“The summers were getting hotter”: exploring motivations for migration to Tasmania away from mainland Australia.

Introduction

This paper examines research that explores the motivations, experiences, and lifestyle changes of those who have shifted to Tasmania from the mainland of Australia in recent years. While it was expected that amenities, such as natural landscapes, would play a role in incentivising the shift into the island state, this paper demonstrates that a significant factor in decision-making is related to climate, indicating that climate change is starting to have a role in movement. Specifically here, domestic/internal migrants (those from within Australia shifting to Tasmania) note the difficulties they experience in their former places with heat and the impact this has on their lifestyles. Tasmania offers them a respite with not simply a cooler climate, but a seasonal weather pattern that is held in stark contrast to the rest of the country.

Located two-hundred and forty kilometres off the coast of the southeast of Australia’s mainland, Tasmania has for many years suffered population decline due to a combination of factors including lack of employment and educational opportunities. This is especially evident in the younger populations who shift to major capital cities on the mainland such as Melbourne, Sydney or Brisbane for tertiary education or careers (Jackson and Kippen, 2001). However, in recent times there has been a population turnaround with some areas experiencing drastic increases in size due to an influx of mainland Australians shifting in (Denny and Pisanu, 2020). While this net population increase is not uniform across the state, it does present an interesting case study into domestic migration in this country.

Referring to interview data collected in 2019 with twenty-nine newcomers in Tasmania, this paper utilises the framework of amenity and lifestyle migration to understand how and why people shift into these places. Each of these paradigms seeks to explain how and why people

shift into different places for a better and more authentic way of life (Osbaldiston, 2012). Both have been used within counter-urban research to understand not simply motivations for shifts, but also the impact that migrants have on their local environments and communities (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). However, for the most part within these research paradigms, there has been little attention on the potential impacts of climate change as a contributing factor to this phenomenon.

There is however work within population geography growing role of climate change on internal mobility (Silva Rodríguez et al., 2021; Tacoli, 2009). As we have only started to witness some of the impacts of climate change in states such as Australia in recent years, it is clear this research will become more significant over time. As this paper will show, climate alone cannot explain the population turnaround experienced in Tasmania entirely. However, it is a prominent motivator for migrants through both push and pull dynamics. On one hand, participants desire for change through rising heat in mainland urban spaces in Australia. However, on the other hand, the distinct and diverse climate and environment of Tasmania draws people in. This paper seeks to unpack these narratives further paying attention to the concept of lifestyle and weathering (Vannini et al., 2012). It will be argued through this case study that attention will need to be considered carefully on the role of climate in population shifts into the future.

Literature review

Amenity and lifestyle migration

Before entering the discussion on climate/weather in internal migration, it is important to set out definitions on the concepts of migration mentioned above. As noted in the introduction to this special issue, counter-urbanisation has a long history of debate and discussion (see

Buckle and Osbaldiston this issue). However, in recent times, amenity-migration and lifestyle migration as concepts have become largely influential in this area of research. On the surface, the distinction between the two is not entirely clear. Amenity migration however focusses on the attractiveness of place wherein migrants seek "amenities" distinct from their former urban residences which are often narrated as unhappy (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Moss, 2006). In their review of the scholarship in this space, Gosnell and Abrams (2011, 308) make this clear,

> These examples highlight the importance of social constructions of rurality and urbanity, and their effects on individual decisions to relocate. Amenity migration can be interpreted as a reaction to the ills of urban space, or like urban gentrification processes, as a reaction to the perceived stifling effects of suburbia.

Thus, the connection of the migrant through culture and personal imaginations to these 'rural ideals' feature as a factor in interpreting the amenity migrant mentality (Halfacree, 2012). These of course are not simply Thoreau-like visions of nature and isolation but are constructed through historical cultural legacies on small-towns as place of warmth, community spirit and friendliness (Moss, 2006; Osbaldiston, 2012). Along with the attractiveness of these regions environmentally, these social imaginaries of regional life create a stark contrast to urban living.

