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Tourism, Seasonality and the Attraction of Youth

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The Myth/s

Tourism is often perceived as a saviour to rural parts of the north, creating a myth of tourism as a panacea for development in rural areas, including mountain tourism destinations in northern Sweden. Tourism often gives hope to small communities and stakeholders, including local and regional government, entrepreneurs and local community groups, who endeavour to support, start and develop tourism industries to become successful, growing tourism destinations. At the same time, rural communities are seen as sleepy and unattractive for young adults leading to high rates of out-migration and distorted population development.

Whilst strong growth of tourism in rural areas can lead to increased employment with high demand for labour, these new jobs are often seasonal. In spite of the acknowledged pluriactivity of those who live in northern areas (Dubois and Carson 2019), the seasonality of these jobs

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gives birth to another myth: that these jobs do not lead to positive community development. Alongside the employment of locals, an influx of (young) seasonal employees, often from other parts of the Sweden, who only stay for a few months, who tend to only spend time with each other, and who pay taxes somewhere else, reaffirms the myth that season tourism jobs lead to an inevitable lack of connection to the local, rural community.

This chapter considers the importance of tourism to rural communities in the Swedish north through the example of Sälen, a mountain resort in northern Dalarna, Sweden. Focusing on young adults as rural inhabitants and workers in a seasonal tourism industry, this chapter highlights the value of youth workers to community. This chapter focuses both on young people who have grown up and live in the local, rural, community and on those who come to the area for seasonal tourism work, often for lifestyle reasons. Young people often leave rural areas to escape to urban areas where they perceive there to be greater opportunities (see, e.g. Rauhut and Littke 2016). At the same time, many young people take the opportunity to explore alternative lifestyles by escaping to rural areas, especially seasonal destinations, such as Sälen (Thulemark 2017). This chapter considers how seasonal workers, both locals and in-migrants, can positively affect the sustainability of rural communities. It ends with thoughts on the future of Sälen and policy implications.

Youths, Tourism and Rurality

Tourism is increasingly important to the Swedish economy (SOU 2017). Globally, and in Sweden, the value of tourism, whether export value, GDP or employment numbers, is growing at a rate greater than many other industries (SOU 2017; UNEP & UNWTO 2005). Overall, Sweden has seen increasing employment (170,000 in 2016 vs. 131,000 in 2000) and increasing value from tourism (from SEK 160 billion in 2000 to SEK 296 billion in 2016) (see SOU 2017, p. 46). The growth of the tourism industry is particularly relevant for rural areas as tourism is often seen to have greater importance in the development of such areas (SOU 2017). This development is often seen in job creation opportunities,

in-migration of entrepreneurs (who can have important multiplier effects) and through the influx of young seasonal employees who (it is anticipated) might stay in the community (SOU 2017; Müller 2006; Thulemark et al. 2014).

In some rural spaces where the tourism industry is better developed, the industry is attractive for in-migrants as entrepreneurial opportunities exist and there are (relatively) plentiful services and job opportunities available, with in-migrants often choosing tourism-related jobs (Müller 2006; Thulemark et al. 2014). In such places, amenities (Nepal and Chipeniuk 2005; Moss 2006) and lifestyle factors (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Thulemark 2011) can play an important role as they provide these rural spaces with tourism experiences and infrastructure (Löffler and Steinicke 2006; Thulemark 2015). As Thulemark et al. (2014) show, a large percentage of (young, seasonal) in-migrants make the choice to move to rural areas such as Sälen for reasons other than employment. Their analysis shows that the in-migrants roughly come from the same regions as the tourists to Sälen (and the wider mountainous area), suggesting that lifestyle and leisure are factors heavily influencing their move to this area (Thulemark et al. 2014). However, it must also be acknowledged that migrants moving to rural areas with established but undeveloped tourism destinations often saw natural or cultural amenities as a stronger driving force than tourism opportunities (Vuin et al. 2016). For these migrants, moving was for health or family reasons and work could involve lifestyle farming or other non-tourism business opportunities. However, many of these (older) migrants did admit that having some tourism infrastructure to 'fall back on' eased potential anxieties about their move (Vuin et al. 2016).

