

• *Amenity migration – Lifestyle mobility – Regime analysis – Costa Rica*

Michael Janoschka

**The Contested Spaces of Lifestyle Mobilities:
Regime Analysis as a Tool to Study Political Claims
in Latin American Retirement Destinations**

*Lebensstilorientierte Mobilität und ihre umkämpften Räume:
Regimeanalyse als Instrument zur Untersuchung politischer Forderungen in
Zielorten der internationalen Ruhesitzwanderung nach Lateinamerika*

With 4 Figures and 2 Tables

Amenity-oriented migration of mainly retired North Americans to destinations in Latin America is a relatively new but rapidly expanding mobility that, amongst others, induces an interesting array of political claims and practices. Unlike economic migrants, the predominantly wealthy and often economically successful amenity migrants possess resources to participate in local and regional development; additionally, they have the know-how to initiate and activate political networks. The paper discusses recent trends of lifestyle-oriented mobilities to Latin America and aims at developing a conceptual framework to analyse the role foreigners can play in the negotiation of strategies for local and regional development. Regime analysis, a particular way to conceive governance, is used as a tool to consider the possibilities and problems arising from lifestyle mobilities to Latin America, as specified through the empirical debate regarding planning conflicts in a recently established retirement destination in northern Costa Rica.

1. Introduction

1.1 Retirement migration – old and new

The social consequences of lifestyle-oriented migration of (usually) affluent senior citizens have

recently stimulated a lively discussion at the interface of interdisciplinary fields such as Social Anthropology, Sociology, Tourism Studies, Urban Planning and Human Geography (*Benson and O'Reilly 2009, Geoffroy 2007, Hall 2005a, 2005b, Schriewer and Encinas Berg 2007, Urry 2007*).

Within this debate, an important array of studies aimed at exploring the scenery of the so-called “snowbirds” – elderly who move seasonally or permanently to the US sunbelt states and coastal areas in southern Europe (*Brown and Glasgow 2008, Hogan 1987, Longino 2006, McHugh 2000, Sullivan and Stevens 1982, Walters 2002* for the US-American context; *Casado-Díaz 2006, Gustafson 2008, King et al. 2000, Oliver 2008, O’Reilly 2007, Rodríguez et al. 2004, 2005* for the European case). This specific migration has been denominated as (international) “retirement migration” – it has been portrayed as an essential feature of personal realisation that usually involves a leisure- and outdoor-oriented lifestyle (*Ackers and Dwyer 2002, Huber and O’Reilly 2004, Warnes 2004*).

For the last years, this “traditional” retirement migration has been documented reasonably well both in the European Union and North America. But in the meantime, new mobility trends such as the relocation of elderlies to remote rural settlements and mountain resorts have emerged (*Chipeniuk 2008, Glorioso and Moss 2007*). On the other hand, an increasing number of ageing suburban residents return to central urban areas (*McIntyre 2009*). Another of these new tendencies that have only been approached by some pioneering studies is the rapidly rising international mobility and migration of predominantly North American citizens in advanced age to Latin American destinations (*Young 1997, Palma Mora 2000, Truly 2002, Banks 2004, Migration Policy Institute 2006, Sunil et al. 2007*). The following paper will provide a contribution to close some of the knowledge gaps regarding the characteristics, quality and consequences of this fairly untypical but rapidly rising mobility of nationals from “rich countries” (e.g. US, Canadian and EU citizens) to destinations in the “South” (e.g. Mexico, Costa Rica – similar processes happen in countries such as Thailand or South Africa). In this regard, the discussion will give an analytical insight into a specific and conflictive case study, namely the migration of North Americans to Costa Rica.

1.2 Aims and composition of the paper

The mobility patterns of affluent senior citizens such as the movement of North Americans to Central American destinations present major particularities, especially concerning the common theoretical assumptions used in migration studies. From a conceptual point of view, retired migrants should neither be examined as economic migrants, nor can they be considered as elite movers that for example relocate internationally within globally active companies. In consequence, it seems important to highlight that they establish fairly atypical integration processes: For example, they count on powerful tools, know-how and resources to integrate and take leadership within local politics in general and within settings of informal participation in particular. Especially in cases where certain rules, discourses and procedures are not completely accepted, they tend to criticise their environment. In many cases, these discrepancies inevitably lead to conflicts and prepare the ground for an active involvement in political issues. Hence, the negotiation of such conflicts and the underlying differences regarding local governance can be evaluated as an opportunity for the newcomers to engage at the geographical setting they moved to (*McHugh et al. 2002, Janoschka 2008*).

One of the central aims of this contribution is the theory-led analysis of how (mainly retired) lifestyle migrants participate in the development of local agendas and the establishment of political strategies in their new (and sometimes only temporary) place of residence. The settlement of new actors somehow connected to lifestyle mobilities (e.g., retired migrants themselves, real estate developers and promoters, tourism agents or internal movers from other parts of the corresponding country) induces new ways to conceive local and regional development policies that, amongst others, may focus on ecological issues. In an empirical example from Costa Rica, we will analyse a specific conflict: It occurs between a mainly for-

foreign-led “development regime” that promotes both amenity migration and tourism in northern Costa Rica. This is opposed to an also mainly foreign-led protest against the expected consequences and spatial transformations induced by the political decisions in the field of urban and regional planning. The presented case stands as an example for the social transformations initiated in recently established destinations of transnational migration of elderly to developing countries in Central America. We will specify this discussion by referring to governance theories (*Jessop* 1997, *Mayntz* 2005) and especially to the approach of regime analysis (*Painter* 1997, *Stoker* 1995, *Stone* 1989, 1993, 2005), adapting it to urban and regional frameworks in Latin America.

The contribution will be structured as follows: After an introductory methodological discussion that includes a conceptual foreword regarding lifestyle mobility in post-modern societies (Section 2), we will first characterize the recent migration of affluent senior citizens to Central America (Section 3). Subsequently, the consequences of lifestyle mobilities to Latin American countries and specifically the political participation of North American retirees in Central America will be discussed. In this regard, Section 4 deals with the elaboration of a framework that enables thinking participation theoretically, chiefly referring to governance theory and urban regime theory. Finally the mentioned empirical case study in Costa Rica will serve to validate the presented theoretical framework (Section 5).

2. Methodological Approach of the Study and Conceptual Foreword

Empirical research carried out in Costa Rica in 2008 aimed at a critical reconstruction of individually-expressed and collectively-legitimated strategies of specific actors in urban and regional development. Such a research design should primarily concentrate on analysing and reflecting theoretic-

ally the subject-bounded practices of the actors involved in the conflict. As *Meuser* and *Nagel* (2002) explain, problem-centred interviews with case-sensitive experts, an empirical methodology relatively close to common conversations, can help to reconstruct the diverging positions of and cleavages between involved parties. Additionally, they can give an account of the diverse strategies pursued by different actors (*Bogner* and *Menz* 2002). The subsequent discussion chiefly rests on a series of 28 interviews conducted with developers, politicians, inhabitants, representatives of neighbourhood associations and local or regional development associations (e.g. the Tourism Board and further professional alliances for business development in Costa Rica). 24 interviews were transcribed and provide the base for the discussion. The analysis is deepened by an investigation and reflection of a series of documents such as local and regional development plans and further internet resources, some of them directly provided by actors of the development regime and the protest movement.

2.1 Retirement migration – amenity migration – lifestyle mobilities? – a conceptual foreword

While studies regarding retirement migration produced an extensive knowledge of the individual and social consequences of residential mobility of senior citizens, they failed at recognising at least two characteristics of rising importance: First, an increasing proportion of the population that lives in so-called retirement destinations is neither retired nor at retirement age. Second, many supposed migrants do not migrate permanently but generate seasonal or temporary movements and hence should not be considered as migrants at all. As a consequence, several authors propose a reconsideration of the term ‘retirement migration’. For example, *McIntyre* (2006) employs the concept of ‘amenity migration’, which refers to broader aspects that include, amongst others, groups such as retirees, second-home owners, tourists and entrepreneurs. The term ‘amenity migration’ per-

mits the analysis of a wide variety of mobilities as, for example, different kinds of counter-urbanisation and other types of “urban-to-rural residential movement” (Loeffler and Steinicke 2007: 67). But despite being a relatively new concept in geographical debates, the term itself, conceived as the migration to places with higher environmental quality, cultural differentiation and usually linked to the search for a higher quality of life (Moss 2006), does not resolve the conflict that traditional understandings of migration processes do not refer to mobility paths of individuals in late-modern societies. With this reason in mind, O’Reilly (2007) and McIntyre (2009, in this issue) refer to questions of lifestyle to discuss the variety of movements and mobilities led predominantly by relatively affluent senior citizens. If we include in our analytical frame the movements of “people, capital, information and objects associated with the process of voluntary relocation to places that are perceived as providing an enhanced or, at least, different lifestyle” (McIntyre 2009, in this issue), the relocation processes of senior citizen can be analysed as well as the consequences of lifestyle-oriented mobility and movements such as questions of political participation and mobilisation in specific, e.g. place-oriented issues of local development strategies. The reference to ‘lifestyle mobility’ offers an analytical strength in circumstances as given in the case study, when a variety of mutually entangled factors account for the political involvement of mainly foreign-born senior residents within a regional setting that had relatively recently been established as a destination for international lifestyle mobility.

