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**Estonian lifestyle emigrants' motivation to
leave Estonia in young adulthood**

Analysing the incentives to leave through Reflexive Individualisation
Theory

MA thesis

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I have written the Master's thesis independently. All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Lühikokkuvõte

Uurimustöö käsitleb eestlastest elustiili migrantide motivatsiooni välisriiki kolimisel. Subjektiivset motivatsiooni analüüsitakse antud töös läbi reflektiivse individualismi teooria, mis on tänapäeva ebatraditsioonilise ühiskonna üks tunnustest. Reflektiivsus on noorte hulgas ajendatud kiiresti muutuvast ühiskonnast ning võimalusterohkusest. Baseerudes kahekümne kahele empiirilisele juhtumile, leidis töö autor, et eestlasest elustiili migrant põgeneb rutiinist, edumeelsest ühiskonnast ning materialistlikust mõttemaailmast. Lisandusid ka individuaalsed ajendid, mis on korrellatsioonis mitte tagasi kolimisega ning ühiskonnale omaste probleemidega: rassism (ebatolerantsus), hariduse liigne akadeemilisus, väljavaated tööturul pärast ülikooliõpinguid, inimeste kinnine iseloom ning peidetud sotsiaalsed tõekspidamised. Eestlastele omane tööetika ning 8st 17ni tööruut on noortele vastuvõetamatu, kuna eneseteadlikud noored hindavad töö- ja eraelu tasakaalu. Individualistlikud noored investeerivad pigem elamustesse ning reisimisse. Töö hüpotees lähtus eelnevatest kvalitatiivsetest uurimistest, mis peegeldasid kvantitatiivse uurimistöö läbiviimise komplikatsioone. Autor eeldas, et elustiilmigrante on võimalik majandusmigrantidest küsimustikuga eristada, kuna nad ei emigreeru majanduslikel põhjustel ning nende profiil ei kattu sinikrae profiiliga, kuid pärast küsimustiku vastuste võrdlemist mõistis, et piir kahe migratsioonitüübi vahel on väga õhuke ning kvantitatiivselt eristamatu. Elustiili migrant võib olla nii tudeng, töötaja, seljakoti rändur kui ka ajutine või permanentne resident. Uurimistööga leidis autor, elustiili migrandi peamine tunnus on emigreeruda uudishimust maailma, elustiilide ning iseenda vastu - majanduslikud põhjused kaasnevad teisejärguliselt. Autor lisab, et olenemata elustiili migratsiooni uurimise keerukusest ja raskesti mõõdetavast kontseptsioonist oli uurimistööd väga põnev kirjutada. Väliseestlased üle maailma, kes pole mitte majanduslikel, vaid elu rikastamise põhimõttel emigreerunud, on eneseteadlikud ning inspireerivad. Kodumaal võib nii mõnigi nende hoiakutega suhestuda, kuid küsitatud eestlased pole ühiskonna üle kurtmise taha pidama jäänud, vaid võtnud reflektiivselt vastu otsuse elus muutus teha.

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1. Introduction

The issue of migration has been deepening by the new and more fluid forms of migration types, which makes defining a migrant and her/his reasons for emigrating difficult. Recent studies on Eastern European migration have concluded that new mobility patterns are emerging (Saar, 2016; 45). The reasons why the author is dedicated to write 15 EAP research in this particular topic are the lack of studies on lifestyle migration and inefficient approaches to various emigration types among foreign Estonians. Priinits and Võrk have concluded in 2004 that there is no need for limiting out-migration, the focus should rather be put on influencing motives of leaving Estonia among young highly educated specialists. EU nationals are presented with the opportunity to settle wherever they choose within the boundaries of the Union or in visa-free countries. Migrations rates especially brain drain in the EU have been continuously rising since the creation of the Union (Nedeljkovic 2013).

Drawing a framework of main subjective motives enables to understand the incentives of emigration in today's globalised post-traditional era. Estonian society (among other Western societies) has now entered post-modernity (Saar 2016) characterised by the demise of traditional social structures and divisions of labour and a greater degree of consumer choice which are the main reasons lifestyle migration has to be studied further (Benson and Osbaldiston 2016). Moreover, most of the studies reflect that blue-collar workers and males are most likely to move and highly educated people are less likely to leave Estonia (Vester 2016; Saar 2016). Instead of the stereotypical migrant, looking for ways to accumulate money before returning to the home country, more and more highly skilled Estonians are interested in self-development and new cultural experiences (Saar 2016). For the past few years, the term 'lifestyle migration' has been used to refer to an increasing number of people who take the decision to migrate based on their belief that there is a more fulfilling way of life available elsewhere (Benson & O'Reilly 2009). According to Estonian Statistics (2016) the number of young adults aged between 20-34 emigrated from Estonia is

distinctively larger than other age groups, which is the reason of focusing on young Estonians in particular research.

The main aim of the research is to frame an overview of contemporary lifestyle emigrants' profile based on 93 Estonians across the World and draw an understanding of the main motives for leaving Estonia based on 22 in-depth interviews. By framing the main reasons of leaving and not returning, yet, the research reflects on how young adults associate with Estonian society and how do they cognise societal differences while living abroad. The research focuses only on lifestyle migration motives for leaving and possible reasons of not returning, yet, and is not including various affects linked with the challenges before, during, and after migration.

How to analyse relatively abstract concept of lifestyle emigration? Based on previous studies conducted by Beck and Lau (2005) on lifestyle migration, the author has chosen psychological reflexive individualization theory in modernization. How to understand young adults? According to youth cultural scholars Nayak and Kehily (2008) everyday cultural mobilities transform young people's identities in complex ways as they come to interact with and reconfigure processes of globalization. Archer (2013) states individuals have become ever more free of structure, in fact they have to redefine structure. Hereby, it is worth noting, as Giddens (1991) Beck & Lau (2005) have largely ignored gender while researching reflexivity, the author is not aiming to differentiate female and male emigrants during the research.

Research Questions

- i) What are the main motives for Estonian lifestyle emigrants to leave Estonia in young adulthood?
- ii) How the reflexive individualization theory applies to Estonian lifestyle migrants' objectives for relocating?

- iii) What are the main distinctive and reputed characteristics of lifestyle migrant?

In order to formulate hypothesis, one has to understand that the field of lifestyle migration has been relatively little researched and has been criticized by multiple scholars. For instance, Huete, Mantecón & Estévez (2013) have stated that the lifestyle migration framework is inadequate to study, particularly when using a quantitative approach. However, as Benson & O'Reilly (2009) have studied, lifestyle emigrants tend to escape from various experiences and do not emigrate on economic incentives. Hereby, the main hypothesis evolves from the impression of collecting data quantitatively: the author claims it is possible to distinct lifestyle emigrants from economic emigrants. The hypothesis is based on the process and final results of analysing lifestyle emigrants' profiles (selecting 93 out of 176). The author selects common characteristics associated with lifestyle emigrant and compares them with empirical data gathered with the survey.

In terms of the methodology, a combination of migration data is used: survey data to find Estonian lifestyle emigrants across the World and qualitative in-depth interviews to create a framework of reasons of emigration. Further descriptive narrative analyses the motives of relocating. The author defines contemporary lifestyle emigrants' profiles based on theoretical findings. Based on the theories, the author has conducted survey to select 93 Estonian lifestyle emigrants across the World: has selected 22 lifestyle emigrants out of 93 to make in-depth interview; and reflects on the findings in the analysis section as narratives gathered by empirical surveys reflect better understanding of the migration processes and the incentives of the mobility.

The research has been divided into four chapters. The first chapter focuses on the reflexive individualization theory and concludes the author's interpretation of the theory. The second chapter focuses on the contemporary international migration theories by defining briefly different

out-migration types such as economic, political and social emigration and continues with the reputed knowledge on lifestyle migration with statistics and quantitative complexity. Also, the author concludes her interpretation of the theory for further analysis. The third chapter focuses on the methodology and the final chapter includes empirical analysis and discussion.

2. Reflexive Individualization

Social sciences need to construct new concepts to understand the world dynamics at the beginning of the 21st century. Modernity has begun to modernize its own foundations and has become reflexive (Beck, Bonss and Lau, 2003). In a world that is supposedly becoming more risky, fragmented and fluid, the ability to find something concrete to hold on to is a new cultural desire and provides explanatory power to a quest for a better life (Benson and Osbaldiston 2016). According to Vandenberghe (2014), reflexive individualization presuppose that individuals are set free from social structures to such an extent that they are empowered to distance themselves from the traditions and conventional modes of thought and judgement in which they have been socialized to critically think for themselves. Hereby it is worth noting that Vandenberghe (2014; 153) has also concluded that the processes of reflexive individualization are characteristic not of all ages but mainly of the younger cohorts.

The reflexive individualization has been typically associated with Giddens (1991), Beck and Lau (2005), Kenway and McLeod (2004) and Bauman (2013) by the result, that self-identity becomes a reflexively organised endeavour. What was once inherited by tradition and taken for granted requires now a conscious decision by the individual. According to Berger (1979), biography thus becomes a “designed project”. What previously was fate now becomes a set of choices - destiny is transformed into decision. Indeed, confronted with a plurality of life-worlds and lifestyles, individuals must now produce, stage and cobble together their biographies themselves

(Vandenberghe 2014). Moreover, in a global world, local cultural traditions are no longer insulated from other cultural traditions, but they start to mix and to interpenetrate. As they do so, the local cultures necessarily lose their binding force and become optional (Vandenberghe 2014).

Reflexive individualization draws a clear conjunction to another viewpoint, which entails the abandoning materialistic values. The historically unprecedented degree of economic security experienced by the post-war generation in most industrial societies has led to a gradual shift from 'materialist values' (emphasizing economic and physical security above all) toward 'post-materialist priorities' (emphasising self-expression, autonomy and the quality of life) (Vandenberghe 2014; Giddens 1991).

Why reflexivity theory matters in modern societies? Study conducted by Threadgold & Nilan (2009) claim today's young people face risk societies unemployment and financial security, loneliness, personal relationships, health problems, crime, ecological disaster and terrorism as well as personality defects and physical imperfections. Increased perceptions of, and reactions to, specific new kinds of risk therefore characterize the way people live and think in late modernity (Threadgold & Nilan 2009). Theorists of 'reflexive modernity' propose that we face increasing uncertainty in a world complex and difficult to understand, as we move towards a 'post-traditional society' (Giddens, 1991). In contrast to the traditional world, it is supposed, where the individual was substantially in control of many of the influences shaping his life, in modern societies that control has passed to external agencies - tradition used to be an important sense a single authority (Giddens 1991). Given the 'rise of the network society' and the 'information age', young people grow up in a 'risk' society that did not exist for their parents' generation (Threadgold & Nilan 2009). Their capacity to foresee and manage risk as individuals is emphasized – a process that appears to support the individualization.

As mentioned above, the reflexivity is marked as a characteristic of contemporary biographies and a structural feature of late/high modernity. Beck and Lau (2005; 87) write that reflexive modernization dissolves traditional parameters of industrial society: class culture and consciousness, gender and family roles, and describes this as a process of detraditionalisation that happens in a social surge of individualization. Socially prescribed biography is transformed into biography that is self-produced and continues to be produced (Kenway & McLeod 2004). Hereby, the author refers (Threadgold & Nilan 2009; 155) metaphorical comparison of Furlong and Cartmel's railway example ascribed to youngsters' journey:

“Within the school, young people join trains, which are bound for different destinations. The trains they board are determined by social class, gender, ethnicity and educational achievement. Once the train journey has begun, opportunities to switch destinations are rather limited. The changes in the last twenty years, which have led to a replacement of the standard biography by a reflexively orchestrated and individualized ‘choice biography’ can best be described in terms of the wholesale closure of the railways. With the absence of trains, the journey is now undertaken by car, giving thus the drivers the opportunity to select their route from a vast array of alternatives. However, a significant number of young people cannot afford a car and have to rely on privatised public transport, which consists of long periods waiting in the rain at the bus stop for transport of any kind to arrive.”

With on-going trends of individualization, economic and cultural globalization, and improved means of communication in recent decades, it is generally assumed that living abroad temporarily during early adulthood has become increasingly widespread, particularly in many of the world's richer societies (Conradson & Latham 2005). In Sweetman's (2003) approach to reflexivity, it is precisely because of the abundance of choice

that individuals have no choice other than to adopt reflexivity to help them make decisions. Certain individuals thus experience reflexivity as second nature. Lifestyle choices are therefore a response to the increased demands on individuals to behave reflexively:

“ ... the adoption of particular lifestyles . . . whilst dependent initially upon a reflexive engagement with the various options that are available, may also reflect an attempt to evade demands for an on-going reflexivity and to fix, or ‘anchor’ the self in what can be regarded as a modernist response to the contemporary social terrain (Sweetman, 2003; 543).”

Hereby, it is worth concluding the exact definition for the author’s research to narrow down the approach to relatively abstract, psychological, anthropological and sociological term. By concluding the reflexive individualisation theory for further analysis the author is focusing on the side effects reflexive modernisation brings along to human decision-making and self-assessment. People experience reflexivity in post-modern and post-traditional societies which is rather reflex-like, unforeseen but individualistic. People are set free from social structures to such an extent that they distance themselves from the traditions and conventional modes of thought and judgement. “I want to do what ever I desire to without listening to external influencers. I am confident with my individual life changing decisions to create my biography according to my needs”. People self-consciously and reflexively are opened to construct identity, which allows and inspires to seek for fulfilling life anywhere on the Globe.

Younger generation in a post-traditional society is free of boundaries limiting their decisions to live according to desires. People may not listen to external explicit or implicit influencing sources for living a fulfilling life. Broadly speaking, memories and experiences abroad influence people heavily afterwards. Youngsters live online and experience the borderless lifestyle – they see possibilities abroad and nothing restricts them to live

abroad temporarily (visa restrictions applicable when talking permanent stay). Also, as giving a birth in mid-20s is expected to be more accepted than in mid-30s or giving a birth is expected to be normal to increase the population, to have a traditional family, people may decide not to have children. The decision may evolve from external sources not related to family's or societal values – seeing role models in social media and hearing different experiences abroad aspires people to become more aware of the choices available and thereby do not depend on roles set by the society.

As we move/have moved towards a post-traditional society in which fixed sources of meanings diminish it is worth analysing various shapes of people's attitude towards the post traditional societies. Notably, not all individuals associate with the reflexivity. Also, common for post-materialistic societies, reflexive individualization draws a conjunction with another viewpoint, which entails the devaluating materialistic values and belongings. Youngsters tend to understand the difference between earning money for materialistic values instead of investing in one's journey of life. The author returns to these matters later, relates them with lifestyle emigration motives according to reflexivity and considers the conceptual framework of sociological project for theorizing lifestyle emigration individual reasons for leaving home countries.

3. Contemporary International Migration

3.1 Out-Migration Types and Theories

As lifestyle migration is relatively new concept of migration types, the author is going to give a brief overview of international migration and economic, political and social migration types to classify lifestyle migration in three main migration types.

In all, the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly over the past fifteen years reaching 244 million in 2015, up from 222 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (International Migration

Report 2015). By definition, an international migrant is a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth. Globally, most migrants worldwide originate from middle-income countries (157 million in 2015). Between 2000 and 2015, the number of migrants originating from middle-income countries increased more rapidly than those from countries in any other income group. The majority of migrants from middle-income countries were emigrating to high income country (International Migration Report 2015).

Modern transportation has made it easier, cheaper and faster for people to move. At the same time conflict, poverty, inequality and lack of decent jobs are among the reasons that compel people to leave their homes in search of better futures for themselves and their families. In spite of the many benefits of migration, in average, international migrants themselves remain among the most vulnerable members of society. They are often the first to lose their job in the event of an economic downturn, often working for less pay, for longer hours, and in worse conditions than national workers. While for many, migration is an empowering experience, others endure human rights violations, abuse and discrimination (International Migration Report 2015).

American sociologist Lee (1966) has underpinned migration findings in his book “A Theory of Migration”, where push factors entail economical patterns such as unemployment, low income, high taxes, social and political patterns such as poverty, discrimination, religion restrictions, wars; and nature and climate conditions. According to Eamets & Pataccini (2017), **economic emigrant** is typically from poorer countries, mainly with agricultural background. The major incentives for emigration evolve from moving from low income, poor social security and high unemployment to the destination country with higher income, better living conditions, or more job opportunities. The term economic migrant is typically applicable to new migrants from Central and Eastern Europe after joining EU. **Political emigrants** are refugees, asylum seekers escaped from the war,

scarifying on racial or ethnical persecution. Hereby, belong to the migrants' group, which would not be in the focus of the further research. **Social emigrants** are people looking for better quality of life for retirement or securing their children's future, such as Estonians in South Spain, Australia or New Zealand. Social emigrants are tightly linked with the lifestyle emigration concept (Eamets 2010). Lifestyle emigrants do not leave their home country due to poverty, inequality and lack of decent jobs are among the reasons that compel people to leave their homes in search of better futures for themselves and their families. They emigrate to seek for individual, rather psychological reasons. Lifestyle migrants, who are temporary backpackers, working holidaymakers, on a gap year or an overseas experience, highlights ways in which conventional accounts of travel, work and migration fuse. Therefore, the contemporary lifestyle migrant could be simultaneously an employee, a student, a visitor, a seasonal worker, holidaymaker, a semi-permanent resident, and potentially many other roles and identities (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark; 2013). In practice, the migration types may be faded in time by transforming from political migration to economic; from economic migration to lifestyle or from lifestyle migration to economic migration. However, whilst lifestyle mobility can include work and career, we see the dominant purpose of its associated movements as lifestyle-led rather than driven by economic gain or a logic of production (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark; 2013).

