

**Athens Institute for Education and Research
ATINER**



**ATINER's Conference Paper Series
SOC2017-2388**

**Lifestyle Migration:
Italy in the Southern European Context**

**Paolo Diana
Assistant Professor
University of Salerno
Italy**

**Domenico Maddaloni
Associate Professor
University of Salerno
Italy**

An Introduction to
ATINER's Conference Paper Series

ATINER started to publish this conference papers series in 2012. It includes only the papers submitted for publication after they were presented at one of the conferences organized by our Institute every year. This paper has been peer reviewed by at least two academic members of ATINER.

Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos
President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

Diana, P. and Maddaloni, D. (2018). "Lifestyle Migration: Italy in the Southern European Context", Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: SOC2017- 2388.

Athens Institute for Education and Research
8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece
Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr URL:
www.atiner.gr
URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm
Printed in Athens, Greece by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. All rights reserved. Reproduction is allowed for non-commercial purposes if the source is fully acknowledged.
ISSN: 2241-2891
13/02/2018

Lifestyle Migration: Italy in the Southern European Context

Paolo Diana
Assistant Professor
University of Salerno
Italy

Domenico Maddaloni
Associate Professor
University of Salerno
Italy

Abstract

Southern Europe has become a crossroads of international migration in recent years. The paper focuses on one of these recent migratory flows, that is, the lifestyle migration, or the mobility of people who choose to live in a southern European country as a part of their project of life. The sociological literature has shown that this phenomenon can influence many other relevant social processes, from the definition and re-definition of personal and social identity at the micro level, to local and regional development at the macro level. After a short discussion on the concept of lifestyle migration, we present some preliminary results of a research project on lifestyle migration in Italy, compared with some other Southern European countries. Based on data from Eurostat, OECD, and national statistical offices databases, the analysis will provide a general overview on the presence and territorial distribution of lifestyle migrants in Italy.

Keywords: *Southern Europe, Italy, International migration, Lifestyle migration, Quantitative analysis*

Acknowledgments: This paper stems from a research pathway on recent social changes in the Southern European countries, which has been recently approved and funded by the Department of Political, Social and Media Sciences at the University of Salerno (Research Projects on *Le politiche verso gli immigrati nelle regioni periferiche d'Europa (Immigrant policies in Europe's peripheral regions)*, no. ORSA 152594, and *I Paesi dell'Europa meridionale di fronte alla globalizzazione neoliberista: risposte individuali e collettive alla crisi (Southern European countries facing neoliberal globalization: individual and collective responses to the crisis)*, no. ORSA 168117). Both projects are coordinated by prof. Domenico Maddaloni.

Introduction

Southern Europe seems to have become a core region in “the age of migration” (Castles, de Haas, and Miller, 2013). Today many different flows of international mobility cross the southern European countries. Some of them arise from this same region, whilst other flows have these countries as their destination.

This paper focuses mainly on the latter, especially those identified by a recent stream of scientific literature as *lifestyle migration* (Benson, O’Reilly, eds., 2009; Benson, Osbaldiston, eds., 2014). According to the scholars who are working under this perspective, the latter can be usefully defined as a conceptual framework under which several processes of international mobility can be aggregated. Their common feature is the fact that they involve «relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life» (Benson, O’Reilly, 2009: 2). In this sense, the idea of lifestyle migration overlaps other concepts such as those of «retirement migration, leisure migration, (international) counterurbanization, second-home ownership, amenity-seeking, and seasonal migration» (*ibidem*) – even if it does not entirely coincide with any of them. Thus, the concept of lifestyle migration can be used also as almost synonymous of “migration from more developed countries” (or countries at the same level of development). It could be a way to cast some light on spatial mobility processes – not so-strictly related to the imbalance between local population and material resources, or (even more) to the deathly risks caused by civil conflicts and wars –, which increasingly influence the contemporary world, including southern Europe.

The purpose of this paper is to present the preliminary results of a research pathway on lifestyle migration in southern Europe (and, more specifically, in southern Italy) which is still in its initial stage. After a review on migration in southern European countries in these times of crisis (section 2 of the paper), we will analyze the lifestyle migration in Italy. More specifically, we will discuss firstly the Italian case in a comparative perspective, looking at the other main southern European countries (section 3). Then we will have a look at the main features of lifestyle migration in Italy, with special reference to its distribution throughout the country (section 4). In doing so, we will use the resources available for quantitative analysis – official data retrieved from the Eurostat, OECD, INE and ISTAT population databases. This implies that we will use data on residents coming from more developed countries (or from the same countries of the region) as a proxy variable for lifestyle migrants – although we are aware that our choice tends to overestimate lifestyle migration, as not every resident from a developed country could recognize herself/himself in the definition reported above¹. Finally, in the concluding section of the paper we

¹ Moreover, official data exclude foreign part-time residents who do not appear in the population register, but are included in the framework defined by the above definition of lifestyle migration.

will try to draw some implications of our research for the increase of our knowledge on this phenomenon.

