Chapter 12
Place Affinities, Lifestyle Mobilities, and Quality-of-Life

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Introduction: Place, Mobility, and Globalization

Tourism is a spatial practice involving two seemingly opposing geographic processes. One is aptly captured by McHugh's (2006b) phrase "nomads of desire" referring to the ways amenity-seeking mobilities and travel are deeply rooted in the Western imagination. The other is succinctly expressed in Lippard's (1997) book titled *The Lure of the Local* describing the enigmatic and increasingly multicentric nature of place affinities and attachments and sense of home and community. Within the social sciences, place and mobility have long been treated as distinct topics with their own distinct literatures (Cresswell 2006; Gieryn 2000). In this context tourism represents an important global phenomenon increasingly understood as the interactive convergence of these two spatial practices (Hall and Müller 2004; McIntyre et al. 2006b).

Ironically, both place affinities and mobilities have long been discussed as distinct and opposing factors influencing quality-of-life (for reviews, see Gustafson 2001, 2006). The typical assumption has been that mobile individuals are less likely to develop or maintain strong attachments to places and, conversely, that people with strong attachments are less eager to relocate (Fried 2000; Stokols and Shumaker 1982). As this research evolved, it became clear that the relationship between the two phenomena is quite complex, depending on the scale (local to global) and temporal dynamics (frequency, distance, duration) involved (Gustafson 2009).

In many ways, the original impetus for place attachment research was tied directly to human well-being. The earliest studies focused on how people responded to relocation, displacement, or loss of residential places, neighborhoods, and homes (Fried 1963; Manzo 2008; Stokols and Shumaker 1982). Despite the often negative connotation given to excessive mobility in the residential realm (even diagnosed as "root shock" by psychiatrists) (see Fullilove 1996), touristic mobility is often valorized as a positive feature of modern life (Leed 1991; Rojek 1993). More recent studies

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and theorizing on the relationship between territorial bonds and mobility have posited that place bonds take on greater significance in proportion to one's mobility and even that mobility may produce a sense of attachment (Gustafson 2009; McIntyre 2006; Williams and McIntyre 2001). In sum, permanent or chronic residential mobility has traditionally been characterized as disruptive and negative, whereas temporary and cyclical forms of mobility are typically characterized as positive and fulfilling.

In this chapter, we develop the idea that these twin processes of place affinities and lifestyle mobilities are inseparable and essential to understanding quality-of-life, which in this chapter is viewed as an ongoing psychological process of developing a coherent self-identity narrative (Williams and McIntyre 2001). Our globalized age has made the movement or circulation of people, ideas, and goods a ubiquitous aspect of the human condition. Tourism lies at the very core of modern quality-of-life because it is an increasingly prosaic realm within which people seek out and negotiate meaning and build identity into their lives. The modern globalized age empowers many people to actively circulate among a great many places as part of living the good life. We mean that this is not simply for those actively engaged in travel to visit destinations but also for those who reside in or make a living on the character of such destinations and other peoples' desires to visit them and those whose local quality-of-life is impacted in some way by tourists and other lifestyle migrants' involvement in such places.

It is difficult to address place and quality-of-life in tourism without discussing lifestyle mobilities and whose quality-of-life might be affected by tourism. To illustrate, consider the case of an iconic tourist destination such as Hawai'i. The Hawai'i we see today is the contemporary product of a long history in which place affinities and attachment have collided with diverse global influences and lifestyle aspirations. And not only do we need to consider how modern tourist visits might contribute to the tourist's quality-of-life, we need to ask: what constitutes quality-of-life for the indigenous Hawai'ian? Or for that matter the American mainlander seeking to retire in his little corner of paradise? Or the counter-cultural free spirit who hopes to transform a hobby into an economically sustainable lifestyle? Or the tourism entrepreneur with visions of turning a former pineapple plantation into a five-star golf resort? These are not just the imagined realities of an idealized Hawai'i. When put into practice, they create the reality of a conflicted and contested place, the Hawai'i we see today. How do we understand quality-of-life for all these different people brought together in this one place? More importantly, how is it that being in this place contributes to quality-of-life, and how does the individual pursuit of quality-of-life affect others' pursuit of quality-of-life?

Our intention is not to focus on Hawai'i per se but to raise a series of questions about the interactions among place, mobility, and globalization and their impact on the ways in which places are created and experienced through tourism and how these processes are driven by and produce quality-of-life for various people. Our approach will be to first discuss place, place attachment, and its relationship to quality-of-life; examine how touristic relationships to place afford individuals opportunities to act out desired lifestyle aspirations as a way to enhance quality-of-life; and explore how enhanced mobility has transformed our perceptions of place and the implications this has for tourism and quality-of-life.

Place and Well-being in Tourism

As an economic activity, tourism trades on the character of places. So, it is natural that tourism research has maintained a longstanding interest in place-related topics such as measuring and marketing destination images (Gartner 1989; Hunt 1975; Uysal et al. 2002), visitors' and residents' experiences of place (Lew 1989; Suvantola 2002; Young 1999), and attachment to

place among tourists (Lee and Allen 1999) and residents (Um and Crompton 1987). Tourism studies on the contribution of place features and affinities to well-being have drawn on two distinct models of well-being. As distinguished by Omodei and Wearing (1990), the telic or goal attainment model views well-being as occurring when specific needs or goals are met. In contrast, the auto-telic or process-based approach examines well-being as arising directly from the nature of activity and from interactions with objects, places, and people rather than from attaining desired end states.

As the dominant model guiding much of consumer, recreation, and tourism research, the telic approach focuses on the contributions of various product or service (e.g., destination) features to well-being (Patterson et al. 1998). Following the telic model, early studies of tourist behavior built on a consumer metaphor in which places were constituted as collections of destination features, each with its own perceived utility in the tourist decision-making process (Gartner 1989; Klenosky et al. 1993). Largely absent in such studies, however, were process-oriented considerations of the meaning the visitor or resident attached to the specific place in which these features were found and how these meanings were produced and consumed (Arnould and Price 1993; Patterson et al. 1998; Young 1999).

