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In-migration to tourism labour markets

A study on migration to Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen

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Abstract

In this study we analyse the importance of job opportunities within the tourism sector for the in-migration to two rural municipalities in the southern part of the Swedish mountains where two major tourism destinations are located, Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen. We use micro data from the database of BeDa (Bergslagsdata) which is an extract from data on individuals in Sweden by Statistics Sweden (SCB). This database includes, among many other variables, information about residence and employment as well as individual characteristics for all the citizens and the employed people of the studied region. We find that a large share of the in-migrants is employed within tourism industry. In this sense, the tourism industry appears to be a pull factor for in-migration not least in terms of employment opportunities. In this study we also analyse the significance of the creative class among in-migrants and tourism workers.. In-migration is very important for the development of rural municipalities in Sweden and if the in-migrants are also well educated and creative they are an asset for the local communities and the regional development. In this study we show that quite a large share of the in-migrants moving to the municipalities of Sälen and Älvdalen can be classified as being part of a creative class and that there is a connection between in-migration of skilled people and jobs within the tourism industry. This is especially evident in Malung/Sälen, where an expanding tourism industry has brought about changes in the local economy and further increased possibilities for leisure activities and services in the area. In absolute numbers a large share of the tourism labour force (as well as the total LLM) is however non-creative and low skilled. This is explained by the structure of the tourism labour market with a large share of low paid service jobs

Introduction

Rural areas in Sweden are facing structural problems related to population decline caused by out-migration of young people and low birth rates (Amcoff, 2006). This negative development is related to the restructuring within forestry and manufacturing industries which has been an ongoing process since the 1970's. This has led to loss of employment opportunities within all sectors in society since the population decline is also leading to fewer jobs within private and public services in rural regions. The population decline is projected to get even worse in the coming decades with an accelerating aging population (Amcoff and Westholm, 2007). However, some rural areas have managed to counteract this negative trend by a strong development of the tourism industry. This is not least evident in the mountain areas of Sweden, where some winter tourism destinations have grown rapidly during the last 20 years and many new jobs within the service sector have been created. In-migration to rural areas are important not only because they add to the population numbers and thereby strengthens the tax-base of the municipalities but also in terms of a potential for more dynamic and vibrant communities. Regions with high economic growth also have a high mobility among the population related to job-opportunities and many young people. Rural areas on the other hand are more often described as stable and stagnating because of few jobs and out-migration of the younger age groups. A growing tourism sector with jobs that attracts young people and with amenities and ambience that attracts in-migrants may however increase mobility and enhance the potential for positive economic and social development.

Studies have shown that mountain tourism destinations attract in-migrants to a larger extent than other similar rural locations without ski resorts (Lasanta et. al. 2007). The tourism industry in peripheral areas may be described as a pull-factor for in-migration through employment possibilities, but also because the tourism areas are attractive places to live in terms of natural amenities as well as a dynamism or social climate caused by the tourism itself. Motives for moving to countryside locations and peripheral areas have been studied as related to amenities of the places and to lifestyle choices of the in-migrants (e.g. Jobs, 2000; Moss, 2006; Loeffler and Steinicke, 2007; Benson and O'Reilly, 2009a and b; Thulemark, 2011). The tourism industry can as a consequence be viewed not only as positive for the economy in rural areas but may also be perceived as a possibility for population increase.

Stolarick et al. (2010) argues that tourism destinations share a lot of the characteristics related to the supply of services typical for urban areas, such as restaurants, bars, shops etc. This together with the natural amenities of many tourism destinations can attract in-migrants in the same way as they attract tourists. They further argue that the attracting of creative individuals to the territorial assets and quality of place will further increase the attractiveness (among the creative class) of the area (Stolarick et al., 2010) following the arguments put forward by Richard Florida (2005) on the importance of a so called 'people's climate'.

