

SEACHANGE IN TASMANIA: EXPLORING INTERSTATE MIGRATION INTO THE ‘APPLE ISLE’

Nick Osbaldiston

Senior Lecturer in Sociology, James Cook University, Cairns, Qld, 4870, Australia. Email: nick.osbaldiston@jcu.edu.au.

Lisa Denny

Research Fellow, Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Tasmania, 7005, Australia.

Felicity Picken

Lecturer in Tourism, University of Western Sydney, Sydney, NSW, 2751, Australia.

ABSTRACT: The quest for a better way of life is associated with the recent reversal of the historic trend of net interstate migration losses for Tasmania. In this paper, we examine data collected in 2019 through a survey with internal migrants who, were in the process of, or already had migrated to Tasmania. While in the past, the state has often experienced net internal migration loss, over the past five years this trend has reversed. We argue that one of the prevailing factors here is the quest for a better way of life. We identify that key motivators for these movements include the climate, lifestyle and work/life balance that Tasmania is perceived to offer. While we stop short of arguing this is evidence of climate change affecting migration patterns in Australia, there is strong evidence that the heat of mainland Australia is driving migration to temperate parts of Australia, like Tasmania. However, further research is needed to make stronger correlations between rising temperature and migration.

KEY WORDS: Seachange; lifestyle migration; Tasmania; internal migration; population turnaround.

1. INTRODUCTION

For some time social scientists have identified a trend of counter-urbanisation across Australia (Argent *et al.*, 2011; Burnley and Murphy, 2004; Hugo and Bell, 1998; Osbaldiston, 2012). This is also reflective of a broader trend of out-migration identified as amenity migration or lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Moss, 2006). In Australia, the term seachange often portrays this trend in population movement (Burnley and Murphy, 2004; Osbaldiston, 2012). While there are different cultural ideas behind the term seachange (such as a dramatic shift in how a person lives their life), for the most part it denotes simply the shift away from the urban in pursuit of the good life (Burnley and Murphy, 2004).

Early investigations into this phenomenon focus on the transitions to coastal communities in particular. Beachside townships have all attracted attention in scholarship due to significant population in-migration (Burnley and Murphy, 2004). However, there is evidence also of internal migration into rural/regional places inland (Argent *et al.*, 2011). Within these shifts there appears to be clear indications that life-course events play a role (Stockdale *et al.*, 2013). Parr (2019, p. 9) for instance highlights how return migration into regional Australia links with "life events such as post-school education and employment" while other variables such as 'amenity and climate' also play roles.

However, despite this widespread attention on the seachange effect, the island state of Tasmania is largely missing from analysis in Australia's amenity/lifestyle migration push (cf. Osbaldiston, 2012). Historically, the state's net interstate migration has been one of loss rather than gain, especially of young people (Jackson, 2005; Jackson and Kippen, 2001). However, recently, interstate migration to Tasmania has undergone a seachange with growth recorded for four consecutive years since 2015, indicative of a population turnaround (ABS, 2019). While natural increase only makes up 18.4 per cent of this growth, more than 80 per cent comes from migration. In the case of net interstate migration, Tasmania's growth as reported in the year to March 2019 sat around 34.8 per cent of this growth (net overseas migration rates were 46.8%). Through survey analysis, this paper highlights some of the motivations people cite for leaving mainland Australia for Tasmania, their desires for the 'Tasmanian way of life' and the lived experiences thereafter following the research focus of lifestyle migration. While understanding internal migration to Tasmania is complex, it is clear from the data that lifestyle and climate are some of the major motivators.

2. METHODOLOGY

An online survey was conducted from June 2019 through to October 2019. The instrument utilised conceptual and empirical work on lifestyle, amenity migration and seachange literature from Australia and across the world (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Gosnell and Abrams, 2004; Mitchell, 2008). Questions revolved around what motivates migrants to come to Tasmania, the sorts of amenity they sought out, the issues they sought leave from and demographics. Conducted online and distributed through social media networks using availability sampling and snowballing, the survey produced a wide range of perspectives on these issues. This process was selected against using probability based techniques as it is difficult to find internal migrant populations. As such, caution does need to be applied when considering generalisations from these results due to the lack of control over the sample (de Vaus, 2014).

Tasmania has a population of approximately 533 300, representing around 2.10 per cent of Australia's population (ABS, 2019). In addition to this, the state also suffers from hyper-ageing where 20 per cent of the population or more is aged over 65 years (Jackson and Cameron, 2018). At present, approximately one quarter of Tasmania is in this age bracket, and this is projected to increase, causing some concern over future potential population decline in the island state. This is evident also in the median age of Tasmania (42.3 years) (ABS, 2019) compared to Australia (37.3 years). While leading other Australian states and territories in this demographic, we also need to acknowledge that ageing in regional areas tends to be higher than urban medians. Given Tasmania's smaller city sizes (Hobart 222,356 people, Launceston 80,916 – (ABS, 2016)) and the multitude of smaller townships spread across the island, we suggest that this statistic is in keeping with regional/rural areas and their ageing problem (Luck *et al.*, 2011).

