

Saeid Abbasian / Dieter K. Müller

Displaced diaspora second-home tourism: an explorative study of Swedish-Iranians and their second-home purchases in Turkey

Abstract

This explorative study aims to gain more insight into Swedish-Iranians' purchase of second homes in Turkey. The study is based on 22 questionnaires (19 of them from owners and buyers), field observation, and participant observation. Motives behind owners' and buyers' purchases are: other Swedish-Iranian friends/relatives bought there; cultural proximity; absence of visa restriction for Iranian citizens; geographical proximity to Iran and relatives living in Iran; economic factors, including the low prices and costs and investment for retirement; and the climate. The respondents are well-integrated into Swedish society and have access to different types of resources which facilitate the purchase, but they also show the potential to partially become integrated socioculturally into their Turkish communities. A meaningful proportion of them are seriously planning to live permanently in Turkey after retirement, but the majority stay there for longer periods or semi-permanently. Despite some limitations, this study makes an important contribution to the area of diaspora second-home tourism and to the field of diaspora studies.

Key words: second-home tourism; diaspora tourism; migration; Turkey; Swedish-Iranian

Introduction

International second-home tourism has been an issue for research within rural studies (Buller & Hoggart, 1994), housing studies (Paris, 2013), migration research (Benson & O'Reilly, 2016; Janoschka & Haas, 2014; Torkington, 2012), ageing studies (Williams, King & Warnes, 1997), and tourism (Hannonen, Tuulentie & Pitkänen, 2015; Lipkina, 2013; McWatters, 2009; Müller, 2011). Changes during recent decades triggered by globalization, such as the deregulation of property markets and the airline industry, paved the way for international second-home ownership, which previously had been limited to economically privileged parts of mainly Western societies. However, second-home ownership was never limited to these groups (Hoogendoorn, 2011). Instead, people living in international diaspora utilized second homes as a link to their country of origin (Duval, 2004; Wagner, 2014). This topic has so far been largely overlooked in the second-home literature, however; hence this article adds another fragment of information to the nexus of tourism and diaspora studies. More particularly, this is done by addressing the recent increase in second-home purchases in Turkey and Spain among Swedish-Iranians.

Since the Turkish government in 2003 facilitated second-home purchase for European citizens until 2012 several thousand homes were sold to this group, including Swedes and Swedish-Iranians (Sveriges Radio, 2012), although there are no reliable statistics on this phenomenon among Swedish-Iranians. An internet search shows that there are property agencies in Sweden and other Western countries that sell second homes in Turkey, Spain, the United Arab Emirates and other countries to different ethnic

Saeid Abbasian, PhD, Associate professor, Tourism Studies, Södertörn University, Sweden;
Email: saeid.abbasian@sh.se

Dieter K. Müller, PhD, Professor, Department of Geography, Umeå University, Sweden

groups, including people of Iranian origin living in Western countries. Turkey is also the major tourism destination for people living in Iran (Financial Tribune, 2017).

This paper deals with first-generation Swedish-Iranians' second-home purchases in Turkey for several reasons. These individuals have had time to collect financial resources that are necessary for such an investment, which their children who are still young adults might lack. Their purchase can be studied mostly as diaspora second-home tourism rather than ordinary second-home tourism. In similarity with earlier research on other nationalities in other countries (Braziel & Mannur, 2003; Wagner, 2014), they might buy a second home in their country of origin for short visits of friends and relatives, or they would buy a second home in a third country like Turkey for the same purpose. Additionally, it is included in international second-home tourism (Müller, 1999). Furthermore, it can be included in studies on retirees' migration and second-home tourism because they are approaching their pension age and perhaps doing a pre-pension investment through buying a second home in Turkey (King, Warnes & Williams, 2000).

The objective of this explorative study is to get more insight into diaspora second-home tourism among Swedish-Iranians and make a contribution to the still limited research on the subject. This study mainly looks for answers to two questions: What are the motivations that Swedish-Iranians have in their second-home purchase in Turkey? What plans do they have for the future regarding retirement?

Research context

Iranian refugees of the middle class, many of them young, came to Sweden mostly during the 1980s war between Iran and Iraq, escaping from a theocracy, unstable/undemocratic political, economic, cultural, and social conditions and a lack of social and political freedoms in their homeland (Kuusela, 1991; Eyumlu, 1997). In 1980, there were 3,348 Iran-born persons living in Sweden. Ten years later, this number was more than 40,000, and in 2015, the figure had grown to more than 69,000 individuals (SCB, 2015b). Adding their children born in Sweden to at least one Iranian parent, more than 103,000 individuals with Iranian origin are living in Sweden (SCB, 2015d). A considerable share of this population is between 45–65 years old (SCB, 2015c). In 2015, 52 per cent of the Iran-born group in Sweden had an academic education, compared to a national average of 41 per cent (SCB, 2015a). The group generally has been relatively well-integrated into the society, but they have always had considerably weaker integration into the ordinary Swedish labour market than European immigrants but with a relatively high rate of self-employment (Bevelander & Lundh, 2007).

Earlier research on international second-home tourism has almost entirely dealt with Western citizens' purchases abroad and has not touched on immigrants or refugees in these countries. There are many studies on diaspora second-home tourism (mostly on temporary visitors of the home country), but few of them touch on this in a third country. The Iranians are a large ethnic group in Sweden, and their second-home purchases in Turkey have not been studied previously, which makes them a good case for scrutiny. In contrast to many other ethnic diasporas elsewhere, many Iranians cannot return to their home country and buy a second home there, but they can do so in a third country like Turkey. Finally, purchasing a second home in Turkey is also a sign of economic integration (i.e. access to job, position, income, capital, and property, according to Diaz 1996) into the current society, which is worth studying because the debate on integration is still alive in Sweden.