Early examples of auto-telic thinking in recreation and tourism research began to surface in the early 1980s as some recreation researchers began to examine how, over time, people accumulate meaning and form emotional ties to specific places (Schreyer et al. 1981), establish "social definitions" and "feelings of possession" (Jacob and Schreyer 1980) about places, and seek out places where the norms of behavior and expressed values and lifestyles match their own (Schreyer and Roggenbuck 1981). The key idea behind this more auto-telic view was that people often value their relationships to tourist places not merely because they were useful settings for pursuing desired activities and experiences, as in the telic approach, but because the specific places involved conveyed a sense of individual identity and group affiliation. Below we examine the relationship between place and well-being organized around three topics: measuring place attachment, the experiential and socio-cultural meanings of touristic places, and how tourist relationships to place have brought with them increasing consideration of the nature and role of mobility in quality-of-life.

Place Attachment

Building on the critiques on place coming out of humanistic geography (e.g., Tuan 1977) as well as critiques of the telic approach to consumer behavior in both recreation/tourism and consumer studies (e.g., Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Olshavsky and Granbois 1979), Williams and colleagues initiated an effort in the late 1980s to develop a psychometric instrument that could measure the strength of place attachments for use in public surveys of recreation visitors to national parks, forests, and other wildland and tourist destinations (Williams et al. 1992; Williams and Vaske 2003). The design of the original scale built on Brown's (1987) suggestion of two forms of place attachment. One was Stokols and Shumaker's (1981) the concept of place dependence, which represented the importance of a place in providing features and conditions that support specific goals or desired activities. The other was the concept of place identity (Proshansky 1978; Proshansky et al. 1983), which refers to the importance of a place in constructing and maintaining self-identity (for a more detailed discussion of these two components of place attachment, see Farnum et al. 2005). Others have since argued for and tested other possible subcomponents (e.g., Hammitt et al. 2009).

Over the years, similar instruments have been employed in various tourist contexts including visits to national parks and other resort destinations (Alexandris et al. 2006; Bricker and Kerstetter 2000; Gross and Brown 2008; Hou et al. 2005; Hwang et al. 2005; Kaltenborn and Williams

2002; Kyle et al. 2005; Lee and Allen 1999; Warzecha and Lime 2000; Yuksel et al. 2010), owners of vacation homes (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006; Kaltenborn 1997; Kaltenborn et al. 2008), and residents of tourist regions (Kaltenborn and Bjerke 2002; Kaltenborn and Williams 2002; Lee et al. 2010; Matarrita-Cascante et al. 2010; Williams et al. 1995).

In terms of quality-of-life, the key idea was that tourists derived value from their experience, not simply by virtue of the presence or absence of preferred destination attributes, but because the place provided meaning and a sense of identity or purpose to life (Williams et al. 1992). However, the focus of place attachment research in tourism has not been its direct contribution to well-being. Part of the reason is that place attachment has been used as both a predictor (explanatory) variable and dependent (criterion) variable. As a predictor variable, it is common to examine how attachment influences specific perceptions of destinations (Hwang et al. 2005; Yuksel et al. 2010) and their management (Kyle et al. 2004; Vorkinn and Riese 2001; Watson et al. 1994). Yuksel et al. (2010) found statistically strong and meaningful links between place attachment dimensions and visitor satisfaction. They argue against what they call the "traditional view" in which destination satisfaction leads to attachment, and suggest a more complex relationship in which satisfactory visitor experiences reinforce place dependence, "which in turn affects the development of place affect and place identity as layers of memories and place-specific meanings" (p. 282). In a study of visitors to a national park in Taiwan, Hwang et al. (2005) found that both involvement and place attachment had positive effects on service quality and satisfaction.

As a criterion variable, attachment is often assumed to be a positive indicator of well-being (but see Manzo 2003 for a critique of this assumption). Investigators have typically sought to explain attachments based on experiential, environmental, and/or socio-cultural determinants. With respect to experiential determinants, studies show that attachments generally involve experiential investments that develop over time (George and George 2004; Hammitt et al. 2004; Moore and Graefe 1994; Smaldone 2006; Smaldone et al. 2008; Williams et al. 1992). Still, while some have argued that place attachment may not necessarily require direct experience with the place (Farnum et al. 2005), others have shown that what distinguishes place attachment from ordinary preference for one place over another is that attachment to a place is something that builds over time (Smaldone et al. 2008).

Others have looked at how destination features influence attachment, particularly the relative importance of natural versus cultural features (e.g., Beckley 2003; Brehm et al. 2004; Stedman 2003). Some have even pointed to psycho-evolutionary theory to posit an innate human disposition to form attachments particularly to natural environments (Farnum et al. 2005). By such reckoning, an instinctive liking of an environment (e.g., nature) is tantamount to attachment. But this assumption is hard to reconcile with experientially based notions of attachments (as noted above) and studies showing that people form strong emotional attachments to intensely urban places (e.g., Fried 1963, 2000). Likewise, to assume that there are robust if not universal environmental attributes to explain place attachment makes it difficult to differentiate the concept of attachment from multi-attribute utility explanations for environmental preferences used in economic, consumer, and attitudinal theories – the very approaches to environmental preference that humanistic geographers such as Tuan found lacking in the first place (Williams and Patterson 2007).

Whereas in studies of destination visitors the connection between attachment and experience quality is often assumed, the relationship between attachment and quality-of-life is somewhat more explicit in studies of the residents of tourism destinations. Most studies at least focus on the relationship between attachments and attitudes toward tourism and/or perceptions of the impacts of tourism. In an early study examining the influence of resident attachment toward tourism, McCool and Martin (1994) hypothesized that residents with strong feelings of attachment would have negative attitudes toward tourism. They found a significant correlation between community

attachment and level of tourism development among Montana residents. They also found that attached residents rated positive dimensions of tourism more highly and also were concerned about sharing the costs of tourism development. Jurowski et al. (1997) used a path model to examine the relationship between community attachment and support for nature-based tourism. They found that attached residents appear to evaluate the economic and social impacts of tourism positively while evaluating the environmental impacts negatively.

