

Global Amenity Migration

Transforming Rural
Culture, Economy & Landscape

Edited by
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1 The Rural Change Agent Amenity Migration: Some Further Explorations

Laurence A.G. Moss

Could we have been sustainable in Dungeness [U.S. northwest coast community], lived within our carrying capacity and still had all that fun? I have no proof, but I have a gut feeling that the difference between unsustainable and sustainable consumption might turn out to be precisely the same difference between our current childish extravagance and reasonable, creative, satisfying use.

Don Gayton, *Landscapes of the Interior*, 1996

Introduction

This chapter begins with introducing a recently revised construct of the complex societal movement called *amenity migration*. It was formulated to help understand how this agent is transforming the countryside and its human settlements and to better manage it for equitable sustainability. I then turn to my recent explorations and several seemingly strategic elements in this movement of people to places they perceive as rich in natural and cultural amenities with the expectation of improving their quality of life.

Amenity migration is both an opportunity and a threat to sustaining the integrity of natural ecologies and their symbiotic human communities. Its positive effects to date appear mainly economic ones. Negative ones however have been considerable, including degrading of natural environments and their ecological systems, and stressing local cultures and their social systems. This chapter focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of this change.

The information and analysis here draws from global experience, with an emphasis on amenity migration in North America. The lands involved are not tranquil, but contested by consumption and conservation of landscapes, habitats and life ways.

Conceptualizing amenity migration

Formulating the amenity migration construct outlined here began in 1986. Since then it has been revised intermittently as knowledge about this movement increased, especially its effects on mountainous areas of the world (*Glorioso, 1999; Glorioso & Moss, 2012b; Moss, 1994, 2006a, 2008; Price et al., 1997*). However, over time amenity migration in mountain areas

has become increasingly similar to its manifestation elsewhere. Therefore, the most recent revision (Figure 1.1) considers the pattern of this movement to improve quality of life more generally, including for example the lakelands of Saimaa, Finland and Wisconsin, USA. In addition, the construct can offer strategic insights into the larger transformation of rurality taking place.

The spread of neo-liberal capitalism, its consumerism, commodification, and depredation of the common good gives amenity migration much of its current character. This political philosophy, along with its public and private policies and practises, today dominates the global political economy (see Figure 1.1). Arising in the 1960s, it emphasizes the paramount importance of continuing economic growth and asserts that social justice is best obtained by minimal government interference in “free” market forces (*Croach, 2011; Heinberg, 2011; Ong, 2006; Polanyi 1944; Smith, 2008; Chapters 3 & 7, this volume*, especially for the predominance of neo-liberal consumption).

In the construct, seven *motivators* and five *facilitators* are identified as the key factors driving the amenity movement. Five types of *impacts* are proposed as the main outcomes, and five *spatial zones* identified to help further understand the movement (Figure 1.1). This spatial component of the model builds on William Travis’ western American land use typology (2007). The relative weights of motivators and facilitators can vary with individual and types of amenity migrants, change with specifics of place and through time, and attitudes, values and behaviour are not static. For example, location in the Global South has generally come with weaker access and lower cost of living facilitators, and greater promise of the exotic. But these differentiations now seem to be rapidly diminishing.

The valuations here are for approximately 2014. Aspects of the construct are discussed below, with a more comprehensive description available in Glorioso and Moss (2012b) and Moss (2006a).

Strategic elements

The continuing growth of knowledge about amenity migration over especially the last decade makes it possible to obtain a deeper understanding of it. Also of importance for me were the discussions among researchers, public decision-makers and concerned citizens that took place at the first international conference specifically on amenity migration in 2008 at Banff, Canada (*Moss et al., 2009*), and the follow-on ones in Mirabel, France (*Martin et al., 2012*) and Pucón, Chile (*Otero & González, 2012*). My planning praxis has also been quite instructive.

Below I draw attention to four elements that appear to add to our understanding of amenity migration, direct us to important further inquiry, and can be useful for policy and action to increase the communal benefits of amenity migration.

