Young adults in rural tourism areas

To Adam and Elisabet

if life was fair you would have been in the acknowledgements

Örebro Studies in Human Geography 10

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Title: Young adults in rural tourism areas

Publisher: Örebro University 2016
www.oru.se/publikationer-avhandlingar

Print: Örebro University, Repro 04/2016

ISBN 978-91-7529-142-0

Abstract

Peter Möller (2016), Young adults in rural tourism areas.
Örebro Studies in Human Geography 10.

This thesis examines how tourism affects conditions for young adults in rural areas. Such a study lies at the intersection of research about tourism impacts, adult transition, and rural areas. The aim is to examine how large-scale tourism affects the opportunities for young adults living in rural areas; their perception of place and the perceived opportunities and obstacles that tourism provides.

The thesis utilizes a mixed method approach. A quantitative study based on micro-data on individuals identifies the patterns and magnitudes of the mechanisms by which tourism affects population change among young adults. Interview methods are used in the case study area, Sälen, to investigate these mechanisms in depth. Finally, the rural–urban dichotomy is explored in a conceptual study that asks how tourism affects the perception of a local village as either rural or urban. Young inhabitants in rural areas are rarely considered in tourism research; therefore, the main contribution of this thesis is that it illuminates how tourism affects conditions for young adults in rural areas.

The thesis reveals a substantial impact on the adult transition, mainly due to easier access to the labor market and a good supply of jobs during the high season. Further, the large number of people passing through creates flows of opportunities to make friends, get a job, or just meet people. All of these factors contribute to high mobility in these places, and to the perception of them as places where things happen. The high mobility in Sälen implies that fixed migrant categories (such as stayers and leavers) are largely insufficient. The tourism environment creates a space that is always under construction and continually producing new social relations mainly perceived as opportunities. Conceptualizing this as a modern rurality is a way to move beyond the often implicit notions of urban as modern and rural as traditional.

Keywords: young adults, adult transition, tourism, rural areas, Sälen, telephone interviews, register study, life history interviews, population change, mobility.

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List of papers

Möller, P. (2012). Young adult transition in a tourism dominated rural area. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 9(4), 429-440.

Möller, P. (2016). Young adults' perceptions of and affective bonds to a rural tourism community. *Fennia*, 194(1), 32-45.

Möller, P. & Amcoff, J. (2016) Can Tourism Reduce the Negative Out-Migration Trend of Rural Young Adults? Submitted 20160325

Möller, P., Thulemark, M. & Engström, C. (2014). Urbanity and rurality in a tourism context: exploring the myth of vivid cities and sleepy villages. In K. Dashper ed. *Rural tourism: an international perspective*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

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Acknowledgements

With just a few days left to the print deadline, I write these words in an attempt to express all the gratitude I feel for those who have contributed. First, I want to thank the Swedish welfare system and the Swedish taxpayers for making my academic career possible at all. My first contacts with the academic world were on Samhällsplanerarlinjen (Urban and Regional Planning Program) at Stockholm University. I found the program, the lecturers, and my fellow students to be very inspiring. Particularly important for my future academic career were the lecturers, Lennart Tonell, Brita Hermelin, and Gunnel Forsberg. Thank you. I also want to thank all my former colleagues at Dalarnas forskningsråd for an inspiring and educative time, and Lars Larsson in particular, not least for nudging me towards Dalarna University.

My colleagues at the Human Geography and Tourism Studies Department certainly contributed to make my nine years at Dalarna University enjoyable, and I want to thank Susanna, Ioanna, Albina, Daniel, Magnus, Jonathan, Helén, Solveig, Tobias, Reza, and Jörgen. My fellow PhD candidates, Christina and Zuzana, have been particularly important for me during my time as a PhD candidate. My advice on how to have a good life as a PhD candidate would be to find someone to share the journey with. I cannot overstate the value of sharing both the happy and the frustrating parts of the work and the sometimes irrational world of academia, thank you, Mija. I also wish to thank my co-author of Paper 3, Jan Amcoff at Uppsala University, for inspiring me to conduct the register study and for being a role model of an excellent researcher. Thomas Niedomysl, Jan Amcoff, and Susanne Stenbacka have read and made valuable comments on previous versions of this thesis, thank you.

Inspiring people, although less directly involved in this thesis, have been the Dalarna University librarian Inge Karlsson for interesting and fun conversations (not least about football) during our coffee breaks. Thank you Gertrud and Anders Rosenberg for proving that you never have to lose curiosity; your approach to life is truly inspiring.

A well-functioning everyday life is a key to performing at work. Many thanks to my extended family in Stockholm – Dosanka, Tomas, Carina, Louise, Johnnie, and Susanne – for always being supportive. Sharing joys and difficulties with someone I grew up with has been inexpressibly valuable to me. Thank you, Jonas. In 2004, I temporarily moved to Falun with my family, and since then our roots have been growing deeper for each year.

Although migration decisions are complex and the reasons behind these decisions are often difficult to identify, certain people have meant a lot for us in our decision to settle and stay in Falun. Our neighbors at Elsborg have been more important for me than I suspect they know, by looking after each other's children, chatting on the street, and for all the good times we had together. Thank you to Ronny, Sara, Anders, Johanna, Christina, Johannes, Johan, Christina, Frida, Liam, Nana, Ola, Anders, and Maria. Another important reason to live in Falun is my extended family here; Malte, Ellinor, Joakim, Urban, and Johanna, thank you. The most important contribution to my well-functioning everyday life is my family. Thank you to Hjalmar, Ines, and Disa for being the most wonderful and inspiring children, and my intelligent, fun, and beautiful wife Fredrika for all your support during my PhD, not least during the last intense weeks of writing this thesis.

Most important for my development as a researcher are my supervisors. You have been inspiring and engaged throughout. I have always had more energy after the thesis supervisions than before, which is the ultimate proof of your excellent supervision. Thank you to Helena Kåks for helping me improve my ability to reflect over and problematize my texts and thinking. Thank you to Mats Lundmark for taking over after Helena and introducing new perspectives on my research, which sometimes made me reconsider my work and sometimes provoked me to improve my arguments. Thank you to Erik Westholm for being so generous and inspiring, and for your advice, scientific input and all fruitful conversations we had during our supervisions. I am sorry you never succeeded to make me start drinking coffee, but since you place high value on integrity and independence, I suspect that you appreciate my decision to stay with tea.

Falun in April 2016

Peter Möller

1 Introduction

The Swedish ski resort of Sälen is very interesting from a geographical perspective: it attracts large numbers of winter tourists in the midst of an otherwise sparsely populated area; many young employees from various parts of Sweden spend a winter there; and it has extraordinary rural service provision, including several grocery stores, restaurants, night clubs, a bowling alley, a movie theater, and indoor wave surfing. Although skiing is the main attraction, Sälen is much more than just a collection of skiing slopes.

Much of Sälen's seasonal workforce consists of young people (Lundmark 2006). This is interesting since many rural areas in Europe have declining and ageing populations, largely due to the out-migration of young adults for educational, employment, and lifestyle reasons. This out-migration is one of several dimensions within a trend of increased mobility. Innovations in transports and communication have amplified people's geographical mobility, both in everyday life and through migration. An historically high degree of movement for jobs, education, holidays, and migration has also added to increased distance in the social networks (Larsen & Urry 2008). There is also the social mobility that follows from extended higher education and the emergence of the welfare state (Berlin et al. 2010). The present thesis examines whether tourism may contribute to rural areas becoming more appealing to young adults as places of residence and counteract the population decline in these age groups. I examined various dimensions of mobility in order to identify how they may contribute to the opportunities to live in peripheral areas, such as earning a living and maintaining a social network. The young adults' choices of where to live are seen as a consequence of how they consider several aspects of perceived and real opportunities in terms of jobs, education, and social life. Migration is emphasized and primarily examined as the result of these choices.

Most migration takes place during the adult transition; that is, the period between youth and establishment in adulthood. The adult transition has increased in duration and complexity in recent decades, which has reinforced out-migration of young adults in rural areas. A larger share of young adults now attends higher education (Berlin et al. 2010; Olofsson & Panican 2012), often in the cities, and traditional rural industries have been declining while urban economies are growing. The rural decline has often been most dramatic in peripheral areas (Hall et al. 2009). This is also a cultural shift, in which the norm has become urban lifestyles associated with

creativity and vitality. The image of "the rural", by contrast, has been increasingly linked to backwardness and stagnation (Hopkins 1998; Pruitt 2006; Forsberg 2001).

In some rural areas, however, tourism succeed in bridging the gap and revitalizing rural labor markets and lifestyles. The growth of tourism in recent decades has been exceptional at a global level, and tourism is seen as one of the few available options in some areas (Sharpley 2002, p. 12). Although tourism has made an undoubted contribution to employment and business opportunities (Easterling 2004; Deery et al. 2012), concerns have been raised that jobs in tourism are insecure, low paid, and low in status, raising questions of livelihood opportunities from a long-term perspective (Mihalič 2002; Tooman 1997; Tosun 2001; Tsundoda & Mendlinger 2009). Also, some studies have reported problems such as economic leakage from the tourism area, the uneven distribution of revenues, and the risk of mono-development in one industry (Mihalič 2002). Therefore, the effects of tourism on local communities are ambiguous. Further, how tourism affects conditions specifically for young adults, who constitute many of the out-migrants from rural areas, has been insufficiently examined. This thesis is at the intersection of research about *tourism impacts, adult transition*, and *rural areas*, as shown in Figure 1.

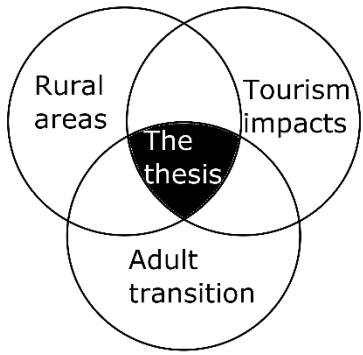

Figure 1. The thesis in relation to the fields of research in focus.

1.1 Aim and research questions

This thesis examines how tourism affects conditions for young adults in rural areas. The adult transition is the life phase in which young people make important decisions about the future, about what to make of their lives and, not least, where to live. Since most migration takes place during the adult transition, this life phase is central when analyzing the effects of tourism. Although education and employment are important for young adults' decisions about their future, other factors also contribute, such as perceptions of places and bonds and attachments to those places. Several studies have identified a strong belief that urban places are better suited to

young adults than rural places (e.g., Svensson 2006; Kåks 2007; Davies 2008; Easthope & Gabriel 2008). From that perspective, understanding how tourism affects a place's image as being rural versus urban in character will advance the analysis of the conditions of rural young adults. Accordingly, I set out to explore the following research questions:

1. How is the adult transition affected by living in a tourism-dominated area?
2. How are young adults' bonds to and perceptions of their childhood place affected by tourism?
3. How is population change among young adults affected by tourism?
4. How does tourism affect the perception of "the rural" in rural areas?

1.2 Outline of the thesis

The research questions have led me to research into tourism and to rural studies related to young adults. Of specific interest are the conditions underlying rural youths' decisions about whether to stay or to migrate. Since most migration takes place during the adult transition, Chapter 2 discusses important concepts of, and previous research on, the adult transition process related to rural areas. The discussion in Chapter 3 is based mainly on previous research on tourism impacts in rural communities, especially concerning young adults. In Chapter 4 I review the research into rural areas, with a specific focus on youth and young adults, and how rural areas are perceived. I present my methodological and philosophical considerations in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 then offers brief summaries of the constituent papers of the thesis; the papers as such are appended later in the thesis. I present my conclusions in Chapter 7.

