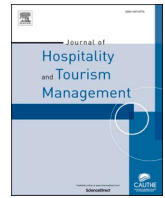


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Second life: Liminal tourism spaces as sites for lifestyle migration, an exploration of Niseko, Japan

Kim Nelson^{a,*}, Rosemary Black^b, Larissa Bamberry^c

^a School of Environmental Science, Charles Sturt University, Wagga Wagga, NSW, 2650, Australia

^b Environmental Sciences, Charles Sturt University, Port Macquarie, NSW, 2444, Australia

^c School of Management and Marketing, Charles Sturt University, Albury, NSW, 2640, Australia

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ABSTRACT

Niseko, a small agricultural community in northern Japan has, since the early 2000s, transformed into a ski destination through the development of international tourism. Many Australians have settled in the Niseko area and established tourism-based businesses and holiday homes, transforming local streetscapes. Despite substantial social-cultural change, little is known about the impact on the people who live there. In alignment with the research focus of understanding experiences of living in a tourism space, the study drew upon a narrative method of inquiry and was premised by the idea of stories being windows to understanding subjective human experience. Framed by a social constructivist perspective, the research was specifically designed to illuminate the voices of seventeen Japanese and Australian tourism business owners. The findings revealed Niseko is functioning as a liminal tourism space, shaped by cosmopolitan tourism business owners who relocate there to pursue their 'second life' after experiences of living abroad. This paper builds on the emerging research area which explores the link between tourism, leisure, and lifestyle migration and offers new insight into how participation in tourism businesses can facilitate lifestyle migration. It reveals how experiences of living overseas can influence individuals to establish alternative lifestyles in tourism spaces, underpinned by the desire to live in a way that is more congruent with their sense of self. This research contributes to understanding how highly mobile, cosmopolitan individuals in tourism spaces relate to place and are influenced by it.

1. Introduction

As an outcome of globalisation, a re-conceptualisation of 'place' has emerged which conceives it to be not just a physical location or source of identity, but a space which is constructed from the intricate and dynamic interplay of people and their environment (Paliy et al., 2018). Thus, central to understanding place, is understanding the people who live there. The Niseko area of far northern Japan, the focus of this paper, has transformed into an international ski resort, with its development strongly fuelled by Australian tourists, and tourism businesses and holiday homes owned by Australian expatriates. Despite evident socio-economic and environmental change, Niseko has received scant academic attention. Highlighting the paucity of research into the cultural anomaly of Niseko, Takeda (2017, p. 53) calls for urgency in further research to, "investigate this unique social space". Thus, in response, this research seeks to advance knowledge about the social space of Niseko, Japan and how it is experienced by the Japanese and

Australian tourism business owners who live and work there by exploring how choices of location and lifestyle may influence and be influenced by the context of living in a tourism space, with its distinct qualities and diverse stimuli.

Travel is anchored in transitions, moving from what is known into spaces or experiences that are unknown. Experiences of tourism are embodied and have long been associated with the idea of, "getting away from it all" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 13). Individuals are drawn by the opportunity to escape from the mundane aspects and routines of their everyday lives and enter a space in which they feel they have an abundance of freedom and choice (Smith, 2013). In the act of separation there is a sense of agency. An opportunity to explore and perhaps recreate aspects of self, away from the usual home and cultural environment (Harrison, 2003). This chance to experiment with new ways of being and interacting with new environments and cultures is recognised as an important source of subjective wellbeing (Sirgy & Cornell, 2001). Thus, tourism is often about the chance for individuals to experience a

* Corresponding author. School of Business and Hospitality, Torrens University Australia, Sydney, NSW, 2000, Australia.

E-mail address: kim.miles@laureate.edu.au (K. Nelson).

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sense of renewal, pursue feelings of happiness in an attempt to increase life satisfaction, and a potential means of awakening and enriching personal wellbeing (Kim et al., 2015). While these conceptualisations of tourism are, like much of the literature, based on the perspectives and experiences of the tourist (Rasmi et al., 2014; Reisinger, 2013; Van-Winkle & Lagay, 2012; Xiang, 2013), this paper offers a counterpoint and considers how tourism spaces are experienced by individuals who live and work in them.

A key aspect of understanding what is happening in tourism destinations is the distillation of the distinct qualities of these spaces, which sheds light on how they may affect those who choose to live and work in them. Tourism spaces are recognised as the contexts within which tourism is simultaneously created and transpires, and as such are social spaces which are both dynamic and complex (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006). Tourism spaces are often described as, “beyond normal social and cultural constraints” (Preston-White, 2004, p. 240), thus making them unique social spaces for both tourists and the hosts who reside in them. Responding to the paucity of inquiry into how tourism destinations are experienced as social spaces by tourism hosts (Deery et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2014), this paper will explore the liminal qualities of tourism spaces and consider how tourism spaces both form and are formed by the individuals who reside in them.

This paper begins by reflecting on conceptualisations of tourism and tourism spaces, and reviews the literature exploring the intersection of lifestyle, self-identity and lifestyle entrepreneurship. The methodology that underpinned the research is embedded in an interpretive approach and using narrative methodologies to valorise individual experiences of tourism spaces and the paper concludes with a presentation and discussion of the key findings from the analysis of the data.

