Mobilities, Lifestyles and Imagined Worlds

Norman McIntyre, Centre for Tourism & Community Development Research,
Lakehead University, Ontario, Canada.

Introduction

Lifestyle migration has been used to indicate the re-location of people either within a country or across international borders motivated primarily, if not exclusively, by quality of life considerations (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; McIntyre, 2009). Research in this area has encompassed a progressively expanding range of migrants including retirees (King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000), second-home owners (McIntyre, Williams, & McHugh, 2006), lifestyle entrepreneurs (Shaw & Williams, 2004; Stone & Stubbs, 2007) and 'urban refugees' (Loeffler & Steinecke, 2007). This phenomenon is constructed typically as a manifestation of the counterurbanisation movement (Berry, 1976; Mitchell, 2004), which has in varying degrees and at different times characterised the late 20th and early 21st centuries worldwide. This emphasis on *migration* and *counterurbanisation* creates two problems for conceptual clarity. The first is that the term *migration* focuses debate on the *mobility of people*, which neglects the broad array of other *mobilities* (Urry, 2000; Sheller & Urry, 2006) or *flows* (Castells, 2000: Appadurai, 1996) that are associated with this voluntary relocation including the movements of capital, information, knowledge and skills that accompany migration. Secondly, the emphasis on rediscovery and colonisation of rural areas is problematic to the extent that it neglects the counter flow to large urban areas of professional and managerial elites attracted as much by lifestyle considerations as by employment opportunities (Castells, 2000; Perlik & Messerli, 2004). I argue that this neglect has limited a theoretically integrated analysis of this phenomenon and its wider implications.

A key focus in exploring the phenomenon of amenity or lifestyle migration has been the motivations underlying the desire to relocate (e.g., Moss, 2006). This emphasis on defining macro-drivers of amenity migration (e.g., environment and culture) has sidelined what are likely the broader goal of relocation for individual migrants, namely, enhancing or changing lifestyle and potentially re-defining self . In this context, the work of Appadurai (1996) on the role of *imagination* and *imagined worlds* in motivating migration will be explored.

Following on earlier work (McIntyre, 2009; Williams & McIntyre, in press) and the suggestion of Benson & O'Reilly (2009) that the concept of *lifestyle* provides a unifying focus for a wide array of apparently disparate types of migration, an initial section of this paper is devoted to a discussion centred on a preliminary typology of lifestyle migrants. Later sections introduce the concepts of *lifestyle mobilities* and *imagination* and explore how these conceptualisations can, broaden the theoretical scope of lifestyle migration and enhance our understanding of the reasons underpinning its growing popularity and provide insights on the issues and conflicts, which accompany its expansion.

A Typology of Lifestyle Migrants

Migration was originally rather narrowly defined as the "relatively permanent" change of address or abode" (Roseman, 1992: 33), however, more recently there has been a much greater recognition of the economic, environmental and social importance of temporary and cyclical migration (e.g., McHugh, Hogan, & Happel, 1995; Bell & Ward, 2000; Williams & Hall, 2002). Similarly, early research emphasised that migration was driven predominantly by economic motives but increasingly the singularity or even the domination of this motive has been questioned and a broader range of possible reasons

have been recognised including change of lifestyle (Jobes, Stinner, & Wardwell, 1992). In this light, Williams & Hall (2000) suggested that migration could be motivated either by 'production' or 'consumption' where the former referred to migrants who relocated for the purposes of becoming involved in some sort of work or business and the latter who were motivated largely by lifestyle considerations. Between these poles there is exists an increasing array of migrants motivated by various combinations of economic and lifestyle motives. Thus, in developing a typology of lifestyle migrants it is necessary first, to recognise that migration can be either *temporary/cyclical* or *permanent* and second, that it is likely motivated by some mix of *economic* and *lifestyle* concerns (Figure 1) .