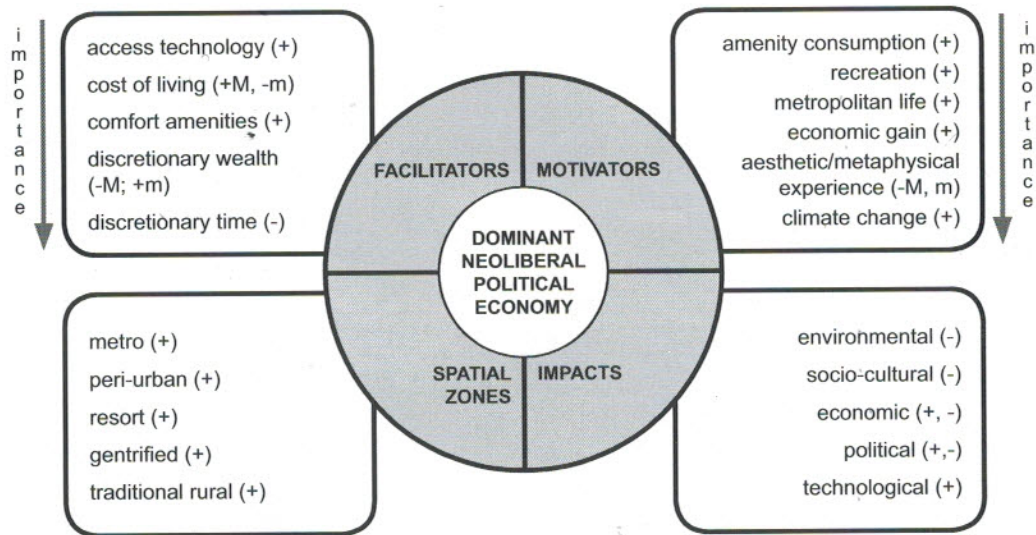


Figure 1.1. Amenity migration construct with approximately 2014 values.

Note: For Facilitators, Motivators and Spatial Zones (+) = key factor & spatial type strengthening/ increasing, and (-) = key factor & spatial type weakening/ decreasing; (M) = majority of amenity migrants, (m) = minority of amenity migrants. General importance of facilitators & motivators decreases from top to bottom of key factors lists. The Impacts of amenity migration are noted as generally positive (+) and/ or negative (-).

The *rurban* condition

Overview

While amenity migration was first identified and studied in the USA, during the last decade or so it has become clearly recognized as a global condition. The contributions to this book confirm this, in addition to especially Abrams *et al.* (2012), Glorioso and Moss (2007), Martin *et al.* (2012), Moss (2006b, 2008), Moss *et al.* (2009), Otero and González (2012), and allied lifestyle migration findings in Jackiewicz (2010) and Janoschka and Haas (2013).

Like newcomers before, amenity migrants are rural change agents, but particularly so with their considerable increase in numbers from the 1980s. Using a natural amenities index they formulated, USDA researchers found that between 1970 and 1996 the average population increase in non-metropolitan U.S. counties scoring low on the index was 1%, and for counties high on the index was 120% (McGranahan, 1999). The five high amenity western U.S. states of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado between 1970 and 2000 increased their population from 1.6 to 2.8 million, nearly double the country's growth rate in the same period (Krannich *et al.*, 2011). And between only 1990 and 2007, the population of this New West area grew by 56.4%, the highest increase of the nine U.S. Census Bureau's

