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Introduction

In this book, we draw from in-depth ethnographic research conducted in Malaysia and Panama, and build theoretically on our conceptual works to date, to illustrate how lifestyle migration as a story of practice reveals the ongoing articulation of postcolonialism and neoliberalism in the ways that privilege is structured and experienced by lifestyle migrants in their everyday lives. This consolidates and extends a wider field of research concerned to understand the intersections between migration and privilege, adding the dimension of *everyday practice*.

Practice Stories

The goal of this book is to understand migration processes as stories of practice (O'Reilly 2012). Here, qualitative and narrative accounts describe how cultures, behaviours, attitudes, institutions, and other sociological phenomena develop over time as norms, rules, organisational arrangements, and other social structures are acted on and adapted by individuals through the performance of their daily lives, in the context of their communities, groups, networks, and families. Practice stories

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therefore understand the making of the social world as ongoing processes, both shaped by and shaping of general patterns, arrangements, and other social structures.

Our understanding of migration as a story of practice is one that responds to the wider practice turn in the social sciences. Simply put, theorists are increasingly employing conceptualisations of social life that understand it as 'the social processes involved in the ongoing constitution of social life' (Cohen 1989: 12). Cohen refers to these processes as practices that are

> synonymous with the constitution of social life, i.e. the manner in which all aspects, elements and dimensions of social life, from instances of conduct in themselves to the most complicated and extensive types of collectivities, are generated in and through the performance of social conduct, the consequences which ensue, and the social relations which are thereby established and maintained. (Cohen 1989: 12)

Very briefly, the practice turn recognises that the tendency to perceive the agency of individual human actors as distinct and separate from social structures is an untenable residual feature of the historical development of social theory (Stones 2005). The emphasis by early sociologists on the *sui generis* nature of social structures, while remaining influential, was seen to be limited especially in relation to the understanding of human agency. As Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) explained, while social structures shape people's actions, they do not fully determine them. Gradually, this perspective was replaced by recognition of the dynamic and creative nature of social action. The result, as Bourdieu (1977) so eloquently recognised, is that, in the work of many theorists, determinism was either replaced by or set in direct opposition to subjectivism. Decades of argument and debate ensued, but social science now appears to have reached (an implicit) consensus that social life is in fact processual, and the dynamic outcome of the interaction of structure and agency, over time. The goal for most practice theory approaches is to seek ways to conceptualise, understand, and describe those processes involved in what Pierre Bourdieu (1977) calls the practice of social life (O'Reilly 2012; O'Reilly et al. 2014).

Our approach here owes a special debt to the work of Stones (2005), who developed a stronger version of structuration theory that builds on and develops the work of Giddens, responding to some of his critics, and to O'Reilly (2012), who has specifically developed the approach for the study of migration. Employing practice stories (O'Reilly 2012) to explain a phenomenon involves drawing attention to the following heuristically discrete elements, while retaining the notion that structures and agency are always in a dialectic relationship to each other in the actual practice of social living (Giddens 1984):

Wider global and historical structural shifts that shape actions (O'Reilly 2012: 23–25)—For the purposes of this book, we wish especially to draw attention to postcolonialism and neoliberalism. A postcolonial relationship implies continuing exploitation, structured relations of inequality, economic ties based on prior appropriation, and cultural links informed by previously unequal relationships. Neoliberalism here takes the shape not only of economic doctrine, as ideology, but also as a technology of governance (Ong 2006). These will be addressed in detail in Chaps. 2 and 3.

The more proximate or immediately relevant structures that may be somewhat malleable by agents (O'Reilly 2012: 23–25, and cf. Morawska 2009)—Here, we specifically think about the access to visas and other arrangements that enable this migration, but also the ways in which these can be manipulated. The use and manipulations of social policy is also relevant to how migrants and nation-states practice migration. This will be examined further in Chap. 4.

Habitus (cf. Bourdieu 1984) *and Internal Structures* (O'Reilly 2012: 26–28), the typical ways of thinking and being of the various agents involved—Colonialism leaves hardened traces in the form of social structures of inequality and power but also in taken-for-granted ways of thinking and acting (the habitus of both the former coloniser and colonised). Here, we draw attention to ways of carrying oneself, ways of dealing with and viewing the 'other', and lifestyle migrants' expectations and experiences of being able to travel and move around the world. We also include the various forms of capital agents hold and

can mobilise and transform. As discussed below, we develop an understanding of these lifestyle migrants as neoliberal subjects, individualistic and self-enterprising. These will be covered in more detail in Chaps. 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Conjuncturally specific internal structures (O'Reilly 2012: 26–28, and cf. Stones 2005), or the ways in which people learn to go on and adapt their habitus in daily life, within their relevant *communities of practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991)—Migrants and agents of state alter their expectations regularly in light of experiences and expectations of those around them, adapting to and changing the norms and patterns of behaviour of the groups within which they form communities. We learn about these throughout the book, but especially in Chaps. 4 and 6, where we learn about the responses of individuals to ongoing contingencies.

Practices and outcomes (O'Reilly 2012: 28–32)—It is important to recall that social life is lived and practised on a daily basis in the context of social structures and shaped by taken-for-granted ways of doing and being. Individuals have the ability to imagine other ways of living life (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). The actions of agents thus shape and reshape social structures. Social life is dynamic and creative. Overall, we draw attention to the practices of agents and to the ways in which attitudes are changing and social structures are being reshaped, or what O'Reilly (2017) has called sedimentation. The outcomes of migration will be noted in all the chapters.

For an in-depth discussion of the role of practice stories in migration research, see O'Reilly (2012), which illustrates the approach in relation to lifestyle migration, labour migration, domestic labour migration, and forced migration.

About the Research

The empirical research reported in this book was undertaken by Michaela and Karen separately. However, in the chapters that follow, we draw up practice stories that incorporate this research.

Building Practice Stories

Practice stories require an understanding of external structures, in the form of relevant, wider, historical, and social trends. Building up a picture of this structural terrain faced by migrants requires understanding the historical, social, political, and economic (and, to a lesser extent, the geographical) situation in each country, especially, in this case, in relation to migration and the West. To develop the argument presented in this book, we consulted empirical and theoretical studies on colonialism and postcolonialism, neoliberalism and globalisation. We studied other types of migration including corporate expatriates and lifestyle migration in other parts of the world. Our central goal was to begin to understand how these practices and configurations shape behaviours and attitudes today, perhaps externally through policies and legal arrangements, and perhaps internally via norms, habits, expectations, and attitudes.