The survey instrument was not designed to examine this, but rather who was coming to Tasmania from interstate and why. Overall, after cleaning the data set, we ended up with 329 responses. Data was analysed using SPSS and included descriptive and inferential statistics (chi-square tests, t-tests and ANOVAs) to ascertain differences between cohorts, though again we express caution in the generalisability of the results as suggested earlier. As such, while this paper provides an overview of these results, we stopped short of developing formal models based on regression analysis due to the problems of representation through internet surveys (de Vaus, 2014). However, despite this, the paper is one of the first to explore the

motivations for people migrating into Tasmania in this new population turnaround (Burnley and Murphy, 2004). We would note that for privacy we did not ask participants where they shifted to specifically. However, the survey was coupled with online ethnographic work with the Facebook group ‘That’s it I’m moving to Tassie’ (that has over 17,000 members) and semi-structured interviews conducted over 2019. While this data is not the subject of this paper, evidence from this work suggests migrants were targeting certain areas of high environmental/natural beauty for their shift. Townships such as those in the North-West of Tasmania (Shearwater, Ulverstone, Penguin, Burnie, Devonport), partially along the East Coast (Bicheno, Swansea, Coles Bay) and into the Greater Launceston and Hobart surrounds were attractive to new migrants. Furthermore, the migration trend is not homogenous with some areas (such as the West Coast) attracting little interest. Migration in other words has not alleviated the decline of local populations evenly across the state.

3. MOVERS TO TASMANIA

Most of the participants in this study identified as Caucasian Australians (88.4%) with only a few Asians and Indigenous Australians. Furthermore, within the sample, 254 (77.20%) had already moved to Tasmania and a further 75 (22.8%) were in the process of migrating (Table 1). As illustrated, the sample is heavily weighted towards those who identified as females (76.1%). Of note is the number who identified as working either full-time or part-time (61.4%), indicating that the migration into Tasmania is not simply about retirement.

Further demographic information important to note include variables such as family composition and household income. In the case of the former, 64 (19.5%) of the sample identified as single, 149 (45.3%) as couples with no children at home and 85 (25.8%) families with children (including 8 (2.4%) who preferred not to answer). Data at a broad level indicates that the majority of people moving into Tasmania since 2012 have been those between the ages of 25-44 with an increase in younger children (ABS, 2019), However Tasmania’s youth population increase is hampered by continued out-migration of younger people (ABS, 2019).

Table 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Survey Participants in Research.

Characteristic of Participant	N (% of sample)
Male	70 (21.3%)
Female	233 (76.1%)
Other gender	3 (1.0%)
Younger Cohort (18-30)	41 (12.5%)
Middle-aged Cohort (31-55)	229 (69.6%)
Older Cohort (55 and above)	34 (10.3%)*
Working	202 (61.4%)
Retirees or Unemployed	104 (31.6%)*

Source: the Authors. Note: * indicates missing data as some participants preferred not to answer corresponding questions.

Of further note is the median household incomes. Figure 1 illustrates this highlighting the significant amount of people in the sample earning over \$110,000 per annum. Importantly, Tasmania's median household income is approximately \$57,000 per annum (ABS, 2016), indicative of the relatively privileged nature of some interstate migrants. However, we cannot discount those earning lower incomes who have moved to Tasmania. As shown below, 81 (25.8%) of the sample reported earning less than \$50,000 per annum. What we cannot identify here of course is wealth levels. However, we did ask those who had already shifted to Tasmania if they owned property elsewhere with 37 (15.6%) indicating that they did.

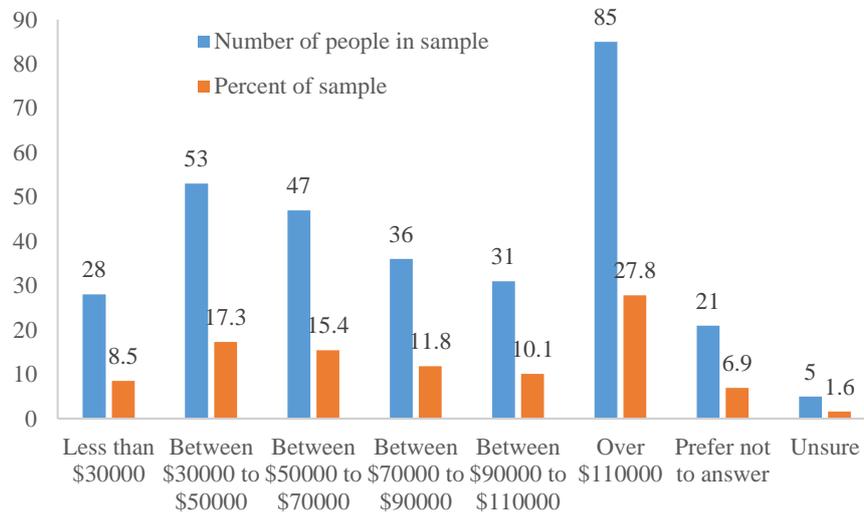


Figure 1. Reported Household Income of Participants Including

Percentage Within Sample. Source: the Authors. Note: 23 participants chose not to participate in this question.

We also identified ages amongst the sample (Table 2) that were further broken into income brackets. From this, we could ascertain whether there was evidence of wealthy retirees or others entering the state. As is demonstrated though, the majority of those who identified in the higher income brackets were in the middle-aged cohort (31-55 years old). While retirees or those approaching retirement (55 year and over) appeared to have less income, this may not reflect their true wealth. When examining which of the age cohorts identified as working or not, those in the 55 years and older category were far less likely to be working ($n=8$, 17.65%) than those in the 31-55 years bracket ($n=162$, 70.74%).