On the Table 3.1.1 there is a statistical overview of emigrated Estonians. The number of young adults aged between 20-34 emigrated from Estonia is distinctively larger than other age groups.

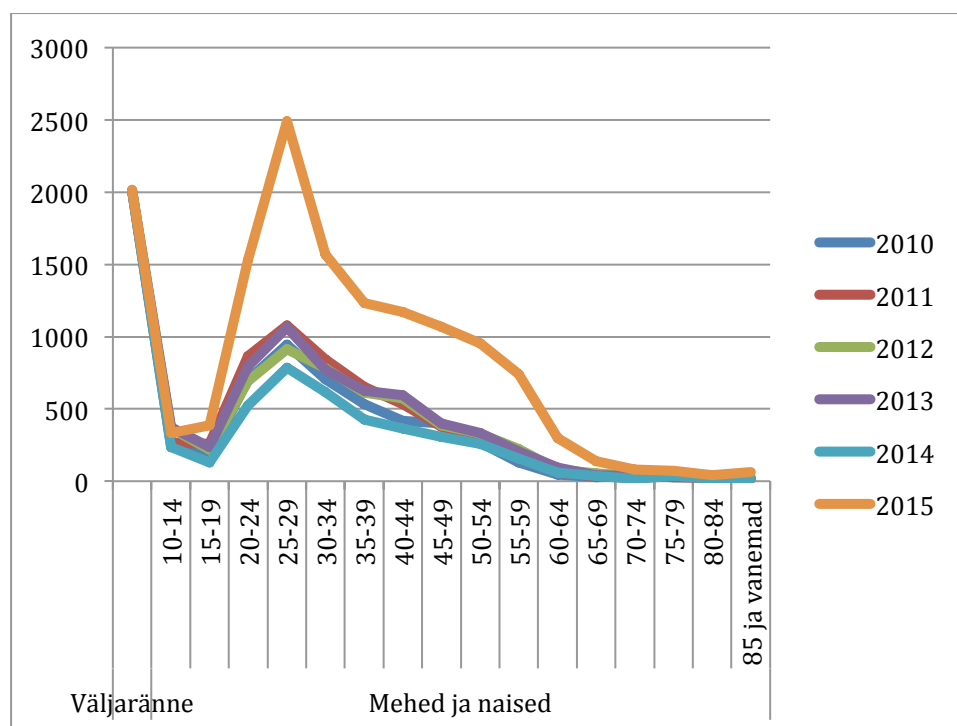


Table 3.1.1 Emigration from Estonia according to age groups, men & women

As visible on the Table 3.1.1 (Estonian Statistics 2016) emigration among Estonian young adolescent aged 25-29 has increased over the past few years reaching the maximum of 2490 emigrants in 2015. The data on year 2016 is not yet available on Estonian Statistics. Aged 20-24 has increased to 1530 in 2015 and aged 30-34 to 1570. The majority of labour migration studies for analysing contemporary migration evolve from the main migration theories such as neoclassical micro theory, the new economics of migration, dual labour market theory, world system theory, institutional theory, cumulative causation theory et cetera (Kurekova 2011), but to understand the lifestyle migration, more anthropological, individual-centric and beyond economic needs approaches are required.

3.2. Lifestyle Emigration

Estonian researcher Maarja Saar (2016) has studied different modern mobility patterns in Eastern Europe and found that the Estonian value space has experienced considerable changes since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Societal structures have been undermined and individual

success is considered more important than the common good (Saar 2016; 50). People, especially young adults are more self-oriented and aware of the various lifestyle opportunities available in today's era. How lifestyle migration could contribute to the individual success? What does the lifestyle migration mean? One of the first attempts to theoretically explore lifestyle migration is worth citing at length here (Torkington 2010; 410):

With this in mind, we consider the insights offered by sociological theorists who make explicit the link between consumption and lifestyle. Common to these accounts is the notion that society has now entered post, late, second, or liquid modernity /.../, characterized by the demise of traditional social structures and divisions of labour, and a greater degree of consumer choice. Lifestyle, within this contemporary consumer society, is a life project for the individual, part of the reflexive project of the self, in which we unremittingly, but never routinely, engage, in order to make sense of who we are and our place in the world.

Most of the research conducted in the field tends to use O'Reilly and Benson's (2009) ambiguous definition of lifestyle migration as the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful' and which offer 'a better quality of life. Arguably, the decision to leave this definition loose provides researchers with opportunity to open up and explore the concept of lifestyle further, both theoretically and empirically. The term 'lifestyle' revolves around that question of literally 'finding a better way of life' (Benson & Osbaldiston 2016).

The traditional assumption that migratory movements of any consequence are those motivated by economic push and pull factors is no longer promoted the main research objects within all areas of migration research (Castles & Miller 1993). There are a host of social transformations that have given rise to lifestyle migration and which explains its emergence as a distinct phenomenon over the last 50 or 60 year (O'Reilly and Benson

2009). Some researchers notably sociologists, social anthropologists and geographers have begun to explore the trends in different locations and have conducted a growing body of work in theorising lifestyle migration. Lifestyle migration could be divided into multiple types: contemporary migrants (including both international migrants and domestic), downsizing migrants (escape from materialism), temporary backpackers, retirement migrants (buying properties abroad) and second-home owners – all reveal a common narrative through which migrants render their lives more meaningful (O'Reilly and Benson 2009).

Janoschka (2016) and Benson (2016) have paid much attention to exploring qualitatively the motivations, the mobility paths, transnational experiences and social capital¹ of such mobile citizens, especially in the European case. Within Europe, the first empirical studies focused on International Retirement Migration, especially flows of Northern European retirees moving to southern European destinations, either full-time or for part of the year (Torkington 2010). This social group continues to be the most widely researched within the field but relatively few studies have been conducted on early adulthood lifestyle emigration (Torkington 2010).

The “compulsory” time resided abroad to be considered as a lifestyle migrant varies from different studies. Warnes (1991) notes that for demographers, ‘permanent’ changes of residence are commonly taken to be those of more than six months, whilst Jordan and Duvell (2003) claim that migration “involves stays of over a year”. Interestingly, as also tourists, lifestyle migrants find settling in a place vague. It might be that migrants spend many years in a place without making any attempt to settle in (Torkington 2010). Even though the concept of settlement is arguable and many lifestyle migrants may not even settle in destination country, people tend to use tools for settling in such as belonging to social and cultural

¹ Using the concept of social capital explores themes related to friendship and community, belonging and identity and discusses the nature of the emigrants' sociability (Benson 2016).

² Perhaps the compilation of such regional estimations abroad would tend to give a brief overview of specific migration: In Turkey, for example, Ilkay Südaş estimates the number

networks (including clubs, associations), information networks, support services and intermediaries, material conditions (available housing stock, infrastructures, accessibility, etc), education opportunities for the children of migrants, links with countries of origin (availability of own-language media, food products, ICT use, etc), leisure facilities and entertainment venues, and so on (Torkington 2010).

O'Reilly and Benson (2009) have studied, on the macro level the lifestyle migration stories include tales of globalization, increased mobility and ease of movement, flexibility in working lives, increases in global relative wealth, various shapes of escape, from monotony and routine, or from the individualism, materialism and consumerism of contemporary lifestyles. Sometimes the migrants are emigrating as a result of real experiences such as overabundance, divorce or crime, at other times it is unpredictability and risk in their working lives, uncertainty about economic futures or anxiety about crime that they describe as driving their mobility (O'Reilly & Benson 2009). All of these affordances of place in the chosen destination are constantly compared against what are seen as the negative factors of the country of origin (Torkington 2010).

According to the British case studies, there have been increasing numbers of young, childless migrants actively taking the decision to leave their well-paid jobs, encouraged by the idea that there is more to life than sitting in an office all day long (Benson 2009). If considering the level of stressful, routine and success-orientated lifestyles, lifestyle migration is whether explicitly or inexplicitly about escape: escape from somewhere and something, while simultaneously an escape to self-fulfilment and a new life. It could be a recreation, restoration or rediscovery of oneself, of personal potential or of one's 'true' desires (O'Reilly and Benson 2009). It may be escape to work temporary to cover living expenses or travel abroad for a longer period of time. They still are seeking for something extraordinary for self-fulfilment, which previous place(s) could not enable. Lifestyle migrants take lifestyle options more seriously than their careers

and thereby, the on-going mobility plays a crucial role in the performance of particular lifestyle choices. Migration is thus aspirational, not only in the sense of what it holds in store for you, but also in terms of what and where you can become (Benson 2009).

According to Benson and Osbaldiston (2016), lifestyle migration is made possible by economic resources as well as certain cultural capital, thus being possible to certain individuals in the society only. Lifestyle migration relates specifically to the relative economic privilege of individuals in the developed world, the reflexivity evident in previously analysed post-modern /post-traditional societies (Giddens 1991), the construction of particular places as offering alternative lifestyles, and a more general ease (or freedom) of movement. Additionally, under conditions of urbanization and the transition from mass to specialized production, Western class distinctions have begun to be loosen (Bell and Hollows, 2006). Identities have become less based on logics of production and instead are increasingly shaped through creative consumption practices and investment in self-fulfillment (Shields, 1992). Thereby, consumption practices are designed together into lifestyles (Featherstone, 1987), in which self-concept evolves from direct consumption choices and hence, oneself becomes more and more constructed out of those choices: lifestyle consumption practices have become ‘decisions not only about how to act but who to be’ (Giddens, 1991). As Bell and Hollows (2006) claimed, it is upon people how they choose their lifestyle that becomes important. However, in order to achieve and maintain new, preferable lifestyles set free form social structures and Western classes, migrants still need to generate income. As Benson and O’Reilly have studied (2009), all movement is possible because of asymmetrical distinction: those who travel can do so because they have access to certain resources, namely money and time, while others do not. Huete, Mantecón & Estévez (2013) have concluded the lifestyle migrants are supposed to have a purchasing power comparatively higher than labour migrants, which enables them to

access more resources, and precisely those resources allow them to enjoy more freedom of movement in the host country.

Several scholars such as Archer (2009), Beck, Lau (2005) and Bauman (2013) argue that societal changes have led to the conditions where individuals are less constrained by the structures and have more choices available. Benson & O'Reilly (2005) study describes it, as migrants escape disillusionment through seeking an alternative lifestyle. They have recognised between leisure and work, home and away, everyday and holiday. It is about escaping the 'slavery' of the routine in order to 'gaze' on the exotic. Giddens (1991) has noted that lifestyle choices have a special meaning for modern individual since they are a crucial part of the reflexive project of self. Lifestyle therefore gives individuals one way for defining themselves. This concept draws attention to the role of lifestyle within migration, alongside understandings of migration as one stage within the ongoing lifestyle choices and trajectories of individual migrants. Themes of reflexivity, consumption, privilege and their relationships to identity and migrant subjectivities have been key to these conceptualizations of lifestyle migration (Benson and Osbaldiston 2016).

Hereby, again, the author will narrow down the definition of "lifestyle emigration" to continue analysis with specific definition. As most of the researches have been focused on Retirement Lifestyle Migration but relatively few studies have been conducted on early adulthood lifestyle emigration, the author will focus only on young adults aged between 19 till 35 and explores the motivations, the mobility paths and transnational experiences of lifestyle emigrants. Nevertheless, if the person is residing permanently or temporarily, studying, backpacking or working, lifestyle emigration in this research gives the theoretical background to assess Estonians choice making before and during the time abroad. Based on the Benson's and O'Reilly findings on escape, the author is going to compare and highlight the main types of escape among Estonians.

As there have been increasing numbers of young, childless migrants actively taking the decision to leave their well-paid jobs, encouraged by the idea that there is more to life than sitting in an office all day long, the author pays attention to i) escape from routine and inflexible working lives to intermittent and flexible lifestyles; ii) escape from success-oriented lifestyles to more leisure oriented lifestyles; iii) escape from the materialism and consumerism; iv) escape to self-fulfilment and a new life (lifestyle). Since societal changes have led to the conditions where individuals are less constrained by the structures and have more choices available including finding an alternative lifestyle, the lifestyle revolves around that question of seeking and finding a better way of life. Irrespective of the broad definition of finding a better way of life, better climate, better value for money and better recreational options abroad, the author focuses on various shapes of finding a better way of life elsewhere. In author's opinion, the lifestyle emigration differs from the other migration types due to the higher individualistic needs and thereby gives the opportunity to self-assessment (including comparison of individual needs in different societies).

3.3 Statistics and Quantitative Complexity of Lifestyle Migration

When studying migration it is vital to use statistical data, but it is also important to be aware of the limitations of such data. According to the complexity of quantitative analysis, regarding to the statistics of lifestyle emigration, the author did not find any quantitative research conducted among Estonian lifestyle migrants. It entails various reasons but the complexity evolves mainly from the inability to track lifestyle migrants, to differentiate them from other migrants and thereby to collect quantitative data.

For instance, Etrillard (2014) has stated the fact that lifestyle migration framework has been developed by and only for qualitative research. However lifestyle migration's inadaptability to quantitative research disqualify and the concept for it to fit statistical categorization should be

reframed. Etrillard (2014) has evaluated the volume of lifestyle migration from one place to another in Europe². The data used to evaluate and track the volume of migration varies: statistics on foreigners from affluent countries that are registered as residents and the number of residence and long-term tourist visa issued or the number of properties bought by foreigners. However, the reader should consider all possible figures applicable to existing quantitative research approaches have loopholes and contributors have faced difficulties in their estimation of the volume of lifestyle migration.

The author will conclude the main findings of Etrillard's article to reflect on the complexity of statistical information on lifestyle migration. Firstly, the possible lack of willingness from migrants to be tracked and registered, and therefore counted in censuses, makes it difficult to observe emigrants mobility. Also, the lack of willingness from institutions to compile and share consistent data from one year to another makes it complicated. In host countries, lifestyle migrants are barely perceived as migrants and seem to continue to be in the blind spot of national policy makers and statistic offices. Secondly, the impossibility of using nationality as a way of determining whether an individual is a lifestyle migrant. Thirdly, the impossibility of deducting a precise number of migrants from the number of property transactions with foreigners and the impossibility of excluding those who are not property owners from the profiling of lifestyle migrants. Fourthly, the peripatetic nature of the life of many lifestyle migrants and lastly, the absence of a precise definition of the concept of lifestyle migration make tracking lifestyle emigrants difficult (Etrillard 2014). In overall, if considering the invisible transformation from one migrant type to another and the opportunity to being simultaneously an employee, a

² Perhaps the compilation of such regional estimations abroad would tend to give a brief overview of specific migration: In Turkey, for example, Ilkay Südaş estimates the number of lifestyle migrants as between 50 000 and 100 000 (Comparison: approximately 3.6 million Turkish nationals lived abroad in 2003 (Kirisci 2003)). Some figures might situate their number in Mexico and Spain over the million (Etrillard 2014). In Brittany, North West France, Etrillard estimates the number of lifestyle migrants between 10 000 to 20 000, the majority of these are British (Etrillard 2014).

student, a visitor, a seasonal worker, holidaymaker, a semi-permanent resident or many other roles, there should be no questions on how to perceive lifestyle emigrant in one role whereas perceiving economic or political emigrant is more fixed and tangible.

4. Methodology and Data

4.1 Personal Narrative Research Method

This research is based on qualitative data analysis focused on case studies, which provides an example of the author's use of multiple case study methodology and analysis to conduct research with marginalized group of 22 lifestyle emigrants. The empirical and theoretical data was collected by internet research, by conducting social media research for targeting Estonian emigrants, fulfilling online survey and Skype interviews.