Literature review and conceptual framework

Following from its antecedents (e.g. Coppock, 1977), second homes have become a major topic of inquiry within tourism studies since the 1990s (Hall & Müller 2004, 2018; Müller & Hoogendoorn, 2013). Not least, the focus within the social sciences on mobility, questioning the spatial fixity of many societal phenomena, has implied an increased interest in second homes, being at the intersection of tourism and migration (Bell & Ward, 2000).

Because national statistical classifications differ, there is no available generic definition of second homes (Hall & Müller 2004). Second-home tourism refers to a household's temporary relocation not only to an owned cottage but also to other forms of accommodation, like apartments and caravans (Marjivaara, 2008; Strandell & Hall, 2015). The regularity of visitation and the length of stay have also been studied under the label of residential tourism, further underlining the position of second-home tourism between tourism and migration (Janoschka & Haas, 2014; McWatters, 2009). This applies not least to international second-home tourism. Indeed, there are examples of retirees who move more or less permanently to their second homes in another country, dominating domestic second-home ownership, partly for other reasons (e.g. low living costs, good life standard and health, the host society's culture and lifestyle) than leisure and recreation-led motives (e.g. Breuer, 2005; Ono, 2008; Rodriguez, Fernandez-Mayoralas & Rojo, 1998).

In Europe, international second-home ownership gained pace during the 1970s when northern European retirees began to travel to the Mediterranean region (King et al., 2000). The trend has even strengthened since then, and some authors have attributed this focus to, among other reasons, better ownership regulations and fewer restrictions from the host destinations, increased household incomes, globalization and increased transnationalism, and better transport facilities, leading to greater mobility of people (e.g. Müller, 2011; Paris, 2010). During recent decades, Spain and Turkey have been the most important destinations for other Europeans (Balkir & Kirkulak, 2007; Breuer, 2005; Gibler, Casado-Diaz, Casado-Diaz, Rodriguez & Taltavul, 2009), while Malaysia has been a popular second-home country for different Asian nationals (Abdul-Aziz, Loh & Jaafar, 2014; Stapa, Musaev, Hieda & Amza, 2013; Wong & Musa, 2014, 2015).

Motives for second-home ownership

Traditionally, most research has looked for motivations for second-home ownership in the microcosm of the family and its desire for difference from everyday life (Müller, 2004, 2014). Hence, in an early review of motivations, Jaakson (1986) listed back-to-nature preferences as a major reason for second-home ownership - i.e. second-home ownership as a reaction to urbanization. Also mentioned were thinking of the second home as an identity project, security, highlighting the second-home destination as a familiar place, continuity, an acknowledgment of family heritage, and the opportunity for creative work (see, for example, Chaplin, 1999; Kaltenborn, 1998). However, Jaakson (1986) also acknowledged the elitist desire to be specifically in attractive resorts (Paris, 2010, 2013) and conservationist aspirations to sustain a certain landscape or environment (Huijbens, 2012; Pitkänen, 2008). Furthermore, time and distance thresholds are mentioned as important factors structuring second-home tourism (Jaakson, 1986).

Increasing international second-home ownership has brought to light a number of previously unidentified motivations. For example, Buller and Hoggart (1994) argued that British second-home owners in France look for compensation for a lost British countryside, and Müller's (1999) results regarding German second-home owners in Sweden point to second-home owners seeing opportunities resulting

from having had been discouraged by intensive landscape use and high property prices in Germany. Of course, also mentioned are more traditional touristic motivations related to climatic conditions (Williams, King, Warnes, and Patterson, 2000), good investment opportunities (Paris 2010, 2013; Rodriguez et al., 1998), and lower consumption prices (Müller, 2011). It has also been acknowledged more recently that second-home ownership in some cases coexists with ambitions to minimize taxation, by, for example, utilizing flat tax rates in some countries trying to attract foreign capital (Åkerlund, 2012, 2013; Wong & Musa, 2014, 2015). Hannonen (2017), scrutinizing Russian second-home ownership in Finland, highlighted that access to a safe community is important, too.

The recent focus on mobility within the social sciences discipline has also led to a situation where the distinction between primary and second homes is increasingly challenged. For example, Kaltenborn (1998) and Gallent (2007) argued that the distinction between various homes is arbitrary and that people relate emotionally to multiple places. Accordingly, people dwell and feel at home in multiple places (McIntyre, Williams & McHugh, 2006), resulting in a situation that Arnesen, Overvåg, Skjeggedal, and Ericsson (2012) characterized as a multi-house home. This situation is particularly relevant in a globalizing world of "shifting nodes in the scapes and flows of migration and tourism", as Williams, King, and Warnes (2004, p. 97) phrased it.

In such a world, tourist flows are far more heterogeneous than is often assumed. Hence, even second-home flows are not only domestic, as assumed during the 1970s, and not only flows of indigenous northern Europeans to southern Europe. Instead, the multicultural migration societies of northern Europe and North America also imply that substantial tourist flows connect to resemble migration networks and transnational lifestyles (Duval, 2004). This applies, too, to immigrants who may have a second home in the previous home country relating back to youth, but also to family and heritage. This has seldom been addressed in the scientific tourism literature, but Duval (2004), for instance, delivered a case study of Caribbean immigrants in Canada who utilized second homes to maintain a link to their region of origin. However, even Swedish expatriates appeared to maintain a relationship with their native country through second-home ownership (Åkerlund, 2017; Müller, 2011).