The objectives of this paper are two-fold. First, it seeks to demonstrate the capacity of narrative data to bring understanding to a complex and unique social space in far northern Japan, and second, it demonstrates how participation in tourism businesses can facilitate lifestyle migration, which is stimulated by past experiences of living overseas and the aspiration to live in a way that is more congruent with a sense of self. Premised by the idea of narratives being windows of understanding subjective human experience, and Giddens' (1991) conceptualisation of self as a self-constructed narrative, this research illuminates how Niseko, Japan can be understood as a liminal tourism space which is being shaped by the cosmopolitan individuals who relocate there to pursue their ‘second life’ after experiences of living abroad. This paper builds on the emerging research area which explores the link between tourism and lifestyle migration and offers both tourism and hospitality researchers and practitioners new insight into how tourism businesses can facilitate lifestyle migration. It demonstrates how lifestyle migration manifests as a reflexive lifestyle choice and contributes to understanding how highly mobile, cosmopolitan individuals in tourism spaces relate to place and are affected by it. For researchers, the study shows how narrative methodologies may provide more comprehensive understanding of lifestyle migration and how it can be understood through the lens proposed by Giddens (1991), that lifestyle choice is motivated by the desire for narrative congruency in the reflexive project of self. For practitioners within the tourism industry the evidence in this research in Niseko Japan, and more broadly in other tourism contexts, demonstrates how participation in the development of tourism businesses can facilitate lifestyle migration and change the socio-cultural environment of a tourism space to enable a lifestyle based career within the industry.

2. Literature review

2.1. Liminal tourism spaces

Liminality is a key characteristic of tourism spaces and describes a sense of being physically, socially, and ideologically in a space that is outside of a person's usual environment and social boundaries (Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009). It has been described as, “a limbo-like space”

(Preston-White, 2004, p. 350) which is “betwixt and between” traditional social structures (Turner, 1979, p. 465). In tourism spaces, liminality explains the way in which individuals perceive their environment and social roles in a different way than they commonly do in their home contexts (Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009; Salenniemi, 2003). Thomassen (2012, p. 21) describes liminal spaces as, “the places we go to in search of a break from the normal”. The removal of daily routines and structures in tourism spaces extends beyond a physical change in location, enabling the liminal tourism space to provide individuals with the psychological space to explore and reflect upon their perceptions and behaviours (Nash, 1996). Thus, a key element of liminal spaces is the potential they offer as spaces for transformation (Andrews, 2012). White and White (2004, p. 216) describe this as, “a space in which to search for a revitalized sense of self”.

The concept of liminality relates to the early sociological tourism research by Cohen and Taylor (1976) highlighting the link between tourism experiences and the search for personal meaning. Thus, the liminal quality of tourism spaces is of relevance to the present research as it explores the influence of experiences of tourism on the self-identity of tourism business owners who reside in tourism destinations which provide rich grounds for personal and social reflection and negotiation. Recent liminality research recognises such spaces create opportunity for renegotiating identities and cultural norms (Daskalaki et al., 2016; Zhang & Honggang, 2019). Huang et al. (2018, p. 3) describe such spaces as creating, “a sense of freedom. Liminal personae can temporarily break free from social norms and disregard social hierarchy. They have the liberty to mix with different people and exist without structure”. Similarly, in the context of tourism spaces, liminal qualities are recognised as expanding social spaces and creating room for individuals to, “construct his/her own hybridisation” (Wearing & Wearing, 2001, p. 157). It is possible, then, that for tourism business owners, the continual exposure to, and interactions with, international tourists who have different cultural and social contexts, may also create psychological liminality for host reflection, behaviour and lifestyle changes, and identity renegotiation.

2.2. Reflexive lifestyles

Anthony Giddens (1991) proposes that in late modernity individuals must construct their own identities through the reflexive project of self. Thus, as traditional social roles and structures are less salient in people's lives and consequently are less influential in terms of individuals' identities, for some, lifestyle choice has become pivotal in the construction of self-identity (Giddens, 1991). The link between identity and lifestyle was first offered by Alder (1929) who saw ‘lifestyle’ as an expression of a person's basic character. Giddens (1991) theorises that in modern social life, the concept of ‘lifestyle’ is increasingly central and is framed by the effects of globalisation, which has placed individuals in a position whereby they are more than ever before in situations where they must negotiate and navigate a broader variety of lifestyle options.

Lifestyle is defined by Giddens (1991, p. 81) as, “a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity” but also as suggested by Torkington (2012, p. 74), lifestyle may be interpreted as a, “template for the narrative of self”. Thus, lifestyle is about choice (Veal, 1993), and the choice of lifestyle is a reflexive statement about who an individual is or aspires to be. The concept of lifestyle in the contemporary world is therefore a central part of this project of self. As pointed out by Cohen (2010), Giddens' idea of lifestyle is focused on the idea that lifestyle can be a way that individuals create a coherent sense of self. Thus, narratives about lifestyle migration are also narratives of self. Lifestyle decisions, then, may contribute to the construction of a coherent narrative of self (Hoey, 2005; Torkington, 2012).

Giddens (1991) suggests the less traditional the context of the individual, the more likely that lifestyle concerns will relate to the construction of self-identity. Lifestyle, then, is about the kind of choices a

person makes about how (and perhaps where) they live their lives (Giddens, 1991); such choices, therefore, are underpinned by the degree of freedom or agency¹ an individual has (Veal, 1993). This point is considered particularly salient in contemporary Western culture, where, “there is hardly a desire more widespread in the West today than to, ‘lead a life of your own’” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 22). Travelling or relocating to pursue a particular lifestyle is a way that individuals may create spaces in which they can, “seek coherence in order to try and make sense of their lives” (Cohen, 2010, p. 83). Those who move to pursue a particular lifestyle are searching, then, for a place which is cohesive with their personal narrative. Hoey (2005, p. 593) describes such individuals as being, “on a kind of personal quest, lifestyle migrants seek places of refuge that they can call home and that they believe will resonate with idealized visions of self”. Therefore, for lifestyle migrants, spatial orientation can be understood as an expression of self-identity.