We also wanted to understand the potential link between visiting Tasmania as a tourist and eventual migration. A significant number had been to Tasmania at least once or more ($n=241$, 85.16%) compared to those who had not been at all ($n=42$, 12.8%); however, some participants chose not to respond to this question. This is important to recognise, as there has long been a consideration of the nexus between tourism and migration (Williams and Hall, 2000). Furthermore, in amenity and lifestyle migration literature, the connection between the two has been well theorised (Moss, 2006; O'Reilly, 2012). In addition to this, 49 (14.9%) respondents identified as return migrants. As Parr (2019) recently argues, return migration within Australia to regional areas is under-researched. She

argues that movement back to rural/regional places is complex and involves a range of issues from labour through to amenity principles (Parr, 2019). As shown later, return migrants in this sample have a few different motivations to seachangers that revolve around family and social relationships.

Table 2. Household Income Selected by Age Grouping and Total Percentage Within Age Groups.

Age Group	Less than 30k	Between 30k and 50k	Between 50k and 70k	Between 70k and 90k	Between 90k and 110k	Over 110k	Prefer not to answer	Unsure
18-30	4 (9.8%)	7 (17.1%)	7 (17.1%)	7 (17.1%)	6 (14.6%)	8 (19.5%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)
31-55	19 (8.3%)	36 (15.7%)	30 (13.1%)	25 (10.9%)	24 (10.5%)	75 (32.8%)	16 (7.0%)	4 (1.7%)
55 and over	5 (14.7%)	10 (29.4%)	10 (29.4%)	4 (11.8%)	1 (2.9%)	1 (2.9%)	3 (8.8%)	0

Source: the Authors

4. MOTIVATIONS TO LEAVE MAINLAND AUSTRALIA FOR TASMANIAN LIFE

Counter-urbanisation, simply put, reflects a desire to leave the urban for a place with highly valued amenity (Halfacree, 2008). However, as Benson and O'Reilly (2009) show, this does not necessarily equate to a desire simply for country landscapes alone. Rather, individuals, mostly from the middle-classes, seek out new places that are distinct from their former urban home both environmentally and socially (Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014). Yet, migration studies have long shelved the idea of push/pull factors as explainers for migration patterns (Castles *et al.*, 2015). Skeldon (1990, p. 125) argues for instance that the theory of push/pull leaves us with a "list of factors, all of which can clearly contribute to migration, but which lack a framework to bring them together in an explanatory system". We tend to agree with this assessment, following also with Benson and O'Reilly (2009), in suggesting that while listing off a range of factors helps us identify trends, it does little to explain deeper core issues. We shall return to this later.

One of the initial questions asked of our participants focussed on what they were seeking in terms of infrastructure and amenity. We provided a range of variables and asked how important these were (0 – not important at all, 100 – extremely important; Figure 2). As illustrated, the dominating

factors (means >80) revolve around concepts of lifestyle, natural environment, health and well-being and access to digital infrastructure. However, other important variables included climate, home-ownership, proximity to open space and work-life balance. These variables (other than access to digital infrastructure) can all be located within what we might identify as higher order motivations. Identified in Benson and O'Reilly's (2009) work as those attributes migrants seek in order to find a fulfilling and authentic life, these trends are also indicative of a broader discontent with the city (Osbaldiston, 2012). However, when we control for different cohorts in this sample, we also identify issues that relate specifically to life-course. For instance, through a one-way ANOVA (using a Bonferroni Post-Hoc test) on these results comparing age groups, variables such as career progression, job security and proximity to work held more weight for the younger cohorts (Table 3). However, overwhelmingly, work/life balance is of most importance to both early and middle-aged people. Interestingly, climate is far more important to the middle aged and later life people.

Table 3. Comparison of Means (SD) Between Cohorts on Selected Variables.

Variable*	Early Age (18-30)	Middle Age (31-55)	Later Life (55 years over)
Career progression	74.39 (20.4)	40.89 (31)	16.18 (22.7)
Climate	65.12 (24.4)	81.33 (21.4)	80.44 (22.7)
Cost of living	80.10 (15.1)	70.68 (24.8)	62.59 (26)
Job security	71.63 (26.8)	49.02 (34.9)	19.68 (26.7)
Proximity to quality education	55.24 (30.5)	35.87 (34.3)	24.24 (31.3)
Proximity to work	66.17 (23.5)	47.88 (34.4)	19.62 (29)
Work/life balance	85.00 (17.4)	75.28 (33.9)	40.18 (43.7)

Source: the Authors. Note: * All variables revealed to be statistically significant via one way ANOVA Tests ($p < .001$).