It was also necessary to understand the more proximate structures—the various laws, policies, and economic constraints that a specific migrant moving to Malaysia and Panama faces, such as the availability of visas, housing, and pensions. To this end, we read documents and learnt from interviews with migrants and social media analysis of online forums. Karen's research in Malaysia also included interviews with experts, such as consular and embassy officials, property developers, and 'expat' magazine publishers.

We complemented this analysis of the wider, upper level and more proximate external structures framing and shaping lifestyle migration, with understandings of habitus and dispositions of the migrants themselves, that is the internalised structures that shape how they behave and that, in turn, are shaped by their experiences having migrated. It was also important to understand the new communities of practice within which migrants acted, made decisions, and which constantly shaped their actions and desires. This turned our focus as much to the outcomes of migration as to its antecedents.

Building practice stories of lifestyle migration to Malaysia and Panama relies not only on the empirical research on the ground but also on archival, documentary and desktop research. The analysis that

we present in the pages of the book relies as much on foregrounding the structural and systemic conditions that support lifestyle migration as it does on highlighting the everyday lives and lived experiences of the migrants themselves. In this respect, the methodology involves writing migration as practice, in weaving together the biographies of those who took part in the research with our interpretations. It is through this project of writing that this overt analysis of migration as practice emerges through the text.

Research with Lifestyle Migrants in Malaysia and Panama

The empirical research that we report in the book derives from two research projects. Karen's research was part of a larger project on lifestyle migration in East Asia. That project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (grant ref: ES/1023003/1), was designed to study the lifestyle migration of British migrants[1] in Thailand and Malaysia and Hong Kong Chinese migrants to mainland China, with an initial focus on the meanings, motivations, and experiences of the migrants, as well as on the migration 'outcomes'. The project was informed from the outset by the meta-theoretical framework of practice theory, outlined above (O'Reilly et al. 2014). It used a diverse range of ethnographically informed research methods, including narrative interviews, participant observation, social media analysis, and survey methods. The explicit goal was to tell 'practice stories' (O'Reilly 2012) about migration as a way of drawing attention to the chronological, narrative nature of the structuration process, and to the centrality of practices in the sense expressed by Cohen (1989).

This book draws on the Malaysian data, so we will now outline the specific methodology for that part of the project. This was achieved through a combination of online and face-to-face interviews, participant observation, the analysis of online forums, social media, and websites, expert interviews, and a brief online survey.

Much of the understanding about the internal structures and the initial and evolving 'habitus' of lifestyle migration came from in-depth

interviews with 31 migrants. Often conducted in their homes, but also using online interviews, Karen asked migrants to describe their motivations for moving and their experiences of getting visas, settling in, staying in touch with family and friends, and making new friends. She then asked about their work and social lives in Malaysia and their plans for the future. In addition, the survey, with 57 respondents from Malaysia, asked about their migration histories, social lives, social networks, and uses of technology for maintaining social ties, their personal values and goals, and their relationships with other ethnic groups. The aim of the survey was to capture further richness and diversity rather than numerical representation.

However, goals, desires, and habits are often both intuitive and creative and are not easily accessed through interviews. The study also benefitted, therefore, from periods of participant observation. To achieve more of a feel of the lives of the migrants, and to take the opportunity to ask questions in context, to observe behaviours, and to experience the lifestyle to some extent, Karen spent four weeks in Penang, attending events and talking to people in public places and private homes. She also monitored diverse 'expatriate' online forums during the period from July to November 2012, watching what was being said and noting the topics that arose and how things were discussed. Both during this fieldwork period and since then, she has analysed the content of several 'expatriate' magazines, the membership, ethos and activities of many different associations (e.g. St Patrick's Society of Selangor, International Women's Association, Penang), and the content of migrants' weblogs about life in East Asia. A final method used was auto-photography, which involved asking respondents to send photos of life in Malaysia which were analysed alongside other visual images displayed through diverse migrant media.

Michaela's research with North Americans in Panama commenced with a small pilot project in 2008, and continued through the research project 'Contemporary North American Migration to Panama: expectations, outcomes and dynamics' funded by the British Academy (SG-53957). This examined three sites in Panama—Boquete, Bocas del Toro, and Panama City—that had become areas where foreign residential investment was being promoted and where North Americans and other

Westerners were relocating. It explored the motivations behind lifestyle migration, migrant experience within the destination, but also how these intersected within social and economic transformation within these local settings. This included three months of ethnographic fieldwork in Boquete between 2008 and 2010, supplemented with case studies in Panama City and Bocas del Toro.

As in Malaysia, the virtual presence of this migrant community, and particularly its prominent community forum and blogs written and curated by these migrants added a further dimension to the research. It quickly become clear that the (virtual) community forum was a significant hub for the migrant community, through which information and requests specific to this community were communicated and circulated. Michaela was granted permission to place a call for participants on the forum, and supplemented by emails sent out through local mailing lists, announcements at meetings, and snowball sampling she built up a bank of 25 migrant households—often couples—with whom to conduct in-depth research. She met with each of these households once or more, collecting life and migration histories and finding out more about their lives in Boquete. She was often invited into their homes, but she also met people in the bars and cafes in the town. By working closely with these households, she was able to develop a sense of the different routes into migration and the motivations and experiences of these populations.

The ethnographic research also included participant observation of migrant-organised activities and philanthropy, talks specifically organised for this population, local events attracting a wide cross-section of the local and migrant population—for example, Earth Day, Founders' Day, local *fiestas*—and everyday life in Boquete. Through the participant observation, she gained further insights into how this migrant community was positioned within the social structure of Boquete and Panama; this element of the research also provided opportunities for informal conversations and for the observation of everyday migrant lives and experiences that supplemented the self-reporting by migrants within the more formal set-up of interviews.

Conducting fieldwork in Boquete for periods stretching across three years, Michaela was also able to trace changes to the built environment and witness the expansion of the North American population first hand; this allowed her

to move beyond the simple reporting of local change coinciding with the shifting demographics of the area. Spending long periods of time in the area—each visit ranging from two weeks to six weeks—and travelling around by foot or, where distances were too great, by taxi or public transport allowed for the development of a mental map of the area.

Michaela and Karen also visited prominent locations mentioned to them, including the well-known 'expat' venues, the restaurants, the museum, the supermarkets, and the local markets. These feature in this book as the cultural backdrop, the context in which our migrants move and the imaginaries which they shape.

Karen and Michaela also collected material promoting residential developments to these migrant populations including real estate maps of the area, flyers, and taking photos of the billboards and for-sale signs that littered the roadsides. In this way, they documented the impact of imaginings of foreign investment on the landscape.

