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Residential mobility, second homes and quality of life: Consequences of moving out from the city of Madrid

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Abstract. Residential mobility and migration of retired people is an emerging issue in western societies. Moreover, the Quality of Life (QoL) of old people has become a challenge in our societies, of great interest for researchers and planners. Nevertheless, few studies have investigated how mobility and/or migration help improve QoL. This paper aims to determine the influence of retired people's residential mobility on the different dimensions of their life. Factors driving residential mobility in this population group are analysed, as well as the sociodemographic characteristics of this group, family, friends and social contacts, and environmental conditions, before and after moving. The methodology used is qualitative and the results have been obtained from 29 in-depth interviews with aged people who have moved from the city of Madrid to other places in Spain. The consequences of the moves are analysed in terms of how the different dimensions of their QoL and their well-being are affected.

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1. Introduction

In western societies, the processes of adjustment between geographical location and mobility behaviours are common at all ages, but especially, and increasingly, among older people. If later life can be divided into two stages, it is in the early stage, when many people are newly retired, healthy and active, that moves tend to be for positive reasons, for example to a better residential environment or to take up new activities (Warnes, 2009).

The Amenity Retirement Migration Model (Haas, Serow, 1993) is one model that tries to explain the mobility of old people. According to this model, information sources, along with push and pull factors, influence the process of an actual decision to migrate to a new community. The authors explain how individual factors, such as random thoughts, daydreams of a change in lifestyle, a job change and pre-retirement or actual retirement status, all influence and precipitate a decision to move. The timing and sequence of this process depends on the individual and has no specific pattern. After the actual move, the migrant begins the process of developing ties within the new community. If the new community does not meet the migrant's expectations, the migration decision process may begin again.

Carlson et al. (1998) detail studies that discuss how push factors, such as the cost of living, population density, crime rates, environmental concerns, amenity opportunities, employment opportunities and a lack of family members in the area, relate to dissatisfaction with a person's current community. Additional push factors that affect a decision to move include life cycle changes, a preferred lifestyle, changes in marital status, health reasons and retirement (Coulter, Van Ham, 2013). Strong pull factors include a lower cost of living, lower population density, amenity opportunities, employment opportunities, and a better Quality of Life (QoL) (Haas, Serow, 1993). For this reason, QoL can become the primary consideration for a move to a new place (Benson, O'Reilly, 2009). Many older people indicate a preference for living outside the city, thanks to having a second home, which allows free movement depending on the times of the year or specific family or personal situations (Lardiés-Bosque, 2010). The possibility of an actual move increases with a person's degree of familiarity with another community (Cuba, Longino, 1991). Cuba and Longino's study of older people's migration to Cape Cod found that personal experience with a new community can come from casual conversations with acquaintances that live or go on holiday in a particular area, or through personal experiences of past holidays and frequent visits with family or friends.

Another aspect related to the mobility and migration of older people is the ageing of the population, especially in Europe and Spain, partly due to the increase in life expectancy (United Nations, 2015). Older people increasingly have more material and economic resources to cope with the remaining years of their lives and still have many years of life left when retirement arrives (Rodríguez et al., 2011). That is why many of them decide to enjoy their retirement in attractive, more relaxing and less stressful places than cities. This explains the rise in migration of this group both nationally and internationally that has taken place for more than a decade now (Williams et al., 2000).

In this scenario of living longer, QoL is an issue that is gaining importance and has received much attention in the last three decades, although there is little research focused on older people (Borglin et al., 2005). Considering QoL of older people means introducing a more positive view of this group and more freedom to explore new sources and activities that optimise the physical, social and mental health and well-being of this population (Martin, 2012).

QoL is a multidimensional concept (O´Boyle, 1997; Muldoon et al., 1998) in which health is one of the most important dimensions, together with physical capacity, psychological state, housing and

environment, social factors, self-esteem and dignity, economic situation and the life experiences of people as viewed by themselves and others (the subjective component) (Bowling, Windsor, 2001). Therefore, environmental characteristics have a variable effect on people, as different types of residence affect their levels of activity and, in turn, health (Rojo et al., 2016). The residential environment is thus linked to QoL as residential mobility makes it possible to enjoy another environment, normally chosen voluntarily. However, there is a need to look more closely at the contribution of many of those factors to the well-being of older people, in particular the effect of environmental, cultural and social aspects, and the role of residential conditions in promoting the independence and social participation of older people (Eby et al., 2012).