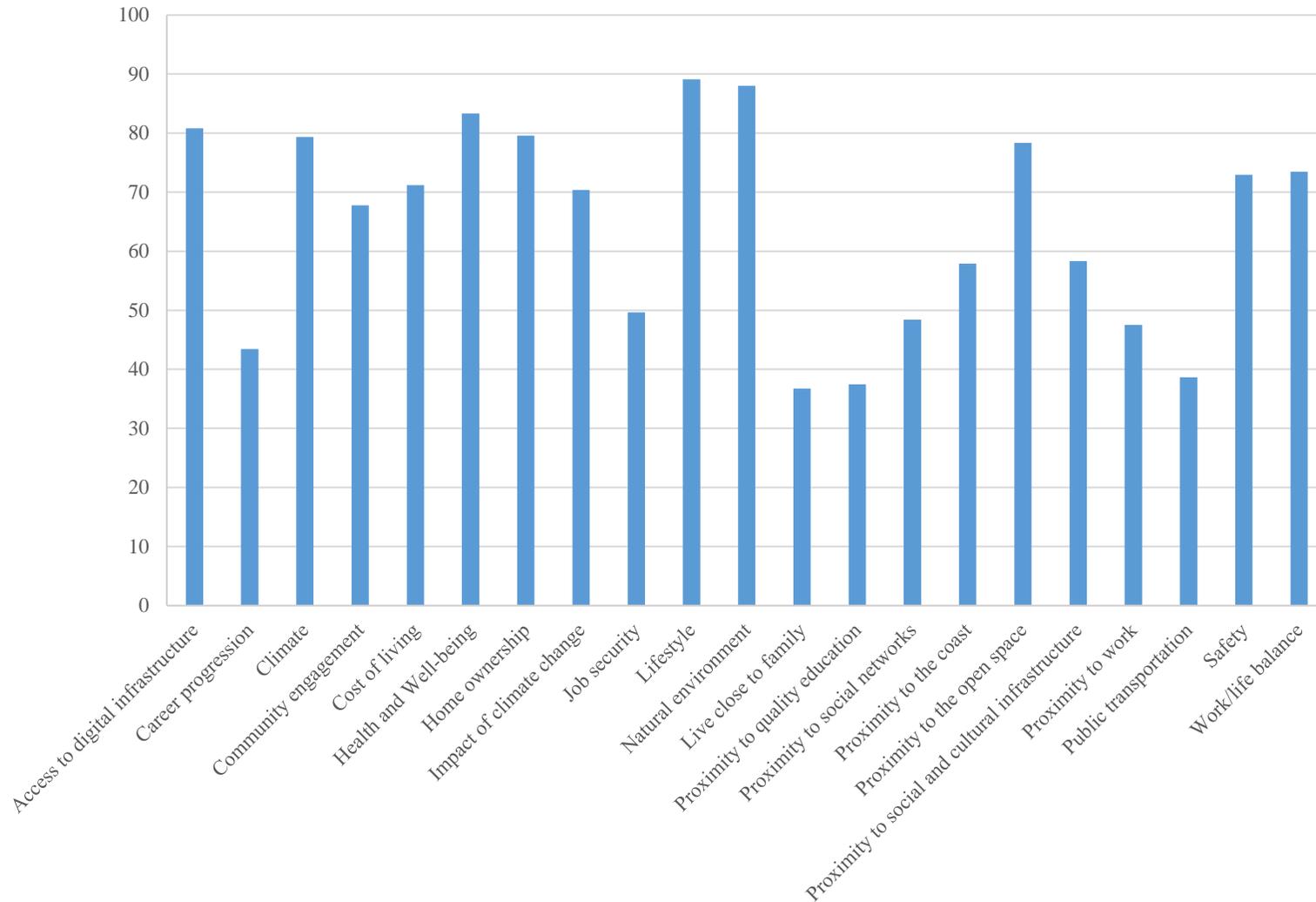


Figure 2. Mean Scores of Participants in Selecting Characteristics that are Important to Consider in Migration. Source: the Authors.

We also tested these results across those who were working and those who were not using independent samples t-tests. As expected, career progression ($t(304) = -5.456, p < .001$), job security ($t(304) = -6.493, p < .001$), proximity to work ($t(304) = -6.293, p < .001$) and work/life balance ($t(304) = -7.623, p < .001$) are all significantly more important to those who are working compared to those who are not. The position of work/life balance is not a surprise but is equally important to consider. There is good evidence in the current environment that this issue is increasingly becoming a concern for individuals living in contemporary western modernity that can lead to escape from the city (Osbaldiston, 2012; Persson, 2019). Furthermore, one of the driving factors associated with this is a personal question that reflects life-course (Dannefer *et al.*, 2016). For working families in particular, the question of how best to live for children is one that has some impact on decision-making when it comes to migration (Kley, 2011).

There are some surprising results of this data when considering gender. Table 4 shows that there was a significant difference in the variables of community engagement and safety of responses to why people were seeking to leave the mainland.

Table 4. Comparison of Means (SD) Between Those Who Identify as Female and Those Who Do Not for Selected Variables.

Variable	Not Female (Coded 0)	Female (Coded 1)	t result
Community engagement	61.34 (28.1)	69.80 (24.3)	-2.499 (304), $p < .05$
Safety	63.66 (33.3)	75.20 (28.3)	-2.913 (304), $p < .05$

Source: the Authors.

Importantly, the issue of safety has significance for females that also follows when you examine the data later regarding why people choose Tasmania specifically. What this suggests to us is that there is an element of escaping perceived risks when moving away from the urban (Persson, 2019). This includes high responses to things such as climate, health and well-being and the impact of climate change generally.

While we did not want to simply overview push factors in this analysis, it is important to recognise that the survey identified issues that create impetus for migration. This we achieved by presenting a number of potential factors (based on other research into counter-urbanisation) and allowing participants to select as many as apply (Figure 3). One of the

surprising motivators selected the most was that of climate/weather (n=228) and second environment (n=194). This aligns, however, with some of the anecdotal evidence we were hearing through interviews. Repeatedly, migrants identified that the mainland was getting hotter, especially in urban areas. The coolness of Tasmania was an escape from this. While not definitive enough to consider this climate change induced migration, it is clear from the data that participants were seeking out the figurative shade of Tasmania (cf. Hugo, 1998).