In addition to working with these migrant populations and conducting fieldwork on site in Boquete and Penang, an additional element of the research for Michaela and Karen has involved becoming familiar with and remaining up to date on the policies, legal and economic structures that facilitate these migrations, and interpretive analysis of the promotion of Panama and Malaysia as places for foreign investment.

As this methodological account demonstrates, the empirical research in Malaysia and Panama—the time spent with participants, witnessing their lives, and hearing their stories—has been put to work in the book as part of the broader ambition to describe migration in all its richness and diversity, as stories of practice.

Before outlining how the chapters of the book relate our practice stories of lifestyle migration in Malaysia and Panama, we first wish to draw attention to why we think studying privileged migrants is important and should be located in mainstream migration literature. We then go on, in the following sections, to draw out the theoretical and conceptual convergences and departures in the disparate studies of migration and privilege, while proposing theoretical innovations that consolidate thinking and push beyond the state of the art. We do this by examining work in the field of lifestyle migration, tourism studies and the role of the social imaginary, studies of privilege and power in migration (with a special

focus on the problematic term 'expatriate'), ending with a special note on postcolonial and neoliberalism as they articulate in the lives of contemporary migrants in Malaysia and Panama.

Why Study Privileged Migration? Colonial Pasts and Neoliberal Presents

This book positions the unequivocally privileged migrant subjects with whom we have spent time—despite the ease with which they appear to cross international borders—as migrants. As we have described elsewhere (Benson and O'Reilly 2015), recognising the interplay of privilege with migration is a deeply political statement intended to render visible the inequalities and asymmetries that exist and are (re)produced within contemporary migration regimes and governance. These mobile subjects represent a relatively untold migration story, or, rather, one that runs counter to what is assumed to be a typical migration experience; the restrictions, limitations, and discrimination that have become commonplace to understandings of the migrant experience are, generally, radically reversed for these populations (Amit 2007; Favell 2008). Rarely even depicted as migrants, privileged migrants are more commonly recognised as resident foreigners, expatriates, or even tourists.[2] As Lundström (2017) so aptly identifies, this distinction between 'expatriate' and migrants when carried through to migration studies signals the white normativity of this field of research. Further, these definitions, while highlighting the privilege of these populations, render them invisible within the migration discourses of sending and receiving nations. However, as we will see in the pages of this book, they are often actively encouraged to invest and reside in host countries, and their settlement similarly brings with it consequences. As an ongoing structured and structuring practice (O'Reilly 2012; see below), their migration is both the result of wider processes of social, economic, and political transformation, and a contributor to further change. It feeds into myriad processes through which local populations may be displaced and disempowered, and which bring about fundamental changes to social structures and hierarchies (see also Hayes 2018). If

there remains a question as to why it is important to study such populations, it is precisely because of what it might reveal about the reproduction and reshaping of their relatively privileged position in contemporary global power relations.

> You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You're an expatriate, see? You hang around cafés. (Bill Gorton, *The Sun also Rises* (Hemingway 1926))

It is not our intention to add our voices to the reductionist ways in which these populations have been discursively constructed, as revealed, for example, in the seemingly timeless characterisation of expatriates by Hemingway's Bill Gorton, an American writer living in Paris. Through our attentiveness to the diverse trajectories and lived experience of privileged migrants, we deconstruct categorical representations of these populations as 'expatriates' or 'elite migrants'. However, as we outline below, thinking with such caricatures can also be productive; they serve as a reminder of the eerie resemblance between earlier privileged migration trends, where power and empire were writ large, and these more contemporary trends.

Informed by the meta-theoretical framework of structuration and practice theory outlined above (see O'Reilly 2012), we advocate understanding migration as a story of practice; that is, an approach that simultaneously attempts to understand the structures that promote these forms of international migration and the agency of individual subjects as shaping of and by such structures. *Through the presentation of practice stories of lifestyle migration to Malaysia and Panama, the book offers unique insights into how neoliberalism articulates with postcoloniality in the practice of privileged migration.* It makes clear the structural and material conditions that support migration, that are embodied by these migrant subjects, while also highlighting their agency within this process. As we emphasise throughout this book, lifestyle migration and its consequences are shaped through long-standing historical and geopolitical forces; such migrations are undoubtedly structured by the postcolonial, both in its highly visible

renderings, and what Stoler (2016) argues are the 'opaque and oblique reworkings' of colonial pasts in the neoliberal present. But to take this further, in the book we particularly highlight the interplay of lifestyle migration with neoliberalism. We view neoliberalism as at once a broad conceptual framework informing legal and governance structures and simultaneously as an internal structure, internalised in the migrant as a neoliberal subject (characterised as individualistic and self-enterprising) as well as in state and external agent practices. We thus demonstrate how colonial legacies are articulated through governance that supports privileged migration and reproduced unwittingly in the practices and experiences of lifestyle migrants and their communities of practice.

Intersections of Migration and Privilege

The rich body of literature that considers the relationship between migration and privilege represents a radical departure from the key tenets of migration studies. Research with privileged migrants immediately challenges, for example, the economic focus of much work in the field of migration studies, on the relationship between production, labour, and migration. Instead, with privileged migration, the focus is often as much on consumption and leisure time, or retirement. Equally, the study of privilege and migration sits uneasily with the orientation of migration studies towards questions provoked by social problems and migration controls. Rather than, as is so often (perhaps implicitly) the case in migration studies, seeing the migrant as a subject lacking agency, those researching privileged migration are forced to acknowledge the roles of agency and power. It is perhaps for these reasons that writings on the topic are rarely located in the mainstream of migration research, but are instead peppered across the social sciences. On the one hand, this is productive as it brings different schools of thought to understandings of the relationship between privilege and migration. On the other hand, it is frustrating, the wheel at times reinvented precisely because of the isolation wrought by disciplinary, conceptual, and theoretical silos. This has led to a tendency to continually describe as novel, newly

discovered migration processes that involve privilege without recognising the commonalities they share. The consequence of this is a fractured field of research that is in urgent need of consolidation. We aim, in the following section, to draw out the theoretical and conceptual convergences and departures in these disparate studies of migration and privilege, while proposing theoretical innovations that consolidate thinking and push beyond the state of the art.

Lifestyle Migration and the Neoliberal Subject

The inductive concept of lifestyle migration provides some insights into how we might think about the relationship between migration and privilege (Benson and O'Reilly 2009, 2015; O'Reilly and Benson 2009; Benson and Osbaldiston 2014, 2016; Benson 2015).