Southern Europe as a Crossroads in International Migration

In order to understand the role played by southern European countries in international migration today, we have to start pointing out that «international migration trends are the result of many elements. Demographic contexts, economic and social conditions, political choices, international links, historical ties, and cultural factors play, at different levels, an important role in determining the size and directions of migration flows» (Bonifazi, 2008: 107). Therefore, the role of a region or a country in international territorial mobility systems can quickly change, if there is a change in any of the factors mentioned above. This is particularly true for southern Europe, which was a source area for migration flows towards many other regions of the world until the 1970s, and then has become an area of destination.

Official statistical surveys on international migration are greatly affected by the irregular status of many foreigners living in the host country². Nevertheless, a look at the official statistics can be useful to understand the magnitude of migration in southern Europe. We include Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain in our definition of “southern Europe”. We can see (from table 1) that in 2015³ residents in the southern European countries are about 130 million (25,5% of total residents in EU-28). Almost 11 million of them are foreign citizens, and over 14 million residents are foreign-born. This means that 8,4% of the total residents in the countries of southern Europe are foreign citizens, and 10,8% of them are foreign-born.

² The estimates produced by independent scholars on the foreign presence in advanced societies show considerable discrepancies with the official figures. The latter, therefore, tend to underestimate the phenomenon, especially concerning migration from less developed countries. For example, in the case of Campania – a southern Italian region – a recent estimate produced by an independent research group indicates that the data of immigrants in this area should be increased approximately of a 13,5% (De Filippo, Carone, 2014).

³ In this case, as in the following ones, we take as reference the last year for which we had data when we realized the data collection (March 2017).

Table 1. *Total and Foreign Population in the EU and the Southern European Countries (Year 2015)*

	Total population	Foreign citizens	Foreign-born residents	% Foreign citizens / Total population	% Foreign-born residents / Total population
UE-28	508.401.408	35.235.899	53.537.913	6,93	10,53
Southern European Countries	129.754.369	10.865.700	14.029.955	8,37	10,81
Greece	10.858.018	821.969	1.242.924	7,57	11,45
Spain	46.449.565	4.454.354	5.891.208	9,59	12,68
Italy	60.795.612	5.014.437	5.805.328	8,25	9,55
Cyprus	847.008	152.269	182.671	17,98	21,57
Malta	429.344	27.476	42.430	6,40	9,88
Portugal	10.374.822	395.195	865.394	3,81	8,34

Source: Eurostat Population Database

As for migration flows, we can see (from table 2) that these same countries are a destination for a little less than 700.000 immigrants (18% of the total inflow at EU-28 level) in the year 2014. The low percentage of arrivals in the countries of southern Europe, which contrasts strongly with the harsh local political controversy on “the wave of immigration”, is a direct result of the severe economic and social crisis that is affecting these countries in recent years. It is no coincidence that emigrants from southern Europe are (in 2014) more than immigrants, since they are more than 700.000 (26,2% of the total outflow at EU-28 level). Nor is it surprising that, compared to 2007, immigration to southern European countries has been reduced to less than half and, conversely, the emigration has more than doubled. In these years, immigration has decreased mainly in Spain and emigration has increased especially in Italy and Greece, partly because migrants now use these countries as a transit area more frequently than they did in the recent past.

Therefore, today the countries of southern Europe are home to migration processes comparable with those centered in northern Europe, as regards both the amplitude of the flows and the share of the foreign residents on the population. As for the foreign presence among residents, we can easily note that these countries are now multi-cultural societies, hosting a share of foreign citizens and foreign-born population not lower than those observed in the countries of central and northern Europe. Moreover, as shown by the literature on the so-called Mediterranean model of immigration, foreign residents in southern Europe come from many countries and regions of the world (King, Black, eds., 1997; see also Pugliese, 2008; Arango, Finotelli, 2009)⁴ – including other European and non-European developed countries.

⁴ The main exception in this field is Greece, which is the country of privileged destination for immigrants who come from Albania and Bulgaria (Triandafyllidou, Marouf, 2009).