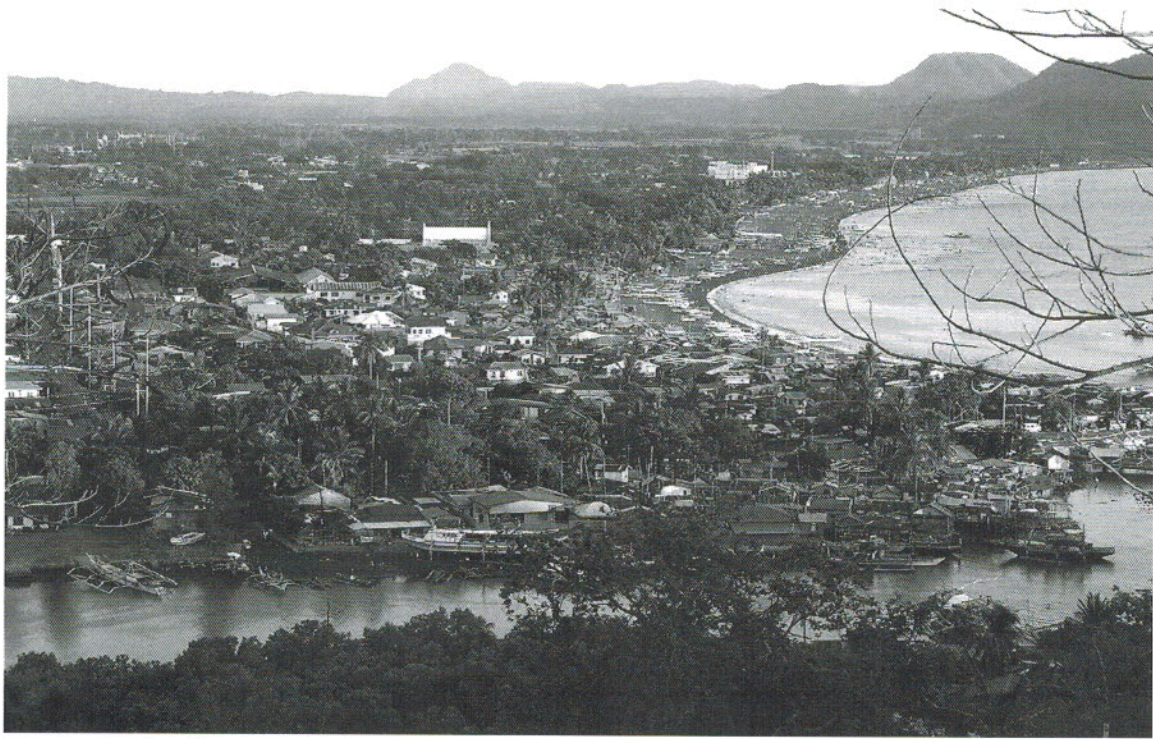


Figure 1.2. The village of Wawa (population 13,000), Batangas Province, Philippines, an emerging amenity migration destination. Photograph: Romella S. Gloriosos, March 2013.



Figure 1.3. A diverse, pastoral landscape that includes amenity migrants and earlier settlers, near the village of Mirabel, Ardèche Département, France. Photograph: Laurence A.G. Moss, October 2012.

macro-regions (Moss, 2009a). Much of this change in North America, and more globally, came from urbanites seeking what they perceive as a superior life with rural amenities (e.g., Gosnell et al., 2009; McGranahan, 2008; Moss, 2006b; Nelson, 2006). The growth pattern appears to have continued, with as yet an inadequately assessed slow down or cessation in many amenity-rich places due to the “Great Recession” (Gude et al., 2012; Holway et al., 2014; Rickman & Rickman, 2011; Chapter 7, this volume).

How many of the in-migrants are amenity migrants remains unclear. An important constraint is public census regimes not keeping abreast of changes in the way people reside (Müller & Hall, 2004; below, *The dwelling web & alternative culture*). Therefore, costly sampling is needed, as in the 2007-2010 studies of the Similkameen and South Okanagan Valleys in southwestern Canada. In a 12% random sample of home owners in the two valleys, 57.3% identified themselves as amenity migrants (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, 2010).

Key biophysical and economic characteristics

Biophysically the change is most observable in the increasing conversion of pastoral and wildlands to residential use, and is characterized by sprawling, low-density land consumption and often environmental and aesthetic degradation (e.g., Abrams, et al., 2012; Cadieux & Taylor, 2013; McGranahan, 2008; Moss, 2006a, 2008; Power, 2005). It is occurring beyond the suburbs in three spatial zones: *peri-urban*, *resort* and *gentrified*, and much less in the *traditional rural* zone (Figure 1.1).

From early in the 20th century some European and North American social researchers and urban and regional planners have referred to the three zones (initially the “suburban fringe”) and what is occurring there as *rurban*; where the urban and rural “meet and mingle”. Rurban public policy and planning focus on controlling “urban sprawl”, maintaining open and green space, and especially in Europe, agricultural land (Busck et al., 2009; EC, 2013; Firey, 1946; Galpin, 1915; Moss, 2008). It also refers to an urban resiliency and urban-rural partnership tactic of sourcing food as locally as possible, including within cities (e.g., www.r-urban.net). A rurban focus was significant in programming the European Commission’s 2014-2020 Structural and Investment Funds (e.g., EC, 2013).

From an economic perspective, the change occurring in amenity-rich rurban places may be characterized as an increasing shift to the service sector, with growth in what has been considered urban specialization. The “amenity economy” generated particularly by the wants and needs of retirees, multi-dwelling residents and tourists comes to the fore. Also, varyingly included is the debated economic gain from relocating creators and innovators (Chapters 3 & 11, this volume). These changes can bring discretionary wealth, credit, and know-how to host communities and generate income along with tax revenues. But, how common is it for communities to capture economic benefits from their amenities; and how much and in what circumstances? Information is still inconclusive with some analysts proposing “little” and others, “much” (Garber-Yonts, 2004; Gosnell et al., 2009; Green et al., 2005; Irwin et al., 2010;

Power, 1996; Chapters 3, 6, 7 & 11, this volume). At the same time, impact studies of the recent housing market crash on high amenity Deschutes County, Oregon (*Headwaters Economics, 2010*), and the U.S. New West (*Holway et al., 2014*) indicate that too great a reliance on the amenity economy can result in crisis.