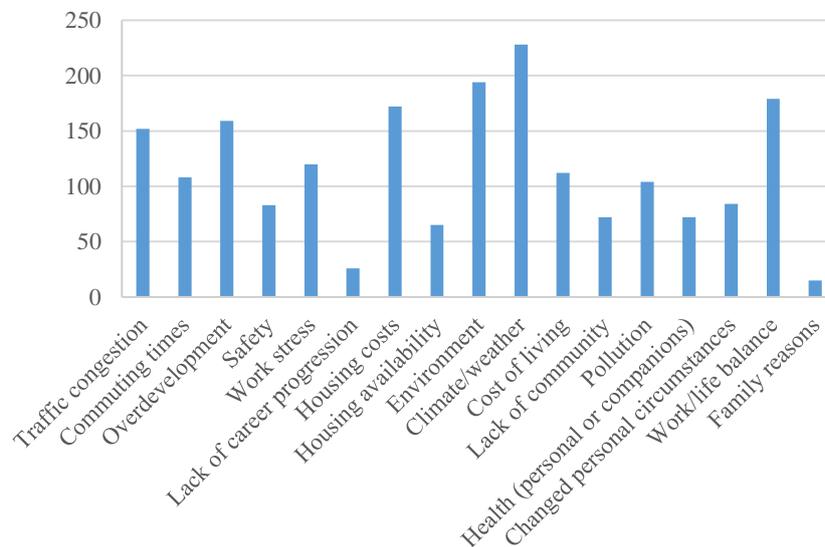


Figure 3. Selected Reasons (Multiple Selection) for Leaving Home on the Mainland. Source: the Authors.

It should be noted that other variables such as work/life balance (n=179) and housing costs (n=172) also rated highly. Interestingly, when controlling for this through chi-square analysis with those who are working, the only variable that had significant difference was that of work-life balance ($\chi^2= 37.057 (1), p<.001$). For those working within the mainland, mostly urban environment, stresses of the everyday within the workplace construct deep desires for a much different lifestyle (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). As Osbaldiston (2012) argues, the urban condition perceived of as a combination of over-development, over-population and increased time away from family, increases angst, especially amongst middle-classes who seek out balance through migration. As noted, not all

of those moving to Tasmania head to rural spots though. Several move to the Greater Hobart area where work/life balance is perceived as possible due to smaller population size. The desire for this is further evident when using chi-square to compare across those who have children at home to those who do not ($\chi^2 = 7.025$ (1), $p < .05$). Having kids at home appears to drive the desire for work/life balance.

We also tested for gender differences and found that 'safety' was a significant push factor for females ($n=66$, 28.33%; $\chi^2 = 5.188$ (1), $p < .05$). In addition to this, the variable of 'lack of community' appears to have more influence with the females in our sample ($n=62$, 26.60%; $\chi^2 = 9.220$ (1), $p < .01$). This seems to suggest that the idea of sociality or community is a gendered issue. Benson (2016) describes in her work how women especially feel the isolation, loss and loneliness of migration more acutely suggesting that the emotions of migration tend to be felt more with females. We would argue from this data, that both genders desire a natural environment and cooler weather, but for women this also includes desire for sociality and community in their escape. Qualitative research we have conducted initially suggests that men find social relations and community to be important to their own personal authenticity after migration (cf. Osbaldiston, 2012).

To compare with factors for leaving the mainland (push factors), questions on the pull of Tasmania specifically were also asked. For the most part, those in our sample ($n=147$, 47.7%) had considered moving to places other than Tasmania while several also indicated they had not ($n=140$, 42.6%). Thus, it is important to understand what the drawcards of Tasmania are. As Figure 4 illustrates, some of the major considerations selected were climate/weather (233, 70.82%), environment (232, 70.52%) and lifestyle factors (222, 67.48%) aligning with the motivations to leave the mainland. Despite Tasmania's broader perceptions of a harsh winter, it appears that climate is a major attraction. Some of the perspectives that emerged in our discussions with migrants suggest that they sought out the cool along with environmental factors (such as fresh air, quality natural amenity and landscapes).

Interestingly, when controlling for other variables we see patterns emerge that are pivotal to understanding why people select Tasmania as their destination. Firstly, when considered by age groups, there were significant differences between those approaching or retired (over 55 years of age) and those who were still within working ages (18-54 years) (Table 5). This included a major prevalence amongst those over 55 towards selecting climate/weather and environment as reasons for their selection of Tasmania. Two pieces of information here are important to note. Firstly,

the relationship between health, climate and environment with the older cohort indicates a desire to live in a place with less risk to health that perhaps relates to a cooler climate and better natural environment. It is possibly a perception amongst those approaching or at retirement, that Tasmania offers both. We would suggest that this also indicated a potential problem with the climate on the mainland for older populations. The quest for a better way of life (noted by Benson and O'Reilly (2009)) could be best framed here as the quest for a better life until death.