The purpose of this study is to learn the phenomenon of mobility among retired people in an urban environment, and the movements (temporary or permanent) that they make to places where their second homes are located. Specifically, and in addition to knowing the reasons behind these movements, the aim is to discover the effect that residential mobility has on the QoL of older people, focusing on how the different dimensions that make up QoL vary before and after residential moves. With all this we can estimate the mobility expectations of these people in the future.

2. Study area, source and methodology

To determine the motives, reasons, consequences and the meaning of the phenomenon of residential mobility in relation to QoL, a qualitative methodology was used and 29 in-depth interviews held. Because statistical-based analysis methods are generally narrow, a more flexible method was chosen, focusing on discursive practices and content analysis (Amezcua, Gálvez, 2002).

Interviews were conducted with both pre-retired people and those already retired from the labour market who, having lived in the municipality of Madrid, had made some sort of temporary or permanent residential move at the end of their working life. Madrid is the capital of Spain and the municipality has a total population of 3.1 million people, in a region (Autonomous Community of Madrid) with 6.4 million people. The choice of the city of Madrid for the study area is based on the high concentration (geographical) of older people in the municipality, which makes it a good laboratory for analysing the residential mobility strategies of the population after retirement.

Table 1 lists the blocks of questions of the in-depth interviews held with these old migrants, their sociodemographic characteristics and residential history, health, social and family relationship, use of time and leisure activities, their economic situation, and expectations or plans for the future.

Of the 29 interviewees, 13 are under 65 years old (pre-retirees), 6 are between 65 and 69 years, 7 between 70 and 74, and the other 3 in the 75–78-year-old range. As regards marital status, most people are married (18 out of 29), 5 are widowed, 4 single and 2 divorced.

The number of men and women interviewed with temporary or permanent mobility is balanced (Table 2 and Fig. 1); this means that more than half have moved to their new residence, while the other 13 come and go to Madrid, spending periods in each of their homes. This requirement of being able to talk about 'residential mobility' is that they spend at least three to four months each year in the place where they have their second home. Since mobility is sometimes temporary and some people spend part of the year in the city of Madrid, some interviews were held in the Madrid homes of these people, while others were in their second homes (places of destination).

Geographically, 7 of the 29 places of residence are located in places inside the region of Madrid, but the others are in different places on the Iberian Peninsula: most of them in coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea (16), in the North (2) and also in other inland areas of the country (Fig. 1).

We tried to select people from the broad middle class for the interviews, bearing in mind that we are investigating the phenomenon of mobility. It is assumed that these people are relatively young and have medium or medium-high purchasing power, which has allowed them to purchase second homes outside Madrid.

Table 1. In-depth interview script (*)

1. Sociodemographic characteristics:
   -Age / Sex
   - Marital status
   - Academic training and previous professional career
   - Activity / Socio-economic situation / Income level
   - Family composition (members, form of coexistence and places of residence)
2. Places of residence:
   - Residential history: places of residence and their characteristics
   - Degree of satisfaction with housing and residential environments
3. Health (physical and mental):
   - Physical/mental health and general well-being
   - Pathologies, disabilities, medical treatments needed
   - General mood: mental-psychological situation
   - Degree of satisfaction, well-being in relation to health and illness.
4. Social relationship:
   - Friendships: friends and neighbours (number, where they live, type and frequency of contact, etc.)
   - Activities carried out with them and satisfaction with friendships/social relationships
5. Family relationship:
   - Place of residence of the main family
   - Type and frequency of relationships
   - Satisfaction with family and relationships
6. Use of time:
   - Hobbies and practising of leisure activities (physical, passive, cultural, etc.)
   - Frequency of practising and people with whom these activities are practised
   - Satisfaction with leisure activities practised
7. Economic situation:
   - Type of income (source), frequency and satisfaction with income
8. Moving to the new place of residence:
   - Effects of movement on different areas/dimensions of QoL, and changes in your lifestyle
   - Assessment of overall QoL (before and after). Feeling: better/worse?
9. Expectations and plans for the future:
   - Concerns in the future (in relation to mobility/housing)
   - Desire to stay in this place, going to a nursing home, to your children's home or relatives
   - Lifetime horizon: what is lacking in your life / what would you like to do in the future?