2 Adult transition

This chapter focuses on how individuals' decisions during the adult transition are shaped by general norms and notions. I review the literature on adult transition and discuss how it can be fruitfully explored to understand social change in rural tourism-dominated areas. Adult markers are widely used in youth research and are especially appropriate for analyzing recent change in the adult transition process. "Life-script" is also a suitable concept for capturing and analyzing this process, and will be utilized with its geographical dimensions. The "yo-yo" metaphor has been used to describe prolonged and complex adult transitions and is highly relevant to this study. Societal changes in employment, education, and individualization – sometimes collectively referred to as modernization – are discussed in relation to the adult transition process.

The concept of a *young adult* has no univocal definition and has been used with various meanings depending on context and purpose. In this thesis, young adults are defined as those people who are older than 18 but are not yet fully established as adults, which often occurs in one's late twenties and early thirties. Young adults are not fully independent of parents or societal support, but have gained civil rights and are entitled to full responsibility by law. They are expected to make their own choices critical to their adult lives.

The adult transition describes a phase in life when an individual leaves youth and enters adulthood. Previous research into the adult transition has concentrated on adult markers, such as completed education, permanent employment, leaving the home of origin, getting married, and becoming a parent for the first time (Shanahan 2000; Furstenberg 2010). As in other stages of life, young adults must relate to norms about what is acceptable during the adult transition (Gubrium et al. 1994; Heggli 2004). In a longitudinal study of 20 youths on the path to adulthood, Kåks (2007) used the "life-script" concept to describe the norms associated with the adult transition. That concept is defined as a standardized sequence of events to which various experiences are related. Kåks identified two dominant life-scripts, one positively charged and one negatively charged. The positively charged life-script includes acquiring an education, traveling, getting established on the labor market, and creating a home before starting a family. According to this life-script, an individual should be able to "move freely and form his or her identity independent of spatial conditions" (Kåks 2007, p. 304); this mobility ideal is further confirmed in other Nordic

studies (Jonsson 2003; Svensson 2006; Wiborg 2003). The expectations to become established as an adult over an extended period are in line with recent increases in educational requirements, which offer an infinite number of challenges and options. Young adults do not generally perceive the notion of mobility as an ideal of success as something that forces them to migrate (Garvill et al. 2002; Svensson 2006). However, the young adults who responded in Svensson's study thought that this ideal affected other youth's decisions but not their own.

The negatively charged life-script includes having children early in life and gaining stable employment instead of education and travel. This life-script is strongly associated with less ambition and, geographically, with small towns and rural areas, while the positively charged life-script is associated with greater ambition and larger cities. Egalitarian relationships are associated with the positively charged life-script (Kåks 2007). However, the respondents did not discuss gender differences to a large extent, which Kåks interprets as an expression of the individualization norm. Although the adult transition has become individualized in recent decades, its associated acts and thoughts are subject to constant reassessment related to dominant time- and place-specific norms. This means that more responsibility is placed on the individual, which can be difficult to cope with, not least because of dependence on available resources, such as economic support from parents (Giddens 1991; Shanahan 2000; Kåks 2007).

An important theme of enquiry in this thesis is the young adults' decisions to stay in or move away from rural areas. Closely related to that decision is the adult transition process, which describes the path from youth to adulthood. The peak age for migration varies between countries, but mostly occurs between the ages of 20 and 29 years (Bell & Muhidin 2009). While the peak migration age has increased over the years, the fact that most migration occurs during the transition from youth to adulthood has remained since pre-industrial times (Boyle et al. 1998). Flows of young adults away from rural areas are larger than those *to* rural areas. In addition, the adult transition itself has changed in recent decades in developed countries. This is a part of a general economic and societal shift that has proven to be specifically challenging for rural areas and smaller cities.

2.1 Adult transition in transition

The complexity of the adult transition has increased significantly in Western nations in recent decades. It now takes considerably longer to get established as an adult than it did only half a century ago. Now, a more linear transition from education to work has been replaced by a period in which young adults oscillate between dependency and autonomy. Biggart and Walther (2006) advocated using the concept of *young adults* rather than *youth* and the metaphor of the *yo-yo transition* to describe the oscillation between adult and youth lives during the adult transition.

Throughout history and during the modernization of societies, significant changes in the adult transition have led to both the standardization and individualization of the life course. Several studies have identified a growing homogenization in the ages of school completion, marriage, parenthood, and establishment on the labor market (Shanahan 2000). Recent decades have seen an increase in the median age of school-leaving and of marriage (Furstenberg 2010). Still, in most Western countries, young women are leaving their parental homes, forming their first unions, marrying, and becoming parents for the first time a few years earlier than are young men (Billari & Wilson 2001). Prolonged education, higher life expectancy, and decreasing child mortality – all markers of our time – are correlated with a narrowing time span of key transition markers. The convergence of adult transition markers was mainly an effect of improved health in the nineteenth century and of an expanded education system in the twentieth (Hogan 1981). Although the adult transition has become more standardized during the twentieth century, some studies have also indicated that it has become more varied since the 1960s (Buchmann 1989; Modell & Goodman 1990). More varied pathways and marker sequences have made the adult transition more individualized. This greater variation is exemplified by the fact that more people are choosing to return to higher education after completing undergraduate education and choosing to mix employment, education, and parenthood (Morris et al. 1998). Economic fluctuations and specific historical events have had a significant effect on the adult transition. The parental age at first birth in the USA increased during the Great Depression, but decreased during the economic boom after World War II (Shanahan 2000). Prospective mothers have been found to plan first births based on their future expectations, strongly influenced by unemployment rates and perceived employment prospects (Rindfuss et al. 1988). Larger birth cohorts have led to individuals prolonging their education due to the greater competition on the labor market (Kåks 2007). Furthermore, gender,

ethnicity, and socioeconomic status have also been proven to affect individual adult transitions (Shanahan 2000). Economic conditions, along with parental will and ability to support their children, are key determinants of the resources available to young adults during the adult transition (Wallace & Kovatcheva 1998).

An important factor underlying the prolonged adult transition is education. The higher education system in Western nations has expanded greatly since the 1960s. Many employers are unwilling to hire young adults who lack educational credentials. Young adults without a completed high-school education have a weak position on the labor market, and a high-school education has recently become more of a basic requirement than a guarantee of a job (Berlin et al. 2010).

In addition to prolonged education, Bradley and Devadason (2008, p. 120) identified "the globalization of work, the de-industrialization of western economies, the spread of ICT [Information and communications technology], the rise of long-term unemployment, the increase in female employment and employers' adoption of flexible strategies" as factors that have a major impact on young adults' working lives. Commentators such as Beck (1992), Baumann (2000), and Giddens (1991) have regarded the adult transition years as marked by insecurity and risk. The paths to adulthood are no longer collectively taken care of, and individuals' responsibility for their own situation is profound. Bradley and Devadason (2008) noted that theories of increasing insecurity have found weak empirical support, and addressed this knowledge gap by exploring the labor market pathways of young adults in Bristol in the United Kingdom. They found that some linear adult transitions still exist – more often for men than women – but that over half of the respondents faced negative economic conditions, such as unemployment or low-paid, low-status, or temporary employment. Regardless of whether or not the labor market is insecure, young adults have accepted and adapted to the new conditions and are generally facing their futures with equanimity. The authors coined the term "the adaptable generation" to describe this mentality.

A further reason for the prolonged adult transition is that most young adults can expect to live for approximately a decade longer than they could 50 years ago. It is more reasonable to invest more time in education when one's expected post-education lifetime is significantly longer. Prolonged education and delayed entrance into the labor market have changed the relationship between young adults and their household of origin. Young adults often do not contribute to household earnings and are often fully or

partially dependent on their parents during their education and before becoming established on the labor market (Berlin et al. 2010).

These educational and working life changes during the adult transition have been affected by and, in turn, have affected cultural changes. In developed countries, an adult transition that spans a decade and occurs in several small steps rather than a single large step from education to work is widely accepted. Since the 1960s, there has also been a shift in sexual practices, with more liberal attitudes towards birth control and sex before marriage, making the need to marry because of unexpected pregnancy less common than before the 1960s (Berlin et al. 2010).

2.2 Changing conditions on the Swedish labor market

The economic recession in Sweden in the 1990s substantially changed conditions on the labor market, which contributed to the transformation of the adult transition. Unemployment among youths and young adults (20–35 years old) was three times higher following the economic recession of the mid-1990s than it had been before (Statistics Sweden 2005). Unlike in older age groups, this rate has remained high (SOU 2011:11). Unemployment in Sweden was below the EU average before the 1990s in all age groups. Since then, employment has recovered in all age groups except the 15–24-year group and the unemployment rate is now near the EU average. However, unemployment among those 15–24-year-olds has remained higher in Sweden than the EU average after the 1990s (SOU 2011:11),[1] although a decreasing trend has been seen in recent years (Larsson 2016). Most unemployment in Sweden among the 15–24-year-old group occurs during several short periods, indicating that it is an effect of problems entering the labor market and is characteristic of the *yo-yo transition*, and does not mean that young adults are becoming trapped in longer unemployment periods (SOU 2011:11). Temporary employment has increased in all age groups since the 1990s recession, but most markedly in the 20–24-year age group (Statistics Sweden 2005). Over half of jobs among those aged 15–24 are temporary, compared to approximately 10 percent among those aged 25–54 (SOU 2011:11). Temporary employment may be a stepping stone to permanent employment, but that is more frequent in some categories than others. Men who are aged 25–44 years old and better

[1] This comparison refers to EU15, which comprises Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

educated are more likely to obtain permanent employment after a period of temporary employment than women who are aged 15–24 and less educated. Seasonal and temporary employees are at risk of constituting a permanent buffer for employers' varying demand for workers. The proportion of temporary employment is largest in the low-paid service jobs in the hotel and restaurant businesses, constituting 40 percent of total employment (Håkansson 2001; Broman & Larsson 2015).

The adult transition has become prolonged and more complex than it was a few decades ago. Young adults in Sweden generally have a weaker position on the labor market than they did before the economic recession in the 1990s. Since jobs within tourism are often temporary, the general conditions on the labor market for young adults have become more similar to those of tourism, in the sense that there are fewer permanent year-round jobs. Generally, higher educational requirements on the labor market represent a disadvantage for peripherally located rural areas, which lack higher education institutions. A key area of interest in the present study is to examine how the changing adult transition is expressed in tourism-dominated rural areas.

3 Tourism impacts on local communities

This thesis concentrates on how tourism affects rural young adult inhabitants and their adult transition. Several economic and social effects of tourism on local (rural) communities have been identified. This chapter discusses some of these effects, specifically those relevant to young inhabitants. Employment opportunities are of particular interest, as some young adults leave rural areas because of their limited career prospects. Given that depopulation is a challenge facing many rural areas, research into the relationship between tourism and population change is also presented in this chapter.