Table 2. Immigrants and Emigrants in the EU and the Southern European Countries (2007 and 2014)

	2007			2014			Δ % 2007 - 2014	
	Immigrants to the country	Emigrants from the country	Net Flow	Immigrants to the country	Emigrants from the country	Net Flow	I	E
UE-28*	4.126.375	2.349.131	1.777.244	3.777.330	2.759.977	1.017.353	-8,46	17,49
SEC	1.602.968	334.304	1.268.664	679.714	723.195	-43.481	57,60	116,33
Greece	63.298	40.400	22.898	59.013	106.804	-47.791	-6,77	164,37
Spain	958.266	227.065	731.201	305.454	400.430	-94.976	68,12	76,35
Italy	527.123	51.113	476.010	277.631	136.328	141.303	47,33	166,72
Cyprus	19.328	4.106	15.222	9.154	24.154	-15.000	52,64	488,26
Malta	5.292	3.730	1.562	8.946	5.907	3.039	69,05	58,36
Portugal	29.661	7.890	21.771	19.516	49.572	-30.056	34,20	528,29

Source: Eurostat Population Database

* 2007 Data from Romania are an estimate based on the same data for the year 2008

As a partial conclusion we can say, first, that the most recent and prominent feature of migration flows is the *revival of emigration*, which seems to be strongly linked to the economic downturn recently faced by the southern European countries. Emigration affects both people who have recently gained citizenship (Triandafyllidou, 2013) and young native citizens with different levels of schooling, including higher education (Triandafyllidou, Gropas, 2014).

The heavy impact of the crisis on southern European economies and societies also helps to explain another prominent feature of migration in these countries, that is, the recent *reduction of the immigration* – with the exception of the asylum seekers and refugees from conflict areas in North Africa and the Middle East (UNHCR, 2016: 82-93). Southern Europe is now a *transit*, more than a *destination*, area for refugees and migrants from peripheral countries who are seeking to take advantage of the difficulty by failed states, such as Libya, in checking their borders, to get into the European Union.

Finally, there is a flow of people from central and northern Europe, as well as other developed countries, who choose to live for part or all year in the Mediterranean region of the European continent – particularly Spain, which is also the most studied case (O'Reilly 2003; Rodriguez, Casado, Huber, eds., 2005). These people are the subject of the research on *lifestyle migration*, regardless of whether they are still in a working age, or elderly and retired⁵.

⁵ Although much of the research on lifestyle migration has focused on territorial mobility of retirees, not all lifestyle migrants are older people and many of them continue to work in the destination countries. Some of them open new businesses (Stone, Stubbs, 2007).

They choose the southern countries of Europe in order to get a better lifestyle and a more fulfilling way of life for themselves – and, in some cases, for their relatives (Torkington, 2010). They try to take advantage of some opportunities that these countries still offer, despite of the crisis, opportunities mainly described by themselves in terms of climate, culture and social relationships. Lifestyle migration can be considered a minor flow in relation to the previous ones. Nonetheless, it seems to put interesting questions to sociologists and migration scholars in these times of globalization, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. In addition, it can produce a notable impact on welfare systems and development processes in some areas of southern Europe. In the following sections of the paper, we will take a closer look at this kind of mobility and foreign presence.

Migration from Developed Countries to Southern Europe: A Comparative View

Having before defined a general framework of migration in southern Europe today, we can now focus on lifestyle migration. We limit ourselves to examine the most important southern European countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain), because the scarcity of available data prevents us to extend the analysis to smaller countries such as Cyprus and Malta. Even so, we have to say that missing data are not few, especially as regards Greece and Portugal, and this limits the reliability of the comparison between these countries and the bigger ones, Italy and Spain⁶.

Table 3. *Foreign residents in southern European countries (2014)*

	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain
A. Foreigners from developed countries*	26.102	165.373	46.032	730.553
B. Foreigners from other SEC	14.377	34.149	15.020	282.042
A + B	40.479	199.522	61.052	1.012.595
C. Foreign population	706.720	4.922.085	395.195	4.718.864
D. Total population	10.926.807	60.782.668	10.427.301	46.512.199
% A / C	3,7	3,4	11,6	15,5
% B / C	2,0	0,7	3,8	6,0
% (A + B) / C	5,7	4,1	15,4	21,5
A every 10.000 D	23,9	27,2	44,1	157,1
B every 10.000 D	13,2	5,6	14,4	60,6
(A + B) every 10.000 D	37,0	32,8	58,6	217,7
% C / D	6,5	8,1	3,8	10,1

Source: OECD International Migration Database (Italy: Istat population database).

* Data available: Greece, 10 nationalities out of 23; Italy, 23 out of 23;

Portugal, 10 out of 23; Spain, 21 out of 23.

⁶ However, since the missing data are those that relate to the smaller sending countries, the loss of information seems to produce only a slight underestimation of the phenomenon.

Despite these limitations, we believe that the exercise can be useful to estimate the extent of migration from countries with a similar or higher level of development towards southern Europe. Moreover, this comparison may help us to identify some trends now under way. As for the nationality of foreign residents in each country, we consider 23 advanced countries⁷, plus the other southern European ones (this time, including Cyprus and Malta).