Qualitatively structured and in-depth interviews were conducted by scheduling personal interviews through Skype, recording half an hour interviews, translating and transcribing interviews and analyzing the answers by personal narrative method. The method is focused on the interpretation of narratives (or stories) generated by those participating in a research project, and the analytic procedures associated with such an approach (Byrne 2016). As the main purpose of personal narrative method is to analyze individual experiences and stories, the key task is to analyze how the narratives support and contribute to theory formation (Beck, Bryman and Liao 2004). Narrative analysis requires attention to i) the content of the narrative and ii) the form, the way in which the narrative is organized (Byrne 2016). The approach is said to enable capture of social representation processes such as feelings, images, and time. It offers the potential to address ambiguity, complexity, and dynamism of individual, group, and organisational phenomena (Mitchell and Egudo 2003). For answering the main research question, the personal narrative research method allows to understand the conjunction between lifestyle emigration and reflexive individualization. The main aim of the study is to find

Estonian lifestyle emigrants to analyze their personal experiences and motives in conjunction with reflexive individualization. The author gives an overview and main findings of multiple case studies conducted by other researchers and focuses on selected interviewees' narratives of emigration. In conclusion, the author will conclude common characteristics and motives of Estonian lifestyle emigrants. In addition, descriptive analysis is used to study the selectivity of migration by analyzing and comparing the characteristics of the lifestyle emigrants with the characteristics of previous research results on lifestyle migration. Qualitative data is used in order to analyse factors that reflect the domination of lifestyle migration rather than any other migrant type and affect migrants during the different stages of their migration experience.

At the early stage of the research the author was particularly interested in highly skilled migrants, which stemmed from the previous studies originally by Benson, leading to guess that second modernity flexibility to emigrate has had more impact on the highly skilled and also wealthier. However, during the research the author found the irrelevance of only focusing on highly educated and professional emigrants but confronted hypothesis in the interview questions whether lifestyle migration is also applicable to middle-class and less-educated people, who collect money to leave home country.

The weaknesses of a selected research method appear from the main results. Under the narrative movement and criticisms of positivism, language is seen more as deeply constitutive of reality, not merely a device for establishing meaning. Stories do not reflect the world 'out there', but are constructed, rhetorical, and interpretive (Mitchell and Egudo 2003). Also, the method's criticism of the modernist or positivist (empirical, rational) paradigm is based on the concept of social representation (Mitchell and Egudo 2003). As personal narrative stories vary based on interviewees' personal experiences, openness and horizons one has to understand the specific group's interpretation and representation. Thereby,

the results of the research reflect on the core findings based on the respondents' stories and may scale inadequate results in generalization. The interpretation may be affected by the horizons and the ability of responders to assess and evaluate their experience.

4.2 Online Survey

The survey aimed to select potential Estonian lifestyle emigrants and to provide background knowledge of the selected interviewees, which in turn allowed to continue with main in-depth questions during the interview. The author has conducted a survey for 176 migrants, from where 93 lifestyle migrants have been selected due to theoretical characteristics of being visibly lifestyle migrants. Also, as leaving their e-mail for further Skype call was voluntary, the author unselected the anonymous respondents accordingly. Worth mentioning is the fact that the author found all 176 respondents via online Facebook Estonians abroad communities. In all together the request to fulfil the questionnaire was sent to 12 communities: Estonians in Africa, Estonians in Norway, Estonians in Thailand, Estonians in Australia, Estonians in Perth, Estonians in Brisbane, Estonians in Denmark, Estonians in North-America, Estonians in North-American West Coast, Estonians in New-Zealand, Estonians in Sweden and Estonians in Finland. Survey data is used in the thesis to analyse relations between migrants' personal characteristics and reasons for emigrating temporarily or permanently in conjunction with lifestyle migration. The questions in the survey enabled to analyse several indicators of structural integration (*look at All Data or Selected Data in appendixes: age, employment, education, citizenship, professional skills*) and sociocultural integration (attempts to settle in to a target country, main reasons for emigrating).

The request to contributing to the research was written in English with the assumption that Estonians emigrated abroad with the aim of finding a better way of life in psychological means; have done any attempts to settle in to the local culture and society and thereby do not hesitate to express themselves in English. The author found the approach to be one of the most

efficient ways to prevent economic and political emigrants' contribution. Additionally, before posting the request to answer the questionnaire on Facebook communities, the author highlighted the main objectives in the request to find lifestyle emigrants through the questionnaire. Thereby, the 176 responding people were not selected accidentally. However, many of the respondents did not pay attention to before mentioned introduction to lifestyle emigration. Presumably, only a few really knew the background knowledge of lifestyle emigration or searched for the definition on Google.

“I'm Reelika from Estonia and I find it compelling to research lifestyle migration which is one of the least researched migration type in the World. Aren't you curious to acknowledge whether you're an economic or lifestyle migrant? I am! Why? I've lived temporarily in Denmark, Norway, Finland, California, New Zealand and heading to NYC this summer. Thereby have a knowhow of what you may have lived through. However, I need empirical evidence from youngsters between 19-35 to study further what were the main incentives for leaving Estonia. Here you can help me! Please contribute anonymously to my Master thesis by answering this questionnaire.”

The first survey aimed to select Estonian lifestyle migrants across the World without who it would have been impossible to continue further study. 22 out of 93 were randomly selected to conduct further face-to-face Skype interviews. The author emphasizes that due to the complexity of quantitative analysis in lifestyle migration the selection has made by the author's interpretation on the theories.

Firstly, the author is going to elaborate why specific questions were asked. As Benson (2012) argues, the lifestyle emigrant is highly skilled and affordable only for the middle, upper class: “What was your level of education before emigration? What was your monthly net wage before emigration?” Also, as Vandenberghe (2014), Nayak and Kehily (2008)

find, reflexive individualism is typically applicable to youngster: “What was your age when you first emigrated?” As Warnes (1991) notes, permanent changes of residence are commonly taken to be those of more than six months, whilst Jordan and Duvell (2003) claim that migration involves stays of over a year: “How long have you stayed in the target country?” As Torkington (2010) has studied many lifestyle migrants may not even settle in to destination country but people tend to use tools for settling. Hereby the author aims to get an insight of the adaption and settling in: “Do you/did you relate yourself more to being a tourist or a in target country? Did you do any attempt to settle in to the target society? If yes, then what did you do to settle in?”

Due to the possibility of self-conscious and unawareness of the possible motives for leaving, the author has elaborated a few aspects in respondent with lifestyle emigration. Further questions were asked to understand subjective reasons for emigration: “What were the main reasons of emigrating?” Ticking multiple answers on the boxes: “Did it entail abandoning bad memories; bad experience back home; the freedom of choice; the career development; improving English; experiencing different lifestyle; earning money; seeking for self-authentication; better work-life balance or the pursuit of a good quality of life? Elaborative questions for understanding motives and emigrant’s profile: “What is the good quality of life and/or freedom compared to prior life? What were the main challenges at target destination? “ Also, questions were asked to get more specific information about the emigration trajectory to prepare for interview and get an overview of the relocation frequency: “What was the first target country? Where else have you lived? Have you planned to return or have you returned to the country of origin?”

As political migrants were automatically eliminated from the scope, the above-mentioned questions were relevant to differentiate potential lifestyle migrants from economic or marriage migrants who stay at the location due

to better money or for partner's residence but do not focus on the values and better quality of life.

4.3 In-Depth Interviews

Interviewer approached young Estonians according to their first initiative to fill in the survey related to lifestyle migration from which the interviewer/the author of the research has selected based on the motives of emigrating, whether they permanently live in a target country or not and whether they earned below average or average or higher salary. The major selection criteria encompassed the respondents who expressed the freedom of choice, aim to travel as much as possible and have acknowledged the difference between lifestyles. The selection included 22 responders with who the in-depth interview was conducted.

Because of the complex and individual subject, the author has chosen face-to-face in-depth interviews through Skype, which in comparison to telephone interviews or online surveys, offer more flexibility in terms of question content and target groups, tend to generate higher response rates and are more appropriate for long interviews with complex questions (Singleton and Straits (2011)). The reason why the author has chosen in-depth interviews approach evolves from the knowledge sought by the research question, which tends to be taken for granted (or emigrants do not pay attention to in-depth reasons for emigrating) and not readily articulated by most members. Also, since the research question involves highly conflicted emotions where different individuals are involved in the same line of activity and have complicated, multiple perspectives on some phenomenon (Lewis 2004). Thereby, the in-depth interview is very appropriate method to collect data for further personal narrative research method. Additionally, the interviews were done in Estonian to limit the language barrier both from the interviewer and from the interviewee.

Designing the interview involved reviewing the existing qualitative literature on the topic to determine whether the qualitative interview would

add anything to reflexive individualization from empirical Estonian personal narrative studies. The researcher also considered the time available to complete the study, access to respondents, and the financial and emotional costs of conducting the study. Emotional costs were particularly relevant in in-depth interviewing because of its open-ended, exploratory character, probing for details and depths of emigration experiences, which could have been stressful for all interviewees (Johnson 2001). Hereby, the interviewer seeks to achieve the same deep level of knowledge and understanding as the members or participants. As in-depth interview begins with commonsense perceptions, explanations, and understandings of some lived cultural experience and aims to explore the contextual boundaries of that experience or perception, the author aimed to uncover what is usually hidden from ordinary view or reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience (Johnson 2001). The author used in-depth interviewing, which commonly seeks “deep” information and knowledge usually deeper information and knowledge than is sought in surveys, informal interviewing, or focus groups. The information concerned very personal matters, such as an individual's self, lived experience, values and decisions, occupational ideology, cultural knowledge, or perspective (Johnson 2001).

For trustworthy approach to selected interviewees, the author planned psychological steps to look transparent and sincere. Hereby, the author conducted the initial survey by adding personal information about the author experiences abroad, added picture of herself to the main introduction page, spent 5 minutes before the start of an interview to become acquainted and shared some common knowledge of travelling to gain further trust. Undoubtedly, the author emphasized two times that the empirical data will remain anonymous. Additionally, the author paid high attention to stay neutral without trying to influence interviewee with answers. However, in some cases the author had to ask additional questions regarding to the perceptions to direct interviewees to a specific level of understanding in personal analysis.

Interviewees were selected from both genders – there is no space to go into gender difference issues (even though the author has acknowledged the possible gender differences in migration behaviour). As only 22 face-to-face interviews were conducted the author selected them chaotically to get the common understanding of lifestyle emigration motives.

Forth mentioning is the surprise of high interest in the research: people forwarded multiple fellow lifestyle emigrants' contacts and were highly motivated to attend the interview. The respondents applied to the common understanding that someone is interested in their motives, they can elaborate their emotions and experiences lived through within the past years. Also, they expressed feeling comfortable to speak about personal lives and that someone understands the main motivations of leaving Estonia meanwhile having tight emotional connection with Estonia and family, relatives and friends back home. Since the aim was gaining personal data, the author aimed to relate to the interviewee, find common topics to discuss and represent herself trustworthy.

Questions with answers are findable in appendixes:

- How long did you plan emigration?
- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?
- What were your motives for emigration?
- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?
- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?
- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?
- Did you experience existential problems back home?
- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?
Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?
- How do you define your personal quality of life?

4.4. Challenges and Data Limitation of Qualitative Data

Below, the author discusses various challenges that occurred during the research and how they were overcome. The main theoretical and methodological challenges for research occurred due to the relatively little academic proof and a wide theoretical approach to both reflexive individualization and lifestyle migration theories. These difficulties were related to the impossibility of defining and delimiting realistically the studied population. In this sense, the term 'lifestyle migration' has proved to be too imprecise, since it does not determine clearly which variables characterise the lifestyle migrants (Huete, Mantecón & Estévez 2013). As Etrillard (2014), Benson and Osbaldiston (2016) have documented, lifestyle migration has often been adopted as a conceptual framing for research without much thought to the theoretical implications it implies, as a label it is adopted uncritically and rarely problematized by authors (Benson & Osbaldiston 2016). Thereby, the complexity of conducting adequate quantitative research occurs. The mobilities paradigm is characterized by its opposition to the traditional approaches to social science as sedentary, failing to keep up with a world that is forever moving and never fixed. This has also been used to problematize lifestyle migration on the grounds, among others, that it overlooks a host of different movements of people, things, images, objects, ideas and capital (Benson & Osbaldiston 2016). The author has overcome the problem by defining and narrowing down the theories and took narrowed definitions the basis for the analysis to keep focused on theoretical patterns when drawing a conclusion.

As briefly mentioned above in the in-depth Interview chapter, one of the biggest challenges is that interviewees are not self-aware and do not trust the interviewer enough to reflect personal experiences. The author overcomes it intentionally by aiming to seem trustful, puts emphasis on the anonymity and introduces the lifestyle migration and reflexive individualization theories in first sight to see if they associate themselves with theories. Also, as Singleton & Straits (2011) have researched the in-

depth interviews, the author reviews current knowledge regarding sources of interviewer-related error and common procedures for minimizing interviewer effects. The author put emphasis on avoiding effects which may be caused by interviewer ideology and thereby influence the results and expectations on responses. The interviewer put focus on reading questions neutrally to avoid influencing the interviewee.

The main methodological challenge associated with collecting data retrospectively with survey and interview. The author overcame the data collection surprisingly well since the initial purpose was to collect 150 survey respondents in one week. The reason behind the relatively high interest in a short period of time is tangible by the above-mentioned reasons evolved from the author's personal approach to Facebook communities. The author put emphasis on the request to contribute to one of the least researched migration type in the World. People who associated themselves rather with lifestyle emigration than labor emigration wanted to contribute to the final result.

In addition, interviewees' must be relied on the willingness and ability to recall and describe events in the more or less distant past. As memory is fallible, this obviously implies risks of underreporting and of incomplete and/or incorrect accounts. Also, selecting the lifestyle emigrants whose initial reasons for leaving home country associate mainly with personal self-authentication and seeking for better way of life could be blurred with other migration types but implies the theoretical background. Although questions were asked both about permanent and temporary travel, the ambition was not to capture the respondents' entire transnational travel biographies in detail, but to focus on personal motives, impacts, attitude, moves and travel connected to lifestyle migration. The author overcame the fallible memory by refreshing the memories from the past years before emigration, recalling the main life changing situations and asked additional questions.

Finally, one must take into consideration that due to the fact that the author has narrowed down the definitions of both theories, the main conclusion evolves out based on these definitions. However, analyzing the conjunction with reflexive individualism and lifestyle emigration elaborate further recommendations for analyzing such an abstract and spilled over topics.

5. Analysis and Discussion

5.1 The profile of Estonian Lifestyle Emigrant

Below the author is going to focus on the 93 responders' answers to the first questionnaire for concluding common characteristics of lifestyle emigrant (*Full answers available in the Selected Data link in Appendixes*). Firstly, the aim is to reflect the findings of contemporary Estonian lifestyle migrant's average profile for deploying further analysis of reflexive individualization theory. According to the survey, the average age of an emigrant is 24-year-old. In terms of the purchasing power, Huete, Mantecón & Estévez (2013) have concluded the lifestyle migrants are supposed to have a purchasing power comparatively higher than labour migrants, which enables them to access more resources, and precisely those resources allow them to enjoy more freedom of movement in the host country. O'Reilly and Benson (2009) argue that engaging in a particular lifestyle no longer reflects our already existing status and class but depends on the individuals' willingness of leaving.

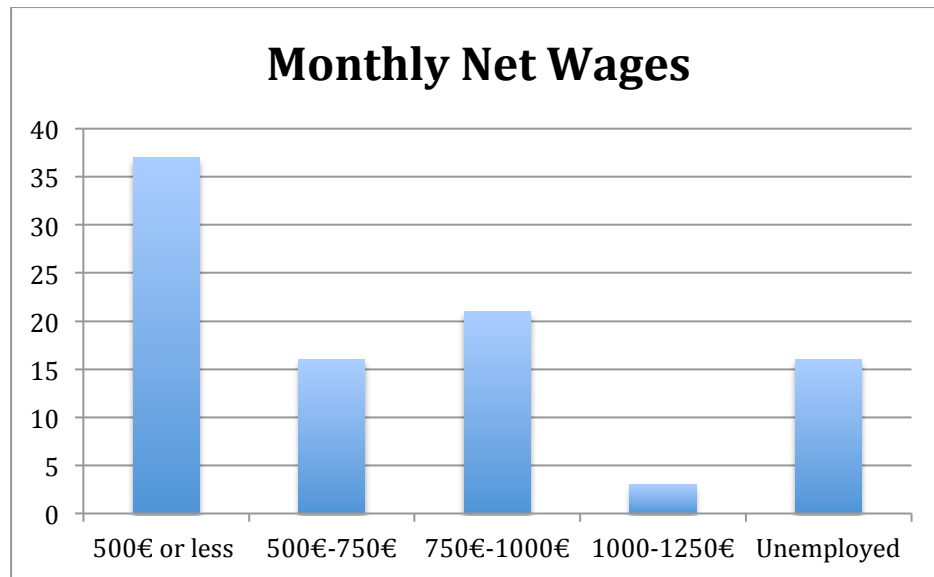


Table 5.1.1 Monthly Net Wages

As seen from the statistics on Table 5.1.1, the majority 37% of respondents earned less than 500€ net wage before emigration and 16% of the respondents were unemployed. However, 21% of the respondents earned 750-1000€ which still fits to the average Estonian salary scale. Hereby, the reader has to acknowledge that emigrants could have been emigrated 5 years ago too. 16% earned 500€-750€ and 3% 1000-1250€. If considering the average age of emigration according to the study was 24 year-old then in today's World, succeeding in ones career and finding a proper income immediately after university graduating is rather rare. However, if referring to the above-mentioned studies that the lifestyle emigrant should have purchasing power comparatively higher than labour migrants, it rather debilitates the theory. According to the author's findings, a person could easily emigrate without having economic reasons for leaving home country. As also mentioned, lifestyle migrants tend to work temporarily to earn money for further mobility and living.

