

In Search of a Stressful Free Life: An Examination of Chinese Lifestyle Migration to Denmark

Author: Yajie Ma
Supervisor: Nicholas Loubere



Abstract

This thesis explores the Chinese lifestyle migration practice in Jutland of Denmark as a contribution to expanding the categories of Chinese new migrants. The study analyzed ten in-depth interviews on the lifestyle migration practice with Chinese migrants in Denmark. The purpose of this study was to deepen the understanding of the motivations and experiences of Chinese migrants in seek of a better lifestyle in Jutland of Denmark. Previous literature on the lifestyle migrants and lifestyle migration are mainly within developed countries, without references to the dynamic migrating developing counties like China. Drawing on the Benson and O'Reilly's lifestyle migration analysis, social imagination theory, and the concept of Chinese new migrants, this study finds that Chinese lifestyle migrants in Denmark are motivated by unstressful lifestyle. Based on the findings, unstressful lifestyle is defined as unstressful study life for next generation, clean and green environment and foods, equality social values and inclusive social phenomena. Under social imagination influences, migrants translate migration motivations and decisions into practice in meaningful ways. By giving an unstressful growth for next generation is the priority for Chinese lifestyle migrants in the study as a way of improving life quality, which contributes to widening the conception of lifestyle migration. Besides, in the previous study, motivations to move to an unstressful environment are often referred to rural places. However, Chinese lifestyle migrants recognize urban Denmark where its demography density is small; this expands the categories of lifestyle migration destinations. As for the theoretical contribution, this paper argues that although social imagination can explain how the imaginings that inspire migration translated into practice, it cannot state the actual experiences and ambivalence. Since social imagination is constructed by previous experiences and narratives, it limits the application range.

Keyword: *lifestyle migration, Chinese new migrants, Denmark, decision process, social imagination*

Acknowledgment

This thesis converges the support of many.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my informants who made this thesis possible.

I want to extend my utmost gratitude to my supervisor, Nicholas Loubere, for your kind personality and invaluable guidance throughout this process.

A special thank to the spring in Lund, warm and shiny, which makes me confident on working.

For Selfless parents and the people who are going to be

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Context of the Study

In 2015, the number of Chinese-born international migrants had reached 10 million, Chinese emigrants have become the fourth most abundant foreign-born population in the world (World Migration Report, 2018). An increasingly characterized migration is significant outward and inward student mobility, especially at tertiary level. One-sixth of international students worldwide are Chinese in 2014, who contributes to international labor migration by staying with employment opportunity after graduation (ibid).

Based on the statistics of 2007, Europe is not the primary destination for international Chinese migrants, only sharing 4.73% of the entire overseas Chinese population, behind by Asia with 78.10% and Americas with 13.87% (Latham & Wu, 2013). However, Europe is an attractive destination of Chinese new migrants who refers to Chinese from PRC migrate to overseas after 1978 of opening reform (Song, 2011). The characteristics of Chinese new migrants are holding relatively higher education level and relative income level, different with Chinese migrated into Europe before the PRC found, who were often coolie, refugees and illegal migrants (ibid). The number of Chinese new migrants has reached three 3 million until 2013 (Song, 2013). Chinese new migrants in Europe has two features; one is resident tourists with property purchasing and investment; the second is the rapid growth of Chinese international students in EU (Latham & Wu, 2013). Chinese international students are mainly from middle classes with sufficient disposable income to study overseas, in the meanwhile, they may stay on to in seek of employment opportunities (ibid).

Denmark, a place well-known of social welfare, attracting many Chinese migrants stay on. Denmark shares 8.11% of foreign nationals in the total population until 2016 (Statista, 2016). As for Chinese migrants in Denmark, there are 2310 new Chinese

migrants arrived in 2017 in which 1253 women and 1057 men (Statistic Denmark). Chinese communities in Denmark is quite small compared to other European countries. The biggest sharing group for Chinese is the migrants who hold a working residence permit, which takes 1370, with 740 men and 630 women. The second biggest group is student migrants, which takes 901 in total, with 624 women and 277 men. It is interesting to find out that although the total number and migrant workers are genders equaled, however, 70% of Chinese student migrants are female. The Chinese new migrants in Denmark, especially student migrants, might enjoy a high qualified life in Denmark since most of them come from middle-class with well language proficiency and relatively affluent savings so that they would not worry much about the high consumption and social integration.

Migration is analyzed in many ways in the academic literature, but one favorable form of conceptualizing migration in recent years has been through the lens of *lifestyle migration* (Benson, O'Reilly, 2009, 2016). *Lifestyle migration* refers to “the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life” (Benson & O' Reilly, 2009b). Denmark makes a compelling case to examine the *lifestyle migration* phenomenon as some Chinese new migrants 1) seek for a destination where could offer a better quality of life and 2) are likely relatively affluent than other types of Chinese migrants on engagement in lifestyle seeking. From observing my surroundings, it is not uncommon to find Chinese migrants in Denmark who are satisfied with the current life. Mainly the urban Chinese lifestyle migrants have founded as half rural idyll seekers due to escaping from pollution and half bourgeois bohemian because of enjoying a modern culture.

Nevertheless, the literature on *lifestyle migration* is focused on a handful of places, mainly developed nations, namely United Kingdom, United States, France, Spain, Netherlands; the types of migrants are also quite limited. In this case, the

conceptualization of lifestyle migration has thus far been rather narrow. This thesis, therefore, seeks to illuminate the lifestyle migration phenomenon in Denmark from Chinese migrants' perspectives and practice, which expands the concept of lifestyle migration. Due to the broad regional, urban-rural differences in Denmark, the study will focus on Chinese lifestyle migrants residing in cities and urban areas in Jutland of the country, mainly in Aarhus and Aalborg. The reason for choosing urban in Jutland is my accessibility and the convenience for finding suitable respondents. Moreover, Jutland typifies the hopes and experiences of many Chinese migrants moving to Northern Europe and Scandinavia in search of a better life due to the depiction of these countries as well-run welfare states in Chinese popular discourse. The thesis aims to understand Chinese lifestyle migrants' engagement with local life by examining to what imagination of lifestyle triggers migration motivations and how expectations influence their practicing lifestyle migration. In another word, what kind of life that Chinese lifestyle migrants in seek of in Jutland of Denmark and what they are practicing on lifestyle in Denmark?

1.2 Study Aim and Research Questions

The study aims to understand how Chinese new migrants practice migration in Denmark. By researching Chinese migrants' perspectives and imaginations on life, the motivations of movement trigger their migration decision; the thesis investigates to what extent their lifestyle influence their migration practice. The central research question asks:

- *What kind of lifestyle do Chinese new migrants look for when they relocate to Denmark, and what is their lived experience?*

Sub-questions:

- *What is the imagined life in Denmark before migrating?*
- *How social imagination inspires migration into practice for Chinese new migrants?*

- *What is the real life and ambivalence in Denmark after relocating?*

1.3 The Significance of the Study

The outcome of the study is to contribute to the understanding of how lifestyle migration is practiced within the context of the Chinese migrants in Jutland of Denmark and to add to the sparse literature body on the lifestyle migration from developing economies. Moreover, the study seeks to answer how social imagination, explicitly triggering of migration motivations, shape one's migration experience, and play a role in the Chinese lifestyle migration practice.

1.4 Disposition

The thesis consists of five chapters, this first chapter serving as the introduction to the research problem, study aim, and research questions. Chapter 2 reviews the available literature on lifestyle migration, social imagination as a concept as well as Chinese new migrants. Chapter 3 presents the study design, research method, and ethical considerations. The study employs semi-structured interviews with 10 Chinese lifestyle migrants from urban areas of Jutland of Denmark. Chapter 4 examines the findings from these interviews. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis and suggests implication for further research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the literature on the study of migration. I will start by introducing a broad background of international migration dynamics and outlining the critical issues. Then I will illustrate the theory and conception of lifestyle migration from Benson and O'Reilly, the definition of lifestyle migration, an explanation of lifestyle migrants. To add, I will present some specific type of lifestyle migrants from other scholars' contribution. Building on the central literature review, I will present the social imagination, as a theory to analyze a factor of triggering migration into practice. In the end, I will turn to the Chinese new migrants including broad background information as well as the primary focus on Chinese new migration.

2.1 International Migration Dynamics

International migration as a consequence of globalization has been rising the interests of scholars. The migration movement has been explained by economic beneficial driven, while the flow is often demanded by receiving countries (Portes, 2006). The demographic changes and labor mobility leads the economic outcomes of sending countries while facing the process of depopulation acceleration, in the long term, the investment and knowledge from returnees would foster the development of their homeland (ibid.). The dynamics of migration initially appears in economic remittance, along with culture transformation, development elements, ethnic integration at present (Castles & Wise, 2008).

Labor migration is the primary migrant's group to be researched, while there are various categories of international migrants. Based on the visa holding types, the migrants can be defined as four main groups, which are migrant workers including talents and professionals, migrant students, refugees and family reunification. Migration has been seen not only beneficial to the north countries, but it also booms the economic development of the South countries. Brain circulation and social

remittance supports the development of both sending countries and receiving countries (ibid.).

International migration initially generates from developing countries moving to developed countries, at present the track of international migration has become the mutual and bidirectional flow. Individual migrants previously sought for a higher income and reduce poverty, in the process of transition, their considerations have turned into diversity, such as the welfare of receiving countries, education qualities, lifestyle, culture and so on (see Giulietti & Wahba; Huang & Yeoh; Benson & O' Reilly). The social status of migrants has been expanded, such as lifestyle migrants and professional migrants come from a relatively higher social class because of their volume of economic, cultural and social capitals. This paper discusses the migration practice of lifestyle migrants who seek an improved lifestyle, empirically illustrating their expectation based on social imagination before moving and their motivation based on their experience and consideration before the decision to stay.