~~The emphasis in amenity migration therefore remains on place as is evidenced by the overwhelming amount of work covering the unintended consequences of amenity-led migration on environments, place-based values, and infrastructure (Moss 2006). Rapid population growth, accompanied with incoming rising wealth levels, increases the social, political and economic turbulence in high amenity areas (Osbaldiston, 2012). This is evident in the Australian community of Byron Bay, in Northern New South Wales, where amenity-led migration has led to dramatic increases in local housing stock, and a rental squeeze that impacts on some of the more vulnerable groups in the area (Osbaldiston and Picken, 2014).~~

~~This has inevitably led to changes in local culture wherein the community's dynamics are radically shifted due to changing cultural and social capital.~~

In contrast, lifestyle migration has emerged to explore those within the privileged middle-class who seek a move to find a 'better way of life' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, 621). Often tracking transnational movement, the emphasis here is less on the amenities of former /receiving places and focussed on questions of identity as privileged groups seek out escape to places that allow them to pursue rich experiences. Underpinning this movement then is a host of implicit and explicit structures that allow/disallow mobility, provoking critical engagement with class, race, status, and gender (Benson, 2016; Benson and O'Reilly, 2018; Hayes, 2018). This is most apparent in transnational migration between the North and South which as Hayes (2018) shows is built on the back of colonisation that facilitates ease of passage but also economic advantage for westerners (Benson and O'Reilly, 2018).

Importantly, lifestyle migration researchers seek to show how migration is never complete. Rather, the practice continues as individuals negotiate lifestyles within new communities, new spaces, new practices and through emotions that can be both negative and positive (Benson, 2015; Higgins, 2018; Osbaldiston, Picken and Denny, 2020; Ridgeway, 2020). The plethora of work in this space, across the globe, highlights how "lifestyle" is never fixed and thus, difficult to quantify. This is especially true when considering how lifestyle migration relates to other forms of migration, such as economic or familial. Benson and O'Reilly (2015, 28) argue then that lifestyle migration might be better framed as 'lifestyle in migration' which underpins other forms of studied migration patterns including counter-urbanisation. This is important here as weather is infused into the initial decision-making along with quests for other material and immaterial aspects of lifestyle.

The use of lifestyle migration within internal migration scholarship is not as forthcoming as amenity migration. Hoey (2014) is the exception to this in his examination of middle-class migration within the United States. Here, migrants exhibit desires to reframe their ideas of success economically and socially, by taking risks including leaving the city for new places to carve 'out lives and livelihoods that balance economic necessity with broader personal goals' (Hoey, 2014, 83). At times, this includes completely changing careers, or even redefining success by aligning lifestyles with changing ideals on what the American dream might be.

Such thoughts resonate with findings in Australia's own population shift often described as 'seachange' (Buckle, 2021; Burnley and Murphy, 2004; Osbaldiston, 2012). While demographically this reflects a general counter-urban shift into areas that have predominantly suffered net population loss in the past (Burnley and Murphy, 2004), there is also a deeper subjective quest to recapture lifestyles lost in urban spaces. ~~This migration does not involve just change of scenery. Rather it includes transformation of work, sociality, and the very temporalities of everyday life (Osbaldiston, 2012).~~ Furthermore, recent work on internal migration highlights the difficulties that this phenomenon poses for natural disaster risk and management (Booth and Harwood, 2016). This is important to consider, as at times lifestyle migrants shift into spaces that are highly risky especially to bushfire and coastal flooding. However, this is not the focus of this paper (see Booth and Harwood, 2016).

Climate change and migration

Climate induced migration can be understood as the 'bright shiny new thing' in research (Ferris, 2020, 620). While attention is drawn towards the potential for climate refugees at an international level, Hugo (1996, 119) considers that substantial 'population displacement'

will occur 'within countries' as well (Hugo, 1996, 119). Environmental conditions impacted on by climate change, may lead to population shifts in settlement where climate both pushes people out while attracting others towards certain locations (Hugo, 1996). Predicting how internal populations will be distributed in the wake of climate change is however 'fraught with difficulties' (Tacoli, 2009, 523).