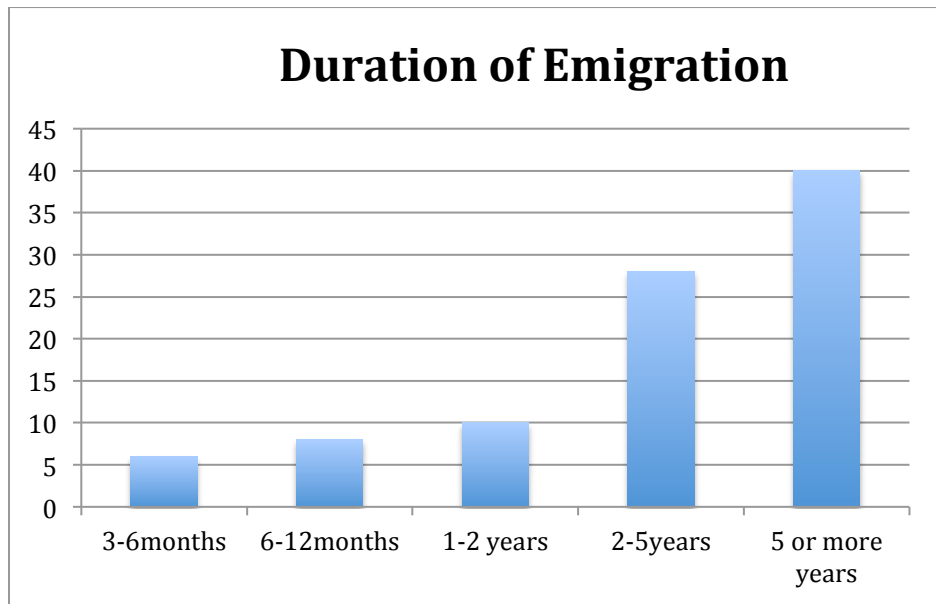


Table 5.1.2 Duration of Emigration

Table 5.1.2 aims to reflect on the average stay away from Estonia. The majority of lifestyle emigrants have been living in a foreign country for more than 5 years. According to Warnes (1991), permanent changes of residence are commonly taken to be those of more than three months, whilst Jordan and Duvell (2003) claim that migration involves stays of over a year. Hereby, whether emigrants have visited or lived in several countries, it is not added to the duration data (it could be researched further since the data is gathered from the online survey). The author concludes that all of the 93 have stayed away more than 3 months.

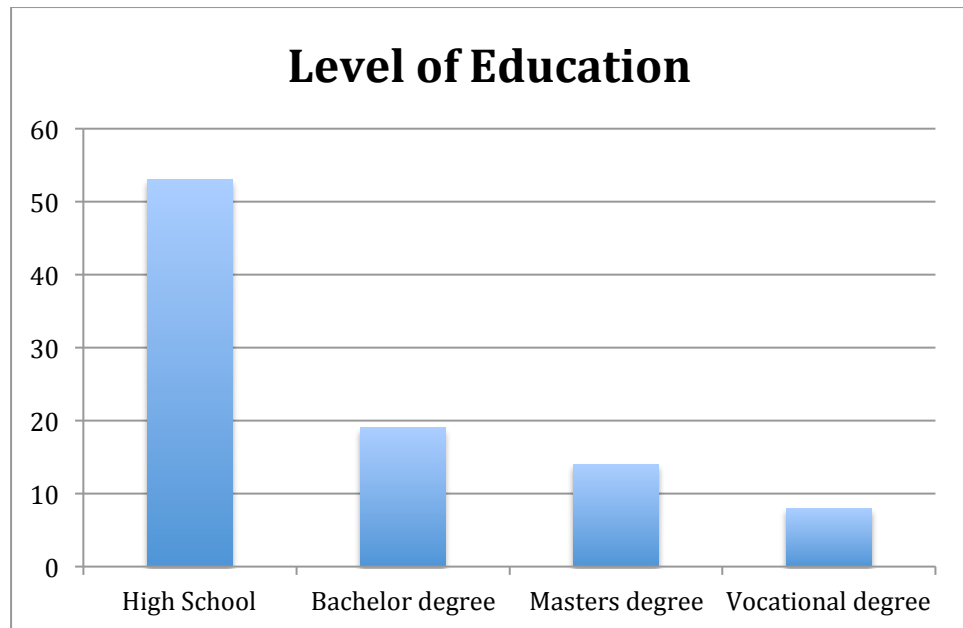


Table 5.1.3 Level of Education

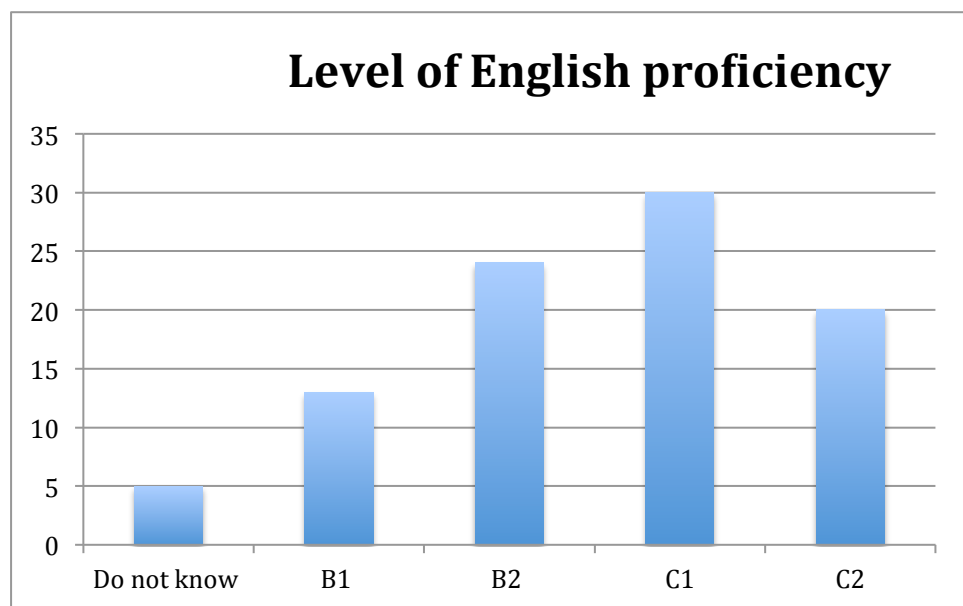


Table 5.1.4 Level of English Proficiency

The Table 5.1.3 reflects on the education level of temporary or permanent lifestyle emigrants. The majority of emigrants have high education, which coincides the findings of a scholar's Bachelor Thesis (Vester 2016). According to her findings, the average emigrant (without distinguishing whether economic, political or social migrant) is aged between 15-34; male and blue-collar worker and emigrants are mainly low educated. Also, as most of the studies reflect that highly educated people are less likely to

leave Estonia (Saar 2016). Instead of the stereotypical migrant, male and low skilled, looking for ways to accumulate money before returning to the home country we see the evidence to the theory that more and more highly skilled migrants interested in self-development and new cultural experiences tend to emigrate. If looking at the Survey Findings (See from the Appendixes) it is worth highlighting the majority of emigrants with secondary education emigrated to study abroad which transfers them to highly skilled labour force after graduating. The tendency to study abroad in early 20s contributes to the following findings of the English proficiency. As seen on the Table 5.1.4, the majority has B2 or above English skills which is one of the main requirements to be accepted in foreign universities. From the level of English proficiency table, the author concludes emigrants to be highly skilled by having at least B2 English proficiency.

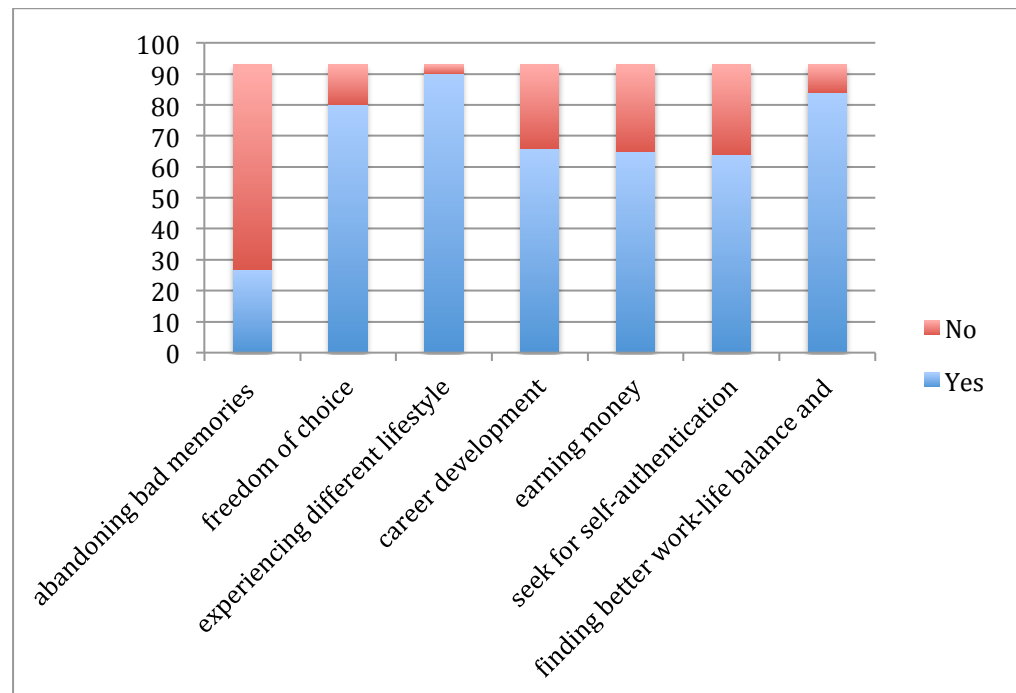


Table 5.1.5 Reasons for emigrating after selection

On Table 5.1.5, the author has divided each of the parameters accordingly. The selected reasons were highlighted in the survey based on the qualitative data observed by other lifestyle emigration scholars. If

concluding the findings from the All Survey Data concluded on the Table 5.1.6, then the results do not differ significantly but as mentioned in the methodology, the selection was based and narrowed by the first question what emigrants highlighted before giving the reasons. If people claimed earning money as the most significant reason for leaving Estonia then they were disqualified for further analysis.

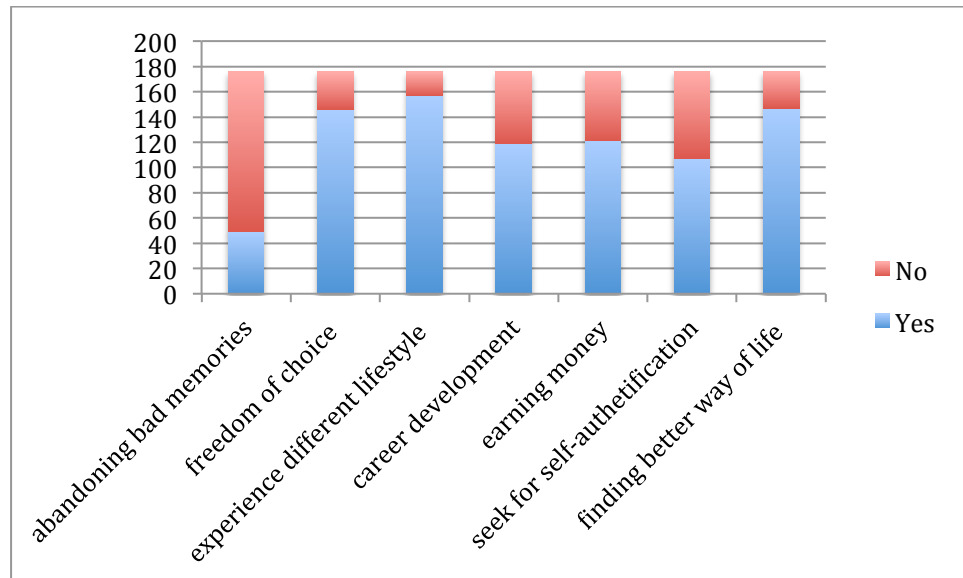


Table 5.1.6 Reasons for emigration before the selection

Experiencing different lifestyle is one of their main motives for emigration whereas abandoning bad memories was the least associated with³. The second most common answer was finding better work-life balance and the third evolved from the freedom of choice. Other parameters such as career development, earning money and seeking for self-authetification remain relatively common position. One may ask why earning money is positioned above average reasons if money seekers were left out in the initial data selection? The yes or no questions appeared after the possibility to elaborate the main motives of emigration and the author has remained

³ Most of the interviewees had pointed it low but after additional questions touched upon the high school experience, societal peculiarities and individual perceptions towards Estonia. By the end all of them agreed on the motives of abandoning and escaping from the past life.

selected emigrants if their main motives were not dependent on economic reasons.

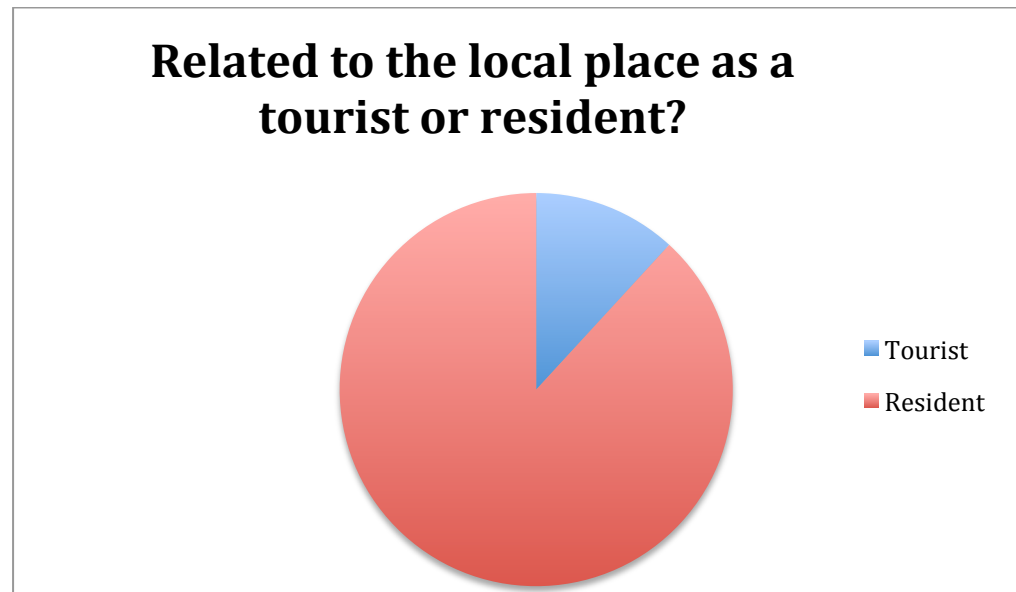


Table 5.1.7 Related to the local place as a tourist or resident?

Most of the respondents relate themselves as residents instead of tourist, which represents the Torkingson's (2010) findings on migrants who do not associate themselves as tourists but residents and may use tools for settling in. However, lifestyle mobility, as with transnationalism and globalisation more broadly, is bound up with issues of belonging in, to and with place, as people may relate to place in multiple ways, such as by a sense of home (in place), through a sense of citizenship (to place) and through affinity with place (Cohen, Duncan & Thulemark (2013; 14)). Increased mobility creates several places of belonging and aspects of transnationalism. For instance, if a place is taken as a geographical space with a meaning to someone, home can become a definition for that place - seeing home as rooted in one place is perhaps out-dated. Within the notion of a global adobe, the travellers' ability to be at home in mobility allows them to be at home in the world, a veritable home-on-the-move (Cohen, Duncan & Thulemark (2013; 14)). Modern ways of living give the old adage "home is where the heart is" new meaning. While it has always been suggested that the notion of home is inseparable from one's sense of self, it also implies that home is not necessarily where one physically (or legally) resides

(Cohen, Duncan & Thulemark (2013; 17)). Thereby, observing the belonging to the place as a home place and associating rather as a resident are common characteristics for mobility.

As stated in the introduction paragraph, most of the studies on emigration reflect that blue-collar workers are most likely to move and highly educated people are less likely to leave Estonia (Vester 2016; Saar 2016). Instead of the stereotypical migrant, the survey reflected on various reasons why emigrants tend to move, what is their economical and educational background and how do they associate with the target country. However, the lifestyle emigrant's profile coincides partly with the blue-collar worker's profile.