Some socio-cultural aspects

Knowledge about the socio-cultural aspects of amenity migration can be characterized as still inconclusive. Yet, a cultural amalgam has emerged that is increasingly both “rural” and “urban”, including alternative syntheses. Rurban is also used to describe this transformation, dating from its likely earliest use by the rural sociologist Charles J. Galpin (1915). Two definitions are “combining the characteristics of rural and urban life” (*Oxford Dictionary, 1993*), and “the introduction of urban institutions and practices in rural areas, and vice versa” (*Lohmann & Lohmann, 2008*).

While helpful, such definitions still fall short. Understanding and planning for this amalgam need to be more open to recognizing both existing and emerging diversity of values and life ways, and their innovative potential for new transformations. The change unfolding is not only one of urbanization. In this respect, the commonly used urban-rural continuum (e.g., *Bryerson & Wycof, 2010; Krannich et al., 2011*), while informing explanation of and prescription for amenity migration, seems frequently predisposed to linear progression from rural to urban. This in turn can limit understanding and development options strongly favouring what has traditionally been considered urban.

Crucial to transforming rurban culture is improving access (Figure 1.1, facilitators). In poorer societies motorization is still crucial, along with communications technologies, especially television and social media. In the Global North the latter is now paramount, especially the Internet, for transition to both typical urban and new outcomes. An example of the latter is a small, lakeside community in a gentrifying zone (Figure 1.1, spatial zones), with half of its population amenity migrants, agriculture and forestry-based and emphasizing local self-sufficiency, assisted by Internet savvy and carefully chosen resource-conserving production technologies and practises. Community members are actively engaged in local government, especially to promote a land ethic based on a minimal ecological footprint and diversified, sustainable local production. At the same time it struggles to both fit into and change the regional economy with “ecologically sound” niche products and services, such as organic vegetables, wild herbs and berries, agro- and eco-tourism and alternative medical care. At the same time, the community faces increasing risk due to decreasing public medical services.

The considerably increased number of amenity seekers among rurban populations further changes local cultural character. I have found this most evident where they are a high percentage of residents, as in and around Bend, Oregon; Canmore, Alberta; Port Townsend, Washington; Santa Fe, New Mexico; the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys, BC; and also

Luang Prabang, Laos; San Martín de los Andes, Argentina; and San Miguel de Allende, Mexico.

Their influence, particularly on more traditional rural values and life ways, occurs through everyday interactions with earlier settlers, especially when they become local employers and members of the socio-political power base, such as municipal and regional governments, and other formal and informal organizations. The “third sector” of civil society (volunteer organizations, social movements, and communications media) strongly influences local values and behaviour. In particular, it is capable of both empowering and constraining those with few resources, and can mediate between the more and less powerful (including the amenity migrants of modest means). While this influence often manifests as a shift to more urban values and life ways, it also assists in continuing earlier ones. This may be observed in the activities and the media of faith-based groups, social development groups, and cultural entities centred on community events, such as logger sports days, harvest festivals, etc. They can also facilitate the development of new ones, such as with the slow and transitioning movements (see below), grass roots food, energy and water security organizations, and local music and its festivals that cut across and fuse genres (see Figure 1.4).

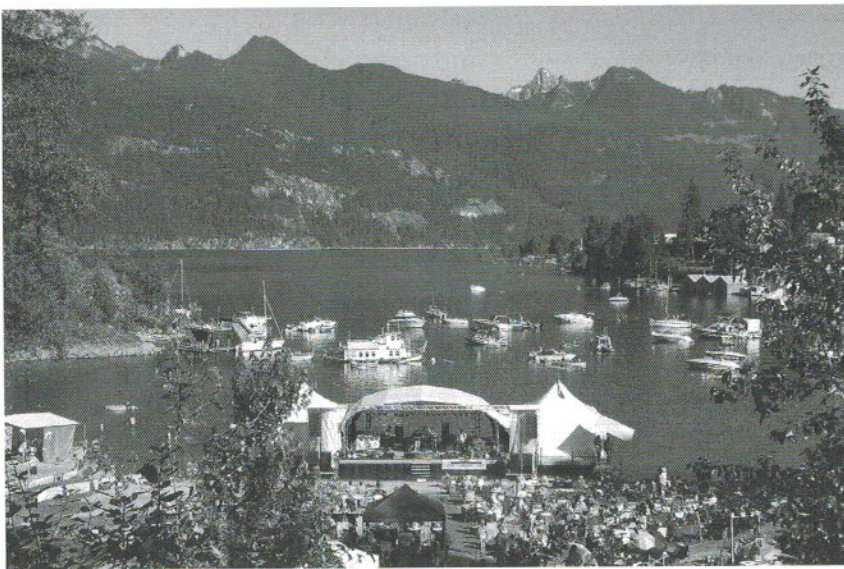


Figure 1.4. Kaslo Jazz Etc. Summer Music Festival. This non-profit, community event on the shore of Kootenay Lake, British Columbia, features bands of the Kootenay region while harmonizing them with others from around the world.