3. Latin America – a New Destination for Lifestyle Mobilities

3.1 *Reasons for lifestyle mobility to Latin America*

Lifestyle mobilities to Latin America are a relatively recent but rapidly rising phenomenon. Five major

aspects transform certain geographical spaces in Latin America to attractive destinations, chiefly for North American retirees. First, the recent political and macroeconomic stability in Mexico, Central America and parts of the Caribbean turn these states attractive for transnational residential investment. This amelioration of the investment climate includes, amongst others, the legislative changes and political arrangements to enable property purchases for foreigners. In cases when expatriates are not allowed to buy land, systems of reliable long-term building leases were established explicitly for foreigners. Second, foreign residents experience considerable economic advantages through lower living costs in Latin America. This factor also includes lower real estate prices and smaller salaries that, for example, permit North American middle class citizens to have domestic employees at a fraction of the price they would have to pay in their home country. Third, the elementary access to public health care in several countries (e.g. Costa Rica) and significantly lower prices of private health care (especially compared with the US) represent an important factor for elderlies to move to Latin America. Fourth, expatriates regard the quality of life in countries such as Mexico and Costa Rica as a positive feature. This condition is stated especially in regard to subjective factors such as ‘better’ climate conditions and ‘attractive’ landscapes that enable the elderly to have a different and often more active lifestyle. Finally, many foreigners appreciate the ‘different’ kind of social organisation in Latin America. Living abroad is also esteemed as an ‘adventure’, while imaginaries of a diffuse kind of superiority in relation to the host society are frequently expressed in individual and collective discourses of lifestyle migrants in Latin America. This perspective to the host society can be characterised as a ‘post-colonial’ behaviour.

3.2 *The extent of lifestyle mobility to Latin America*

Until recently, the lion’s share of migration of North Americans to Latin America was intimately related

to temporary or permanent movements of business people and entrepreneurs. Only by the mid-1980s, some pioneers began to discover parts of Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama as lifestyle targets to live. In the year 2000, the three most important destinations (Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama) accounted for no more than 35,000 North Americans aged above 55 as recorded in the respective national census (INEGI 2008, Migration Policy Institute 2006, *Calderón Steck and Bonilla Carillón* 2007). In other words, the number corresponded to merely 0.06 per cent of the overall North American population in this age group. However, this residential mobility increased substantially during the first decade of this century. Following the most conservative and cautious estimations, the figure at minimum quintupled during the past decade (see *Tab. 1*). According to the latest available data of residence permits, the number of officially registered North American residents in the three most important destination countries (Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama) passed 120,000, with Mexico accounting a share of about 90 per cent. Due to several reasons, the 'real' extent of retirement migration and lifestyle-oriented mobility to Latin America is extremely difficult to measure and fuels a discussion that produces diverging estimations:

- First, most Latin American countries do not dispose of detailed and updated municipal population registers that distinguish foreign-born and national residents and establish age-sensitive statistics. As a consequence, the possibility to collect or estimate up-to-date information about the recent increase of the North American population at the municipal level is relatively low.
- Second, in most Latin American countries the last national census as the best available data source was held in or shortly before the year 2000. As the collected data is out of date and does not account for the important intensification of the migration process that has been taking place since the beginning of the decade, census data can only be taken as a very poor approximation of the number of retired foreigners residing in the respective country. In addition, several countries collected their respective census at a specific date when many people, especially those who oscillate between two places, were out of the Latin American country (e.g., in summertime).
- Third, the updating of the census data concerning the number of residence permits does not reflect the phenomenon of the recent increase in lifestyle and amenity-oriented migration. Our own empirical research in Costa Rica, in concordance with studies about Mexico and Panama (Migration Policy Institute 2006), identifies that many retired expatriates evade any official register and prefer to leave the country periodically to renew their status as a 'tourist'. Some individuals even choose to live illegally in the country, e.g., in cases where they do not qualify for a residence permit or just due to an aversion to bureaucratic procedures.

In conclusion, the number of residence permits and the 2000 census data tend to underestimate the number of foreign residents by far. For example, the different evaluations retrieved from expert interviews in Costa Rica correspond with the estimations of US retirement guides authors – both sources specify between 30,000 and 40,000 foreign retirees. This diverges substantially from the figures of the Migration and Foreigners Department of the national government that only tallied about 10,700 US and Canadian residents by mid-2007 (DGME 2008). Similarly, the appreciations of experts regarding the extent of lifestyle migration to Mexico and Panama differ by a factor of two to five from the official data. Following different estimates, the current US retiree population comprises between a quarter and half a million individuals in Mexico, and Panama accounts for 10,000 US expatriates (*Tab. 1*). Authors like *Mike Davis* (2006) defend even a higher number, the Californian sociologist taxes the dimension of

Tab. 1 Number of US senior citizens¹ in Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama
 Zahl der US-Bürger(innen)¹ in Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama

Country	Census data (2000)	Latest official data	Estimations for 2008
Mexico	28,247	108,052 ³ (2009)	250,000-500,000
Costa Rica	2,167 ²	10,697 ⁴ (2007)	30,000-40,000
Panama	1,159	2,415 ⁵ (2006)	10,000

¹ If not stated explicitly, US-born citizens aged 55 years and older

² US and Canadian citizens aged 55 years and older. The Census additionally counts 2,376 nationals from the EU-15 countries aged 5 years and older.

³ Registered US residents in Mexico by 1 May 2009 (so-called immigrants/immigrated persons with official residence permit, so-called FM 2 and FM 3 permit), official data of the Federal Mexican Migration Institute, provided by *Omar Lizárraga*, PhD student at the University of Sinaloa, Mexico, who collaborated extensively in this research.

⁴ Registered permanent and temporal US and Canadian citizens in Costa Rica on 30 May 2007

⁵ The number refers to the 'pensionado' and 'rentista retirado' visa emissions of the Panamanian Migration and Naturalization Directorate between 2003 and March 2006 as stated in MPI 2006. This value of 1,256 is added to the 2000 Census data (1,159). Besides the fact that the estimation includes a gap (2001 and 2002) the presented figure remains the only available data in Panama.

Sources: MPI 2006, INM 2009, DGME 2008 (statistical data); estimations for 2008 are based on personal interviews and own fieldwork

US expatriates in Mexico at a million. Although this number seems exaggerated, the European experience of senior residents in Spain shows that official data does not capture more than a fraction of the phenomenon (*Breuer 2003, Huber 2005*).

3.3 Target regions of lifestyle mobility to Latin America

Many authors agree that the North American population dynamics with the imminent retirement of the 'baby boomer' generation as well as long-lasting transformations of social habits in the 'third age' set the base for a substantial increase of lifestyle mobilities in the near future (*Longino 2006, Migration Policy Institute 2006*). As a consequence, it is probable that migration to Latin America will also increase substantially during the next years. As mentioned before, the most important

target regions can be characterised by their relatively close geographical proximity to the US and Canada, with Mexico being the most important destination. Costa Rica, Panama and several Caribbean states have also developed an increasing market for retirement homes and lifestyle mobility.

Due to geographical proximity, Mexico receives by far the biggest share of North American retired expatriates. Within the country, five different types of retirement destinations can be differentiated: first, urban and peri-urban destinations such as Monterrey, Chihuahua and Cuernavaca (a wealthy city south of Mexico City) as well as Zapopan, a suburban location adjacent to Mexico's second largest metropolitan region Guadalajara; second, some colonial cities such as San Miguel de Allende or Guanajuato (both in the Western highland) and the silver mining centre Taxco remain especially interesting for North



Fig. 1 Target locations of US-born lifestyle migrants in Mexico; author's design, based on data in Bracamonte et al. 2008, from MPI 2006 and own research / Zielorte von in den USA geborenen Lifestyle-Migranten in Mexiko (eigener Entwurf; beruhend auf Bracamonte et al. 2008, MPI 2006 und eigener Forschung)

American expatriates; third, the northern Riviera of Lake Chapala, Mexico's largest natural lake, an hour's drive south of Guadalajara, claims to be the largest community of North American expatriates in the world (Banks 2004). The area between the two urban centres of Ajijic and Chapala is so densely populated with US-born senior residents that some pioneers already left in search of more remote and less 'US-Americanised' destinations; finally, there are two important kinds of beach communities that attract North Americans, namely, fourth, the destinations adjacent to the US border (especially Rosarito and Los Cabos in the states of Baja California and Baja California Sur) as well as, fifth, beach communities at the Pacific shoreline and the Gulf of Mexico (Fig. 1).

Costa Rica is the second-most important destination for lifestyle migrants from the US and Canada (but

also several European countries). The community of expatriates is largely concentrated in the highlands of the Central Valley (mainly the extended metropolitan region of the capital San José) and the Pacific beach communities of Jacó and Quepos/Manuel Antonio (Calderón Steck and Bonilla Carrión 2007). In recent years, the northern Pacific region of Guanacaste, close to the Nicaraguan border, has received intensive real estate development and has attracted many North Americans, establishing a third destination for foreign residents in this country (Fig. 2).

