Moved by the mountains
To my family
Moved by the mountains
Migration into tourism dominated rural areas
Abstract

Maria Thulemark (2015): Moved by the mountains
Migration into tourism dominated rural areas.
Örebro Studies in Human Geography 9

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate migration into tourism dominated rural areas. The study has a particular focus on mountainous places characterised by a large tourism industry. Studying how in-migration to tourism dominated rural areas can be conceptualized, what characterise in-migrants and how various types of migration relates to the tourism destination as a place is of particular interest.

The study is based on four individual papers using material from three case study areas: Sälen and Idre in the county of Dalarna, Sweden and Wanaka, in the region of Otago, New Zealand. The thesis utilizes a mixed method approach where different qualitative interview methods are used and complemented by a quantitative study with longitudinal individual data derived from Statistic Sweden. Tourism related migration is, in this study, focused on tourism as a labour market, lifestyle and amenity related migration and its relation to the creative class theory.

The thesis makes three main contributions as it offers new ways of studying lifestyle migration as closely related to place, therefore theories of lifestyle and amenity migration are blurred. The thesis stresses the meaning of place attachment when studying community formation among temporary tourism workers. The thesis also calls for a re-conceptualisation of the creative class theory to complement explanations of regional development in rural tourism dominated areas.

The results of this thesis stress the importance of place in different types of research on tourism related migration. From a policy and planning perspective, this thesis suggests that if in-migration is desirable to rural tourism dominated areas, there is the potential to attract tourists and seasonal workers, as both groups are attached to the place, albeit in different ways.

Keywords: tourism, mobility, lifestyle migration, amenity migration, lifestyle amenities, creative class, occupational communities, tourism employment, seasonal workers, rural Sweden, Bergslagen Database, interview study, focus groups.

Maria Thulemark, School of Humanities, Education & Social Sciences
Örebro University, SE-701 82 Örebro, Sweden, mth@du.se
List of papers


# Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ........................................................................................................... 11

1. INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................... 13
   1.1 Purpose and research questions ............................................................................ 15
   1.2 Limitations ................................................................................................................. 15
   1.3 Outline of the thesis ................................................................................................. 16

2. THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE ........................................................................ 17
   2.1 Tourism and migration ............................................................................................ 18
   2.2 Job-related tourism migration ................................................................................. 19
   2.3 Lifestyle migration and recreational amenities .................................................... 21
   2.4 Rural urbanity ............................................................................................................ 22
   2.5 Creative (lifestyle) migrants to rural areas ............................................................ 24
   2.6 Recreational amenities, hotspots and rural gentrification ..................................... 26
   2.7 Research gaps and relevance of this study .......................................................... 27

3. STUDY AREAS, MATERIAL AND METHODS ................................................................ 30
   3.1 Study areas ................................................................................................................. 30
   3.2 Combining research methods .................................................................................. 35
   3.3 Quantitative data and methodology ....................................................................... 35
   3.4 Qualitative data and methodology .......................................................................... 36
      3.4.1 In-depth, semi structured interviews - In-migrants .......................................... 37
      3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews – tourism entrepreneurs and managers, politicians and planners .......................................................... 37
      3.4.3 Focus group interviews – seasonal tourism workers ...................................... 38

4. PAPER SUMMARIES ........................................................................................................ 40
   4.1 Paper I - A new life in the mountains: Changing lifestyles among in-migrants to Wanaka, New Zealand ................................................................. 40
   4.2 Paper II – Community formation and sense of place among seasonal tourism workers ............................................................................................................. 40
   4.3 Paper III – Creativity in the recreational industry ................................................. 41
   4.4 Paper IV – Tourism employment and creative in-migrants .................................. 42

5. FINDINGS .......................................................................................................................... 44
   5.1 In-migrants’ relationship to tourism and place ..................................................... 44
   5.2 Lifestyle amenities and the (re)creative class ....................................................... 46

6. CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS ............................................................................. 50
SUMMARY IN SWEDISH ................................................................................... 53
LIST OF REFERENCES ....................................................................................... 56

Figures
Figure 1. Theoretical points of departure and research gaps.
Figure 2. Location of Sälen, Idre, Malung-Sälens- and Älvdalens Municipality.
Figure 3. Location of Wanaka and the Otago region.

Tables
Table 1. Population in the case study areas (SAMS-areas) 1990–2010.
Table 2. Overview of the reconceptualisation of the four T’s in Florida’s urban-orientated studies and in rural tourism areas.

Appendices
Appendix 1. List of papers with aim, theory, methods and results.
Acknowledgement

After six and a half years, two children, a trip to New Zealand and countless hours in front of my laptop I am finally writing this acknowledgement to thank all of those who have made my time as a PhD-candidate so inspiring and meaningful.

I have to start by expressing my warmest gratitude to my parents, Pia and Stefan, for giving me a childhood filled with experiments, an exploratory spirit and discussions around the dinner table. Such a childhood is truly inspiring. A special thank you to my father for being a walking dictionary, your intelligence and knowingness is impressive and it has encouraged me to read, learn and understand new things throughout my life.

As I started as an undergraduate student at Dalarna University my present (and former) co-workers were my teachers. Therefore I would like to thank Magnus, Solveig, Daniel, Susanna, Johan, Tobias, Helén and Albina for introducing me to the academic world in such a nice way that I decided to come back for more. I would also like to thank the extended tourism research group for interesting discussions during seminars, coffee breaks and lunches.

I have met numerous fellow PhD candidates during PhD courses, workshops and conferences. You have both directly and indirectly contributed to this thesis. We are seven PhD candidates in the tourism research group at Dalarna University and I would like to thank you all. Peter, we have been doing this side by side since the start in 2008 and I can’t imagine how it will be without you. Neither can I put words on how much your presence has meant to me. But one thing is for sure; att dela denna resa med dig har varit bra, inte onus. Christina, our extended lunches has been a source of laughter, inspiration, reflection and a breeding ground for great friendship. Zuzana, thank you for always being so honest and a special thanks for helping me with the maps. Anna E, Anna K and Jonathan, you have all become friends and I wish you all the best on your continued PhD journey.

I had the honour to be a visiting PhD candidate at Department of Tourism at University of Otago, New Zealand. This trip was enabled through a grant from Kungliga Vetenskapsakademin. Thanks to James Higham for welcoming me to the department, Anna for helping me with my fieldtrips and Hazel for letting us rent your house. Donna, Jan, Gunn and Karla, you made us feel at home and I often think back on all the fun things we did. I am looking forward to the day we will meet again. Tara, you became a voluntary supervisor, co-author and friend. Thank you for inviting me to co-work with session proposals, article writing and book editing. I hope our roads will cross again, soon! And Scott, to work with you is a great pleasure.
I have partly been funded by an EU-Interreg project and through this I met my co-author for article III, Atle. Thank you for guiding me through Florida! Your guidance also led me to the (re)creative class - a phrase coined by Markus Bugge.

I thank Kristina for your constructive comments and friendly attitude during the final seminar and thank you for letting me use your great idea for the title of this work.

There are countless more that have meant something for this work. Yet, two persons have meant the most; my supervisors Susanna and Mats. Without your guidance this would have felt insurmountable. Susanna, you have been the one following my writing from when I was an undergraduate student to what I am today, and without you by my side this thesis would never have been written. As with Peter, I can’t find words on how important you have been.

Last by not least, I am happy to have such a wonderful family. Elli and Tuva, you are my sunshine. Fredrik, my best friend and partner in life, thank you for letting go of everything and following me on my PhD-journey, taking you from Jämtland to New Zealand to Dalarna, at least you have always had some mountains around.

Maria Thulemark, a sunny day in March in Leksand, 2015
1. Introduction

He hated the winter! It was cold and rainy in the city and the ground was sometimes un-appreciably covered with snow. He was a ‘summer person’. He didn’t really know why he had accepted the temporary job as a chef in a mountain tourism destination in mid-winter. When he arrived in his loafers, he shivered in the cold and longed to be back in the city. After a week he tried snowboarding and was immediately hooked. Now he sees the summer as little more than a prelude to the winter. He is still a seasonal worker but he can see himself moving to a small house in the forest, yet in close proximity to the skiing areas and their supply of services.

The above story was told by one of the interviewees in this study. Another interviewee had his office right at the bottom of the ski slope when I visited for an interview. The office was quite large, but the space was limited by all the skiing equipment, ready to be used when the perfect weather conditions appeared. He had started as a ski instructor, spending time in the mountains during the winters, and studying during the summers. He and his wife started to spend more time in the mountains and they soon considered the mountains their ‘home’, even though they spent a lot of time elsewhere. When I first met him, he was a father living permanently in the locality closest to the mountains and held a position as a destination manager at a large ski resort. He had no formal education, except for a few university-level business courses, and had worked his way up to a managerial position. Today he is a co-owner of a large restaurant company located at the same destination and still takes every opportunity to ski.

Yet another interviewee had a seasonal job during the summers and wanted to travel around with her husband during the winters. They decided to go to the mountains for snowboarding and hoped that he could find a job as a carpenter somewhere. By coincidence, they stopped at this location as her husband’s former boss had given him the phone number of a person he knew in the construction business. The husband was offered a short-term job, after which they just kept coming back, since they had made some really good local friends and fell in love with the surroundings. After the couple had their first child, they decided to move permanently to this locality due to its rural characteristics, the active life they had seen among young families, and the outdoor focus the schools offered. She was still a full-time mother, but felt that she could easily find a part-time job within the tourism industry. Although her husband was not directly employed in the tourism industry, his work as a craftsman enabled him to become immediately cognizant of the impact of that industry.
These are examples of the various life trajectories that brought my interviewees to the mountains. They all see the tourism industry as a contributor to rural localities. The industry offers a broader range of restaurants and entertainment than is usually found in rural areas. Increased tourist demands often require a well-developed supply of services, which spill over to the residents and contribute positively to the development of the population by attracting young families. The natural beauty, the extended social and commercial services, together with the labour market makes the rural locality an attractive dwelling place.

Development of tourism has long been seen as important for the economic restructuring of rural areas (Jenkins, Hall, & Troughton, 1997). In these areas, tourism may serve as an engine for positive transformation of business structures and regional development (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Fleischer & Felsenstein, 2000; Fossati & Panella, 2000; Williams & Shaw, 1991). Tourism generates increased income (English, Marcouiller, & Cordell, 2000), new business opportunities and jobs (English et al., 2000; Lundmark, 2006b), along with population growth, which is mainly caused by in-migration (English et al., 2000; Lundmark, 2006a; Pettersson, 2001).

In Western countries, rural areas often encounter depopulation, as a result of out-migration and an aging population. But there are exceptions and some tourism destinations attract in-migrants to a larger extent than other rural areas. Visiting tourists, second home owners, entrepreneurs and tourism employees, each of which may be motivated by different factors, are among the potential in-migrant groups to tourism destinations (Williams & Hall, 2000). In general, rural (tourism-related) migration is motivated by an attractive living environment (Amcoff, 2004), together with the natural and social values of the rural area (Garvill, Malmberg, & Westin, 2000; Stenbacka, 2001), which is also evident in migration to rural tourism destinations. In recent years, place amenities (see, for example, Moss, 2006) and the choice of living a desired lifestyle (see, for example, Benson & O’Reilly, 2009a) have been in focus when discussing socially orientated migration that occurs when people are engaged in a search for a more fulfilling life in a rural area.