It is proposed that this formulation encompasses a broad array of migrants motivated by various combinations of economic and lifestyle motives. Those motivated predominantly by lifestyle (consumptive) considerations include two broad groups; first, those who decide to move permanently, perhaps on retirement (Williams, King & Warnes, 1997; Williams et al., 2000), to a locale which promises a desired lifestyle and second, the cyclical/temporary migrants such as tourists and second-home owners (Hall & Muller, 2004; McIntyre, et al., 2006). This typology simplifies what is often a complex mix of movements as it is evident that many retirees and so-called permanent migrants circulate between the new home and former region or country of domicile to visit relatives and friends and/or to escape seasonally inclement weather (Williams et al., 2000; Tate-Libby, 2010). The second-home tourist accumulates a history of property ownership through repeat visits to a specific destination. Some authors (e.g., Stewart,

2001; Tuulentie, 2006) have indicated that tourism experiences can lead to second-home purchase and perhaps eventually to permanent residence (Figure 1).

The second broad group depicted in Figure 1 are those who are motivated by a varied mix of economic and lifestyle considerations but with a leaning towards the former.

Figure 1: A Typology of Lifestyle Migrants (Adapted from McIntyre, 2009
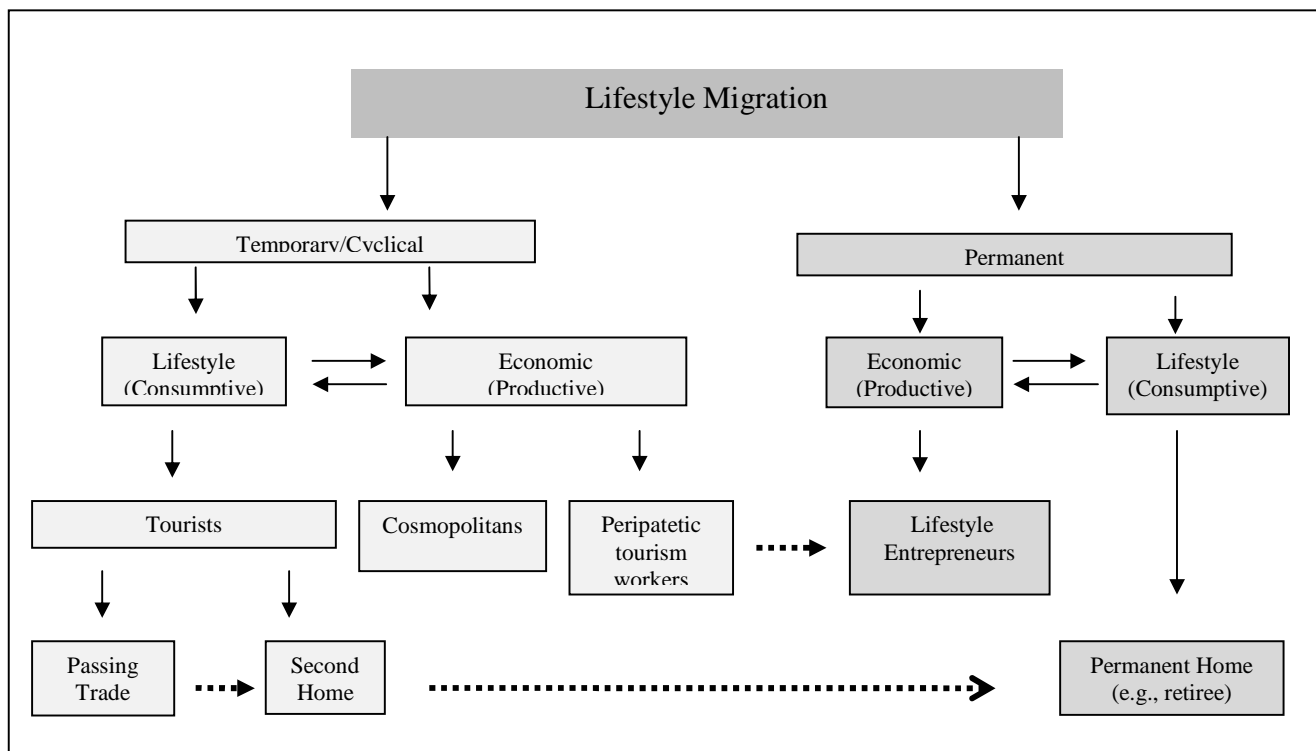
These include the *cosmopolitans*: highly mobile, well-educated, affluent managerial elites (Castells, 2000; Gustafson, 2006) and a significant portion of people engaged in the tourist trade including peripatetic tourism workers (Adler & Adler, 1999) and lifestyle entrepreneurs (e.g., Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Carlsen & Morrison, undated).