2.2 Lifestyle Migration

Among with international migrants, the economic benefit is not the single and only motivations of migration, while various considerations have been counted, such as the merits of the host community (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a). The pace of life, cost of living, climate and health benefits, feeling of society are all the factors of migration, in the meanwhile, unemployment, lack of community spirit, high-pressured lifestyle are also causes of leaving (ibid). With the evidence of common pursuit of the “good life,” people who migrate to another place, are called as lifestyle migrants regardless of nationality, migration destination, mobility patterns, and residence length.

Benson and O' Reilly bring up the term of lifestyle migration as a conceptual framework to examine a wider phenomenon of the privileged type of migration. According to their definition, lifestyle migration refers to “the spatial mobility of

relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life” (Benson & O’ Reilly, 2009b). The types of lifestyle migrants include international migrants and domestic migrants, backpackers, retirement migrants, second-home owners, cross-cultural marriages migrants, as long as their migration practices follow a route away from contrary lifestyles towards a better and fulfilling way of life. The aim of lifestyle migration practice could be in seek of alternative lifestyle, simple living, escaping current circumstances, the opportunity for self-realization, work-life balance, good quality of life, freedom from constraints and so on (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009a). Lifestyle migrants are often seeking self-employment so that they could control their work speed and balance work and life. Regardless lifestyle migrants often have no or less experience of running a business; they do take an opportunity of migration to realize their dreams (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b).

Based on the destinations that lifestyle migrants choose, Benson and O’Reilly (2009b) divide lifestyle migrants into three types: the residential tourist, the rural idyll seeker, and the bourgeois bohemian. For residential tourists, they would like to choose coastal resorts or islands in the sun. Spain is the often choice for European lifestyle migrants. For rural idyll seekers, rural locations are their migration destination, due to the pursuit of simple life and the spirit of community. Rural France, Eastern Europe, and Central America are attracting lifestyle migrants. Finally, migrants who seek alternative lifestyle in spaces define as bohemian ideals. They are often personalities, artists, and musicians living in a particular spiritual, artistic or unique cultural place. The destinations are concentrating on history and culture, such as Florence, Italy, Varanasi, India. Counterurbanisation could better perceive the reason people would like to migrate to rural places. Urbanization generates higher house prices, congestion, pollution and stress from work and life. Migration practice demonstrates their anti-modern and anti-urban sentiments. Benson and O’Reilly (2009b) also express

that lifestyle migrants have economic privilege and time so that they have access to a good way of life. Such as second homeowner and retirees, they can afford the traveling and house.

Many scholars apply the conceptual theory of lifestyle migration with various types of migrants to analyze their motivation and migration practice. Some qualitative research focuses on the motivation of rural idyll seekers. Such as British middle-class move to rural France and American live in Panama could be analyzed by lifestyle migration due to seek of authentic, natural life (Benson & Osbaldiston 2014). Dutch families migrate to Sweden whose leave of the Netherlands caused by overpopulation and rapid urbanization. They pursue a good lifestyle of 'Nature, space, and less populated surroundings' (Eimermann 2015). Some discuss bourgeois bohemians, for example, European migrants who move to Berlin, where a city with a symbol of worldliness and corruption and enlightenment, pursuing a typical urban space of lifestyle destination could be called as lifestyle migrants (Salazar 2014). British pensioners move to Spain inspired by 'healthy life' could be analyzed by lifestyle migration theory (Legido-Quigley & McKee, 2012).

Lifestyle migration contributes to the understanding of migration motivation and migration practice. Some scholars question the conceptual theory of lifestyle migration. Because migrants' motivations are varied, if the approach of categorizing migrants is based on individual assessment, it would cause neglect of the economic factors. The research Huete, Mantecon, Estevez (2013) operated between 2005 and 2010 in Alicante shows that the lifestyle migrants change their mobility pattern similar to other types of migrants. Economic consideration is still the pull-push factor of migration practice. In this case, they claim that lifestyle migration is still could be seen as labor migration and they ask for a precise distinguished definition of labor migration and lifestyle migration. They argue that with quantitative approach mainly, lifestyle migration framework is insufficient to discuss changes in mobility patterns.

To answer the questions, Benson and O'Reilly (2016) argue that economic factors and way of-of living are not necessarily labeled as lifestyle migration. They express that lifestyle migration is not to define to a specific group but provide an analytical framework to understand migration more deeply. They accept that lifestyle migration is hard to measure their social and economic characteristics. They claim that the concept of lifestyle migration is attempted to operate in empirical research if it is performed in quantitative data collection and analysis, it has some limitations. Lifestyle migration formerly operates in the qualitative and ethnographic study, which is a lens to reflect some forms of migration. As for lifestyle migrants, referring people have 'relatively' instead of 'absolutely' freedom of choice and economic privileges, seeking to improve the quality of life. Relatively priority of lifestyle issues ahead of other consideration is their motivation. They bring up that the distinctiveness of lifestyle migration is counterurbanisation and amenity migration (ibid). The socio-cultural construction of destination represents a better life; their life quality is improved by natural and cultural environments. Moreover, their social structure could support their migration decision and migration action. Their priority aim is not to seek an easily reduced to economic enhancement.

2.3 Social Imagination

Since the lifestyle migrants have distinctions with other types of migrants by the specific aim to "seek a better lifestyle," what factors inspire their' migration into practice has been studied by scholars. According to Benson (2012), social imagination can be seen as one trigger factor of the decision to migrate. Although the migration decision combines individualized biographies, trajectories, and actions, as well as broader cultural contexts and structural conditions as Benson argues, social imagination can contribute to the theoretical understanding of lifestyle migration.

According to Mills (1959, p15), social imagination is "an understanding of the

intimate realities of ourselves in connection with larger social realities,” social imagination reflects the relationship between individual actions and the social structures. The social structure could shape the understanding of the outside world; imagination could reflect the cultural and historical contexts (Castoriadis 1987). On the aspect of individual actions, social imaginary presents actions, practice, and dispositions (Taylor, 2002). Since lifestyle migration refers to people who migrate another place in seek of a better lifestyle, they can have an image of what kind of lifestyle exists in destination place and what lifestyle is expected for them to have in the future. The imagination of the lifestyle in the destination society could turn to determine their migration action.

According to Bourdieu (1984), lifestyle combines with material circumstances, class habitus and culture. Lifestyle choices are a response to the demand of individual behave reflexively (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009b). Based on the narrative of personalized lifestyle pursuit, it seems like lifestyle migration is to individualize the migration practice. However, the behind of migration action is migrants’ habitus and relative symbolic capitals (ibid). Migrants who have the capability to choose a destination to enjoy a better life have specific resources could afford the traveling consumption and living cost.

Benson (2012) explores how imagination inspires migration into real practice. Benson conducted the research on British in Lot where is a rural, inland department in France attracting tourists by its natural landscape. Social imaginary structures individuals’ behavior and actions, as for British lifestyle migrants in Lot, the imaginings of rurality to their circumstances could bring the possibility of migration combined with individual privileges, such as freedom of movement, relative economic capital, personal biographies and life histories. Benson argues that the relationship dynamics between imagination and action is influenced by individual biographies. The expectation and aspiration of the lifestyle of destination allow people have

motivations to migrate, such imaginary has a link with political and economic logic. As for the British lifestyle migrants, although they saw migration was risky, their symbolic capital was enlarged, and they gained success by status and prestige by owning a house in France (Benson 2012). Migration decision is full of consideration of all contingencies. To be more clear, embodied interplay of biographies, individual agency, historical and material conditions and collective imaginings are all the elements of contingencies. Benson connects the inner influence of structure and agency, claiming that only analyzing migration thoroughly could understand lifestyle migration (ibid.). That demonstrates as rural idyll seeker; they have a collective imaginary to laidback life with a close relationship with neighbors in a natural landscape, which is lack of in their previous experience in Britain. Collective imaginary of life in rural France intrigues their motivation to consider their migration destination choice, while the social, cultural and economic capitals (structural privileges) determines the possibility to alter imagination into the act of migration (Benson 2012).

According to O' Reilly (2014), social imaginary as a practice theory can be implied with lifestyle migration, with elements of active agency, external structures, internalized structures, practices, and outcomes. Social imaginary is acknowledged by shared places, collective meanings, mediated through languages, symbols. Social imaginary shapes reality through the actions of individuals and social construction. As for the relationship between the social imaginary and migration, imagination could evoke and suggest imaginary futures, while migration is being appropriated, contested and shaped in the process of social imaginary (ibid). This illustrates the acknowledging of how individual acts and reacts on the imagination, such as exurbanites like Philip Vannini talking about how people imagine living in a less hurried lifestyle; or like Griffiths and Mails discuss the imaginative potential of city spaces (See book of Understanding Lifestyle Migration, edited by Michaela Benson & Nick Osbaldiston, 2014). As for O'Reilly's (2014) research practice, she finds out that

lifestyle migrants in Spain tended to have networks before they decided to move. The networks present that they had narrated of the destination from their family or friends, or they had visited there before, or they have narratives from media or tourist representation, such continuity leave the space for imagination and the following real action. O' Reilly (2014) expresses that social imaginary as a trigger factor, does not function as push factors, but an element in structuration and space created for creativity.

Also, social imagination could be analyzed on social structures in some forms of lifestyle migration. When the trigger factors of migrations are the search for self-realization, for escape and freedom from prior constraints, to find rurality, a slow pace of life an quality of life, as long as social structure are autonomous of the specific agent before migration (O' Reilly, 2014). Social imagination for outside society could enable or constraints migration practice. She gave an example of rural idyll seekers, their practice of migrating to the rural area could have a link to awareness of changing the environment, the sentiment of anti-urbanization, such as pollution and house price. As O' Reilly (2014) interprets, even lifestyle migrants' practice is an emphasis on individual choice, freedom, self-realization, agency is still shaped by external social structures at some points. In this case, social imaginaries is the individual capacity to imagine the lifestyle and the possibility of enacting the imaginations (ibid).