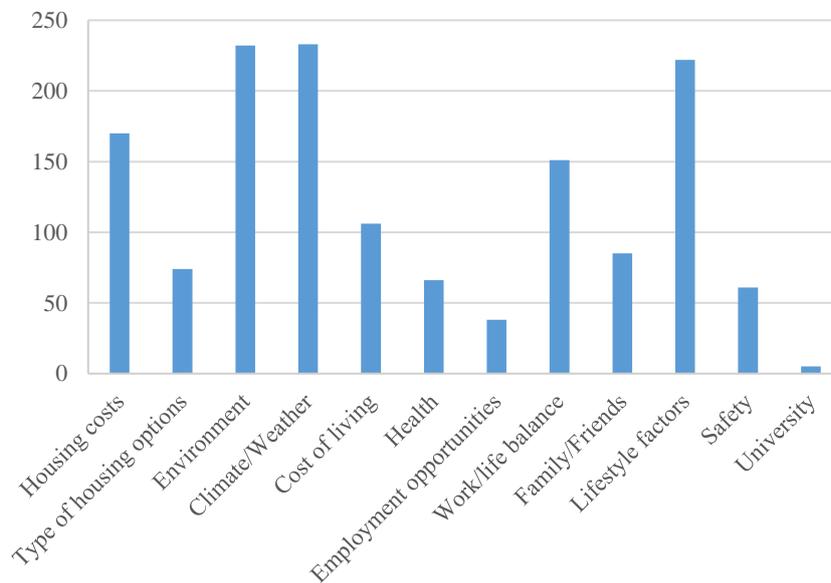


Figure 4. Selected Reasons (Multiple Selection) for Selecting Tasmania Over Other Places to Migrate To. Source: the Authors.

Table 5. Selection of Key Variables (Multiple Selection) by Those Under 55 and Those Over 55 in Sample with Chi-Square Result.

Variable	Under 55s	Over 55s	Chi-square result
Environment	116 (66.67%)	103 (79.20%)	5.831 (1), p <.05
Climate/weather	116 (66.67%)	104 (80.0%)	6.615 (1), p <.05
Health	29 (16.67%)	36 (27.70%)	5.381 (1), p <.05
Employment opportunities	27 (15.51%)	8 (6.15%)	6.403 (1), p <.05

Source: the Authors.

Secondly, the low numbers of under 55s who moved to Tasmania for employment opportunities needs consideration. When we compare this against less rationalistic choices, such as work/life balance (n=87, 50%), lifestyle factors (n=119, 68.39%) and environment (n=116, 66.67%), we can see that migration is not necessarily labour motivated. Rather, Tasmania offers something deeper, identified by lifestyle migration scholars elsewhere as ranging from existential quests for more meaning through to simply contentment in everyday life (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014; Stones *et al.*, 2019). Conversely, those in the older life brackets appear drawn by a quest for a better way of life framed through better climate and environment and perhaps leaving behind a riskier place in the city (Persson, 2019).

Interestingly, when testing gender in the pull factors we found no significant differences, including that of safety which while still relatively high for females (n=50, 27.32%) was not statistically significant in comparison to others (n=10, 13.70%). This is different to findings above on push variables but explained by the slightly increased number of males/others who selected safety as an attractive factor for Tasmanian life, and the decreased number of females doing so in comparison to the motivation to leave mainland life. Regardless, safety appears to be a contributing factor for females but far less relative to other variables like climate and environment. Furthermore, and aligning with the above, work/life balance appears as an attractive attribute of Tasmania for those workers compared to those who were not (n= 116, 57.4%, $\chi^2= 27.303$ (1), p <.001).

When examining why returning migrants moved to Tasmania, we found further differences. Past residents were less likely to select weather/climate as a motivating factor ($n=22$, 44.89%) than new migrants to Tasmania ($n=211$, 75.63%). They were also more likely to select family/friends as a reason to move ($n=33$, 61.22%) over new migrants ($n=52$, 18.64%). This does seem to indicate a relationship between familial/social relations and migration for former residents. However, due to lack of numbers in this sample who are return migrants we cannot provide further insight here.

In addition to matching the motivations to come to Tasmania with those of leaving mainland Australia, we wanted to understand attitudes towards both places (Table 6 and 7). As shown, for the most part, participants were in agreement with the attitudinal statements we presented except statements 6 and 7. As Tasmania has highly insecure employment with the unemployment rate at 6.1 per cent, the third highest in the nation (as of October 2019), this result is expected (Department of Treasury and Finance, 2019). Furthermore, anecdotal evidence from our discussions with seachangers suggests many take on contract labour in areas outside their professions. They appear willing to undertake vocational sacrifice to capture the lifestyle they seek out. When controlling for cohorts in relation to these statements there is little to no significance in differences between groups. However, return migrants were less agreeable to statement 3 ($M=5.04$, $SD=1.67$) than new migrants ($M=6.10$, $SD=1.26$). While both agree with the statement, it is worthwhile noting that former residents have already experienced the climate and perhaps had prior shifted away from Tasmania for this reason.

Table 6. List of Attitudinal Statements Presented to Participants in the Sample to Agree or Disagree With.

Question. Thinking about Tasmania, please indicate how much you agree/disagree with the following statements.
1. Tasmania provides a greater work/life balance
2. Tasmania offers a change of lifestyle that I need to enjoy my life
3. Tasmania offers a climate that is better suited to my personal preferences
4. Mainland cities are stressful and unhappy places
5. Mainland cities are risky and unsafe places
6. Mainland cities provide less opportunities for secure employment
7. Tasmania provides more opportunities for secure employment
8. Tasmania has a much more affordable housing market
9. Tasmania provides opportunities to grow as a person and/or family/couple
10. Tasmania provides a much friendlier and warm community mindedness
11. Tasmania provides a sense of security and safety
12. Tasmania provides a variety of housing options

Source: authors.