Research into the impact of tourism on local communities has been conducted since the 1960s and has undergone several developmental stages (Ap 1992; Deery et al. 2012). Early work focused on economic and mainly positive impacts (Mathieson & Wall 1982) and, especially in rural and peripheral areas, on the ability of tourism to spur economic development as a possible response to declining employment in traditionally rural activities (Hall et al. 2009). Employment opportunities are crucial for those in the adult transition process striving to become established on the labor market. Some studies have reported that tourism employment can be disadvantageous in many respects, being seasonal, low-paid, and offering limited career opportunities (Mihalič 2002; Tooman 1997; Tosun 2001; Tsundoda & Mendlinger 2009). In a life-course context, however, tourism employment may be approached differently. Proponents of temporary employment often claim that it constitutes a stepping stone to permanent employment. Whether this is really the case is an important question when examining labor markets with a high proportion of temporary employment (Håkansson 2001). Furthermore, the expectations and demands of an individual with 10–15 years of labor market experience, with a mortgage on a house and a family to provide for, differ from those of an individual still living in his or her parents' house, having recently finished high school and looking for his or her first full-time employment. Although entering the labor market is an important step for young adults, the importance of taking the last steps into adulthood, of which a permanent job is a crucial part, should not be underestimated.

The 1970s saw a shift away from an emphasis of the positive economic impacts of tourism towards an increasingly critical examination of its negative impacts from the environmental, social, and cultural perspectives. Several studies examined how traditional societies changed negatively in a

modernization process accelerated by a growing tourism industry. Since then, detailed studies on the impacts of tourism on communities have reported both positive and negative effects (Wu 2012).

Although some research has looked at young travelers, surprisingly few studies have examined young residents in tourism destinations (Canosa 2014). Young inhabitants have been identified as being more receptive to tourism impacts (e.g., Mathieson & Wall 1982; Tovar & Lockwood 2008; Tsundoda & Mendlinger 2009). Canosa (2014, p. 121) argued that "their coping skills and resilience are important issues for both the sustainability of the community in which they live and indeed the economic sustainability of the tourism industry on which the community depends." Canosa distinguished between tourism-impact studies in which young people are treated as a demographic category, but are not the focus of the study, and studies that focus on young people and sometimes give them voice; Canosa also called for more studies emphasizing young residents. Given that the focus is on the adult transition, tourism's implications for this life phase will be emphasized in the further survey of the field.

3.1 Economic and social impacts

The economic contributions of tourism are often regarded as crucial for local communities. Increased employment and local business opportunities, increased infrastructure spending, increased public service spending, and a general improvement of the local economy are among the most reported contributions of tourism (Easterling 2004; Deery et al. 2012).

As I discuss in Chapter 4.4, young adults' decisions about their future are based on real and perceived opportunities, which is why their perception of the effects from tourism is relevant. Although few studies have specifically focused on young adults, this group has been found to have a substantially more positive attitude towards the economic impacts of tourism than other age groups; this finding is related to the increased tourism-related employment opportunities (Haralambopoulos & Pizam 1996; Huh & Vogt 2007). Although decreased out-migration of young adults has been reported in connection with the growth of tourism-related business (Haralambopoulos & Pizam 1996), studies have also reported dissatisfaction with limited employment prospects among educated people, with out-migration as a consequence (Brunt & Courtney 1999). Several studies have identified concerns among local residents about unsecure, low-paid, low-status jobs (e.g. Tooman 1997; Tosun 2001). Tsundoda and Mendlinger (2009) expressed concern that the young adult residents of

Peterborough, New Hampshire, in the United States, experienced uncertainty about their future there because of low salaries and insecure employment, combined with increased prices. However, the positive attitude to tourism's economic impacts among young adults indicates that they are less sensitive to insecure, low-paid, and low-status employment than are older age groups.

Although tourism research often emphasizes the economic impacts of tourism, social impacts may also have a significant impact on the local community. Among the reported positive social impacts are opportunities to meet new people; increased understanding and tolerance of differences (Milman & Pizam 1988; Sharma et al. 2008); higher-standard public facilities; and increased shopping, entertainment, and recreation supply (Fredline 2002; Easterling 2004; Deery et al. 2012). While these social impacts may seem ordinary, they correspond closely to the disadvantages of rural areas reportedly perceived by resident young adults. However, because few studies have concentrated on the specific conditions for young adults, more knowledge about how these social impacts affect young adults is needed. The reported negative social impacts include traffic congestion, crime, and reduced community character (Easterling 2004; Andereck et al. 2005; Deery et al. 2012), all of which raises the question of how "the rural" can remain in rural tourism-dominated areas.

3.2 Tourism and population change

The relationship between tourism development and population change is widely accepted, although few studies have dealt with this specific subject in a comprehensive manner. Beale and Johnson (1998) created a methodology for identifying nonmetropolitan counties in the US that had significant concentrations of recreational activity – something that several researchers had identified a need for. Their definition was based on employment and income from recreational businesses, such as entertainment, hotels, and seasonal and recreational housing, which led to the identification of 285 such counties. These counties experienced more positive population change than did other counties, largely driven by in-migration. English et al. (2000) used a different definition, taking account of the proportion of tourism employment that served local residents and non-recreational visitors. They identified 338 tourism-dependent counties, 156 of which were the same as in Beale and Johnson's (1998) study. Although these 156 counties were identified as the most dependent on tourism, all 338 tourism-dependent counties displayed faster population

growth than did other counties. Furthermore, the workforce in tourism-dependent counties was better educated and had higher mean incomes. These higher incomes contradict the findings of other studies that tourism employment is low-paid, and the authors suggested that such incomes could be an effect of amenity-seeking in-migrants bringing high incomes with them. This is further examined in a study of in-migration in two Swedish ski resorts, where in-migrants had higher wages and more formal education than non-migrants, being overrepresented in leading/professional occupations (Thulemark et al. 2014). One possible explanation for this phenomenon could be that the in-migrants are established adults and low-paid employment often concerns youth and young adults, which further calls for specific analyses of how tourism affect the adult transition. Several studies have identified a shift from resource-extractive industries and agriculture towards a modern service-oriented economy in tourism-dominated areas (McGranahan 1999; Rasker & Hansen 2000; Lorah & Southwick 2003). McGranahan (1999) concluded that nonmetropolitan counties that had numerous natural amenities had higher population growth than other counties, and that many recreational counties had many natural amenities, indicating that amenities are beneficial, but not a requirement, for recreational activities. Most studies of the relationship between population change and tourism in a European context are case studies. Getz (1986) found that tourism had substantial effects on population change in the Scottish highlands, although the effects were limited in geographical range; this point has also been recognized elsewhere (Kauppila & Rusanen 2009). Population size is affected by tourism, but so is the population structure in terms of both gender and age (Getz 1986; Peace 1989). Several communities have seen the average age of their population decrease as a result of tourism development (Lasanta et al. 2007; Kauppila 2011; Getz 1986). Such population increases have often proved to be an effect of increased in-migration rather than decreased out-migration (Beale & Johnson 1998; Getz 1986; Lundmark 2006).

Research on tourism impacts clearly shows that tourism may substantially affect local communities. While tourism has positive economic impacts, concerns have been raised about leakages from or uneven distribution within local communities. The social impacts often imply a modernization dimension whereby the scale of the impacts relates to cultural and economic differences between tourists and locals. Several communities have experienced a positive population change following the growth of tourism; however, the geographical range of those effects has

been proven to be limited. Further, examinations of how tourism impacts affect young adults are rare.

4 The significance of "the rural"

This chapter explores rural areas as an empirical category in geographical research. Rural young adults live under different conditions and have other experiences than their urban counterparts. The specific conditions for youth and young adults in rural areas are presented here in order to identify those aspects that may be affected by tourism. Employment and education are often reported as reasons for young adults to leave rural areas. However, decisions about whether to remain in or move away from rural areas are also rooted in how these places are perceived and in young adults' bonds to them. Stereotypical notions of rural areas will be discussed and related to the urban norm according to which rural areas are inferior to urban areas, especially for young adults. The often implicit notions of rural areas as being traditional influence our perception of rural areas, which is why modern/urban versus traditional/rural is a key distinction that will be further examined in this chapter.

A specific focus on rural areas is based on the notion that these areas differ from urban areas. Increased mobility has led to urban and rural cultures and lifestyles being much more similar to each other than they were just a few decades ago. Still, rural areas share certain features that distinguish them from urban areas, justifying the use of rurality as an empirical category in politics, planning, and research.

4.1 Defining "the rural"

The many definitions of rural can be distinguished from each other by (1) using statistical measures of population size and density or (2) using various socioeconomic variables. Public organizations often operationalize the definition of rural in order to identify rural areas; for example, as a basis for support systems to determine what areas will and will not get resources in the interest of equity and fairness (Harrington & O'Donoghue 1998).

The criteria that organizations use to define rural areas are somewhat controversial, as different criteria result in different proportions of populations and areas being considered rural. Definitions vary between and sometimes even within countries. The former Swedish National Rural Development Agency (in Swedish, *Glesbygdsverket*) established a definition based on the distance to the nearest town or city with at least 3000 inhabitants. These towns and cities and their environs were considered urban, while areas with a traveling time from such urban areas of between five and 45 minutes were defined as rural areas near urban settings, and

areas more than 45 minutes' traveling time from such areas were defined as sparsely populated areas (Glesbygdsverket 2008). This definition was further developed by the Swedish Agency for Growth Policy Analysis (in Swedish, *Tillväxtanalys*) by measuring the traveling time to urban agglomerations of five different sizes, creating an accessibility index with five categories (Swedish Agency for Growth Policy Analysis 2010). This definition is further described in Paper 3. The OECD's definition of rural areas is municipalities with fewer than 150 inhabitants per square kilometer. According to Statistics Sweden's definition of rural (inhabitants outside urban agglomerations with at least 200 inhabitants with less than 200 meters between their houses), approximately 15 percent of the Swedish population lives in rural areas, compared with 70 percent according to the OECD definition (Glesbygdsverket 2008; Svanström 2015).

During the twentieth century, many researchers sought to find a solid definition of rural. In Sweden in the 1950s, Gerd Enequist argued for a definition based solely on population size and density. Other researchers developed definitions where different economic and social criteria are included. Sorokin and Zimmerman created a rural index in 1929 that was later adapted for other European countries. That index included the share of employment in agriculture and other primary sectors and households with central heating and bathrooms (Amcoff 2000). In this thesis, I make a distinction between definitions of and notions about rural areas. When discussing definitions of rural areas, I am interested in distance and density; that is, how sparse populations and settlements affect the conditions for the (young adult) inhabitants in various perspectives. Notions about rural areas are important for young adults' decisions about their future, but are not strictly connected to the rural areas, as defined above. Therefore, I make a distinction between rural (as defined by density) and "the rural" (notions about features in rural areas). Amcoff (2000) identified a distinction between rural sociology and rural geography and argued that rural geography can be at the intersection of different disciplines and perspectives. Social representations of the rural may be one of many perspectives in rural geography.