Salazar (2014) investigates European migrants who move to Berlin being attracted by culture and lifestyle. In the decision-making, social imaginary can explain such attraction. The imagination of urban lifestyle, Berlin, in the European migrants' eyes, the city is with a symbol of worldliness and corruption and enlightenment, is a typical urban space of lifestyle destination. Salazar's viewpoint is the opposite of counterurbanization or rural idyll, but bourgeois bohemian. Decision-making process goes through social imaginary, comparison, transnational movement, in this case, she

argues that lifestyle migration is a continuous dynamic process. Social imaginary as a trigger factor shape their expectation to their lifestyle in Berlin as well as their capability to enable the migration practice.

Social imagination as a theoretical framework can be useful for understanding the lifestyle migration. However, the implication to Chinese migrants especially Chinese new migrants is scarce. Then considering recognized destination, Chinese overseas have positive images similar to other type migrants, they practice migration as a way to enrich themselves and their hometowns. Since social imagination has not been applied to Chinese new migrants either Chinese lifestyle migrants, this paper will set the first position on the study of how imagines are translated into Chinese lifestyle migration.

2.4 Chinese New Migration

Chinese new migrants are referring to Chinese people who migrate abroad after opening and reform of China, labeled with a high diploma and high income which changes the traditional image of Chinese migrants (Song, 2011). Before CPR found, Chinese migrants were primarily labor migrants, they worked as coolie, sailors, the small trader, and they mainly came from Zhejiang, Fujian province (2013).

There are three types of Chinese new migrants according to Song (2011). The first type is people who have studied in receiving countries and stayed there after graduating, and they mainly work as teachers in universities or managers or engineers in international companies; the second type is illegal migrants; the third type is business migrants, they mainly work on trade, retail, supermarkets, and catering. Chinese migrant associations appear with Chinese new migrants. The functions are solidarity maintenance, emotions communications, rights protection. Consistency with Chinese new migrations, the Chinese associations, have the different type too (ibid). There are mainly three types of Chinese migrant associations in Europe based on

Song's research. The first type is called geopolitics group based on their homeland in China; the second type is occupation group; the third type is area groups divided by the countries they live in Europe.

Nowadays the Chinese migration structure has transformed from sole labor migrants to business migrants, technology migrants, student migrants, investment migrants and other types (Song, 2013). The economic structure of Chinese migrants has also transformed, more and more Chinese entrepreneurs are showing up. Due to the increased number of professional migrants, talents migrants and student migrants, more and more residence permits and working offers are granted to Chinese. Many Chinese new migrants have gained the western education, adapt to the western culture, fluent in the local language. Chinese new migrants have relatively higher social integration and social status than the last generation (ibid). As for the politic participation, the voice of Chinese migrants has sounded, the information has been shared, since the Chinese newspaper founds, more and more Chinese migrants join in grassroots politics, participating the election of local board members.

Song (2013) also raise the future puzzle of Chinese new migrants, although the number of professional and talent Chinese migrants are increasing, the educational level of Chinese overseas is still not high enough, non-elite migrants are still the leading group of Chinese migrants. The Chinese migrants' group in general still has the weak sense of politic participation, since they locate in a marginalized position. Song (ibid.) claims that the prospection of Chinese migrants is the volume will expand in the short term, but the speed of increment would slow down, due to the narrowing economic gap between China and Europe, correspondingly the number returnees would be increasing.

There are many scholars discuss Chinese migrants in Europe since the Chinese take a big part of international migrants. Chinese migrant workers are still the biggest group

of Chinese migrants in Europe, while there are few papers focus on Chinese investment in Europe and Chinese students. Wu and Liu (2012) operate the relationship between Chinese migrant workers who work in catering and trade and Chinese bosses in UK and Italy. After conducting field observations and in-depth interviews, they find out that the class consciousness of Chinese migrants is aware. The violation of local regulations exists, such as poor working conditions and deposit to control migrant workers. Since workers have an awareness of labor exploitation and collective identity, class inequality leads union formation, strike action and rebellion.

Pieke and Biao (2010) discuss the migration strategies of Chinese migrant labor in the UK. By conducting ethnographic projects in northeast China and Britain, they find out that the main channel of migration for the Northeasters is working students, not necessarily to study but to work in the UK, while migration agents are procuring business visit visas. The first-class agencies have connections with large state-owned enterprises to provide convincing documents for would-be migrants, while they also are connected to foreign embassies or consulates in China. As for Chinese who are already in the UK, gangmasters play a remarkable role in “status manufacturing” working as subagents for larger agents by bringing in or by supervising workers. They argue that migration is a form of globalized market for all kinds of labors. Since the domestic labor market implemented deregulation, migration management is needed.

Nieto (2003) described a general picture of Chinese migrants in Spain, consistency with Song’s research, Nieto argues that Chinese migrants reached a remarkable acceleration since opening and reform. As for the socio-demographic profile, the necessary information is as following: a slight male-dominated of 55.5 percent, adults took majority part, student-visa holders are increasing, and asylum seekers are decreasing. As their economic activities, self-employment takes a high degree. The Traditional working field is still Chinese restaurant and catering sector and the

relevant subordinated business. Leather and clothes retail shops and textile manufacturing are other activities engaged in by Chinese migrants.

Carnine (2016) operates the social networks of Chinese student migrants in France. Chinese students have an image of sticking together and not mixing with locals. By conducting mix method, detailed in Social Network Analysis (SNA), the author finds out that individual will and the institutional frameworks play crucial roles in fostering local contacts with non-Chinese. Carnine uses the concept term of the different mode of communication and sociability Eastern collectivism to explain why Chinese students tend to have a small size and intensity personal networks in France.

Shifting the focus to Scandinavia, the literature about Chinese migrants in Nordic countries have not been researched much, as for Chinese lifestyle migrants in Scandinavia, the studies are negligible. The only updated relevant literature I have found is from Mette Thuno. Thuno (2003) operates Chinese migrants in Denmark. The first Chinese migrant can be found from the 1920s to 1930s. Before 1978, the Chinese migrants mainly came from Taiwan and Hong Kong. After 1978 of opening reform, the Mainland Chinese are mainly from Fujian and Zhejiang province. Notably, in the 1990s, migrants from some regions of Fujian province arrived in Europe, due to kin and dynamics of the social network. By 2001 family reunification is the main channel of entry to Denmark, fake marriages emerge in the situation of demanding Chinese migrant workers. To control the migration regulation, the Danish government issued Aliens Consolidation Act for asking finance statement to approve their ability and nine years of residence to apply for Danish citizenship. Within the family reunification, female overrepresentation for young adults, which would be explained by the marriages between Danish men and Chinese women. Political asylum seekers and irregular migrants take a small part of the total Chinese migrant population. As for Chinese labor migration to Denmark, fewer permits issued to Chinese cooks and more work permits issued for highly skilled Chinese technicians, engineers, and

medical doctors. Another remarkable expanding group is highly skilled students, some of them stay in Denmark after graduation with a working visa. Compared with other European countries, Denmark is not a target, nor do immigrants arrive to exploit the welfare program. She argues that although Denmark is profound with generous welfare benefits, the motivation of Chinese migrants in Denmark is still economic benefits driven, with no difference with Chinese migrants in other European countries.

All these literature on Chinese migration have not been conceptualized as *lifestyle migration*, which is strange because it fits in the theoretical framework of lifestyle migration from Benson and O'Reilly's study. Since the economic development of China is promising, the middle-class is expanding; the movement becomes more and more dynamic not inward of China as well as outward of China. The intentions and motivations of migration have been changing to diversity; it is no longer the sole type of coolie migration with only seeking a higher income. The life quality has the attention of emigrants. Indeed, people would have an intention to migrate to another place with the purpose of improving life.

The only relevant literature I have found is from Salazar and Zhang (2013) which is about how Chinese lifestyle tourists practice in Lijiang, they called it as Chinese seasonal lifestyle tourists. As bourgeois bohemian, Chinese lifestyle tourists pursue an ancient elite culture. The research focuses on the conditional identification of local culture, how their economic and spiritual interest influenced by local culture. Salazar and Zhang discuss how Chinese modern elite's position in the local community. As for Chinese lifestyle migrants in Europe, it is a blank field not having been discussed yet. While many scholars focus on Chinese migrants in Europe, the research groups are mainly labor migrants. The research of student migrants and business migrants have been approached so far. With historical reason, Chinese migrant labors are the first Chinese group to migrate to Europe, while family reunifications are later arriving.

Student migrants were a tiny group because the economy of China was less developed. The population structure of Chinese migrants is still mainly laboring as Song (2011) mentioned. Since Chinese labor migrants are the significant group, who hold a long-term residence, it is easily accessed to interview if the research focuses on Chinese migrant labors. While some transformation has emerged, the number of student migrants have rocked up, such as the student migrants in Denmark have become the most massive take-up in the total Chinese migrants (See statisticsdenmark).

However, regard to Chinese migrants in Europe, the type of lifestyle migrants has not been researched, although the Chinese community is not a tiny group. The Chinese new migrants have two distinct features; one is residence tourists with property purchasing and investment, the second is the rapid growth of Chinese international students in EU (Latham & Wu, 2013). As Latham and Wu argue, the Chinese student migrants might transform to labor migrants after graduating if there is an employment opportunity. As for Chinese tourists, the number has the record to 12 million in 2015 (see Europe commission database) which shows that the Chinese middle class which is economically capable is not insignificant. The lifestyle migration research has not been applied to the practice of Chinese migrants. Moreover, Chinese migration research has not been referring to lifestyle migrants. In this case, this paper will illustrate the implication of *lifestyle migration* on *Chinese new migrants*, trying to explain their motivations and considerations on in seek of *a better life*, to define what detailed lifestyle they are practicing.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

A research design involves how to collect data and analyze data, which reflects a range of dimensions of the research process (Bryman, p46). Qualitative research is chosen for this thesis as the method emphasizes words, meanings and perspectives rather than numbers for this thesis. This thesis focuses on the imagination and lived experiences, in this case, understanding their perspectives from their own words are necessarily needed. The primary data is collected through online and offline interview. This study is to understand the motivations of Chinese moving to Denmark in seek of a better lifestyle through the interpretation of the participants. A semi-structured interview is a suitable method to collect data because the interviewees can be provided opportunities to interpret their considerations, practice, movement, and aspiration. Also, a semi-structured interview offers flexibility; the interview questions are based on the responses. Meanwhile, the interviewees can express their thoughts without restriction. Secondary data from research on Chinese migration practice in Singapore (Huang & Yeoh, 2011) is also employed in this thesis for comparison.