However, the importance of employment opportunities is seldom mentioned as a primary motivational factor for working-age individuals in rural (tourism-related) migration. In Garvill et al.’s (2000) study on rural migration in Sweden, almost 70 percent of survey respondents identified social and environmental motives for migration, whereas only about 20 percent mentioned work-related reasons, including education, unemployment and finding a new job. Such a division of motives is in line with the idea that jobs follow people rather than people following jobs, where
Richard Florida (2002) argues for the importance of a ‘people’s climate’ as a complement to the ‘business climate’ in discussions of urban and regional development (Florida, 2002).

1.1 Purpose and research questions

It is clear that some rural areas face in-migration as a result of a flourishing tourism industry. However, little is known about how and why individuals migrate, especially in relation to the dominant tourism industry. To clarify, tourism-related migration is understood in this thesis as individual movement with some permanency, where the tourism industry affects the move. Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate migration into tourism dominated rural areas. The study has a particular focus on mountainous places characterised by a large tourism industry. From this, the following questions are derived:

- How can in-migration to tourism dominated rural areas be conceptualised?
- What characterises in-migrants moving to tourism dominated rural areas?
- How do various types of migration relate to the tourism destination as a place?

This thesis is based on four papers each with an individual aim (see appendix 1 for an overview). Their focuses are on the motives behind migration and post-migration thoughts among permanent migrants (paper I), community building as well as the development of a relationship with a particular location by seasonal workers, (paper II), the need for a re-conceptualisation of the creative class theory (paper III) and studies of a ‘creative workforce’ moving to rural municipalities that have considerable tourism industry (paper IV).

1.2 Limitations

Several limitations to this study should be noted.

Firstly, this is a study on the relationship of individuals to the place and the labour market, not a study of the tourism industry per se. The focus is on individuals affected by the industry through work and/or by living in areas for which tourism is the primary economic endeavour. In the selected case study areas, community life is highly influenced by tourism, which means that studies on the relationship between individuals and tourism is inevitable.

Secondly, tourism destinations are discussed as a place and not primarily as a network of businesses. In this study, destinations are geographical areas, both physically and socially constructed, including localities that are the centres for social and
commercial services which have been established to support permanent inhabitants. I am interested in determining if and how tourism can contribute to development within these localities and their surroundings; that is, the destinations.

Thirdly, I have not studied motives for migration among all categories of immigrants in every paper. In papers I and II, motives are discussed with individuals. In paper IV, it is assumed that the tourism industry, as an employer, is a motivation for relocating to a specific area.

Fourthly, this is a study focusing mainly on domestic migration. Therefore issues related to immigration is not given any particular emphasis.

Finally, each method used has its own strengths and limitations. These are discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This chapter is followed by theoretical points of departure covering regional development, tourism-related migration, rural urbanity and the creative class theory. Regional development has long been studied through economic measurements, hence in this thesis regional development is seen as an indirect effect of in-migration. Tourism-related migration is, in this thesis, divided into job-related migration and place-related migration under which amenity- and lifestyle-migration are discussed. Tourism dominated rural areas may have a sensed urbanity which opens up a discussion of the urban focused theory of the creative class and its usefulness and consequences for rural areas; such as the issue of hotspots and rural gentrification. Finally, this chapter presents the research gaps covered in this thesis. Subsequently, chapter 3 presents the case study areas, the research material and multiple methods as a way to study tourism-related migration. Chapter 4 summarizes the four individual papers, which, later in the thesis, are included in full-length. Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the theoretical points of departure in relation to the overall aim and the research questions of the thesis and presents the main findings of the research. Chapter 6 summarizes the contributions of the thesis in relation to migration literature, the creative class theory and policy implications.
2. Theoretical points of departure

Development as a concept has evolved from solely economic measures to include social, cultural, political, environmental and economic aims and processes (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). The term development is “used descriptively and normatively to refer to a process through which a society moves from one condition to another [...] development can be thought of as a philosophy, a process, the outcome or product of that process, and a plan guiding the process towards desired objectives” (Sharpley, 2002 p. 23).

Although tourism activities in absolute terms are highly concentrated in metropolitan areas, they tend to have a more profound impact in relative terms in rural areas. Tourism contributes to local and regional development as it can be established in peripheral areas and stimulate economic activity in remote areas (Fossati & Panella, 2000; Jenkins et al., 1997). Tourism is often claimed to be a tool for development (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004), even though the importance of tourism as an engine has been challenged (Paniagua, 2002; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). As tourism commodities are spatially fixed (Agarwal, Ball, Shaw, & Williams, 2000), destinations (especially those heavily dependent on tourism) must attract capital through visitors. However, these visitors may not always return to the same destination as they are influenced by new trends, better prices, the opinions of others etc. (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2015). Neither can many of the tourism companies be seen as spatially fixed as they exhibit limited loyalty to the destinations in which they operate (Ioannides, 1998 cited in Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2015). For rural tourism destinations major players, such as property developers, transnational hotel chains and the visitors themselves, influence the flow of (tourism-related) capital. Adding the factor of seasonality which for many rural destinations is common, some destinations become even more vulnerable in the uneven geographical development and circulation of capital (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2015). Yet, tourism have “become significant agents of social and economic change in many rural areas” (Butler, 1998 p. 211) and the outcome of tourism development is often measured in quantifiable terms with economic indicators. However, it is unclear whether the outcomes only are indicators of developmental contributions of tourism (Sharpley, 2002 p. 20) as “a multi-directional relationship exists between the nature of tourism development, the consequences of development in destination areas, the nature of local development and the environment external to the tourism system” (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002 p. 3). Hence, it is difficult to distinguish factors for regional development and, in many cases, it can be difficult to
measure and define these factors as solely or partly tourism-related (Fossati & Panella, 2000). Again, the main focus has been on economic contributions of a specific industry within the development discussion and a great deal of attention has been focused on the notion of enterprises as drivers of (economic) regional development. However, it is important to study development in a broader context, where migration, for example, is a prerequisite for endogenous development as it increases human capital through ‘new’ in-migrants and young adults returning to rural areas after leaving the area for career purposes such as education and employment opportunities (Stockdale, 2006).

In this thesis, the study of regional development in tourism dominated areas will be shifted away from solely economic measures and will be approached through studies of the relationship between tourism and migration with development being studied as an indirect effect of migration. However, there are numerous theories of migration that capture processes of human mobility (Samers, 2010) which enforce further narrowing. An initial point of departure to describe the processes in which migrants to rural tourism destinations can be captured is through the broad literature on rural in-migration. However, the general literature on rural migration is well documented through existing reviews that accurately summarise the research in the field (cf. Boyle & Halfacree, 1998; Champion, 1989).

The present study could further be placed in the counter-urbanisation field, with an urban-rural flow of migration (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009). However, Halfacree and Rivera’s (2012) thoughts on using ‘pro-rural migration’ rather than counter-urbanisation – since the latter has been subject to debate about how to be understood and defined (Mitchell, 2004) – opens up for a more focused study on migration towards rural areas independent of migrants’ origin. For rural economic regeneration, it is not only ‘new’ (urban) in-migrants that contribute to the development; returners and ‘stayers’ are visibly important, even though new and returning migrants are the best generators of the important human capital (Stockdale, 2006).

2.1 Tourism and migration

There is a strong tourism–migration relationship, in which concepts are sometimes blurred. Williams and Hall (2000) elucidated the importance of economic, social and tourism-related trajectories as inducers for the relationship between tourism and migration. Symbiotic relationships exist between temporary mobility, such as tourism trips, and permanent mobility/migration. They are either complementary, where neither excludes the other, or temporary moves, which may act as precursors for permanent relocation (Bell & Ward, 2000, p 104). Williams and Hall (2000) focused on the five following types of tourism–migration relationships: tourism and
labour migration, tourism and entrepreneurial migration, tourism and return migration, tourism and retirement migration, and tourism and second homes. With the exception of retirement migration and people visiting their second home(s), these types of migration are related, in different ways, to the tourism labour market. Second home tourism, on the other hand, is tightly related to retirement migration as second homes can be converted into primary residences among owners of retirement age (Müller & Marjavaara, 2012). However, tourism development does not automatically lead to increased numbers of permanent inhabitants (Kuentzel & Ramaswamy, 2005) as factors other than developed (tourism) infrastructure influence migration decisions.

Migration to tourism destinations is also visible in the counter-urbanisation literature (Dahms & McComb, 1999; Löffler & Steinicke, 2006; Williams & Hall, 2000) where amenity- and lifestyle-seeking (and working) individuals move to rural places in which they can rely on tourism experiences and infrastructure (Löffler & Steinicke, 2006). This type of migration has been conceptualised lately as lifestyle-migration (cf. Benson, 2006; Benson & O’Reilly, 2009a and b; Fountain & Hall, 2002) and/or amenity-migration (cf. Marcouiller, Kim, & Deller, 2004; Moss, 2006; Nepal & Chipeniuk, 2005) and it is argued that there are strong links between these theories (see paper I), especially when it comes to scenic rural areas. This will be further discussed in section 2.3.

2.2 Job-related tourism migration

Even though employment is not the single most important motive for migration (Garvill, Lundholm, Malmberg, & Westin, 2002; Lundholm, Garvill, Malmberg, & Westin, 2004; Paniagua, 2002), there are strong connections between tourism employment and migration, as declared by Williams and Hall (2000). For rural areas, tourism development creates and maintains jobs and in-migrants choose tourism-related employment to a considerable extent (Müller, 2006; see also paper IV). This is, at least partly, due to the dual structure of the tourism labour market where the market is separated into primary and secondary sectors where “jobs in the primary sector generally have high status, recognized career paths, job security, and higher education or skill requirements. Secondary sector jobs are poorly paid, have little or no job security, poor working conditions, and few training opportunities” (Ladkin, 2014: 133). Labour mobility most often occurs in the secondary sector (Duncan, Scott & Baum, 2013) where low entrance barriers make it possible to ‘seek refuge’ in the area of tourism employment (Riley, Ladkin & Szivas 2002), both as an in-migrant with experience(s) from other industries before migrating and as a ‘local’ with experience from a declining industry. On the other hand, Gunn
(1994 p. 51) argued that there is a misconception in the common view that untrained workers can perform all the diverse tasks needed in the development of the tourism industry. However, studies of mobility into the tourism labour market show that the ease of accumulating skills and knowledge facilitates the shift (Szivas, Riley, & Airey, 2003; Szivas & Riley, 1999).