Due to the substantial increase in property prices and living costs in Costa Rica, the two neighbour states Panama and, to a minor extent, Nicaragua have recently become alternative destinations for lifestyle migrants to Central America. The largest communities are the Canal area adjacent to Panama City and the western region of Chiriquí (espe-

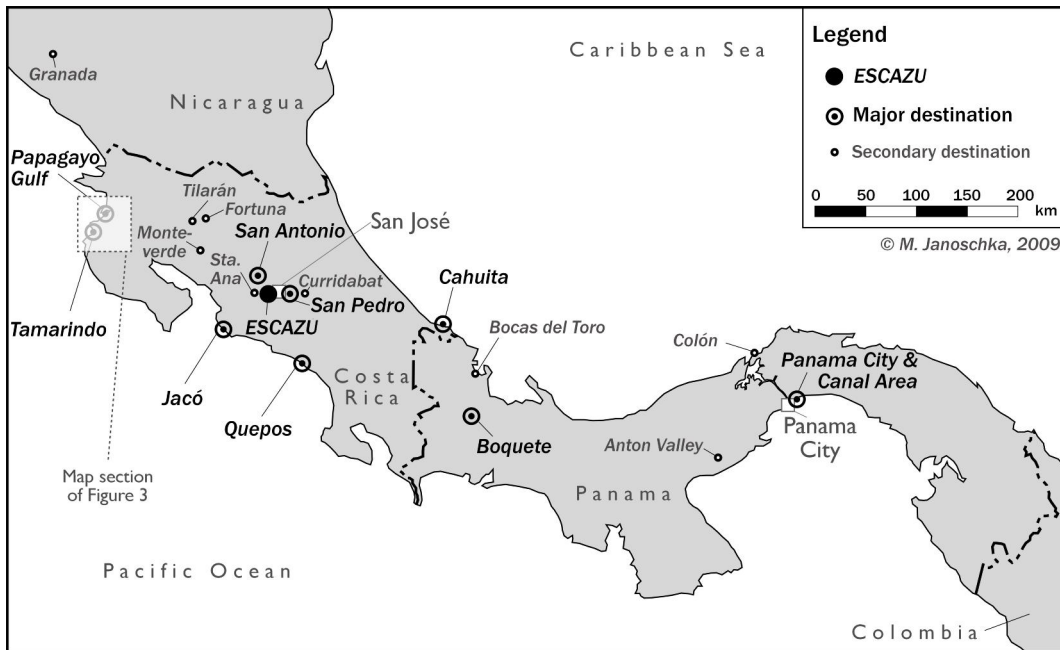


Fig. 2 Target regions of North American lifestyle migrants in Central America (author's design, based on data from Calderón Steck and Bonilla Carrión 2007, Migration Policy Institute 2006 and own research) / *Destinations nordamerikanischer Lifestyle-Migranten in Zentralamerika (eigener Entwurf, auf der Grundlage von Calderón Steck und Bonilla Carrión 2007, Migration Policy Institute 2006 und eigener Forschung)*

cially around the town of Boquete), but several locations such as the Anton Valley or the coastal Caribbean areas of Bocas del Toro have also received important real estate investment directed to attract foreigners (Fig. 2). In Nicaragua, the development is much more incipient and involves only few destinations. For example, in the colonial and neoclassical-style city of Granada, a substantial expatriate community has recently been established.

In the Caribbean, some islands such as Barbados, the Cayman Islands and the Bahamas have also developed as important destinations of lifestyle mobilities, especially in relation to their small size and population. Numerically, the Dominican Republic has become the most important target for an estimated 10,000 European foreign residents, reflecting the long-lasting effects of tourism market-

ing of places such as Sosúa, Puerto Plata and Cabarete. As Jamaica is the primary destination for US mass tourism, US retirees prefer this country as the place in which to establish their residence. Finally, similar processes have recently shaped Belize: For example, in Corozal, located close to the Mexican border, an expatriate community of approximately 300 to 400 persons has been reported (Sluder 2005).

4. Local Development in Lifestyle Migration Destinations – a Conceptual Discussion

4.1 Lifestyle mobility in Latin America – local development or development of local problems?

The numerical impact of lifestyle migration to Latin America, judged at least from overall national

population dynamics, can still be characterised as fairly low. In none of the countries, the expatriate community exceeds the figure of one per cent of the national population. Despite of this, the local consequences reach a disproportional high impact that, amongst others, provokes important territorial transformations and an implicit social change. As analysed before, North American retirees concentrate in specific areas and subsequently establish networks that play an increasing role with regard to political participation in local politics. For example, destinations like San Miguel de Allende, Chapala and Mazatlán have communities of many thousand retired US expatriates (*Lizárraga Morales 2007, Peterson 2008*). New architectonic typologies and housing estates are in demand, which promotes for example the construction of gated communities and the refurbishment of historical houses in central urban areas (*Enríquez 2008, Lizárraga Morales 2007*). Due to different socialisation, social status and diverging ideas about the “good life”, conflicts about the design of urban spaces and considerations regarding community development, participatory planning or, generally speaking, the use and appropriation of spaces and places may arise.

Such conflicts can be read from a perspective that debates the local political consequences when a population (such as the US and Canadian baby boomer generation) widely used to political participation demands policy changes. In this regard, it is conceptually and empirically interesting to analyse when and under what circumstances established political regimes allow new residents an access to political resources. Amongst others, two aspects may be relevant: first, the circumstances in which local political involvement of foreign residents develops, and, second, what forms and characteristics this involvement will adopt. This relation will be discussed in two stages: First, we will design a conceptual focus that guides us how to think local development and urban politics in lifestyle migration destinations. Second, this conceptual frame will be debated

empirically using an example from Guanacaste in the north-western part of Costa Rica.

4.2 Local development in lifestyle migration destinations – conceptual thoughts about governance and urban regimes

The destinations of lifestyle mobilities in Latin America can be considered as a specific and locally focused outcome of the dominant forces of economic globalisation. Lifestyle mobilities imply the movement of people as well as of capital and ideas in order to implement the individual and social consequences of globalisation at a specific geographical setting. During the last two decades, economic reorganisation related to globalisation and the proliferation of transnational residential investment strategies have deeply altered the conditions in which urban politics and regional development take place, a relation that also concerns destinations of lifestyle mobilities. The implementation of new standards and instruments for meeting an array of usually economically interpreted challenges in the field of urban and regional development resulted in a profound reassignment of the responsibilities and operational mechanisms of public administrations, including co-operation with other actors (*Ronneberger and Schmid 1995, Keil and Brenner 2003*). This is especially the case in many Latin American countries such as Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama – all shaped by a strong proliferation of neo-liberal economic strategies and a relatively weak governance (*Janoschka and Borsdorf 2006*).

In many cases, this context is discussed from the perspective of governance theories. Governance encompasses the rules, procedures and patterns of public policy, which include the process-oriented character and openness in the participation and cooperation between public and private actors in local development policies. The concept includes the readjustment of social issues and focuses on institutionalised self-regulation and the forms of

interaction between public, private and semi-private actors as well as the specific modus operandi of public bodies (Jessop 1997, Mayntz 2005). Cooperative networks are usually associated with a “modern” and positively evaluated course of action. In this context, the concept of urban governance as the locally confined governance of cities and urban agglomerations reflects on the diffusion of political ideas that include a variety of aspects such as the primacy of market mechanisms with the subsequent retreat of public actors in economic transactions and a rising competition for resources (Einig et al. 2005, Klagge 2006). Theories of urban governance include a pragmatic conceptual approach that focuses on an extensive quest for precise mechanisms of interaction within the observed negotiations and adaptations of global forces on a local level (García 2006, Sharp 2007).

Taking the example of transnational residential investment in lifestyle destinations, two aspects regarding urban governance can be stated. First, new political coalitions and ways to conceive governance are encouraged due to the fact that much investment is being promoted by global investment pools, banks and other ‘big players’ on the real estate market. Second, social transformation is also enhanced and gets increasingly related to the strategies of transnational companies and investment funds. At this point, the analysis of urban and/or regional regimes can specify the governance perspective and subsequently enable researchers to gain interesting insights into urban and regional politics in neo-liberal democracies (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, Davies 2002). Especially in laissez-faire states with relatively modest planning systems, regime analysis can be a reasonable approach to diagnose and analyse the multifaceted coalitions and networks established to promote lifestyle migration on an urban or regional scale as well as the protest movements that contest those dominant regimes.

Throughout the last decade, regime analysis has become an important element of theoretically in-

spired urban and regional research (Stoker 1995, Ward 1997, Painter 1997, Imbroscio 2003, Bahn et al. 2003). As the scholars involved in the development of the approach express, regimes play an important role as a framework within which individual and collective action is enabled and guided (Elkin 1987, Stone 1989, 1993). Regime analysis primarily serves to conceptualise specific governance problems in liberal democracies and can help to explain why local conflicts arise between actors. As indicated, the urban regime approach establishes a conceptual structure that analyses the long-ranging and institutionalised cooperation mechanisms between the public and the private sector, responding analytically to observed democratic deficits in post-modern societies. Transnational investment in real estate projects for tourism and lifestyle migration often aggravates these democratic deficits as investment strategies frequently surpass local administrations. Hence, regime analysis is also able to exemplify some of the consequences of global neo-liberalism and transnational real estate investment, especially considering the role which actors representing the global finance sector play in local and regional development strategies.

The central aim of regime analysis is the examination of the modus operandi of urban and regional development processes through the actors that decide about and organise the implementation of specific strategies. Regimes are considered to be stable alliances that bundle central resources of urban and regional development strategies, establishing solution-oriented measures. Following Stone (2005: 329), four central elements characterise urban regimes:

- Regimes have a problem-oriented agenda,
- Regimes consist of a coalition between public and non-public actors with a specific reference to the content of this agenda,
- Actors within regimes contribute with their own resources to implement the agenda and

- Actors share a common vision about the central mechanisms of coordination and cooperation to improve the implementation of joint plans and strategies.

The main appeal of the analysis of such regimes originates in the actor-oriented perspective, which defines pre-emptive power positions for specific actors within the regime while others remain unprivileged. Regime analysis traces decisions back to the fact of individual ideas and perspectives that gain creative power in urban and regional development processes. It sets up a framework in which to understand specific development constellations and considers how participation processes can be initialised. Finally, the *modus operandi* can be detected as well; this is an aspect that helps to identify factors necessary to successful cooperation processes. Due to the specific conditions of public administration in Costa Rica, which typifies a neo-liberal Latin American society with substantially different models of governance compared to North America and Western Europe, the starting point for regime analysis should be reconsidered. In order to avoid a simplistic characterisation, we develop an inductive interpretation scheme for the following empirical study.