The literature in the space is generally divided into two categories, displacement due to natural disaster/catastrophe and adaptation to climate change (Ferris, 2020, 614). Migration researchers, as Ferris (2020, 614-615) notes, tend to view displacement of any sort as a coping or adaptation strategy that individuals choose to adopt. The decision to leave an area permanently or temporally due to 'environmental crisis is, of course, eminently rational and has been a most important survival strategy throughout human history' (Hugo, 1996, 113). However, recent discussions, especially in climate change adaptation literature, focus on the future liveability of places. Issues here include drought and water supply difficulties, loss of land due to sea-level rise, impacts of high levels of heat stress, changes to agricultural landscape and practices, and the potential for financial difficulties due to changing economies (Tacoli, 2009). Unlike extreme weather events (eg. cyclones, bushfires and flooding), pressures of climate change will produce a longer push and pull effect (Hugo, 1996). For instance, adaptation policies to deal with sea-level rise call for the potential gradual withdrawal of population from vulnerable coastlines as a potential strategy for accommodating water (Williams, 2013).

Migration caused by environmental triggers, however, cannot be simplified into push/pull narratives (Tacoli, 2009). Rather, the 'complex relationship between environmental change (and the perceptions of it) and human agency, which includes adaptation that reduces the need to move away from affected areas' is such that we cannot easily predict how people will respond to climate change into the future (Tacoli, 2009, 516). For instance, while sea-level

rise might threaten the liveability of some of the coastline in Australia where people live, adaptation strategies that include seawalls, soft defences (such as vegetation) and other measures might preclude the need for those affected to leave. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of socio-economic resources might mean that some can leave, while others will need to accommodate changes to environments. As Tacoli (2009, 523) argues,

> It seems unlikely that the alarmist predictions of hundreds of millions of environmental refugees will translate into reality. What is more likely is that the current trends of high mobility, linked to income diversification, will continue and intensify. Past experiences suggest that short-distance and short-term movements will probably increase, with the very poor and vulnerable in many cases unable to move.

~~As shown above, there is ample evidence of internal migration occurring especially amongst the mobile middle-classes for the purposes of finding the good life. Subsequently, movement based on escaping conditions that impinge on lifestyle due to climate is likely to be structured to pre-existing socio-economic conditions (Hugo, 1996).~~ However, it should be noted that those with limited space to adapt into will likely be forced to move (eg. Kiribati). Yet, internally within a place like Australia the ability to relocate, motivated by the promise of better climatic conditions elsewhere, may well be structured according to access to resources. In this research for example, the middle-class is itself already participating in this shift.

Methodology: setting the scene

Tasmania has encountered in recent times a population turn-around in internal migration (Burnley and Murphy, 2004; Denny and Pisanu, 2020; Osbaldiston, Denny and Picken, 2020; Verdich, 2010). While in past decades such as the 1980s and 1990s, the state suffered declines in net-migration especially in younger populations (Jackson and Kippen, 2001),

recent data suggests an upward trend in mainland Australians making permanent moves in (see Figure 1). However, as Jackson and Kippen (2001, 35) warned at the beginning of the century (see also Denny and Pisanu, 2020), the 'bite in Tasmania's age structure over the 18-38 age groups' will over time lead to a rapidly ageing community and a decline in population especially in regional areas within the state.

Nevertheless, there has been some evidence of migration-led growth in the state, albeit unevenly across the 29 local government areas (LGAs). For instance, while Hobart (the capital city of Tasmania) is experiencing growth through migration, areas that are more remote/regional such as the West Coast and Central Highlands are suffering net migration loss (Table 1). Furthermore, some areas such as the North-East of the state increased only through migration (with downward trends in natural birth rates) but incomers are largely older working aged people or retirees thus accelerating the ageing of the area. As Figure Two illustrates, the net interstate migration losses of young adults aged 15 to 29 have lessened in recent times. The largest growth of net interstate migration gains is found in the working age adults between the ages of 30 to 55. Again, this is not uniform across the state.