Moreover, it has been recognized that realizing the desire for an international second-home purchase is often facilitated by, for example, property agents (Buller & Hoggart, 1994; Müller, 1999). This is not least because such a purchase can imply an exposure to unfamiliar legal regulations. It is thus sometimes argued that international property ownership indeed entails the establishment of a lifestyle mobility industry (e.g. Åkerlund, 2012, 2013; David, Eimermann & Åkerlund, 2015). Hence, patterns and flows of international second-home owners are not an expression of individual desires only, but also a consequence of structures created and exploited by this industry.

Second homes as integrated part of diaspora tourism

International second-home settlements can also be studied with a link to diaspora issues - i.e. in the context of life as migrants and refugees and their forced displacement (e.g. Cohen, 1997; Larmolenko, 2015; Larmolenko & Kerstetter, 2015; Safran, 1991; Sheffer, 2003; Wagner, 2011, 2014). Some members of these groups, due to emotional needs, return to their countries of origin for a short visit (e.g. Coles & Timothy, 2004; Duval, 2003; Huang, Haller & Ramshaw, 2013; Hume, 2011; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; King & Christou 2009; Mortley, 2011; Potter, Conway & Phillips, 2005; Roberts, 2012; Stephenson, 2002; Wagner, 2011, 2014). Some of the main reasons behind such return is VFR/Visiting Friends and Relatives tourism (Butler, 2003; Feng & Page, 2000), or a search for their own roots, identities, attachment, and belonging (Duval, 2003; Huang et al., 2013). Whilst first- and

second-generation German-Turks' visits to Turkey indicate VFR tourism (Moufakkir, 2011), the return of second-generation Swiss-Eritreans (Graf, 2017) is a search for identity. Furthermore, studies by Wagner (2014), Scheyvens (2007), and Mortley (2011) on first- or second-generation diaspora Moroccans in Belgium and the Netherlands, Samoans, and British-Jamaicans, respectively, indicate that they return to the country of origin mostly for leisure purposes.

Other displaced individuals who cannot return to their countries of origin look for other options to practise diaspora tourism in a more transnational milieu. Here, in contrast to the general definition that contains the country of origin and the host country (Brazier & Mannur, 2003; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Hall & Williams, 2002), even a link to a third country is included. In the context of migration, retiree migration, and second-home ownership, this means a feeling of belonging to multiple places (McIntyre et al., 2006). Diaspora tourism does not target the home country here but is displaced toward intervening opportunities. For New Zealand-Iranians, for example, either they return to Iran, travel to countries where they have settled earlier, or gather their friends and relatives in other Western countries (Etemaddar, Duncan & Tucker, 2016). Diaspora tourism, however, is an indicator of the well-being of diaspora people in different psychosocial terms (Li & Chan, 2017).

Methodology

Because the topic of this article (Swedish-Iranians' purchase of second homes in Turkey) is poorly supported by available statistics and there is no earlier research on it in the Scandinavian context, the overall approach can be characterized as qualitative exploratory (Bryman, 2011). Triangulation was chosen because it was well-fitted to the research (Hjerm, Lindgren & Nilsson, 2014). At the beginning of 2015, an initial conversation was made in Stockholm with a Swedish-Iranian family who had bought an apartment in 2013 in the Antalya region. The next step was a field visit in Side in June 2015 by one of the authors, who observed the town, checked living costs and neighbourhoods where Swedish-Iranians lived in their second homes, and also visited some house blocks and apartments. He also had conversations (in English and Swedish) with the hotel staff and a Swedish female tour guide whose Swedish-Turkish husband worked with broker companies. Notes from Swedish and Persian conversations were later translated and transcribed in English by the authors. Then, the rest of the empirical data was collected through the following sources:

1. Participant observation at the Buying Properties Abroad exhibition of September 19–20, 2015, a total of 17 hours at the Kista International Fair, and conversations in Persian with many Swedish-Iranian visitors about the purpose of their visit.
2. Questionnaires in Swedish to:
 - a) representatives (two men, one woman) from three broker companies in Sweden who actively sell Turkish second homes to Swedish-Iranians, distributed by email.
 - b) eight Swedish-Iranian owners in the Stockholm region and one in Antalya who already owned an apartment in Turkey. They were recruited through snowball sampling, except one who was found at the Buying Properties Abroad exhibition. Additionally, three new email interviews were conducted in January 2019 with the same questions to collect a larger set of data. The choice of email questionnaires is justified by cost- and time-effectiveness (Salmons, 2010).
 - c) seven Swedish-Iranian potential buyers in the Stockholm region who were seriously planning and negotiating with property agents to buy an apartment in Turkey. They visited Buying Properties Abroad and received our questionnaires along with a stamped, addressed envelope to return their answers.

The study of property fairs and the recruitment of respondents there has been shown to be a useful starting point for research because it offers the opportunity to get in contact with potential respondents who would be difficult to access otherwise (Åkerlund, 2012; Eimermann, 2015). The project was firstly introduced to the interviewees by email or orally at the exhibition. The interviewees were given a month to come back with their answers. All interviews, excepting three in January 2019, were conducted during late summer and autumn 2015.