Table 3 allows us (within the limits reported above) a comparison about this type of migration, with special reference to the stock of foreign residents in 2014. Lifestyle migration is actually a much more widespread reality in Portugal and Spain, compared with Greece and Italy. This seems to be true both for the residents from more advanced countries and for those from the other countries of the same geographic area. Lifestyle migrants seem to be rather few in number mainly in Italy, a fact that may be explained by the higher costs of housing and living in this country in comparison with other southern European countries. Even the lack of transparency in the housing market and the difficulties in the access to public services in many parts of the country may have a role in producing this result. The latter factors, together with major language difficulties, may help to explain the performance of Greece, a country in which housing and living costs are very similar to those of Portugal and Spain. To this, we must add the role of a state / regional legislation favorable to the purchase of real estate by foreign citizens, and more generally to the acquisition of a resident status (e.g., through tax breaks). We can find these factors at work in Spain, especially in certain regions of the country (such as the Canary Islands, for instance). Recently, also Portugal has changed its financial regulations in order to benefit foreign citizens who become tax residents, for the first ten years of their stay in the country – even if the foreigners are among the non-habitual tax residents. Greece and Italy have no such preferential treatment for foreign residents, although in the current political debate some Greek parties have expressed their intention to introduce it once in power. This brings us to note that *lifestyle migration, in the broadest sense, is quite sensitive also to some economic variables*. Moving towards a southern European country can be a lifestyle choice, guided not only by factors such as landscape, history, climate, and people, but also by a low price level and by a favorable tax regime.

⁷ More specifically, we consider foreign residents from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, United Kingdom, and United States. Fourteen countries are located in Europe, two in America, five in Asia and the last two are from Oceania. For the same reasons of lacking data cited above, we decided to exclude minor European developed countries, such as Monaco or Lichtenstein.

Table 4. *Foreign Residents in SEC: differences 2007-2014*

	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain
A. Foreigners from developed countries*	-5,3	0,0	-30,6	-16,3
B. Foreigners from other SEC	-6,5	19,7	-37,5	-2,6
A + B	-5,7	2,9	-32,4	-12,9
C. Foreign population	9,9	67,5	-9,3	-10,4
D. Total population	-1,0	4,4	-1,0	3,9

Source: OECD International Migration Database (Italy: Istat population database).

* Some 2007 and 2014 data are not available

According to the data shown in Table 4, the recent trend of lifestyle migration (2007-2014) was affected by the impact of the economic crisis that hit the countries of southern Europe. In Spain and Portugal, the decline of foreign residents from countries with similar or higher level of development has exceeded the decline in foreign residents. In Greece and Italy, instead, we can observe a decline or stagnation in the number of lifestyle immigrants, together with an increase in foreign residents, partly due to the migrants' regularization campaigns, but also – more recently – to the incoming refugee crisis. This result seems to support the idea expressed above, that lifestyle migration can be sensitive to the local economic context.

Table 5. *Foreign residents from developed or other SEC countries, by main nationalities (2014)*

	Greece	Italy	Portugal	Spain
Absolute figures				
Belgium	587	5.468	2.105	29.625
Canada	1.127	2.105	741	3.532
France	1.579	29.078	6.541	99.302
Germany	4.565	38.136	8.752	130.505
Netherlands	1.850	7.856	5.265	45.687
United Kingdom	12.023	26.377	16.560	282.120
United States	1.707	14.963	2.726	30.094
Italy	2.627	-	5.328	179.129
Spain	1.315	20.682	9.692	-
Every 10.000 total residents				
	0,5	0,9	2,0	6,4
Canada	1,0	0,3	0,7	0,8
France	1,4	4,8	6,3	21,3
Germany	4,2	6,3	8,4	28,1
Netherlands	1,7	1,3	5,0	9,8
United Kingdom	11,0	4,3	15,9	60,7
United States	1,6	2,5	2,6	6,5

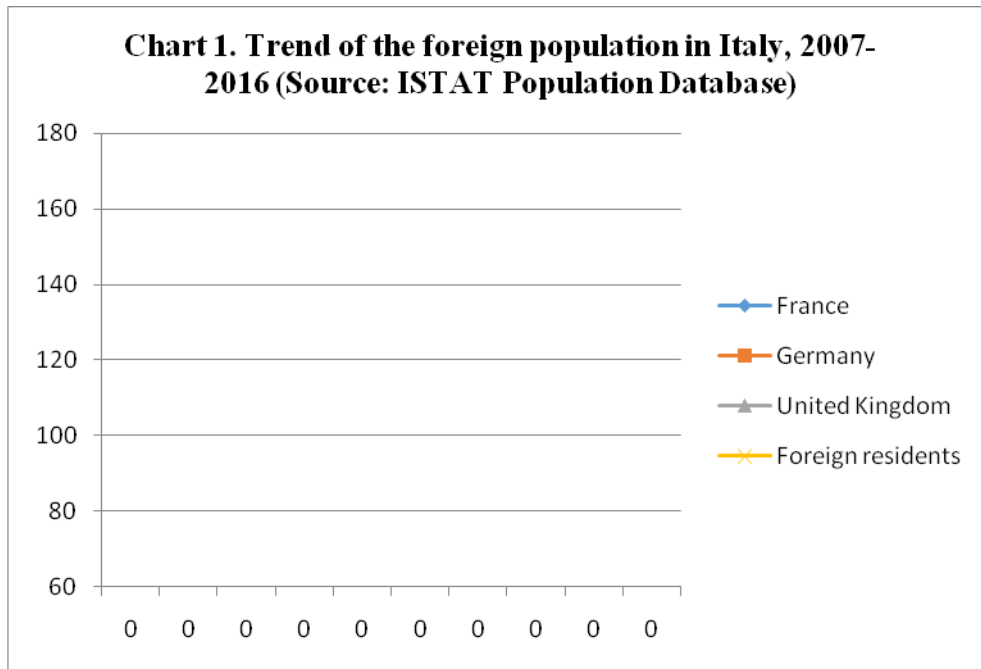
Italy	2,4	-	5,1	38,5
Spain	1,2	3,4	9,3	-