Low entrance barriers and relatively low start-up costs also produce opportunities for entrepreneurs where, for example, ‘travel-stimulated entrepreneurial migration’ (Snepenger, Johnson, & Rasker, 1995) involves movement of existing and potential businesses, regardless of industry, to areas previously visited by the entrepreneur, as a tourist. Another relationship between tourism, migration and entrepreneurship is lifestyle entrepreneurs who establish businesses in places they have visited as tourists and have relocated due to factors such as the environment (as in the example of a surf tourism entrepreneur in Cornwall, UK (Shaw & Williams, 2013)) or due to perceived community relationships (such as among lifestyle entrepreneurs in New Zealand (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000)).

In many tourism destinations, the industry faces seasonality, and in some cases the seasonal difference is so pronounced that a large part of the labour force in the tourism industry can only be employed for a short period of time. The impact of such (labour market) seasonality depends on whether the workers are local or recruited from elsewhere (Shaw & Williams, 1994). In many rural areas, the local labour force is too small to cover these seasonal fluctuations and seasonal tourism employment (Lundmark, 2006a), migrant workers (Bianchi, 2000; Janta, Ladkin, Brown, & Lugosi, 2011; Joppe, 2012), working tourists (Uriely & Reichel, 2000; Uriely, 2001), travelling workers (Uriely, 2001), backpackers (Duncan, 2004), gap-year budget travellers (Duncan, 2008) working or professional holiday employees, and hobbyists (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014) provide various solutions to cover this type of labour gap. In this study, these employees are conceptualised as seasonal tourism workers. These workers can be seen as temporary migrants to a tourism destination as their length of stay is often considered to be longer than the length of stay of typical tourists.

For rural areas, seasonal tourism workers can be considered as potential and important permanent residents as they are usually young adults, which is vital for the age distribution of the population (Lundmark, 2006a) given that young adults raised in rural areas often leave their home environment with aspirations of starting a career (Stockdale, 2002). In a recent study on seasonal tourism workers in northern Finland and Norway, Tuulentie and Heimtun (2014) discussed place attachment among different types of seasonal workers. Most of their interviewees did not consider relocating to the area, but there were some exceptions. A favourite leisure activity, career opportunities and a chance to start a new and fulfilling life were the
main motivations among those expressing interest in permanently settling down in these destinations (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014 p. 381).

Seasonal tourism workers show a strong relationship to each other when working and living at the same place, as in the case of (seasonal) tourism workers on cruise ships (Lee-Ross, 2008) and at mountain destinations (see paper II), and (seasonal) tourism workers can be studied as creators and members of occupational communities (Dennett, Cameron, Jenkins, & Bamford, 2010; Lee-Ross, 1999, 2008; Riley, Lockwood, Powell-Perry, & Baker, 1998; Sandiford & Seymour, 2007; Engstöm, 2011; paper II). Therefore, their relationship to the place in which they live and work is influenced by their relationship to other employees within an occupational community (see paper II), which could influence later-life migration as temporary migration can affect permanent relocation (Bell & Ward, 2000).

2.3 Lifestyle migration and recreational amenities

The second theme in the tourism and migration nexus concerns place-related migration including lifestyle-related migration and migration for the environment; that is, amenity migration. As argued in the previous section, these two conceptualisations are strongly related to job-related tourism migration where, for example, migrating entrepreneurs were motivated by lifestyle and/or amenity reasons or, vice-versa, where self-employment is perceived as the best means to live a desired lifestyle (Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Furthermore, many types of seasonal workers are attracted to the destination as tourists, influenced by lifestyle reasons and/or natural amenities.

Research on lifestyle migration is one approach with which to study the relationship between migration and tourism through a social lens. In these studies, migration is motivated by seeking “a route to a better and more fulfilling way of life, especially in contrast to the one left behind” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009a, p. 1). Like travel-stimulated entrepreneurial migration, lifestyle migration is often preceded by tourism-related visits. This approach is based on the premise that the migrants “are relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part time or full time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b, p. 609). This type of migration often leads to (tourism) destinations where the climate is warmer than that of the location the migrants have left (e.g., Benson & O’Reilly, 2009a and b; O’Reilly, 2003). Therefore, this migration generally moves in a north-south direction and often crosses international borders. However, a few studies have given evidence of northward lifestyle migration (Eimermann, 2013a and b; Müller, 2002) and to places within a country that the migrant associates with a better quality of life (Fountain & Hall, 2002; Hoey, 2009;
Many lifestyle migration studies have associated ‘quality of life’ with social relationships and community building and/or belonging. For many migrants, the importance of the environment/nature and the culture may be just as important for their perceived quality of life and should not, therefore, be treated separately and independently from amenity migration.

Amenity migration refers to migrants whose moves are motivated by improved environmental quality as well as a differentiated culture (Moss, 2006); that is, the attraction of natural and/or cultural amenities (Gosnell & Abrams, 2009). This type of migration often takes migrants to rural areas where the environment’s recreational aspects are pull factors (McCarthy, 2007) and is common in studies on socially orientated migration to mountainous areas; Moss’ (2006) edited book gives evidence of this from examples around the world. In line with job-related and lifestyle migration, Stewart (2002, cited in Gosnell & Abrams, 2009) emphasised that tourism-related amenity migration can emerge from being a tourist in the area and renting a cottage, for example, to owning property and making a more permanent relocation. Mountain resorts have managed to attract permanent residents due to their non-traded goods that cannot be consumed unless you are located in the area (Müller, 2006). Natural amenities are also associated with employment growth, where the appeal of nature draws entrepreneurs to high-amenity areas (McGranahan, 2005, cited in McGranahan & Wojan, 2007 p. 200; Dahms & McComb, 1999).

These two theories have emerged alongside each other in the literature and are sometimes interwoven (see paper II and Gosnell & Abrams, 2009). The theories’ subject areas may explain why they have arisen and evolved side by side, albeit with some similarities, especially when it comes to the study of tourism destinations. It can also be explained by the tendency of academics to cite their own work, where Gosnell and Abrams (2009) argued for the benefit of more iterative interactions among geographers, rural sociologists and other scholars studying tourism and recreation. However, this discrepancy can also be related to a significant regional divide among researchers on a geographical level, where the theories have emerged and developed on different continents (Gosnell & Abrams, 2009).

2.4 Rural urbanity
Rural places of today competes in a global market and the, all too often, existing presumption that globalisation is an urban process (Woods, 2007) is met by ideas that theorise trends and effects of globalisation in rural areas (see for example Woods, 2007; 2011; Woods & McDonagh, 2011; McCarthy, 2007). Harvey’s (1989) idea of a neoliberal governance where attractive (urban) sites do well in the competition for global capital is still current and can be argued to be spread to rural
municipalities where proactivity, through private-public investment, meets the increased global competition. As summarised by Mackay, Perkins and Taylor (2015:43) rural areas have “changed from being a place mainly of primary production to one also arranged for the sale of an increasing array of non-traditional rural commodities, services, lifestyle products and experiences” where “global influences interconnect with local action in the creation of new rural tourism spaces, products and experiences” (Ibid. p. 45). Mackay et al. (2015) puts rural tourism in New Zealand in relation to a global multifunctional countryside in which tourism growth is related to other economic and cultural activities in a globalised world.

Lifestyle and amenity migrants are both attracted by rural areas (see Benson, 2006, 2010, 2011; Hoey, 2009 for lifestyle migration; and Dahms & McComb, 1999; McCarthy, 2007; Moss, 2006 for amenity migration) and the search for the ‘rural idyll’ has been negotiated in both amenity migration (Kondo, Rivera, & Rullman, 2012) and lifestyle migration (O’Reilly 2007c cited in Torkington, 2012). Many migrants view the rural idyll through images they have seen as tourists in well-developed rural destinations (Neal, 2007 cited in Torkington, 2012). This leads to a paradox as higher numbers of tourists and increased in-migration ‘urbanises’ these same rural tourism destinations (Torkington, 2012) as they are dependent on and related to global influences.

In line with Torkington’s (2012) paradox of a rural idyll in urbanised rural tourism destinations, Möller, Thulemark, and Engström (2015) examined how the tourism industry can affect the perception of the locality as either rural or urban where a sense of urbanity can be recognised. As increasing numbers of tourists and migrants come from more urbanised areas, such localities can be seen as ‘urban satellites’ (Pettersson, 2001:171), which grow more rapidly and gain urban influences. Möller et al. (2015) followed Kůle’s (2008) idea of an urban-rural continuum, where the concepts of urban and rural should no longer be seen as binaries. The increased interaction between urban and rural areas, particularly through new lifestyles and types and forms of human settlements that occur both in urban and rural areas, call for each place to be positioned along a continuum instead of just given either/or options. For tourism-dominated areas, Möller et al. (2015) called for a two-dimensional continuum, where rural-urban is one dimension and modern-traditional is the other. The flow of (mostly urban) people and the influence generated from elsewhere affects the rurality to such an extent that the area can hardly be described as rural. Rather, the place cannot be associated with traditionalism, which is common for rural areas. The authors argue for this place to be described as embodied in a modern rurality, in which the place still has its rural characteristics but is highly affected by more modern elements, such as those found in urban areas.
2.5 Creative (lifestyle) migrants to rural areas

This feeling of urbanity among lifestyle and amenity migrants and long-standing residents, described in Möller et al. (2015), could open up a discussion of the use of more urban-orientated theories of development. This has already been introduced in such works as Heikkilä and Pikkarainen (2009), McGranahan, Wojan, and Lambart (2010), McGranahan and Wojan (2002), Nuur and Laestadius (2010), Ström and Nelson, (2010) and Argent, Tonts, Jones, and Holmes (2013), all of whom tested one of the best-known contemporary theories on economic development: Florida’s work on the creative class (Florida, 2002, 2005b) in rural settings.

Florida’s theory has its origin in urbanised areas, but has attracted a lot of interest in non-urban settings. Even among planners and policy makers in rural Sweden – far away from San Francisco and Seattle (two of the most creative cities in Florida’s study) – Florida’s (2002) book “The Rise of the Creative Class” has attracted interest in the author’s ideas of the importance of attracting the creative class. However, it could be misleading to adopt an urban-focused theory in a rural setting and the requested development might not occur. Little is done to re-conceptualise the theory to better suit areas in which it could be fruitful to use the theory, even though the characteristics of the place differ from those of the cases in Florida’s work.