Relocation may be used as a strategy to create a new lifestyle, one which reduces conflict between personal values such as family commitments and the need for work to fulfil material demands. Thus, “the act of relocation becomes an attempt to reconcile obligations and expectations between material and moral domains” (Hoey, 2005, p. 588). Hoey (2005, p. 595) coins the term, “the opportunity of elsewhere” to describe the idea that people may choose to reconstruct themselves through the pursuit of a new lifestyle in a different location. In this way a change of geographic place can provide momentum for the individual to reconstruct a lifestyle which more closely reflects their values and psycho-social space to explore and realise what Russell-Hochschild (1997) terms, ‘the potential self’. In tourism contexts, tourism business owners are often interested in combining a lifestyle with a livelihood in order to enjoy activities like outdoor pursuits (Hoey, 2005; Prince, 2017). Illustrating this point in his seminal work, *The Tourist*, MacCannell (1999) suggests that as a term lifestyle should be conceptualised as a combination of both work and leisure.

In contemporary society individuals are encouraged to be reflective and have an understanding of themselves and who they are and this is often expressed through their leisure activities (Guerrier & Adib, 2003). This perspective is of interest to consider in tourism contexts. Intrinsically, conceptions of tourism and work appear strikingly opposed, but are in fact tightly interwoven (Guerrier & Adib, 2003). This is evident from leisure theory, which demonstrates how people need to ‘work’ at leisure (Laurier, 1999), and in the way that work studies illustrate how people are able to weave experiences of leisure into their work time (DuGuy, 1996). As such, this creates an interesting dichotomy in tourism contexts when considering the experiences of tourism business owners who are working in an environment constructed around leisure experiences. Bauman (2000) offers an interesting perspective on the relationship between work and leisure, positing that perceptions of work have become reinterpreted as potentially another type of leisure, and in this way work has become part of the coherent identity individuals construct across both the working and non-working parts of their lives. The next section of the literature review explores how tourism business owners in this study navigate work and leisure through lifestyle entrepreneurship.

2.3. Lifestyle entrepreneurs

Tourism contexts are social constructs and spaces in which individuals may create businesses as a way of harmonising their livelihoods with their leisure activities and other responsibilities such as family commitments. Such entrepreneurs are described in tourism scholarship as, ‘lifestyle entrepreneurs’ (Bredvold & Skalen, 2016; Thomas et al., 2011; William & Shaw, 2004). Lifestyle entrepreneurs can

be defined as those who are focused on constructing a way of making a living which is less concerned with creating profit and more orientated towards creating a particular lifestyle which is crafted to balance economic, family, social or leisure needs (Bredvold & Skalen, 2016; Jaafar et al., 2011). Globally, lifestyle entrepreneurs are more common in rural areas (Carson et al., 2018), and their goals are often underpinned by the motivation of living in a particular location to pursue a more natural lifestyle (Bredvold & Skalen, 2016). For tourism entrepreneurs, social and cultural values can be more important than an economic motivation (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). The measure of success for lifestyle entrepreneurs in tourism spaces is often measured not by economic outcomes, but rather, “in terms of a continuing ability to perpetuate their chosen lifestyle” (Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998, p. 30).

Despite the clear nexus between these spheres in contemporary society, research exploring the links between tourism, lifestyle and relocation is scarce (Montezuma & McGarrigle, 2018). In particular, there is a recognised need in tourism research to better understand the experiences of lifestyle entrepreneurs (Thomas et al., 2011). The challenge for scholars, as outlined by Veal (1993, p. 243), “is to understand how lifestyles are formed and sustained on the individual level”. Prince (2017) suggests a qualitative approach focused on unpacking individual experience is the most appropriate research strategy to understand the phenomenon of tourism entrepreneurship in rural tourism spaces, Hoey (2005) shares this perspective, suggesting that a narrative approach is the most suitable methodology to unpack experiences of lifestyle migration, as it provides an embedded context.

3. Method

The research is framed by a social constructivist perspective, appropriate to the focus of this research on understanding individual experiences of living in a tourism space and acknowledging all perceptions of experience as temporally and socially situated (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Given these characteristics, narrative inquiry is an ideal mode of inquiry, as it illuminates how experiences are both selective and continuous, while simultaneously reflecting how a person’s understanding is influenced by social and situational contexts (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Consistent with this approach, this research illustrates the value of developing, “a relationship with respondents in which they can cast their stories in their terms. It means listening to their stories with openness to feelings and experience” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 525). The research is underpinned by the assumption that ‘story’ is a key way that humans both understand and explain their experiences (Clandinin, 2007). Accordingly, this research utilises narrative inquiry to illuminate the voices of tourism business owners in Niseko, Japan to unpack experiences of living in a tourism space. Narrative interviewing was the research instrument, allowing participants space to be reflective and to construct their own meanings.

Integral to the social constructivist perspective, is the recognition that the researcher’s own context could potentially influence the research, particularly given the cross-cultural dimensions of the project (Bohannon, 1973; Li & Sofield, 1995; Renato, 1993). It was also recognised that the researcher’s, age, ethnicity, and language skills may influence the data collection process (Minichiello et al., 2000). On this basis, researcher reflexivity was considered an essential, and continuing, component of the research design, field work, data collection and analysis.

