

From Lifestyle Migration to Tourism Gentrification. A Preface to International Residential Mobilities

Twenty years ago, Allan Williams and Michael Hall (2000) conceptualized the tourism-migration nexus in five categories: labour migration, return migration, entrepreneurial migration, retirement migration and second homes. They echoed numerous publications in years previous conceptualizing migration and tourism (King, 1995; O'Reilly, 1995; Williams & Montanari, 1995; Williams et al., 2000) and laid a foundation for the discussion of lifestyle-led mobilities in the context of the wider mobility turn (Cresswell, 2006; Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2011; Hall, 2005; Hannam et al., 2006; Wright & Ellis 2016, etc.). Academic literature interpreting and reinterpreting the interrelations between different forms of mobility has responded to the sedentary bias within the social sciences and paid increasing attention to the patterns, effects and motivations of diverse forms of human mobility, in parallel with the increasing intensity of flows and wider processes of social transformation. As Dieter K. Müller points out in the last chapter of this book: “the emergence of new mobilities [is] a central aspect of societal change in the 21st century”.

*International Residential Mobilities: From Lifestyle Migrations to Tourism Gentrification*¹ pays special attention to the underlying structural conditions and changes fuelling new forms of international residential mobilities from the perspective of inequality in mobility regimes, coloniality and wider globalizing processes. The diversity of new international lifestyle mobilities and their spatial consequences is reflected in the different types of mobility explored in the book's contributions, which include both temporary and permanent migration as well as transnational multi-residence dwelling, during both active and inactive ages as well as circular and return migration related to previous labour and leisure-led migration. This volume also brings case studies in the Global North and Global South into conversation, invoking reflection on the globality of the processes studied herein.

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While embedded within global processes of change, our understanding of these international mobilities is enriched with the particularities of the local contexts in which they unfold.

The limits between lifestyle migration, residential mobilities and tourism mobility have been well theorized. However, recent processes of social transformation demand that we rethink the analytical focus that tended to blur the lines between lifestyle migration, residential mobilities and tourism. The increase in global tourism, the diversification of motivations, the proliferation of new destinations, the consolidation of a global economic scene, the rise of the global middleclass, increases in transnational property investment, the rise of platform capitalism and the growth of telework formulas, among other factors, necessitate new analytical work and critical framing. This is even more acute considering the global crisis triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The distinguishing features of lifestyle migrants in comparison with other forms of migration relates not only to higher relative wealth but also to the ease with which they can relocate in line with privileges associated with having citizenship from advanced economies. However, such privileges have been temporarily curbed with mobility restrictions imposed by governments in the fight to control the pandemic. While at the time of writing we are still in a period of uncertainty in terms of what the future will hold, the immediate effects of the pandemic on mobility have been dramatic. Travel and mobility services are in low demand, greatly effecting the economies of the touristic destinations studied in this edited volume.

Questions remain, however, on the long-term impact that the pandemic might have on migration desires and consumer preferences, not to mention government regulation of mobility. Destinations closer to home might be valued due to accessibility and security related with access to welfare, healthcare in particular. On the other hand, for migrants with more tightly regulated passports, holding residency in a powerful nation state within the international system may have even greater value given travel concessions granted by governments to residents during the pandemic. The clear acceleration in the remote working trend and the widespread use of technologies that make this attractive is transforming mobility. While the upsurge in digital conferencing will likely impact business travel negatively, it could have a positive impact on remote working abroad –and thus international residential mobility – as the possibilities for mixing lifestyle and work are normalized to a greater extent. Despite this, we are in a period of excess uncertainty and will only fully understand the effects of the economic and social crisis provoked by the COVID-19 pandemic with time.

The consolidation and diversification of flows of international residential migrants have economic, social, cultural and environmental consequences as they are accompanied by flows of capital, social restructuring and cultural processes of broadening, particularly for peripheral economies, where spaces of tourism development coexist with emerging new residential destinations. These spaces of international residential mobility, especially in cities and coastal areas, result in frequent tensions, due to processes of appropriation that appreciate local housing markets, dissociating them from local demand and purchasing power, as well as processes of

touristification and transnational gentrification that potentially displace local populations, to name a few. To the contrary, many such destinations are struggling to cope with the lack of tourists and international investors in light of the current pandemic. Consequently, new patterns of human mobility and tourism as well as refreshed interpretations of the nexus of these processes overlap in the various chapters, which are presented as follows.