> Lifestyle migration is a novel extension of a phenomenon with a history, made possible as a result of global developments of the past 50 or 60 years. It relates specifically to the relative economic privilege of individuals in the developed world, the reflexivity evident in post-/late modernity, the construction of particular places as offering alternative lifestyles, and a more general ease (or freedom) of movement. (Benson and O'Reilly 2009: 620)

Initially developed out of our ethnographic projects on the British in rural France and coastal areas of Spain, respectively (Benson 2011a; O'Reilly 2000), we have sought to demonstrate why lifestyle migration is a valuable inclusion into understandings of migration (Benson and O'Reilly 2009, 2015; Benson and Osbaldiston 2016). This framing sought to explain what were, at the time, relatively understudied migration phenomena and their impact on the lives and identities of those migrating. As the quotation above makes clear, our conceptualisation sought to both identify the structural and material conditions that made migration thinkable and possible, and describe how migration acts within ongoing processes of subjectivity-making (Benson 2015a, 2016; Benson and O'Reilly 2015; Hoey 2014) as a practice (O'Reilly 2012). Lifestyle migration is a critical and analytical concept, intentionally foregrounding a distinctly sociological approach to understanding migration, in contrast

to the more predominant descriptive or categorical framings of privileged migration, such as retirement migration or corporate expatriacy.

Lifestyle migration reflects the articulation of migration, consumption, and identity in the motivations, practices, and narratives of privileged subjects (Benson and Osbaldiston 2014; Benson and O'Reilly 2015). As a concept, it has gained traction in making sense of a wide and increasing variety of privileged migration flows including (inter alia) northern European migration to southern European coasts (Casado-Díaz et al. 2004; Kordel 2016; O'Reilly 2000, 2012); urban to rural migration within Europe, the United States, China, and Australia (Eimermann 2015; Hoey 2005, 2006, 2014; Osbaldiston 2012; Lin 2014; Tang and Xu 2015); North American migration to Mexico, Central and South America (Bantman-Masum 2015; Benson 2013b, 2015; Hayes 2014, 2015a, 2018; Kordel and Pohle 2016; Spalding 2013a, b); Japanese migration to Australia and to other Asia-Pacific destinations (Hamano 2010; Igarashi 2015; Ono 2014); Northern European migration to India and the Far East (Korpela 2010, 2014; Botterill 2017); European migrations to Africa (Berriane and Idrissi Janati 2016); as well as, more recently, the consideration of lifestyle migration to urban locations (Griffiths and Maile 2014; Zaban 2015); the intersections of lifestyle and settler migration (Higgins 2017a, b) and considerations of how lifestyle interplays with youth mobility (King 2017).

The focus on how consumption and identity interplay with migration, as well as the more inductive methodologies adopted by many researchers in this field, has produced an understanding of lifestyle migration as an individualised social phenomenon, often interpreted through theories of the self. In particular, these interpretations seek to explain the search for a better way of life at the heart of this migration as a practice of self-realisation and fulfilment (Benson and O'Reilly 2009, 2016; O'Reilly and Benson 2009, 2015; Benson 2015; Benson and Osbaldiston 2014, 2016; see also Hoey 2005, 2006, 2014; Osbaldiston 2012). While we recognise that the search for a better way of life is held in common with other migrant populations, such arguments rest on a distinctly sociological understanding of lifestyle and quality of life as this is mobilised in support of claims to self-realisation, in the context of wider structural

change that encourages individuals to feel the onus is on them to seek their own futures.

Nevertheless, as we have argued elsewhere, scholarship on lifestyle migration (and, indeed, on elite and privileged forms of migration more broadly) has developed an important concern with migrant subjectivities, but has attended to a lesser extent, to relevant structural conditions (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; O'Reilly and Benson 2009; Benson and Osbaldiston 2014, 2016; Benson 2015). Where they have been taken into account, considerations over structure include the recognition of how the privilege of these subjects is structured by global inequalities and asymmetries of power (Amit 2007; Croucher 2012; Benson 2013b; Fechter and Walsh 2010; Hayes 2015a, b, 2018; Korpela 2014). Still, as Ono (2014) explains, there is a tendency to overlook the economic structures that support migration—the private industries that have sprung up to service such migrants and might best be characterised as evidence of the interplay of lifestyle migration and neoliberalism (see also Akerlund 2012; David et al. 2015; Hayes 2015b).

Building on our previous works in this field, we work in this book with an extended understanding of lifestyle migrants that explicitly frames them as *both postcolonial and neoliberal subjects.* We are inspired, on the one hand, by Rose's characterisation of the neoliberal figure, as those who 'maximise their quality of life through acts of choice according their life a meaning and value to the extent that it can be rationalised as an outcome of choices made or choices to be made' (1996: 57). But we are also inspired by Bauman (2007), for whom in liquid modernity people are 'individuals by decree', and have no choice but to seek out, or hunt, their own personal, privatised 'good life', perhaps through migration to spaces which offer the 'goods' they seek (O'Reilly 2009a; cf. Benson 2011a: 41–42). It is this pairing of quality-of-life motivations with choice in the context of wider social, cultural, and structural change that characterises the dispositions and practices of lifestyle migrants (see also Korpela 2014; Hayes 2014, 2015a).

This locates our work, here, as part of a wider shift towards thinking about how social theory might be put to work in understanding migration more broadly (van Hear 2010; Castles 2010; O'Reilly 2012), in particular, in the pursuit of explanations that locate migration—as

human mobility—within processes of globalisation, social transformation, and the global spread of neoliberalism. The practice stories we provide of migration in Malaysia and Panama are thus embedded in ongoing social science debates that recognise the co-constitutive relationship of migration and social transformation, and seek social theoretical explanations of migration as a structured and structuring process. *The (lifestyle) migrant is both an agent of but also continually produced through broad structural and material conditions including neoliberalisation, globalisation, increased mobility, and relative economic affluence*.

Tourism, Imagination, and Migration

The development of lifestyle migration as a field of research has also taken inspiration from research in the field of tourism. This is productive because, as we go on to explain, it challenges migration studies' emphasis on migration as a one-off, unidirectional movement across borders. It also makes clear that tourism—implicated in the historical structuring of the world—structures the imaginings that these relatively privileged migrants hold of destinations and the lives they might live there, shaping social imaginaries, expectations, and lived experience.