The chosen definition clearly has implications for how the countryside is perceived. Some researchers have argued that a universal definition would constrain the analysis, since emerging tools and data make it possible to create definitions suited for specific purposes, and a flexible definition can be used as an analytical instrument: rural indices can be seen as tools that researchers can use to illuminate specific aspects of the rural (Amcoff 2000;

Westholm 2008). I share this view and therefore make a distinction between rural areas and notions about rural areas in the papers. In Paper 3, the accessibility index developed by the Swedish Agency for Growth Policy Analysis (described above) is used to make comparisons of population change in areas sharing similar conditions (such as service provision, labor market, supply of education). In the case study of Sälen, a strict statistical rural definition has not been applied since the focus is on the notions of the "rural". The respondents in Sälen describe the area as (mostly) rural. However, due to its large number of visiting tourists during peak season, Sälen is sometimes claimed to be the largest city in Dalarna County (e.g. Joffer 2013; Johansson 2012; Schmidt 2012), and some inhabitants describe Sälen in urban terms (see Paper 4). These claims and the underlying arguments are further examined to investigate whether Sälen is perceived as rural or urban.

4.2 Notions of "the rural"

Regardless of how rural or urban areas are defined, stereotypical notions are common in the field. Scott et al. (2007) have listed a range of such notions in several dimensions, all of which affect and are affected by people's perception of rural and urban areas (*Table 1*).

Dimension	Urban	Rural
Economy	Secondary and tertiary sectors dominant	Primary-industry sector and supporting activities dominant
Employment	Manufacturing, construction, administration, and services	Agriculture, forestry, and other primary-industry occupations
Education	Higher than national average	Lower than national average
Services accessibility	High	Low
Information accessibility	High	Low
Sense of community	Low	High
Demographics	Low fertility and mortality	High fertility and mortality
Political views	Liberal and radical elements more strongly represented	Conservative, resistant to change
Ethnicity	Varied	White
Migration	High; generally net in-migration	Low; generally net out-migration

Table 1. Stereotypical notions of urban and rural places; adapted from Scott et al. (2007, p. 4).

Although these notions are derived from UK sources, they effectively illustrate notions about rural places in Sweden as well (Kåks 2007; Svensson 2006). It is important to note that the notions may or may not be more or

less consistent at various rural locations, and are problematic not at least in relation to a view of rural areas as heterogeneous (Forsberg 1996; Cloke & Milbourne 1992). Although it is just one source among many, marketing is a powerful voice and important as both an indicator and manipulator of values and ideas (Bunce 1994). Marketing of rural areas often emphasizes differences from urban areas to attract urban customers, where "the rural is represented as some place other than urban, as some time other than the present, as some experience other than the norm" (Hopkins 1998, p. 78). An examination of rural representations among second-home-owners and in the media related to second homes in Finland found that the traditional and the wild were emphasized, and that rural life differed from urban life (Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen 2010). Stenbacka (2011) analyzed representations of rural masculinity in three Swedish television productions and concluded that rural men were presented as unequal, incapable, and deviant compared to urban men. Although notions about Swedish rural areas as being traditional and unequal exist among rural inhabitants, they have proven to be more complex, as both traditional and modern gender practices exist in rural areas (Stenbacka 2001). Eriksson (2010, p. 102) identified how filmmakers, intentionally or otherwise, use "certain principles to evoke feelings and emotions toward characters according to values we are expected to share". The audience is supposed to share values and identify themselves with some of the characters in the movie, categorized as "we". Other characters, with traditional and primitive values, are the "others" with whom the audience is not supposed to identify. These categories have historical, political, and geographical connotations, the middle class being represented in urban areas and the working class in rural areas. It is inferred that the rural citizens of Western economies do not fit in with modern society. Hence, the backward image of the periphery plays an important role in manifesting the distinction between the modern and the traditional (Eriksson 2010).

4.3 Modern rurality

Cities have long been regarded as more modern than rural areas, which are often seen as conservative and traditional (Claval 2007; Forsberg 2001). Several studies have used the *urban norm* concept to describe the urban as the dominant social modernistic project and the rural as divergent (Hopkins 1998; Pruitt 2006; Forsberg 2001). This is not equivalent to the view of the rural as being necessarily bad. The traditional rural setting is often seen as

a place for more natural living, in a positive sense, and sometimes even as a "lost paradise" or rural idyll (Halfacree 1993; Forsberg 2001).

In recent decades, the social and cultural rural–urban convergence has intensified, at the same time as the differences between rural areas and between urban areas are increasingly being recognized. Several researchers have argued against the use of urban and rural as dichotomies (e.g. Hoggart 1990; Kūle 2008). Paper 4 further recognizes the risk of understanding the urban as implicitly modern and the rural as implicitly traditional, and advocates a two-dimensional continuum, with rural–urban as one dimension and traditional–modern the other. This model spurs reflection on a place's rurality or urbanity while defining how traditional or modern it is. Modernity is an ambiguous and highly contested concept. The Dictionary of Human Geography describes modernity as being "synonymous with change and thus becomes a declared enemy of traditions" (Gregory et al. 2009). In the present thesis, modern is defined as openness to change as it is not necessarily the change itself that is of interest but the preparedness to reject old customs and traditions. Massey's definition of space as always under construction emphasizes place as dynamic (Massey 2005, p. 9). A high degree of modern rurality in Sälen is identified in Paper 4, but it would be impossible to place Sälen in the two-dimensional continuum model due to Massey's definition.

Williams and Kaltenborn (2000) referred to "research on community, home, migration and tourism as infused by outdated assumptions of a geographically rooted subject." The movement of people is part of life and not "a special and temporary phenomenon." Based on these assumptions, tourists are often described as being "more modern" than locals because they are on the move and the locals are not. Most people are both locals and tourists (not simultaneously), although they are tourists to varying degrees.

4.4 Rural youth

Here, the central rural theme is how youth and young adults experience obstacles and opportunities in relation to their past, present, and potential future in a rural area. Societal changes (for example, in employment and education), as well as societal norms and notions, affect their relationship with the rural area in which they grew up.

Declining employment in traditionally rural activities, such as agriculture, forestry, and fishing (Hall et al. 2009), and higher educational requirements in an expanded higher education system (Berlin et al. 2010;

Olofsson & Panican 2012) in recent decades are among the societal changes that have had the greatest influence on rural youth. Kirkpatrick Johnson, Elder and Stern (2005) examined rural adolescents' residential preferences in relation to their future plans. The perceived local job opportunities proved important for how these adolescents valued the opportunity to live near their home community and families, while adolescents with future plans for higher education proved less attached to their families and community. Residential attachments were stronger in junior high school than in twelfth grade, which indicates adaptation to the educational and economic reality that many of these students will need to migrate for higher education and employment. These weakened attachments also indicate that these adolescents are approaching adulthood and are more likely to have started constructing their adult lives. Davies (2008, p.170) analyzed declining in-migration to Australian rural communities in relation to youth from urban and rural backgrounds, and concluded that:

> [the] results indicated that willingness to move to rural areas by this group is strongly influenced by perceptions of social and employment opportunities, irrespective of whether or not such perceptions have any basis in reality.

These two studies illuminate that although educational and employment opportunities are important, the perception of these opportunities – real or not – lay the foundation for decisions made by individuals. Residential attachment seems flexible and is strongly influenced by the individuals' expectations about their future in general.

Jones (1999) raised a note of caution regarding an excessive emphasis on structural disadvantages when analyzing rural youth out-migration, instead stressing the role of agency. In addition to limited educational and employment opportunities, the sparse populations of rural areas have other implications for rural youth. Crockett et al. (2000) reported less diversity among students in rural schools than in urban settings, limited choice of peers in rural schools, and a generally more constraining milieu for youth who do not fit into the conventional mold. A sense of isolation (National Youth Bureau 1990), limited social networking opportunities (Phillips & Skinner 1994), and a claustrophobic local community (Ní Laoire 2000; Stockdale 2002) have also been reported as perceived obstacles. However, an increasing trend of mobility has affected the opportunities to live in rural areas. Information and communications technology (ICT) has facilitated the efforts to maintain a widespread social network (Ellison et al. 2007; Wilken 2011), and the transport system has been improved to extend daily mobility,

most importantly with regard to commuting (Bærenholdt & Granås 2008). At the same time, this increased mobility has resulted in extended social networks and increased knowledge about other places, which may facilitate migration (Larsen & Urry 2008).

There seems to be an assumption in many rural areas that young adults who leave such areas are more successful than those who choose to stay. Easthope and Gabriel (2008, p. 176) described a "migration culture" in Tasmania, Australia, in which it was considered normal for young adults to leave the state, and in which the "best and brightest" were required to out-migrate to make the best of their educational and employment opportunities. This migration culture persisted through periods with flourishing economy and employment opportunities, indicating that migration decisions are not based solely on education and employment prospects. Ní Laoire's (2000) examination of Irish rural out-migration found that job offers and university courses served as triggers for migration, but that the decision to out-migrate was often made long before these triggers became relevant. In their research into towns outside Swedish metropolitan areas, both Svensson (2006) and Kåks (2007) identified the perception that out-migrants are more successful than those who choose to stay. A mobile life as an ideal of success is further confirmed by Jonsson (2003). Several studies have reported that young women have fewer opportunities and less desire than young men to remain in their rural communities of origin (Dahlström 1996; Waara 1996; Alston 2004; Rye 2006), although the gender difference is often small and we are cautioned not to overemphasize gender differences in rural migration research (Rye 2006). Further, young women often leave rural areas at younger ages than young men, although this difference decreases over time (Lundmark 2009).

There is also a temporal dimension to young residents' relationships with rural areas. Rural childhoods are often described in positive terms, unlike the life phases of late teens and young adult, which are often described in more negative terms, sometimes using the "rural dull" concept (Glendinning et al. 2003; Rye 2006; Möller 2012).

The urban norm is strong, especially in the young adult life phase. This norm is partly based on notions about urban areas as being more appropriate for young adults and partly because of material or perceived disadvantages with rural areas. The former notion can involve a lack of jobs or education and the latter can be related to an experienced isolation or a sense that not much is happening. Both kinds of disadvantage may be

affected by tourism, by providing jobs and increasing the number of people in the place, at least temporarily.

5 Methodological framework

In this thesis, the influence of different notions and norms on young adults' decisions (such as the life-scripts described in Chapter 2), and the perception of rural areas (for example, the stereotypes and notions described in Chapter 4) is of specific interest. Seemingly irrational decisions may be explained by individuals striving to fit into society by adapting to these notions and norms. Since these perceptions are examined from various perspectives at various geographical scales, critical realism forms a philosophical basis of this thesis.

A central tenet of critical realism is that reality exists, regardless of whether or not we study it. Some of this reality is not directly observable, but consists of structures that influence what happens in the social world. This is captured by dividing reality into three levels: the real, the actual, and the empirical. The *real* reality comprises the unobservable structures that affect the *actual* (and observable) reality. The *empirical* reality comprises our observations of the actual reality. Real reality contains structures to which certain specific mechanisms are linked; these mechanisms exist latently, regardless of whether their forces are triggered. Whether they are triggered depends on whether certain specific circumstances are met, but they can also be blocked by forces linked to other structures (Hansen & Simonsen 2007).

Theories are not primarily about being able to generalize and find regularities, but about describing the structures and mechanisms (Sayer 1992) that, under certain specific conditions, produce empirical phenomena – that is, "events" – that we can observe (Hansen & Simonsen 2007). These theories describe the research process in critical realism as a creative theoretical process in which the researcher uses conceptual analyses and thought experiments as means to find the best explanations of complex phenomena in their concrete geographical/historical contexts. Thus, the critical realist does not seek generalizations and regularities; instead, the aim is to find the causes of change (events) and to describe the unobservable objects (or structures) whose causal mechanisms create those observable events.