Several studies have attempted to broaden traditional rural sociological concerns for community attachment to look at social and environmental factors related to well-being in amenity-rich communities that attract a lot of tourism. Matarrita-Cascante et al. (2010) noted how landscape-based factors make an independent and important contribution to community attachment both for permanent and seasonal residents. Brehm et al. (2004) examined the social, cultural, and physical qualities of a community that facilitate open communication and collective action. They found that social attachment and attachment to the natural environment are distinct dimensions of community attachment with community well-being explaining significant but small variance in attachment to both dimensions. Examining both residents and tourists, Kaltenborn and Williams (2002) reported that attachment had a positive effect on how both residents and tourists valued place and features and attitudes toward the protection of a world heritage site in Norway. In a study of attachment to local heritage, Gu and Ryan (2008) found that concerns about the negative impacts of tourism on a local heritage district in Beijing outweighed the perceived advantages of tourism for economic development.

A key point of discussion has been the relationship between place attachment and other place concepts such as place meanings and sense of place (Patterson and Williams 2005). In particular, it is common to see investigators invoke some notion of sense of place and then operationalize and measure something closer to place attachment (Jorgensen and Stedman 2001; Shamai and Ilatov 2005). Alternatively, some have directed criticism at place attachment for failing to address issues and topics more suited to the notion of sense of place or place meanings (Farnum et al. 2005; Stokowski 2008). Place attachment seems particularly well suited to measuring the strength of personal emotional bonds (e.g., meaningfulness or sentiment) and the individual differences in the strength of attachments to specific place. To study something more multifaceted as sense of place or the individual and socio-cultural meanings that go with a place, many have turned to more qualitative and interpretive methods. The focus of such studies has been to examine how place relationships are an important part of touristic experiences and how they contribute meaning, stability, and identity and ultimately enhance well-being.

The Experiential and Socio-cultural Construction of Touristic Places

Recognizing some of the limits of the telic approach as well as the difficulties of place attachment measures to probe the depth of meaning for a place, experiential and socio-cultural studies of place have examined touristic experiences as part of an ongoing enterprise of constructing an identity (Patterson et al. 1998) – something actualized through a transactional relationship between the person and the place (McIntyre and Roggenbuck 1998; Smaldone et al. 2005). Through everyday spatial interactions, people create and sustain a coherent sense of self, reveal that sense to others, and derive a benefit such as enhanced self-esteem (Williams and McIntyre 2001).

Following the auto-telic approach to well-being, pioneering studies of tourist experiences of place found that building an experience narrative made an essential contribution to overall satisfaction (Arnould and Price 1993; Patterson et al. 1998). Patterson et al. (1998), for example, collected experiential narratives (descriptions of the experience in participants' own words) from people who had taken a canoe trip down a slow-moving, spring-fed creek in a Florida wilderness area.

They found that experiences often had a storied quality, best understood in terms of an emergent narrative rather than a set of expectations. That is, rather than having a precise set of specific goals, many tourists seemed motivated by a not very well-defined purpose of acquiring stories that ultimately enrich their lives. In addition, some respondents clearly had a more enduring relationship to place, one so strong that being considered a "visitor" or "tourist" seemed like a mischaracterization of how the place related to their well-being.

Other studies emphasize the importance of the person-place transaction that plays out over time. Some studies have emphasized the temporal dynamics of a single visit (McIntyre and Roggenbuck 1998; Vogt and Stewart 1998); others have looked at how the meanings of a place evolve over the life course, marking significant changes in peoples' lives (Brooks et al. 2006; Smaldone et al. 2005). In a study of a unique experience of rafting through a dark cave, McIntyre and Roggenbuck (1998) noted how person-nature transactions involved shifting foci of attention, mood states, and perceptions of risk and competence such that the place provided a context or frame within which individuals were empowered to shape their own experiences. Smaldone et al. (2005) used interviews with tourists and residents of Jackson Hole, Wyoming, to show how life stage influenced how places become meaningful, as well as why place meanings change, how place meanings and experiences are used to regulate people's emotions and self-identity, and the sacrifices people make to maintain place experiences.

Socio-cultural studies of place also examine the social processes of place making as embedded within the cultural, historical, and geographical context of day-to-day life (Farnum et al. 2005). As social beings, people seek out and create meaning in the environment. Accordingly, any single environmental feature may be perceived from a variety of social or cultural perspectives. For example, a Hawai'ian holiday may offer a variety of touristic experiences from relaxation and contemplation to competence testing. But to nearby residents, Hawai'i may symbolize ancestral ways of life or an essential livelihood. Thus, the place acquires varied and competing social and political meaning as a specific locale becomes associated over time with particular activities, interests, and social groups (Young 1999). In addition, research is beginning to examine social and cultural differences in access to the economic and political resources necessary to define and direct the use of touristic settings – the basis of much inter-group conflict (McHugh 2006a; Stokowski 2002).

Socio-cultural studies of place emphasize the way landscape features and settings are symbolically constructed as touristic places (Blake 2002; Stokowski 2002; Suvantola 2002), both through the meanings ascribed to them by tourists and local residents and by the intentions of designers, developers, and promotional and managing agencies (Saarinen 1998; Schöllmann et al. 2000; Young 1999). As a result, tourist places are subject to complex, contested social processes in which various stakeholders struggle to manipulate and control place meanings, values, and uses (Carter et al. 2007; Kneafsey 2000; Malam 2008; McHugh 2006a; Williams and Van Patten 2006). This perspective is proving increasingly valuable to policy makers as they try to balance the competing environmental priorities of diverse constituencies (Dredge 2010; Kianicka et al. 2006; Kerstetter and Bricker 2009; Paradis 2000; Puren et al. 2007). Thus, for managing parks, protected areas, and other tourism destinations, tourism has the potential to be both a stabilizing force in protecting landscapes and local culture, but is also a potential vehicle for their degradation (Williams 2001).