Photograph: Jimmie Holland, August 2012.

There is also an increasing influence of world cultures, with amenity migrants frequently being the vehicle. It is not necessarily rural or urban, nor does it need to pass through the regional metropolitan centre or be available only in retreat centres. For example, in the comparatively remote, lakeside village of Kaslo, British Columbia (*Figure 1.5*), with a population of about 1,200 single and multi-dwelling residents, a choice of local, Asian and European wellness practices and products are an everyday possibility. Kaslo's Langham Cultural Centre is not a branch plant of the metropolis, but supports and reflects the dynamic amalgam of local culture (www.thelangham.ca).



Figure 1.5. The Village of Kaslo (population 1,200) and Kootenay Lake, British Columbia, a temperate climate amenity migration destination.

Photograph:
Douglas Noblet,
October 2013.

Transforming values & life ways

I have found that mainstream, contemporary middle and upper class amenity migrants typically carry their existing values and behaviour with them to their new residences, and there they maintain them. Further, many are motivated by the expectation of being able to consume more of the same. The stage has changed, but not the play. My research also indicates that their consumption is stimulated especially by a desire to match or exceed that of others. While residence in amenity-rich places has likely been a historical status or positional good, the magnitude of people involved and the socio-cultural impacts appear to have considerably increased (see also *Chapters 3, 6 & 7, this publication*). This behaviour and attitude of both young and old amenity seekers is instrumental in commodifying local culture, and the natural environment. My interviewing of particularly middle class amenity migrants indicates that while many were unconcerned by this effect, others stated “changing things” was not their intention. A few proposed it could be the result of habitual practise, the incessant consumerism they are immersed in and generally enjoy, along with little introspection.

However, in the public media and some academic literature the image portrayed is one of urbanites moving to the countryside to live a different “life style” (e.g., *Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; McIntyre, 2009*). Such amenity migrants were common earlier in the movement, from about the late 1960s through the mid-1980s in western North America, and seemingly later more globally. Over time these in-comers appear to have become a minority. Also, they now usually live in places that are less accessible, less expensive and less well endowed with amenities (see also *Chapters 3, 7 & 12, this volume*). This transition corresponds with the increasing cost of living in high amenity places. It is a change that both causes and demands wealthier and wealthier in-comers, leading to the current situation where they increasingly predominate (along with their less well-situated emulators). Not surprisingly, this and other

characteristics of the most desirable amenity-rich places (e.g., Santa Fe, USA and San Moritz, Switzerland) now mirror life in the world's "superstar cities".

Some amenity migrants are involved in sustaining more traditional rurality. They value and conserve especially rural material cultural heritage – monuments, buildings, townscape, and historical land use patterns and aesthetic properties. They also support local folkways, principally the arts and crafts, festivals and celebrations (Moss, 1994, 2006a; Chapter 3, *this volume*). Some researchers and community development groups maintain that sustaining these more tangible, visual aspects of rural culture assists the continuity and stability of traditional rural life ways (e.g., Lohmann & Lohmann, 2008; *New Mexico Community Foundation*, 2014; Winkler, 2013; Chapter 3, *this volume*).

I have found these concerns of amenity migrants are also motivated by a desire to protect their own imagining of rural authenticity. The results can deviate considerably from the traditional norm, thus causing another transformation. Also, only a small minority of these migrants, typically ones integrating ecological sustainability and social change objectives, involve themselves in addressing the thornier well-being issues of earlier settlers, in particular those of the poor and minorities. Crucial ones are political empowerment, fair compensation for labour, equity and social justice in land use and development, and maintaining the commons (Billy, 2006; Glorioso, 2006; Gordon *et al.*, 2010; Moss, 1994; Price *et al.*, 1997; Winkler, 2013; Chapters 3, 14, 20 & 21, *this volume*).

Today, the significant socio-cultural transformations and tropes occurring in amenity-rich rural areas are resisted by some, embraced by others, and accommodated by still others in varying measures. Contention and stress in a community are most likely found where local differences are, or thought to be, pronounced, and coupled with privileged access to socio-political power.

Amenity migrants and local-born of limited means

People of modest, little, and typically insecure means struggle both to locate and to remain in high amenity places. Some are amenity migrants, others are mainly seeking economic opportunity, and many are local-born. Common among them are the "consolidators", a type of amenity migrant of modest means identified as early as in my 1986 Santa Fe, USA area research (1994), and since in most other high amenity places. They must shift to simpler life ways, reducing, sometimes considerably, especially their material consumption so they can afford to reside where they have a greater sense of well-being.