Excerpt of researcher reflexivity statement: *I understand that as the researcher, I am bringing with me the many layers of my own life and experiences, I am part of broader social, institutional, familial, local and national narratives that weave strands into my own unique story and perspective, with which I perceive all I encounter during this research process. As I collect the participants’ narratives, I am simultaneously, reflexively constructing my own narratives about my own life and experiences.*

I enter into the field as an English-speaking Australian woman of Caucasian descent. Previously I have had the opportunity to accompany

¹ ‘Agency’ refers to the way individuals are able to monitor their own thoughts and activities as well as their physical and social contexts.

my husband on a two-year post-doctoral fellowship in Sapporo, Japan, and it was during this period that I became acquainted with Niseko, and intensely curious about how this small Japanese village was being influenced by the influx of Australian tourists and tourism businesses. On reflection, my interest in learning about Japan has been a strong theme in my life, thus I come to this research with a deep affection and respect for both Japanese people and culture.

One of the potential limitations of this type of research, is that as an Australian woman asking Japanese people about their experiences of tourism, there could be the possibility of respondents giving falsely positive answers regarding their perceptions of the influence of international tourism on their self-identity (Miyazaki & Taylor, 2008). As the researcher had lived and worked in Japan, she had cultivated a thorough understanding of Japanese cultural norms and a basic command of the Japanese language, thus did not represent the average Australian tourist. Understanding cultural nuances is recognised as essential in cross-cultural research in order to avoid misinterpretations occurring (Becker & Geer, 2004; Geertz, 2004; Keats, 2000).

Often in cross-cultural interview contexts, it is highlighted that the researcher is an ‘outsider’ and cultural differences in terms of race, language, religion, and social organisation create assumptions of difference and distance between the researcher and the participant (Griffen, 2016). In the context of the present research, the researcher was acknowledged as an outsider on many levels, given she did not live in Niseko and was not Japanese. There were certainly barriers in terms of language and cultural experience that existed between myself and the participants. Through the utilisation of a native Japanese interpreter, and by drawing on the researcher’s (limited) Japanese language ability and experience of living in Japan, efforts were made to minimise the barriers that may have existed in the interview space due to cultural differences.

Given the interpretive approach and exploratory nature of this research, purposive sampling which seeks rich data about a particular phenomenon (Ezzy, 2002) was well suited to the needs of the study. Data saturation is not an appropriate goal for narrative research (Ayres, 2000; Marshall & Long, 2010), and in turn was not the intention of the present research. Walker (2012, p. 40), questions, “can the way participants tell their stories reach saturation?”

Initially, a sample size of twenty was proposed as it was a practical size for the chosen data collection method of narrative interviewing and subsequent narrative analysis and the sample was not intended to be representative of the broader population.

Tourism business owners were specifically selected as they have regular direct contact with international tourists and the opportunity for in-depth interactions, a characteristic necessary when attempting to achieve the research objective of examining the influence of international tourism on self-identity construction and lifestyle. All tourism business owners in the Niseko area that met the selection criteria had equal opportunity to participate in the study to ensure fair and unbiased recruitment. Before leaving Australia, the author contacted the Niseko Promotion Board for a list of all the tourism business owners in the Niseko area and then recruited the sample by approaching tourism business owners directly by email prior to the research trip. If the tourism business owner was interested in participating in the study and met the sample selection criteria, a time to conduct the interview onsite at the place of business or another public location such as a coffee shop was arranged via email.

Initially, only Japanese tourism business owners were part of the sample frame, however, due to difficulties securing the proposed sample size of twenty prior to the researcher’s arrival in Japan an commencement of data collection, the sample frame was expanded to include non-Japanese tourism business owners in Niseko (four Australians and one American). The business owners were contacted via email in Japan by the researcher, and eight further interviews were scheduled using a snowball sampling technique based on voluntary recommendations from participants (Noy, 2008). On reflection, given the importance

Japanese place on relationships in business contexts (Herbig & Palumbo, 1994), the snowball sampling technique proved to be both an effective and efficient way of locating and recruiting the desired sample. The total sample size was seventeen, comprising thirteen men and four women who are tourism business owners in Niseko, Japan (see Table 1).

Data collection took place onsite in Niseko, Japan during the low tourism season when tourism business owners would be most available to participate in the interview process. With the aid of an interpreter the participant interviews were conducted by the author and audio recorded. The interviews ranged in time from 40 min to an hour and a half; the average interview time was 1 h. Time was allocated between interviews for researcher reflection and writing up field notes, to more fully capture the nuances of each interview (for example, non-verbal cues).

The narrative interviewing approach utilised a loose structure to allow the researcher and the participants the opportunity to follow unexpected tangents that emerged and to facilitate new insights through reflection. This approach provided participants with the opportunity to speak naturally and at length about their experiences and created space for respondents’ introspection, leading to rich, nuanced narratives.

During the interview process, potential harm to participants was avoided by ensuring transparency was maintained throughout the data collection process. This was achieved by providing participant consent forms, and information sheets in both Japanese and English and the utilisation of an interpreter (who signed a confidentiality agreement), to ensure that participants had a thorough understanding of the research, and what their participation involved. Confidentiality of information and participants’ anonymity was protected through the application of pseudonyms to the transcripts (Bulmar, 2008; Keats, 2000; Lune et al., 2010; Seidman, 1998; Vaughan & Hogg, 2011).

The data was manually transcribed by the researcher in consultation with the interpreter, which offered the opportunity to become intimately immersed in both the data and the experience of data collection, allowing greater insight and reflexivity to be gained than would otherwise be possible through external transcription processes. The process of manual data analysis was undertaken using the recorded transcriptions from the interviews and unstructured field notes (Lune et al., 2010). The analysis was underpinned by a constructivist approach advocating, “the need to focus attention on human existence as it is lived, experienced and interpreted by each human individual” (Crossley, 2000, p. 45). Drawing on the work of Emden (1998), Mishler (1986), and Polkinghorne (1998), a data analysis process was developed as outlined below:

Table 1
Language use in participant interviews.

Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Nationality	Language interview was conducted in	Interpreter present
1. Sasaki-san	Male	Japanese	English/Japanese	Yes
2. Shimizu-san	Female	Japanese	Japanese	Yes
3. Himura-san	Male	Japanese	Japanese	Yes
4. Kurosawa-san	Male	Japanese	Japanese	Yes
5. Kurt	Male	Australian	English	No
6. Kita-san	Male	Japanese	English	Yes
7. Suzuki-san	Female	Japanese	Japanese	Yes
8. Nakano-san	Male	Japanese	English	Yes
9. Brad	Male	Australian	English	No
10. Mizushima-san	Male	Japanese	Japanese	Yes
11. Mizushima-san	Female	Japanese	English	Yes
12. Tim	Male	Australian	English	No
13. Lewis	Male	Australian	English	No
14. Sato-san	Male	Japanese	Japanese	Yes
15. Sheldon	Male	American	English	No
16. Tanaka-san	Male	Japanese	Japanese/English	Yes
17. Mori-san	Female	Japanese	Japanese/English	Yes

1. Researcher makes reflective notes during manual transcription.
2. Read the text a few times.
3. Delete the interviewer's questions.
4. Delete all words that detract from the key idea of the sentence group.
5. Reread remaining text for sense.
6. Repeat the process of deleting all words that detract from the key ideas of sentences and reread remaining text for coherency several times (if required).
7. Refer to field notes relating to each interview to add context.
8. Identify key themes.
9. Move fragment of themes together to create one coherent story or a fragment of stories.

The data analysis took inspiration from Andrews et al. (2008) and was primarily inductive, involving the discovery of patterns, themes and categories within the data (Bryman, 2012; Matthews & Ross, 2010; Patton, 2002). Drawing on the seminal work of Labov and Waletzky (1967) the analysis considered the temporal order and textual cohesion of the narratives. In alignment with the social constructivist paradigm, the narrative analysis recognised the narratives as embedded in specific social and cultural contexts, and as a reflection of the socially constructed nature of narratives between both the participant and their social reality and the participant and the researcher within the interview space.

As the aim of this research is to explore the experiences of tourism business owners to offer insight into how Niseko as a social space may be influencing the lifestyles and identities of tourism business owners, understanding how participants viewed Niseko as a social space and whether they were personally influenced by it was at the forefront throughout the narrative analysis process. Emerging from the analysis, four key themes were identified including: cosmopolitanism, lifestyle migration and connection to nature, Finding Agency Through tourism entrepreneurship and narrative identity alignment, which will be discussed in the next section.

4. Findings

4.1. Cosmopolitanism

The analysis of the narrative data revealed participants consistently describing Niseko as distinct from other parts of Japan due to its cosmopolitan atmosphere. Descriptions of Niseko provided by participants highlighted its fusion architecture, international culinary offerings, dominance of English signage, and visibility of non-Japanese tourists. However, beyond these surface indications of cosmopolitanism in Niseko, the perspectives of the participants shared through their narratives reveal much deeper, individual impacts on themselves and their lives in this space. Participants reported repeatedly that especially in the peak winter season, Niseko looked and felt like a foreign country. This opinion was expressed by both Japanese and Western participants. Sasaki-san (male, guesthouse owner, thirty-five years), reflected that the environment of Niseko made him feel that he was foreign himself, on account of speaking English all the time. Consolidating this point, an Australian tourism business owner Kurt (male, tourism booking business, thirty-nine years), commented that he doesn't really need to speak Japanese in Niseko at all. Some Japanese participants, such as Shimizusan (female, guesthouse owner, sixty-three years) and Suzuki-san (female, guesthouse owner, fifty-six years), mentioned they felt compelled to study English so they could communicate with their foreign guests.

Analysis revealed a common element amongst many of the participants that points to another factor apart from the presence of inbound tourism which is contributing to the cosmopolitan environment in Niseko. Eleven of the seventeen participants had lived abroad for significant periods of time and spoke two or more languages. Most identified that living abroad was the experience that changed them the most overall and contributed to their cosmopolitan outlook. Thus, the data

suggests the experience of living abroad may have equipped participants with the skills, cultural sensitivity and openness (or cosmopolitanism) to be able to comfortably navigate the culturally diverse social space of Niseko. Illustrating this point, Sato-san (male, guesthouse and restaurant owner, fifty-nine years) attributes his three years in Nepal as the reason that he doesn't have any special feeling towards foreigners compared to typical Japanese people. He says he has got used to the poor behaviour exhibited by foreign tourists in Niseko and is not bothered by it. In the narratives of the non-Japanese participants, evidence of cosmopolitan attitudes is also apparent. For example, Brad (male, farm tourism business, thirty-eight years) expresses that as he builds his new tourism business he does not want to "bulldoze" the Japanese culture and is concerned his business should fit in with the existing cultural environment.

4.2. Lifestyle migration and connection to nature

The participant narratives revealed Niseko to be a cosmopolitan space that is culturally and linguistically influenced by foreign tourism, expatriate residents, and Japanese residents who have lived abroad and brought with them different ways of living and interacting. The participant demographic data revealed that sixteen of the seventeen participants in this research migrated to Niseko on the basis of pursuing an alternative nature-based lifestyle which enabled them to create an income outside conventional work contexts through a tourism business. The outlier participant who did not migrate to Niseko as an adult, had parents who moved to Niseko so their children could have more freedom, thus, demonstrating alignment with the attitudes of other the participants. All seventeen participants interviewed exhibited a heightened degree of mobility, both as migrants and as travellers.