Critical realism does not guide the researcher to a specific research method, which should be chosen depending on the nature of the research object and what the researcher wants to learn about it (Sayer 2000). There is a difference between extensive and intensive research methods. The former is a way to identify regularities and patterns in shared attributes, but

not their underlying causes. The latter focuses on individuals (for example, people and institutions) as well as their causal relationships and qualitative nature. Sayer (2000, p. 20) claimed that "extensive research shows us mainly how extensive certain phenomena and patterns are in a population, while intensive research is primarily concerned with what makes things happen in specific cases." Although Sayer clearly rates intensive research more highly than extensive research due to its explanatory thrust, he admits that both methods have complementary strengths and weaknesses, keeping the door open to using a combination of both methods.

The research underlying Papers 1, 2, and 4 was conducted with what Sayer (2000) defined as intensive research methods, involving life-history interviews and telephone interviews guided by a case study approach. My aim was to identify the mechanisms by which tourism affects the adult transition and place perception in Sälen. Paper 3 was created based on an extensive research method with the aim of identifying patterns and magnitudes of the mechanisms by which tourism affects population change. The paper does identify a difference between tourism-dominated areas (TDAs) and non-TDAs, as well as the size and some characteristics of this difference, but not the causes of the various patterns of population change. Sayer (2000, p. 21) recognized the strengths of extensive research in identifying "the regularities, common patterns, distinguishing features of a population" and, furthermore, in evaluating the distribution or representation of "certain characteristics or processes." Hence, the emphasis in this thesis is on intensive research, where Papers 1, 2, and 4 investigate in depth the mechanisms identified in Paper 3.

5.1 Mixed methods

The use of combined research methods is also discussed in the literature, with specific focus on the choice of research methods, where it is labeled "mixed methods". Some researchers claim that qualitative and quantitative methods are based on different paradigms concerning "reality (ontology), knowledge of that reality (epistemology), and the particular ways of knowing that reality (methodology)" (Sale et al. 2002, p. 44). According to this view, the quantitative paradigm is linked to positivism, and the researcher and the object of study are two independent entities; that is, the researcher is capable of conducting research without influencing the results. The qualitative paradigm is based on interpretations seeing reality as mainly being socially constructed, in constant change, and characterized by multiple truths that exist in parallel (Sale et al. 2002). Others have claimed

that reality exists independently of humans, but can be difficult to capture because individuals perceive it in different ways (Sayer 1992); the researcher accordingly conducts research in co-operation with the research object. Some researchers have argued that mixed-methods research is often chosen without considering its philosophical implications (Sale et al. 2002). Others have claimed that mixed-methods research is a pragmatic choice and an attempt to include various views, perspectives, and standpoints aligned with both qualitative and quantitative paradigms, with the aim of utilizing the strengths and minimizing the weaknesses of both (Johnson et al. 2007). Sale et al. (2002) claimed that it is impossible to combine qualitative and quantitative methods due to their different philosophical paradigms. If the same concept is used in a study including both paradigms, it will still have different meanings and refer to different things. In the quantitative paradigm, a concept represents an objective reality, while the same concept represents just one interpretation of reality in the qualitative paradigm. Sale et al. (2002, p. 50) concluded that mixed-methods research is feasible, but emphasized the importance of distinguishing the uses of a single concept in both paradigms.

Critical realism does not exclude the use of quantitative methods; however, studies based on critical realism have implications for how the studies are designed and what conclusions can be drawn from them. This matter is discussed further in the chapter on register data analysis.

Mixed-methods research can be used for various purposes. Triangulation is one way of increasing the validity of results by using several different methods to approach a phenomenon from various perspectives (e.g. Campbell & Fiske 1959; Webb et al. 1966). Triangulation can be either simultaneous or sequential. The former describes the use of qualitative and quantitative methods with limited interaction in which the results of the two methods are complementary. The latter describes research in which the results of one method are used when planning a study using the other method (Morse 1991). Findings from qualitative interviews can be further examined using quantitative methods to assess the generalizability of specific findings. Qualitative interviews may extend the knowledge gained from quantitative findings about why a certain phenomenon is occurring (Johnson et al. 2007).

In the present thesis, I applied a simultaneous mixed-methods research approach. I used various methods to examine the same phenomenon, but from different perspectives and at different geographical levels. In Paper 1, the life-history interviews with young adult inhabitants who had grown up

in Sälen were used to achieve a thorough understanding of the adult transition in that place. The life-history interviews covered a wide range of subjects related to the respondents' past, present, and future in Sälen and also gave them opportunities to raise subjects on their own. Paper 2 is based on telephone interviews, with the purpose of extending the analysis from Paper 1 and including migrants and return migrants in addition to stayers. My focus was on young adults' perceptions of and affective bonds to a tourism-dominated rural area. The telephone interviews were structured with some open-ended questions, but the interviews were shorter and more focused on a few subjects than the interviews used in Paper 1. In Paper 3, data from the Swedish population register were used to examine whether tourism-dominated areas in Sweden experience more positive population change than other areas. Paper 4 is a theoretical analysis of in-depth interviews with inhabitants, entrepreneurs, and politicians, and of focus group interviews with seasonal workers conducted in three research projects yielding various perspectives on rurality and urbanity in a rural tourism context.

5.2 Life-history interviews

An essential element of life-history research is its concentration on individuals and their stories about how they understand their lives and why they act as they do. Various fields within this approach have somewhat different foci and motives. A great deal of post-structural and postmodern life-history research highlights the importance of giving a "voice" to certain categories of people overlooked in previous research. It can also entail involving the researched individuals in designing the research process (Hatch & Wisniewski 1995). In the present thesis, I applied Bertaux's (1981) life-history approach, in which he argued that sociology (or social sciences in general) must go beyond each individual's perception of the world and say something about society at large. The inhabitants of Sälen are aware of conditions and rules that apply in their immediate surroundings, but have less of a general and comprehensive perspective, for example, that allows them to relate the effects of tourism to rural areas and to the adult transition. When a researcher uses individual life histories, the intention is not only to obtain information about events and experiences, but also to relate these events and experiences to a larger comprehensive societal whole; that is, to conduct a scientific analysis. In this approach, every life history advances the understanding of a specific network of social relationships. However, Bertaux (1981) rejected the positivistic motive of

finding (predictable) social laws, instead emphasizing the motive of clarifying the historical development of social relationships. Hatch and Wisniewski (1995, p. 113) claimed that life-history approaches "offer exciting alternatives for connecting the lives and stories of individuals to the understanding of larger human and social phenomena."

Paper 1 uses what Kohler Riessman (2008) called thematic analysis. A thematic life-history analysis concentrates on *what* has been told, and less on how and in what situation it is told. The interview situation is clearly important, and the researcher asking about the young adults' lives is a co-creator of their stories. However, the present analysis does not focus on that. The analytical themes are based partly on previous research in the field and partly chosen from the interview data. The working life theme is central to the adult transition process, as revealed by previous research, while another theme – namely, mobility in Sälen – emerged during the process of transcribing and analyzing the interviews; the outline of Paper 1 is based on those two themes. Another key aspect of the analysis of the adult transition is turning points. Bruner (2001) described turning points as significant changes in individuals' lives. Adult transition research often emphasizes markers, some of which can be seen as turning points. Leaving school, getting a job, getting married, and having children are some of the turning points of becoming an adult. These turning points put youth and young adults in a position in which they must make decisions about how these events should be handled. For young people in rural areas (such as Sälen), these turning points often have spatial dimensions, meaning that these people must decide whether to leave their place of origin.

Tsundoda and Mendlinger (2009) examined the perceived impacts that tourism has on the lives of people from the small New England town of Peterborough. They found that the inhabitants' "emphasis of increasing prices combined with low salaries and unsustainable jobs created by tourism may be a warning sign that a segment of Peterborough's population, especially the young, may no longer view Peterborough as their future and perceive tourism as a catalyst for creating an affluent/tourists oriented community" (p. 68). In a life-history approach, the concern about the future would have been expressed by respondents rather than indirectly by the authors. If the study had focused on the inhabitants and not the tourism business, a life-history perspective would have contributed to a comprehensive view of future opportunities for young adults.

In Paper 1, 13 young adult inhabitants who grew up in Sälen were interviewed. This sample of respondents was based on a purposive selection

method, described by Hennink et al. (2011, p. 85) as "both deliberate and flexible," undertaken by selecting "people who have specific characteristics or experience of the study topic and can provide detailed understanding of the research issues." The purposive selection was conducted based on the respondents' sex and whether they were at the beginning, middle, or end of the adult transition process. In a process sometimes referred to as snowball recruitment or chain sampling, the chosen respondents were asked about other potential respondents they knew of (Hennink et al. 2011), some of whom were chosen for additional interviews based on the above categories. Further interviews were conducted until information saturation was achieved. Although information saturation has often been recommended as a way to determine the sample size in studies using purposive sampling, there are few descriptions of how to determine when information saturation has been reached (Guest et al. 2006). There is no universal theory regarding to the number of respondents required to achieve information saturation, but Guest et al. (2006) conducted an experiment in an interview study based on sixty interviews with open-ended questions in which 90 percent of all themes and much of the variation were found after only 12 interviews. With a carefully selected sample of respondents who share certain key experiences, small samples have been proven to be efficient in achieving information saturation (Guest et al. 2006).

5.3 Telephone interviews

The use of telephone interviews (Paper 2) is much more common in quantitative than qualitative research (Novick 2008). Telephone interviews are often considered to be an alternative to face-to-face interviews (e.g. Sturges & Hanrahan 2004; Novick 2008; Irvine et al. 2012) due to reported advantages such as lower costs (Bourque & Fielder 2003), larger geographical coverage (Sturges & Hanrahan 2004), the ability of respondents to remain in a comfortable home setting (McCoyd & Kerson 2006), and privacy (Sturges & Hanrahan 2004). The disadvantages of this method compared with face-to-face interviews are a possible lack of telephone coverage (Carr & Worth 2001), lack of visual cues (Garbett & McCormack 2001), and the widely reported shortcoming that telephone interviews must be shorter than face-to-face interviews (Garbett & McCormack 2001; Sturges & Hanrahan 2004), therefore reducing the depth of discussion (Novick 2008). This latter disadvantage has been proven to be based on weak empirical evidence, and telephone interviews have been used successfully for in-depth interviews (McCoyd & Kerson

2006; Novick 2008). Novick (2008) argued that telephone interviews have an undeserved bad reputation in qualitative research, especially in research that pays little or no attention to nonverbal responses. A negative consequence of the limited attention paid to qualitative telephone interviews is scant practical advice on how to handle their specific features.

The telephone interviews used in this thesis are located at the intersection of quantitative survey and qualitative interview methodologies. The study population consisted of all students from the 1993–1995 graduation classes of the elementary school in Lima, which is the school for all 15-year-old inhabitants of Sälen and surrounding areas. Some questions in the telephone interviews were standardized and analyzed quantitatively; these concerned the proportions of stayers, migrants, and return migrants among the respondents. Respondents also had the opportunity to comment and elaborate on some responses to open-ended questions. One open-ended question, which asked respondents to describe their childhoods, generated a diverse range of responses, both regarding the lengths of the answers and the range of subjects. Establishing contact with respondents before conducting telephone interviews, and using a script to introduce the study at the beginning of the telephone interview have been proven to be effective ways to increase the response rates (Carr & Worth 2001), and both strategies were used in the present study.