Public media and amenity migration research and policy have yet to give adequate attention to all these people. They face the inequitable effects of high living costs, especially for land and housing (to own or rent) and physical and social exclusion and appropriation, including decreasing access to public goods. Class segregation has become pronounced in many amenity-rich places (e.g., Glorioso & Moss, 2006, 2007; Gordon *et al.*, 2010; Hines, 2012;

Moss, 2006a; 2008; Moss et al., 2009; Rudzitis et al., 2011; Winkler, 2013; Chapters 3, 7, 16, 20 & 21, this volume).

Important in this stressful and often debilitating condition is the changing nature of local income and increase in income inequality. Many amenity migrants live well from pensions and investments, and some create supportive jobs for themselves and a few others, such as the tourist accommodation providers and knowledge-based professionals. However, the service sector that grows to predominate in high amenity places is typically characterized by low wages and under employment. A result is significant numbers of amenity migrants and local-born who need local income are unable to sustain themselves and therefore must leave (e.g., *Glorioso & Moss, 2006; Moss, 2006b; Winkler, 2013; Chapter 8 & 17, this volume).*

Common corporate and government strategies fundamentally influence this condition. The early adaptors among them have been shifting the rural economy to a reliance on growth or revitalization through greater consumption of natural and cultural amenities (*Halfacree, 1997; Moss 2006a, 2009; Chapters 3 & 8, this volume).* They typically pursue this strategy through expanding into amenity migration and dependent economic migration by building on a tourism and retirement migration base. It is mainly for-profit corporate action, although more local communities and regions are promoting themselves as amenity migration destinations, now also with a focus on arts and culture (*Glorioso & Moss, 2007; Wallace, et al., 2012; Chapter 3, this volume).* Along with financial market traders hedging more in agricultural and forested land, the strategy drives up the cost of everyday life in the countryside and its settlements without significantly generating local income and community support programs.

In addition, the socio-economic paradigm typically being used by politicians and planners is out-dated. Significant and sustainable opportunities for value-added forestry, farming, and hydro products, and related local employment, are not taken sufficiently into account. This includes the potentials of associated food, water, and energy local security and “new pioneer” movements and skilful application of the “working landscape” concept (*Abrams & Bliss, 2013; Barkin, 2012; Halfacree, 2006; Jacob, 1997).* Few public and private entities are acting on harmonizing conservation and production in transforming rural areas, and particularly within strategies that systemically address climate change, water, food and energy realities. However, there are examples, such as some “slow” and “transitioning” communities (see below). Such action may increase locally generated incomes and decrease inequities in amenity-rich places.

Local political culture

Some further insight into local political processes has come from my recent work with western Canadian and U.S. high amenity communities. I found that what may be considered anthropocentric and ecocentric values, intentions and behaviour are not only in dispute, but significantly cut across and complicate the common framing of “newcomer” and “old timer” found in local community usage, popular media, and some academic writing. There are both

local-born and recent amenity seekers living in the same community who view humans as an integral and dependent part of Earth's ecological systems, and who should act to sustain the integrity of the natural environment, not principally consume it. In the local political arena this is frequently in conflict with a human-centred, nature-exploitative view, also shared by long-term residents and amenity migrants.

Here are two examples from my research in the North American west. A third generation rancher and recently resettled wildlife protection activist find through guided discussion and reflection that their respective ethics about sustaining the quality of the land are quite similar. This commonality forms the basis for working out the details of a sustainability plan for the valley they live in, one that includes both livestock and their wild predators. Also, a mid-level corporate executive retired from metropolitan life to a small, beautiful mountain community that is experiencing socio-cultural difficulties in shifting from logging to a more diversified economy. He vigorously takes a lead role in a local group with long established political power that is attempting to maintain unsustainable, industrial-logging practises and fight against the developing amenity economy and its life ways.

While not over-simplifying complexity, attention to this factor in political economies where amenity migrants play a role can bring greater understanding of networks and alignments in local political processes, and therefore prove helpful in devising better solutions to issues. It may also partially explain some findings of similarity in goals of long-term residents and newcomers (e.g., *Chraca & Marcouiller, 2010; Krannich et al., 2011*).

More generally, there is still little knowledge about local political dynamics associated with amenity migration. One discernible global pattern however is local politics often becomes a contest over the tangible prize of environmental amenity, usually taking the form of control over land and its development. Emmery (*n.d.*) in his study of contemporary rural Flanders, aptly refers to this dynamic as a "hegemonic struggle over land use". The use of both existing and fabricated cultural amenities is also contested, and can be markedly so when established, local group symbols or totems are threatened (see *Chapter 5, this volume*). This condition appears to be growing with increasing attention to a rural arts and culture economy, especially when it brings new players optimistic about profit into the local political arena (*Chapter 3, this volume*).