(Figure One about here)

(Table One about here)

(Figure Two about here)

(Table Two about here)

As Table One also highlights, a significant growth in interstate migration is focussed on the Hobart region and surrounding areas such as Sorell and the Huon Valley. Such growth can create turbulence within communities including housing issues (Osbaldiston, 2012). De Vries et al. (2021) for instance found that over the period of February 2019 to 2021, median house prices in the Hobart LGA had risen over 14% to roughly $790,000. While not all of this can

be attributed to in-migration, other research has highlighted how in-migration, linked to amenity-led or lifestyle migration, can impact local and surrounding areas (Osbaldiston and Picken, 2014). In this research, there is some evidence of local push-back against this new trend of migration. However, this is not the focus of this paper.

~~What is important to this paper, and more generally to the issue of counter-urbanisation in Australia, are the areas these in-migrants are shifting from.~~ Table 2 above demonstrates that a significant portion of those migrating into Tasmania come from capital cities. Of course, internal movement within the state dominates with Hobartians shifting to the South-East and those from outside Hobart (deemed regional) shifting into the capital still in large numbers. When examining the data, however, Tasmania draws most of its interstate migrants in each place from capital cities especially Melbourne (2564 average five-year total 2015-2020) and Sydney (1760 average five-year total 2015-2020). However, in the case of Queensland, more entered the state from outside of Greater Brisbane (2011 average five-year total from 2015-2020) than from Brisbane (1526 average five-year total from 2015-2020). This is likely due to a variety of factors including the continued pull of Brisbane for interstate migration, but also due to the population spread of Queenslanders outside of the capital which is unique within Australia.

The population turnaround of Tasmania and the attractiveness of the state to mainland Australians has captured the attention of public officials and the media. It has also drawn a following in social media with the Facebook group *That's it! I'm moving to Tassie* attracting over 23,000 followers where a lot of advice is given to potential new migrants. The popularity of the online community, along with the changing demographics, sparked this research project. Initially the research set out to understand the movement of people using survey analysis (Osbaldiston, Denny and Picken, 2020). Questions specifically focussed on demographics, reasons for leaving former addresses and motivations for selecting Tasmania.

While not a purely representative sample, the research obtained 329 respondents and through this found, somewhat surprisingly, that climate was the most selected reason for leaving the mainland and choosing Tasmania (Osbaldiston, Denny and Picken, 2020). Other variables such as the environment and lifestyle also featured as dominant motivations. Interestingly, when controlled for those under 55 compared to those over 55, environment and climate were far more important to the latter group, while other issues such as work-life balance featured as important to the former. ~~Nevertheless, across both cohorts, climate remained a definitive issue. Indeed, as this paper argues below, climate or weather (see below) is intrinsic to the style of life of individual migrants, and which also feeds into the pattern of living they experience after moving (cf. Benson, 2011).~~

It is important to recognise that climate has changed across the country. Many of the participants in this study suggest that their experiences on the mainland prior to moving were influenced heavily by rising temperatures and heat stress. Average temperatures have indeed risen (Figure Three) but further, the rise in maximum temperatures over the past fifty years in summer are significant (Figure Four). As several people in this study express, the length and intensity of heat in these months helped make the decision to leave the mainland. As can be seen in the figures below, Tasmania on the other hand, has suffered only a small rise in temperature in comparison and the base heat levels are lower than most of mainland Australia. This means that Tasmania offers a cooler climate already which although is warming, is not warming quite to the same extent. Future climate change is estimated to be felt dramatically inland with 'continued warming, with more extremely hot days and fewer extremely cool days' along with 'a decrease in cool season rainfall across many regions of the south and east' and longer fire seasons (CSIRO, 2020, p.22). If climate is already impacting on movement of people, we can expect this to continue.

