Students and retirees who move abroad: tourists or migrants?

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Abstract: The paper focuses on two forms of long-term tourism whose main actors are the elderly, and the young. Both groups are expected to increasingly move abroad because of longer life expectancy and more active ageing, and the development and availability of communication tools and European cultural policies favouring the mobility and integration of young people. In both cases, increasing the flows to southern Italy would foster employment and contribute to sustainable economic growth. The paper is structured as follows. First, the concept of human mobility is discussed, along with the emergence of flexible forms of mobility - ranging from territorial temporary moves to longer even permanent stays. The second section examines international retirement migration as a form of consumption-related temporary mobility of elders. The third section focuses on younger movers and analyses the specific case of seasonal educational travel.

The article provides insights into the conditions allowing destinations to attract long stay students and retirees and suggests an in depth exploration of the social aspects of such movements with special attention to intercultural dynamics and integration into the host communities.

Introduction

The current crisis affecting western economic systems and especially the acute problems facing the manufacturing sector are asking for giving more attention to tourism. The development of tourism helps to sustain or increase demand for goods and services in the local economy. Tourism related economic activities support employment, helping to reduce some of the effects of the crisis on the public system of social aid.

From this perspective, incoming flows should be encouraged by promoting new local areas, addressing new market segments and encouraging longer stays through the renewal of the image and the strengthening the competitiveness of destinations. According to Enright and Newton (2004:

778) "a destination is competitive if it can attract and satisfy potential tourists and this competitiveness is determined both by tourism-specific factors and by a much wider range of factors that influence the tourism service providers". Therefore, it would be important to exploit the trends in mobility behaviours based on demographic and social changes.

The increase in life expectancy and the accompanying more active ageing (made possible by improved physical and social conditions among the elderly) are making old age a period when old interests can be renewed and new activities can be embarked upon; curiosity to explore new experiences, and the physical and social dynamism that make it possible to travel and adapt to new contexts can be cultivated. "Areas such as the National Park of Cilento and Vallo di Diano can be re-launched through incentives and promotional actions targeted to specific consumers, such as elderly, high income people who have a lot of free time and wish to spend a period of vacation in a peaceful environment, where they can have clean air, mild weather and spas, visit historical, artistic archaeological and religious sites, taste healthy and excellent food" (Di Martino, Petrillo, 2006: 233).

At the same time, the development of new tools and forms of communication, and the removal, in Europe, of borders, accompanied by initiatives favouring cultural exchanges, have stimulated new types of mobility among young people. These moves go beyond the simple travel-vacation to the search for more lasting experiences and more articulated models of social integration, rooted in autonomy, culture, brotherhood, and adaptation values.

Within this framework, we examine long-term tourism among the young and the elderly. The paper is structured as follows. The next section examines the concept of human mobility and the emergence of flexible forms of mobility ranging from territorial temporary moves to long-lasting and permanent stays. Following this, we discuss international retirement migration as a form of consumption-related temporary mobility of elderly people. The fourth section discusses young movers and analyses the case of long-lasting travel for education purposes. The paper concludes with some remarks on the conditions that make destinations attractive to long stay students and retirees and some recommendations for an in-depth exploration of the social aspects of these types of mobility with special attention to intercultural dynamics and integration into host communities.

Tourism and migration: two forms of mobility along the human mobility continuum

In recent years, the conceptual distinctions between tourism and migration have been questioned and are being shown to be outdated in light of recent changes in mobility caused by new patterns of production and consumption (Bell, Ward, 2000; Williams, Hall, 2000). The distinction between tourism and migration is increasingly being undermined by flexible forms of human mobility. Combined work-holiday trips, yearlong visits to acquire overseas experience, study residential courses, and seasonal migration of retirees and elders are forms of human mobility that are challenging earlier conceptualisations of tourism and migration.