The representatives from property agencies received a questionnaire with 12 open-ended questions. The owners and buyers received 16 questions, except for one retiree who lives permanently in Turkey, who received 17 questions. All questions were semi-structured with both open- and closed-ended questions, plus follow-up issues. Also, between these two groups, owners and buyers, there was a slight difference in questions because one group had already bought an apartment while the other was about to buy. In accordance with Aspers' (2011) ethical consideration, attention was paid to interviewees' anonymity and confidentiality

Numerous authors (e.g. Chiumento, Rahman, Machin & Frith, 2018; Esfahani & Walters, 2018) have highlighted potential dilemmas in cross-language research that might challenge the researchers in their epistemological, methodological, ethical, and practical considerations, i.e. translation and interpretation of the original language. Neither author of this paper has English or Swedish as their native language; nevertheless, both can speak, understand, and write fluently in Swedish as their second language. Also, one of them has Persian as his native language. Despite these facts, the authors have been highly faithful to the original text, and all translations from Persian and Swedish into English have been carefully checked during the article preparation.

Because the chosen research method was triangulation (Hjerm et al., 2014), the analysis method was inspired by grounded theory. All interview answers and observation notes were printed out by the authors for further analysis. The whole of the material was reviewed several times and was carefully coded, conceptualised, and categorized (Glaser, 1992). Due to the inductive approach (Bryman, 2011), the data was collected and analysed first, while the theoretical framework was shaped afterwards, and reflection on the literature review was done after the analysis (Glaser, 1992).

Empirical findings and analysis

The Swedish-Iranian owners and buyers

Many exhibitors at the second-home fair advertised homes in Spain, Turkey, Malta, Cyprus, France, Italy, Portugal, Croatia, Mexico, Vietnam, Thailand, and the Austrian Alps. However, about 10 exhibitors advertised Turkey as a destination, and one of the authors was standing between two of them. Many Swedish-Iranians, mostly in upper middle age (55 and over)¹, visited the exhibition during these two days. Some of them were there to collect more information about the market in various countries. On the other hand, a dominant majority of them was seriously thinking about or planning to buy an apartment in Turkey or Spain, and most of them had already visited both countries. The respondents in this study represented the dominant group of first-generation Iranians in Sweden (Table 1), but in this case, they were owners and those with a particular interest in buying property in Turkey.

Table 1

Background variables of the owners and buyers at the time of interviews

Variable	Owners and buyers
Gender	11 women, eight men
Age	46–66+ years; average 58
Years in Sweden	23–36 years; average 30
Profession	Teachers, nurses, hairdressers, and retirees, 2 each; doctor, dentist, evaluator, engineer, technician, economist, union boss, bus driver, manager, officer, and analyst, 1 each
Marital status	14 married, 2 in a partnership, 2 divorced, 1 widowed
Number of children and their ages	Between 1 and 3 children aged 20–41; 5 respondents did not mention age
Current residential pattern in Sweden	6 live in villas, 4 in town houses, and 9 in cooperative apartments (including 1 who lives permanently in Turkey)
Time of purchase for owners	Between 2004 and 2015
Locations of purchased flats/ planned purchase	Antalya, Alanya, Side, and Bodrum for owners; for buyers, Antalya, Alanya, or Marmaris
Size of the purchased/ planned apartments	39–123 m ² for owners and 40–100 m ² , for buyers; 1 respondent did not answer
Visits/planned visits to Turkey and duration each time	1–6 times a year with a duration of 2–5 weeks in total
To the owners: Do you rent your apartment when you are in Sweden?	No. One mentioned that friends might borrow it sometimes. The respondent who lives there permanently was not asked the question.

Motivational factors

The first important category in the empirical material is the motivational factors behind the purchase. There is, however, a clear dominance of factors related to emotional/psychosocial needs, such as being with friends and relatives from Sweden and Iran. Respondents mentioned friends in Turkey who had purchased residences there previously, who helped and motivated them to buy in Turkey and the current city.

"Our friend's recommendation: because we are such close friends we wanted to spend summertime together."

"I want to be close to my friends who have bought apartments in the same region."

"Because of the relatives and cousins, I have there and that it is similar to Iran. I cannot go to Iran but there will be like a consolation."

Cultural proximity is another important emotional motivator. Cultural reasons, such as feeling at home in Turkey - the food, language, and culture in general, which is close to Iranian culture - were mostly offered.

"I feel myself at home there in Turkey. Love their language, food, etcetera. My relatives can come there from Iran without a visa problem. It reminds me of my old country. There, I can feel free."

"Proximity to our old homeland. And through acquaintances. It is a beautiful country and has a culture close to our culture."

Furthermore, another motivator (as alluded to in the quotation above) is the demanding visa application process to Sweden for Iranian citizens, leading in many cases to rejection, and the absence of such a process for Turkey. The destination provides a great opportunity for meeting friends and relatives from Iran, not least because geographical proximity to Iran also means relatively inexpensive access for relatives or parents in Iran. This was expressed, for example, in the following:

"Due to proximity to Iran and because my parents and relatives can travel to Turkey without the need for a visa."

"1. Have friends who have bought apartments there. 2. It is close to Iran so we can meet there. 3. Rather cheap."

Several respondents mentioned economic reasons, such as a good offer from a broker, low living costs in Turkey compared to other European countries, and as an investment for retirement. The fact that low-income Swedish pensioners would enjoy a good living standard in Turkey but not in Sweden was also important.

"Investment, cheaper than Europe, close to Iran to meet with relatives and friends, and free visa for Iranians. I feel myself more at home in Turkey than in, for example, Spain."

"I had an economic opportunity to acquire an apartment and did not want to live in Sweden with my low pension."

These quotations are consistent with field observations by one of the authors and the fact that living costs in Turkey are less than one-fourth of Swedish prices, which might be important for a retiree or a prospective retiree to consider.