(Figure Three about here)

(Figure Four about here)

Due to the above quantitative findings, the research set out to find out more regarding this movement of people through qualitative interviews. A call for participants was placed through various social media channels towards the middle of 2019 and interviews were conducted throughout the latter-half of that year and into 2020. Ethics approval was received by the James Cook University Human Ethics Committee and initial contact with migrants who expressed interest in the study occurred via email. Conversations between the researcher and the interviewees progressed in this medium with basic information on reasons for coming to Tasmania shared. Following this, semi-structured interviews occurred mostly face to face with participants in their homes, places of business and other public venues in Tasmania. Some participants were unable to meet with the researchers face to face and interviews were organised via video-conference software for these. In total, twenty-nine people were interviewed that included nine couples/family members and eleven individuals (see Table 3)[1]. In addition, a further ten people participated in email discussions but due to scheduling constraints, were unable to be interviewed. Interviews focussed on lifestyles prior to coming to Tasmania, and experiences thereafter. Like Benson (2011, p.7), the interviews were arranged to interpret reasons for the shift to the island state, by examining the ways in which participants framed their stories within 'lifestyles'. Thus, the research focused on the actual construction of the migrant experience through language. Through a hermeneutic tradition, which sees language itself playing a 'central role in shaping' experience and helps the interviewee to articulate that 'with another person', interview data was examined to understand how participants spoke about their migration journey through comparative themes (Peck and Mummery, 2018, p.390). Of these themes, climate (or weather – see below) and everyday practices were two of the most recurring narratives and are the subject of this paper.

[1] Numbering of participants occurs randomly to ensure privacy of participants as much as possible.

The use of language to describe the impact of heat on lifestyles prior and the change a temperate climate produces in everyday life, highlights how these play a substantial role in lifestyle migration.

(Table 3 about here)

Discussion: Weathering lifestyle: seeking a better way of life through everyday experiences of weather.

As mentioned above, it is the contention here that the quest for a better way of life framed in lifestyle migration is impacted on by the intangible impacts of weather. While weather itself is often implied as a motivating factor in lifestyle migration scholarship, it is often referred to as a marker of distinction between lives past and current (see Benson, 2011). This appears often in the stories from interlocutors when discussing reasons for their migration from the mainland to Tasmania. In our conversations, words like 'hotter', 'more humidity', 'disgusting', 'unhealthy', 'isolating', 'worsening', 'dangerous' and 'dread' are used to describe life on the mainland prior to shifting. For instance, respondent 23, a mid-thirties professional who left South Australia to live in Hobart, discusses at length her experiences in her former home of Mount Barker. As someone who she describes as easily burnt by the harsh sun, who also has health conditions that include Asthma, the experience of weather in Hobart and South Australia are a stark contrast. Clearly, for her, the weather of Tasmania allows for an alignment of lifestyle with her desires.

> Summer is so disgusting (in South Australia) that I hide in my house waiting for it to end, as did a lot of my friends, because you can't get out and enjoy life when you've got fair skin and it's 46 degrees everyday. Spring and autumn are really nice. But whereas in Tassie, you'd get more rain, spring, autumn and winter, is not that wet. So, I find that I can get out and about more in Tassie because the sun isn't bad, and you don't have to

> hide from it. So yeah, it's actually […] a more active lifestyle as well where in South Australia you just couldn't.

She clarifies her comment on hiding to mean 'literally hiding, close all the curtains, turn the air conditioning on' and wait for cooler times. This means, she is very excited to say, that she lives a much more 'outdoorsy' life now that includes being immersed in nature through treks and trails and generally being able to walk around freely even during winter. This was a lifestyle not afforded in the weather of South Australia.

Weather of course is not climate. However, 'weather is the climate's manifestation in the present moment' (Vannini et al., 2012, 367) as indicated in the above narrative. Climate, however, requires a different longer-term mindfulness and perhaps one that is informed more in meteorological historical patterns. Unlike climate, weather is an immediate and constant relation in our everyday.

> Few of our mundane activities remain untouched by weather. The weather shapes our personal and social identities, our lifestyles, our line of work, our places of residence, and our leisure activities (Vannini et al. 2012, 377).