Reflecting further on the demographics of the tourism business owners who were interviewed for this research, fourteen out of the seventeen participants held a university degree, and all were from developed countries. These characteristics reflect broader conceptualisations of global mobility as a choice being dominated by more privileged individuals, originating from developed countries (Hall, 2005) and also relating to social class (Bourdieu, 1984). Of the seventeen participants in this research, nine cited, 'chasing snow' as the key lifestyle factor contributing to the decision to relocate to Niseko. It is recognised that lifestyle migration to pursue a particular sport is most common amongst socially privileged individuals (Bourdieu, 1992), aligning with the demographic data of the sample of this research. Sixteen of the participants had visited Niseko on one or more occasions as a tourist prior to moving to the region, illustrating the connection between tourism, lifestyle choice and migration.

In addition to the attraction of snow, the other lifestyle consideration that attracted participants to living in Niseko was the opportunity to live close to nature. For example, Himura-san (male, seventy-four years) moved from Osaka to Niseko in pursuit of opening his dream business to teach people about traditional ways of living in nature. He teaches his guests to make rafts built out of wood from the forest and describes his lifestyle in Niseko as, 'simple' and allowing him to live by his own rules. Another participant, Nakano-san (male, forty-six years), was inspired by the more natural self-directed lifestyles he observed while working and living in New Zealand and wanted to emulate that when he returned to live in Japan. Nakano-san sees his life in Niseko as very community based. He notes that people in Niseko are conscious about natural lifestyles and organic food. He comments,

there are lots of young families or young single people who come and live in Niseko and many people of them are ... their orientation is a more natural lifestyle.

4.3. Finding Agency Through tourism entrepreneurship

For the majority of participants in this research, this feeling of control over their own lives indicates a strong sense of agency, both as a motivating factor and as an outcome of their lifestyle migration to Niseko. Thus, for the participants, living in Niseko was very much a choice of lifestyle precipitated by a desire to remove themselves (and for some participants their families also) away from structured urban working environments and into a more flexible nature-based lifestyle they perceived Niseko could offer them.

In the data it was evident that the businesses developed by participants functioned to facilitate their desired lifestyle and several made references to their home lives and work lives being less separated than before they moved to Niseko. Nakano-san (male, forty-six) describes his current work time running a youth hostel style accommodation as, 'mixed' with his family time. Lewis (male, forty-three), who runs an accommodation booking service, reflects,

I mean when I was living in Sydney it was structured there were probably a few more boundaries in separation between home and work life, which are less so here.

Since 2000 in Japan there has been an emergent trend of young Japanese workers (15–24) who are increasingly choosing non-traditional work (*hiseiki kyo*), as explored in Klien's (2016) work examining young creative workers migrating to the rural town of Ishinomaki in order to pursue a better quality of life through a rural context and alternative workstyle. Much like the Japanese urbanites in Klien's (2016, p. 54) study, tourism business owners in Niseko were principally concerned with curating a self-directed lifestyle and were similarly found to "openly dismiss the emphasis of mainstream Japanese society on stable, secure jobs, fixed work routines, and material values". Mizushima-san (male, multiple tourism business owner, fifty-nine years), is a participant who describes himself as, "unusual, really unique" compared with other Japanese people. Mizushima-san reflects,

I enjoy my life here and it is not like working Monday to Friday, 9 to 5, not like that, I couldn't do it. So, I just work hard in the wintertime and from April to November it is relaxing time. It is unusual to Japanese.

A common narrative shared by participants in this research followed the pattern of initially attempting to fit in with traditional corporate structures in urban contexts (both in Japan and elsewhere), then prompted by a desire to dramatically change their lifestyle, choosing to move to Niseko where they could live in nature, run their own business, and feel more in control of their lives. This aligns with Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark's (Cohen et al., 2015, p. 160) description of lifestyle migrants as searching for, "a route to a better and more fulfilling way of life, especially in contrast to the one left behind". Similarly, Benson and O'Reilly (2009) and Klien (2016) posit that lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent, moving to places which they feel will offer them a better quality of life.

Demonstrating how lifestyle migration to Niseko was prompted by the desire to improve lifestyle was the example of Sato-san (male, fifty-nine years), originally from Tokyo, who reported a similar feeling of dislocation with mainstream Japanese work culture. After several years living in Nepal to study dairy farming, Sato-san returned to live in Japan and married but felt,

like something is wrong, something is not right. I don't fit, I can't fit in this structure, the company type.

Similar experiences were also reported by non-Japanese participants. For example, Australian participant, Lewis (male, tourism booking business, forty-three years), escaped a regimented post-graduate study program to live in Niseko in an environment which he describes as, "without rules", that demonstrates this theme of Niseko

being a space for escaping traditional work environments. Lewis reflects,

there [is] certainly more of a hippy aspect to it as well. I think a lot of people who end up owning lodges here or ended up working here were fleeing the stereotypical salaryman arrangement, so there was certainly an attraction for a more alternative individual.

Mori-san (female, sixty years), who runs a collection of log-house holiday cottages, had a similar realisation which prompted her move to northern Japan,

I used to work in Tokyo as an office worker, and I could, I felt not more. I couldn't do it anymore.

Mori-san describes Niseko as a place where people can come from other places, and like her own family pursue an alternative lifestyle,

in Niseko, not only foreigners, but Japanese people started coming for a second life. So not only foreigners came here to live, the number of Japanese people, um, who come from other parts of Japan increased a lot.