5.2 Reasons Behind the Decision to Emigrate

For further analysis, the author focuses on the deeper understanding of motives for emigration. The author has divided common theoretical aspects into different paragraphs to reflect on and compare the findings upon interviewees. Also, the main reasons for not returning have been framed during the interviews and are interdependent. The emigrants' reasons for leaving have evolved from the self-narrative acknowledgement of being able to only rely on themselves, abandon their routine work, societal expectation, hard-working lifestyle, negatively inclined individual experiences et cetera stated in the table above. Hereby, the author will divide the analysis part into two interdependent sections to analyse i) the main motives of leaving Estonia and ii) the reasons of not returning, yet. However, one has to keep in mind, that unlike permanent migration, lifestyle mobility does not pre-suppose that there is no intention to return. Drawing the main motives for leaving and main aspects of not returning allows us to critically observe how people who have lived abroad in other societies, examine Estonia.

Reasons for emigration	
Various influences: social media and cross-border experiences by friends	No one really understands emigrants back home
Curiosity to live in another society and get out of comfort zone	Impossible to live such a lifestyle in Estonia
Escape from routine and monotony	Do not want to be part of “mainstream” – individualistic need to differ
Escape from the society which is built up to follow traditional life stages i)entering university ii)graduating iii)making career iv)building a family.	Intolerant society
Escape from uncertainty University degrees do not secure entering to labour force	Used to be surrounded by smiling and inspiring people
Escape from uncertainty	Prefer work temporarily and focus on travelling
Escape from damaged relationships	Enjoy living in a moment and being highly flexible
Escape from various experiences	Do not want to return to society which associates mainly with rules, boundaries, loans and worries
Escape from “success-oriented” and “high hopes put on me”	Feeling happier and more productive and energetic while abroad = freedom

Escape from materialism and consumerism	Tight connections with the target location
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5.2.1 The Main Motives for Leaving Estonia

According to the selected interviewees' practices the author is going to analyse further what was the length of preparing emigration (collecting money) and what were the main income sources for emigration to understand whether not earning enough money could restrict leaving Estonia. None of the emigrants stated they left Estonia overnight. All of them collected money for departure at least 3 months till 1 year. As the lifestyle mobility pre-supposes the intention to move on, rather than move back, 21 out of 22 emigrants have not returned to home country but rather have continued travelling. The one who has returned back has planned to leave in the near future. For interviewees as lifestyle migrants, there is no 'one' place which to return, and through time, there may be multiple 'homes' that one can return to or re-visit.

The Urbanist in Australia: "I don't associate Australia as my home country but I invest more in memories and adventures and enjoy the time here – never know what could be the next destination."

However, according to interviewees one of the reasons of leaving entails various shapes of influence. For instance, in social media, Estonians have an opportunity to follow whoever they associate with or whoever inspires them.

The Designer in Copenhagen: "Today's globalised World with the access to Facebook and Instagram, millions of public accounts are available to follow and if you are interested in specific location you can easily become acquainted with the surroundings. Seeing fellow Estonians studying and living abroad was the most inspiring for me."

In the era of globalization, young people have more and more choices. At the same time, there is uncertainty. Young people may find it difficult to be sure about the choices they make. This is where the need for recognition, especially from their peers, becomes important (Takahashi 2016; p46).

The Engineer in Australia: All of my friends were rather living across the World and I found with my partner that we could manage to live abroad too. We didn't have any loan nor children. In Estonia I even felt like people don't want to live in Estonia since they are complaining about everything – my question was simple – why aren't you living abroad then?

Secondly, the common aspect shaded by the answers to accomplish the curiosity to live in another society and get out of comfort zone. Business Insider (2017) published an article about crucial lessons people often learn too late in life. One of the lessons evolves from the societal suggestions for life, which causes that most people do not get to spend their lives doing whatever it is they love. Instead, they do what they are told they should do, or what their parents or town or friends or peers suggest that they do. One of the options is also that they simply pursue nothing close to their heart at all. If one wants to "do what s/he loves," s/he needs to see that as a privilege, not an expectation. Those people are not the majority. So if that is what one truly wants, s/he has to put in the work now.

The Designer in Copenhagen: "I would have been living at my parents' house, going out with the same friends, knowing every corner of Tallinn but I wanted to experience something totally new. Moving away to another country was a mental challenge for me too."

The Diver in Iceland: "The work I was committed to was routinely exhausting and I knew something more fulfilling is across the

ocean. The main purpose was to become familiar with different cultures, peoples and situations which would be impossible to achieve in comfort zone back home.”

The Consultant in Melbourne was challenging herself to rediscover herself, her potential and true desires. “I was eager to challenge myself if I am capable of starting a new life in Melbourne. Starting from the zero. Got professional work position. My clients are happier than in Estonia and it is reflexive – I started to be continuously happy too. /.../ I was eager to get to know whether I could build up everything in Melbourne too.”

As O’Reilly and Benson have stated lifestyle migrants may continue travelling until they find the happiness. They continue seeking for something extraordinary for self-fulfilment, which previous place(s) could not, in this essence, enable. As lifestyle choices have a special meaning for modern individual, it is a crucial part of the reflexive project of self. Also, as the places have to be meaningful for the migrants, the author concludes the lifestyle emigrants have chosen carefully and thoughtfully the target location. All of the interviewed reflected the understanding and meaning of the target country for themselves.

Sometimes it takes longer journey to travel by to find the place where one decides to remain local for a longer period of time. For example, *the Experienced Traveller in Prague* has lived in Australia, Denmark and Czech Republic was working in two places, studying in university and accidentally decided to move away and quit all she previously tried to build up. She is one of the examples of continual traveller who has analysed thoughtfully the pros and cons of existing societies and lifestyles to choose the location where to live for a longer period of time.

Next, all of the interviewees pointed out the escape from routine and monotony associating with Estonian society. As mentioned above,

according to the British case studies, there have been increasing numbers of young, childless migrants actively taking the decision to leave their well-paid jobs, encouraged by the idea that there is more to life than sitting in an office or in the university all day long or doing the same job from Monday till Friday. All of the selected interviewees stated there was no flexibility in their working lives and realized the difference between work-life balance after living abroad for a while.

The Engineer from China to Australia: "I was studying in university and I wanted to escape from the routine."

The Urbanist in Sydney "I was bored in Estonia. Went to the same job every morning, studied after work."

The Engineer in Copenhagen "I had been working for the same company for the past 5 years and I needed a new challenge in totally new atmosphere and society."

The Consultant in Melbourne: "I had been living the same life for the past 10 years: same challenges at work, same people in the same office. I felt like being stuck in a repetitive cycle. I was slightly scared of working at the same position for the next years too."

Fourthly, Estonian lifestyle migrants tend to escape from the society, which is built up to follow traditional life stages i) entering university ii) graduating iii) becoming successful in career iv) building a family. Post-modern society is more flexible and focussing on an individual. For Bourdieu (Farrugia, 2012; 2), the subject is endowed with a habitus, which describes a system of dispositions that are structured by the various contexts that a person practically engages with. The habitus thereby generates practices that are reasonable without being conscious or reflexive. In this perspective, reflexivity only occurs when there is a lack of

“fit” between the habitus and the conditions that structured it, such that it can no longer produce reasonable practices. Bourdieu (Kenway & McLeod, 2004) argues that these moments of “crisis” create the conditions for reflexivity. Young adults may not combat with the practical conditions to follow or too difficult to follow (lack of ‘fit’) and thereby decide reflexively to set free from structures.

The Diver in Iceland: “Estonian society has strict rules: go to university, graduate, be successful, raise your children, buy a house. I found there is something else in life except other. Maybe I knew I have to wonder until I have reached to the destination.”

The Physician to Chile “While looking back I realize how stressful my life was back at home because I wasn’t following my own dreams but what others’ expected me to do.”

The Physiotherapist in Australia: “I felt pressure in terms of the general understanding of expecting children before getting 30 years old and taking the loan. I didn’t have a partner and my relatives were rather looking down on me. They somehow didn’t realize it is absolutely normal not having children while being 29 because I want to live my own life”

The Anthropologist in Copenhagen: “However, my parents have always emphasized the eternal productivity: don’t take a year off, continue your studies, be successful, find a partner and expect a child before 30s. I for example accept not having a child. I have other goals in life and I live how I want to live, not what others tell me.”

Fifthly, interviewees reflected on the escape from uncertainty on labour force – university degrees do not secure entering to labour market. The Estonian Statistics (Statistikaamet 2017) has pointed out the issues on labor

market evolved from the missing work experience and also some professional young adults tackle problems with finding proper work position due to the lack of need on the labour market. Also, if people are working on a wrong position or studying wrong major in university which is not motivating enough, it could be the initial sign of getting bored and falling into routine (previously discussed above). Many interviewees' had graduated the university since they were under pressure to graduate even though the major was highly likely not related to their personal desires.

The Urbanist in Sydney: "I guess it is directly linked with the overall pressure that one has to continue studies after high school. Instead of studying in Tallinn University I could have been studying wine industry or attending courses. I think it requires a courage to ignore pressure outside and focus only on your personal needs. At least life is teaching me and today I'm more aware of Estonian society and hidden rules of it."

Additionally, as Ernst and Young (2015), one of the biggest graduate recruiters, announced it removed the degree classification from its entry criteria, saying there is "no evidence" success at university correlates with achievement in later life, it could reflect on the tendency where modern, successful and profitable companies are leading with the recruitment processes.

The Translator in New Zealand: "I knew there is no labour demand for my profession as an oral translator but I still graduated both my Bachelor and Masters Degrees. Estonian society has the common understanding that bachelor is unfinished higher education degree. Today I am not working in my major, instead I work in a local aviation company and I am super satisfied."

Sixthly, the escape from the uncertainty has been applicable to a broader sense of motives for leaving Estonia. The anxiety and societal uncertainty

motivated many of interviewees to emigrate. However, the majority of respondents did not agree to the anxiety and uncertainty in an economic perspective since they had a decent job, high education and home to live in.

The Consultant in Melbourne: "While living in Estonia I didn't realize the uncertainty. I have realized it while looking back. Here I don't feel social uncertainty since people are so warm and opened. In Estonia there were rather negative prejudices towards people. My clients are more grateful, appreciate what I do for them but Estonians were relatively passive."

The Physician to Chile "I feel less stressful here and could maximize my self-development in every possible prospective."

Seventhly, abandoning damaged relationships by emigrating is perhaps quite effective way of reconstructing them or abandon entirely, at least from the point of Estonian emigrants.

The Designer in Copenhagen: "People are smiling, the city of Copenhagen is enriched by the architecture and sea. I am calm here and I am far from my mother. To be honest, we didn't have the best mother-daughter relationship but now from the distance we bond pretty well. "

Eight, escape from "success-oriented" and "high hopes put on me". The unwritten roles of Estonian mentality touched upon in above-mentioned sections such as "*Bachelor is unfinished education and the pressure of being successful were enough motivating to leave Estonia.*"

The Experiences Traveller in Prague: "Back home I felt I am never enough great! I point out the personal development and freedom I have gained on my journey. Estonians are not used to enrich their daily lives with adventures. This is led by the flexible work-

schedules so people are more productive and have time and energy for after work activities. After emigration I understood how practical and adventure-oriented I am.”

The Designer in Copenhagen: “High school is pretty stressful in Estonia if comparing it to other Nordic countries.”

The Nanny in Mexico: “Basically all of my friends and family told me that now you should start a concrete and worth-paying job. If recalling the time before emigration I could say I suffered in the oppression to start working in banking sector. Today I feel like the education taught me to learn and to manage my time properly but as I now work as a freelance babysitter in Mexico city, I am working far from my major.”

Ninthly, escape from stressful lives tends to be one of the major incentives for emigration among lifestyle emigration.

The Engineer from China to Australia: “I didn’t want to fall into the same hole as my schoolmates. In general, engineers work insane.”

The Phd in Physics in Lund: “I was working in observatory meanwhile studying and I even didn’t acknowledge the difference between weekends and weekdays. Working late and overtime is hidden rule for companies’ work ethics in Estonia.”

Finally, as the post-war generation in most industrial societies has led to a gradual shift from materialist values toward post-materialist priorities, individualistic lifestyle emigrants’ material values differ from the mainstream understanding of consumerism and materialism, which becomes one of the reasons of emigrating. Although, all of the

interviewees agreed to be grown up in the consuming society they recognized their attitude to consumption had been changed over the years.

The Diver in Iceland “I was travelling with my backpack for 2,5years so, you need as less as possible to live maximum.”

The Physiotherapist in Australia: “Being a backpacker has opened a new perspective of living as a nomad cause you don’t know where are you heading next. Thereby, you really do not need many belongings to survive.”

The Engineer in Australia: “In Estonia, the more you earn, the more you spend but in Australia, the more you earn, the more you travel.”

The Nomad in Århus: “Also, probably in Estonia I would already have a car but here I am riding a bike every day.”

The Blogger on Small Islands: “On these small islands, which I have been visiting I have seen entire honesty and pureness. People earn maximum 5\$ per day but in my opinion are ten times happier than in Estonia. I guess Estonian society is relatively success-oriented. We want to belong to western societies, we want to be heard in global perspective, we want to be bigger than who we are. Here I have met people who even are not capable of counting money, reading nor writing. They do not aim higher than they are, they enjoy their daily lives and sunshine.”

As Featherstone (1987) has claimed, consumption practices are designed together into lifestyles in which self-concept evolves from consumption choices. In today’s era individuals choose more reflexively on what they spend their money. According to Migone (2004), in the realm of consumption, hedonistic consumerism is applicable to lifestyle emigrants

taken incentive to emigrate by individual self-fulfilment, which has been replaced traditional consumerism. Thereby, hedonistic consumerism and overall consumption practices are applicable to lifestyle emigrants of people to promote pleasure.

In all, respondents started to have enough time to travel and enjoy life while being abroad. While suffered from the routine they simply did not have time for travelling nor thinking of taking a vacation. This draws a major bottleneck to Estonian work ethics, which according to the interviewee's narratives leads to over-working mind-set and stressful lifestyle. Doing the same job at different location is the opposite enriched with higher productivity.

5.2.2 Reasons of not Returning, yet

Below, the author is going to give an overview of interviewees' main reasons of not returning Estonia in near future. The main reasons are drawn in conjunction with the opinions on how foreign Estonians associate with Estonia while living abroad. The author emphasizes the reasons for not returning and emigrating are interdependent but give an insight of individual case studies. Firstly, many interviewees expressed that people back home tend not to understand why have they chosen to live such a leisure-oriented and non-materialist lifestyle.

The Hippie in Chile: "The most surprising back home is that people do not understand when I aim going to grow up. I don't understand when do they aim to understand that this is my lifestyle."

Secondly, in their opinion it is impossible to live such a lifestyle in Estonia. The reflexive individualization theory implies to distance oneself reflexively from the traditions and conventional modes of thought and judgement and thereby, no matter which lifestyle they tended to live in Estonia, they always experience different lifestyle both mentally and physically while away. All above-mentioned motives concerning various shapes of escape and further aspects of multiple reasons of not returning

are applicable to the common understanding that people cannot experience the same life while being in Estonia.

Physician from Denmark to Chile: "Yes, I have studied physics for 5 years, earned decent salary but after working as an mechanical engineer for 1,5years I have realized it is not for me. I belong to the mountains and expeditions. That is why I have decided to pass the climbing courses to start my own company in Chile in half a year. I wanted to be active and travel the World while being young. Happily I have seen the 8hour office work and now I have the opportunity to compare future lifestyles."

Thirdly, lifestyle emigrants associate themselves to be different from "mainstream" people and claim not to follow the mainstream. Reflexivity directly leads to step out of the traditions and judgement and due to the higher self-responsibility and self-awareness they have understood the differences between themselves and others. They also reflect on the freedom of not following rules or hidden societal boundaries nor having loans and material worries.

The Engineer in Copenhagen: "I assume the highest risk would have been to remain the same routine-oriented lifestyle as I and everybody lives back home. I am not 100% sure if I would take the loan today."

Fourthly, many of Estonians have been victims of intolerance and discrimination, which in some cases has been also one of the motives for leaving. Since the topic, in some cases, could have been the motive for leaving and is interrelated with the time of living away and acknowledging the differences between different societies, the author has highlighted intolerance under this chapter.

The Translator in New Zealand: “Even though I am Estonian I have been the victim of racism. I felt unsecured of staying in Estonia and raising my children in Estonia.”

The Phd in Physics in Lund: “Wanted to meet cultures and study in a feministic society.”

The Anthropologist in Copenhagen: “Once while visiting my family in Estonia, one elderly guy offended me pretty hurtfully after telling him I live in Denmark. He expressed the anger towards other cultures and it somehow reminded me of the same emotion after returning from Chile. In overall, I do not belong to intolerant society.”