Entrepreneurship is conventionally viewed as motivated primarily by economic considerations but research particularly in tourism has uncovered a different kind of entrepreneur – the lifestyle oriented entrepreneur (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998). A disproportionate number of small to medium sized enterprise

owners in the tourism industry are motivated by a mix of both lifestyle and economic concerns and, not uncommonly, the former prevails in business decision-making.

While I have emphasised the role of the tourism industry in providing the potential for an attractive mix of financial and lifestyle incentives for entrepreneurs, this same opportunity is equally available to professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers, real estate agents), artists (Bunting & Mitchell, 2001), urban finge-dwelling commuters (McIntyre, 2009) and telecommuters (Rasker, Gude, Gude, & van den Noort, 2009).

Lifestyle Mobilities

Recent research (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), while recognising the importance of the linkages between mobility and lifestyle, has restricted its assessments to migration or the movement of people. While migration is a major component of mobility, it is nonetheless only one of a number of *mobilities* (Urry, 2000) or *flows* (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2000) that characterise reflexive modernity (Bonss & Kesselring, 2004). Urry argued that to understand the complex and surprising nature of the world today, there was a need to explore "the diverse mobilities of peoples, objects, images, information and wastes; and the complex interdependencies between, and social consequences" (p. 1) of their interactions. This is not to suggest that everything is "on the move" as these diverse mobilities depend centrally on immobile infrastructures which constrain, channel and regulate (e.g., borders) or enable (e.g., transmission towers, roads, airports, garages, fibre-optic cabling etc.) the movement of people and things (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Although networks of mobile flows and immobile infrastructures have existed at all periods in the past, the speed, scale and volume of these flows today are unparalleled in human history (Appadurai, 2000).

Following on the work of Urry (2000) and Moss (2006), McIntyre (2009) introduced the term *lifestyle mobilities*, which he defined as "the movements of *people, capital, information and objects* associated with the process of voluntary relocation to places that are perceived as providing an enhanced or, at least, different lifestyle" (p. 4). This introduces a conceptual frame that focuses on the effects on the migrants and the host communities of the 'other mobilities' accompanying lifestyle migration. Consider, for example, the not uncommon effects of capital flows on housing values associated with lifestyle migration. For example, George (2004; quoted in George, Mair & Read, 2009) noted that in the former fishing port of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia after its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site:

> The beautiful old historic homes, one of the major attractions in the town, [were] now becoming a negative in driving property values to a point that very few… who are not affluent or retire[d] (p.54)

can afford to buy properties in the Old Town. Other examples both positive and negative for communities can be found in the flow of information associated with destination marketing, the transfer of technological and business expertise as in Rasker's (2006) 'footloose entrepreneurs' and in the shifting patterns of political power in rural communities (Smith & Krannich, 2000; Müller, Hall, & Keen, 2004; McIntyre & Pavlovich, 2006).

More generally, Kesserling (2006) in a series of in-depth interviews with "mobility pioneers" (IT, media and armed forces personnel) recognised three mobility management strategies (centred, de-centred and virtual) which they used to create lifestyles involving various mixes of personal mobility and engagement with complex social, economic, and technological networks to enable them to cope with the mobility pressures of modern day living (Kesselring & Vogl, 2004).

Of these strategies, the "de-centred" management strategy is arguably the most relevant to this paper. The example used by Kesselring (2006) involved a freelance journalist Wolfgang who:

> …established residence on one of the Balearic Islands [his home in the sun] but retained his small flat in Germany as a `base camp'…. [he] spends his time moving between the Balearic Islands, Germany, Italy, and, more and more, the United States and Russia. From his base in a middle-sized German city, he manages his seminars and makes journalistic investigations; an Italian enclave is his favourite location for recreation and Buddhist exercises. During the last few years he has become acquainted with places and people all over the world. Wolfgang's experience represents a multiplex network of places, people, ideas, and cultures… [his use of] technologies such as the Internet, e-mail, and mobile telephones permit him to be away and still be accessible. (Kesselring, 2006, p. 272-273)

The lifestyles of many migrants such as retirees and second-home owners are not that dissimilar to Wolfgang's, although admittedly lacking the focus on 'work' and the constant motion and transformation. Given this, a fruitful area of research might well be to focus on how different kinds of lifestyle migrants manage movement, harness technology, and develop social networks to realise their desired projects and plans (e.g., keeping in contact with friends and relatives, developing a business) while being "on the move".