Local and regional public planners are important in the political arena of amenity-rich places. They frequently, however, play a confused and confusing role of both protector from, and facilitator of the consumption of amenities. Their professional culture is conservative, with an emphasis on bureaucratic and administrative activity while typically following mainstream trends. Yet, change and innovation are difficult when faced with rural traditionalism and lack of a planning regime. Before the complexities of amenity migration there was much less need for the latter, and related problems have become pronounced where local government does not, or cannot afford to undertake planning (and the highly skilled planning now necessary), regional sustainability planning is weak, and neo-liberalism strong. This seems especially the case today in North America and the Global South (e.g., *Characa & Marcouiller,*

2010; Chaverri, 2006; Glorioso, 2009; Glorioso & Moss, 2006, 2007; Moss, 2006a, 2008, 2009; Smith & Spadoni, 2005; Travis, 2007; see especially *Chapters 16 & 25, this publication*).

Recently in the U.S. New West there appears to be growing local citizens' disaffection with, and opposition to the degrading change that has been occurring, with some public decision-makers and planners now understanding the systemic significance of amenity migration and looking for means to address it. This development was also demonstrated at the 2008 Banff international conference on amenity-led migration. To date, the shift focuses on reversing the loss of open space, landscape aesthetic, farmland, wildlife habitat and biodiversity, and to a lesser extent on increasing affordable housing (Moss *et al.*, 2009).

The dwelling web and alternative culture

A complex web of dwelling behaviour now exists whose pattern challenges the prevailing concept of residence. A web perspective is more explanatory than the commonly used duality of second home owner (multi-dwelling) and permanent resident (single dwelling). Recent research further indicates that similar to multi-dwelling owners, so-called "permanent residents" are often absent for significant periods of time, such as in western Canadian high amenity places where they may be absent for a season or more, especially wintering in the southern USA and Latin America. Also, a significant number of "permanent" amenity migrants move on to other places over time, including back to the metropolis and to cheaper and often less well amenity-endowed places at home and abroad (Glorioso & Moss, 2010; Moss, 2006b; *Chapters 3, 4, 8, 17 & 25, this volume*).

This movement seems to support the commonplace of high and still increasing mobility, as proposed in contemporary mobility theory (see especially McIntyre, 2009; Urry, 2003, 2007). I suggest however that this theory tells a partial story, and a likely outdated one. In the main it looks back to the 20th century rather than into the 21st, a view clouded by the tourist's gaze on life and fuelled by cheap energy (Deffeyes, 2005; Heinberg, 2011). There is inordinate attention to people rushing here and there, busy consuming material, time, and consciousness. There are also the seekers of the slow life (Osbaldiston, 2013; Parkins & Craig, 2006; *Chapter 5, this volume*), and the still life (Bissell & Fuller, 2009; Murphie, 2009). "Slow" and "still" should be viewed here not necessarily as inaction, but as essential polarities to action, as with the Taoist "yin" that is in dynamic harmony with the "yang" (Murphie, 2009; Waley, 1934; Wong, 1992).

Those motivated by slowness and stillness have obtained little attention. Since amenity migration began there have been amenity migrants principally motivated by these states of being, embracing quietude and the aesthetic and metaphysical experience, perhaps especially through maintaining mindfully settled lives that harmonize with nature and the sustaining of it (Figure 1.1, motivators). Their life ways are also usually characterized by voluntary low consumption, and may be viewed as ecocentric. Such amenity migrants are

today an “alternative culture” type, and where they reside in numbers may be considered “alternative places” (see *Rudzitis, this volume*).

As noted above, currently in high amenity areas, especially their growth centres, this kind of amenity migrant is less evident than earlier in the development of this social movement compared to those motivated particularly by consumption, and then, recreation (Figure 1.1, motivators). A predominance of these motivational types, coupled with the high cost of living in these centres and surroundings, appear to be principal deterrents to the alternative culture type. In some western Canadian amenity-rich areas the consumer type are derogatorily referred to as “life stylers” and “lifees”. This reflects general usage of the term “lifestyle” when referring to what is in vogue, transitory, and superficial. It also appears to capture the core values and behaviour of present, conventional middle and upper income amenity migrants.