The Lesbian in San Francisco: “Of course I reckon there are people tolerating untraditional choices such as being a lesbian instead of hetero and there are also people who have travelled and understand the diversity but still, I’m reflecting on the majority who are not afraid of expressing their world views.”

Fifthly, repetitively with the motive to abandon routine and monotony, lifestyle emigrants find it difficult to return since they tend to be against office routine and 8hour work time from 8am till 5pm.

The Physician to Chile “I like my job but I cannot not cope with the 8 hours working routine. I am more adrenaline-oriented: diving, climbing and other physical challenges.

The Physiotherapist in Australia: “I want to work outdoor, want to be active, communicate and work with people. For example, the last work position in Australia was at the beach, being the tour guide of camel walk. The sunny weather motivates to be more positive. Want to be part of something bigger. For example in

Australia, I can go travelling across Australia without even leaving the country.”

The Engineer in Copenhagen: “In Denmark the working schedule is highly more flexible than in Estonia and this has brought me continual happiness. I do not have to be concerned what my fellow boss or colleagues think since I am leaving the office table at 4.30pm or in the afternoon when preferring to work in downtown café or at home or even abroad. The idea of satisfying my colleagues by just staying at the office suppresses me intellectually.”

Sixthly, in accordance with the pleasurable lifestyle, lifestyle emigrants tend to enjoy living in a moment, being highly flexible and prefer work temporarily and focus on travelling the World.

The Hippie in Chile: “I love the idea of not knowing where I live in 3months or in 4 years – it is the unconventional freedom. Travelling the most inspiring and suitable lifestyle for myself.”

The Physiotherapist in Australia: “I don’t want to be limited by others’ opinions. If comparing lives in Estonia and Australia then I would say the life is even more risky in Australia since I’m totally alone here and I never know what may happen, where I am heading next but still I feel more secured here. Probably the main reason is that I can just rely on myself.”

Seventhly, even though during the interview many of the interviewees did not reckon they had stressful life in Estonia, they all understood it while being away and able to compare. After finding the abundance of life, feeling happier on daily basis and being more productive by surrounding inspiring people and activities, it is difficult to return back.

The Translator in New Zealand: “I’m rather positive-minded and Estonians are not used to smile at others. I wanted to live in a country I can be myself. The most important is to remain myself and be surrounded by inspiring people. I love the scenic landscape of NZ, friendly people and the society as a whole.”

Also, the tight connection with the target location is also one of the strongest reasons why not returning back to home country. Lifestyle emigrants may struggle years to find the place to live in but once they have found it, it is a fundamental reason for staying for a longer period of time.

The Dancer in Los Angeles: “Right after arriving to LA I fell in love with the city, its’ people and pace of lifestyle.”

Lastly, Estonians pointed out the relatively repetitive aspect of the difference between nationalities and people. Once they claimed to get used to be surrounded by smiling and inspiring people, it is difficult to be as happy as elsewhere since Estonians tend to be conservative and closed-mouth.

The Engineer in Australia: “In Australia I am healthy and I am active, I am surrounded by positive-minded people and the work-life balance allows to spend quality time together with my partner. Combining the rural and urban lifestyle is the most suitable for me.”

The Nomad in Århus: “People in Denmark are smiling all the time and it enriches me every day – I have become more positive than I used to be.”

The Consultant in Melbourne: “Here I do not feel social uncertainty since people are so warm and opened. In Estonia there were rather negative prejudices towards people. My clients are

more grateful, appreciate what I do for them but Estonians were relatively passive. I find it necessary to be surrounded by strangers who are similarly to me open-minded, smiling and positive-thinking. “Fake it till you make it” – smile until you get the good mood and here it is relatively simple to be happy. For example if someone passes by and comments on your nice dress then it touches you deeply and makes you shine.”

The Dancer in Los Angeles: “I used to be a professional dancer in Estonia too, but I felt more inspired, more enriched by the culture, people, city etc in LA. Could not continue with being surrounded by Estonians who are not that inspiring compared to American, at least for me. I am more productive in 24hours here than in Estonia, I even started to paint and draw and have opened private exhibitions.”

By concluding, according to in-depth interviews the main reasons for emigration among Estonians seeking for abundance of life elsewhere, evolve from the attitude towards Estonian society and work ethics and various shapes of escape.

6. Conclusion

The research investigated based on personal narrative research method, a number of Estonians who have moved from Estonia in psychological pursuit of an improved quality of life. Much attention was paid to exploring the motivations and transnational experiences of Estonian lifestyle emigrants to draw a framework of the main reasons why young adults emigrate and how they examine Estonian society while living abroad. The author examined the emigration intentions of native-born Estonian residents and their subsequent emigration behaviour in ages between 19 and 35. Empirical data was collected by online survey and in-depth interviews. The analysis has drawn important implications for

mobility studies and research on how mobility choices are used to manage with post-modern living.

The hypothesis was drawn based on previous critics on lifestyle migrants' quantitative research and the author concludes it was nearly impossible to separate lifestyle migrants quantitatively from economic migrants. The author selected 93 lifestyle migrants from 176 to understand the profile of Estonian lifestyle emigrant but eventually, the profile was relatively similar with survey fulfillers highlighting economic motives in first place. Emigrants may potentially be lifestyle emigrants but their self-awareness in first sight is not sufficient to differentiate data quantitatively. Further qualitative interviews have to be conducted to interpret and evaluate emigrants' mobility decisions. After conducted the research author consents to the previous critical findings on the lifestyle migration's inadequate definition. If analysing Estonians main emigration motives through reflexive individualisation theory then the qualitative approach enables to observe the decision to emigrate. Reflexive individuals are psychologically free of structures (traditions) and self-awareness to create their own structure for biography. This reinforces the knowledge of lifestyle migration, which contributes to understanding mobility choices in post-traditional, post-materialistic and post-modern living.

However, the research questions reflected different dimensions of lifestyle migration and additional in-depth interviews enabled to understand individual reasons qualitatively. Hereby, the author concludes Estonian lifestyle emigrant's profile based on the survey results:

- 74% of the emigrants have B2 or above English proficiency and 5% has not taken the English test to evaluate
- 52% have High School education, 33% have Bachelor or Masters Degree
- 40% have been travelling or have lived away 5 or more years
- 37% earned less than 500€ and 21% earned 750-1000€ net wage before emigration

- 82% related to the local place as a home place
- 88% associated themselves as residents instead of tourists

Based on the previously studied qualitative data, the author concludes that the main distinctive characteristics for lifestyle emigrant is the initial aim to seek for a self-fulfillment and better way of life elsewhere. The difference between economic and lifestyle migrant may be confused in time but the initial incentive has to be driven by the curiosity to live differently instead of emigrating to earn money. If analyzing the survey results, then quantitatively approaching, one could not differentiate lifestyle emigrant from economic emigrant but if analyzing the mobility paths of why someone has emigrated, then the quantitative data reflects dimensions of lifestyle migration.

The main research question implied the investigation of the main reasons for emigration and not returning (yet) which are interdependent and applicable to Estonian lifestyle emigrants. Hereby, the author concluded the initial incentives for emigration and has examined their personal experiences and attitude towards Estonian society.

- 97% wanted to experience different lifestyle
- 88% were seeking for better work-life balance
- 86% wanted to express the freedom of choice and live wherever they dream to
- 71% were interested in career development
- 70% claimed to earn money abroad
- 69% were seeking for self-authentication
- 29% aimed to abandon bad memories in Estonia

In-depth interviews enabled to understand emigrants more individualistically which brought out a number of motives for leaving Estonia. Young adults are more reflexive and lead by individual needs, which is one of the reasons why the emigration rate is the highest among 20-34 years old citizens and has gradually grown in the latest years.

Hereby, the author concludes the main findings of the research, which reflect on the main unsatisfying aspects of Estonian society. To start with, lifestyle emigrants tend to be displeased with Estonian society, which is not focusing on individual needs but is rather demanding, success-oriented and intolerant. Also, they have left Estonia due to various shapes of escape from personal experiences such as uncertainty, high level of stress and damaged relationships. The most common reason for emigration was the curiosity to challenge oneself abroad by living in a new society and a new lifestyle. Multiple emigrants expressed being bored of work routine and suffering from inflexible work ethics. Additionally, emigrants are lead by non-materialistic values and thereby do not hold on materialistic belongings nor work for buying properties or measure success in money. They rather invest in travelling, self-development and emotions. However, they expressed Estonian society is more materialistic if compared to other countries they have been living in.

In all, the author comments that the lifestyle emigrants tend to be critical towards Estonian society due to the freedom of space, commitment, traditions and rules evolved by the reflexive choice to emigrate and step further for a change. Lifestyle migration thus becomes symptomatic of reflexive lifestyle choices and Estonians (as mainly common for Western societies) are driven by alternative modes of living, abandoning previous lifestyle and seeking for better quality of lives elsewhere. The use and reuse of these sorts of epoch findings among reflexive young Estonians has worked against the idea that we can reinsert classical and modern theoretical approaches to migration studies. The reasons of emigration do not evolve only from the need to earn money but includes individual factors influenced by the eternal opportunities across the borders and curiosity to challenge oneself.

Finally, the author includes subjective lessons learned from conducting this study and implications for future use. Firstly, based on the final results the author recommends approaching today's post-traditional migration types

more individualistically since the quantitative data would not reflect adequately on the reasons why one is leaving Estonia. Secondly, the author recommends to compare lifestyle emigrants' profile with economic migrants' profile in detail since the research did not aim to analyse two migration types in detail. The further detailed comparison may open a new discussion on a field of Estonian lifestyle migration. Thirdly, further examination of analysis and comparison between lifestyle and economic emigrants OR comparison between lifestyle emigrants and people who have only dreamed about living elsewhere could be a major input on measuring human productivity. In this particular research the author found lifestyle emigrants tend to be more energetic, happier and productive abroad than in Estonia. Understanding the field of self-reflexivity, its' psychological hidden power for human being could contribute to today's era of globalisation. Finally, from the methodological perspective to conduct in-depth interviews with lifestyle migrants could be eased in advance by sending further questions to all attendees. The research field entails high self-awareness and rather meta-level understanding on why certain decisions to live abroad have been taken and requires further self-assessment.

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9. Appendixes

9.1 Overview of interviewees' answers

The 1st “Experienced Traveller in Prague”

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

After receiving a Visa to New Zealand it took me around 2 weeks but of course the planning process started with applying for a visa. In all, around half a year. However, today I live in Prague already.

- What were your motives for emigration?

Firstly, I simply wanted to know what else is behind the ocean. I felt today's Estonian society is built up to follow traditional life roles such as i)entering university ii)graduating iii)making career iv)creating a family.

I was the first child in our family and everyone put high hopes on me, even my relatives. I felt graduating two universities in the same

year is not an effort comparable to our parents' university graduations – everyone could make it. I wanted to escape from the pressure put on me. Today no one really understands me back home. Why I'm 29 without children and travelling constantly. They frankly have no idea that kind of lifestyle is totally possible and is totally suitable in today's World. Why should I follow the mainstream? Working 8 hours per day 5 days a week, sitting behind the screen, earning money to buy material belongings.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

I didn't know what I lived through after I step out of the box and become acquainted with the new lifestyle. I found the perfect life would be without constant work but it is common for capitalistic societies. I would rather live and work temporarily at places I am stopping.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

As mentioned, I see Estonians rather work than enjoy living. Youngsters are taught to be success-minded which is great in overall, but not suitable for me.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Not really, only I wasn't pleased with my daily life. I thought I merely don't want to grow up. My parents, my friends back home asked me when I'll grow up.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

While in early adulthood I had high expectations for life. I thought building something, which will remain after I'm dead is one of my life goals. Building and creating material values tended to mean something for me but now I am more self-oriented and invest in my life.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Today I feel free and it is unfoundedly great feeling. Free of rules, boundaries, loans and worries. I don't want to worry about the future – my future is now and I live in a moment. I don't have

anything but at the same time I have everything. Plenty are jealous plenty don't understand me.

The 2nd “Hippie in Chile”

- How long did it take to emigrate from the point of planning to action?

It took around 6 months

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I was collecting money for half a year.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I read an article about one Estonian youngster who was living in Australia and it inspired me to think differently too. I was eager to live in another society to see what it could offer. Firstly I moved to Vietnam for a month and then continued my travel to Australia. After settling in to Australia I felt like travelling is the most inspiring and suitable lifestyle for myself. I didn't want to return to Estonia, I wanted to continue becoming acquainted with other societies.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Back home I had professional job but still I felt uncertainty towards the future. I assume all today's youngsters have this problem that you have to graduate a few degrees and then you'll become a decent and beneficial citizen for the country. I was the first child of my whole family and everyone put high hopes on me. Graduating university is not extraordinary anymore. I graduated 2 universities and earned 2 bachelor degrees in 3 years but today I felt travelling educated me more than these degrees because I developed personally. I studied myself.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

Of course, everyone had an eye on me. Today I feel free. I move from place to another and no one really judges me since everything is temporary.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?
As I already told, the most crucial difference between my life today and back home is that I do what I want to do not what my parents, relatives or society expects from me.
- Did you experience existential problems back home?
Yes, I was living quite stressful life without recognizing it to myself. I didn't understand the political power in Estonia, Estonians cattiness and uncommunicativeness.
- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?
Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?
All my belongings fit in to my backpack. I invest in memories, adventures. Though, friends don't understand me: why you don't own anything? How can you live without having a proper job? Why don't you have home and kids already? Back home I was more like a Barbie, I invested in my look, clothing, nails
- How do you define your personal quality of life?
Of course I love Estonia, the forests, blueberries and bird song but I think people should live at the place they feel themselves the most productive and I am the most productive while I am constantly travelling. It gives me power and energy. The main reason why I'm in Chile today and don't know whether I stay here for the next 1, 3 or 12 months is that I feel free. Money is not the most relevant for me. I am free of loans and I'm happy with what I have. Getting back to Estonia will direct me back to the stressful lifestyle I don't want to live in. I don't want to have high expectations for myself which relate to material belongings such as house, car or clothing. I have high expectations for myself to experience as much as possible and live happy. I don't want to worry about war but immediately when settling in to one specific country to start belonging to the place, start reading the news and following the rules.

The 3rd “Urbanist in Sydney”.

- How long did you plan emigration?
Around one year.
- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?
I had to collect money for 2-3 months.
- What were your motives for emigration?
I was bored in Estonia. Went to the same job every morning, studied after work. Wanted to travel and broaden my horizons. My friends travelled a lot but I didn't.
- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?
No, I was happy with my job and I really did not think of buying an apartment or making a family. Immediately when I started to think of the future then of course I felt slightly pressured but not in general.
- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?
No, I guess the higher hopes you put on life the higher level of stress you have.
- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?
Today I really do not understand why I struggled with my Bachelor thesis when it really did not contribute to my work nor happiness. I guess it is directly linked with the overall pressure that one has to continue studies after high school. Instead of studying in Tallinn University I could have been studying wine industry or attending courses. I think it requires a courage to ignore pressure outside and focus only on your personal needs. At least life is teaching me and I'm more aware of Estonian society today.
- Did you experience existential problems back home?
As said earlier, I felt bored and it made me think of leaving.
- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?
Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?
Even though I earn multiple times higher salary than in Estonia, I consume less than at home. I don't know if it is due to the fact that I

am abroad and I don't associate Australia as my home country but I invest more in memories and adventures and enjoy the time here – never know what could be the next destination.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Today I define my quality of life according to the vibe of Sydney, the lifestyle I live here, the work I do daily and the people I meet every day. I love the flexible lifestyle and I don't know how to get bored in here if you have so many opportunities to do something after work. The ocean, downtown, parks and the city itself inspires me and I think this is the main reason I felt I belong here for a longer period of time. Right after arriving here I admitted this is my city! It could be like love – you have the butterfly period and then the routine hits you, but I have had the butterfly period for a quite long period already. Never know what may happen.

The 4th “Engineer in Copenhagen”.

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around 6months after my wife got accepted to a voluntary program in Denmark.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Approximately 6months for collecting money and quitting past job in Estonia.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I had been working for the same company the last 5 years and I needed a new challenge. Money was not the argument for me since the engineers' salary enables to live decently in Estonia too. Was eager to experience something new in totally new atmosphere and society.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

No, I have a wife, we have bought a house to suburb Tallinn and had relatively stabled and routine lifestyle. I thought I can always return Estonia if I cannot survive Danish challenge. Doing the same

job for the next decades would have narrowed my horizons. Today I feel the experience has enriched me emotionally and mentally. I assume the highest risk would be to remain the same lifestyle as I and everybody lives back home.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

While I was living the past lifestyle I really couldn't acknowledge the level of stress. We went to look for happier lifestyle as Danes are famous for their happiness and we have found it. Our values and work-life balance have changed drastically. There is no rush nor 8am till 5pm working time.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

Well experiencing the difference between Estonian and Danish lifestyles I would say I was obeying the rules set by the employer. Even though I was responsible for my own work and sometimes finished the project earlier, I somehow had sit in front of the screen till 5pm since fellow colleagues and employer disapproved early leavings. If considering the common understanding defined by fellow relatives, family and friends that people should rather possess material belongings such as home and car, which somehow reflects the stability and social security, then I guess I followed the rules. I am not 100% sure if I would take the loan today.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

No, I don't think so.