As already stated, young seasonal workers can be potential in-migrants or derive from local young adults. Rönnlund (2019) highlights that whilst much literature has neglected young adults in rural areas, this is changing. However, she does emphasize that the choice to stay 'local' or move away is a complex issue (Rönnlund 2019, p. 1). The majority of seasonal workers stay for only a season. Those, either local or in-migrants that do consider staying in the destinations permanently, are often the ones who engage in their favourite leisure activities, make/find a career and see a rural setting as an opportunity for climbing the career ladder, or

the ones who want to start a new life in a 'better' place (Tuulentie and Heimitun 2014). Despite these motivations, it is not always easy to have a sustainable career in rural areas due to small labour markets and lack of positions (Heldt Cassel et al. 2018).

Declining employment in traditional rural activities such as agriculture, forestry and fishing (Dubois and Carson 2019; Hall et al. 2009) has, together with higher educational requirements for many jobs and very limited opportunities for tertiary education in rural areas (Berlin et al. 2010; Olofsson and Panican 2012), a great influence on employment opportunities for rural youth. Several studies have revealed that perceived local job opportunities are equally important for young adults' decision to stay or to migrate. Residential attachment—strong bonds to people and place (Rönnlund 2019)—is influenced by individuals' expectations about their futures. This may indicate an adaptability to local young people's educational and economic reality even as many of these young adults will have to migrate (at least temporarily) for higher education and employment purposes. (Kirkpatrick Johnson et al. 2005). Alongside this, Davies (2008, p. 170) argues that the willingness among young people to move to rural areas is based on perceived social and employment opportunities, regardless of whether such perceptions are based on actual conditions or not. Therefore, whilst both the myth and the reality of young people leaving rural areas remains (Rauhut and Littke 2016), contradictory evidence suggests that the issues of de-population is much more than government statistics and research implies.

However, in support of the myth, several perceived obstacles for young adults to stay in rural areas have been reported in previous studies. For example, it has been suggested that compared to urban schools, in rural schools there are limited choice of peers, a generally more constraining milieu for youth who do not fit into the conventional mould, a sense of isolation, limited social networking opportunities and a claustrophobic local community (National Youth Bureau 1990; Phillips and Skinner 1994; Crockett et al. 2000; Ní Laoire 2000; Stockdale 2002). Furthermore, young adults who leave rural areas are often considered as more successful than those who choose to stay (Easthope and Gabriel 2008; Svensson 2006; Kåks 2007). These perceptions and the subsequent migration culture have shown persistence during periods even when rural areas have

had a flourishing economy and employment opportunities. This reiterates the notion that migration decisions are not based solely on education and employment prospects. Employment and education opportunities are often pointed to as reasons for migration but have been shown to function as triggers for migration decisions taken long before these triggers became relevant (Ní Laoire 2000). Closely connected to this is the belief of a mobile life as an ideal of success (Jonsson 2003; Kåks 2007; Heldt Cassel et al. 2018). There is also a temporal dimension to young residents' relationships with rural areas where the childhoods in rural areas are often described in positive terms, but the life phases of late teens and young adults are more often described in negative terms, sometimes using the 'rural dull' concept where the darker sides of the rural idyll—a community spirit of simplicity, safety and cohesion—are seen as controlling and lacking tolerance of difference (including success) (Glendinning et al. 2003; Rye 2006; Möller 2012; Sørensen and Pless 2017; although for an exception to this in a Swedish context, see Rönnlund 2019).

What is obvious in rural areas is that the role of tourism and its social impacts highlight positive effects for young adults, both local and immigrants. Opportunities to meet new people, increased understanding and tolerance of differences, higher than standard public facilities, and increased shopping, entertainment and recreation supply are all evident in rural areas where tourism dominates (Milman and Pizam 1988; Fredline 2002; Easterling 2004; Sharma et al. 2008; Deery et al. 2012). These elements of rural community can suggest a rural urbanity, where the rural transcends 'traditional' society to 'feel' more urban and cosmopolitan, with all of its associated advantages (Möller et al. 2015), that challenges the 'rural dull' suggested above and provides young adults with motivations to move or stay in rural areas with thriving tourism industries. This point will be discussed further below, after the destination of Sälen is described to provide context to understand the attractiveness of rural destinations for young adults.