5. Local Development in Lifestyle Migration Destinations – the Example of North-Western Guanacaste in Costa Rica

5.1 Guanacaste – the development of a lifestyle destination under the conditions of globalisation

As described throughout in the text, Costa Rica is the second-most important destination for elderly lifestyle migrants in Latin America. While two thirds of all migrants live in the Central Valley around San José (particularly concentrated in the suburban location Escazú), the coastal area comprising a nearly-50-km strip between Papagayo Gulf and Tamarindo Beach in the north-western province of Guanacaste has developed as a re-

tirement destination only after the 2000 census. Apart from an 800-lot residential promotion in Potrero Beach named ‘Surfside’ sold by Canadian investors in the early 1970s (see *Fig. 3*), this area was widely undeveloped until the mid-1990s with only small-scale investment. It is remarkable that such investment was led by a handful of foreigners aiming at providing basic accommodation for alternative travellers. Despite the implementation of a government plan to create special legislation for regional development in a so-called ‘tourism pole’, no major investment was achieved by this time.

Since the mid-1990s, the area transformed drastically, attracting real estate investment of several billion dollars in tourism and housing. International investors developed four high-end masterplanned communities that comprise several hundred houses each (see *Fig. 3*). In addition, several transnational hotel chains (e.g. Hilton, Marriott, Four Seasons, Barceló, Riu and Sol Meliá) built a series of four- and five-star beach resorts with integrated leisure infrastructure to attract affluent tourists that could be potential customers for houses and apartments in the master-planned communities. Besides, several dozens of smaller and medium-scale residential communities, ranging from a handful of houses and/or apartments to gated communities with more than a hundred units, were set up on the shore and in the nearby hinterland. Common features of these residential estates are their enclosure (usually gate-guarded and access-restricted housing) and exclusive market orientation towards North Americans. Finally, this planned development was accompanied by non-intended social processes regarding mobility and migration. For instance, many tourists who were attracted by the outstanding environmental qualities of the area decided to construct their houses for tourism and retirement individually instead of buying properties in the master-planned communities. Furthermore, the economic boost attracted both an important number of Costa Rican migrants to work in the service economy and immigrants from neighbouring (and much poorer) Nicaragua,

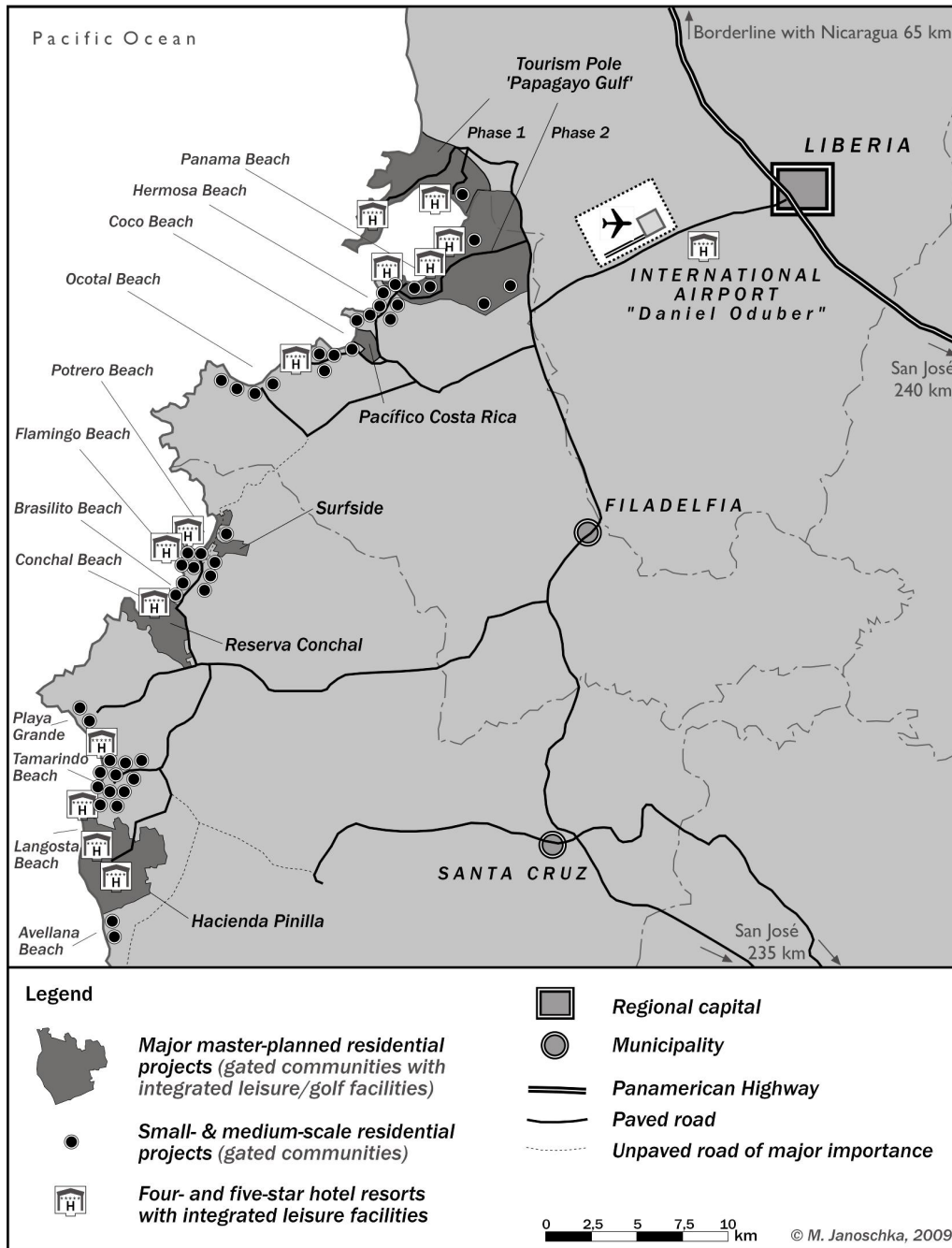


Fig. 3 Tourism and residential tourism development in Guanacaste, Costa Rica; source: author's research and design, cartography based on ITMB 2003 / *Investitionen im Tourismus bzw. im Freizeitwohnen in Guanacaste, Costa Rica*; *Quelle: eigene Forschung und eigener Entwurf; Kartographie auf der Grundlage von ITMB 2003*

for construction-related labour. In the end, immigration of younger North Americans and Europeans also occurred – attracted by a combination of the possibility to set up a different lifestyle and to engage in the variegated economic possibilities in this boom area.

5.2 Explanations for the development of Guanacaste as a lifestyle destination – a development regime in action

To explain the rapid change of the Guanacaste beach area from a remote and economically depressed region to the current boom area, the actor-oriented perspective of regime analysis is a helpful tool. This analysis first establishes a frame that enables the detection of the conditions necessary to define the existence of a regime. In a second step, the detected regime can be characterised. Finally, the analysis can be applied to a critical consideration of criteria that show some of the marginalisation processes within regimes. For example, economically weaker or less organised participants of a regime may be excluded in situations where they do not offer any specific resources. This helps to detect socially inscribed and tacitly accepted exclusions, aiming at the formulation of political goals to abolish them.

In order to detect and characterise a regime, four analytical dimensions should be considered, namely: the interests that the elementary actors have to establish a regime, the agenda of the regime, the main resources to implement the agenda and, finally, a commonly shared vision of this implementation (see *Tab. 2*). Our empirical findings recognise a regional regime that targeted the promotion of tourism and second home real estates (also named ‘residential tourism’) in western Guanacaste. In a first step, some foreign entrepreneurs in the village of Flamingo Beach set up a local business association to coordinate and stimulate tourism development. By the mid-1990s, the president of Costa Rica established solid links

with this association that led to the creation of a regional tourism board (named CATURGUA). The tourism board established, promoted and widely gained leadership in a regime that was composed of high representatives of the national government, the mayors of local administrations, several international investors and an array of approximately two dozen smaller and mainly foreign-owned enterprises established in the area (see *Tab. 2*). At this time, the main handicap for tourism development was the fairly bad accessibility of the region. In consequence, one of the first steps of the regime was to turn an existing airfield in Liberia into an international airport. This private project was backed by different governmental authorities, e.g. to bypass bureaucratic procedures. As the construction of the airport was successful, the tourism board also led the subsequent negotiations to attract North American air carriers to offer direct flights to this international airport. In parallel, the marketing and promotion of the aforementioned master-planned communities started.