Furthermore, family reasons were given; for example, a member of the family had been living in Turkey for work or study and had a command of the Turkish language. Finally, other motivations mentioned were to have a residence for semi-permanent living, or a residence in a warmer land, or to have warm and long vacations. Even the similarity of the climate and landscape with Iran were mentioned as reasons for a property purchase in Turkey. Motivators such as friends and relatives in Turkey, the absence of visa restrictions for Iranian citizens, and cultural and geographic proximity were also partially confirmed by the brokers and the exhibition visitors.

Integration as facilitator

The interviewees show good economic integration into Sweden, i.e. access to a job, income, position, property, and capital, in accordance with Diaz's (1996) criteria. This is also in line with brokers' information on the whole group of Swedish-Iranian second-home buyers. This integration, together with other resources, has a facilitator function. The interviewees have relatively good jobs, incomes, and educations, and seem mostly to belong to Sweden's middle class. Most probably, because they all live in their owned villas, town houses, and cooperative apartments in Sweden's most expensive region (Stockholm), they have good potential access to capital that can be used as a guarantee to receive a bank loan that is necessary for a part of them, according to themselves and the brokers. Despite paying a lot of money for the purchase, none of the owners rented out their apartments to earn extra income. This indicates that they are people of sufficient economic means.

Due to their educational/professional background, they look for reliable information from different sources (the media and the Internet, exhibitions, and brokers), and their friends, as a resource, also contribute valuable information. Those friends who had bought a second home in Turkey before them also constituted their first social network in Turkey. This economic integration into Sweden also facilitates a partial economic integration into Turkey through the purchase of a second home there.

Consumption patterns

The third important category was consumption behaviour in terms of use of the home now and after retirement. Currently, just one of the owners lives there permanently; the rest cannot do so, primarily

because they are still working. Most of the owners and buyers mentioned that they would not think of moving permanently to Turkey after retirement but would stay in Sweden and visit Turkey for longer periods. Some reasons given were related to family ties (children or relatives) in Sweden, a feeling of loneliness in Turkey, and a lack of language skills. A few answered that they would live in Turkey permanently, but some also considered other countries in this case.

"Our plans are to stay there for longer periods when we are retired. At the moment, it doesn't look like we are going to move there."

"The idea is to find a place which is close to Asia and Europe. We will probably live outside Sweden when we are taking our pension. Turkey is not our absolute choice."

Prospect for a new integration process

Several earlier studies on international second-home tourism have directly or indirectly touched on the issue of sociocultural integration of settlers into host communities. By sociocultural integration means briefly immigrants' social interaction with their host society and the level to which they share cultural values and norms with the native people (Van Tubergen, 2006). For example, Müller (1999 and 2004) and Buller and Hoggart (1994) studied the challenges for German and British second-home owners, respectively, to become integrated into their Swedish and French rural communities. On the other hand, Rodriguez et al. (1998), for example, found evidence for a big interest in Spanish lifestyle and cultural values among northern European second-home owners and retirees in Spain. This might have facilitated a faster sociocultural adjustment of them into their new communities.

The interviewees in this study are already well-integrated into Swedish society. They generally like Turkey, and several of them show big interest for Turkish culture and feel familiarity and proximity to it. This, in addition to their own network of Swedish-Iranian friends and relatives in Turkey plus proximity to Iran and relatives there, can hopefully facilitate an easier sociocultural adjustment and integration into their local communities. These people, as interpreted from their answers, show both the potential and willingness to do that - at least partially, given that the lack of language is a constraint for most of them. This willingness is clearly exemplified by the following quotations:

"In addition, my husband can communicate with the local people since he speaks their language."

"I feel myself at home in Turkey because of the language and culture."

Discussion and conclusion

The results of this study easily touch factors linked to international second-home tourism (e.g. King et al., 2000; Müller, 1999), retirees' migration and second-home tourism (e.g. Breuer, 2005; Rodriguez et al. 1998), and transnational diaspora second-home tourism (e.g. Braziel & Mannur, 2003; Coles & Timothy, 2004). As is clear from the results, some of the pull-motivators, such as climate and landscape, prices, and investment opportunities are consistent with earlier studies (e.g. Müller, 1999, 2011; Paris, 2010, 2013; Rodriguez et al., 1998; Williams et al., 2000). Nevertheless, the most important motivators behind the purchase have been push-motivators: psychological needs and emotional links to the country of origin and relatives and friends living there (Braziel & Mannur, 2003; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Etemaddar et al., 2016; Hall & Williams, 2002).

For our respondents, buying a second home in Turkey is a solution to many problems, especially when the current political situation in Iran does not permit a return or purchase of a second home there. The

conditions that forced them to leave Iran (Kuusela, 1991; Eyrumlu, 1997) remain in their country of origin. In Turkey, the Swedish-Iranians can gather relatives and friends from Iran and even those from Sweden easily and without a visa problem, and they can build their own community in a country with relatively more modernism, secularism, and guarantees of individual freedoms than Iran can offer. The host culture is felt to be familiar and reminds them of their first homeland, thereby satisfying their emotional and psychosocial needs. This is in line with earlier studies (e.g. Braziel & Mannur, 2003; Coles & Timothy, 2004; Hall & Williams, 2002; Li & Chan, 2017; Wong & Musa, 2014). Perhaps, in similarity with British second-home owners in France (Buller & Hoggart, 1994), who looked for a compensation for their lost countryside, these Swedish-Iranians also look for a compensation in Turkey for their lost country of origin. All this gives rise to a displaced diaspora tourism that hopefully brings a sense and taste of 'home, sweet home' somewhere other than in the true country of origin.