Source: OECD International Migration Database

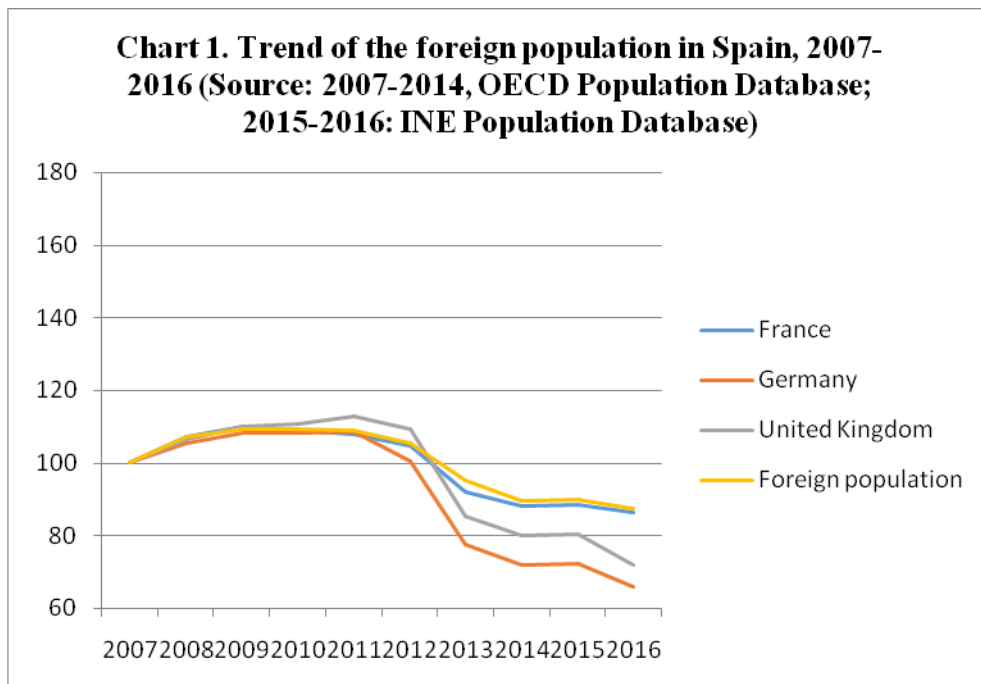
(Italy: Istat Population Database).

Table 5 shows that the countries mainly involved in lifestyle migration towards southern European countries are France, Germany, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain. British citizens, in particular, are the main actors of our story. No surprise that many studies on lifestyle migration focus mainly on British people living abroad (O'Reilly, 2003; Benson, 2009; Casado-Díaz, 2009; Nudrali, O'Reilly, 2009; Benson, 2011, Huete, Mantecón, 2013). It is more surprisingly, perhaps, that the *second* nationality involved in this kind of international mobility is the *Italian* one (Germans occupy the third place). This seems to raise some interesting questions on the nature and significance of the so-called “new” Italian emigration. While there is no doubt that these processes are the aggregate effect of individual responses to the long-lasting economic and social crisis affecting the whole country, as well as other countries in southern Europe (Maddaloni, forthcoming), they are also seen by some author as a new kind of territorial mobility. This because they show some new features, such as a more varied social composition; an increased participation of women; a higher level of education; the urban origin of migrants; and new destination countries (Gjergji, 2015). At the same time, since these new migrants are mostly medium- and high-skilled European citizens perfectly conscious of living in the era of transnationalism, marked by ICTs and cheap flights, they are also free to share a vision of life in which mobility and new experiences are valued positively (Triandafyllidou, Gropas, 2014; see also Maddaloni, forthcoming). Therefore, most of migration across southern European countries today *can be seen as a way to escape from a systemic crisis, but it is related also to some kind of lifestyle choice.*

If we now focus only on the main countries of southern Europe (Italy and Spain), and on the main nationalities of “Northern” immigrants (that is, United Kingdom, Germany, and France), we can analyze the recent trend of this phenomenon by means of charts 1 and 2.