As identified in *Table 2*, the efforts of the regime were chiefly focused on upgrading the business conditions for tourism development and real estate investment. A coalition of local and transnational shareholders was able to convince local and national authorities to set up an agenda that was based on promoting regional development through tourism and residential tourism. The regime shared a common vision of implementation that mainly responded to the needs of the investors. For example, key power positions were granted to the investors, while the state authorities restricted their role to the organisation of a market-oriented *laissez-faire* democracy. This specific form of governance is specified by a minimum of regulatory impositions, especially in policies related to the booming construction sector and the implementation of ecological standards. For instance, the analysed regime has a strict market orientation that is introduced by international actors from the global real estate market. These actors replaced the public administra-

Actors of the regime	National government (presidential level)	Local administration (mayors)	International investors	Local tourism agents (two dozen small and medium enterprises)	Coastal property owners	Domestic population
Interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regional development of a peripheral and economically depressed region with high rates of out-migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase of local taxes due to building fees and tourism-related taxes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promotion of tourism and real estate properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improving business conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing land values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>New job opportunities</i>
Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Authority to enable public investment in public infrastructure Establishment of a tourism development area with specific legislation (Tourism Pole) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Liberal decisions regarding planning and building permits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investment in tourism infrastructure and real estate projects International marketing of the destination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Management capacity within Costa Rica Unification of diverging business interests via the consolidation of the regional Tourism board (CATUR-GUA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No resources of specific interest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>No resources of specific interest</i>
Agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local and regional development in the coastal area of Guanacaste, esp. in tourism and residential tourism Generation of a business-friendly environment that stimulates investment in tourism facilities Establishment of mechanisms that improve the implementation of public policies for regional development in Guanacaste Private-public cooperation in infrastructure projects (e.g. airport, road pavements) 					
Vision of implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laissez-faire democracy that tends to release central power positions to the private investors Absence of any regulatory impositions in regard to building permits, sewage treatment plants and further ecological questions 					

Tab. 2 Characterisation of the development regime in Guanacaste/Costa Rica; source: author's compilation
Charakterisierung des Entwicklungsregimes in Guanacaste, Costa Rica; Quelle: eigene Zusammenstellung

tion in fields such as financing the construction of an airport or setting up basic infrastructures, e.g. the pavement of roads.

In different geographical frameworks, *Elkin* (1987) named such a regime type a 'privatist regime'. For comparable situations, *Franz* (2000) used the term 'globalisation regime' and suggested that such a regime is mainly oriented towards the interests of private actors that respond to global investment strategies. In our case, little space is given to consider the intrinsic demands of the domestic inhabitants; the main target is promoting regional development under a strictly economical viewpoint – this type of regime was defined as a 'development regime' by *Stone* (1993). In a development regime as the one observed in Costa Rica, an apparent integration of small-scale property owners and the domestic population may occur, at least at a first glance, which may appear to legitimise the establishment of the regime (*Tab. 2*). Property-owners were attracted by the promise of rising land values; the latter were expecting new and better-paid job opportunities in the new service economy. But as experimented in Guanacaste, the rising social complexity caused by the proliferation of lifestyle mobilities widely transformed the initial expectations and presented new and unexpected challenges, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.3 The contested spaces of lifestyle mobilities in Guanacaste – a development regime in challenge

One of the most striking social consequences of the fulfilment of the regime agenda was provoking major social transformations and striking social exclusion processes. Initially, the local population was satisfied by the hope that they would increase their welfare as a result of economic growth. This standard argument, commonly preached in neo-liberal politics, is sort of a fallacy since the expected trickle-down effects are

hardly ever taking place in reality. In Guanacaste, the expectations of the local population were also widely frustrated. People did not receive the necessary training to integrate into the tourism-related service economy (e.g., English language courses and tourism marketing knowledge). As a consequence, the needs of the real estate and tourism-related service economy were widely filled with mobile employees from urban areas; meanwhile less-qualified jobs were given to cheaper (and usually undocumented) immigrants from Nicaragua. As a result, the local population chiefly suffered the side effects of residential tourism and affluent migration, e.g. rising prices for basic goods. And the regime was incapable to react in time to improve the situation. For example, it was only in 2007 that an internet-based job promotion service was inaugurated by the tourism board, and it aimed primarily at promoting executive functions that are not accessible for most of the domestic population.

But the original domestic population was not the only group that remained dissatisfied with the outcome of the Guanacaste development regime. The newcomers themselves increasingly rejected some of the development strategies. Many of them were excluded from the supposed benefits, which increased their level of discontent with the development strategies implemented. This is especially the case amongst the foreign lifestyle migrants who considered the maintenance of ecological standards and an active civic participation at their new place of residence a key condition of life in Guanacaste. For example, many lifestyle migrants arrived in order to live in an attractive landscape and subsequently showed their disappointment with the construction boom. In some beach communities like Tamarindo, where, as an outcome of the established development regime, planning legislation permits the construction of 25-storey skyscrapers without any restrictions, a serious controversy and protests against the actors of the regime began to rise. A neighbourhood association, led by a former entrepreneur from New York, overtly challenged the strategies of the tourism

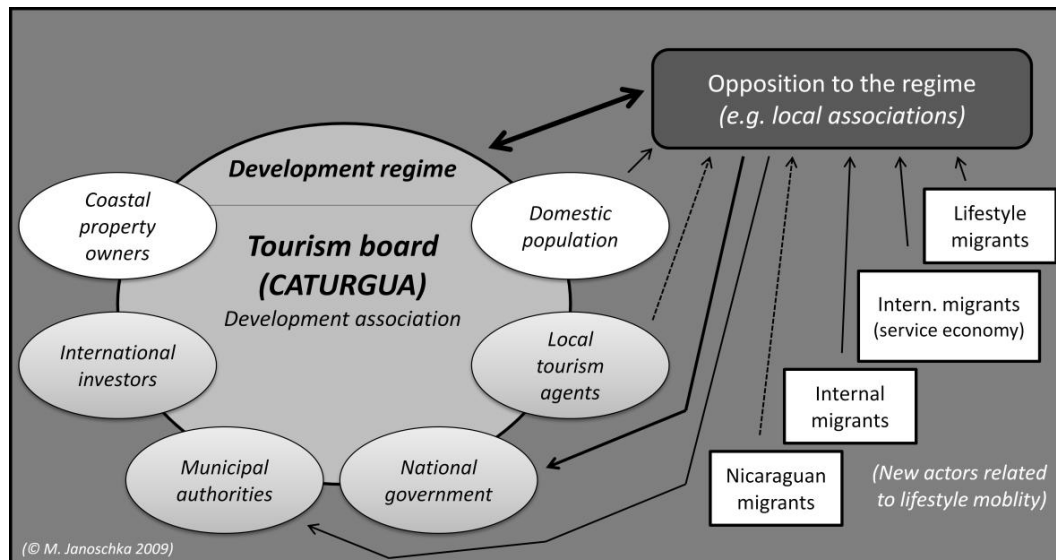


Fig. 4 Challenges for the Guanacaste development regime due to rising complexity of the regional setting (author's design) / Herausforderungen für das Entwicklungsregime in Guanacaste infolge der zunehmenden Komplexität der lokalen/regionalen Situation (eigene Darstellung)

board: the densification and 'verticalisation' of the village. The association promoted a protest platform that unified the collective demands of the excluded groups and was able to establish itself as a legitimate representative in the struggle for various participative demands and for a better redistribution of the economic benefits – in favour of local entrepreneurs who do not participate in the regime (Fig. 4).

In another case, the protest aimed at serving both the domestic population and lifestyle migrants by setting up a movement against the illegal use of drinking water for tourism purposes from sources that were designated to supply the local population. In addition, foreign investors were forced to connect unused sewage pipes and pay fines for the ecological damage they had caused. This pressure arose as a result of the changes occurring in the national government – the protest leaders got into touch with and were

heard by the president and the corresponding ministers and state secretaries (Fig. 4). Moreover, the strength of the regime was severely reduced in the course of the outbreak of the current economic crisis after the credit crunch. In conclusion, since both the economic and the social framework changed significantly, some of the basic achievements and power positions of the regime were challenged.

5.4 The contested spaces of lifestyle mobilities in Guanacaste – an analysis

Regime analysis arose as the result of a normative comprehension that denounces the negative consequences of socio-economic differences in our societies and demands the intentional and explicit inclusion of disadvantaged, less articulated and economically invisible groups in political negotiation. Stone (2005: 332ff) proposes to

use a substantial amount of resources to enable political inclusion. This can happen, e.g., via the organisation of platforms or other structures, if they are centred on a commonly shared project or a conflict. It seems clear that this perspective requires the acceptance of 'active urban citizenship' lived on a daily basis (*García 2006*).

The presented regime analysis gives important insights to explain how a destination for lifestyle mobilities was set up under the conditions of globalisation. This research on Guanacaste reveals the widely unquestioned power of transnational investment in developing countries, especially if local entrepreneurs, global investors and governmental authorities set up a regime interested in regional economic development, even if no formal contracts between the members of the regime are signed. Regional development in Guanacaste stands as an example for many similar destinations in Latin America, promoted during the last decade. In such cases, neo-liberal policies are meant to support an economic inclusion of the domestic population but fail to make citizens participate actively in the process of urban and regional development. Lifestyle migrants, primarily seen as the target group for real estate investment, can play an important role in local politics. As the studied examples show, these newcomers challenge the local and regional regimes as far as their personal issues are concerned. Other examples from Latin America suggest that senior citizens look specifically for a new role in which to apply their knowledge, human and social capital to introduce local transformations (*Lizárraga Morales 2007*). These changes and requirements may range from the organisation of charity provisions or educational programs to the appropriation of urban spaces or the challenge of development regimes as described.

If local democracy is interpreted as an expression of active citizenship as mentioned before, lifestyle-oriented mobility can help to promote and establish new ways to conceive governance in

specific geographical arenas. In rural areas, foreign residents and national migrants may change the population structure significantly and introduce new claims for the future development of such regional settings. This can be regarded as a threat to established regimes as the one described in Guanacaste, but for the society as a whole these new trends may be positive. Amongst others, lifestyle mobility can empower the domestic population and challenge some of the power positions of established development regimes. In this regard, the presented regime analysis helps to better understand the hidden meanings and the *modus operandi* of actors in a regime that chiefly uses pre-existing resources such as territory, landscape, climate and local population to expand individual economic benefits in detriment of the society.