Choosing Turkey as a second-home destination is also an attempt to retain the good things from the three societies - Iran, Sweden, and Turkey - and a sign of emotionally belonging to multiple places/countries (Gallent; 2007; Kaltenborn, 1998; McIntyre et al., 2006) and a propensity for partial integration into their host Turkish community. In this context, other factors - mainly pull factors such as climate, beautiful landscape, and low living costs - might be of secondary importance.

Hence, the study indicates that the list of potential reasons for second-home ownership should be complemented with displaced diaspora networks. In a globalized world with displaced populations, certain spatial domains remain inaccessible for a long time. Second-home tourism as a means to sustain the relationship with the homeland is not always an option, however, as this study of Iranian expatriates demonstrates. Hence, intervening opportunities - in this case, the destination of Turkey - are used to facilitate the maintenance of social networks, but also to sustain remembrance of aspects of the good life in the old home country.

Of course, this study has been limited in scope. Nevertheless, it shows that the previously neglected phenomenon of diaspora second-home tourism is an interesting aspect that deserves further examination, because it offers new insights into the complexities of human mobility and place attachments in a globalized and not always peaceful world. Especially, it strengthens our knowledge on diaspora tourism and makes an important contribution to the field of diaspora studies.

Notes:

¹Middle age (according to Oxford Live Dictionary 2018) is age 45–65, and upper middle age is characterized as older than 55.

References

- Abdul-Aziz, A. R., Loh, C. L. & Jaafar, M. (2014). Malaysia's my second home (MM2H) programme: An examination of Malaysia as a destination for international retirees. *Tourism Management*, 40, 203–212.
- Åkerlund, U. (2012). Selling a place in the sun: International property mediation as production of lifestyle mobility. *Anatolia*, 23(2), 251–267.
- Åkerlund, U. (2013). Buying a place abroad: Processes of recreational property acquisition. *Housing Studies*, 28(4), 632–652.
- Åkerlund, U. (2017). Strategic lifestyle management in later life: Swedish lifestyle movers in Malta seeking the 'best of both worlds'. *Population, Space and Place*, 23(1), 1–13 (e1964).
- Arnesen, T., Overvåg, K., Skjeggedal, T. & Ericsson, B. (2012). Transcending orthodoxy: The multi-house home, leisure and the transformation of core periphery relations. In M. Danson & P. De Souza (Eds.), *Regional development in Northern Europe. Peripherality, marginality and border issues* (pp. 182–195). London: Routledge.

- Aspers, P. (2011) *Etnografiska metoder* (2nd ed.). Malmö: Liber.
- Balkir, C. & Kirkulak, B. (2007). Turkey as a new destination for retirement migration. In *International migration, multi-local livelihoods and human security: Perspectives from Europe, Asia and Africa*. The Netherlands: Institute of Social Studies.
- Bell, M. & Ward, G. (2000). Comparing temporary mobility with permanent migration. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(1), 87–107.
- Benson, M. & O'Reilly, K. (Eds.) (2016). *Lifestyle migration: Expectations, aspirations and experiences*. London: Routledge.
- Bevelander, P. & Lundh, C. (2007). Utbildning, yrke och inkomst bland iranska män i Sverige. *Ekonomiskdebatt*, 3(35), 32–40.
- Braziel, J. E. & Mannur, A. (2003). *Theorizing diaspora: A reader*. Oxford, UK: Wiley- Blackwell.
- Breuer, T. (2005). Retirement migration or rather second-home tourism? German senior citizens on the Canary Islands. *Die Erde*, 136(3), 313–333.
- Bryman, A. (2011) *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. (2nd ed.). Malmö: Liber.
- Buller, H. & Hoggart, K. (1994). *International counterurbanization: British migrants in rural France*. Avebury: Ashgate.
- Butler, R. (2003). Relationships between tourism and diasporas: Influences and patterns. *Espace, populations, sociétés*, 21(2), 317–326.
- Espace, populations, sociétés*, 21(2), 317–326.
- Chaplin, D. (1999). Consuming work/productive leisure: The consumption patterns of second home environments. *Leisure Studies*, 18(1), 41–55.
- Chiumento, A., Rahman, A., Machin, L. & Frith, L. (2018). Mediated research encounters: Methodological considerations in cross-language qualitative interviews. *Qualitative Research*. 18(6), 604–622. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117730121>.
- Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. London: UCL Press.
- Coles, T. & Timothy, D. J. (2004). *Tourism, diasporas and space*. London: Routledge.
- Coppock, J. T. (Ed.) (1977). *Second homes: Curse or blessing?* Oxford: Pergamon.
- David, I., Eimermann, M. & Åkerlund, U. (2015). An exploration of a lifestyle migration industry. In K. Torkington, I. David & J. Sardinha (Eds.), *Practising the good life: Lifestyle migration in practice* (pp. 138–160). Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Diaz, J. A. (1996). Invandrarnas integration: några teoretiska och metodologiska utgångspunkter. Statens offentliga utredningar SOU 1996:55. Invandrarpolitiska kommittén. *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden*. Bil (B) (pp. 71–91). Stockholm: Fritzes.
- Duval, D. T. (2003). When hosts become guests: Return visits and diasporic identities in a commonwealth eastern Caribbean community. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(4), 267–308.
- Duval, D. T. (2004). Mobile migrants: Travel to second homes. In C. M. Hall & D. K. Müller (Eds.), *Tourism, mobility and second homes: Between elite landscape and common ground* (pp. 87–96). Clevedon: Channel View.
- Eimermann, M. (2015). Promoting Swedish countryside in the Netherlands: International rural place marketing to attract new residents. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 22(4), 398–415.
- Esfahani, M. & Walters, T. (2018). Lost in translation? Cross-language thematic analysis in tourism and hospitality research. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 30(11), 3158–3174. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-10-2017-0701>.
- Etemaddar, M., Duncan, T. & Tucker, H. (2016). Experiencing 'moments of home' through diaspora tourism and travel. *Tourism Geographies*, 18(5), 503–519. DOI:10.1080/14616688.2016.1220973.
- Eyrumlu, R. (1997). *Iranier möter Sverige*. Stockholm: Carlssons Förlag.
- Feng, K. & Page. S. J. (2000). An exploratory study of the tourism migration-immigration nexus: Travel experiences of Chinese residents in New Zealand. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 3(3), 246–281.
- Financial Tribune (2017). *Iranians Help Turkish Tourism Bounce Back*. Retrieved from <https://financialtribune.com/articles/people-travel/69786/iranians-help-turkish-tourism-bounce-back>.