The book begins with two conceptual chapters, which intend to open up a new space for interdisciplinary dialogue, in response to the boundary-crossing processes that underpin the mobilities and tourism geographies that are traced throughout the book. In the first chapter, “A Global Sociology on Lifestyle Migrations”, Matthew Hayes picks up strands of the transnational approach to migration studies and asks what other concepts and concerns emerge when lifestyle migration is added to the picture of global migrations with particular attention to the concept of the “colonial traces” in lifestyle migration. He argues that the differentiated regulation and experience of migration for different groups invokes a critical reflection on how global society might be organized in a manner that distributes citizenship rights and resources more equally. Thus, relating lifestyle migration to global frames of migration and capital accumulation. The latter is complemented by Geoffrey DeVerteuil’s analysis of the globalization of real estate markets, which provides an important explanation for globalized residential mobilities and enriches the traditional focus on coastal or rural destinations with an urban perspective. In “Overseas Investment and the Real Estate Market: Global and Local Frictions and the Great Acceleration”, the author discusses new conceptual perspectives on the co-occurrence of global and local factors from the experience of large, globalized cities, in the wake of the 2008 global recession, that are directly impacted by overseas investment. He traces the consolidation and eventual acceleration of these trends to other cities lower down on the urban hierarchy over the past decade. Both chapters provide an important backdrop for the mobilities studied herein through foregrounding the processes structuring international residential mobilities and their spatial impacts.

The five chapters in the second part of this volume, *Global Processes of Multi-residence and Local Impacts*, focus on the changing dynamics of lifestyle migration in Southern Europe and Latin America in urban, coastal, rural and island settings. In Chap. 3, “The Sea as a Lifestyle: (Im)mobilities, Liminality, and Life Course Transitions Among Permanently Settled Sailors in the Azores (Portugal)”, Dora Sampaio, based on qualitative work conducted in the islands of the Azores with a group of older foreign sailors, develops an analytical lens based on a life course perspective that captures the malleability and liminality of lifestyle migration projects. Meanwhile, Raquel Huete-Nieves and Alejandro Mantecón, in Chap. 4, “The Reconfiguration of International Residential Mobility Flows in Post-crisis Spain: The Case of Costa Blanca-Alicante”, contrast the effects of the 2008 economic crisis on leisure-oriented mobility flows towards Alicante (Spain), both on the tourism sector and on the real estate market. They conclude the latter suffered more than the former, and without the burden of the real estate sector, the tourism economy of Costa Blanca could transition to a more competitive but sustainable and just tourism model hinged on an innovative political and cultural context.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine locations in Latin and Central America. Susana Sassone and Myriam González in Chap. 5, “Global Mobility and Migration in the Cities of the Patagonian Andes (Argentina): Emerging Diversity”, analyse the increasing diversity in these cities, in demographic, social and cultural terms, due to the coexistence of labour migrants, investors, tourists and amenity/lifestyle migrants. As such, they highlight the need to design intervention practices based on the governance of urban diversity. In the case of Chap. 6, “International Mobility: An Approach to the Imaginaries of Residential Tourism from the Northern and South-Eastern Borders of Mexico”, Nora Bringas-Rábago, Ana P. Sosa-Ferreira and Maribel Osorio-García contrast the practices of international mobility in two different locations, drawing attention to the importance of local contexts in understanding the profile, motivations and transnational practices of residential tourists. Their findings reiterate the imaginary return to nature and rural life of these lifestyle migrants and the importance of symbolic conceptions of community through the ideal of spatial imaginaries.

The part concludes with the case study of Lisbon. Jennifer McGarrigle in Chap. 7 “The Locational Choice of Urban Lifestyle Migrants in Lisbon: Beyond Tourism Imaginaries”, brings discussions on the city as a lifestyle destination to the fore. The life history interviews with intra-EU lifestyle migrants allow her to relativize economic concerns, such as the pull of fiscal benefits and to explore the emotions and mechanics of locational choice. While reiterating the overlaps between tourism and lifestyle mobilities, her findings highlight the need for analytical distinctiveness between the two given differences in the way they are governed and embodied.

In the third part, Transnationalism, Return and Circular Migrations, five contributions are compiled, three from Europe (Budapest, Riga and Rome), one from Africa (Cape Verde) and another from the Caribbean (Cuba). In Chap. 8, “The Residential Mobility of Hungarian Nationals and Foreign Citizens: The Case Study of Budapest”, Sándor Illés analyses how short-distance residential mobility in the city of Budapest can be conceptualized as the common continuation of previous internal and international migration, where transnational and translocal movements are interconnected.