6. The Contested Spaces of Lifestyle Destinations – a Conclusion

Lifestyle migration can be considered as a personal realisation of mainly affluent and elderly citizens. Moreover, it is an economic factor that can establish territorial transformations with positive and negative consequences. This text aimed at the establishment of an analytic frame based on governance theories and regime analysis to discuss the mentioned consequences. Regime analysis, a framework developed in urban research of the US context, is sparsely discussed in the Latin American context. As a first conclusion, the presented discussion showed that regime analysis can be an attractive conceptual approach to detect and explain urban and regional policies and the questions of exclusion in societies with neo-liberal planning systems which exist in many Latin American countries.

Regime analysis is also a new tool regarding the analysis of the development of lifestyle migration destinations. So far, analytical work mainly focused on exploring the individual expressions of the migrants themselves, debating, e.g., ques-

tions of ageing and proliferation of individual lifestyles. The presented discussion shifted to a different question, namely, how the destinations of lifestyle migration are produced and which mechanisms of exclusion are established. It seems logical that for many destinations this analysis may be difficult due to an absence of a well-established urban or regional regime. But our own experiences in Mexico and Spain give evidence that the massive spread of lifestyle migration can be explained by focusing on the analysis of regimes that, e.g., promoted real estate investment. *Janoschka* (2008) showed that a regional government in Valencia got in conflict with the European institutions because of a legal framework that was established to promote massive residential investment mainly for European senior citizens. In this regard, regime analysis can be a reasonable instrument for actor-oriented studies that aim at researching local political questions empirically.

Finally, the presented case study may serve as an example for a broader range of consequences of lifestyle mobilities. Although political participation of lifestyle migrants is a scarcely debated topic, authors such as *Durán Muñoz* and *Martín Martínez* (2008) have shown that the newcomers have the power to challenge the local political constitution. As far as personal and/or economic issues are concerned, transnational lifestyle migrants engage in political issues and may provoke important changes (*Janoschka* 2009). In this regard, *McHugh* et al. (2002) reconstructed a conflict between different age groups in Sun City (Phoenix, Arizona) that was primarily based on questions of social solidarity regarding local taxes. These examples show that the consumption-oriented and peaceful image that lifestyle migrants tend to have, should be revised seriously. As soon as vital discrepancies between the expected lifestyle and the situation in situ appear, these experienced citizens do not hesitate to set up protest movements as presented in the previous case study. In this regard, regime analysis can help to understand the social constructions in those cases where lifestyle mobilities set the base for contested spaces.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship of the 7th European Community Framework Programme (PIEF-GA-2008-220287), hosted at the Centre of Human and Social Sciences of the Spanish National Research Council in Madrid (CCHS-CSIC). I am grateful to *Dr. Vicente Rodríguez* for a critical reading of the manuscript as well as to the peer reviewers whose remarks and suggestions have helped improving the quality of this contribution. Finally, I am thankful to *Dr. Axel Borsdorf* and the editors of DIE ERDE for the invitation to participate in this special issue on amenity migration.

7. References

- Ackers, L.* and *P. Dwyer* 2002: Senior Citizenship? Retirement, Migration and Welfare in the European Union. – Bristol
- Bahn, C., P. Potz* und *H. Rudolph* 2003: Urbane Regime – Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Ansatzes. – Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, Discussion Paper SP III 2003-201. – Berlin. – Online available at: <http://skylla.wz-berlin.de/pdf/2003/iii03-201.pdf>, 27/11/2009
- Banks, S.* 2004: Identity Narratives by American and Canadian Retirees in Mexico. – *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 19 (4): 361-381
- Benson, M.* and *K. O'Reilly* 2009: Migration and the Search for a Better Way of Life: A Critical Exploration of Lifestyle Migration. – *The Sociological Review* 57 (4): 608-625
- Bogner, A.* und *W. Menz* 2002: Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview. Erkenntnisinteresse, Wissensformen, Interaktionen. – In: *Bogner, A., B. Littig* und *W. Menz* (Hrsg.): *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung.* – Opladen: 33-70
- Bracamonte Sierra, Á., S.E. Meza Martínez* y *R. Méndez Barrón* 2008: Auge, crisis y perspectivas de Puerto Peñasco como destino turístico internacional. – *Topofilia, Revista de Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Ciencias Sociales* 1 (1). – Online available at: <http://www.topofilia.net/bracamontes.html>, 27/11/2009

- Breuer, T.* 2003: Deutsche Rentnerresidenten auf den Kanarischen Inseln. – *Geographische Rundschau* **55** (5): 44-51
- Brown, D.L.* and *N. Glasgow* 2008: Rural Retirement Migration. – *Springer Series on Demographic Methods and Population Analysis* **21**. – Dordrecht et al.
- Calderón Steck, F.V.* y *R.E. Bonilla Carrión* 2007: Algunos aspectos sociodemográficos de los estadounidenses, canadienses y europeos residentes en Costa Rica según el censo 2000. – In: *Sandoval García, C.* (ed.): *El mito roto. Inmigración y emigración en Costa Rica*. – San José, Costa Rica: 51-88. – Online available at: <http://ccp.ucr.ac.cr/bvp/pdf/demografia/demografia.pdf>, 27/11/2009
- Casado-Díaz, M.A.* 2006: Retiring to Spain: An Analysis of Difference among North European Nationals. – *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **32** (8): 1321-1339
- Chipeniuk, R.* 2008: Some Tools for Planning for Amenity Migration in Remote Rural Settlements: Lessons from Participatory Action. – *Community Development Journal* **43** (2): 222-238.
- Davies, J.S.* 2002: Urban Regime Theory: A Normative-Empirical Critique. – *Journal of Urban Affairs* **24** (1): 1-17
- Davis, M.* 2006: Border Invaders. The Perfect Swarm Heads South. – Online available at: http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/122537/mike_davis_on_manifest_destiny_the_sequel, 27/11/2009
- DGME (Dirección General de Migraciones y Extranjería de Costa Rica) 2008: Residentes permanentes y temporales según continente y país, incluidos hasta el 30 de junio de 2007. – Online available at: <http://migracion.go.cr/planificacion/RESIDENTES%20ACTUA-30%20DE%20JUNIO%202007.pdf>, 27/11/2009
- Durán Muñoz, R.* y *M.M. Martín Martínez* 2008: La integración política de los inmigrantes. La vía de sufragio. – Granada
- Einig, K., G. Grabher, O. Ibert* und *W. Strubelt* 2005: Urban Governance. Zur Einführung. – Informationen zur Raumentwicklung 9/10.2005: I-IX. – Online available at: http://www.bbr.bund.de/cln_015/nn_23470/BBSR/DE/Veroeffentlichungen/IzR/2005/Heft0910UrbanGovernanceEinfuehrung,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/, 27/11/2009
- Elkin, S.L.* 1987: *City and Regime in the American Republic*. – Chicago
- Enríquez, J.A.* 2008: Segregación y fragmentación en las nuevas ciudades para el turismo. Caso Puerto Peñasco, México. – *Topofilia, Revista de Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Ciencias Sociales* **1** (1). – Online available at: <http://www.topofilia.net/enriquez.html>, 27/11/2009
- Franz, P.* 2000: Suburbanization and the Clash of Urban Regimes: Developmental Problems of East German Cities in a Free Market Environment. – *European Urban and Regional Studies* **7** (2): 135-146
- García, M.* 2006: Citizenship Practices and Urban Governance in European Cities. – *Urban Studies* **43** (4): 745-765
- Geoffroy, C.* 2007: “Mobile” Contexts/“Immobile” Cultures. – *Language and Intercultural Communication* **7** (4): 279-290
- Glorioso, R.S.* and *L.A.G. Moss* 2007: Amenity Migration to Mountain Regions: Current Knowledge and Strategic Construct for Sustainable Management. – *Social Change* **37** (1): 137-161
- Gustafson, P.* 2008: Transnationalism in Retirement Migration: the Case of North European Retirees in Spain. – *Ethnic and Racial Studies* **31** (3): 451-475
- Hall, C.M.* 2005a: Reconsidering the Geography of Tourism and Contemporary Mobility. – *Geographical Research* **43** (2): 125-139
- Hall, C.M.* 2005b: *Tourism: Rethinking the Social Science of Mobility*. – Harlow
- Hogan, T.D.* 1987: Determinants of the Seasonal Migration of the Elderly to Sunbelt States. – *Research on Aging* **9** (1): 115-133
- Huber, A.* 2005: La migración de retirados entre culturas. El caso de los jubilados suizos en la Costa Blanca. – In: *Mazón, T.* y *A. Aledo* (eds.): *Turismo residencial y cambio social. Nuevas perspectivas teóricas y empíricas*. – Alicante: 325-340
- Huber, A.* and *K.O'Reilly* 2004: The Construction of “Heimat” under Conditions of Individualised Modernity: Swiss and British Elderly Migrants in Spain. – *Ageing & Society* **24** (3): 327-351
- Imbroscio, D.L.* 2003: Overcoming the Neglect of Economics in Urban Regime Theory. – *Journal of Urban Affairs* **25** (3): 271-284