(*) Most of the aspects and dimensions of QoL (e.g. family, social relationships, etc.) discussed in the interviews refer to before and after change of residence.

Source: In-depth interviews

Table 2. Pattern of mobility among those interviewed

	Temporal	**Permanent**	**Total**
Men	8	6	14
Women	5	10	15
Total	13	16	29

Source: In-depth interviews. N = 29

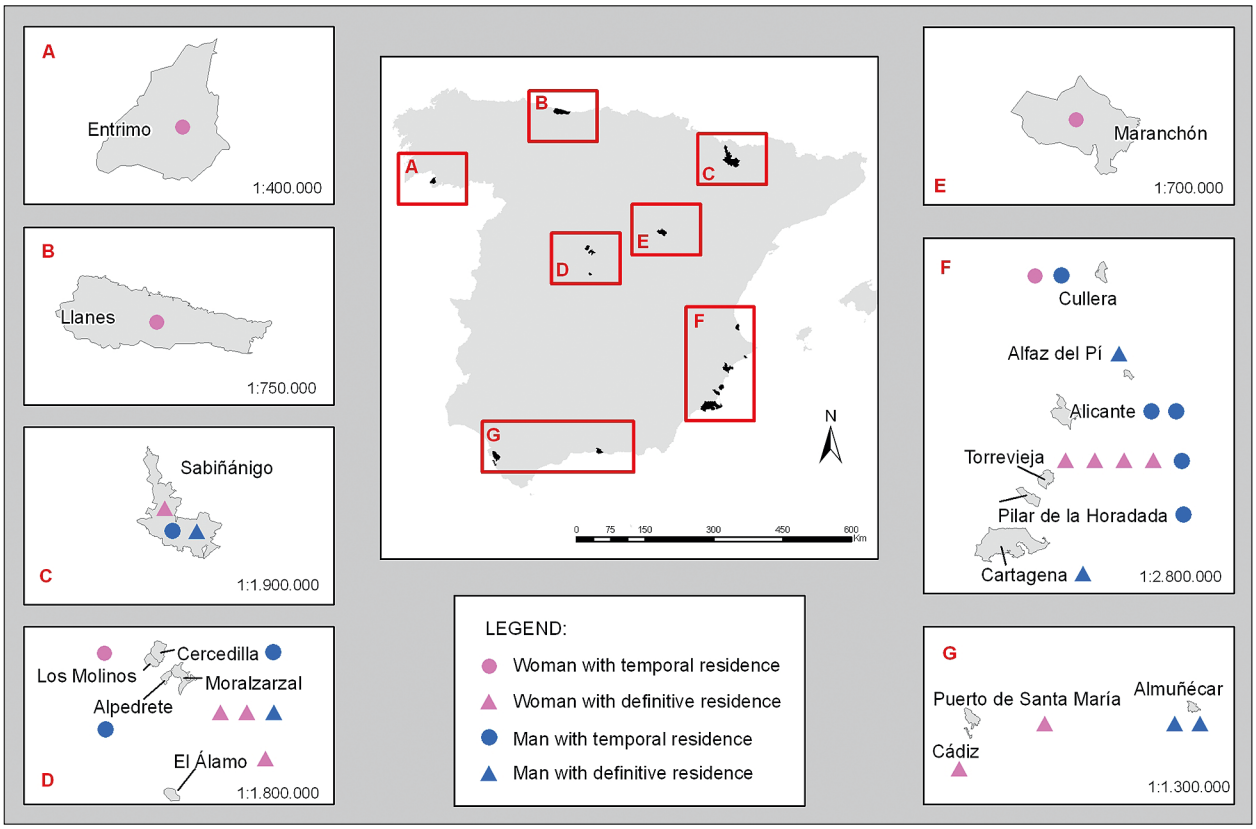

Fig. 1. Places of destination of the 29 people interviewed

Source: In-depth interviews

3. Ageing and the ownership of second homes

There are several context factors that help understand the increase in residential mobility among the elderly population. One is the ageing of the population and the growing number of older people residing mainly in large cities. The ageing of the population, far from being considered a problem, is an achievement, since humanity is living longer than ever before. This ageing and increased longevity are explained by the increase in life expectancy which has gone up in Spain from 34.8 years in 1900 to 82.9 in 2014; however, in the region of Madrid (84.3 years) it is even higher than the Spanish average and the 28 countries of the EU (80.6 years) (INE, 2016). In addition, the relative good health of older people has helped improve the living conditions of this population, as only 22.5% of the population aged 65 or over perceived their health in 2011–2012 in Spain as bad or very bad, while a large group considered it as good or very good (39.9%) INE (2013). This may make Spain one of the countries with the highest longevity in the world.