Sälen

Sälen is one of Sweden's largest winter tourism destinations attracting over 4.8 million visitor nights per year in 55,000 beds of which 25,000 are commercial beds. Sälen is located about a five-hour drive from Stockholm and two and a half hours from the county's urban centre 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 largest Swedish alpine skiing company. Sälen, Transtrand and Lima villages had 1400 inhabitants in 2010 with a few more inhabitants in the surrounding countryside (Table 19.1). Sälen village is the only village in Malung-Sälen municipality with a constant population growth; all other villages had their biggest population in 1980 or earlier, including the municipality centre Malung.

With such a small population, Sälen's six ski resorts rely on local young people and an influx of young seasonal workers to cater to the (mainly domestic) visitors. A new airport, which opened on December 22, 2019, has the potential to provide even more tourism opportunities and change this community substantially. It will open up the area for new tourist groups from other countries (specifically Denmark and the UK), tourists that need to be able to stay without using a car, tourists with other demands than seen before and so on. It is anticipated that the area will become more of an international destination, which will put pressure on both regular infrastructural elements (i.e. roads, waste collection, etc.) and the tourism infrastructure. Increasing international visitors will also

Table 19.1 Population numbers for Sälen and surrounding villages

Village/town	1960	1970	1975	1980	1990	2000	2010
Limesforsen	629	554	526	496	478	472	441
Malung	5500	6028	6211	6114	5667	5176	5126
Malungsfors	940	732	683	666	614	608	560
Sälen	238	256	230	262	437	489	652
Transtrand	414	429	418	412	375	353	386
Lima	325	492	485	540	426	402	398

Source: Statistics Sweden [2020](#)

The bold numbers illustrate the highest population for those town over time

affect the labour market and the need for staff with a wider range of skills including language skills, emotional intelligence and more technical skills (Fig. 19.1).

Young People in Sälen

There are several studies showing positive effects from tourism on population change in rural areas (Beale and Johnson 1998; McGranahan 1999; English et al. 2000; Möller and Amcoff 2018). Further, the population structure has also been proven more positive in terms of a better gender balance and lower average age in these areas. Such positive impacts

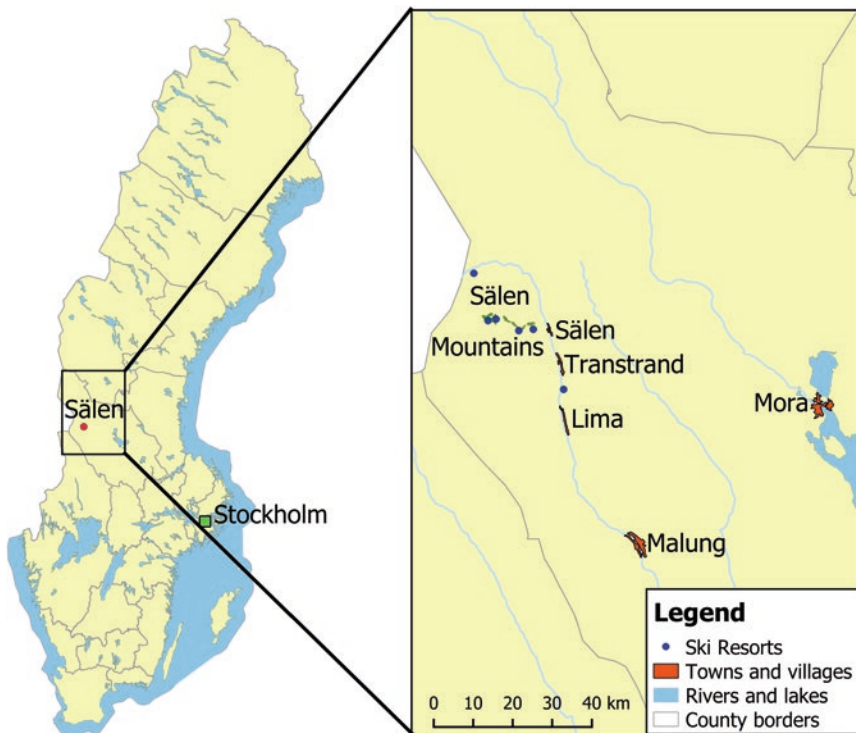


Fig. 19.1 Location of Sälen. (Source: Lantmäteriet, Map design: Peter Möller)