Innovative work that has critically examined the binary relationship between tourism and migration argues for an approach that understands these as taking place along a continuum (Bell and Ward 2000; Williams and Hall 2000, 2002), or as a nexus through which globalisation is mediated (O'Reilly 2003; see also Hannam and Knox 2010). This is a really useful approach that also underpins scholarship on mobilities, highlighting as it does fluidity and flow (see, for example, Sheller and Urry 2004; Hannam et al. 2006; Urry 2007). However, unlike the cognate phenomenon 'lifestyle mobilities' (Cohen et al. 2013), most lifestyle migration scholarship does not fully embrace this mobile turn (Benson 2011b; Benson and Osbaldiston 2014, 2016). While the mobilities paradigm has usefully challenged migration studies' emphasis on problematic, boundary-crossing, unidirectional moves, it has nevertheless left too little space for the roles of control, governance, history, and materiality. This is especially evidenced in the introductory chapter to *Tourism Mobilities:*

Place to Play, Places in Play (Sheller and Urry 2004) in which migration flows are dislocated from the relevance of structural constraints and opportunities (and see Fechter 2010, who critiques the postmodern discourse of borderless inhabitants of global flows). For us, the focus on tourism as a context for migration acknowledges that migrations may be incremental, circular, or peripatetic, but are nevertheless located in time and space (see also Gustafson 2002). This approach is faithful to social anthropological approaches (e.g. Battisti and Portelli 1994) that have located their understandings of migration inductively, beginning with the daily lives of people, in the context of history, geography, and community, rather than their starting point being (the problem of) migration or mobility per se (see also Benson 2011b).

Secondly, the inclusion of tourism perspectives has enabled scholars to note the explicit time-space link between tourism and migration (Williams and Hall 2002). This is relevant precisely because tourism can lead to migration, as visitors buy second homes, settle to provide services to other visitors and settlers, and eventually retire in (some) tourism destinations. It also intimates the articulation of tourism and migration, over longer time periods, and thus involves seeing tourism as part of the historical structuring of the world, as well as of the 'growing trans-boundary connectivity' known as globalisation (Betts 2011: 7). Structural inequalities both precede and endure tourism: not only are some places (and peoples) wealthier than others, but also places are socially constructed, or *imagineered*, to attract certain people. In the language of practice theory, tourism is thus both an external structure shaping migration and embodied in the habitus of some touring/migrating subjects (see O'Reilly 2009b).

Lifestyle migration (like tourism) is rife with tropes of imaginings and romanticism. As discussed in Benson and Osbaldiston (2014: 9), the idealisation of place and the constitution of particular destinations as idylls are mobilised within the quest for a better way of life. Imaginings—of the beach as representing a slower pace of life, or a soothing balm to the ills of modernity (Osbaldiston 2012, 2018), or of the rural as backward, quaint, pure, and unsullied (Benson 2010, 2011a, 2013a)—are lived out as collective nostalgia, and as practices of daily

life. Such accounts of the relationship between individual imaginings, social imaginaries, and lifestyle migration often follow the foundational work of linking social theory and tourism (see, for example, Bruner 1991; Cohen 1988; Lindholm 2002, 2008; MacCannell 1976). Lifestyle migration and its destinations are seen as offering a route to 'authentic' lives and selves—whatever authenticity is taken to mean. We both have written about the significance of social imaginaries to lifestyle migration elsewhere (Benson 2012, 2013a; O'Reilly 2014). Across these writings, social imaginaries are thus richly understood as (1) the individual capacity to imagine, (2) the socially shaped lifestyles that are imagined, and (3) the possibilities for enacting on those imaginings. The concept of the imaginary implicitly attempts to make sense of the interaction of structure and agency in interaction, but we find it useful to distinguish, heuristically, the two roles of structure and agency in the practice of imagining (O'Reilly 2014). Imaginaries are both something people do—people imagine, and work to shape, a better way of life—and something that exists externally to a given agent at a given time. Indeed, Michaela's earlier work on British citizens who have relocated to rural France illustrates this in detail, highlighting the work that goes into making lives line up with their expectations of the rural idyll (Benson 2011a, 2012, 2013a), *performing* a better way of life they seek in the context of materiality. The material and the imagined worlds thus interact through the practice of daily life. Lifestyle migrants motivated by tourist tropes have often primarily moved to consume tangible goods (Oliver 2011: 136). Their relationship to the destination is thus shaped by their imagination and expectations for a better way of life, but they are often moving to less-developed destinations, in which they have the economic power to purchase their goals.

The emergence of certain identifiable forms (the rural idyll, for example) can often be traced back to earlier times and practices, and to the structuring of the globe through exploitative practices (Higgins 2017b). But this exists alongside the work on the ground, the active agency, that goes into the imagineering of destinations—for example, by place-makers of the industries that have sprung up to promote particular (lifestyle) destinations. As Teo (2003) illustrates, Penang, one of the sites we

consider in detail in the book, has been carefully constructed and shaped to represent those elements that will attract the 'right' kinds of incomers, with tourism being a feature of its development plan since the 1970s. Imagineering extends beyond the investment in tourism accommodation, infrastructure, and 'the beautification of beaches and the development of cultural and heritage sites' (Teo 2003: 547). As we discuss in Chaps. 2 and 3, imagineering is also significant to the increasing levels of privatisation, liberalisation of labour and trade, and establishment of 'free trade zones', with Penang, a strategic urban centre attracting professional elites, and central to Malaysia's self-image as attractive to global technology giants. The imaginative geographies of relatively privileged migrants also reveal colonial continuities (Higgins 2017a, b).

Finally, the link between migration and tourism is also relevant for its governance, and other proximate structures, as we discuss in Chap. 4. 'Migration is inherently political in nature—involving states according rights to non citizens' (Betts 2011: 3); it is also an embedded practice, shaped by those who have internalised ideas about the 'desirable' migrants and tourists. Many lifestyle migrants arrive in destinations on tourist visas, and are therefore not even recognised as migrants. Furthermore, as Oliver (2011) notes, their presence tends to give no rise to concern for regulation on humanitarian or security grounds. Indeed, as we discuss below, they have often been explicitly drawn to the destinations as tools of foreign direct investment (FDI). But this attraction has often been as second-home owners, as residential tourists, as retirees, or as long-stay tourists. They are often not recognised as would-be migrants with potential needs, demands, or productive abilities.

Considering the relationship between migration and tourism, then, permits some initial insights into migration as a story of practice. It draws attention to the wider global and historical structures that shape privileged migration as much as tourism. It makes clear the governance and marketing structures that enable migration. Further, it provides a sense of how imaginings of destinations, of the lives to be led there, might interplay with the decision to migrate and settle elsewhere, as well as the practices and outcomes lifestyle migration might produce.

