestyle migration. Over 40 senior and junior researchers from Europe, Canada and Mexico participated in this two-day conference. The group of presenters was an exciting mix of participants who were new to the network and those who have been members for many years. It was important for the established members to get to know new lifestyle migration scholars and their work, and vice versa. The meeting consisted of an evening-talk, 2 keynotes and 26 presentations communicating ongoing research in the disciplines of (social) anthropology, history, human geography, sociology and similar social sciences. As such, the meeting was an excellent occasion to update the field with fresh studies and fresh researchers.

The overall purpose was to provide an occasion to meet colleagues, discuss ongoing research and future possibilities for the network. We found synergies, possibilities and challenges for our current and future studies based on insights from the different disciplines. Both directly and indirectly, we addressed key questions such as “which practices do potential and current lifestyle migrants employ in response to shifting political, economic and environmental local and global circumstances?”, and “how do lifestyle migrants navigate within these changing circumstances?”. We did this in sessions with a focus not only on politics, economics and the environment, but also with particular attention to methodological and theoretical issues.

Better understanding lifestyle migration and lifestyle in migration is important to policy-makers in a number of countries and on different scales of decision-making, as new forms of transnational mobility merge with increasingly intense regimes of labour and capital accumulation. Scholars at the conference discussed how lifestyle migration has become an important way of reconceptualizing rural and post-industrial spaces, especially for populations whose ideals of the good life clash with contemporary urban and neoliberal work processes. The casualization of labour markets and the cultural ideal of travel and adventure as a way of life have created new opportunities and challenges to local authorities handling housing issues--be it as a result of inadequate affordable housing, or the lack of local demand as a result of post-industrial decline or rural to urban migration.

Thus, lifestyle migration also implicitly references unequal geographies of surplus extraction, which some local communities have sought to leverage, for example, in order to inject new community spirit in areas experiencing demographic decline, or to market real estate and lifestyle experiences to higher income, more mobile workers, tourists, or retirees. Some spaces are increasingly understood in terms that prioritize leisure over productivity, with consequences for both sending and receiving communities. Members at the conference also took a critical perspective on lifestyle migration, noting that many such migrants don't see themselves as migrants at all, but subjectively understand their relocations in terms that reference an unequal global division of labour. Members of the conference presented work that challenged the mainstream of migration scholarship, which rarely pays attention to histories of unequal global economic and political integration, and which does not attend to how contemporary political economies also produce global North-South forms of migration that differ from those of global South-North migration.

Lifestyle migrants can be seen as prime neoliberal subjects and individuals by decree (Bauman 2007). In their keynote on Brexit and lifestyle migration, Michaela Benson and Karen O'Reilly elaborated on how these migrants are “predisposed to make what are often narrated as individual choices of how and where to live their lives” (Benson & O'Reilly 2018: 273). But the speakers also problematized whose responsibility it may be to try to make sure these people fare well in uncertain times. How individualized can we expect their solutions to be in a changing world with increased political, environmental, and socio-economic turbulence?

The challenge for British citizens living abroad in the EU stems also from the lack of clarity on the part of British policymakers about rights British EU residents might have after Brexit. As Benson and O'Reilly pointed out, these migrants are not a priority for the state, and have received conflicting advice. In light of this, they have had to bricolage their own responses, making themselves individually responsible for procuring their own post-Brexit citizenship and residency rights. And again: Brexit has posed important issues of identity for British citizens residing in the EU, who have developed more complicated, transnational notions of what it means to be British and European. The Brexit decision has limited the freedom of some British citizens, who have seen their rights and their world retreat as a result of the 2016 referendum.

Mari Korpela's keynote addressed longitudinal ethnographic research perspectives, which other presenters also referred to as a central interest when developing the field. What happens when the actual situation after migration doesn't match people's pre-migration imaginaries or what happens when time goes by and situations change and people grow older? Just as the lifestyle migration destinations and political constraints (e.g. VISA provision) may change, the migrant's preferences and socio-economic situations (related with savings, pensions and currency rates) may - and often do - change over their life course. In this respect, we discussed the importance of anticipated changes and the agency of children and other significant others in lifestyle migrants' migration decisions.

Overall, the collection of participants contributed with new insights for tourism studies, lifestyle migration research and other fields, and we enthusiastically spurred ideas for future meetings and joint research initiatives.

Best wishes,
Marco Eimermann & Matthew Hayes
Sweden and Canada, in December 2019.