Population mobility can be seen as a continuum between the extreme points of temporary and permanent moves, along which various forms of mobility can be identified. According to Bell and Ward (2000) temporary mobility differs from permanent migration in three key dimensions: duration, frequency and seasonality. Migration is a longer lasting state of being than return-ticket tourism and involves the individual relocating to live elsewhere. It is generally conceived as a single transition. The two authors define temporary mobility as any form of territorial movement which does not represent a permanent or long-lasting move. Temporary mobility generally involves repetitive events of varying duration - from a few hours to several months. While migration displays less seasonal variation than temporary mobility since it occurs more or less evenly throughout the year, temporary mobility often has a seasonal focus. Relocation to a new country of residence or a prolonged sojourn abroad requires long-term decisions typically related to such additional quality of life domains as education and employment, and requires a greater sense of commitment than the expectancy of temporary existence associated with tourism (Haug, Dann, Mehmetoglu, 2007). In the case of long-lasting stays, the relationship between the mover and the host society can become more involving, since the longer the stay, the more desirable can be some degree of integration and cultural assimilation with the hosting community (Gustafson, 2002).

In the specific field of tourism, a number of researchers have focused on defining the tourism industry for statistical purposes, and gauging the commercial success of the tourism industry and the economic impacts of tourism on economic growth, employment and competitiveness. However, according to Hall (2005), these research efforts do not investigate the manner in which production and consumption of tourism are interwoven, and do not address the implications that this has for understanding the broader, social, environmental and political, dimensions of tourism. Hall believes that an in depth understanding of tourism and its effects requires a more comprehensive approach that includes the relationship between tourism, leisure and other social practices and behaviours related to human mobility.

As a form of temporary movement, tourism is distinguishable from permanent migration, while sharing with it the characteristics of expectation, mobility and displacement and various push factors that dispose the individual to travel and pull factors that attract them to visit other places (Haug, Dann, Mehmetoglu 2007). According to Bell and Ward (2000) a useful distinction that can be applied to human mobility is whether they are production or consumption related. Production-related moves are driven by the principal purpose of contributing to the destination economy in some measure and form; consumption related mobility is driven by the need to access goods or services or some form of amenity. Duration of the move can also be used to distinguish forms of mobility within the temporary mobility category (see the illustrative classification of forms of temporary and permanent mobility in Table 1).

Permanent mobility usually occurs in response to a transition in the life cycle, that is, in response to life events, such as changes to family structure (marriage, family formation or dissolution), retirement or other employment related changes, and so on; temporary moves often reflect contemporary circumstances, such as a period of education abroad (Bell, Ward, 2000).

Table 1. An illustrative classification of forms of temporary and permanent mobility

Duration of move	Reason for move	
Hours/day	Production-related	Consumption-related
	Short-distance commuting to work	Short-distance commuting to school/college
		Shopping
		Day tripping
		Day excursions
One or more overnights	Business travel	Excursions
	Long-distance commuting to work	Travel to second homes
	Seasonal travel for work	Family visits
		Recreational travel
		Religious journey
		Active/Event sport tourism
		Educational travel
		Seasonal migration among retirees or elders
		Congressional journey
		Hospitalisation
		Imprisonment
Permanent move	Economic migration	Tourism-induced relocation Housing adjustment

Source: elaboration from Bell, Ward, 2000.

The mover's age profile may be associated with typologies of the move. Business and congressional journeys or seasonal work related journeys are undertaken by adults in the labour force years; sport tourism and education travels are most frequently associated with young adults; tourism-induced relocation and seasonal migration most often apply to retirees and elders.

Mobility among the elderly

Interest in studying the mobility of older adults has increased because of the dramatic increase in the number of retired people in the world's population. Older movers are often well educated and have very good annual incomes and, thus, good purchasing power, and their mobility can help to boost the local host economies.

Tourism in old age has been investigated from various perspectives. Some studies explore the behaviour of older people, others evaluate their sociodemographic characteristics, and some studies investigate the motivations for tourism and factors influencing decision-making about travels and destinations, including the benefits and constraints. Several comparative studies have been conducted to identify differences and similarities between older and younger tourists, and to identify sub-segments within the older adults' segment.

However, Gustafson (2002) points out that people sometimes move in ways that question traditional tourism categorisations. The implicit assumption in the literature that migration and ageing in place are mutually exclusive options for older people fails to consider the forms of temporary residential mobility chosen by many elders (McHugh, Mings, 1996). The authors identify a variant of ageing in place which involves multiple residences and relocation from one home to another, in a recurring -

¹ Among others, see Nimrod (2008), for a review of the literature on tourism in later life.

frequently seasonal - cycle of journeys to and from places of residence: e.g. circulating between summer and winter homes.