The Terrain of Lifestyle Migration

In a similar conceptualisation of the world today as expressed by Appadurai (1996) and Urry (2000), Castells (2000) argued that:

> …our society is structured around flow*s*: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds and symbols. Flows are not just one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes *dominating* our economic, political and symbolic life (p. 442)

On this basis, he theorised the existence of two spatial logics: a dominant *space of flows* and a *space of places*. The former he conceptualised as being made up a network of

micro-electronic based devices and transportation linkages connecting a hierarchically organised set of hubs and nodes. This is the domain of today's mobile elites, who adopt "...an increasingly homogeneous lifestyle… that transcends the cultural borders of all societies" (p. 447). In contrast, life for the overwhelming majority of people is conducted in places "…whose, form functions and meanings are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity" (p. 453).

The *space of flows* with its electronic connectivities, transportation links, and nodes and hubs facilitates the mobility and lifestyle of individuals in professional and managerial occupations (e.g., software engineers, academics, brokers) who move within and across national borders (Wickham, 2008), not simply following employment, but attracted by the:

> residential and leisure-oriented spaces… [and] easy access to cosmopolitan complexes of arts, culture, and entertainment (Castells" 446-447).

found in charismatic large cities (e.g., London, Tokyo, New York) and high-technology regional centres (e.g., Seattle, Silicon Valley).

Similarly, the intersection of the *space of flows* with its mobile people, money and information and the *space of places* with, for example, its re-valuing of rural life have re-created the rural spaces of many societies attracting a new breed of migrant; one who is equipped with markedly different knowledge, skills and attitudes and who places lifestyle and natural amenity above or on equal terms with economic concerns (Persson, Westholm, & Fuller, 1997). Although local economic, social and environmental conditions vary widely between centres depending on their position in the hierarchy, research has shown that rural centres with good communications and accessible air travel to metropolitan areas set in attractive natural environments (Rasker, 2006; Rasker, Gude,

Gude, & van den Noort, 2009) are well-placed to attract new techno-industries and benefit socially and economically from the in-migration of knowledge-based workers, professionals, entrepreneurs and affluent retirees.

The instability in and decline of primary production industries and the resulting economic and social stresses have severely impacted many single-industry rural towns (Halseth, 1999). For those rural communities which have developed as nodes or hubs on the space of flows, the re-surgence of in-migration flowing from the re-location of service and knowledge-based industries and the influx of second-home owners, retirees and other lifestyle migrants have been a welcome developments. However, these changes in the size and character of the population have also progressively introduced a variety of social and environmental problems for both residents and migrants (Jobes, 2000; Glorioso & Moss, 2007). Documented issues include a lack of affordable housing, rapid increases in the cost-of-living, undesirable (for some) changes in the character and ambience of places, fluctuating, part-time and seasonally variable populations, and the loss of environmental amenity and access resulting from sprawling sub-divisions, ranchettes and resort development (Gober, McHugh, & Leclerc, 1993; Hansen, et al., 2002; Loeffler & Steinecke, 2007; Gurran, 2008; Stefanick, 2008).

These examples suggest that the complex interplay of the influences of the dominant *space of flows* and the indigenization tendencies of individual locales (Appadurai, 1996) in the *space of places* variously constructs and re-constructs the terrain of lifestyle migration. In this way, the intersection of these two spatial logics creates a wide diversity of potential lifestyle choices for migrants and both opportunities and challenges for individual places.

Thinking about Difference

Motility is "the capacity of entities (e.g., goods, information, or persons) to be mobile in social and geographic space" (Kaufmann, 2004, p. 76). This capacity or potential depends on access (e.g., communications and transportation), competence (e.g., physical ability, knowledge, organisational skills) and appropriation or how individuals interpret and act upon perceived or real access and skills (Kaufmann, 2004). These various components are very unequally distributed and vary with nationality, gender, age, ethnicity etc. (Gustafson, 2006). For example, Gogia (2006) compared the different mobilities of contracted Mexican seasonal workers coming to Canada to work on farms and Canadian backpackers travelling to Mexico. She points to the conditions that characterise the working and living conditions of the agricultural labourors likening it to 'slavery', emphasising "the precarious nature of their mobility" (p. 370), which is circumscribed by many gatekeepers (e.g., employers, Canadian and Mexican government agencies). In contrast, Canadian backpackers, lured by the promise of exotic adventures and the low-cost airfares and living expenses, face few structural or regulatory restrictions on their mobility to and within Mexico and other countries of the South (e.g., Indonesia, Thailand). She also notes that the ease of access for Western backpackers is quite assymetric, as backpackers from receiving countries such as Mexico or Thailand face considerable restrictions on their access to most western nations.