Cribier and Kych (1993) point out that living in large cities, with noise, insecurity, pollution, high prices, etc., are among the main reasons that lead many people of this age to change their place of residence. In this sense, retirement migration from cities has great potential in Spain, where an increasing share of the population (including the very oldest) tends to concentrate in large cities: 64.5% of the population aged 65 or over resided in municipalities with 20,000 or more inhabitants in 2001, while only 40.6% lived in those with 100,000 or more inhabitants (INE, 2011).

In addition to the above factors, another factor that facilitates the residential mobility of members of this population is having a second home, either in the place where they were born (origin) or purchased during their working life in another part of the country. According to the last Population and Housing Census (INE, 2011), 13.3% of the popu-

lation aged 65 or over residing in Spain said that they had a second home; however, this figure rises to 30.4% among the older population residing in the municipality of Madrid. This group most typically owns a house outside the region of Madrid (36%), instead of inside the region (4%) or in another country (2%) (Fig. 2).

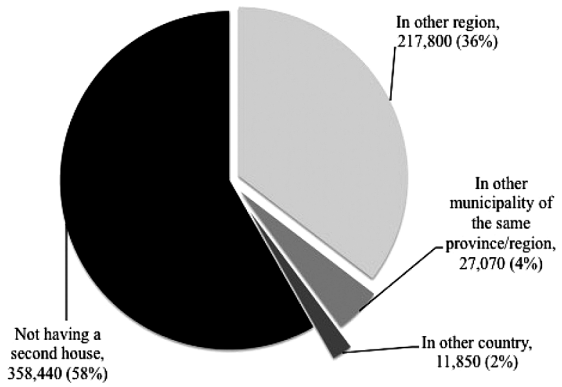

Fig 2. Location of second homes purchased by the elderly population aged 65 or over residing in the municipality of Madrid, 2011 (*)

(*) Second home used by a person temporarily (on holidays, at weekends, etc.), for a minimum of 15 days a year
Source: INE (2011). Population and Housing Census

The position of Madrid in the centre of the peninsula is a geographical factor that favours medium-long-distance mobility to all points on the peninsula; the city also has a mountainous area nearby in the North of the region (the Sierra Norte, one hour away by car), where many people have second homes. That is why having a second home, either in one's place of birth/origin or in other places, is a factor that makes residential mobility more likely during retirement, as later reflected by the testimonies of those interviewed.

4. Deciding on the change of place of residence: destination and reasons

Among the retirees interviewed, the residential mobility strategy and the change of place of residence has not always been something planned long before retirement, but has sometimes occurred quite spontaneously and according to various factors. Most of the twenty-nine people interviewed had purchased their second home during their working life and enjoyed it at weekends and during the holidays. Normally, they are purchased five to ten years before retiring (20 retirees), although others (5) had done so twenty to thirty years beforehand. Only in four cases were these homes inherited from their parents.

The new residential destinations are of average demographic size and are normally villages with no more than 10,000 inhabitants (on the coast), although others (generally inland) are even smaller. Only one of the people interviewed has a house in a coastal provincial capital (Alicante).

Before moving to these places, they were previously known for being used for their holidays, either with their partner or with friends, which shows the close relationship between migration and tourism (Marjavaara, Lundholm, 2016). The role of family and friends for knowing the destination is also important in the decision-making process. Only two people decided to purchase upon retirement, or a few years afterwards, without having previously visited the place and only after knowing it thanks to a visit from a friend or family member who already lived there.

The environmental reasons for moving to a new place are highlighted by all the interviewees, stressing the tranquillity of being able to reside in small population centres. Being close to the sea is the most important pull factor for fifteen interviewees, while being in mountainous areas, or nearby, either for excursions or for peace and quiet, is the most important factor for the rest of the interviewees. However, those environmental conditions in the places of destination that act as pull factors during a good part of the year, sometimes become push factors due to the large influx of tourists and the floating population during the summer, or also due to the high temperatures in coastal areas.