- Gallent, N. (2007). Second homes, community and a hierarchy of dwelling. *Area*, 39(1), 97–106.
- Gibler, K. M., Casado-Díaz, J. M., Casado-Díaz, M. A., Rodríguez, V. & Taltavull, P. (2009). Late life second move housing choices of international retiree migrants. *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis*, 2(2), 190–210.
- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Graf, S. (2017). Diaspora tourism and the negotiation of belonging: journeys of young second-generation Eritreans to Eritrea. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 40(15), 2710–2727.
- Hall, C. M. & Müller, D. K. (Eds.) (2004). *Tourism, mobility and second homes: Between elite landscape and common ground*. Clevedon: Channel View.
- Hall, C. M. & Müller, D. K. (Eds.) (2018). *The Routledge handbook of second home tourism and mobilities*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, C. M. & Williams, A. M. (2002). *Tourism and migration: New relationships between production and consumption*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Hannonen, O. (2017). Peace and quiet beyond the border: The trans-border mobility of Russian second home owners in Finland. *Matkailututkimus*, 13(1–2), 95–99.
- Hannonen, O., Tuulentie, S. & Pitkänen, K. (2015). Borders and second home tourism: Norwegian and Russian second home owners in Finnish border areas. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 30(1), 53–67.
- Hjerm, M., Lindgren, S. & Nilsson, M. (2014). *Introduktion till samhällsvetenskaplig analys*. (2nd ed.). Malmö: Gleerups.
- Hoogendoorn, G. (2011). Low-income earners as second home tourists in South Africa? *Tourism Review International*, 15(1–2), 37–50.
- Huang, W. J., Haller, W. J. & Ramshaw, G. P. (2013). Diaspora tourism and homeland attachment: An exploratory analysis. *Tourism Analysis*, 18, 285–296. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/108354213X13673398610691>.
- Huijbens, E. H. (2012). Sustaining a village's social fabric? *Sociologia Ruralis*, 52(3), 332–352.
- Hume, Y. (2011). Diaspora tourism in the Dominican Republic: Capitalizing on circular migration. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 17(2), 155–170. DOI:10.1080/11926422.2011.607030.
- Iorio, M. & Corsale, A. (2013). Diaspora and tourism: Transylvanian Saxons visiting the homeland. *Tourism Geographies*, 15(2), 198–232.
- Jaakson, R. (1986). Second-home domestic tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13(3), 367–391.
- Janoschka, M. & Haas, H. (Eds.) (2014). *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism*. London: Routledge.
- Kaltenborn, B. P. (1998). The alternate home-motives of recreation home use. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 52(3), 121–134.
- King, R. & Christou, A. (2009). Cultural geographies of counter-diasporic migration: Perspectives from the study of second-generation 'returnees' to Greece. *Population, Space and Place*, 15(2), 103–119.
- King, R., Warnes, A. M. & Williams, A. M. (2000). *Sunset lives. British retirement migration to the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Berg.
- Kuusela, K. (1991). *Att bo i invandrarstäta områden*. Stockholm: Byggnadsnämnden.
- Larmolenko, S. (2015). Bridging tourism and migration mobilities: Diaspora tourism as a coping strategy. (Doctoral dissertation summary). *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 11, 171–175.
- Larmolenko, S. & Kerstetter, D. (2015). Potential predictors of diaspora tourism for Ukrainian immigrants in the USA. *World Leisure Journal*, 57(3), 221–234. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/16078055.2015.1066604>
- Li, T. E. & Chan, E. T. H. (2017). Diaspora tourism and well-being: A eudaimonic view. Research notes. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 63, 203–222.
- Lipkina, O. (2013). Motives for Russian second home ownership in Finland. Special issue. *Scandinavian Journal for Hospitality and Tourism*, 13(4), 299–316.
- Marjavaara, R. (2008). *Second home tourism: The root to displacement in Sweden?* Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University, Sweden.