The telephone interview method was chosen to examine the affective bonds to and perceptions of Sälen of all individuals in a specific age cohort. As this cohort includes individuals living in Sälen, as well as individuals who have out-migrated from Sälen, the respondents are geographically widespread across Sweden. A face-to-face study would have required considerable time and money. The often reported, though not undisputed, claim that telephone interviews are short and relatively superficial was less relevant to the aim of this study. The selection of respondents fully covered the 1993–1995 cohorts of students in Sälen-area graduation classes. In that sense, this is a complete case study of young adults who recently passed through the adult transition and have a personal history in a tourism-dominated rural area. The lists of the graduation classes were retrieved from the school and constituted the population in the study, a total of 116 former students. Their personal ID numbers were used to find their current addresses and – even more importantly – their current phone numbers. Of the 116 former students in the class lists, 95 were identified in the public records. There are three reasons why a student may be missing from public records: (1) they have emigrated, (2) they have obtained a protected identity,

or (3) they are deceased. A letter with information about the study was sent to the respondents in the week before the first attempt to call them. Of the 95 former students identified in the public records, 67 were interviewed, constituting a net response rate of approximately 70 percent. Twenty-eight respondents did not participate in the study; of these, five did not wish to participate, seven agreed to participate but did not find time for it during the interview period, and the remaining 16 did not answer the phone. An average of 10 attempts were made on various days at various times of day to reach those who were not interviewed.

5.4 Register data analysis

The register data analysis in Paper 3 is based on the PLACE database maintained at Uppsala University. The database contains all individuals who have lived in Sweden in any of the years between 1990 and 2010. The yearly reported attribute data include a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic variables. All individuals are linked to their registered residential addresses with a geographical resolution of 100 meters, but moves followed by a return within the same year or moves over very short distances cannot be monitored. The longitudinal character of the data enables analysis of stayers, migrants, and return migrants as well as of population change among young adults in tourism-dominated areas (TDAs) versus non-TDAs.

An archaeologist excavates the soil to find traces of previous societies. A register data researcher similarly "digs" into the register data to find traces and patterns of both individuals and societies, interpreting the findings and relating them to previous knowledge and theories in the research field. The comparison indicates that reality is too complex to be fruitfully explored from a register, too far beyond the investigation of the frequency, regularities, and patterns of a studied phenomenon.

The availability of good-quality population data with geographical co-ordinates from the 1990s onward in Sweden enabled an analysis with high geographical resolution. Hence, the tourism-dominated areas have been identified based on the whole population.

5.5 The case study

The case study method has been claimed to have low scientific value because a case study is not representative beyond its specific case. Flyvbjerg's (2006)

response to this argument was that there are few, if any, predictive theories in social science. Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 228) claimed that:

> One can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the force of example" is underestimated.

Case studies are not only valuable for generating hypotheses, as is sometimes stated, but also for testing them. The testing of hypotheses is related to the matter of generalizability, which depends on how the cases are selected. If the purpose of the research is to acquire as much information as possible about a phenomenon, a representative case or random sample may not be the most suitable method. Extreme cases are sometimes better for that purpose since they may enable a deeper understanding of the causes and drivers of a specific phenomenon. The choice of the extreme case is crucial, but there is no universal methodology for choosing extreme cases (Flyvbjerg 2006). Flyvbjerg's (2006, p. 231) advice is to look for cases that are "either 'most likely' or 'least likely' cases, that is, cases likely to either clearly confirm or irrefutably falsify propositions and hypotheses."

There are few studies of young adult inhabitants in rural tourism-dominated areas. Choosing a single case study area rather than making a comparative study of several tourist resorts was a way to allow for a truly explorative study, approaching the main question with various methodologies and establishing links between the subprojects.

The choice of a ski resort over another tourist activity was based on the peripheral location of such resorts with expected impacts from tourism being "undisturbed" by other nearby labor markets (such as larger cities or metropolitan areas). Sälen is the biggest ski resort area in Sweden in terms of turnover. When examining the economic impact on the area's permanent residents, it is appropriate to relate the turnover – in this case, an indicator of the size of the impact – to the number of inhabitants (*Table 2*).

Ski resort area	Turnover (million SEK) 2011–2012	Inhabitants 2010	Turnover/ inhabitant (SEK)
Sälen	341.7	1 436	237 952
Åre-Edsåsdalen	213.1	2 080	102 451
Vemdalen	87.3	542	161 070
Idre Fjäll	67.7	794	85 264
Funäsdalen	52.4	890	58 876
Branäs	47.5	527	90 132
Romme	42.2	41 734	1 011
Hemavan-Tärnaby	26.9	704	38 210
Lofsdalen	17.2	116	148 275
Järvsö	15.2	1 407	10 803

Table 2. Turnover of the 10 largest ski resort areas in Sweden and inhabitants of nearby villages. The turnover in Romme is related to the inhabitants of the nearby town of Borlänge. Sources: SLAO (2012) and Statistics Sweden (2015).

The impact of tourism, measured as tourism turnover per inhabitant, can be expected to be the most "extreme" in the Sälen area. Sälen was chosen also because it constitutes what Flyvbjerg calls a "most likely" case; that is, in this context, a case in which rural tourism is likely to have a considerable effect on conditions for young adults. If no effects can be found in Sälen, other Swedish ski resorts would probably have no effects on young adult conditions. However, if effects are identified in the Sälen case study, great care must be taken when applying those findings to other areas.

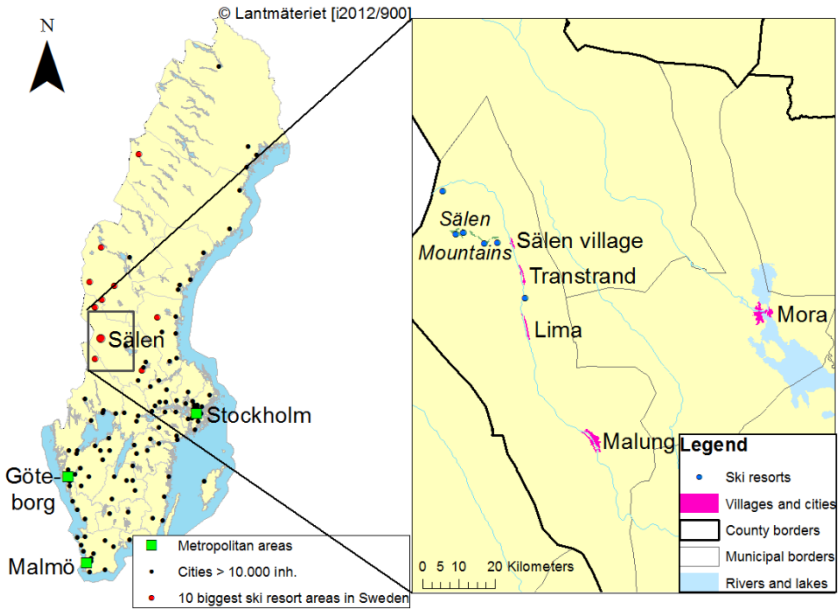

Figure 2. Left: Sweden's 10 largest ski resort areas and Sälen's location in Sweden. Right: The Sälen area, showing nearby villages and the Sälen Mountains (map design: Peter Möller).

Sälen is located about a five-hour drive from Stockholm and around two and a half hours from the county's urban center of Falun-Borlänge. In the Sälen area, the villages of Sälen, Transtrand, and Lima are located along the Dalarna River, while five of Sälen's six large ski resorts are located in the Sälen Mountains. One resort is located south of Transtrand. Four of the ski resorts in Sälen are owned by Skistar, the biggest Swedish ski center company. Collectively, Sälen, Transtrand, and Lima had almost 1500 inhabitants in 2010, with a few hundred additional inhabitants in the surrounding countryside. The high season extends from mid-December to Easter, peaking for a few holiday weeks in February and near Easter. There are approximately 2000 seasonal workers in Sälen each season, and an estimated 50,000 guest beds (Sweco Viak AB 2008).

6 Paper summaries

The first paper examines the adult transition in a tourism-dominated rural area. The second paper extends the analysis of the first by considering migrants and return migrants as well, with a focus on perceptions of and affective bonds to a rural tourism community. The third paper examines population change in rural tourism-dominated areas (TDAs) versus rural non-TDAs. The fourth paper analyzes urbanity and rurality in a tourism context.

6.1 Paper 1 – Young adult transition in a tourism-dominated rural area

This paper explores the adult transition in a large-scale winter tourism destination. The case study area, Sälen, is a peripheral rural area. This type of area generally has an ageing and declining population, few educational opportunities, limited labor market opportunities, and a net loss of young adults (e.g. Crockett et al. 2000; Ní Laoire 2000; Easthope & Gabriel 2008). However, Sälen and a few other peripheral rural areas are now hosting large-scale tourism and facing different developments. Although the loss of young adults is important for the social and economic development of these areas, the adult transition in a tourism context has not been as well addressed.

In recent decades, the adult transition has become prolonged and more complex and many young adults are living adult and youth lives simultaneously, oscillating between dependency and autonomy in what is described as the "yo-yo" transition (Biggart & Walther 2006).

The paper's analysis is based on 13 life-history interviews with young adult inhabitants who had grown up in and were living in Sälen at the time of the interviews. The focus was on the young adult inhabitants' conditions; specifically, their ability to earn a year-round living in this tourism-dominated area. How they perceive their current and possible future lives in Sälen is important when they make decisions about how and where to shape their futures. The findings imply that the flows of people passing through Sälen, as tourists and young seasonal workers, are socially and economically important for the area's young adult inhabitants, which in turn contributes to a more secure adult transition and to Sälen's attractiveness among young adults. As a result, the young adults in Sälen seem to be coping well with the yo-yo transition.

6.2 Paper 2 – Young adults' perceptions of and affective bonds to a rural tourism community

Paper 2 explores how tourism affects young inhabitants' perceptions of and affective bonds to a rural area in Sweden; specifically, the ski resort of Sälen. Doreen Massey's analytical approach to space as the product of interrelations and always under construction is a useful basis for understanding these young inhabitants' relationships within Sälen (Massey 2005). The theory of social ties, which emphasizes the importance of weak social ties, advances our understanding of how social opportunities affect the young inhabitants' perceptions of and affective bonds to Sälen (Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983).

Students from the 1993–1995 elementary school graduating classes were interviewed about their migration history, childhood, and view of and ties to Sälen. The comprehensive population register in Sweden made it possible to find 95 of the 116 students in the public records; of these 95 former students, 67 participated in the study. In addition to the stayers, migrants and return migrants were also interviewed in this study. The respondents observed that tourism contributed to a more vital community that incorporated influences from elsewhere without eliminating the positive aspects of rural life. The regular flow of people – tourists, seasonal workers, and entrepreneurs – passing through Sälen presents opportunities for social networking that are widely appreciated by respondents. There are many opportunities to create weak social ties in Sälen that extend throughout Sweden. These weak social ties are important, especially for young people in Sälen, because of their importance in diffusing influences and ideas and for job contacts. The high inward and outward mobility constitutes a key part of Sälen's character. Contributions from tourism – such as employment, entertainment, leisure, and opportunities to establish new relationships – are available during the adult transition, the life phase in which rural areas in general are often perceived as least attractive. Although out-migration from Sälen does occur, and some respondents still find Sälen too small, tourism has clearly increased the available opportunities and made a significant contribution to Sälen becoming more attractive to young adults.