3.2 Sampling

Since the study is qualitative research, ten informants are designed to require. The sampling intended is convenience sampling and snowball sample. Convenience sampling refers the accessibility to interview (Bryman, p201). Shared similarities with convenience sampling, snow sampling means that the relevant response provides other potential response so that the number of participants reaches the requirement (Bryman, p202). Although convenience sampling and snow sampling are both laborious to generalize the finds, recognizing whether the sampling is representative is difficult, although both samplings are strategic theoretical sampling for qualitative research (Bryman, p203).

The topic of the thesis is about lifestyle migrants, in this case, I conducted my fieldwork online and offline by contacting my acquaintances, friends of friends, and Wechat group members for Chinese who currently live in Denmark. I have tried to contact the migrants I knew personally and willing to open up to me. I asked one acquaintance who lives in Denmark to invite me to the Wechat group called Chinese in Denmark, Chinese in Aarhus to find more potential interviewees. I also posted my interview project on Weibo to gain border exposure so that more people would know my topic and to net the potential participants, in this case, the data size would be reasonably obtained.

There are three criteria for sampling selection. The first criteria is that all the interviewees should hold a long-term residence permit in Denmark. Since the topic is about migration, the targeted informants should be who live in Denmark with a legal residence permit, tourists visa cannot be included in this study unless referring to residential tourists according to the definition from Benson and O'Reilly (2009). The second criteria is that the interviewees all have finished at least post-secondary education, from an undergraduate degree to Ph.D. degree. The third criteria is that they all have working experience at least internship experience with above average income in China before coming to Denmark. The reason for the second and the third criteria is because professions and skills are required so that they could gain a higher income, as Benson and O'Reilly explain, self-employment and entrepreneurial activities are undertaken by some lifestyle migrants so that they tend to realize the life-work balance. Besides, lifestyle migrants are defined as "relatively affluent people," in this case, they are framed as middle class at least, which also consistent with the education level and income level.

Among ten interviewees, two are male, and eight are female, the duration of having stayed in Denmark is one to eight years. Three interviewees who only have come to Denmark around one year are still finding a job due to lack of Danish language

proficiency, seven already have a job or run a business. There are more detailed profiles in the appendix.

3.3 The Interview Process

Before conducting the interview, I introduced myself and my detailed information on thesis topic via Weibo and Wechat. I have joined a Wechat group and tried to be active in a group to construct my networks with Chinese migrants in Denmark. The ten Chinese migrants expressed their willingness to participate in this interview. They were given a consent about their rights to anonymity, confidentiality, and termination so that they would not feel uncomfortable during the interviews. The participants were provided broad questions while without too specific and in-depth issues to ensure the spontaneity of the conversation. All interviews and follow up interviews were conducted with words messages, audio record and face to face meeting between 27th of November and 23rd of December via voice calls and messages through Weibo and Wechat. Half of them preferred word messages and voice messages instead of voice call because they wanted to think a while before answering and their time was not flexible. They were not sure when they have the time or they have unexpected occasions. Three follow up interviews were conducted by face to face meeting in Aarhus before Christmas since I had a personal schedule in Aarhus. The interview was conducted by semi-structured questionnaire list so that I could sort out the data and code in a convenient way. Also, the interviewees could add their thoughts and consideration. They shared their stories related to predetermined themes in questions. The questionnaire, which can be found in the appendix, consists of four sections: necessary background information, the personal expectation of lifestyle in Denmark before moving, the motivation of life quality reflects on migration movement, the real-life including benefits and obstacles in Denmark. All interviews were conducted in Chinese so that they could express clearly and thoroughly. The interviews lasted between 20 to 120 minutes each depends on how much he or she is willing to share while as for the written messages were hard to count time.

3.4 The Transcription, Translation and Data Analysis

For qualitative research, it is difficult to write down precisely what response say and who says it (Bryman, p504). To keep the interview smooth, recording and transcription are required. Since the interviews are mainly conducted online, I have recorded all the online call and transcript into written words. As for messages that interviews sent me, I have collected all and added into transcription. The follow-up interview is a face to face group interview, I have taken notes of all the points and recorded some since the group interview took around three hours. Due to the length of follow-up interview and the content is about their story sharing, it is difficult to record the whole follow-up interview. I transcribed the data; moreover, I translated the content of the interview into English quoted in the analysis and discussion section. As for the specific terms which have no corresponding translated words, I contacted the interviewees for re-explained the meanings and asked them which English words they preferred to use. The data was categorized by themes and codes such as migration practice, seeking for unstressful lifestyle, the motivation of living in an unpolluted environment, a definition of happy lifestyle.

3.5 Reflexivity

My identity as a Chinese student migrant helps the participants feel or reliable and comfortable when we discuss Chinese migrants' life in Denmark including some obstacles they met and disappoints far beyond expectation. Secondly, I am Chinese, can speak Chinese which helps me to find participants easily without the language barrier. While I am a student without family in Denmark, I shared little commons with my participants regarding migration expectation and personal experience. Firstly, I am alone living in Scandinavia while they live with their families in Denmark, the people they interact with is entirely different. Secondly, although we are all Chinese migrants, the motivations are varied since the reason to migrate is different.

3.6 Limitation and Demarcation

The data collected does not represent all Chinese migrants in Denmark either represent all lifestyle migrants since the sample size is small. However, it can be useful in understanding how Chinese middle class makes decisions to migrate and why they choose Denmark and what lifestyle they are seeking. My informants defined as Chinese lifestyle migrants, their migration practice and experience are still valuable on analyzing the social imagination on destination, trigger factors that inspires migration into practice, specific concerns on migration practice. Besides, this case study can contribute to further cases on Chinese lifestyle migration. Since it is qualitative research to understand and to interpret the cases in depth, the sample is not accessible for interviewing significant population. This study is not generalizable, but the themes that this paper uncovered are emblematic of many new Chinese lifestyle migrants in Scandinavia and Northern Europe more broadly. Another limitation is distance, although I operated three face-to-face follow-up interview, most of the interviews were conducted online, which lack personal sharing and more in-depth interpretation. Also, due to lack of financial resource, I could not have an opportunity to meet all participants in person.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

In qualitative research, validity refers whether the observing, identifying, measuring is authentic to saying, reliability refers to whether the finding is trustworthy (Bryman, p390). External reliability refers the replication of the study; external validity refers to the generalization of the results; internal validity refers to the match between observations and theoretical ideas; internal reliability refers when there are more than one observers, whether members believe what they see and hear (ibid.). The data should be reliable since I have conducted all the interviews and translation by myself alone. During the interview, I asked opened up question and closed questions so that informants could answer question consistently and share their thoughts on the topic. To receive a brighter idea, a more in-depth question is needed on the informants'

answers, after collecting the interview and coding the interview contents, a follow-up interview was conducted for extra and more detailed information. For example, the motivations to move to Denmark, there are so many reasons involving many struggles and obstacles as well as considerations. Sometimes I have to rephrase and interpret the questions such as when I ask about the lifestyle in Denmark. I need to give them a particular adjective such as happy, unstressful, etc. Otherwise, the answers could be full of different description and target different themes which add difficulty in coding and analyzing. Since the interview was conducted in Chinese, translation into English was inevitable, due to various culture and language system, the responses that the informants intended to convey could be minor alter.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration refers to whether the interview follows the principle of the consent and the privacy (Bryman, p495). As a student in the Master program in Asian Studies at the Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University, I am expected to operate my thesis project in according to the ethical guideline in the Center's Guidelines for the Master's Thesis. The data collection process should follow the principles of *transparency, anonymity, free will, and confidentiality*. The participants were informed about research in detail and their role in the study. Consent would be obtained based on their agreement without coercion or undue influence. For my study, the approval was obtained verbally before the interview could be conducted. As for the confidentiality, collected data from informants will be closed. All the information will be kept private and only used for the thesis. Moreover, no targeted questions are asked involving safety or finance. The informants' participation in my study is entirely voluntary and anonymous. Any informants who felt uncomfortable and inconvenient at any point during the interviewing process or after seeing the draft could ask to withdraw or terminate her participation without any consequence. The informants could request to see their transcription of the data and comment on during the research operation.

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents my findings and analysis on how Chinese lifestyle migrants practice their migration movement. I will start by examining the informants' imagination of normal lifestyle in Denmark, their motivations to migrate in the context of the education consideration, environment, food safety, culture, and society. The discussion will then explore lifestyle migration practice including unpleasant, unexpected costs beyond their previous imagined lifestyle in the context of the education, environment, and food safety experience, culture adaption and social integration in the migration process. Building on this analysis, I will then discuss the Chinese lifestyle migrants' definition of the lifestyle as they pursued.

4.1 Imaged Lifestyle Before Migrating

4.1.1 Motivation for Migrating

This section deals with the informants' motivation to migrate into Denmark, where a place with a title of most happiness countries as its welfare benefits is generous in this study. My findings show that migration decision of my informants is a question of *why* to migrate. All ten informants explicitly claimed that they had considered thoroughly on benefits and costs of migration, while after they moving to Denmark, there was still unexpected experience. For the Chinese lifestyle migrants who perceived an unstressful lifestyle to be an inevitable part of their lives, all included their next generation's unpressured study life as the priority part of the reason. Others viewed the unpolluted environment and foods as a necessity for their living condition. Moreover, an equal and inclusive cultural society is the attractiveness of migrating. It is important to note that the imagination as a trigger factor is framed within the context of narration and previous experience.