Interrogating the Role of Power and Privilege in Migration

While lifestyle migration scholarship offers one lens onto the relationship between privilege and migration, there is additional value in considering how privilege has been deployed within other conceptualisations of privileged migration. Variously labelled expatriates, privileged migrants, and skilled migrants, research in this area has been relatively neglected because of the reluctance to 'study up' (Nader 1972). Their work has thus (as with the work on lifestyle migration) often been inductive and ethnographic, with the aim to gain insights into practices and processes of globalisation on the ground, or from the bottom up. Nevertheless, this body of literature has important things to say about racialised and gendered experiences (see, for example, Yeoh and Willis 2005; Fechter 2007, 2010; Leonard 2008, 2010; Croucher 2013; Lehmann 2014; Lundström 2014); migrant imaginaries—of place—and practices (see, for example, Knowles and Harper 2009; Coles and Walsh 2010; Conway and Leonard 2014); and questions of home, identity, and belonging (see, for example, Walsh 2006, 2011, 2014). It is also clear that this work takes seriously wider geopolitical structures that shape migration, including, as Fechter and Walsh (2010) make clear, the colonial legacies within contemporary migration practices.

What becomes clear in looking across this literature is the development of conceptualisations of these migrations on the basis of in-depth empirical research. Indeed, this approach mirrors our own theoretical and conceptual work on lifestyle migration outlined above (see also Benson and O'Reilly 2016). The relative—rather than absolute—framing of privilege within these migration trends is also important to highlight here, and a point which we have developed in our conceptualisation of lifestyle migration. Writing about North Americans living outside of the United States, scholars including Croucher (2012) and von Koppenfels (2014) stress that understanding privileged migration lies in considering the differences in (economic) power between the country of origin and residence. The workings of relative privilege are also clearly laid out in Amit's (2007) consideration of

the structures and dispositions that support the elective movement—both travel and migration—of those with resources.

We focus in detail here on the misconceptualisations permitted in conflating such privileged migration trends with 'expatriacy'. In particular, we highlight briefly what adopting this term might obscure through the discussion of two texts: Fechter's (2007) book *Transnational Lives* and Cranston's article 'Expatriate as a "good migrant"' (2017).

As Fechter (2007) highlights, 'expatriate' is a label that circulates through the mass media and popular literature, and that may be used by employers and indeed by individuals themselves. It often carries with it connotations of luxury, leisure, and moral decline, from which other migrants often wish to distance themselves. To avoid such confusion and conflation, Fechter (2007: 2) restricts herself to use of the term 'corporate expatriate' only when referring to 'someone who takes up an international assignment for their current employer'. Furthermore, as her research on the transnational lives of corporate expatriates makes clear, and as we discuss in Chap. 6, the framing of such migrations as 'elite' may be unsuitable. Lives that are sometimes precarious brought about by changes to the 'expatriate package'—their perks and benefits, increasingly short-term assignments, expectations of mobile working, and the replacement of imported labour with local employees—are documented by Fechter (2007; see also Green 2015) and can also be seen reflected in the lives of some of those Karen worked with in Malaysia. Fechter (2007) argues for the notion of a *transnational middle class* to replace the idea that such populations are elite. Even though they often used the term loosely themselves, our participants were not easily categorised as 'expatriates' if we take an expatriate package or corporate employee or even access to luxury goods and incentives such as health insurance, free schooling, and expensive relocation funds as part of that. Routes into expatriacy vary, as Pauline Leonard (2008) found amongst her 'expatriate' respondents in Hong Kong, some arrive as tourists or on short-term contracts and stayed on, some set up small businesses, others include teachers, artists, and the retired. That is to say, these privileged migration flows now include a variety of less privileged migrants (see also Green 2014; Hayes 2014, 2015a, b, 2018).

However, the way we conceptualise such phenomena also needs to critically engage with power as well as being reflective of bottom-up understandings of migration. As Cranston (2017) highlights, it is necessary to critically appraise such migrants' self-categorisations. In her research with British migrants in Singapore, she argues that by calling themselves expatriates, these migrants are making a moral claim that positions them as a 'good migrant'—contra the migrants of immigration debates. Cranston continues to argue astutely that:

> We as researchers must also recognise and think about the power relations implicit and explicit in the terminology we utilise in our research. It is through understanding and challenging labels that work to differentiate people, such as 'expatriate,' 'migrant', or 'refugee', that we open up the possibility of confronting the privilege that underpins the ways in which these become determined. (2017: 10)

Both Fechter (2007) and Cranston (2017) demonstrate clearly the relational dimensions of the labels that migrants themselves adopt and how these are reproduced or resisted within conceptualisations of privileged migration.

The considerations of power that lie in the assertion of relative privilege also highlight the location of privileged migration in geopolitical structures and their historical conditions. Research in this area has been particularly well attuned to the colonial legacies reproduced through these migrations. Fechter (2007) draws on existing studies and perspectives on colonial Europeans to illuminate some of these processes in contemporary privileged migrations (see also Higgins 2017a). Her work on the concepts of 'white prestige' (see also Lundström 2014) and 'the expatriate bubble' draws from ideas about the importance of the body for the reproduction of European identities and the daily realities of social relations within and across communities. This is not simply a matter of mapping colonial realities onto contemporary trends. Much as Stoler (2016) highlights the refashioning of the inequalities wrought by colonialism in the postcolonial present, Fechter describes how the lives of contemporary corporate expatriates in Indonesia are more complex than might be permitted by the simple transference of our understandings of their

colonising predecessors. The colonial imagination, in which one side views the other through the colonial lens, is, for Fechter (ibid.: 28), dehistoricised and undifferentiated short-hand on which to base relations with each other. Instead, the relations are negotiated in practice; as Leonard (2008: 45) describes in the case of expatriates in Hong Kong, these migrants move into previously racialised and gendered spaces and must negotiate these as well as the 'relations and practices forged through imperialism' (see also Lundström 2014).

'The actual and conceptual relations' between the colonial and contemporary times are far from clear (Fechter 2007: 160), and it is this critical mapping of the postcolonial continuities in contemporary expatriate mobilities that Fechter's and Walsh's special issue of *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2010) seeks to address. Drawing on Hall (1996), Fechter and Walsh make clear that the postcolonial is not a fixed stage or epoch but a temporal period 'that comes after formal decolonisation but that demonstrates continuities with the colonial through reconfigured colonial relations' (Fechter and Walsh 2010: 1201–1202), and that it is a condition which extends even to places that were neither colonisers or colonised. There are various ways the colonial past influences the present. Cultures and stereotypes shape present-day relations: for example, some Germans in Namibia view Africans in terms of chaos, disease, and inertia (Armbruster 2010: 1234); and ethnic stereotyping in a transnational office in Jakarta casts expatriates as the experts (Leggett 2010). As Coles and Walsh (2010) argue, imaginative geographies influenced by colonialism—for example, those held by expatriates in relation to the Gulf states—feed into the constitution of the 'British "expatriate" self' (2010: 1317), while, for Higgins (2017a), the imaginative geographies of Britons living in New Zealand need to be complemented by an understanding of those of settler colonialism. But the process is neither straightforward nor homogenous: places are postcolonial in diverse ways (Walsh 2014); some Western expatriates embrace the earlier established colonial identity, while others distance themselves from it (Farrer 2010). For example, in discussing the case of the British in Hong Kong, Leonard (2008, 2010) stresses while, on the one hand, 'their daily lives are shot through with imperialist assumptions about social differences' (2010: 1260), on the other hand, those on short-term contracts or working for themselves live

different kinds of life in which the privilege associated with whiteness is contested. Similar challenges were found for the British in South Africa, who feel increasingly alienated from the national story yet for whom the apartheid era may well be remembered as personally painful (Conway and Leonard 2014: 177).