- McIntyre, N., Williams, D. R. & McHugh, K. E. (2006). Multiple dwelling: Prospect and retrospect. In N. McIntyre, D. R. Williams & K. E. McHugh (Eds.), *Multiple dwelling and tourism: Negotiating place, home and identity* (pp. 313–321). Oxfordshire: CABI International.
- McWatters, M. R. (2009). *Residential tourism: (De)constructing paradise*. Bristol: Channel View.
- Mortley, N. K. (2011). Strategic opportunities from diaspora tourism: The Jamaican perspective. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 17(2), 171–185. DOI:10.1080/11926422.2011.601616
- Moufakkir, O. (2011). Diaspora tourism: Using a mixed-mode survey design to document tourism behavior and constraints of people of Turkish extraction resident in Germany. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 17(3) 209–223.
- Müller, D. K. (1999). *German second home owners in the Swedish countryside: On the internationalization of the leisure space*. (PhD dissertation). Umeå University, Sweden.
- Müller D. K. (2004). Mobility, tourism, and second homes. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *A companion to tourism* (pp. 387–398). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Müller, D. K. (2011). The internationalization of rural municipalities: Norwegian second home owners in Northern Bohuslän, Sweden. *Tourism Planning and Development*, 8(4), 433–445.
- Müller, D. K. (2014). Progress in second-home tourism research. In A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall, & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to tourism* (2nd ed.) (pp. 389–400). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Müller, D. K. & Hoogendoorn, G. (2013). Second homes: Curse or blessing? A review 36 years later. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 13(4), 353–369.
- Ono, M. (2008). Long stay tourism and international retirement migration: Japanese retirees in Malaysia. In S. Yamashita, M. Minami, D. W. Haines & J. S. Eades (Eds.), *Transnational migration in East Asia: Japan in a comparative Focus. Senri ethnological reports, Volume 77* (pp. 151–162). Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018). *Middle age*. Retrieved from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/middle_age.
- Paris, C. (2010). *Affluence, mobility and second home ownership*. London: Routledge.
- Paris, C. (2013). The homes of the super-rich: Multiple residences, hyper-mobility and decoupling of prime residential housing in global cities. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Geographies of the super-rich* (pp. 94–109). Cheltenham: UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Pitkänen, K. (2008). Second-home landscape: The meaning(s) of landscape for second-home tourism in Finnish Lakeland. *Tourism Geographies*, 10(2), 169–192.
- Potter, R.B., Conway, D. & Phillips, J. (Eds.) (2005). *The experience of return migration: Caribbean perspectives*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Roberts, S. (2012). Assessing the potential of diaspora tourism. *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies*, 37(3–4), 115–131.
- Rodriguez, V., Fernandez-Mayoralas, G. & Rojo, F. (1998). European retirees on the Costa del Sol: A cross-national comparison. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 4(2), 183–200.
- Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in modern societies: Myths of homeland and return. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1(1), 83–99.
- Salmons, J. (2010). *Online interviews in real time*. Thousand Oaks, CA Sage Publications.
- SCB (Statistics Sweden). (2015a). *Befolkningen 2015 fördelad efter utbildningsnivå, födelseland och kön 25–64 år*. Retrieved from www.scb.se.
- SCB (Statistics Sweden). (2015b). *Folkmängd efter födelseland 1900–2015*. Retrieved from www.scb.se.
- SCB (Statistics Sweden). (2015c). *Utrikes födda efter födelseland, ålder och år*. Retrieved from www.scb.se.
- SCB (Statistics Sweden). (2015d). *Utrikes födda samt födda i Sverige med en eller två utrikes födda föräldrar efter födelseland/ursprungsland, 31 December 2015*. Retrieved from www.scb.se.
- Scheyvens, R. (2007). Poor cousins no more: valuing the development potential of domestic and diaspora tourism. *Progress in Development Studies*, 7(4) 307–25.

- Sheffer, G. (2003). *Diaspora politics: At home abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stapa, S. H., Musaev, T., Hieda, N. A. & Amzah, N. (2013). Issues of language choice, ethics and equity: Japanese retirees living in Malaysia as their second home. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 13(1), 60–77. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2012.748790>
- Stephenson, M. L. (2002). Travelling to the ancestral homelands: The aspirations and experiences of a UK Caribbean community. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5(5): 378–425.
- Strandell, A. & Hall, M. (2015). Impact of the residential environment on second home use in Finland: Testing the compensation hypothesis. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 133, 12–23.
- Sveriges Radio, PR 6. (2012). *Svenskiranier köper hus i Turkiet*. Retrieved from <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=3993&artikel=5242659>.
- Torkington, K. (2012). Place and lifestyle migration: The discursive construction of 'glocal' place-identity. *Mobilities*, 7(1), 71–92.
- Van Tubergen, F. (2006). *Immigrant Integration: A Cross-National Study*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Wagner, L. (2011). *Negotiating diasporic mobilities and becomings: Interactions and practices of Europeans of Moroccan descent on holiday in Morocco*. Doctoral thesis, Geography, University College London, London.
- Wagner, L. (2014). Trouble at home: Diasporic second homes as leisure space across generations. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 17(1), 71–85. DOI:10.1080/11745398.2013.869659
- Williams, A. M., King, R. & Warnes, T. (1997). A place in the sun: International retirement migration from Northern to Southern Europe. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 4(2), 115–134.
- Williams, A. M., King, R. & Warnes, T. (2004). British second homes in Southern Europe: Shifting nodes in the scapes and flows of migration and tourism. In C. M. Hall & D. K. Müller (Eds.), *Tourism, mobility and second homes: Between elite landscape and common ground* (pp. 97–112). Clevedon: Channel View.
- Williams, A. M., King, R., Warnes, T. & Patterson, G. (2000). Tourism and international retirement migration: New forms of an old relationship in southern Europe. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(1), 28–49. DOI:10.1080/146166800363439
- Wong, K. M. & Musa, G. (2014). Retirement motivation among 'Malaysia My Second Home' participants. *Tourism Management*, 40, 141–154.
- Wong, K. M. & Musa, G. (2015). Challenges of international retirees in second home destination: A phenomenological analysis. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 15, 81–90.

Submitted: 10/01/2019

Accepted: 03/07/2019