have often proved to be an effect of increased in-migration rather than decreased out-migration (Beale and Johnson 1998; Getz 1986; Lundmark 2006). Using case studies from Möller and Thulemark from the period 2011–2015, the rest of this chapter will consider the role of young people in ‘debunking’ or confirming the myths outlined in the introduction.

Young Residents

In a thorough examination of the tourism industry’s social effects on a group of young local adults in Sälen, Möller (2016a) concluded that there are three important effects. First is that there is an extended supply of potential friends and acquaintances due to the huge flow of people passing by Sälen. Tourists, seasonal workers and entrepreneurs (most in the tourism sector) were all highlighted by the young adults in the interviews although these groups had different levels of importance to them. The tourists were the most volatile group with most of them spending only a short time in Sälen, often only a few days, and therefore the least important group for the young adults from a social perspective. Some entrepreneurs spend a short time in Sälen, while others stay for several years and have moved to Sälen permanently. Both those who stay for a short time and the permanent group were described as important for the young adults, in extending their social network, especially regarding their occupational career. The entrepreneurs living in Sälen permanently are important for a career in Sälen, while the entrepreneurs staying for a shorter time were described as important when the young people looked for jobs in other parts of Sweden. The seasonal workers could also be useful connections when looking for jobs in other parts of Sweden but were also the group described as the most important for the young adults’ social life in Sälen. Of the three categories of people passing through Sälen, seasonal workers constituted the highest potential of future friends or acquaintances, often extending the young adult inhabitants’ social network in their everyday lives.

Second, the tourism and its considerable flows of people also contributed to a perception of Sälen as a place where ‘things happen’. This is important if taken into consideration with accounts of the ‘rural dull’,

especially among young people in their late teens and young adults. One important finding by Möller (2016a) was that most of the out-migrants from Sälen had predominately positive feelings about Sälen, contrary to previous research about rural youth out-migration (Ní Laoire 2000; Svensson 2006; Easthope and Gabriel 2008; Kåks 2007).

Third, Möller (2016a) describes Sälen as a dynamic mixed landscape where both rurality and urbanity, traditional and modern values are present. Even though tourism has a huge impact on Sälen, the very prerequisites for its existence—that is, many of the appreciated rural features reported in previous studies including the wilderness, hunting and fishing—had a positive sense on Sälen as a community.

Altogether, these three effects contribute substantially to the attractiveness of Sälen among young adults. Their sense of identity and sense of place became bound up with the outdoor aspects of rural life as well as more urban aspects, such as the availability of a similarly focused peer group and tourism products, including bars, restaurants and retail. At the same time, this rural urbanity was not always enough to ‘keep’ young people in the area. Rovaniemi in Finland, with its rural location and the attraction of ‘Santa Claus’, is another rural destination where the urban aspects, including higher education opportunities, offer seemingly attractive season work (Box 19.1). However, like Sälen, these attractive jobs are not always enough to retain young seasonal workers longer term. For instance, Sälen is located in the most sparsely populated part of Dalarna with tourism constituting a large part of the small labour market in the area, and some young adults in Möller’s study (2016b) who did not want a career in tourism had to leave Sälen to fulfil their ambitions. Still, most of them described their relationship with Sälen as positive, and many of them visited Sälen regularly. Möller’s (2016a and b) research highlights that even though tourism job opportunities are an important contribution in retaining young people in the area, the positive impacts of the varied social life and social opportunities, combined with aspects associated with a rural lifestyle brought about because of tourism, proved to be an important contributor to young people’s perceptions of Sälen and their intentions to stay and/or eventually return.