- How do you associate yourself with materialistic values and consumption? Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

Good question! As mentioned also before, I wouldn't take the loan for buying a house and a car today. I guess I have changed over the year abroad since I don't collect material belongings anymore. I rather invest in memories and experiences such as travelling, theatre, cinema.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Since I love my job, the humanistic work ethics and the work-life balance enable to see colours in everyday life and it inspires to focus on hobbies too.

The 5th “Translator in New Zealand”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around 3 months before graduating MA thesis in oral translation.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I collected money with the intention to move to New-Zealand.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I felt I need a vacation from Estonians since people are intolerant if having a bit darker skin. Even though I am Estonian I have been the victim of racism. Also, I'm rather positive-minded and Estonians are not used to smile at others. I wanted to live in a country I can be myself.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Well, if considering the level of intolerance I felt unsecured of staying in Estonia and raising my children in Estonia. Economically I didn't experience uncertainty since I was a freelance translator and earned decent salary with projects.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

While looking back I would say I was but while being in a routine you really cannot realize the difference. If I was not brave enough to make the decision to leave Estonia then I probably would have been stressed. It's difficult to get out of your comfort zone but once you're out then you experience the abundance of self-responsibility.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

After emigration I realized why I had to continue with my Masters – the society has the common understanding that bachelor is unfinished higher education degree. Today I am not working in a professional field (translation) but in aviation company and I am super satisfied.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Except changing my skin color, no. I'm joking. I guess the whole society simply couldn't enable to utilize myself professionally nor individually.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I have always been aware of modest consuming since I don't need materialistic belongings. However, here in New Zealand I can fit everything into my backpack even though I have lived in the same place for almost a year. I rather collect money for travelling and experiences.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

The most important is to remain myself and be surrounded by inspiring people. I love the scenic landscape of NZ, friendly people and the society as a whole.

The 6th “Designer in Copenhagen”.

- How long did you plan emigration?

Firstly I moved to Denmark to start with my Bachelor Degree in Fashion and Design Management. Had been dreaming about studying abroad since 10th grade.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Immediately after receiving the acceptance letter I started to save my earnings.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I knew Danish people are the happiest in the World and due to the possibility to study Fashion and Design Management I knew I do not want to continue my studies in Estonia where everything will appear to be the same: I would have been living at my parents' house, going out with the same friends, knowing every corner of Tallinn but I wanted to experience something totally new. Moving away to another country was a mental challenge for me too. Also, today's globalised World with Facebook and Instagram millions of public accounts are available to

follow and if you are interested in specific location you can easily become acquainted with the surroundings. Seeing fellow Estonians studying and living abroad was inspiring.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

I knew studying fashion in Estonia wouldn't be sustainable.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

Not really, I didn't understand it while studying in gymnasium but here in Denmark I have understood the difference. Here I have loads of energy and motivation to study, work, dance and be sociable. In gymnasium, I didn't have enough time to go out with friends on weekdays. High school is pretty stressful in Estonia if comparing it to other Nordic countries.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

I don't know. Presumably I'm too young to understand it but I see how hardly my relatives, friends and family members work back home. Now I am relatively surprised how people can really experience true happiness while being workaholics.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Not really, I rather started to think who am I and what I truly desire here in Denmark. Probably I didn't have time to analyse myself and look deep into myself back home.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

Danish people rather focus on quality than quantity and I have taken this habit over. I rather collect money for something better quality product than lower quality.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

If I'm in love with the place I live in, then that's the quality of my life. I have experienced it now here in Denmark and that is the reason of why I didn't return home after graduation but decided to build up my life here. People are smiling, the city of Copenhagen is enriched by the architecture and sea. I am calm here and I am far from my mother. To

be honest, we didn't have the best mother-daughter relationship but now from the distance we bond pretty well.

The 7th “Diver in Iceland”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around 2 years or even more, I was slightly scared of leaving but I dreamed about living in Australia. By now I have lived in Australia, Thailand and Iceland. Iceland is the country I finally can self-fulfill myself. I'm a diving instructor and my first dive took place in Australia. Then I decided to go and work as a diving instructor in Thailand, Koh Tao.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I collected money for the flight tickets and knew I'll start working in Australia so I don't have to worry about saving too much.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I wasn't happy with my life back home. The work I was committed to was routinely exhausting and I knew something more fulfilling is across the ocean. The main purpose was to get know different cultures, peoples and situations which would be impossible to achieve in comfort zone back home. In 2004 my relative moved abroad and inspired me. Explicitly I didn't aim for better life but inexplicitly definitely. Social media would be supportive argument in this concept but definitely not the main.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Back home I was tired of routine, strict rules formulated by the society and felt like wasting time– definitely getting out of comfort zone makes you feel more alive.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, I was rather struggling with routine and lack of self-fulfillment.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

As I said previously in my opinion, Estonian society has strict rules: go to university, graduate, be successful, raise your children, buy a house.

I found there is something else in life except other. Maybe I knew I have to wonder until I have reached to the destination.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Now I can recall and say I wasn't found myself yet. People grow and develop individually by time especially when travelling in young age and for long-term. Definitely I learned to be more patient due to wide range of different cultures and practiced how to analyze before doing sth.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?
Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I would state that this experience did not change my way of assessing materialism. I was travelling with my backpack for 2,5years so, you need as less as possible to live maximum.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

People in Iceland are more open-minded, without boundaries and restrictions and more flexible in long-term perspective. I guess this is extremely crucial and attractive to me while choosing the destination country.

The 8th “Physician from Denmark to Chile”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Not that long. I used to study physics in Estonia and I wasn't pleased with the lecturers who couldn't convey their knowledge and teach students. Relatively high drop off rate motivated to see whether it is the same elsewhere too.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Was working in a labour while studying.

- What were your motives for emigration?

My motives for staying in Denmark evolved mainly from the society and of course from the academia itself. I feel less stressful here and could maximize my self-development in every possible prospective.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Economically I didn't but emotionally I did. People surrounded by me were talking about issues such as my dish machine got broken, how their children were doing at school or what their neighbor did yesterday and I felt like I want to experience something else, I don't want to fall in to be similar to them. I don't want to work until being 65 and then start travelling. I felt like staying in a prison. I wanted to be active and travel the World while being young.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

I felt like I don't want to live in town nor rural area. I felt like I belong to somewhere else. While looking back I realize how stressful my life was back at home because I wasn't following my own dreams but what others' expected me to do.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

I liked my job but I could not cope with the 8 hours working routine. I'm more adrenaline-oriented: diving, climbing and other physical challenges. My job doesn't motivate me to go climbing after work since I'm exhausted from the day. My grand mom is asking frequently why you don't have children and what do you get from the travelling? Don't you waste your time? My friends have told me they wouldn't be as brave as I am. Probably without leaving Estonia I wouldn't have found myself, the true desire to hike and climb and do outdoor activities.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

I guess yes. Always after birthday I was thinking like am I really doing the same job while being 65?

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

It has changed radically after moving from Estonia. I'm vegan, sorting trash, calculating how much I spend in a month etc. Even though Denmark is known as a green country I would point out my colleagues wouldn't be a great example of being green and following the sustainable lifestyle. I would like to have my own garden where to grow my own carrots and potatoes.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Happily I have seen the 8hour office work and now I have the opportunity to compare future lifestyles. Even though, I studied physics for 5 years, earned decent salary but after working as a mechanical engineer for 1,5years I have realized it is not for me, at least not today. I belong to the mountains and expeditions. That's why I have decided to pass the climbing courses to start my own company in Chile in half a year. Would love to build a tourist house in the mountains. I have reckoned moving to the third world country would broaden my horizons. My daily problems would not evolve from the materialistic belongings such as: someone crashed my car, what should I do now? My horizons would expand so I can tackle issues, which really matter.

The 9th “Physiotherapist in Australia”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around a year. I had the idea of going but I wasn't brave enough to go too.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

After my friend went and I realized I wasn't brave enough I started to think I have to start collecting money and emigrate to Australia too.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I was working at the rehabilitation section: my task was to convince people they have to be active but Estonians had rather the opposite mindset. It was pretty exhausting by the end of the day. Getting out from the routine and seek for adventures. Wanted to add colors to my grey-colored life. I didn't have propoerties nor children so I felt I could afford it.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

No, not economical uncertainty. I was earning above average salary.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

I guess I didn't feel the pressure while being at home. I wan anxious to see what the other side of the World could offer to me.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

Except my friends who have emigrated because of not finding a proper job in accordance to the studied occupation, I enjoyed university studies and

work. I loved the opportunity to help people and I knew there is a need for my skills on the labor market and the need will increase by time because Estonians' lifestyle tends to be unhealthier than in past. However, I felt pressure in terms of the general understanding of expecting children before getting 30 years old and taking the loan. I didn't have a partner and my relatives were rather looking down on me. They somehow didn't realize it is absolutely normal not having children while being 29 because I want to live my own life.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

I abandoned my insecurity after emigration.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I rather invest in adventures and gaining memories. Being a backpacker has opened a new perspective of living as a nomad cause you don't know where are you heading next. Thereby, you really do not need many belongings to survive. To be honest, back home I thought I need more belongings to live a decent life, I was more oriented to materialist mind-set. I don't buy sweets anymore since they are more expensive abroad and while shopping in groceries in Estonia, the chocolate counters are not attractive anymore. I buy what my body and mind demand for and I prevent buying junk food.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Definitely, the work-life has to be balanced. I want to work outdoor, want to be active, communicate and work with people. For example, the last work position was at the beach, being the tour guide of camel walk. The sunny weather motivates to be more positive. Want to be part of something bigger. For example in Australia, I can go travelling across Australia without even leaving the country. I feel the beautiful landscape and variety of spending my leisure time are necessary for remaining happy. I don't want to be limited by others' opinions. If comparing lives in Estonia and Australia then I would say the life is even more risky in Australia since I'm totally alone here and I never know what may happen, where I am heading

next but still I feel secured here. Probably the main reason is that I can just be the boss of my own.

The 10th “Traveller Guide in Aalborg”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around a year since 11th grade.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I collected some money while working part-time but my family supported me financially until finding a job in Denmark so I felt pretty secured.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I didn't escape from Estonia like some other fellow youngsters have done. Didn't even have the plan to study abroad until the end of 11th grade after finding suitable bachelor degree.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

No, I don't think so.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, I guess I was too young while living in Estonia, but if comparing my life with my friends' lifestyles, then I am really not complaining about my job.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

There are plenty of rules set by the welfare state as well. In Estonia there are like hidden rules how to dress up etc. Danish don't care about neighbour's life but Estonians rather do. Of course it's my personal opinion but I assume it could be applicable to Estonians. The difference between societies made me stay in Denmark after bachelor degree.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

I don't think so. I was pretty secured by my family and they supported me both emotionally and financially on studying abroad.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming habits changed over the years abroad?

Here of course I earn more than my parents back home but I rather collect money than spend money. I feel like while being young I have to work more intensively to secure myself in the future. If returning to the question then I'm rather inclined to consume less than back in Estonia but since I don't have the comparison between professional life back home and in Denmark, it's hard to evaluate. In high school I rather wanted to own more clothes and all girlish belongings and didn't think of travelling that much but now I rather invest in travelling.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

I have to love my work. My work has to be like a hobby so I don't feel like working while sitting in an office. Unfortunately, I don't have a professional experience in Estonia and I assume that's the reason why I'll once return to Estonia. If I can be opened and don't have to restrict myself with hidden rules then I am happy.

The 11th “Engineer in Australia”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around half a year before I decided to really buy a ticket.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

After half a year calculating whether I am brave enough to go, I collected money for flight tickets and for the local living around a year. Since I'm an engineer, there is fortunately a need for my skills so I worked in two places, around 18h per day. I had to collect enough money since I emigrated with my partner and I didn't want to put a pressure on ourselves that we have to start a farm job immediately.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I was succeeded in Estonia and as I wasn't travelling further than Europe. The work and holiday visa was attractive since I was 29-year-old and only people below 30 can apply for the visa.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

I didn't like the bureaucracy in Estonia. For example the Tallinn-Tartu highway, I was the one who lived in Paide but worked in Tallinn. I

know it isn't the best example but for me it is one of the most acute examples since I was thinking of it nearly every day. All of my friends were rather living across the World and we found with my partner that we could do the same. We didn't have any loan nor children.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

As written in the survey answer too, I escaped from the Estonians. I wanted to be surrounded by more open-minded and talkative people. I have lived in Australia for 4 years and I visited Estonia last Christmas. I realized the difference between my lifestyle in Estonia and Australia. In Estonia I even felt like people don't want to live in Estonia since they are complaining about everything – my question was simple – why aren't you living abroad then?

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

People define the rules, not the society and I would say Estonians limit themselves. Since I was reaching 30 I felt a pressure that I don't have a child, a dog and a house. I wasn't ready for that yet.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

I didn't know what to do with my life. I wanted to live in Paide but was working in Tallinn. I knew I didn't want to live in Tallinn but there wasn't any job vacancy in Paide.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

In Estonia, the more you earn, the more you spend but in Australia, the more you earn, the more you travel.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

In Australia I'm healthy and I'm active, I'm surrounded by positively minded people and the work-life balance allows to spend quality time together with my partner. Combining the rural and urban lifestyle is the most suitable for me.

The 12th “Engineer from China to Australia”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around half a year, I assume.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I collected and had some savings. After landing in China, I had extremely little money so I just backpacked to see the other side of the World. To study the culture, talk to locals etc. Unfortunately it is quite impossible to find a decent job in China so I decided to continue my life in Australia where it was extremely easy to find a job in a farm and then in a consultancy firm.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I was studying in university and I wanted to escape from the routine. Wanted to experience something new and travel. I was studying engineering but I realized after my 5years studies that it's not for me. I didn't know what I want, what is the true passion and profession of my life.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

I didn't want to fall into the same hole as my schoolmates. In general, engineers work insane. My family was really supporting me.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

I was entirely exhausted by the academia and the engineering.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

If you want to graduate then you have to accomplish 2 internships. I had some issues regarding to the internships and I didn't understand why there isn't any collaboration between universities and private companies.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

No, I was happy in Estonia too however, the daily routine made me think of whether I really want to live a life like this.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

If you don't know where are you heading next, with who you're going to meet next, you really start seeing the World from different angle.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Climate is one of the most important for myself. I could live in Estonia in summertime but not in winter. I want to live a life where I can combine travelling and working and fortunately it is relatively easy to apply a residency in Australia.

The 13th “Nomad in Århus”

- How long did you plan emigration?

I firstly migrated to Australia for a year and then to Denmark. It was pretty fast since I applied in June and the studies started in August.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

As mentioned I took off from Australia and headed directly to Denmark without visiting Estonia. I had collected money in Australia but I am not even sure if I could call it collecting since I didn't spend all of my money, so I didn't live from the payday to payday.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I graduated high school and since I have been studying in America then I knew I don't want to continue in academia. I rather wanted to earn vocational degree and Danish universities are very practical.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Yes, I knew I don't belong to Estonia so I always dreamed about living abroad. It made me a bit uncertain towards the future.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, I was very active: playing basketball, studying and focusing on self-development. Achieving great grades was one of the biggest missions in life, which is relatively worthless after looking back but probably it was necessary for the future.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

Working 8 hours per day without affording yourself travelling and spending time with family would not be acceptable to me.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Yes, after the studies in the states I was eager to travel even more. I couldn't stay in Estonia and I didn't know how to optimize my life in Estonia.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming habits changed over the years abroad?

I don't know. I have always been rather sustainable in long-term perspective but I guess I spend less money on clothing. Also, probably in Estonia I would already have a car but here I'm riding a bike every day.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Work-life balance is definitely the key to happy life. I don't want to be a mother whose children see their grandparents 2 times per year so I guess I have to find a way how to return Estonia. People in Denmark are smiling all the time and it enriches me daily. Also, earning decent money while working less is supportive. In contradiction to Estonia when you go to get your children at 6pm here people look down on you when it's quarter to 5pm and you haven't gone to get your child from the kindergarten. I love the general approach of having a balance between work and private life.

The 14th “ Business Consultant in Melbourne”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Before I moved to Australia, to Melbourne I had been travelling to Melbourne 3 times. Back home I felt I would like to live abroad. Since I was working in a business consultancy company they supported mobility across the World.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Fortunately my company paid for the flight tickets so I didn't have to collect much money.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I had been living the same life for the past 10 years: same challenges at work, same people in the same office. I felt like being stuck in a

repetitive cycle. I was slightly scared of working at the same position for the next years too. I was eager to challenge myself if I am capable of starting a new life in Melbourne. Starting from the zero but in English native speaking country. I was eager to get to know whether I could build up everything in Melbourne too.