In Chap. 9, “Patterns of Transnational Urban Drift to Latvia”, Zaiga Krišjāne, Māris Bērziņš, Elina Apsīte Beriņa, Jānis Krūmiņš and Toms Skadiņš explore the attraction of cities over more remote, sparsely populated and lagging regions. By studying residential patterns and life preferences of Latvian return migrants and arriving foreigners, they explore the effects of migrants’ transnational lifestyles. By diminishing solely economic factors, they demonstrate the importance of social and cultural motives, and family-related moves as well as the role of nostalgia.

In Chap. 10, “International Mobility and Its Spatial Impacts in the Rome Metropolitan Area: An Analysis of the Last Two Decades”, Gerardo Gallo, Armando Montanari, Barbara Staniscia and Enrico Tucci move the focus to the intensification of international and internal migrations and temporary mobility in the city of Rome, due to the growth rates of the resident population in the Rome Metropolitan Area, in the inner ring, and in some coastal and lake municipalities. The findings demonstrate severe changes in the real estate market, because of

non-rigid division between housing used mainly for leisure purposes and for those whose primary need is still that of working and producing.

Chapters 11 and 12 offer a very different context, given the importance devoted to the diasporic linkages conditioning not only tourism development but current human mobility in the islands of Cape Verde and Cuba, with an important history of former and present emigration. In “Diasporic Links and Tourism Development in Cape Verde. The Case of Praia”, Juan Parreño-Castellano, Claudio Moreno-Medina and Judite Medina Do Nascimento conclude that the complex migration processes of Cape Verdeans and their related flows of investment are an asset in the development of the country, through the tourism sector, but not without generating important economic and social imbalances. A similar standpoint characterizes Chap. 12, “The Contribution of International Residential Mobility to Tourism Development: Cienfuegos City, Cuba”. Manuel González-Herrera, Mercedes Rodríguez-Rodríguez and Cecilia Santana-Rivero study international residential mobility towards family-owned houses (hostales). This mobility promoted by Cuban residents abroad and other foreigners has encouraged residential real-estate investment for tourism purposes in Cienfuegos city, enhancing the supply of an alternative type of accommodation in private rental houses.

The fourth part of the book is entitled Migrations and Tourism in Urban Spaces: Processes of Gentrification. In this part, consolidated urban tourism destinations as Barcelona (Spain) or Reykjavik (Iceland) are analysed in light of the social and economic transformations motivated by tourism specialization. Dolores Sánchez-Aguilera and Jesús González-Pérez in “Geographies of Gentrification in Barcelona. Tourism as a Driver of Social Change” show how tourism has become a critical element in most modes of gentrification to which the Catalan capital has been exposed. Specifically, its historic centre, subject to the strong pressures of tourism and the housing market, emerges as an inescapable point of reference in the nexus between tourism and geographical and social mobility. In the case of Chap. 14, “Tourism Development and Housing After Iceland’s 2008 Crash”, a socio-economic perspective guides the reflection of the authors Már Wolfgang Mixa and Kristín Loftsdóttir. In this study, the economic recovery due to tourism activity after the collapse of Iceland’s banking system is presented in opposition to increased housing prices, which are causing unequal effects in the local population and affecting those who lost their livelihoods and homes or who cannot afford home ownership.

In the same part, in “Gentrification, Social Activism and Contestations in Cape Town (South Africa)” (Chap. 15), Sibonakaliso Nhlabathi and Brij Maharaj address the same issue of market driven gentrification development processes as set in opposition to local interests. However, they propose that if locals mobilized their economic, social and cultural forms of capital, gentrification would not be a zero-sum game and could generate a win-win situation, ensuring local flexibility while exploiting the benefits of global integration and efficiencies.

To end this part, Chap. 16, “Local Economies and Socio-spatial Segregations in the Aegean Islands: Touristic Development Versus Refugee Arrivals and Ghettoization? The Case of Lesbos Island”, offers an original perspective on the interplay between, on one hand, refugees, humanitarian and policy personnel and

tourists and, on the other hand, the local economy. By focusing on the island of Lesvos, this chapter tries to understand the transformations in the economy of the island and its socio-spatial segregations from a critical approach.

To conclude, as mentioned previously, Dieter K. Müller summarizes the main findings of the book in “Tourism and Lifestyle-Led Mobilities” (Chap. 17). Bringing together the main theoretical contributions of the volume, such as global processes of multi-residence and local impacts, transnationalism, postcolonialism, and return and circular migrations, as well as transnational gentrification and urban tourism, the chapter proposes future direction for research on this topic. Using Müller’s own words: “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”. It is to this endeavour that we hope this volume will contribute.

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