Young Seasonal Workers

During a winter season over 2000 seasonal workers are recruited to meet the needs of the tourism industry in Sälen. They, often young adults, are mainly recruited from other parts of Sweden as the local labour market cannot cover the need. During any winter season, more seasonal workers move in to the area than there are local residents. These workers temporarily move to Sälen for between three and five months and mostly stay in accommodation arranged by the company for which they work or in accommodation that is solely for seasonal workers. This means that these seasonal workers stay together with like-minded young people who are there for the same reasons.

What is interesting to note, as Thulemark's (2017) study finds, is that young in-migrants form particular communities in destinations such as Sälen. Thulemark's (2017) research on first season and experienced seasonal workers in Sälen showed they were members of occupational communities. Such communities are characterized by strong social bonds within the community and a strong relation between work and private life (Lee-Ross 1999, 2008). These types of communities have evolved around the tourism work itself and the social relationships revolve around those built in the work environment. However, a further place dimension—in this case the village of Sälen—is included. This becomes more evident when such communities are built in rural areas as the place becomes important as an arena for the like-minded to meet. The seasonal workers choose the place/destination not only based on the rural amenities of the place but also because of the social attributes that they have heard exist among young seasonal workers in the place. The attractiveness of destinations such as Sälen can be found in resort destinations globally, and Whistler, British Columbia, Canada, is a good example of how lifestyle aspirations, sense of identity and sense of place have seen generations of young people to move to, work and stay in rural tourism destinations (Duncan 2008; Box 19.2). These examples further reiterate the narrative of rural urbanity as both a motivation to move to a rural destination and a motive to remain longer term or return annually.

Box 19.1 When Magic Begins to Fade. Seasonal Workers and the Makings of the Christmas

Albina Pashkevich and Tara Duncan

Rovaniemi, a town in northern peripheral Finland, has, since the late 1980s, been the home of Santa Claus (Visit Rovaniemi 2020). Welcoming over 500,000 visitors annually with a population of just over 62,000, Rovaniemi also has two university campuses with almost 8000 students (Visit Rovaniemi n.d.). The main attractions are two Santa villages and other activities associated with Christmas and winter activities. However, whilst most visitors come during the winter months, it is worth noting that the Santa villages are open all year round.

Selling the magic of Christmas and being an 'elf' who introduces children—and adults—to Santa seems like an attractive seasonal job, especially for the international students attending the universities in Rovaniemi. It is the myth of attractiveness of these jobs that this box seeks to shatter.

Analysis of workers employed by several of the major attractions connected to Christmas tourism shows a mixed picture. The study considered the emotional labour of young adults working in the Christmas villages. When it came to leveraging the knowledge and feelings of Christmas in their jobs, not all workers were able to express equal enthusiasm. Finnish young adults acknowledged that the festive and magical feelings around Christmas and its celebration were easy to associate with, as it is part of their yearly traditions. However, workers from outside of Europe, especially those from Asian backgrounds, had to first learn and understand what the phenomenon of Christmas meant in order to be able to excite and contribute to the expectations of visitors and their employer.

However, after working as Santa Claus helpers, these youngsters frequently became disillusioned trying to keep visitors excited about Christmas. The Finnish hospitality workers often 'learnt' the system and were able to vary their working tasks and flexibility to help them 'keep the magic going'. However, international workers, and especially non-European young adults, were not as able to navigate the system and be in control of their tasks, leading to tasks that became repetitive and sometimes even physically challenging. For these young people, they found that their hospitality work—getting people into the Christmas mood—lost its initial attraction and instead they experienced a kind of 'emptiness' in their roles. Christmas became agonizing; instead of being associated with magic and celebration, it became associated with the behind-the-scenes hard work.

The Rovaniemi 'brand' of Santa Claus attracts young people to the periphery, many of whom return annually. These young people aim to experience the magic of Santa Claus through seasonal jobs. However, for some young seasonal employees, especially international students, their lack of (lived) understanding of Christmas traditions and the type of tasks and roles available often mean that the excitement of Christmas disappears rapidly. What this means is that for these young people, whilst the attractiveness of the destination may not fade, the magic of Christmas can.