We can see that the two trends are quite different. There is a slow increase until 2011, followed by a fall in 2012-2013, in both Italy and Spain. Finally, starting in 2014, there is a revival of immigration in Italy, while the decline of the foreigners continues in Spain. Apparently, the presence of foreign residents has more to do with the economic cycle in Spain than it has in Italy. This is true for both foreigners in general and for those from countries with the same or higher level of development. This result leads to raise serious doubts about the convergence among southern European countries, in terms of both migration as a whole and lifestyle migration.



Lifestyle Migration in Italy: Some Preliminary Data

We will conclude this paper by discussing some preliminary data on lifestyle migration in Italy in 2016. We will consider foreign residents coming from the main sending countries, that is, Germany, France, and United Kingdom.

Table 6. *Foreign Residents from France, Germany and United Kingdom in Italy (2016)*

	France	Germany	United Kingdom	Foreign residents	Total population
Absolute figures					
Northern Italy	16.219	19.589	11.719	2.947.276	27.754.578
Centre	8.607	10.488	10.318	1.278.594	12.067.803
Southern Italy	3.808	6.584	4.597	800.283	20.843.170
Total	28.634	36.661	26.634	5.026.153	60.665.551
Percentages					
Northern Italy	56,6	53,4	44,0	58,6	45,8
Centre	30,1	28,6	38,7	25,4	19,9
Southern Italy	13,3	18,0	17,3	15,9	34,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Of which: Females (%)	61,6	62,5	55,3	52,6	51,4
Dissimilarity Index*	0,52	0,51	0,52	0,26	-

Source: Istat Population Database.

* Values between 0 (absolute identity between frequency distributions) and 1 (total diversity). Benchmark frequency distribution: total population.

We can see that the foreign residents from the major Western European countries (near 50% of the total population of residents from countries with a similar or higher level of development) follow a pattern of settlement in Italy, which is rather different from that of foreign citizens or the population as a whole. They tend to live more in the central regions of the country, and much less in the southern ones and in the main islands such as Sardinia and Sicily. The latter are among the least developed regions in Western Europe, and they suffer very strongly for the major structural and political changes, which started at the beginning of the 90s – the neoliberal globalization and its effects on southern Europe (Parziale, 2012). Therefore, they seem to be not very attractive for relatively wealthy foreigners in search of a good place to live, albeit these regions may be well equipped in terms of landscape, climate, history and culture. At the same time, it is well known that the image of Italy abroad is very much linked to the central regions of the country, famous all over the world for the high quality of life and for a unique endowment of natural and cultural resources. We can conclude that most of the foreign

immigration in these regions falls very likely into the category of lifestyle migration.

Table 7. *Municipalities with the largest number of foreign residents (2016)*

Rank	France		Germany		United Kingdom	
	City	Residents	City	Residents	City	Residents
1	Roma	3800	Roma	2398	Roma	2553
2	Milano	3031	Milano	1554	Milano	1527
3	Torino	840	Bolzano	578	Firenze	490
4	Firenze	642	Firenze	550	Torino	320
5	Ventimiglia	389	Merano	522	Bologna	255
6	Venezia	301	Torino	353	Venezia	196
7	Bologna	290	Bressanone	277	Genova	193
8	Genova	289	Bologna	265	Lucca	162
9	Parma	233	Genova	239	Verona	157
10	Napoli	179	Capoliveri	236	Modena	157
11	Padova	135	Verona	230	Ostuni	139
12	Sanremo	129	Venezia	203	Trieste	138
13	Varese	126	Appiano sulla strada del vino	202	Bagni di Lucca	124
14	Trieste	126	Lana	189	Barga	124
15	Verona	113	Brunico	170	Cortona	122
% first 15 municipalities		37,1		21,8		25,0

Source: Istat Population Database.

The peculiar distribution of foreigners from the most important Western European countries on Italian territory can also be confirmed, at a micro level, by the high value assumed by the dissimilarity index (Massey, Denton, 1988; Reardon, O'Sullivan, 2004). The latter, calculated at the level of aggregation of municipalities, measures the difference between the territorial distribution of the total population and that of a specific group of people, in this case the foreigners from France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Table 6 shows that the dissimilarity index for these groups is much higher than that of foreign residents in Italy as a whole. Therefore, although the previous analysis has shown that migration from countries with a similar or higher level of development is not insensitive to local conditions and current dynamics, a significant part of this migration also follows different parameters, namely those apparently related to the choice of a good place to live.