Most human mobility scholars reject the idea that the only migrations of importance are those triggered only by the search for employment or a higher income (King, Warnes, Williams, 1998). In Europe, international retirement migration (IRM) is a relatively newly-acknowledged phenomenon, based on the emergence of new residential mobility behaviours involving multiple residences and seasonal moves.

According to the definition in Williams, King, Warnes (1997: 32) IRM is a "highly selective migration process which redistributes [retired] individuals - and their concomitant incomes, expenditures, health and care needs - across international boundaries". In addition to being a consumption-led form of temporary mobility, IRM is associated with seasonal stays throughout the year, and the use of non-hotel accommodation (Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas, Rojo, 2004).

Since the 1960s southern Europe has been the preferred retirement location for northern Europeans for climate and currency reasons. Official statistics on IRM are scarce reflecting the general lack of official demographic data (Bahar, Laçiner, Bal, Özcan, 2009) and differences in European countries' statistical practices which make it difficult to compare data. Even though most researchers have investigated retirement moves within national boundaries, a significant deal of research has been conducted on IRM. Many studies of retirement migrants focus on socio-educational-economic background, motivation, behaviour, integration and relationships with the host communities, and the impact of the migration on the destination countries. In investigating such issues, researchers have carried out ethnographic studies focusing on single country nationals - e.g. British (King, Patterson, 1998; King, Warnes, Williams, 1998; Warnes, Patterson, 1998), Norwegians (Haug, Dann, Mehmetoglu 2007) and Swedish retirees (Gustafson, 2002) migrating to southern European countries, or Japanese retirees in East Asia (Yamashita, Makito, Haines, Eades, 2008). Some studies focus on the destination region rather than the nationality of the migrants (White, 2006; Bahar, Laçiner, Bal, Özcan, 2009) and there are some comparative surveys that focus on national differences in a destination (Rodríguez, Fernández-Mayoralas, Rojo, 1998) or compare international destinations (King, Warnes, Williams, 1998) or both (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser, Warnes, 2004).

Some common features emerge from the findings of these investigations regardless of nationality of the migrant retires or destination country.

Social class has been found to be an important determinant of international retirement migration: relatively few migrants are from manual occupational backgrounds, while the most represented last full-time occupations are teaching (including higher education) and the creative arts (including media), law, medicine, accountancy and the civil service. Lower costs of living, a sunnier, warmer climate with other environmental benefits, a slower, healthier pace of life, fondness for the destination country, and previous links to the destination based on family, friends, work or business connections, holiday visits, have been found to be among the most important reasons for moving to a particular destination country. Although migrant retirees continue to be regarded as tourists by local residents, other tourists and their relatives and friends at home, most would prefer to be integrated in the host community. Gustafson (2002) sees this as explaining retirees' attempts to be dissociated from tourists.

The act of migration can have lasting effects on both migrants and migrant-receiving communities. The most immediate impact of IRM on host countries is alteration to population totals and age structures, at the local and regional levels. Entry of older migrants reinforces existing or creates new settlement geographies by increasing urban decentralisation through settlement in less populated rural areas (King, Warnes, Williams, 1998).

Research since the early 1990s has focused on the impacts of retirement migration on the economy of destination countries and IRM records the largest economic impacts (Migration Policy Institute, 2006). There is potential for retirement migrants to promote development in destination countries, given the selectivity of the migration process and the tendency for movers to be of higher than average socioeconomic status (Bahar, Laçiner, Bal, Özcan, 2009). The primary positive economic impacts stem from house construction (Koch-Schulte, 2008), but also real estate, housing investment, capitation grants, income transfers and retail sales. However, compared to tourists, the daily expenditure of the IRM population is lower and spending habits of movers differ due to cultural and sociogeographical differences among the societies of origin (Ma, Chow, 2006). Regular purchases by retirees can generate new jobs in the local health, personal and financial services, entertainment, food and household goods economic sectors and help to stabilize the local economy (White, 2006).

The effects of migration on retirees will vary depending on the level and nature of the adaptation aimed at and the extent of integration into the new community will vary by person and over time. Rates of integration vary also depending on the destination choice (Migration Policy Institute,

2006), model of settlement (King, Warnes, Williams, 1998) and type of dwelling (Bahar, Laçiner, Bal, Özcan, 2009). Language is the most frequent obstacle to adapting to life in a new community, but adjustment to the cultural norms and habits of the host community is also required to migrants retirees willing to full integration, rather than enclavism.