Place, Mobility, and Multi-centered Identities

A particularly germane context for investigating quality-of-life in tourism involves the study of people who seek to be mobile and rooted at the same time including itinerant retirees who

wander about the countryside driving or towing their homes (e.g., recreational vehicles (RVs), "fifth wheel trailers," etc.), people who regularly migrate with the seasons, and second-home tourists who exemplify the development of long-term affinities for multiple places through repeated use of holiday residences (Gustafson 2001; Hall and Müller 2004; Lippard 1997; McHugh et al. 1995; McIntyre 2006). These temporary, periodic, and cyclical migrations often flowing from cooler climates and urban centers to warmer climates and rural, amenity-rich areas provide a dynamic context for studying how place and mobility are negotiated in modern life and how multi-place bonds unite and divide communities (McHugh 2006a).

With rare exceptions (see McHugh 2006b), most of the work on multiple dwelling either focuses on fixed recreational homes or does not distinguish between types of dwellings (mobile RVs versus conventional dwellings). One consistent theme in this line of research, however, is the idea of escaping modernity. As McHugh (2006b) notes, one of the largest RV clubs is named *Escapees*. In comparing seasonal residents with year-round residents, Stedman (2006a) also noted that seasonal residents often describe their home as a place of escape from civilization. Likewise, McIntyre et al. (2006a) described relationships to second homes as falling along a continuum whereby some seasonal homes were experienced as part of the "home range" providing a complementary lifestyle of routine and familiarity whereas use of more distant seasonal homes allowed for a more compensatory meaning of escape associated with being away.

In a study of British seasonal homeowners in rural France, Chaplin (1999) argued that people use seasonal homes to escape from the ubiquitous commodification of modern life and that owning a seasonal home was a kind of "identity project" used "reflexively" (Giddens 1991) to subvert the process of commodification. Similar to Chaplin, Williams and colleagues (Van Patten and Williams 2008; Williams and Kaltenborn 1999; Williams and McIntyre 2001; Williams and Van Patten 2006) also looked at owning second homes as a kind of identity project. Specifically, they drew from Giddens' discussion of four crucial identity dilemmas people must negotiate to construct coherent identity narratives: efficacy versus powerlessness, personalization versus commodification, authority versus certainty, and fragmentation versus unification.

First, holiday homes give individuals greater efficacy in shaping lifestyles and meanings from a diverse range of possibilities for building one's identity narrative. The sense of escape from daily life restores feelings of self-reliance and control over one's own schedule which is otherwise undermined, as Giddens (1991) argues, by globalization and its expanding dependence on abstract systems of expert control.

Second, the holiday home offers a way to balance personalization with commodification. On the one hand, our personal appropriation of life choices and meanings is often influenced by standardized forms of consumption with their pre-packaged images and storylines. But rather than passively consuming these standardized narratives, people actively discriminate among pre-packaged images and modify pre-fabricated storylines to suit their individual tastes. As Tuulentie (2006, 2007) shows from her study of Finnish holiday homes, cumulative experiences in a holiday destination afford the long and practiced commitment to certain lifestyle that gives life a sense of purpose.

Third, the continuity and sense of rootedness made possible by a life-long accumulation of experiences in a place illustrate how holiday residences help people negotiate identity dilemma of navigating between authority and uncertainty. As Giddens (1991) suggests, the dilemma arises from greater uncertainty as to what constitutes worthy sources of authority in the modern age. This dilemma may be partly resolved "through a mixture of routine and commitment to a certain form of lifestyle" (Giddens 1991, p. 196) as holiday homes offer family members a regular gathering place for maintaining routines and traditions and help to forge a shared commitment to a place in what for many is otherwise experienced as rootless modern life.

Fourth, though holiday homes offer a seemingly thicker place of identity, continuity, and tradition, there is a contradiction as suggested by Giddens' final identity dilemma of

fragmentation versus unification. Owning and visiting a holiday home adds to quality-of-life by emphasizing a continuity of time and place, a return to a simpler life, and convergence of spheres of life such as work and leisure. At the same time, holiday homes reinforce the segmented quality of modern identities in the form of separate places for organizing distinct aspects of a fragmented identity around different segment of life (e.g., work versus leisure) as well as around phases in the life cycle with youth and retirement focused more on the holiday place compared to working adulthood.

The efforts of itinerant RV residents, tourists, and second-home owners to weave together coherent but multi-centered identities heighten the challenges of accommodating both distant and locally defined place meanings. While perhaps sharing a deep attachment to place, locals and tourists are likely to hold different myths of authenticity and pursue diverging ideas of how to sustain quality-of-life in a given place. The tourists may seek to preserve some "rustic idyll" (nature, refuge, and simple living) against the forces of modernity. The locals, in contrast, may need to continuously adapt the place to sustain their livelihoods if not their lifestyles.

Thus far, we have examined place-based affinities and meanings associated with tourism as providing opportunities to establish and express individual identity, maintain a coherent self-narrative, and provide a sense of rootedness even in the face of globalization and the seeming dilution and thinning of place-based meanings (Giddens 1991; McIntyre 2006). Ironically, tourism also suggests that greater mobility enables a wider search for deeper place meanings and stronger ties to place. For Giddens, constructing an identity in the modern, globalized age is a difficult prospect as it must be accomplished amid a greater diversity of lifestyle options, competing sources of authority and expertise, and extensive access to a multitude of places thoroughly penetrated by distant global influences. It is these lifestyle options, what we term lifestyle mobilities, to which we now turn.

Migration, Mobilities, and Quality-of-Life

Tourism is not just about a destination; it also implies a journey. Historically, questions about mobility have focused on migration and in particular the permanent movement of people motivated dominantly by economic concerns (Roseman 1992). However, more recent research has emphasized a more nuanced perspective on migration and mobility. In particular, the view that migration may include a much broader range of motivations including quality-of-life considerations and that it may be temporary or cyclical in nature has gained more prominence in the literature (Bell and Ward 2000; McHugh et al. 1995; Williams and Hall 2002). Tourism can thus be conceptualized as a temporary or cyclical form of migration and placed on a time/space continuum with other types of human movements of varying duration from daily trips (e.g., shopping, commuting, and visiting) through those of longer duration (e.g., vacations, staying at a second home) to permanent relocation, all of which can be viewed as part of this continuum of migratory activities (Hall 2005). In this perspective, tourism in its multiple forms is embedded in the lifestyle practices of an increasingly mobile society. As such, it is freed from the strictures of "overnight stays" and "home and away" (Shaw and Williams 1994) and becomes more broadly a site of experience and meaning. Williams and Hall (2002) differentiated two broad motives underpinning temporary or cyclical migration, namely "productive" (work or business-related) and "consumptive" (lifestyle). The latter categorization includes tourists and the former tourism workers, although here the distinction becomes somewhat blurred when one considers, for example, peripatetic tourism workers in the ski or surfing industries (Adler and Adler 1999) and lifestyle entrepreneurs (Dewhurst and Horobin 1998) who combine both work and lifestyle.