The theory is well described by McGranahan and Wojan (2007 p. 198) as economic development that is “dependent largely on novel combinations of knowledge and ideas, that certain occupations specialise in this task, that people in specific occupations are drawn to areas providing a high quality of life, and thus the essential urban development strategy is to attract and retain these workers.” What Florida hoped for was a shift of focus in the field of economic development, from firms and industries towards people and places (Florida, 2014), from a ‘business climate’ to a ‘people’s climate’. To be able to attract and retain the members of the creative class, a locality/city must have the ‘four T’s’: talent (human capital measured through occupations), tolerance (a diverse and inclusive community), technology (an economy with a high level of knowledge-intensive businesses), and territorial assets (physical and intangible amenities) (Florida, 2002, 2005a). Attributing these Ts to a locality/city is seen as a process whereby some must be pioneers. It is noteworthy that the fourth T is seldom used when testing the theory, as its indexing is problematic and it could require the use of more qualitative methods as it cuts through three key dimensions: what’s there, who’s there, and what’s going on (Florida, 2014).
Florida (2002) argued that members of the creative class value active outdoor recreation and are drawn to (urban) areas with particular amenities where they can enjoy their preferred activities. These places also signal creative lifestyles. Based on the idea of the importance of outdoor recreation and natural amenities, rural areas would attract the creative class (McGranahan & Wojan, 2002) and it is evident that highly skilled workers are drawn to tourism areas with a high level of recreational amenities (Goe, 2002). Hence, rural tourism areas could attract members of the creative class as they not only share similar attributes with urban areas – such as restaurants, bars and cultural services – but they also have a high level of favourable natural amenities (Argent et al., 2013; Stolarick, Denstedt, Donald, & Spencer, 2011). Stolarick et al. (2011) concluded that regions hosting tourism destinations should use tourism amenities to attract new residents; that is, attract in-migrants in the same way that tourists are attracted (Morgan, Lambe, & Freyer, 2009).

The theory of the creative class has been subject to criticisms such as being part of the neo-liberal discourse, making cities locales for the rich (Peck, 2005), extending processes of class, gender and racial inequalities (Leslie & Catungal, 2012; Åquist, 2007), having a vague conceptual framework (Markusen, 2006) and a weak empirical foundation (Glaeser, 2005) that make it pliable (Hoyman & Faricy, 2008). When tested in a European setting, there was evidence of less mobility among the creative class members (Musterd & Gritsai, 2010). In a Swedish study, job-related factors were the most important factors when migrating as a member of the creative class (Hansen & Niedomysl, 2008) – which is contrary to Florida’s theory. One of the main criticisms is that the theory of the creative class is biased towards large urban areas (Andersen, Bugge, Hansen, Isaksen, & Raumio, 2010; Hansen, 2008). In short, as Asheim and Hansen (2009, p. 428) and Eimermann (2013b p. 34) argued, the critique can be divided into the following main categories: questioning the (lack of) empirical evidence, its classifications and conceptualisation and criticising its policy recommendation.

Florida's (2014) recently published article “The Creative Class and Economic Development” responded to most of these criticisms. Based on his own studies and those of others, Florida still argued for the use of the theory to explain economic development. The resemblance of the theories focusing on the creative class and human capital as engines for development is one of the main critiques presented by Glaeser (2005), and Florida (2014) agreed that both theories can test development. Florida argued that human capital may reflect economically richer places, in relation to the creative class that make a place more productive. Thereby the use of occupations rather than education grasps economic development better. According to the results from a survey study Florida conducted with the Gallup organism...
tion and Knight Foundation of ten thousand individuals in larger metropolitan areas, the most highly valued attributes of communities were social offerings (places to meet and entertainment venues), openness (acceptance of diversity) and the areas’ natural amenities (Knight Foundation 2010, 2011, cited in Florida, 2014). Hence, the use of the fourth T is even more urgent when using the theory to explain growth in rural areas.

2.6 Recreational amenities, hotspots and rural gentrification

Members of the creative class are “drawn to places and communities where many outdoor activities are prevalent – both because they enjoy these activities, and because their presence is seen as a signal that the place is amenable to the broader creative lifestyle” (Florida, 2002 p. 173). This confirms Morgan et al. (2009) and Stolarick et al.’s (2011) suggestions to use tourism amenities to attract not only tourists but also the creative class. As noted, migration to rural tourism areas is not significantly related to employment (Pettersson, 2001). Rather, rural tourism areas are often amenity-rich, such as in the mountains or by the coast. Examples of attractive tourism areas in Sweden include the mountain destination Åre, the island of Gotland, and Österlen (a part of the Scania region). In these cases, and many others around the world, amenities could work well as pull factors for people other than tourists.

Tourism-dependent rural areas may face in-migration, increased incomes and increased housing prices. Hence, rural tourism areas could be seen as ‘hotspots’; that is, “a place that appears side by side with other places considered to be degenerated or deprived, but where a certain process has taken place – a process which over time transforms the place into an attractive destination” (Turner, 2012 p. 237). Hotspots are often located close to urban labour markets to which migrants can commute. They feature natural beauty and initial low housing costs, which will increase due to increasing demand, turning the hotspot into a high-status place (Andersson, 2013). In a study on hotspots in the Swedish rural north (Andersson, 2013), in-migrants to such areas were described as ‘foot-loose’; that is, without any family ties or other strong connections to the area, which meant they could easily move on to other places if conditions changed. This is in line with Lundmark (2006a), who concluded that many of the people who move to mountain tourism destinations then moved on within ten years; although her study did not provide any explanations for why these persons moved away.

It could be that mountain tourism destinations are hotspots to which foot-loose in-migrants move due to amenity-, status- and job-related reasons. This formation of hotspots and increased in-migration may lead to rural gentrification (Turner,
Rural gentrification has been described as “a change in the socio-economic composition of its citizens; an emphasis on the cultural or national heritage and aesthetic aspects of both the built heritage and the natural environment; the emergence of new institutions leading to the closing of older ones; a diversification of products and services; changes in property values (speculation and private investment), etc.” (Guimond & Simard, 2010 p. 451), often caused by ex-urban dwellers moving to rural areas. Rural gentrification is not necessarily connected just to negative attributes, even though this type of gentrification along with the formation of hotspots leads to issues such as expensive housing, which could drive away local inhabitants (Andersson, 2013). Rural gentrification is often consumption-led, where the in-migrant wants to consume the idyll that the rural represents (Guimond & Simard, 2010), indicating strong connections to the idyllic rural places discussed in research on lifestyle migration and rural urbanity.

2.7 Research gaps and relevance of this study
This section summarises the gaps found in previous research and offers further arguments for studies on the significance of tourism-related migration for regional development in remote areas. It can be argued that lifestyle-, amenity-, and job-related migration, together with the theory of the creative class, are important for regional development in rural tourism destinations. As shown in figure 1, both temporary and permanent migration is influenced by the tourism industry. In this thesis tourism-related migration is divided in two main themes; place-related and job-related. But there are, of course, other types of tourism-related migration that are not emphasised in this thesis. Research gaps are found in the themes of lifestyle- and amenity migration, occupational communities and the creative class theory. These themes are connected to the migration literature in different ways and they are also interconnected and in some cases interdependent.

Lifestyle migration has long been studied from a European perspective, often in a north-south direction, with some exceptions (see for example Benson’s, 2013 study on migration from North America to Latin America). This thesis contributes not only to shifts of lifestyle migration in a direction towards Nordic countries, as initiated by Eimermann (2013a and b), but also contributes to the scarce literature of domestic lifestyle migration. Lifestyle migration could also be related to the more commonly used theory of amenity migration in the context of mountainous areas (see paper I).
The perceptions of seasonal tourism workers regarding potential permanent migration to the destination in which they work is another gap in the existing literature, since this group of workers are seen as not only potential but also important immigrants who will, due to their age composition, vitalise rural areas (Lundmark, 2006a). The present study conceptualises seasonal workers as members of an occupational community and adds to the understanding of the relationship between community members’ and the place in which they work (see paper II). This knowledge is essential when planning to attract this group as in-migrants to rural tourism destinations.

The discussion opened up in the context of a sensed urbanity in rural areas and the use of a more urban-orientated development theory leads to the final gap that have been identified in this study. Florida noted, humbly, “that at least some of [his own] insights have been heeded by mayors, economic developers, arts and cultural policy makers, and city builders” (Florida, 2014 p. 202). His theory has not only had a major impact in urban areas, but has also been taken into consideration in rural areas. It has also been argued that the assumption that all members of the creative class should share the same location preferences is too broad and that it is important to modify the theory if used outside its original setting (Asheim & Hansen, 2009). This includes the idea that occupations are better indicators for economic development than human capital measured through education. For tourism destinations, types of occupations other than those identified in Florida’s work
might be required in order to create development. For tourism destinations, it might be fruitful to adjust not only the occupational index or the Talent index, but rather the whole theory (see papers III and IV), as the indexes supplied by Florida are very much US-orientated.

In summary, this thesis will add to lifestyle migration research by focusing on domestic migration, it will add a place dimension to the theory of occupational communities, and it will re-conceptualise the creative class theory to better explain and suit a rural place dominated by tourism and partly test if the theory of the creative class can be adopted to rural tourism labour markets. With this said, the study will not justify the use of an urban theory in a rural setting but will instead consolidate the ideas put forward by Florida on a ‘people’s climate’ with the pre-conditions of rural tourism destinations.
3. Study areas, material and methods

This thesis consists of quantitative and qualitative collected material, which is used together and individually in the papers. The use of mixed methods is due to the focus of each paper. Appendix 1 lists each paper and indicates the method(s) used in relation to the aim, study area and findings.

3.1 Study areas

Based on the idea of studying regional development in terms of migration, with a special focus on tourism-dominated areas, smaller localities that host relatively large tourism destinations were selected. This was further narrowed down to studies of destinations that use their mountainous location as the main driving force for their tourism development. Two localities, Sälen and Idre, are located in the northern part of the province of Dalarna, Sweden (see figure 2) and one, Wanaka, is located in the Otago province of New Zealand (see figure 3). Through the selection of villages in which the structure of the tourism industry differs, in terms of the location, the commodities and business structures, it is possible to discuss, merge and reconceptualise theories in a more nuanced way. Yet, not only do the villages have differences, they share characteristics such as their rural locations, small size and dominance of a service based industry that is strongly related to natural resources. Therefor they can be compared and discussed in relation to each other.

All three villages have seen growth or consistency in the number of tourists and residents in the last 15 years (see table 1) which is in contrast to the decline in the surrounding municipalities.

Table 1. Population in the case study areas (SAMS-areas) 1990–2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sälen</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>1266</td>
<td>1244</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>1436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idre</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanaka*</td>
<td>2559</td>
<td>3303</td>
<td>4425</td>
<td>5037</td>
<td>6471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Inhabitants per square kilometre is revised by Statistics Sweden, which may have affected the selected areas.
Figure 2. Location of Sälen, Idre, Malung-Sälens- and Älvdalen Municipality

Cartography: Zuzana Macuchova, 2015
Figure 2. Location of Wanaka and the Otago region

Cartography: Zuzana Macuchova, 2015
Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen are neighbouring municipalities that have similar populations (Malung-Sälen 9,969, and Älvdalen, 7052 in 2014) (Statistics Sweden, 2015). Sälen is one of Sweden’s largest mountain tourism destinations and is located in the municipality of Malung-Sälen. The peak tourism season is during the winter, when approximately 70,000 guest beds are rented out each week and over the year a total of about 1,000,000 guest nights are booked in the municipality (Svensk Handel, 2010). Sälen has approximately 1500 inhabitants, if the nearby villages of Lima and Transtrand are included, and over 2000 seasonal tourism workers are required during the peak season. This locality was selected due to its position as Sweden’s most popular mountain tourism destination in 2008. It has since dropped to being the country’s second largest winter tourism destination (with Åre as the most popular mountain tourism destination) (Svensk Handel, 2010). Sälen is surrounded by six skiing areas, four of which are run by Skistar AB (the largest mountain tourism company in northern Europe) and the other two by a smaller family-type business and an investment company, respectively.