Thus, mobility is achieved when movement and motility come together to allow people to realise specific projects or plans (Bonss & Kesserling, 2004). Although the lifestyle migrant, the seasonal worker and the backpacker are all mobile subjects their movement and motility is embedded in the specific geographies, networks, and economic

and social conditions that influence how people move and are received differently around the globe (Gogia, 2006).

The Imagined Worlds of Lifestyle Migration

A key way in which mobility is manifest is in the creation and consumption of imagined worlds (e.g., senses of place and, place meanings and attachments) which are mobilised through processes of imagination. The role of imagination is well recognized in art myth and legend and has acted throughout time to "both transcend and reframe ordinary social life" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 5). What is different today is that imagination has entered ordinary life. In our media saturated, mobile world, anything is possible:

> More people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they … will live and work in [or travel to] places other than where they were born: this is the wellspring of the increased rates of migration at every level of social, national and global life (Appadurai, 1996, p. 6).

Further, he argues that:

> …the imagination… has a projective sense about it, the sense of being a prelude to some sort of expression… the imagination, especially when collective, can become… a staging ground for action, and not only escape (Appadurai, 1996, p. 7)

As has been argued elsewhere (McIntyre, 2009), the desire for an improved lifestyle or enhanced quality of life are key drivers of migration. In this regard, the notion of "imagined worlds… the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai, 1996: 33) is important in understanding the processes that are instrumental in motivating people to visit places, create a second residence, or settle permanently. The particular combination of social mobility, financial resources and access to transportation and information affecting an individual at any point in time will strongly influence the ability to move and the conditions under which any such movement will take place. A case in point would be

the disparities between a young, backpacker heading to Australia on holiday and a South-Asian boat-person focused on that same target. While the imagined world of Australia constructed by each from print and visual media may be similarly unrealistic, as "assessed by the criteria of some other perspective, some other imagined world" (Appadurai, 1996: 35), the lens through which they each view the target is radically different. Australia represents freedom from political repression and economic hardship for the latter and an exotic experience and temporary separation from everyday life for the former.

The potent mix of personal mobility fuelled by modern electronic media provides a wealth of "imagined worlds" which are the foundations of lifestyle migration. Destination marketing is designed to communicate a world that appeals to individuals in specific target audiences. Presenting a mix of visual and print narratives depicting a sanitised, often romanticised, perhaps even ideological sense of place designed specifically to entice lifestyle migrants. Quality of life markers are central components of such media. In attracting affluent retirees, they typically depict healthy, older couples, living in up-market accommodation, enjoying active pursuits (e.g., golf, canoeing, skiing) in ideal weather, in aesthetic, romantic and often natural surroundings:

> The secret to creating a Lennar Community for 55+ buyers is to infuse every aspect of the design with energized creativity and a sense of adventure. Amenities are carefully planned in order to satisfy the widest range of interests and levels of participation – relaxed or upbeat, day or night. Lennar has created these resort *lifestyles* in some of the country's most popular Active Adult destinations (Lennart Community, 2011: my italics)

Not unusually, these idealized images often conflict with the lived reality of everyday life in amenity destinations. In such towns in rural or peri-urban areas, competition over housing and services, overcrowding, traffic, cost of living, and loss of amenity and access

have led to perceptions of diminished quality of life in some sections of resident populations (Glorioso & Moss, 2007; Gober, McHugh & Leclerc, 1993; Gurran, 2008; Hansen et al., 2002; Jobes, 2000; Loeffler & Steinecke, 2007; Stefanick, 2008). Migrants often react negatively and even obstruct resource or other developments which they view as in conflict with their imagined worlds of bucolic or pristine nature.