Table 7. Mean Responses of Agreement or Disagreement on Attitudinal Statements in Sample.

Question Number	Mean (Standard Deviation) 1 – Strongly Disagree, 4 – Neither Agree/Disagree, 7 – Strongly Agree
1	5.50 (1.36)
2	6.15 (.96)
3	5.95 (1.38)
4	5.24 (1.59)
5	4.48 (1.62)
6	2.70 (1.37)
7	2.81 (1.26)
8	5.35 (1.53)
9	5.49 (1.16)
10	5.65 (1.17)
11	5.40 (1.14)
12	5.11 (1.36)

Source: the Authors.

5. CONCLUSION

When investigating trends in counter-urbanisation overseas, theories surrounding push/pull narratives are left aside for their simplicity and lack of nuance (Skeldon, 1990; Halfacree, 2008, 2014). Halfacree (2014, p. 93) argues that the migration of people into rural/regional areas reflects a broader ‘geographical imaginary’, which scholars tend to critique as social constructivism. Specifically, the rural is seen by those in urbanity as a place of beauty and simplicity, which invokes nostalgic sentiments for times lost (Argent *et al.*, 2011, p. 41). While this may be the case, Halfacree (2014, p. 111) contests in his work that the rural lifestyle has a long-term impact on migrants “often in unexpected and dynamic ways”. Natural environment and climate in particular can shape a migrant’s attitude and lifestyles. Regardless, we argue here, following Benson and O’Reilly’s (2009) lead, that recent internal migration to Tasmania cannot be located simply within a rationalistic or economic framework. Rather, as we have seen, there are other factors at play here including a ‘personal quest’ whereby migrants “seek places of refuge that they can call home and that

they believe will resonate with idealised visions of self [...] the potential self” (Hoey, 2005: 593). In our sample above, it is difficult to collect information regarding deeper sociological and philosophical intent focused on the self in migrants. However, what we have collated here is a list of variables that are important to migrants that not only demonstrate a simple push/pull narrative, but also a deeper illustration of the wider quest for a better way of living (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009).

There are four key fundamental arguments our data provides that should invite considerations for policy. Firstly, what we have gathered demonstrates how climate is having an impact now on internal patterns. Pressures of environment on migration patterns have been flagged previously by migration researchers (Hugo, 1996). However, what we have seen in the data above is a situation where ‘environmental factors’ are a “pull factor in attracting population movements” (Hugo, 1996, p. 120). While this is evident already in amenity migration literature (Moss, 2006) where people seek out different climates for their lifestyles, Tasmania has not been a location identified in this trend. Rather, mainland migrants who move for climatic reasons previously shifted to warmer environments such as Queensland (Burnley and Murphy, 2004). There appears here a new wave of people moving, in the case of Tasmania, to the cool. This is potentially correlated to the increasing heat of the mainland and has some potential relationship to climate change.

Secondly, our data also suggests that there is broad concern amongst the employed within our sample around work/life balance. While the concept itself is exceptionally difficult to define, there is a clear narrative amongst society that overwork and the associated health/well-being/familial impacts are significant (Hamilton, 2003; Osbaldiston, 2012, 2013). Work/life balance is clearly an attribute that migrants, especially with families, are hoping to capture in a Tasmanian lifestyle. This requires further research into the urban where it seems this idea is percolating. However, it also tells us something about Tasmania’s image, that it is slower paced, easier and relaxed. Migrants coming into Tasmania from the mainland are seeking out, literally, an alternative tempo to their lifestyle than what they experience presently.

Thirdly, and related, there is evidence in our data set of a gender difference in motivation to leave the city. As noted, the perception of the city as an unsafe place is shown above within our sample to be more of a concern for females. This question of leaving urbanity because of risk has been suggested in various pieces of literature already (Moss, 2006; Persson, 2019). However, Gustafson (1998) suggests that a range of factors can influence this including research design. The conclusion from his

review of the research is that we need to take due consideration of 'power relations' that are gendered which directly and indirectly impact on fear of crime (Gustafson, 1998, p. 810). We would add to this that, as Benson (2016) shows, females tend to negotiate their emotions differently in the quest for a better way of life through migration. Regardless, the finding here is not something we anticipated and thus more work is required. Furthermore as Persson (2019) recently argues, we need to give due consideration to risk within the lifestyle/amenity migration narrative.

Lastly, while we did not set out to cover return migration, our data identifies a trend of people coming back to Tasmania for family and other social relations. Return migration into regional/rural places is, as Parr (2019, p. 9) argues, not well covered in research on internal migration. Stockdale *et al.* (2013) however demonstrate clear links within the life-course of mid-life migrants returning to places that resemble their childhood. In addition to this, there is evidence to suggest events like childbirth can "trigger considering migration by scattering people's daily routines and therefore opening their minds for a broader view of possible actions" (Kley, 2011, p. 473). As Osbaldiston (2012) demonstrates, for some migrants, childhood memories influence at times decisions on where to move. More work in this return migration trend into Tasmania is required to understand potential drivers to assist in growing a sustainable population in the state.