Exploring what may be called “alternative culture” amenity migration in association with other social movements indicates some shared values, behaviour and intent that suggests further areas of growth in counter consumerism. Included are the slow living movement and “Slow Cities” (*Osbaldeston, 2013; Parkins & Craig, 2006*), and transitioning initiatives with their “Transition Towns” (*Hopkins, 2008; Transitions Lab, 2014; Transition Network, 2014*). In addition, and overlapping are the back-to-the-land, or “New Pioneer” movements that are growing with increasing concern for more sustainable life ways and local self-sufficiency (e.g., *Halfacree, 2006; Jacob, 2007; Moss, 1999*). Further, my inquiries indicate these current movements, compared to similar ones of the 1960s and 1970s, are strengthened by their participants’ greater political astuteness, community participation, and scientific knowledge. Understanding the crossover and convergence among amenity migration and such contemporary movements is only beginning. *Osbaldeston’s & Picken’s Chapter 6* in this volume is a significant contribution.

To add to the complexity of contemporary dwelling, *Romella Glorioso’s* and my research in Europe, North America, and Pacific Asia indicate many amenity migrants in their quality of life search vacillate between being consumers and conservers, with the former condition being particularly peripatetic.

Amenity migration & global crisis drivers

In concluding these explorations I now shift to some implications for amenity migration of two overarching societal driving forces: climate change and the water, energy, and food security nexus (WEF nexus) (*Bizikova et al., 2013; Hellegers, 2008; IPCC, 2014*). A condition may evolve that presents a trade-off between survival and amenity migration.

These drivers are increasingly found in regional sustainability strategies, and are systemically understood as synergistic. Any serious strategy that focuses on only one component of the WEF nexus without understanding its interconnectedness to the others, and in the context of rapidly changing climate, risks critical problems for socio-cultural, biophysical, and

economic sustainability. For example, the challenges facing the WEF nexus is exacerbated by climate change impacts on water availability for drinking, food production and energy consumption. Or, even a strong push for energy security based on combining alternative sources (such as biofuels), and traditional sources (such as tar sands), will seriously impact water and land availability for food production. An awareness of this resulted in the ramping up during this decade of multinational corporations acquiring agricultural lands in especially the Global South.

This condition is likely to continue to rapidly worsen without much greater awareness of it and swift and significant change in human behaviour (*Heinberg, 2011; IPCC, 2014*). In this regard we still know little about amenity seekers (*Chapters 8, 10 & 25, this volume*). Two recent amenity migration studies in inland western Canada offer some knowledge. In a survey of the South Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys, a few interviewees stated an intent to move due to climate change risks, while significantly more were practising related environmental conservation (*Glorioso & Moss 2010; Chapter 8, this volume*). In addition, a volunteer planning team that formulated the follow-on sustainability strategy for their bioregion identified climate change as a key factor in their task (*Moss & Glorioso, 2010*). The second case, a multi-dwelling resident survey for the resort town of Canmore, indicated climate change was only the concern of a well-informed few (*Glorioso & Moss, 2012a*).

The conditions of high uncertainty and rapid change in particular recommend the use of alternative futures scenario analysis in planning. What follows is part of a “trends continue” scenario that focuses on high amenity mountain areas. As the pressures from climate change and the WEF nexus increase in complexity and cost, while associated socio-economic inequities also grow, early adaptors realize continuing comfort, and perhaps survival may be aided by moving up in elevation. Generally, this takes people closer to sources of fresh water, lower ambient temperatures, and in some places, less exploited land for food production. The very high cost of energy also encourages people to migrate to some mountainous areas to be closer to biofuels. At the same time, increasing risk from living in mountainous terrain (see *Chapter 25*) is offset for very many by the perceived higher one of living in coastal and plains areas. The result is considerable in-migration to mountainous zones globally, and there, greater intensity of land use for human habitation and food cultivation.

These changes, especially energy costs, force a marked decrease in human mobility, and therefore a dramatic reduction in amenity migrants, especially the multi-dwelling type. The “alternative culture” amenity migrants are welcome while others are typically excluded. There are also small enclaves of the wealthy, which are characterized by exceptionally high living costs.

Other plausible futures are often predicated upon a marked shift to more conserving life ways along with, and because of significantly increasing risks to life from the changing climate and WEF nexus (*Deffeyes, 2005; Heinberg, 2011; Jackson, 2011*). Even in an optimistic scenario, anything but a swift shift to renewable energy sources and a more general marked decline in material consumption will radically increase the cost of resources involved in long and medium range travel to high amenity destinations. Also, as I noted in my early amenity

migration research and planning, amenity migration may cease to remain in style with the rich, and therefore probably lose its cachet with the middle class. In part or whole this can come about through the degradation of amenities below a threshold of attractiveness (Moss, 1994; Price et al., 1997). However, in a world where present climate change and WEF nexus trends continue for another decade or so, for most people the word “amenities” may come to mean something considerably more elemental than it does today.

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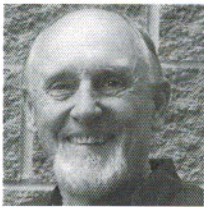
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