Consumptive motivated migration can be subsumed under the broader categorization of amenity or lifestyle migration as the "the movements of people to places that they perceive as having greater environmental quality and differentiated culture and that are perceived as providing an enhanced or, at least, different lifestyle" (adapted from Moss 2006, p. 3; McIntyre 2009, p. 4). This type of migration (Fig. 12.1) includes traditional permanent relocations (e.g., retirees) (see Williams et al. 1997, 2000); temporary, cyclical, and recurrent movements of tourists (e.g., second-home owners) (see Hall and Müller 2004; McIntyre 2006); peripatetic tourism workers (Adler and Adler 1999); and permanent relocations associated with lifestyle entrepreneurship (Shaw and Williams 2004; Stone and Stubbs 2007).

Mobility, thus, not only describes the tourists butt also characterizes a significant portion of people engaged in the tourist trade. The tourism industry is often based on entrepreneurship and dominated by small- to medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) run by individuals with a few employees, often family members (Peters et al. 2009). 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 and Doorne 2000; Dewhurst and Horobin 1998). A disproportionate number of SME 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. Ateljevic and Doorne (2000), in a study of lifestyle entrepreneurs in the outdoor adventure and backpacker hostel industry in New Zealand, noted that:

> … a growing number of small-firm owners electe[d] … to preserve both their quality of life in their socio-environmental contexts and their 'niche' market position [by] catering for travellers similarly seeking out alternative [business] paradigms and ideological values … of reciprocity and lifestyle. (pp. 388–9)

Also, in a 1997 UK study of tourist SMEs (reported in Shaw and Williams 2004), some 80% of respondents privileged lifestyle over economic motives.

The preponderance of such lifestyle entrepreneurs is particularly characteristic of tourism because of its relatively low entry requirements and the blurring of the boundary between consumption and production (Shaw and Williams 2004), in that many SME owners were former tourists to a region and/or were formerly or are still active participants in the focus of their business enterprise. For example, Shaw and Williams reported in a study of the surfing industry in Cornwall, UK, that small-business owners in the surfing industry were attracted to the industry because it enabled them to create a better quality-of-life by managing or participating in a business associated with their "passion."

In a recent study of migrants to France and Spain, Stone and Stubbs (2007) noted that owners of SMEs were generally expatriates who had a pattern of recurrent visits to a particular area, many of whom had migrated initially for lifestyle reasons and later started a business as a mechanism to allow them to continue living in their chosen destination; others were returned migrants with family ties and inherited property. Similarly, in UK coastal towns, the majority of tourist enterprises were run by people from outside the area who had moved there with the specific purpose of setting up a business in a preferred locality, "to be their own boss" and to seek a better quality-of-life in what they considered to be a high-quality environment (Shaw and Williams 2004). A common feature of all these types of migrants was an emphasis on balancing quality-of-life considerations including the natural environment, family time, freedom, a slower pace of life, and community involvement (Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Marcketti et al. 2006; Tate-Libby 2010) with economic self-sufficiency (Peters et al. 2009).

As alluded to in the previous section, an important distinction is drawn in Fig. 12.1 between the "passing trade" tourist (McIntyre 2006) and the second-home tourist where the latter differs in that he/she has a history of property ownership in and repeat visits to a destination. Some authors (e.g., Stewart 2001; Tuulentie 2006, 2007) have indicated that tourism experiences can lead to second-home purchase and perhaps eventually to permanent residence in the amenity destination.
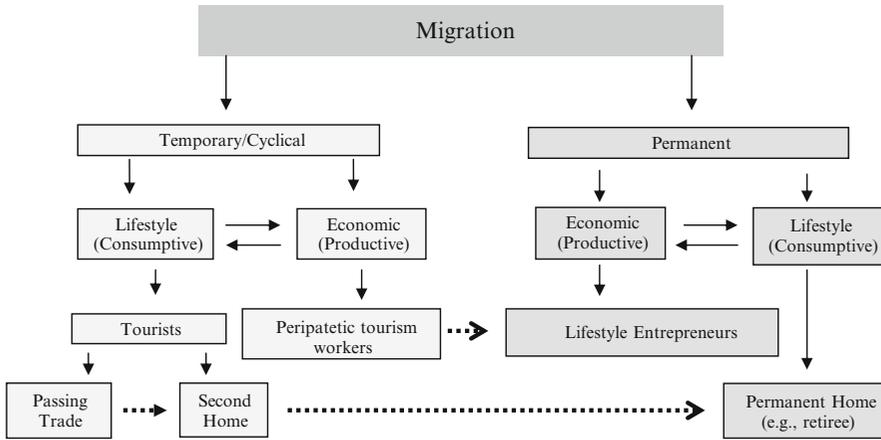
Fig. 12.1 Tourism and amenity (lifestyle) migration (After McIntyre 2009, p. 5)

Figure 12.1 draws another distinction, namely that although migration or the movement of people is a major component of mobility, it is nonetheless only one of a number of "mobilities" that Urry (2000) recognized. He 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. In this light, 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). In the context of tourism, this perspective necessitates consideration of the broad array of mobilities or flows that are associated with tourist activity including the movements of money, culture, technology, and information which accompany and support this activity. In characterizing this type of mobility, the term *lifestyle* is preferred to *amenity* because the former includes not only the amenity or objects of attraction but also the ultimate goals of relocation, namely, enhancing or changing lifestyle and potentially redefining the self.