Paradise Found, Paradise Lost: Mobilities and Imagined Worlds

The growth in lifestyle migration and the resulting competition between destinations to attract high technology footloose industries, affluent retirees and second-home purchasers to enhance economic development draws small communities, cities, and countries inexorably into a cycle of self-promotion. Central to this endeavor is capturing the imagination of potential markets through the construction and dissemination of desirable experiences and lifestyles. However, as indicated above, the dilemma associated with the success of this self-promotion is threats to the very qualities upon which the lifestyles and experiences enjoyed by locals and migrants alike depend.

While there is much common ground among residents and in-migrants in appreciation of and concern for the amenity landscape (e.g., Blahna, 1990; Fortmann & Kussel, 1990; Jones, et al., 2003; McIntyre & Pavlovich, 2006; Thompson, 2004; Williams & Van Patten, 2006), resource and/or tourism related developments are a consistent focus of conflict in many communities. Most commonly, protagonists are divided into in-migrants and locals (e.g., Gallent & Tewder-Jones, 2000; Hall & Muller, 2004; Stedman, 2006). However, research is pointing increasingly to the need for a more nuanced view of such complex and contentious situations (George, et al., 2009; Milne, 2001). The imagined worlds within and among locals and lifestyle migrants often differ thus creating a

complex and often conflicting mix of visions of how a place is and should be. Such "communities of sentiment" (Appadurai, 1996) are often mobilised in collective action as a result of perceived threats to the integrity of their various imagined worlds. In such situations, the imagined worlds of mobile newcomers and those of the emplaced traditional inhabitants, can variously conflict and align as controversial situations develop.

Prior to any proposal, be it for tourism or for resource development, the various imagined worlds may be largely subliminal, co-existing in an uneasy but generally amicable climate, occasionally manifesting themselves in minor conflicts over untidy, run-down homes, unruly dogs, illegal burning, and disrespect for cultural artifacts and local customs (Tate-Libby, 2010). However, development proposals and the ensuing political controversy raise the various versions of a place into consciousness necessitating their articulation and differentiation by exaggerating distinctions, denigrating opponents and emphasizing negative aspects of opposing ideascapes (Appadurai, 1996; Ramp & Koc, 2001; Satterfield, 2002).

In many such disputes, there are those whose imagined place is based on preservation or conservation of former lifestyles and traditions, and natural and cultural heritage (George et al., 2009; Tate-Libby, 2010) pitted against those whose imagined worlds are centered on the opportunities for employment, real estate investment, and the business opportunities that tourism or resource development potentially offers.

An example from Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada (George et al., 2009), documents a local community's successful efforts to resist wholesale gentrification of the historic fishing waterfront by affluent in-migrants and associated developers through retaining a

significant portion of the Old Town port area as a working waterfront to support a renewed marine industry:

> …what the community doesn't want to do is freeze itself in time and become a tourist community or museum (Tradewinds, 2005; quoted in George, et al. p. 61).

In this, the local action group expresses a vision of a diversified economy which embraces both the opportunities provided by tourism and lifestyle migration and the renewal of an industry which was a central component of the history and traditions of the community.

A second example highlights the efforts to preserve the Punalu'u Black Sand Beach in the southern part of the Big Island (Hawai'i) from a proposed resort development (Tate-Libby, 2010). This controversial development initiated a heated debate in the small community of Ka'u resulting in the development of various alliances among locals, Native Hawai'ians, lifestyle migrants (retirees and lifestyle entrepreneurs), and local action groups both for (O Ka'u Kakou) and against (Kau Preservation) the development. The latter action group proposed a return to the "old ways" including the development of a cultural centre to educate young people and tourists about the traditions and culture of old Hawai'i. Proponents of this strategy argued that it would provide a more dignified and appropriate form of employment for the local people. In addition, it would allow a significant portion of the tourism revenue from tours and casual visitors to the beach park that was currently lost to other areas to remain in the community. Retirees and second-home owners were active in the O Ka'u Kakou action group advocating for the resort development on Punalu'u Black Sand Beach because of the enhanced amenities it would provide, and the potential for job creation for local people, as one retired couple from the US mainland commented:

> People started realizing that there were no jobs down here… people were driving all the way to the North Shore for work… that's when we started looking at this development as a boon to the community (Tate-Libby, 2010, p. 211).