International educational travel

Travel for education reasons is not a new concept (Williams, 2010) and the interest in international student mobility has increased as a result of globalisation and the centrality of knowledge to economic and social life, both of which are affecting education systems and related policies. Societies are having to develop their capacities to connect, engage and prosper internationally, and individuals need to be adaptable and mobile (NAFSA, 2003; Papatsiba, 2005a; Daly, Barker, 2005; Doyle et al., 2010). At the same time, the number of foreign students has increased as a result of cheaper international travel and initiatives to promote higher education. Countries' and universities' student exchange programmes are contributing to increasing citizens' knowledge, skills and intercultural understanding, and their ability to engage successfully in international contexts (Doyle et al., 2008; Dodds, 2008). The European Union supports education and training through its Erasmus programme, which enables students to study abroad for a semester or an academic year, as a part of their degree programmes, without an increase in tuition fees (Doyle et al., 2010). Erasmus is the EU's flagship education programme and is, therefore, part of most surveys related to mobility and education.

Studies of international educational mobility investigate such aspects as motivation and the factors influencing student participation (Doyle et al., 2010), student selection of a university exchange programme (Llewellyn-Smith, McCabe, 2008), comparison among the outcomes of such experience abroad in term of cognitive intercultural competence and training (Behrnd, Porzelt, 2012), attitudes of "mobile students" towards the EU (Wilson, 2011), student perceptions of personal outcomes and achievement of political aims (Papatsiba, 2005b). Teichler (2004) reviews the findings from various studies on the function and impact of Erasmus

student mobility to show how students make their choices, and benefit from temporary living and studying in another European country.

According to the International Student Migration (ISM) approach, studying abroad helps the student to improve personal linguistic and intercultural skills and results in more successful and creative careers (King, Ruiz-Gelices, 2003). Several studies investigate the relationship between ISM and qualified labour flows (OECD, 2001) and acquisition of linguistic and cultural knowledge useful for EU and global economic integration through education programmes (Findlay, 2001). Very little research is focused on ISM and most study education migration flows and the motivations and decisions to study abroad, and end of study period (return or non-return of the graduates to their countries of origin). Some researchers have analysed ongoing study periods and inclusion in undergraduate degree courses of the "year abroad" (YA) based on Erasmus EU sponsorship (King, Ruiz-Gelices, 2003).

There is a strand in the literature of studies (Ritchie, 2003; Williams, 2010) that take a tourism management perspective which argue that university students should be considered educational tourists based on their contribution to the host country economy. An educational tourist is "a person who travels to an attraction or destination and participates, formally or informally, in a learning experience available there" (Kelly, Brown, 2004: 390). The educational tourist is a consumer of travel, tourism and hospitality services and facilities; however, his or her needs and travel requirements have not been analysed. Erasmus students are educational tourists travelling to destinations in order to participate in formal learning experiences as part of an undergraduate degree, under a university exchange agreement (Kelly, Brown, 2004; Llewellyn-Smith, McCabe, 2008).

Some authors consider that students are "pushed" to apply to an educational exchange programme by the need for more knowledge and experience, entertainment and social interaction, and "pulled" to select an exchange programme by the characteristics of the destination country and host university (Llewellyn-Smith, McCabe, 2008). Push factors include self-development, desire to travel, keenness to learn another language and to learn more about the host country, improved career prospects, opportunity to exploit opportunities not available at the home university, and the opportunity to experience different learning methods (ADMIT, 2002; Llewellyn-Smith, McCabe, 2008). Pull factors include the culture, cost of living, security and transport links in the host country (Teichler,

2004; Llewellyn-Smith, McCabe, 2008), and the academic reputation, facilities, costs, campus atmosphere, quality and availability of courses and programmes and extra-curricular activities at the foreign university (Mazzarol, Soutar, 2002; Price, Matzdorf, Smith, Agahi, 2003; Llewellyn-Smith, McCabe, 2008).

Regardless of their focus, ISM studies show certain similarities related to the factors promoting international exchange programmes. They include early awareness of the benefits of studying abroad and the importance of social, cultural and linguistic capabilities; ongoing support for students; and effectiveness of integration of overseas study into student degree programmes (Doyle et al., 2010).

According to a European cross country report, the main barriers to student mobility, are language, finance and recognition and admission aspects (ADMIT, 2002; Doyle et al., 2010). Finance is seen as a barrier, as it is also confirmed in a survey of 15,000 Erasmus students (Otero, McCoshan, 2006).