REFERENCES

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016). *Census 2016*. Online version accessed 21 June 2018, <https://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/D3310114.nsf/Home/Census?OpenDocument&ref=topBar>.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2019). *Australian Demographic Statistics. Mar 2019*. Online version accessed 20 September 2019, <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3101.0>.
- Argent, N., Tonts, M., Jones, R. and Holmes, J. (2011). Amenity-Led Migration in Rural Australia: a New Driver for Local Demographic and Environmental Change. In G.W. Luck, D. Race and R. Black (Eds) *Demographic Change in Australia's Rural Landscapes*. Springer, Munich.
- Benson, M. (2016). Deconstructing Belonging in Lifestyle Migration: Tracking the Emotional Negotiations of the British in Rural France. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(5), pp. 481-494.
- Benson, M. and O'Reilly, K. (2009). Migration and the Search for a Better Way of Life: a Critical Exploration of Lifestyle Migration. *The Sociological Review*, 57(4), pp. 608-625.
- Benson, M. and Osbaldiston, N. (2014). *Understanding Lifestyle Migration: Theoretical Approaches to Migration and the Quest for a Better Way of Life*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Burnley, I. and Murphy, P. (2004). *Sea Change: Movement from Metropolitan to Arcadian Australia*. UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Castles, S., Haas, H. and Miller, M. (2014). *The Age of Migration (5th ed)*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Dannefer, D., Kelley-Moore, J. and Huang, W. (2016). Opening the Social: Sociological Imagination in Life Course Studies. In M. J. Shanahan, J. T. Mortimer, M. Kirkpatrick Johnson (Eds) *Handbook of the Life Course*, Springer, Heidelberg.
- Department of Treasury and Finance (2019). *Labour Force October 2019*. Online version accessed 20 November 2019, <https://www.treasury.tas.gov.au/Documents/Labour-Force.pdf>.
- de Vaus, D. (2014). *Surveys in Social Research*. Routledge, New York.
- Gustafson, P.E. (1998). Gender Differences in Risk Perception: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives. *Risk Analysis*, 18(6), pp. 805-811.
- Gosnell, H. and Abrams, J. (2011). Amenity Migration: Diverse Conceptualization of Drivers, Socioeconomic Dimensions and Emerging Challenges. *GeoJournal*, 76(4), pp. 303-322.

- Halfacree, K. (2008). To Revitalize Counterurbanisation Research? Recognising an International and Fuller Picture. *Population, Space and Place*, 14, pp. 479-495.
- Halfacree, K. (2014). Jumping Up from the Armchair: Beyond the Idyll in Counterurbanisation. In M. Benson and N. Osbaldiston (Eds) *Understanding Lifestyle Migration: Theoretical Approaches and the Quest for a Better Way of Life*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Hamilton, C. (2003). *Growth Fetish*. Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Hoey, B. (2005). From Pi to Pie: Moral Narratives of Noneconomic Migration and Stating Over in the Postindustrial Midwest. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 34(5), pp. 586-624.
- Hugo, G. (1996). Environmental Concerns and International Migration. *The International Migration Review*, 30(1), pp. 105-131.
- Hugo, G. and Bell, M. (1998). The Hypothesis of Welfare-Led Migration to Rural Areas: the Australian Case. In P. Boyle and K. Halfacree (Eds) *Migration Into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*. John Wiley, Chichester.
- Jackson, N. (2005). Tasmania's Turn-Around? Migration in the Apple Isle. *Dialogue*, 24(2), pp. 25-37.
- Jackson, N. and Cameron, M. (2018). The Unavoidable Nature of Population Ageing and the Ageing-Driven End of Growth – an Update for New Zealand. *Journal of Population Ageing*, 11(3), pp. 97-117.
- Jackson, N. and Kippen, R. (2001). Whither Tasmania? A Note on Tasmania's Population Problem. *People and Place*, 9(1), pp. 27-37.
- Kley, S. (2011). Explaining the Stages of Migration Within a Life-Course Framework. *European Sociological Review*, 27(4), pp. 469-486.
- Luck, G. W., Race, D. and Black, R. (Eds) (2011). *Demographic Change in Australia's Rural Landscapes: Implications for Society and Environment*, Springer, Heidelberg.
- Mitchell, C. J. A. (2008). Counterurbanization and the Growth of Canada's Rural and Small Town Municipalities: 1996-2001. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 20, pp. 15-34.
- Moss, L. A. G. (2006). *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and Their Cultures*. CABI, Oxfordshire.
- O'Reilly, K. (2012). *International Migration and Social Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

- Osbaldiston, N. (2012). *Seeking Authenticity in Place, Culture and Self*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Osbaldiston, N. (2013). *Culture of the Slow*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Parr, A. (2019). Understanding the Motivations for Return Migration in Australia. *Australian Population Studies*, 3(1), pp. 1-12.
- Persson, L. (2019). Lifestyle Migrants or “Environmental Refugees”? – Resisting Urban Risks. *Population, Space and Place*, 25(7), 1-12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2254>.
- Skeldon, R. (1990). *Population Mobility in Developing Countries: a Reinterpretation*. Belhaven Press, London.
- Stockdale, A., Macleod, M. and Philip, L. (2013). Connected Life Courses: Influences on and Experiences of Midlife In-Migration to Rural Areas. *Population, Space and Place*, 19, pp. 239-257.
- Stones, R., Botterill, K., Lee, M. and O’Reilly, K., (2019). One World is Not Enough: the Structured Phenomenology of Lifestyle Migrants in East Asia. *British Journal of Sociology*, 70(1), pp. 44-69.
- Williams, A. M. and Michael, C. M. (2000). Tourism and Migration: New Relationships Between Production and Consumption. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(1), pp. 5-27.