Like retirees and second-home owners, lifestyle entrepreneurs are often upper middle class and well educated, have a strong commitment to their chosen destination and are often vocal and well-organized participants in development controversies. In some cases, this is manifested in taking a leadership role in coalition with residents in opposing a particular development which they perceive as compromising their strongly held views on preserving local culture and/or nature. This was certainly the case at Punalu'u where lifestyle entrepreneurs (e.g., orchid farmer, yoga retreat centre owner, bed and breakfast operator) were strongly opposed to the resort development (Tate-Libby, 2010).

In the mature phase of a tourist destination (Butler, 2006; Hall & Williams, 2002), the mix of residents both permanent and temporary becomes more complex as lifestyle migrants and lifestyle entrepreneurs become a significant proportion of the migrant population. This more complex mix exacerbates the potential for conflict over proposed tourist or other developments by enhancing the likelihood that any such developments will be seen as compromising aspects of one or more of the multiple imagined worlds

At root, Milne (2009) argues that underlying all these conflicts:

> …there is a central tension which is seldom made explicit: between support for urban types of development, and resistance to development that is grounded in a valuing of the rural and what this place … has been in the not too-distant past (p. 200-201).

By "urban types of development" Milne does not mean the spread of cities but rather the infusion of "urban lifestyles" into rural areas as a function of enhanced mobilities, leading to what has been termed "gentrification" (George et al., 2009; Whitson, 2001). This effect is seen in the displacement of current residents and traditional industries, and

the up-scaling of former resource complexes (e.g., waterfronts, warehouses) and historic areas by in-migration of affluent buyers, usually from urban locales (George et al., 2009). These changes bring the cappuccino bars, up-market restaurants and bookshops, state-of-the-art outdoor gear stores, and the shopping malls and chain stores to former mining, fishing or agricultural communities. The resulting creation of a more interesting and diverse place to live and the provision of new employment and business opportunities that attract in-migrants and enable young people to remain in the community are welcomed by some, because they view these changes as enhancing their quality of life. Others are less enthusiastic and mourn the loss of the local culture and ambience of life that once characterised the community (Whitson, 2001).

The above discussion suggests quality of life markers (e.g., climate, nature, facilities, employment, security, family ties, and tradition) are the key building blocks of the imagination that motivate lifestyle migrants to relocate, and which cause locals to contest developments. These powerful, political images or ideascapes (Appadurai, 1996) constructed by individuals and nurtured and amplified by electronic communication and mass media enter into the collective imagination in real places initiating and maintaining political action in defiance of those local and global forces that seek to question their authenticity and imperil their continued existence.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have adopted the view that temporary/cyclical and permanent re-location by tourism workers, second-home owners, cosmopolitan elites, entrepreneurs, and so on is often motivated by a variable mix of both economic and quality of lifestyle concerns. This premise allows for this apparently diverse group of migrants to be subsumed under

the one category of lifestyle migration and on this basis, a preliminary typology of lifestyle migrants is proposed.

While advocating this view, I argue for a more broadly based theoretical perspective than is implied in the concept of lifestyle *migration*. This broader perspective necessitates not only an understanding of lifestyle migrants' mobility performance (i.e. movement) but also the mobility management strategies that they develop and use to enhance their 'motility' or mobility potential (Bonss & Kesselring, 2004). Further, our studies need to take into account the networks, scapes, and flows that influence temporary/cyclical and permanent migrations including the mobilities of money, culture, technology, skills, knowledge and information which accompany and support these movements. In essence, we need to engage the broader perspectives of reflexive modernity with its complexity and non-linearity, its ambiguity and risks, and its uncertainties and unpredictability (Bonss & Kesserling).

A key aspect of the modern world is the flows of information and images in the mass media, which provide vast and complex repertoires of images and narratives to tourists and lifestyle migrants throughout the world. These images and narratives form the basis of imagined worlds; "fantasies that become prolegomena to the desire for… movement" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 36). Central to understanding lifestyle migration is recognising the importance of these mediascapes and exploring their role in motivating migration itself and their influence in seeding and maintaining conflicts over how places are understood and managed.

Urry (2004) has suggested that a new "mobilities paradigm' is being formed within the social sciences. In this paper, I have argued that any consideration of lifestyle

migration should look to the relevance of this new paradigm in both enhancing

understanding of the phenomenon itself and also, in how insights in lifestyle migration

can inform the developing paradigm more generally.

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