Further indications on the nature of lifestyle migration in Italy can be related to the high share of women among foreign residents coming from the countries considered in Table 6. Indeed, the percentage of women in these groups of residents is higher than it is among foreign residents or in the total

population. Following the literature on this topic (Korpela, 2014), we can consider gender as an important variable in the study of migration as a lifestyle choice, not induced only by purely economic factors⁸. Therefore, this high percentage of women tells us something about gender differences in the social construction of space, place, and international mobility – we need to know more on that.

Finally, table 7 shows the Italian municipalities with the largest number of foreign residents from, respectively, France, Germany, and United Kingdom. It is worth noting that French and Germans residents in Italy often choose places very close to the border with their homelands – Ventimiglia and Sanremo (Liguria) for the first ones, or Bolzano-Bozen, Bressanone-Brixen, Appiano sulla strada del vino-Eppan an der Weinstraße, Lana or Brunico-Bruneck (Alto Adige-Südtirol) for the second ones. Apart from the issue of proximity to the State border, the main exceptions to the rule that “well-off” foreigners settle mostly in major Italian cities such as Rome and Milan can be found in the list of residents from United Kingdom – Ostuni (Apulia), Bagni di Lucca, Barga, and Cortona (Tuscany)⁹. This result can give us more guidance on where to focus further research on lifestyle migration in Italy. Another insight in this direction can come from the percentage of citizens from these countries that live in the first 15 municipalities of this ranking. French residents in Italy, for instance, are more concentrated and less dispersed than the German or the British ones.

Concluding Remarks

As a final remark, we can say, firstly, that in the field of migration «all the categorizations are useful up to a point, but can break down in practice» (King, 2012: 8). More specifically, it is true that «Post-fordism, space-time compression, and the embeddedness of migration and mobility in the forces of globalization and the New World Order have introduced new mobility forms where none existed before» (ibidem: 9) – lifestyle migration, for instance. Nevertheless, our results seem to support the idea that lifestyle migration in southern European countries is not only a quest for landscape, history, climate, and people by our northern neighbors. It is also a choice influenced by such factors as a low price level, a favorable tax regime, an affordable real estate market, and some kind of public services and collective infrastructures. Often it can appear not as a *plan*, but as a *strategy* for a better way of life: a strategy that can be amended or even abandoned if it meets unexpected obstacles. This may help to explain why – according to the official data we presented in the preceding sections of the paper – lifestyle migrants appear to be declining in Spain and Portugal, the countries most affected by this type of international mobility. Moreover, looking at the factors influencing lifestyle migration, we

⁸ Of course, marriage-induced migration can play a major role in this field (Trundle, 2009).

⁹ According to table 7, it is also noteworthy that many Germans live in Capoliveri, Elba Island, Tuscany.

may need perhaps more empirical research on the role of the social class and gender in influencing actors' projects and strategies and their role in destination societies (Korpela, 2014). The growing individualism may not be a sufficient explanation of the actors' choices. At the same time, the presence of Italy at the second place in the ranking of the sending countries may imply that *even the emigration from southern Europe is something different from what it was in the past*. It can be not only an escape from the crisis, but also a choice for a better quality of life. Therefore, even if there is still a lifestyle migration *stricto sensu*, we can be ready to accept that there is also *lifestyle in migration*. Today many different kinds of international mobility may involve lifestyle choices (Benson, O'Reilly, 2016).

As far as Italy is concerned as a destination country of lifestyle migration, our research has sought to define a general framework for studying the phenomenon, trying to identify some of its main features. We hope that our effort can contribute to a more comprehensive knowledge on lifestyle migration in a cross-national perspective.

References

- Arango J., Finotelli C., 2009, *Past and future challenges of a Southern European migration regime: the Spanish case*, IDEA Working Papers, no. 8, <http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl>.
- Benson M., 2009, A desire for difference: British lifestyle migration to southwest France, M. Benson, K. O'Reilly, eds., *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspiration and Experiences*, Ashgate, Farnham-Burlington.
- Benson M., 2011, *The British in rural France. Lifestyle migration and the ongoing quest for a better way of life*, Manchester University Press, Manchester-New York.
- Benson M., Osbaldiston N., eds., 2014, *Understanding Lifestyle Migration. Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke-New York.
- Benson M., O'Reilly K., 2009, Lifestyle migration: Escaping to the good life?, M. Benson, K. O'Reilly, *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspiration and Experiences*, Ashgate, Farnham-Burlington.
- Benson M., O'Reilly K., 2016, From lifestyle migration to lifestyle in migration: Categories, concepts, and ways of thinking, *Migration Studies*, 4 (1): 20-37, DOI: 10.1093/migration/mnv015.
- Benson M., O'Reilly K., eds., 2009, *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspiration and Experiences*, Ashgate, Farnham-Burlington.
- Bonifazi C., 2008, Evolution of regional patterns of international migration in Europe, C. Bonifazi, M. Okólski, J. Schoorl, P. Simon (eds.), *International Migration in Europe. New Trends and New Methods of Analysis*, IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.
- Casado-Díaz M. A., 2009, Social capital in the sun: Bonding and bridging social capital among British retirees, M. Benson, K. O'Reilly, *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspiration and Experiences*, Ashgate, Farnham-Burlington.
- Castles S., de Haas H., Miller M. J., 2013, *The Age of Migration. 5th edition: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, The Guilford Press, New York.