Sälen is located so that no one who visits the destinations has to enter the village, although they do pass close by. However, there are services in the locality that cannot be found at the mountain destinations, such as the Swedish Alcohol Retailing Monopoly, the post office, and extended health care. The locality and its surroundings are also the main places of permanent residence, with only a few people living in the mountain areas. Therefore, pre-schools and elementary schools, larger grocery stores and year-round stores, restaurants and cafes are located in the village. Investments have been made at one mountain destination, where a large year-around entertainment facility has been established that hosts bowling, a cinema, restaurants, a water park with a spa and a hotel.

Idre is located in the municipality of Älvdalen. It is ranked sixth on the list of Swedish tourism destinations and was the fourth-largest mountain tourism destination in Sweden in 2008 and 2010 (Svensk Handel, 2010), with about 7300 guest beds available and the municipality has approximately 800,000 guest nights per year (Svensk Handel, 2010). The locality has approximately 800 inhabitants and over 600 tourism workers are required during the peak winter season, approximately 120 of whom are hired all year around at Idre Fjäll (the main tourism commodity), as the summer season constitute about 20 percent of the total turnover. Idre Fjäll is the main destination and skiing area. It differs from those in Sälen because it is run by a trust owned by the municipality of Älvdalen and the Swedish Outdoor Association (Friluftsfrämjandet). The mountain area is located about 10 kilometres from the locality and most tourists have to pass Idre on their way to the mountains. Idre hosts social services like those found in Sälen.
Wanaka, in the province of Otago on the South Island of New Zealand, was selected as a third case study. Wanaka’s locality is comparable to those of Sälen and Idre and it has experienced tourism and population development similar to the two Swedish case areas. Wanaka’s tourism industry has peaks during the winter, with skiing and snowboarding, and during the summer with water activities on the lake and in the mountains. The tourism industry hosted almost 650,000 guest nights in 2013 (Wanaka tourism Organization, 2014). Wanaka’s population has increased by 28 percent since 2006 and had 6471 inhabitants as of 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Wanaka is located four hours away from Dunedin, the closest city, although the larger mountain tourism destination of Queenstown is located about one hour away and has an international airport. Two skiing areas are located around Wanaka and, in contrast to the Swedish examples, the township of Wanaka is a nodal centre that accommodates tourists. Accordingly, Wanaka has a more developed service supply than the two Swedish destinations, with restaurants, tourist accommodations and other tourism facilities in addition to services such as preschools and elementary schools and a health care centre.

Adding this third destination broadens the perspective of the present study and provides evidence of similarities of migration motives and patterns to rural tourism destinations in the Western world. There are also similarities in the way these places are characterised. Wanaka and Sälen have a more positive population growth than Idre. Wanaka has become an urbanised rural area with a centre that has expanded its services over the past decade, mainly due to increased population resulting from in-migration. It can be argued that Sälen has followed the same route, albeit at a much slower pace. Idre, on the other hand, has in-migration that barely covers natural population fluctuations. It is noteworthy that all three places face a positive net-migration, which only occurs at specific ‘hotspots’ in rural areas (Turner, 2012). The selected villages have developed differently and this might be related to the disparity in their processes of tourism development. All three destinations have a history of restructuring in nature based industries which triggered development of tourism products as a way to counteract negative economic and population development. Yet, the destinations differ due to investment strategies. From the beginning, Sälen and Wanaka were built around local entrepreneurs and private investors willing to expand the tourism industry as much as possible. This can be described as a boosterism strategy. In Idre, the main tourism commodity was originally organized as a trust which must adhere to regulations that mandate the reinvestment of returns, local labour and local interaction. Seasonal workers are also, to a larger extent, recruited from the surrounding municipality and therefore the ‘leakage’ in economic terms are reduced. This in comparison to, for example, Sälen where a large part of the seasonal workforce are recruited from other
parts of Sweden and thereby their tax revenues goes to the municipalities in which they are registered for census.

3.2 Combining research methods
In this study, different methods are combined in a mixed method approach whereby different methods are used to complement each other (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2010). Arguments against using a mixed method approach are often connected to differences in the methods’ paradigms and epistemological (and ontological) origin. However, this type of combination research has become more common as, when used correctly, it can strengthen the advantages and weaken the disadvantages of each method (Bryman, 2001).

By using different qualitative methods, in this case three different interview studies, in-depth, informative and focus groups, the knowledge gained in the in-depth interviews in Wanaka was used as a background for the informative interviews in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen. Information from these interview studies was then used to develop the interview guides for focus group interviews. Thus, the methods are used concurrently in the present study (Hennink et al., 2010), where each study contributes to the next.

To support and complement the qualitative method, quantitative studies have been conducted, based on statistical data on individuals derived from Statistics Sweden. Different methods, both qualitative and quantitative, could then be used to analyse certain topics under the broader theme of the thesis. Therefore, the comprehensive understanding that is gained in research conducted through the use of multiple methods can be considered advantageous.

3.3 Quantitative data and methodology
The BeDa database, compiled and stored by SCB (Statistics Sweden), constitutes the quantitative portion of the material in this thesis. BeDa consists of longitudinal micro data on all individuals (aged 16 and older) who have either lived or worked in the four counties of Bergslagen (Västmanland, Värmland, Dalarna, Örebro) between 1990 and 2011. The dataset is updated at three-year intervals and the years used for this study are 1990–2008. The data is geo-coded, which makes it possible to study in-migration at both a municipality level and in smaller areas. Thereby, studies on individuals moving in to Sälen and Idre and also to the municipalities of Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen become possible. Among the variables found in the dataset, industrial classification is used to detect workers within the tourism industry.
In this study (mainly in paper IV), 24 tourism-related branches were selected in the Swedish industrial classification system (SNI). However, the classification system does not distinguish tourism from other service-orientated sectors. Many companies might have listed several orientations, which means that employees might be classified as performing a function other than their actual work tasks. As Lundmark (2006b) argued in her thesis with a similar setting, the total tourism impact cannot be accounted for; for example, small stores and petrol stations can provide tourism services at rural destinations even though they are not classified as such in this study. This is also alleged in the discussion of tourism multipliers, where the tourism industry affects more industries than just those directly connected to tourism.

Within this study BeDa is used for descriptive (see paper III) and analytical (see paper IV) studies on in-migration, entrepreneurs and the characterisations of the tourism work force within the municipalities of Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen.

3.4 Qualitative data and methodology

The qualitative section of this thesis is threefold, with the overall method being interviews. All interviews in the three studies have a semi-structured format, which creates an opportunity to understand complex behaviours and motivations, both on an individual and a community level (Hennink et al., 2010) with interview guides that are ordered but flexible (Dunn, 2005). As a researcher, I had a critical inner dialogue through all my interviews (Dunn, 2005) that required me to analyse what was said to ensure that I understood everything the interviewee was saying. To help the inner dialogue, notes were constantly taken so that no information ‘slipped by’ without a follow-up question if needed.

Semi-structured interviews were adapted to collect knowledge about the respondents’ views, opinions and experiences about a specific issue. The interview structure has a cyclical nature, which creates the opportunity for refinements in the interview guides to be adopted in the next interview. This creates an inductive inference that enables the researcher to delve deeper into the issue of concern (Hennink et al., 2010). In this thesis, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted as well as interviews with focus groups. A distinction is sometimes made between group interviews and focus group interviews (Limb & Dwyer, 2001). However, Bryman (2001) concluded that the arguments for keeping these two methods separate is not clear; the present thesis follows Bryman’s thoughts by using the term focus groups.

The selected interview studies and methods for this thesis are presented below.
3.4.1 In-depth, semi structured interviews - In-migrants

Eleven interviewees (four men and seven women aged between 30 and 73) were interviewed in Wanaka, New Zealand in 2009. A snowball sampling method was used to find interviewees who had moved to Wanaka from elsewhere in New Zealand, except for one who had moved from Australia. These interviews had an in-depth character, whereby the interview can be described as a conversation with the purpose of discussing a specific topic in depth (Hennink et al., 2010). In this case, the topic of discussion was the individual’s experience of migrating to Wanaka, focusing on decision(s), perception(s), motivation(s), meaning and feelings about their pre- and post-migration lives. Seven interviews (four individual and three with married couples) were conducted at a location selected by the interviewee(s). One interview was held at a café, one at the respondent’s office and the rest were held at the respondents’ homes. The interviews lasted between 30–60 minutes.

The snowball method was used to recruit participants due to the researcher’s own lack of information about in-migrants in Wanaka. This method of recruiting interviewees is also suitable for identifying participants with specific characteristics, such as newly in-migrated persons. An advantage of this method is that the new interviewee is linked to the research project by a familiar, trusted person (Hennink et al., 2010). In this case, this was one of the main advantages as the first contact person delivered a list of potential interviewees that had already been contacted and informed about the research and they had also agreed to participate. One limitation is that the recruited participants are often from the same social network, so it is important to have multiple starting points for the snowballs. Two starting points were used in the present study.

Another limitation that could have arisen in this study is the fact that English is my second language. However, I did not feel that my language skills restrained either the interviewees or myself. As all interviews were audio-recorded (and later transcribed), I could concentrate on my inner critical dialogue, which in this study also included potential language misunderstandings.

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews – tourism entrepreneurs and managers, politicians and planners

This interview study was conducted in 2010 in the municipalities of Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen. The main focus for these interviews was to gain knowledge about the importance of tourism, the structure of the industry, employment in the tourism industry and migration in the municipalities, with a special focus on Sälen and Idre. This was a joint project in which I conducted the interviews together with another
researcher. Seven interviewees (six men and one woman) were visited at their offices and one was interviewed by telephone. One interviewee was visited twice as follow-up questions had arisen from the other interviews. All interviews lasted between 30–60 minutes and were audio-recorded and fully transcribed. The interviewees were selected due to their job commitments as municipal politicians, civil servants, entrepreneurs running large tourism companies, CEOs of tourism companies and destination managers. As the interviewees were interviewed about issues that were partly connected to their professional lives, it is misleading to describe all of them as in-depth interviews, since such interviews tend to focus on individual/personal experiences, values and beliefs. As some of the interviewees had the experience of being migrants themselves, these parts of the interviews could be discussed in more depth, while other parts were of a more informative character.

Being two researchers could present a limitation in interviews as there could be an imbalance in the group formation (whereby the interviewee as a single person might feel outnumbered in the interview situation). However, in analysis and discussions about the interview situation, my co-researcher and I did not see any signs of this imbalance. This could partly be explained by the more informative character of the interviews.

