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LITTLE NORWAY IN SPAIN From Tourism to Migration

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Abstract: Employing a continuum model, this study shows that a further understanding of tourism can be gained through investigating seasonal migration and that, in turn, an appreciation of the latter can be enhanced via an examination of its more temporary and permanent counterparts. By applying the theoretical insights of Simmel to such forms of adjustment as presocialization, space, time, activities, and knowledge, it demonstrates that an identity choice is made between the icons of familiarity derived from home and the strangeness associated with living in a foreign country. Empirically, the model is explored via an ethnographic study of Norwegian seasonal migrants in two communities on the Spanish Costa Blanca. Keywords: migrants, expatriates, Spain, urbanizations, Norwegians. © 2006 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: Petite Norvège en Espagne: du tourisme à la migration. En utilisant un modèle de continuum, cette étude montre que l'on peut gagner une compréhension plus complète du tourisme par une investigation de la migration saisonnière et que, par la suite, on peut mieux apprécier la migration saisonnière en étudiant ses analogues plus temporaires ou plus permanentes. En appliquant les idées théoriques de Simmel aux formes d'adaptation telles que présocialisation, espaces, temps, activités et connaissances, l'article démontre qu'un choix d'identité se fait entre les icônes de la familiarité dérivés du pays d'origine et l'étrangeté associée à la vie dans un pays étranger. On examine le modèle empiriquement par moyen d'une étude ethnographique de migrants saisonniers norvégiens dans deux communautés de la Costa Brava en Espagne. Mots-clés: migrants, expatriés, Espagne, urbanisations, Norvégiens. © 2006 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

The sociology topic of migration can help frame a sociology of tourism; analyzing it can broaden understanding of the latter (Böröcz 1996; Hall and Williams 2002). As a subset of migration, tourism shares the characteristics of fantasy, mobility, and displacement, along with various push and pull factors that respectively dispose and attract persons in their travels to greener pastures. Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that one-way migration is a far more permanent state of being

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than return-ticket tourism, since the former relocates home elsewhere. It is also crucial to acknowledge that a lengthy sojourn abroad requires long-term decisions that typically relate to such additional quality of life domains as education and employment, and that it adopts a greater sense of commitment than the mere suspense of temporary existence associated with tourism. If this qualified parallel is accepted, it follows that an understanding of seasonal migration can be gained through an examination of its perennial counterpart. Alternatively stated, knowledge of a given point on a continuum is derived from one or more others. Figure 1 elaborates the situation in greater detail with respect to home and away.

In the domestic trajectory, it is maintained that a better appreciation of this kind of tourism is gained within the context of second homes that are occupied periodically for holiday purposes, as is often the case in Scandinavia, for instance (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry 2004; Löfgren 1999). Here, many people rent their first home but own their second home as an investment and as a healthy environment by the sea (Taylor 2005). A more comprehensive meaning of domestic tourism is additionally captured with respect to persons moving permanently to another area in their country of domicile and establishing a primary residence in a place that they have previously experienced as tourists. Implicit in this model is the idea that second homes and new principal abodes are better comprehended in relation to each other and *vis-à-vis* domestic tourism, that interdependence operates throughout the chain. That is to say, most vacationers are not explorers and adventurers, but more sedentary and, in that respect, similar to

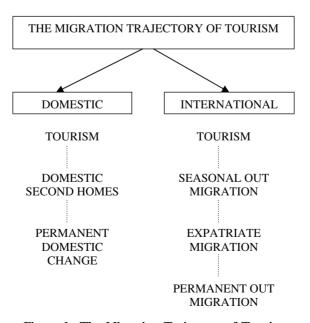


Figure 1. The Migration Trajectory of Tourism

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