4.1.2 Imagined Educational Life

Education has been cited most often by all my informants as the reason why they have migrated into Denmark. Imagining the life of next generation in Denmark is the moral imperative that drives them to make a real action of relocating. The imagination of their lifestyle in destination countries, as Benson (2012) argues, combined with individual privileges, such as freedom of movement, relative economic capital, personal biographies and life histories. As for my informants, all practiced the fierce, long-lasting competition in study expectancy. To gain an advanced education, they have experienced eliminated through selection. Intensive and pressured study life is the common point of the personal biography. Duo Yun, a mother, has two children, who came to Denmark five years ago, explained the imagined lifestyle for her children in Denmark as followed:

“I expected my children would receive a better education than in China. They would have a simple and happy life. The education resource would be adequate in Denmark, and children would not have any pressure of competition with the peer. They could choose the subjects that they are interested instead of studying the most lucrative (zui zhuangqian de) skills. They would not have any evil or bad ideas; they would be simple and curiously artless (danchun).”¹

It is clear that Duoyun’s narrative that migration is motivated by an imagined life of children as well as next generation’ education consideration. Her explanation points out that children’s growth circumstance has a significant influence on *why* Chinese lifestyle migrants choose to migrate. Will, who arrived in Denmark eight years ago, experienced similar consideration with his wife. After graduating master programme in Denmark, he found an office job there. In the beginning, he thought to stay in Denmark for two or three years, but after marrying with his girlfriend, they decided to stay in a long-term, with a motivation of giving next generation’s unpressured life.

While other informants who have not children also pointed out that education is their first considered before deciding to come to Denmark. The difference is they do not

¹ From Interview 1st, Duo Yun

feel providing an unpressured education life for their children but gaining free-tuition higher education for self-promotion. Meng, a female businessman, has migrated into Denmark for three years. Her entrance point is business investment visa; now she changes her permission to family reunification, her husband is a Chinese migrant too, holding a working visa (engineer). They started their relationship before moving to Denmark. As She explained that,

“I did some research on Denmark before I decided to migrate. I would say education is my first and continuous concern. I expected that I could take up advanced studies after granting a long-term residence. If I have to find a reason to stay in Denmark, I will pick education. I expected to invest myself in education. I hoped I could learn more. Also, I hoped my further children could receive the advanced education in Denmark in the future.”²

Similarly, Daisy emphasized the importance of free education for her and their children. Daisy was an office worker in Chongqing; she migrated to Denmark one year ago. She has no children so far; she married to her husband three years ago, her husband holds both Danish passport and Dutch passport, currently, working in Denmark. After she was granted a long-term residence permit of European family member, she had applied the master of the University of Southern Denmark. A free tuition fee of a top university, as she argues, is the most attractive benefit for her to migrate to Denmark. She believed that if her life would be full of “killing time and improving herself,” then it would not be dull and regretful in Denmark.

4.1.3 Imagined Environment and Food

Another motivation mentioned by six informants is the unpolluted environment and food safety. Since all the informants have been to Denmark several times as a tourist, mostly they came to Denmark in summer before deciding to migrate, they claimed that they had witnessed an unpolluted environment and safe foods. As my informants

² From Interview 7th, Meng

listed, fresh air, clean streets, green plants, eco foods and no worries of pollution are their imagined environment and foods conditions in Denmark.

Daisy has lived in Denmark for one year; she claimed that the environment in Denmark as she imagined is “green and clean.” Will has lived in Denmark for eight years including his being a student time and working time after graduation, in his imagination, the Danish government paid attention to environmental protection and new energy consuming as he had acknowledged from the media in China. The other four informants also view a healthy environment as essential to a new life otherwise the life in Denmark would have no “difference” within China as they claimed. The five informants believed that as they imagined, the food quality was higher than in China. They convinced that the food in Denmark is “green and safe.” They would never worry about the food pollution, chemical pesticides, synthetic fertilizers, GMOs or antibiotics after they migrate to Denmark.

This consideration highlights the importance of the decision to relocate as means to gain a new lifestyle. Such lifestyle includes air quality and food safety. The informants’ motivations to migrate corroborate previous research conducted by Benson and O’Reilly (2009a) which point out one cause of lifestyle migrants have a motive to emigrate is counterurbanization. Within the counterurbanisation discourse, people migrate to smaller communities, where provide a different and better way of life. This type of lifestyle migrants is called idyll seekers, the essential elements of migration motivations are to find a less hurried lifestyle, greenness, a stress-free environment, away from congestion and pollution (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009a). As for my informants, they share some commons with idyll seekers of lifestyle migrants, which are to escape from pollution and to generate a greenness life through migration.

4.1.4 Imagined Culture and Society

The third motivation mentioned by four informants is culture and society. Denmark,

as a country labeled as the happiest country, attracts many people to visit worldwide. As the four informants claimed, in their imagination, Denmark is a wonderland with a romantic phenomenon. Ivy, after finished her Master's degree in Spain, decided to join her Danish boyfriend (now he is her husband). As she imagined Denmark without any difference with other European countries is a place with castles and fairytales. From her boyfriend's narrative, people in Denmark do not have external pressure, such as peer comparison. As she shared as followed:

“I assumed people in Denmark have less pressure than in China, the pressure comes from society, from the surrounding. For example, in China, you have to buy a car and an apartment when you reached a certain age. Your friends and relatives compare salary, apartment, car, even kids. But from what I have read and heard from media and narrative of my husband, the social culture in Denmark is more inclusive and liberal, people do not judge you, and you do not have material pursuit pressure. You are not deemed to follow a series implied regulation. In this case, I imagined my life quality in Denmark would be higher, at least I would not be stressful (hen lei).”³

It is evident in Ivy's narrative that a less competitive comparison society is her expectation. Her explanation points out that social phenomenon has a significant influence on the decision to migrate.

Ren, a mother runs an exported trade business, has lived in Denmark for four years. She gave up her job as a video editor in China, as she explained, it is because Denmark is a country with non-privileged society as she has read from media. To be more specific as she interpreted, a community with equality, freedom, no division of people, respects, and equal treatment. The gap between the rich and the poor is narrow. Denmark as narrated as utopian land by media, by Danish, by people who have been there. As a businesswoman, Ren emphasizes that,

“An equal-gender society was my first expectation when I made up my mind to migrate to Denmark. Equality and respect under the house roof are my trigger

³ From interview 4th, Ivy

factors of motivations from migration into practice.”⁴

4.1.5 Converting Imagination into Action

It is worth drawing attention to how imagination is constructed as part of a migration process. The emphasis on the migrants’ previous experience in Denmark and the narrative from the media and surrounding people reinforces the idea that social imagination is defined based on individual agency, historical and material condition, collective imagining. As a result, migrants convince that the lifestyle they pursue within the imagination sphere because they are most capable of making a real action. A second implication is that by considering next generations’ future prospection, such as freedom to choose the subjects that they are interested in, less competition with peers, less heavy study work. Such imagining study life of next-generation stems from the previous intensive study time of migrants, as Benson (2012) claim, the imagination of migration is relevant to life stories. The lifestyle of next generation of migrants is less consistent with findings by Benson and O’Reilly (see 2009, 2016) on the consequences such as the lifestyle belonged to migrants, while it is also the lifestyle granted to their next generation. The third implication is that the imagination of the destination combines with the element which is lacking in the homeland. As my informants concern a society with less stress and less pressure, it is precisely contrasted with China where the competition is prevailing. This discussion on the construction of imagination can provide an understanding of how migration practice is shaped and what trigger factors place social expectations.

4.2 The Real Lifestyle in Denmark

4.2.1 Perceived life in Denmark

This section explores the real-life experience and the practices from the perspective of how the informants perceive the life in Denmark. Migration entails a wide range of

⁴ From interview 6th, Ren

process since it is not only the movement action but a continuous migrating experience. Moreover, the process is not uniform but instead varies from migrant to migrant. Since my informants have different focuses on expectations and imagined lifestyle and they have different aspirations to the lives they lead, when experiencing the local life in Denmark, they might have perspective on lifestyle. I will present the real life they have experience in Denmark divided into three parts, which are education experience; environment and foods; social phenomenon coherence with the three parts of they have imagined the life in Denmark. Besides, I will present the unexpected happens within these three contents, discussing that social imaginations cannot explain their migration practice wholly since the imagined life is based on their previous experience and personal biographies so that the gap between pictured and the real emerged due to the vacant expertise. This session will contribute to the explaining of how life experience informed, as a conceptualization, provides an insight into individual circumstances.

4.2.2 Education Experience in Denmark

Since education is the priority motivation of migration, the Chinese children's life in Denmark could illustrate whether the movement reached the informants' expectation. Ren, a mother, has two children, has lived in Denmark for four years, emphasizes the significance of the happiness of the children's life. Her sharing as follows:

“My kids can play freely (ziyouzizai de wanshua), they do not need to go to cram school, they do not need to write their homework at midnight. The education concept in Denmark is happiness. Parents do not ask their children about what they have learned today in school. Instead, they concern whether their kids are happy in school. Teachers do not only focus on textbooks and homework, but they also pay attention to the state of mind of the students. I would like to say the teachers here pay attention to the mental health and physical health of students.”⁵

⁵ From Interview 6th, Ren

Mai, a mother, has three years old kid, who has lived in Denmark for three years, elaborates education in another aspect. She mentioned the pre-school system in Denmark, in her own experience, the pre-school system is very considerable and reasonable in Denmark. The informants who have kids mentioned that pre-school education is an important trigger factor of migration since they claimed that pre-school education in China is “immature and still developing (bu tai chengshu).” The traditional way in China is to leave children at home for grandparents’ taking care. As the migrants who already have kids, they expressed their worries that grandparents do not have any scientific knowledge of taking consideration of kids, they still have no choice because in China, the parental leaves only last three months. But in Denmark, my informant, Mai trust the professionalism of the staffs in daycare, and she believed her kid would be raised into a person of good virtues. Seven of my informants want their children to do well in the future and by which they mean the general well-being of the child, for instance, stay healthy, being active, having a heart of gold, possessing critical social skills. For social skills, my informants mentioned an international background have a good impact on learning social skills; this part is “not obtainable” (wufa shixian) in China.