3.4.3 Focus group interviews – seasonal tourism workers

This study was conducted with two groups of seasonal workers during the 2010/2011 winter season. The interviewees were employed at a large restaurant company in Sälen that operates several restaurants and cafés, some of which are open year-round and some of which are only open during the peak winter months. The interviewees were only employed during the peak season and mainly worked at restaurants and cafés that were open only during the winter. The owner of the company was interviewed as an entrepreneur in the study presented in section 3.4.2, during that interview the idea of conducting this study was born. The main reason was the entrepreneur’s thoughts and reflections of the staff and their relationship to the place. In cooperation with the company, two groups were formed; one group of six seasonal workers (three men and three woman aged 20 to 24) with previous experience working within the company and one group of six workers (three men and three woman aged 19 to 21) with no experience working during a winter season. After arranging the groups at the first stage, the company suggested certain weeks that could be suitable for upcoming interviews and the company also provided us with a location – one of the restaurants that was closed during that time of the day. During the season, the groups were interviewed three times. This was
suggested by the entrepreneur, who had sensed a change in the mind-set of the employees over the season.

Being able to interview each group three times also opened up the possibility for broader research, with each interview focusing on different issues, even though the overall theme for the whole project was to gain knowledge about the groups’ thoughts about place, work and future mobility. The interviews were semi-structured and the focus group method was selected because it is ideal for research on “the multiple meanings that people attribute to places” (Cameron, 2005 p. 117). Focus group interviews identify and collect information on a particular group’s perspectives on norms, values and behaviour (Hennink et al., 2010), whereas in-depth interviews deal more with the context of individuals. In focus group interviews, the group members raise issues that other group members might challenge, followed by justification from the participant who initially raised the issue or an exemplification, which leads to further discussions within the group (Hennink et al., 2010). In other words, it generates “dynamism and energy as people respond to the contributions of others” (Cameron, 2005 p. 117). This new way of looking at an issue is fruitful for the researcher as it generates topics that may not have been predicted (Patel & Davidson, 2003). It is also rewarding for the interviewees after the interview (Cameron, 2005) as they often gain new insights on the topic discussed.

As with other methods, this one has certain limitations. The moderator of the interview has to be skilled in order to be able to control the group without being too intrusive. The group dynamics can limit the outcome of the interview if, for example, some participant(s) are dominant and hierarchies develops within the focus group. In this stage, the work of the moderator is important to guide the group in the direction of equally sharing time and space within the interview. In this study, one researcher was the main moderator, one was assistant moderator and an assisting student took notes. The moderators’ roles were discussed and analysed in the group of researchers after each interview and problems regarding group formation were never an issue of discussion.

Other limitations include the large volume of data, which affects the analysis and the costs (Hennink et al., 2010). However, these limitations did not affect this study to any great extent.
4. Paper summaries

4.1 Paper I – A new life in the mountains: Changing lifestyles among in-migrants to Wanaka, New Zealand

The aim of this paper was to study individuals’ migration motives in order to help explain the social aspects of why people move to mountainous tourism destinations. Of interest was how in-migrants integrate into society and how in-migrants constructed their new life in the community. The case area, Wanaka, hosts two of New Zealand’s main skiing resorts, located in the Southern Alps. During the last decade, this remote tourism-dominated locality has grown rapidly in terms of the number of permanent inhabitants. Due to its richness in natural amenities, research questions were raised regarding the meaning of place; for example, are there connections between the place/environment and the decision to move to and live in the area?

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 persons who moved to the area between 2003 and 2009. During seven interviews (four individual and three with married couples), the broader topic of migration was discussed and analysis focused on the individual perceptions of motives for moving and integrating into the ‘new’ community.

Tourism-related migration was studied with a special focus on lifestyle (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b) and amenity migration (Moss, 2006), which contributed to social-orientated migration theories. The paper argues that, for the area, lifestyle and amenity migration are strongly linked, to the extent that a full picture could not be drawn without using both theories in parallel. The opportunity to be outdoors, using natural amenities offered by the mountains and the lake as recreation areas, is a major pull factor for moving to Wanaka. The social community is also attractive. Respondents first visited the place as tourists attracted by the amenities, at which time they also discovered the social community and found it as attractive as the surrounding environment. Through active lifestyles with involvement in social clubs and volunteer work, respondents felt that they became part of the social community, and felt a sense of belonging and of contributing to the community.

4.2 Paper II – Community formation and sense of place among seasonal tourism workers

This paper aims to investigate how seasonal tourism employees can be analysed as an occupational community. Furthermore, it studies the ways in which a particular tourism-related occupational community perceives and connects to its location, as
well as the ways in which seasonal tourism workers perceive the role of place and community in their everyday lives and future plans. Two focus groups were interviewed on three occasions during the 2010/2011 winter season. Each group consisted of seasonal workers; one group had no former experience and the other group consisted of workers hired in previous seasons. All workers were employed by a restaurateur that ran several restaurants and cafés in the area.

Of interest was to determine if seasonal workers could be described as members of an occupational community and, if so, how they related to other workers as a group. Hence, this paper contributes to research on occupational communities within the field of tourism and hospitality (such as Lee-Ross, 1999; Sandiford & Seymour, 2007; Lee-Ross, 2008). It also adds a geographical dimension to studies of occupational communities by studying seasonal workers’ relationship with a place, as individuals and through their membership in an occupational community. The latter is highly important, as social relations and group formation among the workers are particularly significant.

For most seasonal workers, the place has importance as a meeting point for members of an occupational community, where people share the same interests. To be able to live the life they desire at that moment, they use the available tourism labour market at a place that, for them, signals a certain quality of life. The work itself is important for the members of the community, but it is secondary to the lifestyle these workers lead. Through the place, conditions are formed for like-minded persons to meet.

4.3 Paper III – Creativity in the recreational industry

This paper attempts to dissect Richard Florida’s theories of the creative class and adopt them as an analytical framework to investigate regional development in Sälen, Sweden, where mountain winter tourism is the main industry. In order to apply this theory in such a case study, we argue that the theory has to be un-packed and re-conceptualised.

The basic idea of the creative class theory is that creativity and knowledge among people creates regional development, and that places with high numbers of creative class members do better than others (Florida, 2002, 2005b, 2008). A main conclusion of Florida’s work is that a shift should be made when thinking about regional development, from a focus on the business climate to a focus on a ‘people’s climate’. The four Ts (talent, tolerance, technology and territorial assets) are highlighted as important factors that a city must possess in order to be able to attract the creative class. As critics have pointed out, it is difficult to apply this theory outside urban areas (Andersen et al., 2010; Hansen, 2008). Nonetheless, attempts have
been made to apply the theory in a rural context. Tourism-dominated rural areas share attributes and amenities with more urban areas (Stolarick et al., 2011), so ideas from the creative class theory are considered to be useful.

The paper is based on findings from interview studies that have focused on temporary and permanent migration, with a focus on the motives behind migration. Focus group interviews were conducted with seasonal workers three times over the 2010/2011 winter season. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with in-migrants, entrepreneurs, destination developers and politicians during 2010. Additionally, descriptive statistics were used.

Within this paper, the four Ts are used as starting points, after which they are unpacked and modified to better suit the studied area. The results show that, in many ways, Sälen is in line with Florida’s (2002) idea that knowledge and creativity among employees is the driver in regional development. We argue that the main competitive advantages are the knowledge and skills among the tourism workers, regardless of educational level, as these types of destinations require employees that are talented and tolerant. However, it is not applicable to solely measure, for example, education, occupation, gays and bohemians, as in Florida’s work (2002). Rather, the place with its inhabitants need to be tolerant towards flows of people such as tourists, seasonal workers and in-migrants and must be part of the social capital by being members of the community. The fourth T, territorial assets, is argued in this paper to have a significant role and should attract increased interest. Based on the amenities that the place offers, lifestyle-orientated migration among the creative class might take place (McGranahan et al., 2010).

4.4 Paper IV – Tourism employment and creative in-migrants

This paper analyses tourism employment and its relation to in-migration to Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen, two municipalities in northern Dalarna, Sweden, that host large mountain tourism destinations. The two municipalities were selected due both to their similarities and their differences (see chapter on study areas). Over the years, rural municipalities have faced out-migration and negative population development (Amcoff, 2006). However, some areas have attracted new inhabitants and this paper focuses on how a flourishing tourism industry is connected to immigration to rural municipalities. Longitudinal micro-data from the BeDa database (see the chapter about methods for more information) was analysed. The main area of interest was the size of tourism labour-related in-migration to the two municipalities with a focus on creative workers.

Based on the results from this paper, it is evident that the tourism industry channels in-migration. In-migrants represent almost 38 percent of tourism employment
in Malung/Sälen and 30 percent in Älvdalen. These figures indicate that the availability of employment opportunities was not the sole motivating factor in the migrants’ decision to relocate to a particular area. This was explained by the geographical spread of in-migrants, who did not come from the nearby municipalities in which, generally, there is a shortage of jobs. Instead, they come from roughly the same areas as the tourists visiting the area.

In this paper, it was considered fruitful to adapt the ideas put forward by Richard Florida (2002, 2005, 2008) on the importance, in a given area, of a ‘people’s climate’ to attract the creative class. In this paper, we analyse the in-migrants’ socio-economic characteristics to determine whether they could be classified as a ‘creative workforce’ (defined in this paper as individuals with higher education, a leading or professional occupation and/or being in the top income quartile). The ‘creative workforce’ was determined to be relatively important and in-migrants constituted a large part of the tourism-related creative work force in both municipalities.
5. Findings

This thesis set out to study in-migration to rural tourism-dominated areas. In relation to this, three main theoretical points of departure have been discussed: tourism-related migration, the blur of lifestyle and amenity migration, as well as the theory of the creative class. The first issue discusses the importance of tourism as a phenomenon, as well as an industry in relation to migration. The second point of departure deals with the move towards socially orientated migration research, where lifestyle and amenity motives for migration are related to tourism. As a final point, the theory of the creative class as an engine for regional development was discussed with a focus on rural tourism areas.

5.1 In-migrants’ relationship to tourism and place

In this study, tourism channels in-migration in different ways. For example, by being a tourism destination, which means that many migrants would have previously visited the area; by being an attractive labour market and offering services not normally found in rural areas; and by attributing the place with urban characteristics. Many in-migrants have previous experience with the place due to the tourism industry, either as tourists visiting the place or as tourism workers. This is in line with previous research, with examples from lifestyle (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009a), amenity (Moss, 2006) and entrepreneurial migrants (Snepenger et al., 1995) moving to tourism destinations.

The tourism industry seems to be an attractive labour market in which migrants come from other parts of the country and not only from the neighbouring municipalities or the extended region. The present study found that in-migrants to the municipalities of Älvdalen and Malung/Sälen have higher incomes, are more highly educated and more often hold leading positions both among tourism employees and those working in the rest of the local labour market. The study also indicated that the structure of the tourism industry itself affects tourism-related labour migration, where the rapid growth and company structure in Sälen creates a differentiated labour market demanding a higher share of skilled staff in leading positions.