- INEGI (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática de México) 2008: Consulta interactiva de datos del censo general de población y vivienda del año 2000. – <http://www.inegi.gob.mx>, 16/11/2008
- INM (Instituto Nacional de Migración) 2009: Boletín mensual de estadísticas migratorias. – Online available at: <http://www.inm.gob.mx>, 21/07/2009
- ITMB (International Travel Maps and Books) 2003: Costa Rica Map. – Vancouver
- Janoschka, M. 2008: Identity Politics as an Expression of European Citizenship Practice: Participation of Transnational Migrants in Local Political Conflicts. – In: *Anghel, R.G., E. Gerharz, G. Rescher and M. Salzbrunn* (eds.): *The Making of World Society. Perspectives from Transnational Research*. – Bielefeld: 133-152
- Janoschka, M. 2009: Konstruktion europäischer Identitäten in räumlich-politischen Konflikten. – *Sozialgeographische Bibliothek* 11. – Stuttgart
- Janoschka, M. and A. Borsdorf 2006: Condominios Fechados and Barrios Privados: The Rise of Private Residential Neighbourhoods in Latin America. – In: *Glasze, G., C. Webster and K. Frantz* (eds.): *Private Cities: Global and Local Perspectives*. – London, New York: 92-108
- Jessop, B. 1997: The Entrepreneurial City: Re-Imaging Localities, Redesigning Economic Governance, or Restructuring Capital? – In: *Jewson, N. and S. MacGregor* (eds.): *Transforming Cities: Contested Governance and New Spatial Divisions*. – London: 28-41
- Keil, R. und N. Brenner 2003: Globalisierung, Stadt und Politik. – In: *Scharenberg, A. und O. Schmidtke* (Hrsg.): *Das Ende der Politik? Globalisierung und der Strukturwandel des Politischen*. – Münster: 254-276
- King, R., A.M. Warnes and A.M. Williams 2000: *Sunset Lives. British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*. – Oxford
- Klagge, B. 2006: Stadtpolitische Leitbilder und Urban Governance. Geeignete Ansatzpunkte zur Konzeptualisierung von Stadtentwicklung? Mit den Fallbeispielen Wien und Hamburg. – *Berichte zur deutschen Landeskunde* 80 (1): 17-45
- Lizárraga Morales, O. 2007: El centro histórico de Mazatlán y los estadounidenses como actores urbanos. – In: *Lizárraga Hernández, A., L. Alvarado Fuentes, A. Santamaría Gómez y O. Lizárraga Morales*: *Nací de aquí muy lejos. Actores locales y turistas en el centro histórico de Mazatlán*. – Culiacán Rosales, Sinaloa: 121-158
- Loeffler, R. and E. Steinicke 2007: Amenity Migration in the U.S. Sierra Nevada. – *The Geographical Review* 97 (1): 67-88
- Longino, C.F. 2006: Retirement Migration in America. An Analysis of the Size, Trends and Economic Impact of the Country's Newest Growth Industry. – 2nd edition. – Houston
- Mayntz, R. 2005: Governance Theory als fortentwickelte Steuerungstheorie? – In: *Folke-Schuppert, G.* (Hrsg.): *Governance-Forschung. Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien*. – Baden-Baden: 11-20
- McHugh, K.E. 2000: The 'Ageless Self'? Emplacement of Identities in Sun Belt Retirement Communities. – *Journal of Aging Studies* 14 (1): 103-115
- McHugh, K., P. Gober and D. Borough 2002: Sun City Wars: Chapter 3. – *Urban Geography* 23 (7): 627-648
- McIntyre, N. 2006: Introduction. – In: *McIntyre, N., D. Williams and K. McHugh* (eds.): *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home and Identity*. – Wallingford, Cambridge, MA: 3-14.
- McIntyre, N. 2009: Rethinking Amenity Migration: Integrating Mobility, Lifestyle and Social-Ecological Systems. – *DIE ERDE* 140 (3):
- Meuser, M. und U. Nagel 2002: ExpertInneninterviews – vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. Ein Beitrag zur qualitativen Methodendiskussion. – In: *Bogner, A., B. Littig und W. Menz* (Hrsg.): *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung*. – Opladen: 71-93
- Moss, L.A.G. (ed.) 2006: *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures*. – Wallingford, UK, Cambridge, MA
- Mossberger, K. and G. Stoker 2001: The Evolution of Urban Regime Theory: The Challenge of Conceptualization. – *Urban Affairs Review* 36 (6): 810-835
- MPI (Migration Policy Institute) 2006: *America's Emigrants. US Retirement Migration to Mexico and Panama*. – Washington. – Online available at: www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/americas_emigrants.pdf, 27/11/2009
- Oliver, C. 2008: *Retirement Migration: Paradoxes of Ageing*. – London, New York

- O'Reilly, K.* 2007: Intra-European Migration and the Mobility-Enclosure Dialectic. – *Sociology* **41** (2): 277-293
- Painter, J.* 1997: Regulation, Regime, and Practice in Urban Politics. – In: *Lauria, M.* (ed.): *Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory: Regulating Urban Politics in a Global Economy.* – Thousand Oaks et al.: 122-143
- Palma Mora, M.* 2000: La inmigración en México en la segunda mitad del siglo XX: Un estudio introductorio. – *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* **15** (46): 551-586
- Peterson, J.* 2008: John Palmerin. New Face at the American Consular Agency. – Mazatlan's Pacific Pearl Online, October 2008. – Online available at: <http://www.pacificpearl.com/archive/2008/october/feature3.htm>, 27/11/2009
- Puga, D.* 2001: Un lugar en el sol: Inmigración de jubilados hacia Costa Rica. – In: *Rosero-Bixby, L.*: *Población del istmo 2000: Familia, migración, violencia y medio ambiente.* – San José: 253-271
- Rodríguez Rodríguez, V., M.A. Casado Díaz y A. Huber* (eds.) 2005: La migración de europeos retirados en España. – *Colección Politeya* **23**. – Madrid
- Rodríguez Rodríguez, V., G. Fernández-Mayoralas and F. Rojo* 2004: International Retirement Migration: Retired Europeans Living on the Costa del Sol, Spain. – *Population Review* **43** (1): 1-36
- Ronneberger, K. und C. Schmid* 1995: Globalisierung und Metropolenpolitik: Überlegungen zum Urbanisierungsprozess der neunziger Jahre. – In: *Hitz, H., R. Keil, K. Ronneberger, C. Schmid, U. Lehrer und R. Wolff* (Hrsg.): *Capitales Fatales. Urbanisierung und Politik in den Finanzmetropolen Frankfurt und Zürich.* – Zürich: 354-378
- Schriewer, K. and I. Encinas Berg* 2007: Being Misleading About Where One Resides. European Affluence Mobility and Registration Patterns. – *Ethnologia Europaea / Journal of European Ethnology* **37** (1-2): 98-106
- Sharp, E.B.* 2007: Revitalizing Urban Research. Can Cultural Explanation Bring Us Back from the Periphery? – *Urban Affairs Review* **43** (1): 55-75
- Sluder, L.* 2005: English by the Bay or Spanish in the Highlands: A Tale of Two Low-Cost Retirement Towns – Corozal in Belize and Boquete in Panama. – Online available at: <http://www.belizefirst.com/documents/CorozalBoqueteSidebySide.pdf>, 27/11/2009
- Stoker, G.* 1995: Regime Theory and Urban Politics. – In: *Judge, D., G. Stoker and H. Wolman* (eds.): *Theories of Urban Politics.* – London: 54-71
- Stone, C.N.* 1989: *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988.* – Lawrence, Canada
- Stone, C.N.* 1993: Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach. – *Journal of Urban Affairs* **15** (1): 1-28
- Stone, C.N.* 2005: Looking Back to Look Forward. Reflections on Urban Regime Analysis. – *Urban Affairs Review* **40** (3): 309-341
- Sullivan, D.A. and S.A. Stevens* 1982: Snowbirds. Seasonal Migrants to the Sunbelt. – *Research on Aging* **4** (2): 159-177
- Sunil, T.S., V. Rojas and D.E. Bradley* 2007: United States' International Retirement Migration: The Reasons for Retiring to the Environs of Lake Chapala, Mexico. – *Ageing & Society* **27** (4): 489-510
- Truly, D.* 2002: International Retirement Migration and Tourism Along the Lake Chapala Riviera: Developing a Matrix of Retirement Migration Behaviour. – *Tourism Geographies* **4** (3): 261-281
- Urry, J.* 2007: *Mobilities.* – Cambridge
- Van Rheenen, E.* 2007: *Living Abroad in Costa Rica.* – 2nd edition. – Emeryville, CA
- Walters, W.H.* 2002: Later-Life Migration in the United States: a Review of Recent Research. – *Journal of Planning Literature* **17** (1): 37-66
- Ward, K.G.* 1997: Coalitions in Urban Regeneration: a Regime Approach. – *Environment and Planning A* **29** (8): 1493-1506
- Warnes, A.T.* (ed.) 2004: *Older Migrants in Europe. Essays, Projects and Sources.* – Sheffield
- Young, L.M.* 1997: U.S Retired Persons in Mexico. – *American Behavioral Scientist* **40** (7): 914-922
- Summary: The Contested Spaces of Lifestyle Mobilities: Regime Analysis as a Tool to Study Political Claims in Latin American Retirement Destinations*
- Lifestyle-oriented migration and mobilities such as the relocation of relatively affluent (and often senior)