The connection to place may not be the focus of many of occupational community members. However, these young seasonal workers gain a unique sense of place and attachment to place from their time in Sälen. Such place attachment can, later in life, become important as the earlier experience and sense of rootedness can play a role in decisions to move to rural areas (Stockdale et al. 2013). Some of these young seasonal workers can see themselves moving to rural mountain communities in an imagined future. However, they do not necessarily talk about Sälen as the place to move (back) to; rather, they talk about amenity-rich rural destinations in which they can live a desired lifestyle (Thulemark 2015).

Although only a small number of the young seasonal workers decide to stay in Sälen longer term or permanently, the ones that do stay constitute an important contribution to the positive population change and, maybe even more importantly, further strengthen and extend the range of the social networks among young adults in Sälen (Möller 2016b).

Future for Sälen?

With a focus on tourism development in rural Sweden (SOU 2017) and a new airport with growing domestic and international arrivals, Sälen is a growing tourism destination. However, the local population continues to decline. Young seasonal tourism workers, both locals who chose to stay and in-migrants, are seen as one solution to this declining population. Thulemark (2015), in line with Tuulentie and Heimtun (2014), sees great potential for seasonal workers (and tourists) to move permanently to Sälen, revitalizing community and accentuating the rural urbanity which, in turn, increases place attractiveness encouraging more people to stay, return or move to Sälen, and other such rural tourism destinations. The continued focus on (sustainable) tourism growth of rural destinations such as Sälen (SOU 2017) illustrates the importance for the local community and municipality to actively work to attract and retain these potential in-migrants. Communities and municipalities need to strongly consider the role of enclavic workers (Heimtun 2012) and occupational communities (Thulemark 2017) where young seasonal workers actively build their sense of place and belonging. However, whilst the mobility of

young seasonal workers in rural tourism may explode myths around the sleepiness and undesirability of living in such places, there are much-needed discussions to be had around other groups of temporary migrants and workers in these rural areas, such as berry pickers (Eriksson and Tollefsen 2018). Whilst not the purview of this chapter, these migrants may find the negative elements of rural communities, linking back to the ‘rural dull’, as reasons to leave rather than stay.

Box 19.2 The Vibrancy of a Ski Resort: Attracting Young People to Whistler, BC

Tara Duncan

Whistler is a resort destination located 127 km north of Vancouver on the west coast of British Columbia, Canada. Frequently recognized as one of North America’s top all-season mountain resorts with almost 3.5 million annual visitors (RMOW 2019a), it is home to just under 12,000 permanent residents, equal numbers of second-home owners and approximately 2500 seasonal residents (Gill and Williams 2018; RMOW 2019a; Tourism Whistler 2019).

As a town specifically built for tourism, it is unique. However, like many other mountain destinations, myths remain. Whilst for Whistler, the myth of tourism being a panacea for small communities may not be true; the attractiveness for young people to stay in Whistler remains a myth that can be explored. These two myths will be explored here.

Whistler, as a designated Resort Municipality since 1975 (Tourism Whistler 2019), has long attracted tourists for both winter skiing and summer activities. Visitor numbers and consumer spending have (generally) steadily increased over more than the last twenty years (RMOW 2019b), and it is safe to argue that Whistler is an economically vibrant community. Whilst this paints a picture of a thriving destination, there are areas of concern. Median income (RMOW 2019b), used by Whistler to indicate the community’s overall economic well-being, fell between 2009 and 2016, and trust in council decision-making has dropped substantially since 2014 (RMOW 2019b). However, as resident satisfaction remains high (RMOW 2019b), it is clear that Whistler continues to flourish.

Through Whistler’s continued growth and success, local young people have significant job and leisure opportunities. Whistler is not the sort of community that could be described as the ‘rural dull’ (Glendinning et al. 2003) and is much closer to Möller et al.’s (2015) ‘rural urbanity’ in its attractiveness for young people to stay. Whistler’s large seasonal employee population is also a positive. It remains a destination that requires vast numbers

(continued)

Box 19.2 (continued)

of seasonal employees. From Whistler's first settlers (Gill and Williams 2018) to now, there has always been an ebb and flow of seasonal residents, and whilst most leave, some always remain to become entrepreneurs, visionaries and advocates of the village. Whistler has always attracted young people: from the squatters of the 1970s (Vogler 2000) to the local young people, backpackers and working-holiday makers of today. As Vogler (2000, p. 16) said twenty years ago, Whistler has always been about vibrancy and change, and it is these characteristics that cause it to explode the myriad of myths that exist around rural tourism destinations.