However, in-migration not only seems to be job-related. Those taking jobs in tourism areas seem to be attracted by other attributes at the destination apart from employment opportunities. This is particularly the case with people who relocate to an area for other reasons, such as those of retirement age. The studied areas in this thesis offer services that are not normally found in rural areas. Sälen, like Wanaka, is strongly attributed with urban characteristics, which makes them both places that host a modern rurality (Möller et al., 2015). This type of rurality is...
strongly formed by the tourism industry as well as the characteristics of the individuals moving to and living in the area. By attracting tourists and in-migrants from more urban areas, the destinations are affected by influences that create a sense of urbanity, and they can therefore be conceptualised as ‘urban satellites’ (Pettersson, 2001).

It is noteworthy that social relations and community membership/building is proposed as being important among in-migrants. In the case of Wanaka, the social lifestyle was as important, both in pre- and post-migration motivation, as the natural amenities. The interviewees put a significant amount of effort into social events, clubs and volunteering, as this helped them become part of the community in which long-lasting relationships and trust could be built. This importance of community formation is also seen among the seasonal workers interviewed in Sälen, albeit in a different way, where the relationships can be characterised as a passing friendship. Seasonal workers reveal that many who come to work in Sälen over the winter are attracted to the social life within the community. Many of these social relationships are short-term and fade away at the end of the season if they are not maintained through, for example, work at the same summer destination. However, the strong relationships appear to be long-standing.

The seasonal workers’ interest in skiing is not the prime motivator for seasonal relocation, even though they are required to show such an interest during job interviews. People who express a strong interest in skiing are also those who see the potential in Sälen as a place of permanent residence. In order for rural ski resorts to be able to attract more inhabitants through seasonal workers, companies must be more focused on finding workers who are eager to take advantage of the recreational opportunities that are available in the mountains. This is in line with Tuulentie and Heimtuns’ (2014) suggestion that local communities should encourage local employers to hire those groups of seasonal tourism workers that show the strongest attachment to a particular place. Even though seasonal workers do not necessarily move to the area once they have worked a season or two, they do show a stronger place attachment as they not only have social relationships with community members. In line with the results in Nepal and Chipeniuk (2005) and Stockdale, MacLeod and Philip (2013), potential in-migrants are likely to use their affection for, cognition of and experience in the place (Low and Altman 1992, cited in Gustafsson 2006 p. 19) in migration decisions throughout their lives. This enables them to base their decision to relocate, on their knowledge of the amenities and recreational opportunities available in a particular place.

The above mentioned motives for migration are dominated by pull factors related to the destination. However, it is important to recognize potential push factors related to the place (and life) left behind. In the case of Wanaka, a new rural life
were, in some cases, set in contrast to the hectic life in urban centres, the physically demanding life at a farm, or the stressful life as a self-employed retailer. Wanaka was, for these individuals, a recess and a place for new opportunities. They had all been introduced to the place as tourists and in comparison to the life they left Wanaka was attributed with many attractive features.

Among the seasonal workers in Sälen, pull factors were stronger than push factors even though some mentioned feeling constrained in their transition into the adult world. And they wished for residential independence and autonomy. Noteworthy is also the present labour market situation, with high unemployment among young adults, where Sälen with its tourism industry offers seasonal employment which is a temporary solution to unemployment.

5.2 Lifestyle amenities and the (re)creative class

It is evident that domestic lifestyle migration takes place in tourism-dominated rural areas. However, it would be misleading to say that the results from this study mainly contribute to research on lifestyle or amenity-led migration. Rather, the findings show a strong relationship between the two fields of migration research. The concept of lifestyle migration captures the ideas of amenity migration (Eimermann, 2013b), but the place dimension is subordinated. It is more correct to conceptualise migration as being related to lifestyle amenities, as place amenities enable the desired lifestyles to a significant extent. This type of conceptualisation also brings the subjects of sociology, ethnography and geography closer together, something that Gosnell and Abrams (2009) argued was lacking. Through this conceptual junction of lifestyle and amenity migration, which can also be seen as a relaxation of migration theories, a broader picture of migration motives could be painted.

In the present study, migration motivated by lifestyle amenities is related to the natural amenities that the place hosts. In tourism destinations in mountain areas, nature and recreational infrastructure create opportunities for an active lifestyle associated with activities such as skiing and hiking. Hence, it attracts likeminded people who find the resources of the mountains desirable along with the social life that such surroundings facilitate, where social clubs and community building plays an important role.

The importance of lifestyle amenities is found in the discussion of territorial assets in table 2 (incorporated from paper III). Together with the seasonal opportunities that a mountain tourism destination provides, lifestyle amenities are also important for the formation of a (re)creative class (Hauge & Thulemark, 2011). However, this is more than just a play on words, where the recreational area is populated by creative class members; the use of the term ‘rural creative class’ is not
suitable for this type of rural tourism area. Adding only a rural dimension to the creative class theory would test the rise of creative pockets in the countryside. Hence, it is seen as useful to adopt the creative class theory’s basic idea of a ‘people’s climate’ and reconceptualise the Ts to suit the type of area studied. This could then be seen as an attempt to broaden the theory requested by Asheim and Hansen (2009). In this case a (re)creative focus would imply the use of skills and experiences, entrepreneurs, social capital, community building and lifestyle amenities to explain regional development in rural tourism destinations.

Table 2. Overview of the reconceptualisation of the four Ts in Florida’s urban-orientated studies and in rural tourism areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Thulemark &amp; Hauge, 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Talent</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (human capital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic and creative capacities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Technology</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tolerance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Territorial assets</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Provision Index</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
creative workforce in the rest of the labour market. These outcomes resemble McGranahan and Wojan’s (2007) results of a concentration of creative workers within service occupations in rural areas. If the members of the (re)creative class are added, it would be even more evident that the tourism industry attracts creative people and that both creative people and this type of ‘people’s climate’ have the potential to produce regional development.

With this said, this thesis should not be seen as a work that uncritically uses an urban theory in a rural setting. The idea of adopting the theory is based on the notion of its use among policy makers and planners in rural municipalities. Hence, this work suggests how the theory should be reinterpreted if used outside its original context. Rather than arguing for the theory’s lack of usefulness and adding to the criticism of the theory, this thesis advocates the need of re-conceptualizations. Within this reconceptualization the theory is adjusted to work in the specific setting of rural areas, which in its own way confirms the criticism of a too pliable theory (Hoyman & Faricy, 2008). Another criticism is the neoliberal discourse in which Peck (2005) argues that cities are becoming places for rich. Tourism-dominated villages might turn into rural hotspots which confirm Peck’s arguments, but requires the rise of rural hotspots to be set against the developments that usually characterize rural areas with depopulation, business closures and cuts in public services. The line between becoming a hotspot or a place on the decline is thin.

Florida (2002) further argues for a service class that is growing alongside the creative class. A class that serves the purpose of helping the creatives’ with more private tasks and obligations which they don’t have time for due to extended working hours and social obligations. In paper III, members of the service class are seen as drivers of the development and therefore also members of the so called (re)creative class. In places dominated by a service industry, such as tourism destinations, the creativity lies in service innovation and for such innovation a sense of know-how and service skills might be more important than human capital or indexed occupations.

This also relates back to the second question raised in the introduction; the characteristics of those moving to mountain tourism destinations. As seen in paper IV, there does not seem to be a strong gender division among in-migrants. It is evident that the female share is on average about 50 percentage among in-migrants in both case areas and in the tourism labour markets as well as in the rest of the local labour market. This should be seen in comparison with the differences seen in the category of non-migrants. There is a predominant proportion of female workers in hotels and restaurants and a predominant proportion of male workers in tourism and travel activities as well as in the rest of the local labour market.
Hence, class and gender inequalities might be reduced as the dominating industry is service based and therefore members of the creative class are also members of the service class.
6. Contribution of the thesis

This thesis makes three main contributions. It offers new ways of studying lifestyle-related migration, it stresses the meaning of place attachment when studying community formation among temporary tourism workers, and it calls for a re-conceptualisation of the creative class theory to complement explanations of regional development in rural tourism-dominated areas.

Firstly, it adds to the scarce literature on inbound lifestyle migration while illustrating the importance of crossing academic boarders to understand closely related migration theories. Socially motivated migration can be closely linked to the place, and the motives are blurred at points, as shown in paper I. Lifestyle and amenity-led migration, if used in isolation, does not paint a full picture of migration motives. By using influences from both theories, the motives for migration to mountain tourism destinations could be better explained.

Secondly, the thesis emphasises the importance of place relations in studies of occupational communities when these communities are located in environments that have special features that influence the occupation. This is the case in mountain resorts where an interest in skiing/snowboarding is a pull factor for choosing to work there, even though this factor is not the single most important motivation. As members of occupational communities, seasonal workers gain a relationship with the place that is based on the community structure, which in this case is strongly related to social belonging. Seasonal workers that find themselves willing to move to a mountain tourism destination are the persons who use the natural amenities the most and see opportunities to live their desired lifestyle in a rural setting. However, it is not clear that Sälen is this preferred destination; rather, it is the settings that attract them. They talk about mountain tourism destinations in general and can see themselves also living in other destinations, as long as they have gained some local knowledge about the place through work and/or visits. Hence, as in Stockdale et al.’s (2013) study on mid-life in-migration to rural areas, the importance of earlier experiences of a place and a feeling of rootedness could be gained through the influences and experiences one has of a place that have been derived from working in the area.

Thirdly, the thesis re-conceptualises the theory of the creative class in the context of a rural tourism-dominated area. Paper III discusses the question of whether the re-conceptualisation towards a (re)creative class waters down the theory too much. With such a re-conceptualisation, the theory becomes even more disengaged from existing statistics, which causes even greater problems in terms of quantitatively measuring the impact of the theory. However, to be usable in areas such as rural tourism destinations, the basic idea of a ‘people’s climate’ is important, not least as
in-migration to such areas is motivated by lifestyle and amenity-led reasons, which are important for members of the creative class. However, it might not just be members of the so-called creative class that are important residents. The creative core in a tourism-dominated area might also include tourism workers with special skills who, along with entrepreneurs, must find new ways to develop the tourism industry. When using some basics of the theory to investigate in-migrants relationship with the tourism labour market, it is evident that a creative workforce is attracted by the tourism destination both as a labour market and a place to live.

From a policy and planning perspective, this thesis suggests that if in-migration is desirable to rural tourism-dominated areas, there is the potential to attract tourists and seasonal workers, as both groups are attached to the place, albeit in different ways. However, in line with Tuulentie and Heimtun (2014), I argue for the need for municipalities to encourage employers to hire seasonal staff that show potential to stay, since they have or are most likely to develop a strong place attachment. Such staff are to be found among individuals who, in keeping with my results, have the opportunity to use place specific amenities in their preferred lifestyle by participating in favourable leisure activities; for example, people who are interested in nature, such as skiers and snowboarders who are attracted by the mountains as well as to a (modern) rural life. Placing even greater focus on the recruitment process, where an interest in skiing is requested but not demonstrated, would be one way to define (return) workers who can consider a more permanent residency. It can also be, as in the case of the interviewed entrepreneurs and business leaders, that former seasonal workers are those that, through their local experiences and knowledge, take more permanent leading positions or start businesses after in-migration. However, as noted by Lundmark (2006a), in-migrants to mountain tourism destinations generally move on after a few years, which makes them appear rather ‘foot-loose’ (Andersson, 2013). The consequences of this mobility would be interesting to investigate in a study on community formation. Möller’s (2012) work on young adults in tourism-dominated areas is one attempt to study how inhabitants are affected by tourism and mobility. This topic could well be studied further as particular tourism areas turn into hotspots where large streams of in-migrants gentrify the rural places and may push locals away, due to factors such as an increase in property prices that are beyond the reach of local young adults.