4.4. Narrative identity alignment

The shared trajectory for participants in this sample and the commonalities in their personal reflections about the experience suggests that the process of lifestyle migration is not only about reconstructing their lifestyles but also concerned with reconstructing the narratives of their own lives and their own role within it. This finding strongly aligns with the work of Cohen et al. (2015), who suggest that lifestyle choices are key contributors to self-identity. Thus, the lifestyle migration as evidenced in the sample of both Japanese and non-Japanese former urban dwellers who relocated to Niseko to pursue an alternative lifestyle, offers insight into how highly mobile, cosmopolitan individuals in tourism spaces relate to place and are affected by it.

The data revealed that participants shared a common experience of feeling they have an enhanced sense of agency and psycho-social space in which to express themselves and pursue change within their community. Participants consistently reported feeling that Niseko was a space outside reality and perceived social and cultural norms and expectations. Niseko emerged as a space where participants felt a sense of freedom and agency over their own lives. Himura-san (male, seventy-four), who opened an adventure sport business and guesthouse, tells of how he escaped his oppressive family in southern Japan so he could live by his own rules in Niseko. This sense of Niseko as being a place that is 'outside the rules' is something that Himura-san wants his own guests to experience.

For several of the Japanese participants, the quality of liminality in Niseko is expressed through their perception of it being a place where they had freedom to speak up for themselves and instigate change. For example, Kurosawa-san (male, guesthouse owner, seventy years) spoke about how he could express his opinion more freely and that this freedom enabled him to campaign for change to rules and regulations in Niseko. The Japanese participants compared Niseko to other places in Japan where residents lack the opportunity to engage with local councils to stimulate change.

Many participants reflected on the nature of Niseko as a ski tourism destination and how the seasonality of work had the outcome of creating a lifestyle for participants that was very much outside mainstream Japanese reality, contributing to a sense of liminality. Participants all spoke of the shared experience of working intensively during the peak winter months and then not working for the rest of the year. For example, Suzuki-san (female, guesthouse owner, fifty-four years), felt that this unique lifestyle provides her with enhanced psychological space to think and reflect. She feels that, "relaxing in this nature ... we can think more, care more, others. I have more free time, more time".

From the participant narratives, it appears that Niseko is a space

where there is freedom for people to move away from mainstream society, whether it be Japanese or otherwise, and pursue personal change. Niseko, then, is a place where there is room for individuals to explore different ways of living and working. Illustrating this point, Brad (male, farm tourism business owner, thirty-eight years) has reinvented himself and his career several times since moving to Niseko in his early twenties. During his adult life in Japan, Brad has lived outside societal or familial expectations by which he may have been influenced by, had he remained in Australia. Brad describes Niseko as somewhere that is very much separate from reality.

An Australian participant, Tim (male, multiple tourism business owner, fifty-one years) similarly reflects on the freedom he has experienced being a foreigner living in Niseko,

you get to be naturally weird and you don't feel it because you are just a foreigner. There is a freedom with being an expat, I don't have to fit in because I am a foreigner. You know my wife was, when we were living in Australia, she loved it. Originally when we came back here she was like, "I want to go back to Australia". And that was the plan, then after a few months here she said "no, I will stay here" and that's what we did. I don't know why but you know she had that freedom out in Australia, when she was here she has got all these perceived obligations and responsibilities and da da da da and then she realised I am just anonymous and no one cares and I am a foreigner and she was ultimately able to transfer that feeling you know, I don't have to worry about what other people think to here, she has brought it back with her.

Tim's reflection demonstrates how for both himself as an Australian living in Japan and for his Japanese wife who lived in Australia, part of the experience of being a foreigner is experiencing the sense of freedom or liminality that is the outcome of living outside societal norms. Niseko emerged as a space with less rigorous social and cultural norms, which in turn has created a space where both expatriate Westerners as well as Japanese residents can experience a deep sense of liminality. Both groups, then, are living physically, socially, and ideologically outside of their usual environment and social boundaries (Freidus & Romero-Daza, 2009). Therefore, as a liminal space Niseko is not just a place to inhabit, it is a space within which people may negotiate and construct their own sense of self and their lifestyle (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006).

5. Discussion

The findings of this research illuminate Niseko to be more than just a tourism destination. It is, as identified by Snepenger et al. (2004), a complex social space within which individuals are living, interacting, negotiating, and creating their lives, livelihoods, and relationships. Although none of the participants articulated that they identified themselves as 'cosmopolitan', most could be described as embodying Walden's (2000, p. 1) description of cosmopolitanism as a, "way of being in the world, a way of constructing identity for one's-self that is different from, and arguably opposed to, the idea of belonging to or devotion to or immersion in a particular culture". Therefore, the presence of cosmopolitanism, both socially and individually, may create fluidity in the relationship between the self and the other, and by extension may lead to broader transformations in communities and cultures (Spisak, 2009) in spaces such as Niseko.

As evidenced in the research findings, almost all of these participants were removed (to varying degrees) from their local environment and actively chose to move to Niseko, evidencing high levels of mobility within the sample. Participants actively chose to move to Niseko from urban contexts both inside and outside of Japan. Thus, Niseko emerged as a site of lifestyle migration, a place to which participants relocated with the goal of pursuing a more nature-based lifestyle and to engage in non-regular company work (*hiseiki kyo*). Increased mobility enables individuals to move more flexibly through both time and space (Hannam

& Diekmann, 2010) and may also enhance the ability of individuals to actively shape their own lives (Bauman, 2007). Mobility is also recognised as having altered the relationship between self and place. For globally mobile individuals such as the participants in this study, place is not just geographical (Cohen et al., 2015, p. 166), "place is hence pivotal in constructing transnational identities" and transnational networks (Mitchell, 2009).