citizens to coastal areas and warmer climates have stimulated an interdisciplinary debate at the interface of disciplines such as Social Anthropology, Sociology, Tourism Studies, Urban Planning and Human Geography. Although an individual lifestyle experience located within conditions of postmodernity, leisure-oriented migration and mobilities do not refer exclusively to persons but also involve movements of capital, objects and knowledge and are implicated in local politics and urban development within the destinations. Within this frame, the amenity-oriented migration of mainly retired North Americans to destinations in Latin America is a relatively new but rapidly expanding mobility that, amongst others, induces an interesting array of political claims and practices. Unlike economic migrants, amenity migrants possess resources to participate in questions of local and regional development; additionally, they count on powerful tools, know-how and resources to integrate and take leadership within local politics in general and within settings of informal participation in particular. Especially in cases where certain rules, discourses and procedures are not completely accepted, they tend to criticise their environment. In consequence, these discrepancies inevitably lead to conflicts and prepare the ground for an active involvement in political issues. The text discusses recent trends of lifestyle-oriented mobilities to Latin America and aims at developing a conceptual framework to analyse the role foreigners can play in the negotiation of strategies for local and regional development. "Regime analysis", a particular way to conceive governance, is evaluated as a tool to consider the possibilities and problems arising from lifestyle mobilities to Latin America, as specified through the empirical debate regarding planning conflicts in a recently established retirement destination in northern Costa Rica. This conflict occurs between a mainly foreign-led *development regime* that promotes both amenity migration and tourism in northern Costa Rica, which is opposed to an also mainly foreign-led protest against the expected consequences and spatial transformations induced by the political decisions in the field of urban and regional planning. The presented case stands as an example for the social transformations initiated in recently established destinations of transnational migration of elderly to developing countries in Central America. The analysis is based on an

empirical research carried out in Costa Rica in 2008. It aims at a critical reconstruction of individually-expressed and collectively-legitimated strategies of specific actors within urban and regional development. We primarily concentrate on analysing and reflecting theoretically the subject-bounded practices of the actors involved in the conflict. 24 interviews were transcribed and provide the base for the empirical discussion. The analysis is deepened by an investigation and reflection of a series of documents such as local and regional development plans and further internet resources. In this regard, the article deepens the theoretically inspired research in migration studies, urban planning and social geography as well as it extends the relatively underdeveloped debate about amenity-oriented migrations to Latin America.

Zusammenfassung: Lebensstilorientierte Mobilitäten und ihre umkämpften Räume: Regimeanalyse als Instrument zur Untersuchung politischer Forderungen in Zielen der internationalen Ruhesitzwanderung nach Lateinamerika

Lebensstilorientierte Migrationen und Mobilitäten, wie sie von vergleichsweise wohlhabenden (und vielfach älteren) Personen durchgeführt werden, um unter wärmeren klimatischen Bedingungen und oftmals in direkter Nähe zum Meer eine persönlich besser bewertetes Leben zu führen, haben in unterschiedlichen sozialwissenschaftlichen Teildisziplinen wie Soziologie, Kulturanthropologie, Tourismuswissenschaft, Stadt- und Regionalplanung aber auch der Humangeographie eine stimulierende Debatte entfacht. Wenngleich sie zunächst eine individuelle Erfahrung innerhalb der vielfältigen Konditionen der postmodernen Welt darstellen, beinhalten sie nicht nur eine persönliche Note, sondern beziehen sich auch auf die vielfältigen Mobilitäten des Kapitals, von Objekten und Wissensordnungen, die sich auf die Gestaltung der lokalen Politik und der Stadtentwicklung in den Zielgebieten auswirken. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellen lebensstilorientierte Migrationen von Rentnern und Pensionären nordamerikanischer Herkunft nach Lateinamerika eine vergleichsweise neue, aber rasch expandierende Form der internationalen Mobilität dar. Da diese Zuwan-

derer – im Gegensatz zu ‚traditionellen‘ Migranten – über ausgeprägte Ressourcen und das notwendige Know-how zur politischen Organisation verfügen, rufen sie in den Zielregionen eine Reihe an theoretisch und empirisch interessanten politischen Forderungen und Praktiken hervor. Sie besitzen ein Interesse an aktiver Teilhabe in lokalpolitischen Fragestellungen und auch Ressourcen dazu, insbesondere wenn es sich um informelle Partizipationsprozesse sowie thematische Aspekte wie z.B. die Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung und damit die Gestaltung des direkten Lebensumfeldes handelt. Gerade wenn bestimmte Regeln, Diskurse oder Vorgehensweisen nicht akzeptiert werden, erfolgt eine ausgeprägte Kritik, welche die Grundlage für die aktive Mitsprache in (lokal-)politischen Themen legt. Im Anschluss an eine kurze Charakterisierung der lebensstilorientierten Migration nach Lateinamerika wird im vorliegenden Artikel unter dem Rückgriff auf *Regimeanalysen* ein konzeptioneller Rahmen zur Untersuchung dieser neuen Politikstile in Zielregionen der internationalen Ruhesitzwanderung entwickelt. Dieser wird dann am Beispiel eines Planungskonflikts in Costa Rica überprüft und validiert. Der vorliegende Konflikt ereignet sich zwischen einer nachfolgend als „*development regime*“ bezeichneten Koalition von Ausländern und Einheimischen, die im Nordwesten Costa Ricas sowohl die Tourismusentwicklung als auch die lebensstilorientierten Ruhesitzwanderungen vorantreibt, sowie einer Gruppe von Ausländern und Einheimischen, die sich der fortschreitenden ökonomischen Inwertsetzung des betreffenden Habitats widersetzen. Das Fallbeispiel verdeutlicht die sozialen Transformationen, welche sich in vergleichsweise neuen Destinationen der internationalen Ruhesitzwanderung in Zentralamerika ergeben. Die Analyse basiert auf einer empirischen Untersuchung, die im Jahr 2008 in Costa Rica durchgeführt wurde, sie zielt auf die Rekonstruktion individuell zum Ausdruck gebrachter und kollektiv legitimer Strategien von Akteuren der Stadtentwicklung ab. In dieser Hinsicht werden vor allem subjektorientierte Praktiken der involvierten Akteure untersucht, und zwar mittels der Analyse von 24 qualitativen Interviews, die in Costa Rica geführt und anschließend transkribiert wurden. Vertieft wird die Untersuchung anhand der Auswertung einer Reihe von Dokumenten (z.B. lokale und regionale Entwicklungspläne, Internetpräsentationen der beteiligten Konfliktgegner). Auf diesem Weg erweitert der Bei-

trag gleichzeitig eine an Governance-Theorien orientierte geographische Migrationsforschung und erweitert die in den Kinderschuhen steckende Debatte über *amenity*-orientierte Migrationen nach Lateinamerika.

Résumé: Les espaces contestés de mobilités de loisir: L'analyse de régime comme un instrument pour étudier des exigences politiques en destinations de retraite en Amérique latine

Les migrations et les mobilités de loisir comme la relocalisation de citoyens relativement aisés et souvent âgés aux régions côtières et climats plus chauds ont stimulé un débat interdisciplinaire à l'interface de disciplines comme l'Anthropologie Sociale, la Sociologie, les Etudes de Tourisme, la Planification Urbaine et la Géographie Humaine. Bien qu'une expérience individuelle de mode de vie dans les conditions de postmodernité, ces mobilités ne se réfèrent pas exclusivement aux personnes mais impliquent aussi des mouvements de capital, des objets et de la connaissance, et sont impliquées dans la politique locale et le développement urbain dans les destinations. Dans ce contexte, les migrations de loisir principalement d'Américains du nord aux retraites des destinations d'Amérique latine sont une mobilité relativement nouvelle qui augmente rapidement et, parmi d'autres, induit un tableau intéressant de pratiques politiques. Contrairement aux migrants économiques, les migrants de loisir possèdent des ressources pour participer dans les questions de développement local et régional; en plus, ils comptent sur le savoir-faire et les ressources pour s'intégrer et prendre la direction dans la politique locale. Surtout dans les cas où certaines règles, discours et procédures ne sont pas complètement acceptés, ils ont la tendance à critiquer leur environnement. En conséquence, ces désaccords conduisent quasi inévitablement aux conflits et préparent un engagement actif des étrangers. Le texte suivant discute des tendances récentes de mobilités de loisir en Amérique latine et vise à l'évolution d'un cadre conceptuel pour analyser le rôle que les étrangers peuvent jouer dans la négociation de stratégies pour le développement local et régional. L'analyse de régime, une façon particulière pour comprendre la gouvernance, est évaluée comme un instrument pour

considérer les possibilités et les problèmes résultant des mobilités de loisir en Amérique latine. Ce cadre est spécifié par le débat empirique quant aux conflits de planification urbaine et régionale dans une destination nouvellement développée en Costa Rica septentrionale. Ce conflit s'effectue entre un « régime de développement » conformé pour étrangers qui incite le tourisme dans cette région et qui est opposé à un débat contre les conséquences prévues et les transformations spatiales induites par les décisions politiques dans le champ de planification urbaine et régionale. Le cas présenté se tient comme un exemple pour les transformations sociales dans les destinations nouvelles de migration transnationale de personnes âgées aux pays en voie de développement dans l'Amérique centrale. L'analyse est fondée sur une recherche empirique à Costa Rica en 2008. Il vise à une reconstruction critique des stratégies individuelles et des pratiques légitimités pour le collectif d'acteurs du développement urbain et régional. Nous concentrons principalement sur l'analyse et la réflexion théorique des pratiques des acteurs impliqués

dans le conflit. 24 dialogues avec participants ont été transcrits et procurent la base pour la discussion empirique. L'analyse est approfondie par une investigation d'une collection de documents comme de projets de développement local et régional et de ressources d'Internet. À cet égard, l'article approfondit la recherche des études de migration, la planification urbaine et la géographie sociale autant qu'il approfondit le débat des migrations de loisirs en Amérique latine.

Dr. Michael Janoschka, Centre of Human and Social Sciences (CCHS), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), c/Albasanz 26-28, 28037 Madrid, Spain, michael.janoschka@cchs.csic.es

Manuscript submitted: 30/01/2009

Accepted for publication: 03/05/2009