6.3 Paper 3 – Can tourism reduce the negative out-migration trend of rural young adults?

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether and how dominant tourism in a rural area affects population change. Population change is analyzed from three perspectives: (1) the net population change; (2) the population structure, specifically the age and sex of the population; and (3) the proportions of stayers, return migrants, and migrants.

Previous studies have demonstrated that the effect of tourism on population change is limited in geographical range (Getz 1986; Lasanta et al. 2007; Kauppila & Rusanen 2009). Therefore, a finer geographical resolution than the municipality level is useful. The longitudinal PLACE database at Uppsala University contains yearly information on each individual who has resided in Sweden in any year between 1990 and 2010, and each individual is linked to his or her registered residential estate with 100-metre grid cells. The statistical analysis in this paper was conducted in two steps. First, tourism-dominated areas (TDAs) were defined; second, the population changes in those areas were compared with non-TDAs. The analysis considered five specific categories of grid cells, defined depending on their accessibility to urban areas of various sizes.

The net population change is clearly more positive in TDAs than in non-TDAs, and this becomes more significant the more remote the areas are. Furthermore, analysis of the demographic structure identifies a better gender balance and a younger population in the TDAs. The examination of stayers, migrants, and return migrants indicates that a larger share of youth have the desire or opportunity to stay in TDAs than in non-TDAs and that return migration is slightly higher in TDAs than in non-TDAs. The incidence of stayers and return migrants can partly explain the positive population change in TDAs, but, as previous studies (e.g. Lundmark 2006; Möller 2012) have shown, population turnover is higher in TDAs, and in-migration seems to be the key to a more positive population change.

6.4 Paper 4 – Urbanity and rurality in a tourism context: exploring the myth of vivid cities and sleepy villages

This paper explores how the presence of a flourishing tourism destination can affect the perception of a local village as either rural or urban. Various rural locations have been described in both statistical and social terms, covering most characteristics of rural spaces; however, the Swedish ski

resort of Sälen does not fit any of these descriptions exactly. Respondents' perceptions of Sälen, as reported in several studies, are not aligned with these rural definitions. We examined why this is and what has influenced these perceptions of Sälen.

Four studies, varying in their methodologies and aims, enabled us to examine Sälen from various perspectives expressed by temporary, permanent, and former inhabitants of Sälen. In addition to Papers 1 and 2, the other sources of empirical material in this study were a study involving focus-group interviews with seasonal workers conducted on three occasions (at the beginning, middle, and end of the 2010–2011 skiing season in Sälen) and a study in which politicians and entrepreneurs were interviewed. These interviews formed the basis of our attempt to interpret Sälen in terms of rurality.

Rural and urban are often seen as dichotomous concepts. These concepts are deeply rooted in preconceived ideas and often used without further definition in both academic writing and policy documents. Traditional development thinking makes a clear distinction between urban and rural, but are these two concepts used consistently? The discourses of rural and urban development often use the two concepts as dichotomous, with rural areas often implicitly associated with traditionalism and urban areas often associated with modernity.

Rural tourism areas suggest a different understanding, as places that have urban–rural and traditional–modern characteristics. We advocate using a two-dimensional continuum, with rural–urban as one dimension and traditional–modern the other, in order to advance our understanding of these places. What distinguishes Sälen from many other rural and urban places is its wide range of both rural–urban and traditional–modern characteristics in both time and space, providing an extensive range of opportunities. One can enjoy Sälen's natural features and make the most of outdoor life while taking advantage of the area's ample supply of services and of opportunities to earn a good living.

7 Findings and conclusions

This thesis set out to explore how tourism affects young adults in rural areas. A mixed method approach has been applied, enabling an analysis from various perspectives and at various geographical scales. As discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, there are many studies in the separate research fields of adult transition research, tourism impacts research and rural research, but the fields are rarely linked together to focus on how tourism affects young adults and the adult transition in rural areas. The papers in this thesis confirm that that rural tourism offer specific opportunities for young adult inhabitants in rural areas, which are outlined in Chapter 7.1. The general conclusions of the four studies are presented in Chapter 7.2.

7.1 Findings

The first research question concerned how the adult transition is affected by tourism. The findings in Paper 1 support previous research on economic impacts that tourism can provide livelihoods in rural areas with weak labor markets by improving employment and business opportunities. Although this is important for all inhabitants in the productive ages in those areas, the opportunities to earn a living is a key step into adulthood, and is therefore important for young adults. Paper 1 demonstrates that young adults' entrance into the labor market is facilitated by tourism, which enables them to start working early and be delegated responsibility early in their working lives. The shortage of job opportunities during the low season is something these young adults must relate to and learn to cope with. Still, the young adults in Sälen describe the last step into adulthood – obtaining permanent year-round employment – as the most challenging part of the adult transition. On the other hand, they have a more or less guaranteed livelihood during the high season. This may be related to the yo-yo transition described in Chapter 2. The adult transition has become longer and more complex in recent decades, as young adults oscillate between employment, education, and unemployment. The better resources young adults have (such as financial support from parents), the better they cope with the yo-yo transition. The "guaranteed" livelihood during the high season has been described as a safety net, enabling young adult inhabitants of Sälen to experiment, either there or elsewhere, knowing that they can get a job if they return before or during the high season. Since the employment seasons are stable in terms of the time of year, young adults often consider this when planning trips. Hence, out-migration as an effect of scarce

livelihood opportunities is attenuated. The respondents in Papers 1 and 2 emphasized the good provision of entertainment and services, which are generally scarce in rural areas. A peripheral place such as Sälen has much to offer young adults, even though there is a bias towards what tourists demand. There is for example a good supply of winter sports equipment in Sälen, but not as good a supply of ordinary clothing. In addition, young inhabitants who desire higher education have not seen a future in Sälen and have out-migrated. Distance education is growing, increasing the opportunities for higher education while staying in places such as Sälen, but there is still a lack of many skilled occupations, constituting a structural disadvantage in these places.

The second research question concerns how young adults' bonds to and perceptions of their childhood place is affected by tourism. The flow of outside people, representing the opportunities to extend one's social network or simply to meet new people, is among the most appreciated tourism features reported in Papers 1 and 2. Weak social ties (acquaintances but not family or close friends) are especially important in the adult transition, since they represent future job prospects or just external influences. A sense of being isolated has been reported in rural areas, and weak social ties can link young adult inhabitants to other parts of Sweden. Also evident is how tourism has contributed to a perception of Sälen as a place where things happen, a place that is developing positively and is essentially a good place to live. Some of the out-migrants found Sälen too small or wanted something that Sälen could not offer, but the notion that stayers are regarded as less successful, as reported in research into other rural areas (e.g., Ní Laoire 2000; Svensson 2006; Kåks 2007; Easthope & Gabriel 2008), was not found in Sälen. In that sense, the negatively charged life-script (Kåks 2007) seems to have been suspended. When the life history interviews with young adult inhabitants in Paper 1 were extended in Paper 2 with telephone interviews with three graduation classes in Sälen (consisting of stayers, return migrants and migrants), the positive perception of Sälen remained, regardless of the different methods and selection of respondents used in these studies.

The third research question concern how population change among young adults is affected by tourism. Paper 3 identifies more positive population change and better population structure in rural tourism-dominated areas (TDAs) than in rural areas in general. Many rural areas struggle with both population loss and a growing proportion of old and aging people. Unlike non-TDAs, TDAs have a higher proportion of the

population in the productive age range (30–49 years) than the retirement age range (65+ years). Paper 3 demonstrates that population change is more positive in rural TDAs than in non-TDAs, but still worse than the national average. In general, the effects of tourism on population change are geographically limited, sometimes being claimed to extend for only a few kilometers (Kauppila & Rusanen 2009). The sparse spatial structure of rural areas makes large distances a natural part of life. The youth in Sälen commute long distances or change their place of residency to attend high school. In addition, there is a constant flow of people passing by Sälen, for shorter or longer durations, making Sälen a place of markedly high mobility. Paper 3 shows that there is a constant flow of migration into and out of TDAs. Papers 1 and 2 extend that image of mobility with the respondents' descriptions of daily and weekly rotations of people who infuse new ideas, skills, discourses, and so on, in a way that is normally ascribed to cities but is also described by the respondents in Sälen in Paper 1 and found to exist in tourism-dominated areas elsewhere. People come and people leave, and that is part of everyday life in Sälen. There is nothing strange about leaving Sälen for one or a few years to do something else elsewhere. These migrants know that jobs will be available in Sälen during the high season if they choose to return.

The fourth research question concerns how tourism affects "the rural" of rural areas. Some respondents find the opportunities – the supply of entertainment and services, and occasions to meet new people – so good that they define Sälen as a city. This might be an effect of the implicit association of rural with traditional. The inhabitants' descriptions of their lives in Sälen are well aligned with the positively charged life-script presented in Chapter 2, except for the geographical dimension. This view of Sälen as a city instead of a small town or rural area is also aligned with the positively charged life-script. Sälen is modern in the sense that it holds an openness to change, and some people find it difficult to associate this with a rural area; their solution is to redefine Sälen as a city. By dissociating rural from traditional (and urban from modern), a better understanding of tourism-dominated rural areas can be achieved. This would enable a two-dimensional continuum, with rural–urban as one dimension and traditional–modern as the other. Tourism-dominated areas, such as Sälen would mostly be defined as having a high degree of modern rurality; however, according to Massey's (2005, p. 9) conception of space, the definition would be dynamic, always under construction, never finished, and "constituted through interactions".

7.2 Conclusions

Tourism in rural communities substantially affects young adult inhabitants. The adult transition is facilitated by tourism, particularly at the beginning of the process, with two of the most important effects being the entrance into the labor market and a good supply of jobs during high season. Further, the high number of people passing through the area creates flows of opportunities to make friends, get a job, or just meet people. All this contribute to the high mobility in these places and to the perception of them as places where things happen. However, this does not imply that they cease to be perceived as rural. The inhabitants still describe their local communities as rural, but tourism has added features to these communities, constituting a modern rural area with a flavor of volatile urbanity (defined as a high density of people, entertainment, and services).

The high mobility in Sälen implies that fixed migrant categories (for example, stayers and leavers) are largely insufficient and that Massey's (2005, p. 9) perspective on space as "constituted through interactions" and always under construction is better suited to understand places such as Sälen. This further implies that tourism-dominated rural areas, such as Sälen, cannot be defined as either rural or urban, at least not according to a more conventional binary definition of rural and urban. Both the urban and rural dimensions shown in *Table 1* are present in Sälen, but their presence varies in time (seasonality) and space (some locations in Sälen are greatly influenced by tourism, others are not).