- De Filippo E., Carone P., 2014, Percorsi migratori (Migratory flows), E. De Filippo, S. Strozza (a cura di), *Indagine sulla presenza straniera e il livello di integrazione degli immigrati stranieri presenti nella regione Campania (Survey on foreign presence and the level of integration of foreign immigrants in the Campania region)*, Regione Campania, <http://www.stranieriincampania.it>.
- Gjergji I., 2015, Cause, mete e figure sociali delle nuova emigrazione italiana (Causes, destinations and social roles of the new Italian emigration), I. Gjergji, a cura di, *La nuova emigrazione italiana. Cause, mete e figure sociali (The New Italian Emigration. Causes, Destinations and Social Roles)*, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venezia.
- Huete R., Mantecón A., 2013, La migración residencial de noreuropeos en España (Residential migration of northern Europeans in Spain), *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 20 (61): 219-245.
- King R., 2012, *Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and a Primer*, Malmö University, Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers on International Migration and Ethnic Relations, 3, <https://www.mah.se/upload/Forskningscenrum/MIM/WB/WB%203.12.pdf>.
- King R., Black R., eds., 1997, *Southern Europe and the New Immigrations*, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton.
- Korpela M., 2014, Lifestyle of Freedom? Individualism and Lifestyle Migration, M. Benson, N. Osbaldiston, eds., *Understanding Lifestyle Migration. Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke-New York.
- Maddaloni D., forthcoming, Southern European pathways across the Great Recession, *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*, <https://www.athensjournals.gr/social/2016-1-X-Y-Maddaloni.pdf>.
- Massey D.S., Denton N.A., 1988, The dimension of residential segregation, *Social Forces*, 67 (2): 281-315, DOI: 10.1093/sf/67.2.281.
- Nudrali O., O'Reilly K., 2009, Taking the risk: The British in Didim, Turkey, M. Benson, K. O'Reilly, *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspiration and Experiences*, Ashgate, Farnham-Burlington.
- O'Reilly K., 2003, *The British on the Costa del Sol. Transnational identities and local communities*, Routledge, London-New York.
- Parziale F., 2012, Mezzogiorno alla deriva. Regionalizzazione europea e declino del Paese (Drifting Mezzogiorno. European regionalization and decline of the country), *Rivista economica del Mezzogiorno (Economic Review of the Mezzogiorno)*, 4: 949-986.
- Pugliese E., 2008, Il modello mediterraneo dell'immigrazione (The Mediterranean model of immigration), *Quaderni di rassegna sindacale (Review of the Trade Unions)*, 2.
- Reardon S. F., O'Sullivan D., 2004, Measures of spatial segregation, *Sociological Methodology*, 34 (1): 121-162, DOI: 10.1111/j.0081-1750.2004.00150.x.
- Rodríguez V., Casado M. Á., Huber A., eds., 2005, *La migración de europeos retirados en España (The Migration of European Retirees in Spain)*, CSIC, Madrid.
- Stone I., Stubbs C., 2007, Enterprising expatriates: lifestyle migration and entrepreneurship in rural southern Europe, *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 19 (Sept.): 433-450, DOI: 10.1080/08985620701552389.
- Torkington K., 2010, Defining Lifestyle Migration, *Dos Algarves*, 19: 99-111.
- Triandafyllidou, A., 2013, Migration Policy in Southern Europe: Challenges, Constraints and Prospects, *A Strategy for Southern Europe*, LSE IDEAS Special

- Report, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/SR017/Triandafyllidou.pdf>.
- Triandafyllidou A., Gropas R., 2014, "Voting With Their Feet": Highly Skilled Emigrants From Southern Europe, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58 (12): 1614-1633, DOI: 10.1177/0002764214534665.
- Triandafyllidou A., Marouf, M., 2009, *Immigration towards Greece at the Eve of the 21st Century. A Critical Assessment*, IDEA Working Papers, no. 4, <http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl>.
- Trundle C., 2009, Romance Tourists, Foreign Wives or Retirement Migrants? Cross-cultural Marriage in Florence, Italy, M. Benson, K. O'Reilly, *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspiration and Experiences*, Ashgate, Farnham-Burlington.
- United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees, 2016, *UNHCR Global Report 2015*, Geneva, <http://www.unhcr.org/gr15/index.xml>.