Our review above has considered how privilege features within research on privileged migration. It has highlighted how (relative) privilege is embodied by individual migrant subjects; it additionally demonstrates how everyday experiences within the destination foster a rich awareness of racialised (white) and classed privilege (see, for example, Fechter 2005; Lundström 2014, 2017; Benson 2015). But it is also the case, as several authors have highlighted, that privilege is not only a structure framing migration, but is also (re)made through migration and settlement (see, for example, Benson 2013b, 2014; Kordel and Pohle 2018). This literature makes visible how migrant identities, subjectivities, and lived experiences are structured by postcoloniality and highlights the (dis)continuities with colonialism as these register in the practices and imaginings of migrant subjects (Fechter and Walsh 2010; Farrer 2010). Through such migration phenomena, the systemic inequalities embedded in this relationship of postcoloniality are reinforced, and the underlying power dynamics reaffirmed. Nevertheless, in taking the migrant subject as a starting point—as is common to many of these studies of privileged migration—postcoloniality is observed in their actions and thoughts, while the consideration of the way this functions as a wider geopolitical and historical structure is given less attention. This is an oversight we aim to correct in the present book, through the telling of migration as practice stories.

Neoliberalism and Postcolonialism in the Practice of Privileged Migration

To conclude, we depart from previous explanations of privilege and migration by shifting focus from privileged migrant subjects, to an understanding of privileged migration as a story of practice in which the contemporary conditions of neoliberalism and the traces or continuities of

colonialism provide both historically shaped conditions and internally structured habits and practices in the lives of our migrants.

Such a shift brings to light the need for greater and more sustained attentiveness to the ways in which historical circumstances—notably colonialism—pave the way for privileged migration through their articulation with contemporary practices of governance. Hence, our sustained attention to these in the first chapters of the book. In particular, we argue that while understanding these migrations as postcolonial is a good starting point in rendering visible the geopolitical and spatial inequalities that support these social phenomena, this needs to be complemented with an understanding of how this articulates with neoliberalism, through ongoing practices such as governance, imagineering, and place marketing.

The precedent for such an understanding lies in decolonial scholarship; simply put, this body of work sees the relationships and power inequalities established in colonialism persisting unabated through contemporary global relations. The works of Quijano (2000, 2007) and Mignolo (2003, 2007), for example, trace the conquest of societies and cultures to a new world order, in which 'a violent concentration of the world's resources (came) under the control and for the benefit of a small European minority' (Quijano 2007: 168). This process continues today along the lines initially established in the early days of colonialism, with the world divided into the exploited and the beneficiaries, so while the explicit politics of colonialism may have ended, colonial domination continues as both 'coloniality of power' and 'coloniality of knowledge' (Mignolo 2007). That is to say, the conditions and the modes of domination and exploitation continue in the shape of racial hierarchies, economic relations, and intercultural relations. Race and the global division of labour are inextricably and historically linked, Quijano (2000) says, so that coloniality is constantly reproduced as 'the invisible and constitutive side of modernity' (Mignolo 2007: 450). Rationality, individualism, and Western culture are seen as superior, and all alternative ways of living (e.g. communist, socialist, or traditional) are deemed a threat to modernity and, now, even to neoliberalism (ibid. 2007). This approach provides a broad framework within which to understand the relationship between capitalism and colonialism, and the persistence of geopolitical inequalities in contemporary neoliberalism.

While this understanding of the continuation of colonialities within contemporary global economic structures is crucial, in line with our practice theory meta-theoretical framework, we are also concerned with the way in which, in contemporary contexts, neoliberalism continues to function in the production of privileged migration, and how neoliberalism as both structure and agency shapes the migrant practice. We further develop Ono's (2014) description of how neoliberalism coincides with lifestyle migration, considering not only the construction of the 'mobilities market'—the privatised industry that supports privileged migration—but also the explicit role of migration intermediaries, through imagineering, for example, through an analysis of governance as an ongoing practice of control, and through a sustained focus on the lifestyle migrant as postcolonial and neoliberal subject.

Neoliberalism is employed here in recognition of the extent to which free-market logic has seeped into every area of social and economic life. Within the field of lifestyle migration research, this understanding clearly underpins the way that Ono (2014) and others (see, for example, Akerlund 2012; David et al. 2015; Hayes 2015b) explain the emergence of property markets and industries that target individual foreign investment. However, in addition to seeing this as a wide, overarching structure, we are also inspired by Ong's description of neoliberalism as a 'technology of government' and all that incurs:

> Neoliberalism is often discussed as an economic doctrine with a negative relation to state power, a market ideology that seeks to limit the scope and activity of governing. But neoliberalism can also be conceptualised as a new relationship between government and knowledge through which governing activities are recast as nonpolitical and non ideological problems that need technical solutions. Indeed, neoliberalism considered as a technology of government is a profoundly active way of rationalising governing and self-governing in order to 'optimize'. The spread of neoliberal calculation as a governing technology is thus a historical process that unevenly articulates situated political constellations. (2006: 3)

In this way, her account presents neoliberalism both as a structure—the market-driven calculations that drive the distribution of resources—and as a quality of individual subjects, the 'self-enterprising' citizens who

take responsibility for themselves, the prime neoliberal subjects (and see Rose 1996). As she describes, '[I]n global circuits, educated and self-propulsive individuals claim citizenship-like entitlements and benefits, even at the expense of territorialized citizens. Expatriate talents constitute a form of movable entitlement without formal citizenship' (Ong 2006: 16). Understanding neoliberalism as a 'technology of governance', or as an embedded practice (see Chap. 4), makes visible and meaningful the proximate structures that support, promote, and facilitate contemporary forms of privileged migration. It also draws attention to the potential for such migrants to be imagined as what Ong (2006) refers to as 'exceptional subjects', those courted and wooed in the pursuit of profit (see Chap. 3). The cases we consider in Malaysia and Panama make visible these technologies of governance—the specialist migration governance, land reform—that explicitly mark out privileged migrant subjects as exceptional.