Wanaka has already turned into a mountainous hotspot, and this could also be the case for the mountain resorts in Sälen and Idre. However, the localities do not serve as centres, which means they may not become hotspots in the housing market. However, all three localities could face structural changes that cause rural gentrification and lead to socio-economic and institutional changes, displacing the lo-
cals. Nevertheless, the villages could also remain ‘rural idylls’, forming a well-functioning place to live that is characterised by a modern rurality and dominated by a flourishing tourism industry.
Vissa landsbygdsorter som har en blomstrande turistindustri attraherar inte bara temporära besökare utan lockar även mer permanent inflytning och genom detta skapas en positivare befolkningsutveckling. Det finns dock begränsat med forskning kring hur och varför vissa individer flyttar, speciellt sett i relation till den mottagande platsens koppling till turistindustrin. Därför har denna avhandling till syfte att studera migration till turismdominerade orter på landsbygden och speciellt fokus läggs på orter i fjällmiljö. Utifrån detta syfte har tre frågeställningar växt fram:

- Hur kan migration till turismdominerade landsbygdsorter konceptualiseras?
- Vad karakteriserar inflyttare till turismdominerade landsbygdsorter?
- Hur relaterar olika grupper av inflyttare till platsen?

Avhandlingen är uppbyggd kring fyra artiklar med individuella syften där artklarna fokuserar på; flyttmotiv och tankar kring den nya bostadsorten bland permanenta inflyttare (artikel I), säsongsarbetares skapande av en yrkesgemenskap och deras relation till platsen (artikel II), behovet av en rekonceptualisering av teorin kring den kreativa klassen (artikel III) samt framväxandet av en ”kreativ arbetskraft” i landsbygdskommuner med betydande turismverksamheter (artikel IV).

Som en introducerande del återfinns denna kappa där kapitel 2 redogör för det teoretiska ramverket med fokus på turismrelaterad migration, urbanisering och användandet av teorin kring den kreativa klassen i rurala områden och hur detta påverkar landsbygden. Turismrelaterad migration är tvådelad i den här avhandlingen, där en inriktning är mot jobbrelaterad migration som beskriver hur turismen som arbetsmarknad i vissa fall lockar till sig inflyttare och i andra fall skapar möjligheter för inflyttare att etablera sig på den lokala arbetsmarknaden. Den andra inriktningen av turismrelaterad migration bygger på platsens specifika förutsättningar som en dragningskraft. I forskning kring inflyttning till fjällorter har platsens naturliga förutsättningar varit i fokus men platsens förutsättningar kan också vara av social karaktär där platsen och dess invånare skapar möjligheter för en önskvärd livsstil.

I takt med att vissa turistdestinationer växer kan en känsla av urbanitet växa fram på landsbygden där rural urbanisering är tanken om att landsbygden i vissa aspekter blir mer lik urbana miljöer. För turistorter kan detta bli mer påtagligt då företagstableringar, turistströmmar och inflyttningar cirkulerar ett globalt kapital vilket gör platserna mer urbana till sin karaktär. Denna tanke öppnar upp för en diskussion kring användandet av mer urbana utvecklingsteorier där framförallt Richard Floridas (2002) teori kring den kreativa klassen har fått stort inflytande. I flera fall har teorin kommit att användas i regionala och kommunala planeringsprocesser både i urbana och rurala miljöer. Detta är problematiskt då teorin har ett tydligt fokus på...
urbana områden vilka, för att lyckas, ska ha ett omfattande humankapital, högteknologisk industri, vara toleranta mot olika grupper av invånare och även ha vissa territoriella tillgångar.

Inom ovan nämnda teoretiska fält har kunskapsluckor återfunnits i litteraturen kring samspelet mellan platsens sociala och naturliga förutsättningar; kring säsongsanställdas relation till varandra och platsen de arbetar i; samt kring användandet av urbana teorier i rurala sammanhang.

Kapitel 3 går igenom de fallstudieorter och metoder som använts. Sälen och Idre i norra Dalarna samt Wanaka i de södra Nya Zeeländska alperna utgör fallstudieorter baserat på deras rurala läge, befolkningsutveckling och strukturen i turistindustrin. Avhandlingen bygger på multipla metoder där huvudfokus ligger på kvalitativa metoder genom semistrukturerade intervjuer med inflyttare, entreprenörer, beslutsfattare och turismanställda samt semistrukturerade gruppintervjuer med säsongsanställda i turistnäringen. Den kvantitativa delen består av beskrivande statistik där den longitudinella individdatabasen "BeDa" (Bergslagsdata) används.

Kapitel 4 ger en summering av artiklarna där artikel I syftar till att studera individers flyttmålböcker för att förklara den sociala aspekten i att inflyttning sker till fjällturistorter. Wanaka, Nya Zeeland, utgjorde fallstudieort i denna artikel där 11 personer, vilka alla hade fylt till Wanaka mellan 2003 och 2009, intervjuades. Turismrelaterad migration studerades i den här artikeln utifrån livsstils- och platsrelaterad migration (i engelsk översättning ’amenity migration’) där det senare är en mer frekvent använd teori för att förklara inflyttning till fjällorter. I den här artikeln argumenteras det dock för att livsstils- och platsrelaterad migration i stor utsträckning är sammanlänkade, framförallt när den mottagande platsen är en turistdestination.

Artikel II syftar till att studera den starka yrkesgemenskap som setts bland turismnäringens säsongsanställda samt hur denna grupp upplever och knyter an till den geografiska plats där de anställda bor och verkar, samt hur de säsongsanställda värderar platsen och gemenskapen i deras vardag och planer för framtid. Nya och återvändande säsongsanställda i Sälen har intervjuats i grupp vid tre tillfällen under vintersäsongen 2010-2011. Det framkom i denna studie att säsongsanställda har en stark yrkesgemenskap som framförallt bygger på social relationer mellan varandra och en sammanhållning av arbete och fritid där boendet med andra säsongsanställda skapade en starkare gemenskap. Det framkom även att de säsongsanställda hade en tvåsida kontakt med platsen. Å ena sidan spelade inte platsen, i det här fallet Sälen, någon större roll för hur de upplevde sin tid där. Sälen för de säsongsanställda var nästan enbart förknippat med sociala relationer till andra säsongsanställda. Å andra sidan skapade den rurala platsen förutsättningar för att gemenskapen skulle kunna växa sig starkare.


I kapitel 5 diskuteras det framkommna resultaten i artiklarna ihop med det övergripande syftet, samt de frågeställningar och teorier som lyfts fram i kappan. Vidare presenteras avhandlingens tre huvudsakliga slutsatser. Den bidrar till litteraturen kring livsstils-relaterad migration som sker inom länder. Denna livsstil påverkas dessutom starkt av platsens naturliga förutsättningar. Avhandlingen belyser också vikten av att studera relationen till platsen i studier av yrkesgemenskaper då dessa gemenskaper är lokaliseraade i miljöer som starkt påverkar yrket. Säsongsanställda utgör en potentiell inflyttsare och denna studie visar att de starka banden mellan de säsongsanställda gör att de får en svag anknytning till den geografiska platsen, snarare får de en stark koppling till andra säsongsanställda som i de flesta fall flyttar ifrån platsen. Avhandlingen omformulerar också teorin om den kreativa klassen. Detta för att överhuvudtaget göra det möjligt att diskutera och applicera teorin på orter som inte är urbana. Slutligen ses avhandlingen utifrån ett policy- och planeringsperspektiv där turism betraktas som positivt för inflytning och säsongsanställda kan vara en möjlig grupp av inflyttare om vikt läggs på att hitta de som har en livsstil där de till stor grad utnyttjar de förutsättningar som platsen ger.


C. M. Hall, & J. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and recreation in rural areas*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.


Marianne Thulemark  *Moved by the mountains*  65


### Appendix 1. List of papers with aim, theory, methods and results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper I</th>
<th>A new life in the mountains: changing lifestyles among in-migrants to Wanaka, New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>To contribute with an understanding of the social aspects of why people move to mountainous tourism destinations by studying individuals' migration motives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theory</strong></td>
<td>Tourism related migration; Lifestyle migration; Amenity migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method/material/study area</strong></td>
<td>- In-depth, semi-structured interviews with in-migrants, year 2009 - Case study in Wanaka, NZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findings</strong></td>
<td>Seasonal tourism workers may constitute an occupational community. There is a twofold attachment to place as the community might grow stronger without getting affected by the place. However, the isolation in this rural setting makes it possible for the community to grow stronger.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper II</th>
<th>Community formation and sense of place among seasonal tourism workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>To investigate how seasonal tourism employees can be analyzed as an occupational community. Further, it studies the ways in which a particular community perceives and connects to its location, as well as the ways in which seasonal tourism workers perceive the role of place and community in their everyday lives and future plans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theory</strong></td>
<td>Occupational community; Meaning of place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method/material/study area</strong></td>
<td>- Focus groups interviews with 'new' and 'experienced' seasonal workers during one season, year 2010/2011 - Case study in Sälen, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findings</strong></td>
<td>Seasonal tourism workers may constitute an occupational community. There is a twofold attachment to place as the community might exist and move around without getting affected by the place. However, the isolation in this rural setting makes it possible for the community to grow stronger.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper III</th>
<th>Creativity in the recreational industry - Re-conceptualization of the Creative Class theory in a tourism-dominated rural area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>To understand the dynamics of regional development in a rural region dominated by tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theory</strong></td>
<td>Creative class; Creative class in a rural context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method/material/study area</strong></td>
<td>- Semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs and in-migrants. - Focus group interviews (see paper II) - Case study areas: the municipalities of Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findings</strong></td>
<td>The basic ideas of a peoples’ climate is fruitful in a rural tourism setting. The theory of the creative class has to be re-conceptualised if used in rural settings. Territorial assets play a significant role in regional development in rural tourism areas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper IV</th>
<th>Tourism employment and creative in-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aim</strong></td>
<td>To analyse tourism employment and its relation to in-migration to Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen, two major rural tourism destinations in the southern Swedish mountains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theory</strong></td>
<td>Migration; Tourism related migration; Creative class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method/material/study area</strong></td>
<td>- Longitudinal, geo-referenced micro-data on individuals; BeDa micro-data (see paper I) - Descriptive statistics derived from BeDa (see paper IV) - Case study areas: Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findings</strong></td>
<td>Large share of in-migrants are employed in tourism. In-migrants constitute a large part of the creative tourism workforce. There are differences between the cases.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Publications in the series
Örebro Studies in Human Geography