Apart from the two interviewees who say that they visit their second home less as time goes by, the rest of the people are happy with the choice of the place made, except for the congestion, traffic and some overcrowding problems. During those dates, they give up their residence to family members (generally children), who can make use of the home because of having to take their holidays in summer. This is when the interviewees take advan-

tage of spending time in Madrid and being in contact with family and friends, as well as making the most of the capital's cultural offering.

5. Frequenting the new place of residence

Not all the interviewees have moved permanently to the place where they bought their second home, and only four strictly reside the whole year at the new destination. They are married (two interviewees), separated (one) and single (one) people. Whenever there are children residing in Madrid, the move was to a place not very far away (50-60 km), in which case the family contact (physical) between them is frequent and sometimes even weekly; widowers/widows, separated and single people display other behaviour, as distance from Madrid was not such a factor, being usual to find them in places as far as 500-600 km away. Those people who have not permanently left Madrid mainly cite family reasons for this, particularly when one of the children already lives with these people in the family home in Madrid. This factor is often given by mothers who would not leave Madrid so as not to leave their children alone, even if they were at university or aged over 30.

The second most cited reason for not moving permanently is the poor health infrastructure and facilities at the places of destination. Wanting to be close to hospitals, particularly when people have had (or have) medical problems and require health treatments in Madrid, act as a deterrent to a permanent change of their place of residence, although this factor is mentioned more by women than men. However, it is also recognised that healthcare has improved greatly in all areas of Spain (especially in rural areas), so today it may take less time to reach a hospital living outside Madrid than in the capital itself.

The fact that the city of Madrid has a great cultural offering and range of services is also an oft-mentioned factor for not wanting to permanently leave this place. Another pull reasons are the amenities normally offered by housing in Madrid, particularly heating, which deters those considering leaving the city. It should not be forgotten that second homes are normally equipped for spending short periods, so interviewees say that during the winter they are better off in their homes in Madrid.

Related to the above is the matter of 'roots', which people have put down over the years living in Madrid. This aspect is particularly apparent in people who, whether or not born in Madrid, have lived all their life in the city, so when they retire they could not become accustomed or adapt to spending long periods outside of what the city offers. This idea emerges in approximately half of interviewees who do not consider moving permanently to the place where they have their second home, and also in most pre-retired and economically active people, who have not yet become mobile.

Finally, the distance between both homes greatly influences travel and the use (temporary or permanent) of the 'new' home. The general argument is that a home near Madrid can be used every weekend and can be taken advantage of several times a year. The same cannot be said of a home that is 400-500 km away in which case, particularly among people over 70 years old, the frequency of stays decreases and the use of public transport (train and bus) for travel increases. Visits to that second home decline as the years pass and public transport is used more. However, distance does not seem to act as a barrier in the same way to younger individuals (from 60 to 65 years old), as they use their own car and tend to stay for longer periods in their other home. Therefore, age and distance, as well as other factors such as the amenities and facilities of the house, or social life and proximity to family and friends, are often the most cited when it comes to explaining why no permanent move was made to the second home, or why they do not spend more months a year there.

6. General benefits of the residential relocation

The tranquillity of new destinations and the absence of noise, haste, stress, or no longer having to work, are the most highlighted consequences of a change of residence (temporary or permanent). Residing in a place of small-and medium demographic size and also being close to the sea influences that tranquillity, having a different pace of life to that of the big

city. The climate of the new destinations (beach or mountain) is another benefit frequently highlighted by most people, as is already common in the studies of amenity migrations in older people (Williams et al., 2000).

The tranquillity enjoyed in new destinations is related to security, as there is less likelihood of theft or harassment there compared to a big city. To a lesser extent, there are also people who refer to social factors such as contact with people, their friendliness, kindness, etc. as important. Satisfaction with the new place is related to the idea of totally changing habits and physical and social environment, which makes them feel more relaxed.

Tranquillity and a certain "temporary social isolation" is a highly valued factor, although not all tolerate that tranquillity in the same way. Interviewees who reside permanently in the new destination value it more positively, while for a few people who have not left Madrid permanently, this "isolation" is synonymous with a certain boredom that is reflected daily in a lack of social activity and lack of stimuli (sociocultural). This is the great fear that economically active people have, since they think that after living in Madrid they could not adapt to life in a small place.

6.1. Change of residence and health effects

Apart from satisfaction related to environmental factors, the new environment also enables an improvement in the other QoL dimensions of these people (Fernández-Mayoralas et al., 2004). The effects of a change of residence include the possibility of practising completely new activities or doing ones not previously practised as frequently. The most-cited example is that they can now go for a walk and go on excursions more often than in Madrid, which they say is very beneficial for their overall health and well-being.