There was ambivalence, however, my informants expected to provide an unstressful lifestyle for their next generation, when asked about the academic success, two informants claimed that they have worries about the Danish academic quality because they think the content of teaching is too “easy and simple” (guoyujiandan). Duo Yun’s children did not receive any education in China; she said she worried about the Chinese fluency of the children since there is no regulate Chinese learning school for children in Aarhus, the Chinese learning class held by Chinese association in Aarhus only held once a week or two weeks. Also, as being a Chinese kid, due to absent integration of society, the Danish language proficiency is not managed well. Will, as an experienced migrant who has lived in Denmark for eight years, mentioned that the public education is not “consolidated” (bu laogu), he used “too relaxing” for

describing the students' life. All of the informants express that they do not find academic success to be the top priority, while they state the worries of being frustrated when they compete with children from China. Duo Yun thinks that it is a plus if the children excel in school but she would feel okay even if her children perform averagely so long as her children have a virtue. Will shares the same attitude regarding school performances as well as being the support for his children regardless of what he finds attractive.

Despite not emphasizing educational success, my informants are very keen on seeking out the best educational options available to their children. Will and Duo Yun sent their children to China to learn Chinese language and culture in summer holiday, to visit Chinese landscapes and historical sites. Although they live in Denmark, they believe their children can not cut off the relations with China. Also, they mentioned being an overseas Chinese; there are many priorities in China, such as less competition to be admitted to the top ranking universities. Their accounts suggest several points. First, migrating to the informants mean not only the process of the movement but also the experience after the move. This is consistent with findings by Benson and O'Reilly (2009) on lifestyle migration practice. Secondly, following Bourdieu's class analysis, the informants' migrating practices are very much based on the *social structure*, in which the high-pressure study situation in China reflects the migrants gained unstressful lifestyle through the pursuit of quality education and international experience. Furthermore, they are generally in investing in cultural capital for their children and minimize the difficulty of education through migration and traveling. Third of all, while Chinese middle-class migrants' view on education in Europe remain understudied, these findings corroborate the Huang and Yeoh's analysis (2011) of Chinese 'study mothers' in Singapore. In a different cultural and geographical context: Chinese 'study mothers' migrants hold the purpose of overseas education for their children. In Chinese, 'peidu mama' refers the student migrants' mother who takes care of them while they study abroad. The student migrants are

mainly from primary school to high school. Chinese middle-class migrants pursue a transnational education for their children with a goal of accumulating cultural and social capital. Finally, these Chinese lifestyle migrants prioritize the children's life especially study life as their first motivation to migrate, which is not involved in the concept of lifestyle migration from Benson and O'Reilly's study (2009, 2016).

The difference is highlighted here, the Chinese 'study mothers' migrants are much more invested in the child's educational success and make a great effort to achieve that by being active contributors in the children's day to day school work. My informants who discussed the children's education are more focusing on less pressure from peers and less burden of study rather than to include themselves as active participants in the child educational development. Such dissimilarity could stem from two factors: Firstly, the Danish education system is much less competitive than the Singaporean one based on population density of the two countries. This means that the Chinese migrants in this study do not experience the same pressure to raise children. Secondly, the informants' children are still a few years from being old enough for education consideration, since only two informants' children have reached the age for primary education. In this case, my informants' migration practice does not belong to *peidu mama* phenomenon. Instead, it presents a new form of Chinese migration which is not mentioned in the literature, Chinese lifestyle migration.

Education consideration as a trigger factor of migrating presents the unexpected experience in migration practice even migrants have an imagination of education lifestyle before movement. My informants imagined the life of study for children is happy and unstressful which is authentic lifestyle while they did not expect the obstacles, just as they mentioned language barriers leading to the difficulty of social integration of both countries, and simple knowledge content cause the less capability. The new worries generate within migration practice, Chinese lifestyle migrants expect to provide an international education to their children as well as a less stressful

competition with the peer, ambivalently they worry the weak Chinese proficiency of children and content of learning is too easy which leads to a vulnerable position in the global competition. Such new worries are out of the imagination before my informants' migration movement.

4.2.3 Environment and Food Safety in Real Life

The migration experience is also shaped by the life practice within the content of environment and food. As all of my informants experienced the “green and clean” environment, they also mentioned that although Denmark has a comfortable environment, winter is ‘too tough.’ The words my informants used to describe winter are ‘lonely,’ ‘cold,’ ‘desperate,’ ‘dark,’ ‘sunless,’ ‘rainy,’ ‘long-lasting.’ Two of my informants believe the environment in Denmark is worse in China considering all the elements of the environment. Meng shared the information of the desperate feeling in winter as followed,

“I have to say, on the point of the environment, especially weather, it is worse than in China. I even had depression once. It is very lonely in winter. All the bad things happened in winter. Loneliness, coldness, darkness, nothing vivid. As being a foreigner with poor local language proficiency, it is tough to integrate into local society. I have many acquaintances, but none of them are intimate counted as friends. I have heard that Danish people view friendship is a long-term interacting; they start their friendship from primary school, middle school, and high school. Think about that; a person only has the family member in a foreign country, suffering loneliness, coldness, darkness. What kind of lifestyle does it mean?”⁶

Two factors are contributing to the dissatisfaction of winter. Firstly, although all of my informants had visited Denmark before they decided to migrate, none of them experienced the winter environment in such long term. In this case, winter experience is out of the imagination of Chinese lifestyle migrants. This is also evident in the

⁶ From interview 7th, Meng

absence of Nordic winter which means that social imagination could not explain the entire migration practice. Secondly, it is the standard thinking that the weather in China is warmer and brighter, immersed in the granted climate; my informants neglected the importance of the warmness and brightness. Regard of the migrating trigger factors of 'green and clean' air and sky, the real practice is that warmness and brightness are neglected factors of migration based on the experience of Chinese lifestyle migrants. This is the consistency with the social imagination of lifestyle based on Benson's (2012) findings, as he argues, the British middle-class in rural France has the imagination of rural life. Such imagination is constructed by a variety of media, popular novels, narratives from friends, family, and compatriots living within the destination. As Benson points it out, the reason why they choose this destination instead of other possible places is that personal experiences and forms part of an individualized life trajectory influences the migration decision. For British lifestyle migrants, they recognized the destination. Since the circumstances of migrants and personal experience influence on lifestyle imagination, as for my informants, the imaging of the environment is not adequate and complete, because they never experience the similar climate and weather before.

As for foods, the real experience is almost identical with the imagination. As my informants claimed that the food in Denmark is 'unpolluted and fresh, no worries to safety.' The unexpected happen points to the food expenditure. Three informants complained the food price in Denmark is 'rocket high' and the food species especially vegetables are 'poor,' although they have visiting experience in Denmark before, the status has changed, as Mai shared her views as followed,

"I have visited Denmark before, but being a tourist, I did not have a chance to go to supermarkets to count how much it costs for buying a meal ingredient. I went to a restaurant, it was pricey for an individual, but it is affordable. However, it is not realistic for buying meals daily; you have to cook. That is tired and boring."⁷

⁷ From interview 3rd, Mai

My findings demonstrate that the food price is one but not the primary consideration of migration decision and practice. While I asked the real experience of food part, seven informants did not mention the price. Since the social status of lifestyle migrants is relatively higher, the consumption of food is not the primary noteworthy trigger factors of migration. However, lack of access to the specific data of food expenditure, it is not a detailed measurement for comparing with other types of migrants on how much my informants spend on food. Also, considering the privacy, my informants refuse to share the concrete figures, as one informant claimed, “the food number is not important for migration, there are many more crucial considerations.”

The findings of this section demonstrate that the informants’ migrating experience is strongly shaped by their expectations and migrating attractiveness factors. Lifestyle has a profound influence on the informants’ satisfaction and practices in this context. Anti-pollution, set in the context of a strongly present migration practice, shapes the informants’ pursued lifestyle and, in turn, come to motivate their destination choices. However, the imagination has its limits, since the imagination is constructed by narratives and personal experiences, as well as individualized life trajectory, unexpected happens due to the lack of previous experience. In this case, my informants came to realize that environment encompasses more than just pollution. Coldness and darkness also influence the experience of life, and then turn to the satisfaction of the life in the destination, as well as the interpretation of the lifestyle.

4.2.4 Social Phenomenon Experience in Real Life

It is evident through the informants’ accounts that satisfaction of some aspects contrasted with the imagination in its lack of similar experience, recognition, and integration. This section argues that social phenomenon as my informants experienced is one measurement in which the lifestyle my informants pursuing. Real lifestyle shapes the informants’ engagement with culture in multiple ways, including equality

and social responsibility.