In places like Sälen, and similar to the young residents, seasonal workers extend their social networks within their own surroundings. Within this, there is potential for stronger social networks to be built across seasonal workers and young residents. For the young residents, these new networks and social relations are highly important in their everyday life as Möller (2016a) suggests, they can give young local people wider opportunities, connection beyond the local. The 'rural dull' is converted into a rural urbanity in which these young adults may choose to stay rather than move away. Another way is to think about these occupational communities as a larger group who are attracted to stay in the destination and to see the potential of these in-migrants in either the whole or parts of any such group. As the seasonal workers tend to choose jobs and destinations due to social attributes rather than place-specific amenities, this might be a potential factor in attracting the group to stay.

The development of the new airport has the potential to change the social landscape of Sälen substantially. There will be opportunities and challenges for both the tourism industry and the local community. It is difficult to forecast how the new airport will affect the attractiveness of Sälen among young adults, both local residents and seasonal workers. It may take some time before tourist arrivals through that airport fully develop, but it will be interesting to evaluate the wider societal effects in Sälen. Considering that the tourists have the least social impacts on the young residents, and since it is expected that the biggest change will be an inflow of international tourists, the social impacts on young adults from

the airport may be insignificant. The inflow of international tourists may add an international touch to the whole area, and in the end, an increase in the exchange with other countries may enable an extension of the social networks among the young adults outside the Swedish borders. There may also be an increase of international seasonal workers to Sälen because of the growth of tourism numbers through the increased air transport routes, especially from the wider EU region. What this will do for young people's future social and work opportunities as well as immigration for the Sälen area remains to be seen.

These discussions also illustrate the potential for rural destinations like Sälen to be useful when considering wider policy implication in the development of tourism in rural areas in Sweden, and more globally. As Sweden encourages the sustainable development of tourism outside its main urban centres (SOU 2017), so there is a need for a broader understanding of the role of young seasonal workers as potential in-migrants for rural communities. At the same time, there is need to recognize the impact of negative aspects of the 'rural dull' such as geographical isolation, small communities sizes and lack of amenities. Thus, greater interaction between stakeholders, including rural communities and policy makers, is necessary to ensure that tourism development provides wider and longer-term opportunities including year-round career opportunities for young people, affordable housing, leisure activities and retail services. Whilst rural destinations are often places people simply 'pass through', policy consideration is necessary to consider the role young people, both local and seasonal workers, play in maintaining and growing destinations like Sälen. Young people's sense of self and attachment to rural destinations such as Sälen can be life-long. These young people, either now or in the future, may be the tourists, migrants, entrepreneurs or workers that the local community relies on to maintain a successful tourism industry.

This chapter has considered two of the many myths around rural areas and tourism, specifically within mountain area. The two myths—one, that tourism can be a panacea for rural areas, and two, that seasonal workers do not positively contribute to local communities—have not necessarily been debunked but have been challenged through the example of Sälen. Tourism has undoubtedly played a role in the need for large numbers of seasonal workers in Sälen. With a new airport and the

continued rise in tourism numbers, the natural environment and lifestyle may have attracted lifestyle entrepreneurs and may also have decreased or, at a minimum, slowed out-migration of young people. Möller, Thulemark and Engstrom's (Möller et al. 2015) ideas of rural urbanity illustrate some of the factors that may encourage local young people to stay and young seasonal workers to in-migrate. Rather than the 'rural dull', destinations such as Sälen illustrate that they have the potential to draw young adults looking to embark on lifestyles and careers in different environments. Thus, the sociality of these destinations becomes an aspect that cannot be ignored; myths around the attractiveness of the natural environment or career prospects are taking second place to young people's desire to be part of a community, occupational and more.

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