It should be remembered that physical activity in older people is closely related to the ability to remain functional (Clark et al., 2001). Galenkamp et al. (2016) have determined the benefit of various leisure activities on intellectual functioning, although Glass et al. (1999) show that the benefits of non-physical activities on health are also important as they improve physical fitness and reduce the risk of mortality in all its causes.

The starting point in our analysis of the effect of residential mobility on health is that the interviewees recognise that they are in good health, apart from three people who suffer allergy problems and others, to a lesser extent, with heart disease, osteoarthritis or mild obesity. Therefore, none of the interviewees denies the beneficial effect that spending long periods, or almost the entire year, at the new destination has on their health. Some see a clearly direct effect, particularly when their allergies or bone problems improve by the sea, not only because they walk more but also because they are out more in the sun, there is less pollution, they breathe more pure air and they do more physical exercise (swimming in the sea or pool). People who regularly take antihistamines in Madrid need less of them by the sea, and their blood pressure improves. Spending periods in inland areas, with purer air and hardly any air pollution, also benefits some people by reducing their likelihood of getting colds the following winter.

6.2. Change of residence and effects on social and family relationships

Friendships and social relationships form another factor that produces happiness and which is most valued by older people in their QoL. Several studies show the positive effects that social relationships and contact with friends, family and neighbours have on health, overall well-being and happiness in older people (Onishi et al., 2006). Friends often appear as an important social group that gives life meaning. Indeed, psychiatrists claim that many of the signs of mental illness are based on the breaking or lack of bonds of friendship (Moragas, 2001). Maier and Klumb (2005) also show that maintaining social contacts with friends is very closely related to survival, and suggest that time spent with friends is a great advantage, even greater than the practise of other leisure activities.

Most interviewees say they continue to have the same social relationships as before their move, and that when they spend long periods in their second home they do not stop seeing their friends. Usually those who have permanently changed their place of

residence have made new friends, but also say that they see their old friends when they return to Madrid or receive visits from them at their new place of residence. As the new places are usually small in terms of population numbers, neighbours also play an important role when getting to know new people there, which is why the predisposition and ease of contacting people and making friendships in those places is highlighted.

What is detected is that the level of involvement and expansion of the social network varies depending on whether the person moves permanently or temporarily to live at the place where they have their second home. People who know that they are only going to be there three or four months in the summer, and are also accompanied by their partner, do not make great efforts to expand their network of friends in that time. However, that does not happen when the idea is to reside permanently as the social network expands greatly at the new destination; in this case people are happy with their new friends with whom they do different activities (dance classes, playing cards, going out for meals, etc.). But the number of acquaintances also depends on the type of destination and when and how the home is purchased: when it is located in the place of birth the social network is usually very large (family, friends, etc.), whereas when a house is purchased after retirement, for example in a place on the coast or in the mountains with which there were not many previous links, that social network is much smaller.

A person's marital status also affects their social life, as unlike married people and couples in general, single people usually acknowledge that they do not have many friends or that they have quickly expanded their social network, which is why they normally practise their hobbies at home. However, that does not prevent them from receiving old friends throughout the year.

Another aspect related to a change of residence is how this has affected contact with the family, although this aspect is possibly the least affected by this change, as not very different visiting trends or frequencies are observed to those practised before the change of residence.

A differentiation should be made between contact maintained with children and grandchildren on the one hand, and the rest of the family on the other (siblings, in-laws, cousins, etc.). The importance of children and grandchildren when considering a change of residence, more so in women than men, and how distance affects this, has already been indicated; however, the desire to have and feel close to children and grandchildren is not the same in singles, separated people or married couples with children. In relation to the rest of the family, their closeness and greater/less contact does not appear to be a factor when deciding to move to another place. Almost all the interviewees point out that it is now possible and easy to maintain contact with the family by telephone and that travelling is much faster and more comfortable than in the past.

7. Better quality of life in the new residential environment?

As studies about lifestyle migration show (Benson, Reilly, 2009), behind residential mobility lies an interest and search for pleasant and less congested residential environments than those of the big cities from where people mainly come. As indicated, the interviewees recognise many environmental benefits and also health and social life benefits.