My informants describe serious concern of equality. For them, equality involves in economic equality and gender equality. Ren, as a Chinese businesswoman in Denmark, elaborates that the equal division of housework is an important part for her. Her implication here is there are no vested rights in the family; man is not granted “free hands” right. For Ren, negotiation in a family is important because it brings in respects to support the woman’s position at home and also functions as a platform for peace instead of power. As she explained it as followed:

“In Denmark, men respect women, traditionally, housework is only women’s job, but it does not happen in Denmark. They respect women’s opinion instead of thinking women have “no brain.” Such equality also represents in marriage, Danish people marry for love, instead of money, power, position, education. They do not care about that.”⁸

Ivy also agrees that gender equality is one essential and impressive element that allows her to free her hands in some cases, it frees her from the strenuous task of housework. As she said,

“My husband shows appreciate to me when I cook foods, clean floor and wash clothes instead of taking it for granted. On this part, showing grateful is the virtue I respect.”⁹

Another equality locates in the economy, as my informants claimed that due to the high tax, the gap between the poor and the rich is narrow, As Ren narrated,

“this shows respects of works, for labors. There is no noble job and humble job. No division. All jobs are worthy.”¹⁰

My interviews with these ten Chinese lifestyle migrants demonstrate the social values and social phenomenon in Denmark have a strong determination to maintain their residence in Denmark. They feel “pleasant” (shengxinyuyue) living in the society.

As for social responsibility, Ren claimed that social associations as she observed play

⁸ From interview 6th, Ren

⁹ From interview 4th, Ivy

¹⁰ From interview 6th, Ren

an essential role in it. Welfare store, as she mentioned, is used for assisting the needy people. She was impressive to the functions of welfare stores, as she said,

“Every time I pass by welfare stores, I will remind the people in the poor. I know the money earned in welfare stores will donate to Africa by social associations. I have to say this warms me. I feel this society is full of love. This is noble. When people get rich, they do not forget the poor.”¹¹

Despite the equality expectations to regardless of gender and nationals on migrants, three my informants believe that they had at least once be treated differently. They argue that the way of social interaction is entirely different with the Chinese one. Ivy tells her perspective on Danish culture and society:

“I think Danish culture is impersonal (ren qing wei). The society makes me feel distance and coldness. People are polite, but they keep distance. Maybe it is because the price is high. So that there is no entertainment? Transportation is not convenient and cheap which stops me to explore the nature and to be social. Bike culture generates due to the characteristics of Danish transportation; however, I could not adopt such bike culture, I feel frightened and dangerous if I ride a bike on the street.”¹²

Ivy observed the difficulty of integrating into society due to the differences in the culture, as she added, freezing weather and expensive transporting price stop people exploring the entertainment. Will, as the most extended residence in my ten informants, still feel “alien” in Danish society. He has adapted the interacting ways of locals do, however, he feels “more comfortable” being social with Chinese ways. As he demonstrated, instead of Saturday coffee meeting, he still believes inviting his Danish friends to have a Chinese dinner at home is more “appropriate.” “If we can have karaoke, that is the best! (laughs)” Will said.

Ivy also shared her story of being insulted by a stranger on the street, “he was drunk, and he called me Asian whore.” Ivy believed that discrimination happens in

¹¹ From interview 6th, Ren

¹² From interview 4th, Ivy

everywhere which is inevitable. She claimed as followed,

“Some people only see what benefits migrants enjoy, but they refuse to see what costs we have. I understand they are afraid that we take their welfare benefits. But we are paying tax, no less than them.”¹³

It is clear from these accounts that Chinese lifestyle migrants recognize the Danish social values and social phenomenon play an essential part of their lives. Moreover, my informants also express a feeling of incompetence, sometimes hopelessness, and difficulty in integrating. In addition to all the benefits mentioned above, my informants also share some “unpleasant” (*lingrenfanmen*) cases. From there responses, it can be understood that the three informants do not feel strongly about “being pleasant” in the same way locals do because they are not “the same.” My interviews with these ten Chinese lifestyle migrants demonstrate they still can adapt to Danish culture and society although it takes time, they have a strong determination to maintain their identity instead of being assimilated. There, Chinese lifestyle migrants seeking of a fulfilling life, are more likely to keep their Chinese characteristics while adapting to Danish society.

4.3 Looking for an Unstressful Lifestyle?

This section examines the informants’ engagement with life practice in Denmark. This section answers the question of what kind of lifestyle in precise they are seeking of and experiencing within Denmark. Also, what is the difference from Chinese experience to the lifestyle migration in the literature? Based on the differences, why my informants should still be considered as lifestyle migrants. How Chinese lifestyle migration make a supplement to the concept of lifestyle migrations, and how Chinese lifestyle migrants expanded the categories of Chinese new migrants.

4.3.1 Conceptualizing Lifestyle Migration with Chinese Case

¹³ From interview 4th, Ivy

The term of *lifestyle* is defined as “fulfilling way of life” by the study of Benson and O’Reilly (2009). Lifestyle migration is defined as migrants who have relatively higher capitals migrate to another place usually developed countries with the purpose of seeking a better lifestyle. The word “better” does not have a settled definition, since the type of migrants are diverse, and the intentions of migrations are different. The migrants hold the different point views on the interpretation of “better life.” As Benson and O’Reilly (ibid.) demonstrate the main three type of lifestyle migrants, which are residential tourists, rural idyll seekers, and bourgeois bohemian. With the implication of Chinese lifestyle migrants, rural idyll seekers could apply to their migration practice to some extent, because they share the same purpose of countering urbanization, to be more specific, to escape pollution and stress from work and life. However, the Chinese style migrants could not be categorized as rural idyll seekers, since this type is determined by the lifestyle migration destinations. My informants live in cities, such as Aarhus, Aalborg. Another implication is bourgeois bohemian, refers to migrants who are attracted by spiritual, artistic or unique cultural place. The social culture, social values, social phenomenon are the elements of trigger factor that my informants’ migration practice, however, it is not the primary motivation, besides, the point of focus on culture is different. As Benson and O’Reilly list, the destinations of bourgeois bohemian are places like Florence, Varanasi which is the historical place with relics. As for my informants, they are more tending to experience the modern social values and culture, such as equality and inclusive culture.

Since the rural idyll seeker and bourgeois bohemian cannot wholly technologically apply with Chinese lifestyle practice, I would argue that the migration practice of the Chinese might be a supplement of the theory of lifestyle migration. Chinese recognized for releasing burden purposes which share the same value with British middle-class migrants in rural France. One visible benefit of immigration to Denmark cited by most informants is unstressful life. As the lifestyle migrants definition is “relatively affluent individuals move to places for a better quality of life” (Benson and

O'Reilly, 2009), my informants share the core commons with the lifestyle migrants who are relatively affluent individuals since they all hold at least a tertiary education and they have an office working experiences. Besides, my informants claim that migration practices have given them the possibilities to access to an *unstressful* way of being that they would otherwise not able to achieve in another setting. In this case, the migration means to a better life, more precisely, an unstressful lifestyle. Here I argue that the concept of lifestyle migration needs to be expanded, Denmark can belong to *idyllic places* because Denmark as the destination provides an unstressful lifestyle for Chinese which reflecting individual preferences and aspirations. Also, as the categories of lifestyle migrations, unstressful lifestyle is one motivation of rural idyll seeker. However, it does not have to be a rural place, as long as a less stressful environment, a less competitive phenomenon usually in smaller communities, it can be the destination of lifestyle migration.

Although they are all *lifestyle migrants* according to my definition, only two informants identified strongly with the term for their own improving better life reason. Eight informants demonstrate clear intention in providing an unstressful life not only for themselves but their next generation. This highlight the difference from the lifestyle migration in the literature, lifestyle migrants, are seeking for a better quality of life for themselves. For the future life of children has not been reached much yet, considerations of providing an unstressful life for their next generation through migration are the distinctive characteristics of Chinese lifestyle migration, which could be rich the concept of lifestyle migration. Nonetheless, regardless of their identity as *lifestyle migrants* or not, all of my Chinese informants share common motivation for seeking an unstressful life. In my informants' interpretation, *a better quality of life* means to a life with unstressful education condition, getting rid of pollution, escaping fierce competition and vanity comparison as well as experiencing foreign culture and society. I would argue that it is precisely the migration pattern that allows for this important practice to take place.

4.3.2 Actual Experiences and Ambivalence

Although my informants have imagined the life in Denmark before their migration practice, the unexpected happens, and ambivalences generate after they practice migration. Social imagination as a theory can explain how people are inspired to translate imagination into practice. However, lifestyle migration is linked to imaginations that are often not realized in practice. Based on my findings, nevertheless, my informants adapt the ambivalences and expectation and frame their new lifestyles following their willingness.

None of the migrants in my study had trouble regretting migration. My informants claim that they did not necessarily do because of the costs and benefits consideration. In other words, social integration and environment adaption might be the reason that they had to face obstacles and served as inspiration for their choice of continuous stay but not the motivation that led them to total regret. The primary motivation according to my informants is a strong desire to lay down the burden. Tiredness in the Chinese context denotes both for physical strain as well as mental stress. My Chinese informants see migration mainly as means to release the tension, to escape pollution, and most importantly to get rid of the competition and comparison. While most of the informants expressed general interest in Danish culture, some have a specific intention that they wanted to experience the gender equality.

When asked about the real-life experience in Denmark, what else does migration practice contribute to the quality of life, most of the migrants cited unstressful study life for their children. My informants remarked that compared with the study situation in China that competitive phenomenon not only burdens children but also stress parents. They might feel guilty if they could not provide the best educational opportunity for their children within their capability because they all understand the competition system. As my informants' claim, students in China have to adapt to the

rules of elimination and education quality division otherwise never to achieve the higher status of academic success. Instead of free their hands on the future of children, Chinese parents would like to contribute themselves for providing a better future of their next generation. As taken the children's life prioritized, Chinese lifestyle migrants cited mostly unstressful study life for their children as their first motivation. My informants are quite pleased with the study life in Denmark, while two informants demonstrate their worries about the language barrier and insufficient content of their children. However, they two agree that they can accept some small "scarification and costs" (zuochu xisheng), since nothing in the world is completely perfect.