Weather is a social, individual and sensorial constant that is a 'medium for' our experiences (Butts and Adams, 2020, 6) as is demonstrated in the respondent's memory of how weather made her feel and how she perceived her new weather and lifestyle. 'As reflexive beings,' suggests Vannini et al (2012, 377), 'we act toward the weather much like we do toward other people and other inanimate objects'. Our everyday plans, activities, social experiences and thought processes revolve around how the weather is shaping up. In some parts of the world, such as Northern Queensland, residents begin preparations for potential bad weather (such as heavy rain and cyclones) early to restrict damage. We act through these meteorological systems as weather carves out our relations to place, community, and identities.

It is important to recognise that for the above participant, weather is not the only factor in her migration journey. Therefore, when examining other narratives in the study, rather than articulating this as some form of adaptation to climate (see Strengers and Maller, 2017), I seek rather to interpret this as a piece of the puzzle that is lifestyle migration. Place, space, community, pace of life and so on, all feature as components that make up the quest for a better way of life. When we consider this respondents tale, we can see her desire for a more active everyday, one not afforded to her in 'dusty' and oppressively hot South Australia, leads her into Tasmania's more temperate climate. She felt dissatisfied in her former conditions and freer and happier in her current.

What she has experienced can be described as a weathering of lifestyles, an act whereby people skilfully negotiate the elements outside to 'somehow adapt, and to make sense of one's environment by mastering it, controlling it, understanding it, making it familiar, sensible and intelligible' (Vannini et al., 2012, 368). 'Dwelling with weather' therefore, is a 'way of shaping our place in the world' (368).

> [W]e are not victims of weather. As reflexive beings, we act toward the weather much like we do toward other people and other inanimate objects – in agentic ways. As weather moves, we move (Vannini et al., 2012, 377).

This sort of sentiment however does not equate to everyone's experience and in some cases, people are indeed victims of weather. For instance, Coates et al. (2014,) highlight how heat can be attributed to various deaths across Australia in the past (see also Longden, 2019). Heat is felt disproportionally across the population, even in developed nations. Individuals with associated risk factors are vulnerable to heat stress including for instance the elderly, those with pre-existing conditions, those in lower socio-economic statuses, the homeless and those whose labour requires them to work outdoors (Coates et al. 2014, 34). Furthermore, in certain

circumstances and places in different seasons, people actively choose to shelter from the extremes of the day, creating *sedentary lifestyles*.

Similar experiences were felt with a range of our respondents from different demographics. Respondent 22 for instance, a single divorcee from Newcastle who shifted to a small community called Westbury in North Tasmania, talks about her life prior as difficult and unhappy for a variety of reasons. Weather contributed to this unhappiness, and the lack of facilities added to a sense of discomfort for her. Now in Tasmania, her ability to participate in activities outside, has allowed her to feel freer creating a sense of new life,

> I wasn't really into walking when I was in Newcastle, it was more surviving. It wasn't a really good lifestyle. I was renting and stuff, and the heat was getting me down. I had no air-conditioning in the house and all that sort of stuff, so I just wanted to take control of my life, so it is a lot different (now). It isn't 100% perfect, but there's no way I'm ever going back to the mainland.

Emotions play a significant role in her lifestyle migration (Benson, 2016). As she reflects sadly on her past, inclusive of a messy relationship breakdown, her inclusion of the lack of air conditioning in her home is telling. The heat, along with other factors, got her 'down' to the point where she needed escape, and Tasmania provided her the new start she desired.

Several of the participants respond emotionally to their former places like this woman. Respondents 5 and 6, a retired couple from Queensland who settled in Old Beach (Hobart), suggest that while they owned a nice home in their former place, 'you were complaining about it a bit'. When pressed for reasons why, the male partner, who originally shifted to Australia from England when he was much younger, suggests the following.

> Because the summers were getting hotter and hotter and we were in a very comfortable house with air conditioning […] we made it comfortable but it was still uncomfortable.