After living in Melbourne for 3 years my father passed away and I really considered moving back to Estonia. I flew to Estonia for half a year to support my mother. Even though my mother and some relatives weren't accepting my leave again, I felt it is necessary since I wasn't happy in Estonia.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

When living in Estonia I didn't realize the uncertainty. I have realized it while looking back. Here I don't feel social uncertainty since people are so warm and opened. In Estonia there were rather negative prejudices towards people. My clients are more grateful, appreciate what I do for them but Estonians were relatively passive.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

Yes, my work was pretty stressful, had high responsibility, long days of work.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

People complained about my decision to abandon all I had, since according to them I had everything in Estonia: a decent, well-paying job, an apartment and friends.

I didn't have a partner but I didn't feel the pressure to get one too.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Sure, I guess the decision of leaving Estonia permanently reflects on the past situation. My life didn't challenge myself I wasn't satisfied with what I was doing.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming habits changed over the years abroad?

You don't have a luxury car and dress nicely even though you can afford it.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

I enjoy annual sunny weather, which motivates me daily. I find it necessary to be surrounded by strangers who are similarly to me open-minded, smiling and positive thinking. “Fake it till you make it” – smile until you get the good mood and here it’s relatively simple to be happy. For example if someone passes by and comments on your nice dress then in details you see the pure happiness. My clients are extremely motivating and I don’t feel the level of stress even before the deadlines. I work less hours but work more effectively!

The 15th “Phd in Physics in Lund”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Since I migrated to Sweden, Lund to study Phd, I started to plan it after finding a proper university with the supervisor. I assume it lasted approximately half a year.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Yes, I saved money even though I knew I get the scholarship.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I knew I could continue studying in the university and continue in Tartu Observatory but I wanted to experience something new, wanted to meet cultures, study in a feministic society and broaden my horizons. The dissatisfaction inspired me to apply elsewhere.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Not really, I knew I could continue with my studies in Tartu since the majority of scientists in my area are senior researchers and I wanted to add a fresh perspective to the findings.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

Yes, I rather had. I didn’t agree on the worrying society where worrying is common activity attached to everything you do. I was working in observatory meanwhile studying and I even didn’t acknowledge the difference between weekends and weekdays.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

As mentioned, worrying is common for Estonians. Working late and overtime is hidden rule for companies' work ethics. I'm glad I abandoned that lifestyle. My grandparents are the only ones who rather don't understand why I work and study in Sweden next to Muslims instead of in Tartu.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Yes, figuratively said, the negativity in Estonia drove me insane.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming habits changed over the years abroad?

Yes, now I invest in emotions not belongings. I have more spare time but I don't go to shopping malls to buy things. Back home I went to shopping malls in every suitable moment, though I didn't have them that often, to buy something what I wear 2-3 times – nonsense.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Being healthy, having a balance between work and life, living my life without others stereotypical approaches.

The 16th “Anthropologist in Copenhagen”

- How long did you plan emigration?

I have lived in four countries but the first emigration took place at 18 when I got accepted to the university in Chile. The first emigration was fixed with a year so it didn't require further analysis. After graduating I applied for a Scottish university and then I really had to analyze the pros and cons of living away for the next 4 years. It took me around half a year. Now I live in Copenhagen.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Yes, I was working in a restaurant to collect money but my parents supported me too.

- What were your motives for emigration?

Wanted to live in a city or town which I truly love. Chile made me very tolerant but in Estonia I felt the intolerance towards American white and refugees. I felt like I rather want to be surrounded by tolerant people since I

am interested in anthropology. Once I was visiting my family then one elderly guy offended me pretty hurtfully after telling him I live in Denmark. He expressed the anger towards other cultures and it somehow reminded me of the same emotion after returning from Chile. In overall, I do not belong to intolerant society.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

There are many aspects of how I experiences uncertainty in Estonia. Firstly, the emotional insecurity restricted to be who I am. No matter what I would like to do for living, I guess I couldn't do it in Estonia.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

Yes, I couldn't find a place to fit in. I knew I belong to somewhere else and fortunately today's World allows to live wherever you desire to live.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

My parents, fortunately, have always supported me. However, they have always emphasized the eternal productivity: don't take a year off, continue your studies, be successful, find a partner and expect a child before 30s. I for example accept not having a child. I have other goals in life but this is probably the conjunction with your reflexivity theory. I live how I want to live.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

I guess I am really aware of myself. Have always been after the experience in Chile.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming habits changed over the years abroad?

I am rather minimalist and socialist. I have grown up in a capitalistic mind-set since my father is an entrepreneur but after my studies in Scotland I have started to see the pros of socialism.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

I have gained a set of values, which are very valuable in my life. Due to the set of travels in my life I have found myself. If I wake up in the morning and have a mission in life I am happy. However, I couldn't imagine myself living in unsupportive society. I have rather radical mind-set so I guess I wouldn't fit to Estonia.

The 17th “Nanny in Mexico”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Around one year but I hesitated to go. I had to convince myself that I could manage to live and work wherever I desire to.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I had some savings but mainly had to collect some extra. I guess it took me the last 3 months before emigration.

- What were your motives for emigration?

As I was and I am still a babysitter, I wanted to explore new cultures and being a foreigner's babysitter expands broadly ones horizons. However, the biggest motive was to experience something new and challenge myself. Being a babysitter in Estonia is not the best compensated profession. I love children and want to work with them everyday. I emigrated immediately after bachelor graduation, my major was economics, because I was eager to explore the World but also, because of the pressure. Basically all of my friends and family told me that now you should start a concrete and worth-paying job. The timing was right to take off and got to know myself better.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Yes, I knew economics didn't inspire me and I also acknowledged that continuing as a consultant or a banker would pay better off than being a babysitter. I was uncertain what I truly wanted to do and who to become. Opening a kindergarten was one of the options in my mind at that time.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, I was studying and babysitting. I was probably too young to stress.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

If recalling the time before emigration to Mexico I could say it opened my eyes to see how I suffered in the oppression to start working in banking sector. Today I feel like the education taught me to learn and to manage my time properly but as I now work as a freelance babysitter in Mexico city, I am working far from my major. Probably if I would

have been returning home I would have face the oppression to work in a worth paying position. Here working as a babysitter is not the best paying job but I feel I belong here, I'm happy and enjoy my life. Here I don't have the past influenced by the local society which could have sculpt my values and beliefs as life in Estonia. I mean like probably the societal rules are the similar to Estonians in here if growing up in the middle, upper-middle class. It is probably inevitable that your family and relatives want the best for yourself and try to urge you further but I felt like incomplete. It's odd, I haven't thought about it that deeply.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I assume the major reason why I decided to stay here is associated with the Estonian materialism, or at least I have grown up in that subgroup of society. I guess it could be caused by success-minded friends too, since in Estonia it made me jealous when others' were affording wealthier lifestyle than I but here I don't feel it at all. I do not compare myself with other even though I have created my social network here and have plenty of great friends. I don't know if my consuming patterns have changed over time, I mainly invest in weekend hiking but in all, I even do not count my earning since I earn as much I do and when I need something to buy I calculate how much is needed for that. Back home the majority of my friends lived from the payday to payday. It is probably too philosophical but having a constant overview of the balance on your bank account shows how much you depend on the money.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Seeing my babies laughing and growing every day is the best satisfaction for me. Also, hiking and kayaking on the weekends charge me to convey the energy and power to my children. Just to make it clear, I don't have children and a partner yet but I call my clients' children as my babies and children. My quality of life is laugh, sunshine and adrenaline, Mexico appeared attractive in high school and suddenly I have ended up living in Mexico. **Life could be a constant**

sunshine if you make it shine! I am so pleased with the decision to live here.

The 18th “Blogger on Small Islands”

How long did you plan emigration? Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Around 7 months since I saw an offer to Bali and I somehow thought this is my time to leave everything and return after I am tired of travelling and spontaneity. I bought the tickets with 2 days thinking and then started to collect money for living since I wasn't sure how easy or hard is it to travel around the World.

- What were your motives for emigration?

Everybody is travelling nowadays and I was eager to see the World too. I had just graduated my bachelor degree and thought is a great opportunity to travel before applying for a professional job in Estonia. I preferred to start with exotic islands such as Bali and Fuji but then spontaneously continued travelling to Tonga, Salomon Islands and Philippines.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Not really except I didn't know what is going to happen after my studies. I was slightly afraid of applying for a professional job. Now after 1,5 years of travelling I have understood how narrow-minded I was in certain circumstances and I am more aware of what I want to do after returning Estonia, although I am not entirely sure if I could manage living in Estonian society

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, except the temporary waves of stress due to a routine of barista job and my university studies.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

On these small islands, which I have been visiting I have seen entire honesty and pureness. People earn maximum 5\$ per day and are ten times happier than in Estonia. I guess Estonian society is extremely success-oriented. We want to belong to western societies, we want to

be heard in global perspective, we want to be bigger than who we are. Here I have met people who even are not capable of counting money, reading and writing. They don't aim higher than they are, they enjoy their daily lives and sunshine.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

As mentioned the difference between societies, I guess the more you know, the more you want to know is applicable to the materialistic values as well: the more you have the more you want to have. People here do not own anything except their huts and they even do not want to own more.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Being capable of doing what I love and being surrounded by kind people.

The 19th “Artist in Paris”

- How long did you plan emigration?

I knew from the start of my fine art studies that I want to live in Paris for a while. I guess saying 2-3 years is correct.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Yes, during my studies I worked part-time to collect money.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I have always wanted to live in France since I have learned French and I somehow relate to the culture. Firstly, I dreamed about work in the field of art in Paris, eat croissants for breakfast and marry with a local but I did not manage to be accepted by different employers nor I married with a local. However, I learned a lot and now being back in Estonia I am more self-aware and I got the feeling of challenging myself – even though not to the maximum. In Estonia my family expects me to be around a lot, which I do not have to take into consideration abroad which equals more time for myself. Also, I do not get trapped into old thinking patterns and habits - I don't have to meet all my ex-boyfriends constantly on random streets or

parties with old friends. Foreign country liberates me from my past, which in such a small country as Estonia, is always present.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

No, it appeared I was extremely certain I could manage everything abroad too but I didn't think of the possible problems tackled on the path to get closer to my dream.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, not at all.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

I don't know. What do you mean?

- Do you feel you somehow have to follow hidden rules set by the society or your family or friends?

Well probably only the problem that working in the field of fine art in Estonia is not really compensated well and thereby I cannot only focus on painting but also working as a project manager in one creative agency – I don't know if it is correct but it is set by the people who do not value local fine art.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

In Estonia it is possible for me to establish myself in exactly what I am interested in, compared to staying abroad would be much more challenging. Even though the difference in incomes is huge.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?
Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

No, I spend in accordance with my income so I am relatively wise-minded in consuming patterns.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

My plan is to move away from Estonia in a couple of years anyway since I already know the feeling of living without expectations, freely as an artist. I desire to become a full time fine art artist one day.

The 20th “Lesbian in San Francisco”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Right after I understood I am lesbian and entirely proud of it. It took me years to understand who I am but it took me less than half a year to understand that being a lesbian in Estonia restricts my life in every aspect.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

My parents gave me money to emigrate since I explained the reasons and they understood and supported me at their best. I had some savings but it wasn't enough to start a new life in San Francisco, California.

- What were your motives for emigration?

My partner. After I understood and accepted to be a lesbian I thought it is correct to talk about it in case needed. For example I invited my partner to the Christmas dinner and after that I understood my fellow colleagues do not accept my relationship and do not treat me as previously. Of course I aimed to be on top of things and tried to understand my colleagues and other citizens met on streets but suddenly we realized with my partner it is not allowing us to be happy and live a life we have dreamed about. I love Estonia and I had never imagined living abroad even though I also love travelling but since I didn't want to hide my relationship and I didn't want to pretend to be normal as everybody else we decided together to move away. San Francisco was attractive since my partner had been visiting it and one of the most important characteristics was to move to English speaking country.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

Of course, I was afraid of not being accepted by the society. 3months after the Christmas dinner with colleagues I had to quit my job since I didn't enjoy my job anymore. I started to have some issues with applying to different positions, probably overreacted.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

In some degree, yes.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

Estonians are definitely intolerant. I have read the news about EKRE slogans and debates about asylum seekers and to be honest, I agree that the majority of Estonians are racists. Of course I reckon there are people tolerating untraditional choices such as being a lesbian instead of hetero and there are also people who have travelled and understand the diversity of cultures but still, I'm reflecting the majority who are not afraid of expressing their world views.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

Yes, I guess it is not worth adding examples of problems evolved from one "issue".

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I would say I have always paid attention to my ecological footprint. My consuming patterns have not changed tremendously, since I consume to cover my primary needs.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

The possibility to be who I am and not being judged on my decisions is the most essential for me. Additionally, I have to love my job, I don't want to feel like I'm at work, I want to develop myself in certain area, always achieve my goals, become better and stronger. I support lifetime development, friendly atmosphere, decent living conditions and in all, life without worries is the best life. I guess I am not that kind of person who creates problems but rather smoothly enjoys and trusts life.

The 21st "Dancer in Los Angeles"

- How long did you plan emigration?

Right after visiting LA I fell in love with the city, its' people and pace of lifestyle. I started to commute between LA and Tallinn until 3 years ago when I decided to rather live in LA and visit family and friends in Tallinn.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

Yes, had some savings but had to allocate monthly earnings wisely to enable smooth moving.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I. I felt like I belong to LA. I used to be a professional dancer in Estonia too, but there I felt more inspired, more enriched by the culture, people, city etc. Couldn't continue with being surrounded by Estonians who are not that inspiring compared to Americans in LA.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

No, I don't think so. I was bored in Estonia but I didn't realize it before visiting LA.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

Again, no but if recalling the time back I am more relaxed and happier in LA. So, probably I had more stressful life than here. I am more productive in 24hours here than in Estonia, I even started to paint and draw and have opened private exhibitions.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

Every society has its' rules and norms. I find it normal. What I may not enjoy in Estonia are the suppressed and rather grey emotions I feel while visiting friends. It is not dependent on others since I love everything and everyone in Estonia but I simply don't want to spend my daily life there. I want to visit Estonia.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

No, I cannot associate myself with the existential problems. I have always wanted to become an artist, a dancer and I knew it from the high school.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I don't buy, I rent even though I know I may live here for the rest of my life but somehow I want to leave doors open. The lifestyle in LA is rather heavy consuming, so compared to Americans I consume less, but probably compared to an average Estonian in middle Estonia, I consume more.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

Inspiring, happy, smiling, colourful atmosphere empowers me to be the most productive, creative and calm. Surrounding atmosphere is the most crucial to maintain happy lifestyle. I'm very rarely unhappy or emotionally down in LA.

The 22st “Teacher of Pilates in Toronto”

- How long did you plan emigration?

Years, I am not really sure since I have been travelling a lot and I have always wanted to live abroad.

- Did you have enough savings for leaving or did you collect money for a certain period of time?

I guess I collected around a few months after applying for the visa.

- What were your motives for emigration?

I was super bored of my life in Tallinn. Every single day was similar to the previous one and I understood I am ready to make a change.

- Did you experience uncertainty in any sense?

No, as a programmer I had professional job and everything was stable.

- Did you have stressful lifestyle back home?

No, I was rather stressed that there are no challenges, which inspire to put an effort to them.

- How do you associate yourself with rules defined by society?

As a programmer being a Pilates' teacher in Canada, Toronto has shown me that I inclined to study programming due to its' secured demand on labour market. Estonians or at least my friends and relatives are quite success-oriented and here I am happy to only work as a full time teacher in local studio. I do not have to follow the rules of being on the same level as my friends. Probably being away gives me the freedom of only doing what I love to and I somehow don't have to be responsible for securing myself economically to buy a house and build a family.

- Did you experience existential problems back home?

No, only that basically all of my friends lived or had been living abroad and I was the sole girl living in Estonia.

- How do you associate with materialistic values and consumption?

Have your consuming patterns changed over the years abroad?

I don't think so. I have been frugal economically. Here I have understood that I don't have to buy an apartment or a car to commute daily but it is understandably due to the temporary stay.

- How do you define your personal quality of life?

I want to be surrounded by friends and family but also I want to feel the feeling of being free and not restricted by hidden boundaries. It's hard to explain but I already feel here that I somehow have started building a life here so I want to continue travelling to another country. I want to be spontaneous until I return Estonia and I guess this journey is relevant for my self-development and defining my quality of life.

9.2 Survey results

All data (176) and filtered data (93 out of 176) available on Google Sheets at:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1qkl8nmyfXxbEq8dmaSP3fB1cgUH9JVFmXmdKt-oXAu8/edit?usp=sharing>

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