The effect that the move has had on overall well-being is clearly evident in people who have moved permanently, with very positive benefits for their lives. Something similar occurs among those who develop temporary mobility, either because they still work or because they are pre-retired but have not permanently left Madrid; they recognise that the time they spend at the new destination brings them great benefits, both physical (due to the sun, being outdoors, etc.) and psychological (due to tranquillity, change of environment, etc.).

There are many people who also highlight the economic benefits of the change, giving them future security. Half of those who moved permanently previously sold their home in Madrid and were able to buy a cheaper place at the new destination with the money. Those who did not sell their home either continue to rent it out in Madrid or have given it to their children for them to live there. They generally recognise that the advantage arises when moving to a cheaper place where the price of housing is lower than in Madrid. However, there is no economic advantage in terms of the price of basic

consumer products (food, clothing, etc.), as the interviewees recognise that prices in coastal or rural areas are very similar to those in the big cities.

The change of residence is therefore very positively valued by both those people who only spend part of the year at the new destination and those who have made it their usual residence. None of the interviewees are thinking about selling their homes at the new destination and would only do so in case of extreme necessity, so they plan to continue using them while they can and then giving them to their children or other family members.

Opinions about which elements or dimensions are most important in the QoL of these people result in health and family being the most important factors in their lives, as the literature shows (Borglin et al., 2005). Health is very firmly mentioned by those people who have had serious problems; family comes second, specifically children, to whom they give most importance; and their economic situation third. After those elements comes having a place for retirement and the freedom to use it freely, as important aspects in their lives. Related to these factors would be other elements and activities which contribute positively to well-being, such as new activities that can be practised, in relation to the greater free time that retirement offers.

The relationship between QoL and leisure and the activities of the daily life are sufficiently documented, with empirical studies showing the enormous benefits of practising various activities at an advanced age and as an important subjective source of well-being in people (Nordbakke, Schwanen, 2014; Galenkamp et al., 2016). The theory about the practise of activities relates leisure activities to life satisfaction, and has helped provide an understanding of the positive effect that participation in activities has on health and QoL. This theory of activity is based on the assumption that the frequency of activities influences satisfaction with life, and that satisfaction also depends on the degree of socialisation achieved with activities (Havinghurst, 1968). It is also assumed that socialising and psychological well-being needs continue during old age, justifying the practise and need for social activities. In this respect, the participants of this study admit that they practise activities other than those they did before the change of residence and that many of them have expanded their social network, so relocation has become a strategy to improve their QoL.

8. Conclusions

People's QoL is a subject that has been given a lot of attention in the last two or three decades, although there are still no answers to many questions about what it means for older people and what factors influence it. It is not very clear which dimensions or aspects are always the most important, besides which the concept of QoL varies not only from person to person but also between places and over time (Borglin et al., 2005).

Each of these elements or dimensions of QoL is sensitive to intervention and preventive measures. The general objective of public managers should be to identify and eliminate factors that are beyond the control of individuals and that undermine their abilities, fostering those that benefit and favour various aspects of their lives. That will be an important step in improving the well-being and QoL of older people.

The study of residential mobility in relation to QoL goes in this direction as it can modify the determining factors of the well-being of people and cause them to vary. Several studies have shown how heavily the environment influences older people's QoL (Rojo-Pérez et al., 2016). However, the analysis of migration and the change of residence, even though these movements are increasingly frequent, has not been considered among the strategies that older people can develop to improve their QoL.

The aim of this study has been to show the importance that those environmental factors have on QoL when it comes to ageing in people who have moved their place of residence from Madrid to other places in Spain. The decision to migrate is complicated, especially when this is permanent, and is influenced by various family, health and social factors, as well as physical distance. The migration process also varies according to the sociodemographic characteristics of people, depending on their gender or marital status. But once the decision to emigrate and spend more or less long periods of the year at what was previously their second home has been made, the new environment has a very clear influence (in most cases) on health and also on social relationships, which is why the move is very positively valued.

This study is exploratory, so it would be advisable to continue to analyse the influence and relationship between residential mobility and QoL in this age group. It will be necessary in the future to fur-

ther explore how and in what context the decision to migrate is taken. And to continue to investigate the factors behind whether that mobility becomes more or less permanent and its location, relating this to the characteristics of the places of origin and destination. It would also be interesting to adopt a long-term perspective in order to know what happens as time passes with people who have migrated.

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