> And people would tease me and say "Isn't it lovely you can be outside all this time", I said, "I spend more time indoors in the summer in Brisbane than I ever spent in England"

His partner added, 'trying to sleep in 25 degrees at night is hard'. This lack of comfort is repeated often with others in this study. Memory of summer's heat and the difficulties of that, certainly influenced participant's migration decisions. Respondents 7 and 8, a retired couple who shifted from Melbourne to Launceston, suggest that 'every summer, you'd start building up a certain level of dread'. While weather is shown to be often remembered in extremes, not in the averages (Strengers and Maller, 2017), these memories of heat impact on the imagination of life in better places. Tasmania is seen as a place for an alternative lifestyle, which includes a temperate climate.

Escaping for cooler weather is not the only attraction of Tasmania's climate. Several interlocutors referred to the seasonality of Tasmania's climate in their motivation for change. Respondents 13 and 14, a retired couple from Brisbane who are now on a small hobby farm in Port Sorell, describe that 'this was one of the things we really loved – the four seasons because you get (emphasises with fingers) four distinct seasons […] Brisbane it's summer and summer and summer'. They describe how seasonality impact on their everyday and how at times some extremes such as wilder winter weather, are at times cause for concern. For instance, the male partner acknowledges, 'we get a few severe windy days, I guess the wind around here will probably get to 70, 80ks' but he then counters this with, 'but it gives you a nice comfortable feeling to listen to the wind howling outside and you're inside where it's warm'.

Weather, as noted earlier, allows/disallows certain behaviours but can also transform actions and values in the act of migration. As noted by Benson (2011), migration is not simply the act of moving, but the style of life that is enacted thereafter. For Benson (2011), this can be

understood through the lens of class, especially that of habitus, where the desire for authentic lifestyles is lived through middle-class expectations. However, lifestyle is also experienced post migration relationally and experiences of place, community and time, which can cross class boundaries, impact on the person's style of life. Put simply, an individual's ideas of how to authentically live (for a better way of life) will be shaped and moulded by the experiences they have in their new place/communities (see Osbaldiston, 2022). I argue here that weather plays a pivotal role in this.

There are two points to consider here. Firstly, seasonality tends to pull people into living according to what is described repeatedly as 'Tassie time'. This refers not only to the perceived laid-back lifestyle that this mostly rural/coastal island encourages, but also the different activities that each season invites people to participate in. Respondent 27, a single woman in her late-fifties who had just retired and moved to Deloraine in the north of the state, describes how she took some time to get 'into the rhythm of how Tassie works and the rhythm of seasons'. She talks about how seasons impose themselves creating new styles of life she needed to adopt.

> [I]n winter in Tassie, shops will closer earlier. And then shops have three or four weeks off in the middle of winter where they just shut altogether, and they go "no we're having our winter break". And lots of things like that over winter happen in Tassie. And then in summer you've got your fabulous long twilights, and all that stuff. It's very much more connected to the natural world, I suppose, whereas in other parts of Australia, it doesn't impose itself on you to the same extent […] the efforts of the climate are much more extreme, and therefore they dictate how you live more.

Vannini et al. (2012, 368) describe 'dwelling with weather a skilful practice, a way of shaping our place in the world'. These participants reflect this by suggesting that living with seasonality, different to that of the mainland cities they came from, required them to learn

‘what the weather does to us and others, and to the surfaces (even depths) of the world in which we live’ (Vannini et al., 2012, 368). Making sense of the weather, often meant that their style of living was moulded where values, ideas and their sense of time shifted.

Several of the participants describe how when they arrived, the seasonality and the good climate meant that growing one’s own food and looking after a garden become everyday activities. ‘Everybody’, respondent 27 reflects, ‘seems to do something where they’re using what they’ve got from their environment and processing it themselves in some form or the other’. Respondents 13 and 14 illustrate this perfectly with their hobby farm where they grow fruit and vegetables, raise chickens, and use their recently installed large pizza oven which they use to cook their own food in. In preliminary conversations with the female partner, she describes her lifestyle as one where they spend ‘most of their time’ in the garden. The land, the climate and the desire for a new lifestyle, meant they were now well versed in the maintenance of a small farm and the production of food. “Tassie time” as many describe it, for them, meant time slowly tending to their garden, made possible by the climate of Tasmania.