Much like Giddens' identity dilemmas discussed earlier, lifestyle mobilities have been linked to enhanced quality-of-life (Gustafson 2006; Johnson and Rasker 1995; Moss 2006). Integral to this linkage is choice, the freedom to select from the multiplicity of lifestyle models and places presented through marketing and other forms of mediated expression. Although advances in transportation and communication technologies, more flexible working arrangements, and increases in discretionary wealth and time have led to enhanced personal mobility worldwide, it is also recognized that such freedom is related centrally to privilege and opportunity and is not universally accessible (Gustafson 2006).

Mobilities

Mobilities imply more than the movement of people; they also include the movement of capital, information and imagination, and skills and knowledge of the tourist, lifestyle migrant, or multiple dweller (Appadurai 2008; Urry 2000). In the context of tourism, a significant aspect of these latter types of mobilities is their influence on the distribution or (re)-distribution of the benefits arising from tourism activity and the often conflicting meanings attached to places.

The idea that tourism is very much about the (re)-distribution of capital and wealth from the center to the periphery is hardly new. This is the main reason why tourism is viewed as a major engine of economic development in many transitional and economically depressed regions of world. Frequently and especially in the case of less-developed destinations in the south, the disparities in wealth between visitors or new lifestyle migrants and the local populations are significant. Indeed, the perception that visiting or taking up residence in a particular place will make the tourist dollar "go further" or enable the retirement dollar to purchase a better quality-of-life is often a major reason for choosing a particular destination. However, while (re)-distribution of wealth may be a major aim of tourism development, at least in the eyes of the host community or nation, the actuality of this (re)-distribution and the extent to which it actually contributes to improving the quality-of-life of those most in need is a matter of considerable debate.

A case in point is the debate surrounding the so-called pro-poor tourism movement. Pro-poor tourism seeks to exploit tourism's potential to alleviate poverty in host communities and nations by generating net benefits for the poor (Ashley et al. 1999). However, the weak bargaining power of host communities and nations vis-à-vis the tourism hegemony of international airlines and tourist operators (Chok et al. 2007) means that much tourism development in the developing world often benefits multinationals or "elites" in the host nation who are:

> …enabled to repatriate profits, import goods from the economic [*centers*] to cater for the international visitor market, and employ expatriates for high-skills positions [which] results in high levels of economic leakage and minimises tourism's potential benefit to the host country's local economy – and 'the poor' within it. (Schilcher 2007, p. 171–172)

The commercial reality of tourism limits the extent to which it can be made pro-poor (Ashley et al. 2001), and the emphasis on net benefits implies that some poor people may win and others lose. Some argue that what is required to really benefit the "poorest" is a focus on the goal of "(re)-distributive justice" (Reid 2003; Chok et al. 2007), which leans more toward protectionism and local control than the countervailing neoliberal philosophy of openness and self-regulation promoted by such funding agencies as the World Bank and IMF (Schilcher 2007). However, the extent to which local control is possible is questionable given that tourism of necessity "tends to flourish in an open economic environment that facilitates the free movement of capital, labour and consumers" (Schilcher 2007, p. 170). Thus, the essential nature of tourism as a global industry seriously constrains national governments' attempts to enhance the equitable distribution of benefits through strategies that favor protectionism or regulation.

The emphasis on the mobility of capital or financial benefits arising from tourism in this discussion does not imply that (re)-distribution of these assets is the only issue facing pro-poor tourism and its ability to enhance quality-of-life. It is essential that tourism be set in the broader context of livelihood enhancement and sustainability goals (Chok et al. 2007; Saarinen et al. 2009). This would recognize the need to address place-specific issues such as education, skill development, engagement, and governance – particularly control over and access to natural resources – all of which are central to community participation in tourism and enhancing life quality of host communities.

Imagined Worlds

A key way in which mobility is manifest is in the creation and consumption of imagined worlds (i.e., senses of place, and place meanings and attachments) which are mobilized 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 2008, p. 5).

What is different today is that imagination has broken out of art, myth, and legend and 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 2008, p. 6)

Appadurai (2003) points to what he considers a "critical and new… global cultural process: the imagination as a social practice" (p. 29). He argues that:

> … the imagination has become an organized field of social practice … and a form of negotiation between sites of agency ("individuals") and globally defined fields of possibility. (p. 30)

The building blocks of what Appadurai (2003) termed "imagined worlds… the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (p. 31) are five dimensions of global culture, namely, ethnoscapes (mobile people: tourists, immigrants, refugees, etc.), technoscapes (mobile technology), financescapes (mobile global capital), and mediascapes and ideascapes (mobile images and ideologies). A key aspect of this thesis is that today, the world is characterized by disjunctions or disconnections between the rapidly changing flows of people, technology, capital, images, and ideas interacting in complex and unpredictable ways in any particular context.

As has been argued previously, the desire for an improved lifestyle or enhanced quality-of-life is a key driver of migration. In this regard, the notion of imagined worlds is important in understanding the processes that are instrumental in motivating people to visit places, create a second residence, or even settle permanently. The particular combination of ethnoscape, financescape, and technoscape 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 an affluent, young German 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 (mediascape) may be similarly unrealistic, as "assessed by the criteria of some other perspective, some other imagined world" (Appadurai 2003, p. 34), the lens (ideascape) through which they each view the target is radically different. Australia represents freedom from political repression and economic hardship for one and an exotic experience and temporary separation from everyday life for the other.

The potent mix of personal mobility fuelled by modern electronic media provides a wealth of "imagined worlds" which are the foundations of tourism and lifestyle mobility. Tourism destination marketing is designed to communicate an imagined world that is attractive to individuals in specific target audiences, thus creating a "community of sentiment… a group that begins to imagine and feel things together" (Appadurai 2003, p. 8). Destination marketing can be seen as an ideascape – a mix of visual and print narratives presenting a sanitized, often romanticized, perhaps even ideological sense of place designed specifically to entice tourists and lifestyle migrants. Quality-of-life markers are central components of such ideascapes. Typically, they depict healthy, affluent retirees or elegant, physically attractive, and young people indulging in the best food and accommodation, enjoying active pursuits in perfect weather and in aesthetic, romantic, and often natural surroundings involving interactions with wildlife or intimate contacts with stereotypical local people.