4.3.3 The Definition of Unstressful Lifestyle

When asked to choose the word to describe the lifestyle that my informants imagined before their migration movement, they picked up "relaxed, unstressful, less pressured, less worried" (qingsong yidian; yali xiaoyidian; meiname jinzhang, shao caoxin). When asked to choose the word to describe the lifestyle that my informants experienced in Denmark, they have considered a lot, choose both positive words and negative words. The positive words are identical with the words to describe the imagined lifestyle, "relaxed, unstressful, less pressured and less worried." As for negative words, they choose, "boring, dull, lonely, no-entertained." Here I argue that *unstressful lifestyle* could define Chinese new migrants in Denmark. In the interview, my informants demonstrate their imagination and the main motivation of the life in Denmark is unstressful. For my understanding and interpretation, *unstressful lifestyle* refers to unstressful study life, green and clean environment and foods, equal and inclusive social culture. Firstly, unstressful study life means that children have a better opportunity to access to advanced education for knowledge learning, social skills gaining, morality forming and horizons broadening through transnational experience. At the same time, they will not face intense and fierce competition and elimination with peers so that the children will have happy and unstressful study time. Secondly, green and clean environment and foods mean that people do not worry about pollution

and food safety, which would harm their body health. Thirdly, equal and inclusive social culture implies that equal housework allocation, economic capitals equally so that people do not feel stressful from the vanity comparison and judging.

Overall, my informants either support or have minimum say in the migration practice is negative and regretful. These accounts illustrate that migration can improve quality of life by choosing the right destination and realizing the expected aspirations. Turning to Benson and O'Reilly's study of lifestyle migration, Benson and O'Reilly point out that fulfilling lifestyle is essential to the migrants as it provides an opportunity for a better life. Differently put, considering next generation's life plays a vital role for Chinese lifestyle migrants in this study by providing them with unstressful atmosphere while at the same, allowing them to experience the western culture as well as escape pollution.

5. CONCLUSION

In this study, I have attempted to shed light on the lifestyle migration and the practice in ten Chinese migrants in Jutland. In doing so, the thesis seeks to answer how the migration experience influences Chinese new migrants to seek of lifestyle. I have argued for an alternative meaning of lifestyle migration, defining the lifestyle in Denmark. My findings illustrate that the imagination of lifestyle influences the experience of migration practice. Unstressful lifestyle serves as the primary motivation for the informants to satisfy the current situation. Besides, the unstressful study life for their next generation is their prioritized motivations and concerns when they turn the migration into practice.

Following the notion of *social imagination*, which is constructed by social structures and habitus, means that the imagined life is shaped by the economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, while it is also influenced by biographies, individual circumstances (Benson, 2012). Here, I argue that the informants' migration practice is also shaped by their previous life experience. The informants' migration patterns align with *social imagination* in which demonstrate that they have the imagined picture of the life in the destination. Moreover, such *social imagination* is apparent in their aspiration for the migration process. Many are interested in providing an unstressful study life for their children by seeking a less-competitive destination. Other informants speak of the international experience for their children so that they could gain advanced education for knowledge learning, social skills acquiring, morality forming and horizons broadening. It is implied through their accounts that being a lifestyle migrant means to seek an unstressful life not only for them but also for their next generation.

Social imagination reemerges in the discussion on how migrants' previous life biographies influence on migration motivation. As Benson (2012) argues, the

imagined migration is relevant to life story, the reason why they choose this destination instead of other possible places is that personal experiences and forms part of an individualized life trajectory influence the migration decision. For example, the imagination can be constructed by a variety of media, popular novels, narratives from friends, family, and compatriots living within the destination. Since the circumstances of migrants and personal experience influence on lifestyle imagination, Chinese lifestyle migrants have experienced the tense and fiercely competitive in education. They understand that if it is tough to place on top educational resources and chances if they cannot adapt to the elimination selection. The informants believe that their next generation is endowed with less stressful study life while enjoying a more advanced education opportunity.

Regarding other motivations, Chinese migrants tend to expect a green and clean environment and foods. Phrased differently, the life experience in Denmark in this study does not go as plan but instead complained as cold and dark weather and boring foods. On the other hand, they are satisfied with the unpolluted environment and foods. Instead, the winter time is hard to live within Denmark, which is out of the imagination because they only have experienced summertime in Denmark before deciding to migrate, while the warmness and sunshine are neglected due to the granted nice weather in China. As a result, all informants have experienced the unexpected migration practice. As *lifestyle migration*, it is a fulfilling way of life, should be seen as a way to improve the life quality. Moreover, following the lifestyle migration studies, the “better lifestyle” is hard to define due to the varied types of migrants and the intentions of migration.

Engaging with the local society, Chinese lifestyle migrants are attracted by the modern social values and social phenomena, such as the equality in gender and economy, inclusive social phenomena, social assistance instead of the vanity comparison and the competition with peers in the study, work, and life. Although two

informants have unfortunate insult experience, they considered it as “something cannot avoid,” “can happen anywhere.” Due to the culture difference, they feel they have obstacles to social integration, but believing it is a matter of time. Moreover, they intend to integrate instead of assimilating so that they would like to keep their identity and characteristics.

In conclusion, Chinese lifestyle migrants in Denmark are in seek of an unstressful life. Through migration to the destination, Chinese lifestyle migrants are expected and being with an unstressful study life for their next generation and a less competitive life with peers, green and clean environment and foods, social equality and inclusive social phenomena and as a result, led to the Chinese lifestyle migration practice pattern in Denmark.

While my thesis is an in-depth study of ten individual cases, the findings could be used to draw inference on a similar group in another context, for example, Chinese lifestyle migrants in Sweden and compare how migration regulation differences can impact the migration patterns and engagement with local society. Further research could be conducted to assess challenges that Chinese lifestyle migrants face in pursuing “a better lifestyle,” specifically the how much importance of consideration of children’s life.

Appendix 1-Information about the informants

Interview 1, Wechat video call, November 27th, Duo Yun, female, migrated to Denmark in 2013. She has lived in Denmark for five years. Her entrance point is family reunification, refer to Danish person. Her husband is Danish citizen Chinese. She is working in a cheese factory, and she was a trader in China. Undergraduate degree.

Interview 2, Wechat video call, November 28th, Daisy, female, migrated to Denmark in 2017. She has lived in Denmark for one year. Her entrance point is family member of EU citizen. Her husband is a Dutch, working in Denmark. She is admitted to 2018 fall master program of SDU. She was an office worker in China. Undergraduate degree.

Interview 3, Wechat messages, November 30th, Mai, female, migrated to Denmark in 2014. She has lived in Denmark for three years. Her entrance point is family reunification, refer to Danish person. She was an accountant in U.S.A. International graduate degree.

Interview 4, Wechat messages and face-to-face interview, November 30th and December 27th, Ivy, female, migrated to Denmark in 2016. She has lived in Denmark for two years. Her entrance point is family reunification, refer to Danish person. She is an office worker in Denmark and She was an office worker in China too. International graduate degree.

Interview 5, Wechat voice call, December 1st, Will, male, migrated to Denmark in 2010. He has lived in Denmark for eight years. His entrance point is study residence permit. He is an engineer in Denmark and he was an office worker in China too. International graduate degree.

Interview 6, Wechat messages, December 1st, Ren, female, migrated to Denmark in 2014. She has lived in Denmark for four years. Her entrance point is family reunification, refer to Danish person. She is self-employed with an import-export business. She was a video editor in China. Undergraduate degree.

Interview 7, Wechat video, December 3rd, Meng, female, migrated to Denmark in 2015. She has lived in Denmark for three years. Her entrance point is working residence permit. She is self-employed with an import-export business and a Chinese restaurant. She was a manager in China. Undergraduate degree.

Interview 8, Wechat video, December 5th, Shi, female, migrated to Denmark in 2009. She has lived in Denmark for eight years. Her entrance point is family reunification, refer to Danish person. She is a middle school teacher in Denmark. She was a chemistry researcher in Canada. International graduate degree.

Interview 9, Weibo messages, December 7th, You, male, migrated to Denmark in 2016. He has lived in Denmark for two years. His entrance point is working residence permit. He works as an assistant researcher in university. International Ph.D degree.

Interview 10, Wechat messages and face-to-face interview, December 8th and December 27th, Kuang, female, migrated to Denmark in 2016. She has lived in Denmark for two years. Her entrance point is study residence permit. Now she is waiting for family reunification refer to Danish person. She has no occupation neither in Denmark or China. International graduate degree.

Appendix 2-Interview Questions

A. Basic background information

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
2. When did you migrate to Denmark? How long you have stayed here?

3. Do you have a job in Denmark? If so, what is your job?
4. Did you have a job in China, if so, what it is?
5. What is your entrance point? What kind of visa you held at first to migrate to Denmark?
6. Have you ever been to Denmark before migrating?
7. What is your highest diploma? International degree or Chinese degree?

1. Imagined life in Denmark before migration

1. According to you, what does lifestyle mean/include in Denmark before migrating?
2. According to you, what is your priority considered when you think to migrate to Denmark?
3. Why do you think children's study life is your first motivation to migrate? Is there anything related to your previous study life?
4. According to you, what is the imagined study life for your children in Denmark?
5. What is your second motivation when you think to migrate to Denmark?
6. According to you, what is the imagined environment and foods in Denmark? And Why the environment and foods are important in your life practice?
7. What is your third motivation when you think to migrate to Denmark?
8. According to you, what is the imagined society and culture in Denmark? Why it is important in your life practice?

2. Real life in Denmark after migrating

1. According to you, what is your real lifestyle in Denmark after migrating? Does it reach your imagination and expectation?
2. As for study life in Denmark, how do you think of it? Is there any new worry generated?
3. As for environment and foods in Denmark, how do you think of it? Is there any difference and gap between the expected one and the real one?
4. As for society and culture, how do you experience of it? Can you adapt it? Any

unexpected happens?

5. As for lifestyle in Denmark? To what extent it triggers your migration?
6. How and What do you define your lifestyle in Denmark? And why you define like that?

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