There are a few English-speaking countries (US, Canada, UK, Australia) that suffer from imbalances between incoming and outgoing students, and the southern European countries (Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain) are mostly net exporters of Erasmus students (Doyle et al., 2010). We should effect of a different language on intercultural investigate the communication between young adults studying abroad and host populations, alongside other factors that might enhance or impede students' enjoyment and integration (Mancini-Cross, Backman, Baldwin, 2009). Individual characteristic are also significant: a US study found that mobile students are more likely to be white, young and female, from relatively higher socio-economic backgrounds, who have previously travelled abroad (Doyle et al., 2010). In the students' perception, the benefits deriving from YA study include linguistic skills, cultural experience and general personal enrichment (King, Ruiz-Gelices, 2003).

Educational travellers are not a homogenous group, and show a number of differences in relation to length of stay, primary motivation for travel, learning intentions, level of commitment to learning, and type of tourism experience. The contributions made by international mobile students to the host economies are in the form of off-campus spending and the boost to tourism as a result of students travelling to different parts of the host country in their leisure time (Weaver, 2003; Townsend, Lee, 2004; Ritchie, 2003; Richards, Wilson, 2004), for pleasure and in order to gain a better understanding of the country's culture (Teichler, 2004; Babin, Kim, 2001).

They also contribute indirectly because family and friends are likely to take the opportunity to visit them in their destination country, making them country destination and university ambassadors (Williams, 2010).

According to some authors, student exchange travel is a valuable market (Ritchie, 2003; Babin, Kim, 2001; Richards, Wilson, 2004); it is estimated that student travel accounts of 20% of international travel (Babin, Kim, 2001; Chadee, Cutter, 1996; Richards, Wilson, 2004). Both the direct and indirect contributions have significant impacts on economic output and employment in the host country. However, university and tourism marketing managers tend not to make connections between education choices and tourism choices (Weaver, 2003). For education destination marketing to be more effective, more attention should be paid to location, teaching quality and university reputation (Williams, 2010).

Conclusion

In this final section, we discuss some of the aspects that make certain destinations more attractive to inflows of students and elders. Long stays abroad involving students or retirees overlap the areas of tourism and migration. Consistently with studies on tourism, investigations of students' and elders' mobility explore subjective aspects - relating to the formation of personal preferences and levels of satisfaction of movers - and objective aspects - referring to the resource endowments of the destination policies for its enhancement. Within destination competitiveness studies, research investigating destination attractiveness find that "the core resources and attractors" are the primary reasons why potential visitors choose one particular destination over another (Crouch, Ritchie, 1999). For elderly movers, natural resources and climate are very important; for students it is the presence and reputation of the university, and the culture, liveliness, entertainment and nightlife available.

The issue of integration is central in studies on migration. In long stays, such issue is also important. This perspective should provide tourism scholars and policy makers with alternative and innovative approaches to achieve a better understanding of the phenomenon, and should provide useful information for the development of more effective destination marketing plan.

More attention should be paid to student integration into the host community than to the elderly assimilation. The integration of students should become a priority goal in the initiatives encouraging long stay sojourns - such as those proposed by the European Union - with the aim of promoting the creation of social networks and of common identity and citizenship. There should be more investigation of the determinants and outcomes of intercultural dynamics, and the long-term effects of the social networks established during sojourns and their impacts on future employment opportunities and occupational mobility at the national and international levels. More research is needed on linguistic aspects, on the influence of prior knowledge of the language on the destination choice, and the effects of the stay on language improvement.

Both forms of temporary mobility discussed in the paper could be exploited to promote tourism in southern Italy, by lengthening stays and distributing incoming flows over the year. Such more sustainable use of the wide resource endowment would contribute to local economic development and employment.

Areas endowed with natural resources that would attract tourists, e.g. Cilento in the Province of Salerno in the region of Campania, regional inland areas endowed with national parks, and the Calabrian coast should put in place policies to attract elderly movers, including Italian return migrants. The return of former migrants to the area of origin could produce social, cultural and political benefits as well as economic and financial benefits and allow to overcome marginalization of the area (Caporale, 2005).

The existence of education, research and cultural institutes - and especially traditional universities with excellence in specific scientific fields would attract students and young researchers.

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