Not unusually, these idealized images often conflict with the lived reality of tourist places. In amenity/tourism towns in rural 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 and Moss 2007; Gober et al. 1993; Gurran 2008; Hansen et al. 2002; Jobes 2000; Loeffler and Steinecke 2007; Stefanick 2008). Multiple dwellers 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. Similarly, in

developing nations, rather than improving the life quality of residents, the types of tourism that have developed, notably "enclave tourism," have in many cases exacerbated poverty by alienating traditional lands for tourism development, excluding opportunities for local involvement, repatriating tourist earnings, and encouraging the growth of sex industries and the spread of HIV/AIDS (Kibicho 2009; Mbaiwa 2005).

Paradise Found, Paradise Lost: Mobilities and Imagined Worlds

The increasing pervasiveness of tourism and the resulting competition between destinations, and its close association with economic development draw small communities, cities, and countries inexorably into a cycle of self-promotion to attract the tourist or retirement dollar. 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 a threat to the very qualities upon which the lifestyles and experiences enjoyed by locals and promised to visitors depend.

Doxey (1976: referenced in George, et al. 2009) proposed four stages of development of locals' attitudes to tourism: initial "euphoria" as economic possibilities in often depressed communities are enhanced by tourism development; "apathy" where tourists and other lifestyle migrants are essentially taken for granted; "annoyance" with the impacts on quality-of-life, initiating the formation of local protest groups; and finally, "antagonism" where most of the problems of the community are blamed on tourists and lifestyle migrants.

Various authors (e.g., Blahna 1990; Fortmann and Kussel 1990; Jones, et al. 2003; McIntyre and Pavlovich 2006; Thompson 2004; Williams and Van Patten 2006) have noted much common ground among residents and in-migrants in appreciation of and concern for the amenity landscape. Despite these similarities in resource and/or tourism-related developments, there remains a consistent focus of conflict in amenity communities. Most commonly, protagonists in these conflicts are divided into in-migrants and locals (e.g., Gallent and Tewder-Jones 2000; Hall and Müller 2004; Stedman 2006b). 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, tourists, and multiple dwellers often differ, thus creating a complex and often conflicting mix of visions of how a place is and should be. Such "communities of sentiment" are often mobilized in collective action as a result of perceived threats to the integrity of their various imagined worlds produced by tourism or resource development. In such situations, ideascapes, which define both 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 (Ramp and Koc 2001; Satterfield 2002).

Milne (2001) argued in relation to development controversies on the Sunshine Coast of British Columbia that:

> … opinions regularly divide according to people's views … on the need to develop vs the need to conserve 'nature'; and on the transition from a 'traditional' to a 'new economy'. (p. 200)

Thus, 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 (Dredge 2010; George et al. 2009; Tate-Libby 2010). Examples include the efforts of the Lunenburg Waterfront Association Incorporated (LWAI) to retain the remainder of the historic waterfront of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada, as a "working waterfront" which the LWAI argued is central to "[E]very aspect of Lunenburg's economy, identity and culture and its appeal as a place to live and work" (George et al. 2009, p. 59). A second example involves the controversy over the proposal to develop a cruise ship terminal on the northern tip of the Southport Spit in Queensland, Australia – "one of only two semi-natural coastal environments left on the Gold Coast" (Dredge 2010, p. 108). The three protagonists in this latter conflict were the "Save our Spit" (SOS) public action group, the Gold Coast Marine Development Project Board (consultants, engineers, economic development officers, developers, and one community representative), and the Queensland State Government. A third example involves the Ka'u Preservation made up of native Hawai'ians and local activists who strongly advocated the preservation of the Punalu'u Black Sand Beach in the southern part of the Big Island (Hawai'i) from a proposed resort development. The Ka'u Preservation proposed a return to the "old ways" including the development of a cultural center to educate young people and tourists about the traditions and culture of old Hawai'i, which they argued would provide a more dignified and appropriate form of employment for the local people. Also, such an enterprise would enable the local community to capture a significant proportion of the tourism revenue currently generated in the area but accumulated elsewhere (Tate-Libby 2010).

On the other side of the debate are those whose imagined worlds are centered on the opportunities for employment, real estate investment, and the business opportunities that tourism development potentially offers. This was very evident in the Lunenburg and Ka'u, Hawai'i, examples where strong constituencies among residents favoring the proposed developments existed.

In the mature phase of a tourist destination (Butler 2006; Hall and Williams 2002), the mix of residents both permanent and temporary becomes more complex as lifestyle migrants (e.g., retirees, second-home owners) and lifestyle entrepreneurs become a significant proportion of the migrant population. This more complex mix of residents 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 the increasingly multiple visions of place.

In the Ka'u case cited above, retirees and second-home owners were active in the resident group advocating for the tourist development on Punalu'u Black Sand Beach because of the potential for job creation for local people, the enhanced amenities it would provide, and a fear that beach access would be restricted by the Ka'u Preservation group. This contrasts with the often significant resistance by second-home owners to resource developments which conflict with idyllic visions of rurality (Williams and Hall 2002; McIntyre 2006) and the "fortress mentality" of Sun City, Arizona, retirees discussed by McHugh (2006a).

Like retirees and second-home owners, lifestyle entrepreneurs are often of 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 (e.g., Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Tate-Libby 2010).

At root, Milne (2001) 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)

"Urban types of development" are commonly referred to as "urbanization" which, in this context, connotes not 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 manifested in the displacement of residents and traditional industries and the up-scaling of former resource complexes (e.g., waterfronts), historic areas, and resource communities by in-migration of affluent buyers from more prosperous, usually 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 or agricultural communities. Such developments are welcomed by some because they enhance their quality-of-life by creating a more interesting and diverse place to live and provide new employment and business opportunities that attract in-migrants and enable young people to remain in the community. They are also decried by others, who mourn the loss of the local culture and ambience of life in a traditional fishing or mining community (Whitson 2001).