We emphasise here that previous approaches have not fully appreciated the ongoing articulation of neoliberalism and postcoloniality as a practice, shaped and enacted by diverse agents on the ground—a practice through which contemporary privileged migrations are produced. This is in part the consequence of taking the migrant subject as the starting point of enquiries, or, in theoretical works, of starting from the wider structural frame. In this book, we take a different starting point; inspired by practice theory, we approach migration as stories of practice.

About the Chapters

The structure of the book mirrors the development of practice stories that we outlined in the discussion above. We begin by identifying and examining the structures that create opportunities and constraints that, in turn, shape lifestyle migration to Malaysia and Panama. This takes places over Chaps. 2, 3, and 4 as we consider in greater depth the interplay of colonial traces and neoliberal presents in Panama and Malaysia, the relationship between residential tourism and economic development, and the ongoing practice of the governance and regulation of lifestyle migration.

Chapter 2 offers clear insights into the wider geopolitical and historical conditions that shape Malaysia and Panama. It also introduces Boquete and Penang, the two field sites that are the predominant focus of the book. In particular, it examines in depth pasts of the countries and of the specific locations studied and how these articulate with contemporary economic development strategies. In this way, it draws out the specific relationships between neoliberalism and postcolonialism in these locations. The chapter also considers the historical relationships between sending and receiving countries. Through its spotlights on the two field sites, it presents an initial sense of the local sociopolitical and economic histories that shape the destinations and provide opportunities for lifestyle migration.

Chapter 3 provides a more focused discussion of how lifestyle migration figures within state-led strategies for economic development. It introduces residential tourism—property-led foreign investment by individuals—as a feature of neoliberal development strategies. Starting from the discussion of residential tourism development in Spain, it highlights how the prospect of foreign investment of this kind has led to the establishment of new markets in many economies, including Malaysia and Panama. Exploring these cases in particular, we examine how places are promoted and become popular destinations for certain populations at specific points in time. In this way, we consider how Boquete and Penang are imagineered with the intention of attracting such investment. It therefore provides some initial insights into the proximate structures that shape lifestyle migration.

However, beyond the market, lifestyle migration is also structured at this proximate level by governance practices. As we make clear in Chap. 4, the foreign investment in property anticipated by residential tourism is further supported by specialist visa regimes, which incentivise such investments through, for example, tax breaks and other favourable terms of residence. In this way, migrants-cum-investors are treated as exceptional cases (Ong 2006). What also becomes clear, however, is the tension between how the migrants themselves manipulate these structures and the tightening and relaxing of these in legislative practice that aims at the exclusion of those less-desirable migrants using such entry routes. Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 are not simply meant to be read as background to

the stories of lifestyle migrants' daily practices, but as part and parcel of the telling of migration to Malaysia and Panama as ongoing practices that are shaped by, and shaping of, wider contingencies and structures.

Following this thorough analysis of the wider and more proximate structures that shape these lifestyle migrations, we turn to the consideration of how lifestyle migration is lived in Boquete and Penang. Through migrant biographies, narratives, and experiences presented in Chaps. 5, 6, 7, and 8, we explore how the colonial residues implicit within settings are shaped, reproduced, and resisted through everyday lives. This enables a focus on the ways in which the various structural frames outlined previously are embodied and enacted by migrants as agents.

In Chap. 5, we introduce participants in our research in Malaysia and Panama, providing a sense of their diverse backgrounds, the different routes that led them to this migration, and an initial sense of their lives there. Their stories reveal how imaginings of a better way of life underpin decisions to migrate, but also how acting on the basis of these imaginings is variously supported by experience, expectations, assumptions, and resources. The decision to migrate and the life as lived are processes shaped by habitus, by conjuncturally specific internal structures, by communities of practice, and by diverse contingencies as they are confronted by people in their daily lives. While we highlight the extent to which such populations may be considered as relatively privileged, we also stress that this does not presume absolute wealth and privilege; these populations are socially stratified.

Moving into the everyday lives of these migrants, Chap. 6 considers the relationship between work and lifestyle migration. Within this, we do not only speak about paid employment—as might be assumed in the case of corporate expatriacy—but consider work to extend into volunteering and the other activities that such migrants occupy themselves with. The chapter is therefore descriptive of work, lives, and diversity, but also illustrates their flexibility and capitals. In this way, it demonstrates the value of referring to these populations as lifestyle migrants, laying bare how people use paid and voluntary work to achieve quality of life rather than vice versa.

Chapter 7 shifts focus to a close analysis of the material, social, and emotional aspects of home-making practices. It makes visible the social

and emotional investments at the heart of such home-making and highlights the complex ways in which these lifestyle migrants make living in Malaysia and Panama work for them, developing comfort in and familiarising themselves with living in these environments. In this way, it outlines how such migrants learn from their experiences and adapt their behaviours accordingly. It thus emphasises home-making itself as a form of practice.

Chapter 8 considers how lifestyle migration to these destinations is framed around the opportunity to live and lead healthier lives. In this way, it teases out the significance of health and well-being to imaginings of a better way of life, and in everyday migrant lives. What becomes clear is that considerations about where to migrate is for some additionally framed around their understandings and/or knowledge of healthcare provision and the cost of domestic labour—for example, in cases where there is need for daily care within the home—within the destinations, and the capitals and resources that they can draw on to make the best of what is available. As we demonstrate, this is paired with the development and promotion of high-quality healthcare services in Malaysia and Panama, a further dimension of their economic development strategies, and evidence of outcomes or sedimentation (O'Reilly 2017) of this practice of migration. But these neoliberal solutions come at a cost that not everyone can afford.

In the final chapter, we draw together our practice stories of lifestyle migration in Malaysia and Panama, drawing out the practices, outcomes, and unintended consequences of this social phenomenon. We close by reflecting once again on the relationship between lifestyle migration, postcoloniality, and neoliberalism.

Notes

1. It should be noted at this point that, while the majority of Karen's respondents in Malaysia were British, some were of dual nationality or identified as Western rather than British. Nevertheless, they self-selected for participation, knowing the research was ostensibly about British migration.

2. Within research on privileged migration there has been rich discussion of the use of these terms as categories of investigation and analysis. Of particular note are the papers by Kunz (2016) and Cranston (2017) who carefully lay out the difference between claims of self-identification and the categorical use of these terms by researchers. Such efforts to distinguish between conceptual labels as analytical tools and the demarcation of particular migrant populations are also at the heart of our recent article, moving lifestyle migration on to considerations of lifestyle in migration (Benson and O'Reilly 2015).

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