This second point is exemplified further in respondent 19’s consideration of time in winter. A professional who lived in Tasmania earlier in her life and shifted to the Huon Valley south of Hobart later in her career, she remarks on how it can be ‘good and bad’ that people slowdown in winter. When pressed further on this she relates,

> And for other people, there’s this real drive to not let that happen […] so we had a couple of years, midwinter, this festival in the Huonville […] and that was a real sort of pagan festival, you know, drinking, feasting and throwing cider on the apple trees to make them flourish and have lots of fruits […] so doing things like that and being really conscious that we don’t want everything to close down over winter.

She comments on how for some, winter is the time to 'hibernate' and 'hideaway' whereas for her, winter allows her time to participate in activities that bring her closer to others, allow her time to be with nature in different ways and generally enjoy the cool. 'You can go and have outside bonfires; you can sit around your fire pit and drink mulled wine and all those good things. Watch the Aurora, all that stuff'. From this perspective, winter is a time for her to skilfully adapt to her surrounds, adopt activities that are not afforded in summer, and creatively 'weave' her lifestyle migration experience in with her climate (Vannini et al., 2012). In terms of lifestyle migration scholarship, this is reflective of a commitment to continue finding the best style of life that is afforded, and which changes with seasons (Benson, 2011).

Conclusion

In this paper, the impact of the growing heat on mainland Australians and their decision to move to the more temperate and seasonal climate of Tasmania is considered. This is not definitive proof that climate change is altering patterns of population settlement internally. However, the paper shows that those with capacity to move and a desire to live out a better way of life, in this sample at least, do consider weather as a reason to leave. As mainland urban areas increase in temperature, and in number of days in extreme temperature, styles of life will increasingly change. Strengers and Maller (2017, 1446) show that policy responses might need to address past practices that dealt with heat which are 'more productive and sustainable'. Nevertheless, as this sample demonstrates, the current individual adaptation routine for many is to regulate their temperature through climate control methods, such as air conditioning, indoors. The increasing need for this and the dissatisfaction it produces,

especially during summer, sits alongside other factors that produce an urban discontent (such as work/life balance, noise, pollution, traffic, stress, housing prices, etc).

Thus, I have in this paper attempted to show that this movement of people to Tasmania is not some form of climate enforced migration. Rather, people are seeking out a more content way of living that is reflective of the lifestyle migration phenomenon (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). The "style of living" that people desire for in Tasmania is slower, socially based, environmentally focused and importantly, the antithesis to mainland urban life. However, weather is also a dominant feature. Not only does this draw people into the island state, but it alters their style of living thereafter. The changing seasons encourage/discourage certain activities. People turn towards nature, go bush walking, dig and tend to gardens, sit next to bonfires, make food, stay indoors and listen to the wind and rain or head outdoors into the sun. Generally, people in this sample demonstrate how weather encouraged them to adopt new lifestyles.

We need to be careful not to romanticise this too much. As lifestyle migration scholars have shown, there is a level of privilege associated with such moves that cannot be ignored. It is clear, for instance, that many of my participants took advantage of a type of internal geographical arbitrage in Australia where urban house prices allow them a sort of privilege in Tasmania not afforded to them in cities on the mainland. For instance, several were able to sell their homes within major capital cities for significant money and use that to purchase large blocks of land in regional areas in Tasmania. This sort of movement has led to housing price problems in places like Hobart that are causing local extant populations difficulties accessing the market. As noted earlier, this can create an us versus them turbulence in some local communities.

However, what this paper argues is that weather needs to be taken seriously in our discussions of migration for a better way of life. Indeed, as we shift into an increasingly hotter climate, the quest for a style of life that produces opportunities for practices that individuals find fulfilling or authentic, will potentially led them away from crowded, overpopulated, and stressful urban areas into spacious, natural and temperate regional/rural places. Furthermore, other issues such as urban heat island effects and the intensification of development (including loss of green space), will begin to push people into imagining life in slower, seasonal and perceived authentic environments.

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