The preceding discussion has used the term *community* uncritically, but what the examples discussed above have revealed is that the reality of community is far from the ideal "homogeneous entity containing a singular mind":

> … [rather] community may act quite like the individuals that comprise it; complex, conflicted and concerned over the many issues they encounter at any single period of time. (George et al. 2009, p. 162)

This implies a singular and important role for government and its planning authorities tasked with facilitating tourism development in communities. A key role of government is mediating conflict situations to protect the public interest (Dredge 2010). This begs the question as to how "the public interest" is operationalized in the often conflictual situations surrounding major tourism developments. Dredge has argued that most policy debates tend to exclude attention to public interest, and where it is mentioned, it is generally couched in terms of the broader notions of public benefits – "[a]s a result, the legitimacy of certain decisions can be questioned and trust in government can be affected" (p. 105).

Dredge (2010) recognized four perspectives on public interest: the rational, the neoliberal, specific interest, and participative. However, she found in her Australian case study that an emphasis on a combination of the neoliberal (domination by market forces and corporate interests) and the specific interest (preferences of governing elites such as developers/entrepreneurs) perspectives on public interest (jobs and economic development) significantly reduced the potential for a genuinely participative process involving local citizens. Similar situations are evident in Canada, where the development of large-scale ski field and golf complexes by international corporations attracted by the relatively low costs of Canadian real estate has been facilitated by the removal of federal and provincial government restrictions on international ownership. This has led to smaller local tourist resorts and ski hills being taken over or driven out of business, unable to compete with the large capital investments of these multinational corporations (Whitson 2001). However, despite these specific cases, a growing counter-trend in participative community tourism development planning, which adopts a participative perspective in exploring the public interest, is gaining ground. These approaches center on encouraging pro-active planning, assessing not only the benefits to businesses and economic development but also the risks to community livelihood and quality-of-life, the impacts on cultural capital, and sets tourism development in the broader focus of total community development including the "no development" option (e.g., Reid et al. 2001).

The above discussion suggests that 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 tourists and lifestyle migrants to undertake journeys or to relocate, and which cause locals to contest developments. These powerful images or imagined worlds 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.

Discussion and Conclusion

Place and mobility are mutually defining and greatly impacted by the expansion of social interactions across the globe – interactions involving the circulation of vast volumes of people, goods, and ideas and the production and consumption of imagined worlds or places. One manifestation of this hyper-mobility is tourism in its many forms. From its beginnings in the elitist world of the "Grand Tour," through its democratization by automobile and aircraft, and aided more recently by advances in communication technology and the World Wide Web, tourists and the tourism industry have become pervasive global forces, affecting the lifestyles and well-being of both travelers and locals in fundamental ways.

Quality-of-life in tourism is necessarily forged though the interplay of rootedness and mobility – a paradox of wanting to be rooted somewhere and nomadic at the same time. This chapter has attempted to show that people benefit from a sense of involvement, belonging, and/or identification with places they experience as tourists and as lifestyle migrants. Modern mobilities empower people to seek out meaningful ties to multiple, often distant, places as a way to anchor their identity against the otherwise disorienting forces of globalization. One manifestation of the modern task of creating and sustaining a coherent identity may well be the expansion of interest in experiential tourism as a way to "give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity" (Giddens 1991, p. 81) – adventurer, traveler, explorer, etc. – in contrast to more archetypical notions of "sun/sand/sea" mass tourism. Tourism combines notions of freedom of movement with the lure of the imagined places and experiences as vehicles for self-identification. In thinking about well-being, it is also important to recognize the needs of people to establish and maintain some control over their relationships to specific places that contribute to their sense of belonging and identity. Tourism is an important venue for building and maintaining such relationships to place. At the same time, modern life increases the burden on the individual to accomplish this identity-making task amid a seemingly endless supply of lifestyle options.

Enhancing quality-of-life and well-being through tourism development presents many challenges, none more so than fulfilling the often overly optimistic expectations of communities, tourism development advocates, and entrepreneurs. Such groups often promote tourism as an easy-entry, low-cost means of diversifying the economic base of communities and countries faced with decline in traditional industries or threats to existing livelihoods. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, it is more typically a source of varying degrees of conflict in which multiple narratives and place meanings co-mingle and collide as the process of development unfolds. Thus, future research needs to look at the processes that best ensure recognition and inclusion of this diversity, engage all citizens throughout, facilitate ongoing inclusive management of the inevitable discord, and also equitably spread the burden of costs and share the benefits arising from development. Developing such processes, which are people-centered and place-sensitive, is an ongoing challenge in enhancing resilience and hence well-being in transitional communities in both developed and developing regions in today's complex, mobile world.

In an age where people can know and experience virtually any place on earth, future research must look at tourism through this broader lens. Tourism involves circulating through and forming relationships to multiple places, mediated by global scale social processes and networks. The world today is permeated by many images, possibilities, and sources of imagination that offer us a plethora of "better" places to be experienced and more fulfilling lifestyles to be attained. Co-creation of destination affinities and meanings by tourist and tourism promoters induces a vast range of mobilities which ultimately, in any one place, results in a complex mix of mobile people and their attendant place images superimposed on those of the "locals," increasingly with mutually conflicting outcomes.

What this chapter has emphasized is that the combination of passing trade tourists, amenity migrants, and locals creates a unique mix of communities of interest in any one tourist place

involving potentially competing lifestyle images. Thus, Young (1999, p. 373) argues "that the success of a tourist place depends on the level of consensus on meanings negotiated between the systems of place production and consumption" – a level of consensus made more elusive by expanding lifestyle mobilities. Still, it is important to develop mechanisms to engage these multiple visions in understanding the potential impacts of proposed changes on quality-of-life. Given this complexity, a key conclusion in addressing the question of whether tourism contributes to quality-of-life is the rather unsatisfactory realization that it very much depends! What is not in doubt, however, is that imagination and mobility combine to expand lifestyle possibilities enabling more and more people to find and interact with places of their choosing that potentially allows them to pursue and construct a coherent and compelling sense of well-being.

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