Further reflecting on the effect of mobility, the data also demonstrated how the experiences of participants prior to moving to Niseko, in particular experiences of living abroad, were found to have influenced the cosmopolitan outlook of participants and opened them up to exploring different ways of living and working. This finding, identifying participants as cosmopolitan further consolidates the link between cosmopolitanism and mobility.

The data revealed that not only were participants highly mobile, but they had also embraced their mobility as a means of developing for themselves an alternative lifestyle. For participants, this was initially prompted by tourism experiences, which reflected their desire to move away from mainstream work culture. These commonalities align with the concept of lifestyle mobility (Korpela, 2019) which explores the interconnections between tourism, leisure and migration and describes the phenomenon of people relocating as a lifestyle choice (Cohen et al., 2015).

Work is often a component of lifestyle migration (Cohen et al., 2015) and in this study it was evident that the businesses developed by participants functioned to facilitate their desired lifestyle. A common narrative shared by participants in this research followed the pattern of initially attempting to fit in with traditional corporate structures in urban contexts (both in Japan and elsewhere), then, prompted by a desire to dramatically change their lifestyle, choosing to relocate to Niseko where they could live in nature, run their own business, and feel more in control of their lives. This aligns with Cohen et al.'s (2015, p. 160) description of lifestyle migrants as searching for, "a route to a better and more fulfilling way of life, especially in contrast to the one left behind".

The ability to 'choose' or 'construct one's lifestyle', was expressed by participants and is recognised as an outcome of globalisation, with increased focus being placed on, "change, choice and reflexivity in and through lifestyle choices" (Cohen et al., 2015, p. 157). Giddens (1991, p. 81) suggests that lifestyle choices are increasingly decisions about, 'who to be', highlighting a shift in self-identities from being socially constructed to being intertwined with lifestyle choices. Thus, for participants in this research, the shift in experience from an urban corporate lifestyle, which was very much prescribed and controlled by exterior structures and social norms, to a *self-constructed* life in Niseko where they built their own houses and businesses and had greater control over their work and home life, demonstrates how Niseko is operating as a location for lifestyle migration. This finding is meaningful and indicates a need to think about tourism spaces differently and for future research to view them not just as places that tourists visit, but as complex social spaces often with less rigorous social and cultural norms, which in turn open up space for people to live their lives differently. Thus, this research points to the opportunity for other tourism spaces to similarly be examined as locations within which the quality of liminality can facilitate socio-cultural change.

The research findings indicated the tourism space of Niseko, Japan did not significantly shape the self-identity of participants, as the participant narratives revealed the primary influence was derived from experiences of living abroad. Thus, this research demonstrates that, in relation to self-identity, in tourism contexts, lifestyle choices can be, as suggested by Giddens (1991, p. 81), increasingly decisions about, 'who to be', highlighting a shift in identities from being socially constructed to being intertwined with lifestyle choices. Thus, for participants in this research, the change from working in city-based corporate contexts to constructing their own homes and, businesses resulting in enhanced feelings of agency, illustrates how Niseko is operating as a location for

lifestyle migration. This common trajectory for the participants and the commonalities in their personal reflections suggests the process of lifestyle migration is not only about reconstructing their lifestyles but is also concerned with reconstructing the narratives of their own lives and their own role within them. Therefore, this research makes an important contribution to understanding how tourism spaces are not just places to visit or inhabit but are locations in which people may negotiate and construct their own sense of self and lifestyle. This means that understanding what is happening in tourism spaces is not just about economic capacity, it is about acknowledging that tourism spaces have the potential to be sites where individuals may be experimenting and engaging with new ways of living and working, as part of their narrative self-identity.

The kind of lifestyle migration in Niseko, Japan that this research has illuminated demonstrates the need for perspectives of tourism destinations to be broadened, to encompass the quality of tourism spaces as locations which can provide psycho-social space for residents to negotiate new lifestyles facilitated through their tourism businesses. This builds on the emerging research area which explores the link between tourism and lifestyle migration (Montezuma & McGarrigle, 2018) and offers new understanding into how tourism businesses can facilitate lifestyle migration.

6. Conclusion

This research has sought to deeply explore the experiences of individuals living and working in tourism spaces. It has drawn upon qualitative methodologies to unpack new layers of understanding of the complexity of tourism spaces as social constructs. In particular, this research has focused on the tourism receiving community of Niseko, Japan, which has been transformed by international tourism.

Using a narrative approach to understand the subjective experiences of tourism business owners, the findings of this research have drawn focus to how Niseko is a liminal tourism space which is being shaped by the cosmopolitan individuals who relocate there to pursue their 'second life' after experiences of living abroad. Lifestyle migration was evidenced in the sample in both Japanese and non-Japanese former urban dwellers who relocated to Niseko as a conscious lifestyle choice to pursue a more nature-based lifestyle and to engage in a style of non-regular company work (*hiseiki kyo*). The participants' tourism businesses appeared to function to facilitate an alternative, more natural lifestyle.

The findings of this research suggest lifestyle migration in tourism contexts can be understood through the lens proposed by Giddens (1991), that lifestyle choice is motivated by the desire for narrative congruency in the reflexive project of self. This paper builds on the emerging research area which explores the link between tourism, leisure, and lifestyle migration. Further, it offers new insights for both researchers and practitioners in the tourism industry regarding how participation in the development of tourism businesses can facilitate lifestyle migration and change the socio-cultural environment of a tourism space.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

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