Young inhabitants of rural areas are rarely considered in tourism research. Accordingly, the main contribution of this thesis is that it illuminates how tourism affects conditions for young adults in rural areas. In rural areas, tourism is found to contribute with social and economic dynamism that is otherwise associated with urban areas. This relates to the claim that Sälen is a city, which has raised the question of how tourism affects places' images as rural or urban. The flows of people and ideas into and out of tourism-dominated rural areas illustrate, more clearly than in other rural areas, how places are under constant construction. Conceptualizing a modern rurality that is constantly changing is a way of dissolving the often implicit notions of urban as modern and rural as traditional.

The effects of tourism reported in Papers 1, 2, and 4 offer a deeper understanding of the population change identified in Paper 3, although the causal effects should be examined further. Paper 3 identified differences between tourism-dominated areas in terms of population change, which

indicates the relevance of further studies of how different types of tourism destinations may have characteristics that affect population change in various ways. Depending on a tourism destination's target group, the supply of services will fit the young adult inhabitants well or badly, and destinations that target retirees or children may not have as much to offer young adults.

Summary in Swedish

Många landsbygdsområden tappar unga vuxna invånare. Det medför en dubbel demografisk effekt, där befolkningen som helhet minskar men också den andel av befolkningen som är i barnafödande åldrar. Turismen har ofta setts som en möjlighet att få fler unga vuxna att kunna och vilja bo på landsbygden. I den här avhandlingen studeras hur turismen påverkar förutsättningarna för unga vuxna på landsbygden. De är i en livsfas av vuxenblivande då unga människor tar viktiga beslut om sin framtid, om vad de ska göra av sina liv och var de ska bo. Eftersom de flesta flyttningar äger rum under vuxenblivandet, är denna livsfas central för att analysera effekterna av turismen på en plats. Utbildning och sysselsättning är viktiga när unga vuxna tar beslut om sin framtid, men även föreställningar om och anknytning till platser. Flera studier har identifierat en urban norm, en dominerande föreställning om att urbana platser är mer attraktiva för unga vuxna än platser på landsbygden. Hur påverkar i så fall turismen att en plats uppfattas som rural eller urban? I avhandlingen undersöks följande frågeställningar; 1) Hur påverkas vuxenblivandet av att leva i ett turismdominerat område? 2) Hur har unga vuxnas anknytning till och deras bild av sin uppväxtplats påverkats av turismen? 3) Hur har befolkningsutvecklingen bland unga vuxna påverkats av turismen? 4) Hur har turismen påverkat hur det "rurala" uppfattas på landsbygden?

Avhandlingen består av fyra artiklar som fokuserar på varsin frågeställning. Den teoretiska utgångspunkten för samtliga fyra artiklar beskrivs i kapitel 2, 3 och 4 i denna kappa. I kapitel 2 diskuteras vuxenblivandet och hur det har förändrats under de senaste decennierna. Vuxenblivandet har gått från att vara mer linjär, där unga går klart skolan, skaffar eget boende och ett arbete samt bildar familj, till en mer komplex process där unga pendlar mellan olika aktiviteter, så kallade jo jo-övergångar. Den ålder då unga människor etableras som vuxna med permanent sysselsättning, familj och eget boende har också förskjutits till sena 20-årsåldern eller början av 30-årsåldern. I Sverige förstärktes denna trend under 90-talskrisen då en högre ungdomsarbetslöshet samt en större andel tillfälliga anställningar bland unga permanentades.

Turismens effekter på lokalsamhällen diskuteras i kapitel 3, med särskilt fokus på effekter för befolkningsutvecklingen. Forskningsfältet är stort men studier med fokus på unga vuxna invånare är få. Flera studier visar på turismens positiva ekonomiska effekter, och då särskilt på sysselsättningen. Några studier har dock visat att jobb inom turismen ibland är lågbetalda,

lågkvalificerade och tillfälliga, vilket kan försvåra försörjningen, särskilt på en åretrunt basis. Det finns också studier som visar att turismen kan ge möjlighet att träffa nya människor, ökad tolerans samt ett ökat utbud av shopping, nöjen och service. Till de negativa sociala effekter som rapporterats hör ökad kriminalitet, trängsel och att den lokala särprägeln har försvagats. Det har gjorts få övergripande studier på turismens effekter på befolkningsutvecklingen. I USA har studier visat att rekreationsområden har en mer positiv befolkningsutveckling än andra områden, men då har inte turismen studerats specifikt. I Europa har det gjorts fallstudier, där det har funnits en tydlig samvariation mellan turism och positiv befolkningsutveckling. Vid fallstudier finns dock en risk att platser med en särskilt positiv befolkningsutveckling har valts ut, och därför behövs studier på en övergripande nivå av turismens påverkan på befolkningsutvecklingen.

I kapitel 4 diskuteras definitioner av landsbygd samt föreställningar om ”det rurala”. Det finns en rad olika definitioner av landsbygd såväl mellan som inom länder. Definitionerna utgår ofta från strikt statistiska kriterier på befolkningens storlek och täthet, avstånd till tätorter osv men kan också innefatta socioekonomiska kriterier. De olika definitionerna ger olika utfall vilket i sig kan påverka bilden av landsbygden. Enligt Statistiska centralbyråns definition av landsbygd bor cirka 15 procent av befolkningen i Sverige på landsbygden, medan siffran är 70 procent enligt OECD:s definition. Flera forskare menar att hög kvalitet på tillgänglig statistik samt kraftfulla verktyg (datorer och programvara) möjliggör att definitionen kan anpassas till studiens syfte. I denna avhandling görs en distinktion mellan statistiska definitioner av landsbygd som bygger på befolkningstäthet och avstånd till tätorter, samt en mer konceptuell syn på landsbygden som något som människor upplever som ”ruralt”. Stereotyper om det ”rurala” är vanliga och reproducerar ofta landsbygd som traditionell och på tillbakagång. Denna bild ställs ofta mot det ”urbana” som framställs som kreativt och modernt. När landsbygden framställs i positiva termer är det ofta som en idyll.

Utbildning och sysselsättning är två viktiga faktorer som lyfts fram i olika studier av ungas flyttbeslut. Utbyggnaden av den högre utbildningen har gjort att fler unga flyttar för studier, och i de branscher som traditionellt varit lokaliserade på landsbygden och i mindre städer har det skett en sysselsättningsnedgång de senaste decennierna. Dock finns studier som visar att många unga tar sina flyttbeslut långt innan det är dags att börja studera eller arbeta. I andra fall har utflyttningen av unga fortgått även sedan en negativ trend i sysselsättning på den lokala arbetsmarknaden har vänts till

en positiv. Flera studier har identifierat föreställningar om att de som flyttar från mindre orter och landsbygd till större städer anses mer ”lyckade” än de som väljer att bo kvar, oavsett vad de företar sig. En känsla av isolering och begränsade sociala nätverk har rapporterats i studier om unga på landsbygden.

Metod

I kapitel 5 redogörs för de metoder som använts i avhandlingen. I artikel 1 genomfördes livsberättelseintervjuer med 13 unga vuxna invånare som växt upp i och vid tiden för intervjuns genomförande bodde i Sälen. Livsberättelseintervjuerna möjliggjorde en bred ansats till vuxenblivandet, där respondenterna inte besvarade specifika frågor om vuxenblivandet utan beskrev sin uppväxt, sin nuvarande situation och hur de såg på framtiden. I artikel 2 genomfördes telefonintervjuer med 1993-95 års avgångsklasser i grundskolan i Sälen. Metoden valdes då respondenterna var utspridda över hela Sverige samt att ansatsen var smalare och syftet mer specifikt inriktat på deras anknytning till och bild av Sälen. Utöver kvarstannarna, inkluderades även utflyttare och återflyttare i denna studie. Den tredje artikeln är en registerstudie, där befolkningsutvecklingen i Sverige i turism-dominerade områden jämförts med andra områden. För detta användes Place-databasen vid Uppsala universitet, som innehåller invånare för samtliga år 1990-2010. I den fjärde artikeln undersöks hur turismen påverkar huruvida en plats uppfattas som urban eller rural. I denna studie användes material från tidigare genomförda intervjustudier, utifrån föreställningar om vad som är urbant och ruralt, med koppling till Sälen.

Slutsatser

Artikel 1 visar att unga vuxnas inträde på arbetsmarknaden underlättas av turismen som möjliggör för dem att börja arbeta tidigt och att de tidigt får ta ansvar i arbetslivet. De måste förhålla sig till att det är färre arbets-tillfällen under lågsäsong men det är något de beskriver som möjligt att hantera. Ändå beskriver de unga vuxna i Sälen det sista steget in i vuxenlivet – särskilt att få en fast året runt-anställning – som det svåraste steget i vuxenblivandet. Å andra sidan har de en mer eller mindre garanterad försörjning under högsäsong.

Flödet av människor in i och ut ur Sälen som ger möjligheter att utvidga det sociala nätverket eller helt enkelt bara att träffa nya människor, är bland de mest uppskattade aspekterna av turismen som redovisas i artikel 1 och 2. Vidare framgår i artikel 2 att tunna sociala band, definierat som bekanta

men inte familj eller nära vänner, är särskilt viktiga i vuxenblivandet, eftersom de ger framtida jobbmöjligheter eller uppskattade influenser utifrån. Till skillnad från starka sociala band är det möjligt att upprätthålla ett mycket större antal svaga social band. En känsla av isolering är något som rapporterats i studier av unga på landsbygden, och svaga sociala band kan länka unga vuxna invånare till andra delar av Sverige. Turismen har också bidragit till att Sälen uppfattas som en plats där det händer saker, en plats som utvecklas positivt och som är en bra plats att leva på. Den positiva synen på Sälen återgavs i både artikel 1 och artikel 2, trots att studierna genomfördes på olika sätt och att såväl kvarstannare, återflyttare som utflyttare intervjuades.

I artikel 3 har en mer positiv befolkningsutveckling och en mer gynnsam befolkningsstruktur i turismdominerade områden än i andra områden identifierats. Många landsbygdsområden kämpar med både minskande och åldrande befolkning. Turismdominerade landsbygdsområden har en jämförelsevis hög andel av befolkningen i produktiva åldrar. Vidare finns ett varaktigt flöde av människor som flyttar till och från turistdominerade områden. I artikel 1 och 2 fördjupas förståelsen av denna rörlighet med respondenternas beskrivningar av de dagliga och veckovisa flödena av människor, idéer och föreställningar etc.

Sälen är modernt i meningen att där finns en öppenhet för förändring, och en del människor finner det svårt att koppla detta till en plats på landsbygden. Ett sätt att hantera det är att omdefiniera Sälen, och tala om Sälen som en stad. Genom att hålla isär begreppen rural och traditionell (respektive urban och modern), ges en bättre förståelse av den turismdominerade landsbygden. Dessa begreppspar kan ses som ett tvådimensionellt kontinuum med urbant-ruralt som en dimension och traditionell-modern som den andra.

Den höga rörligheten i Sälen innebär att vedertagna kategorier som kvarstannare och utflyttare är otillräckliga. Flödena av människor och idéer till och från turistdominerade landsbygdsområden visar oss att platser inte kan uppfattas som givna utan att de konstant (om)skapas genom interaktioner. Avhandlingen visar att turismdominerade landsbygdsområden ska ses som modernt rurala och under konstant (om)skapande. Det är fruktbart att lösa upp de ofta implicita kopplingarna mellan urban och modern respektive rural och traditionell.

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