In this study we analyse the importance of job opportunities within the tourism sector for the in-migration to two rural municipalities in the southern part of the Swedish mountains where two major tourism destinations are located, Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen. We use micro data from the database of BeDa (Bergslagsdata) which is an extract from data on individuals in Sweden by Statistics Sweden (SCB). This database includes, among many other variables, information about residence and

employment as well as individual characteristics for all the citizens and the employed people of the studied region.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the relation between in-migration and job-opportunities in the tourism sector.

In relation to this aim, the following research questions are raised:

- What is the magnitude of in-migration to the local tourism labour market in the two municipalities?
- What is the socio-economic composition of in-migrants?
- To what extent is it possible to clarify in-migrants as belonging to the 'creative class'?

This work is an explorative study using unique longitudinal data that allows us to examine individuals and go beyond simple net employment figures. It gives us comprehensive information about those who work within the selected areas over a time span of 18 years. The longitudinal character is particularly suitable for studies of migration and to define in-migrants, the tourism industry labour market and the creative class as well as relationships between them. The geographical unit used in this study is the municipality which will prevent the 'out-leveling' that Ström and Nelson (2010) highlights as a problem when studying regional dynamics on a county level. Using county statistics might oversee 'well-known pockets of creative economic activity in Sweden' (Ström and Nelson 2010:509).

The paper begins with an overview of the research area of migration patterns, the creative class theory, especially in relation to rural areas, and the role of tourism

employment. The next section explains our method and data, followed a description of the selected municipalities in terms of geographical location, population development and the organization of the local tourism industry. The results from the empirical analysis is presented and discussed in the subsequent section. Finally, the results are summed up and discussed in a development and policy perspective.

General migration patterns - a Swedish perspective

For the most part, migration is performed by young people, in particular between 20 and 25 years of age, after which the willingness to move declines (Fischer and Malmberg, 2001). Also, specific groups of the population appear to be more mobile, such as individuals without children and people with higher levels of education (Lundholm, 2006).

Migration is to a large extent triggered by social and environmental motives (Garvill, et al., 2002). This is most evident for age groups over 25, whereas for younger migrants education plays an important role (Lundholm et al. 2004). Improved living environments are seen as main achievements after the move (Lundholm & Malmberg, 2006). People are more likely to move permanently to attractive living environments, which often can be located in more rural areas (Amcoff, 2004).

Motives for migration to countryside locations are related to the natural and social values of the rural areas, together with the quality of housing (Stenbacka, 2001).

Rural migration is mainly performed by older and retired people. Younger individuals are, to a growing extent, moving for educational reasons and the higher educational institutions are seldom located in rural areas. Another group that is

moving to rural areas, to a limited degree, is families with children (Hjort & Malmberg 2004). Although, Hjort & Malmberg (2004) did not make any conclusions regarding the reasons for migrating, they did highlight a tendency for rural areas to be attractive living environments for some groups.

Studies of urban-rural migration and counter-urbanisation in countries other than Sweden have also produced evidence of the importance of qualities of a place, apart from pure economic or employment related motives to migrate (van Dam, et al., 2002). Other studies have shown that economic and social factors are combined reasons to migrate (Swain & Garasky, 2007). For rural mountain areas, such as those selected for this study, the attractive living environment may be a driving force in a decision to move, along with the job opportunities that the tourism industry creates.

Tourism and the creative class approach

During the last decade much interest, both among policy makers and in academia, has been paid to Richard Florida's work (2002, 2005a and b, 2008) on the importance of the creative class as an engine for regional development. Florida's idea is mainly based on the importance of attracting talented and creative people and by doing so the regions will become more competitive. Four T's (talent, technology, tolerance and territorial assets) are pointed out as important to attract and retain creative individuals. *Talent* is basically the human capital, i.e. persons' with at least a bachelor degree. *Technology* refers to concentrations of high-tech industries and innovations. *Tolerance* is the openness to diversity and *Territorial assets* is the amenities, both physical and intangible of the place.

The theory of the creative class is developed and discussed with examples from large urban areas in the United States and therefore also much of the critique is directed to the problem of using the theory on less populated cities and regions (Andersen et al. 2010b; Hansen, 2008). However, some researchers have started to use the ideas of Florida's theory within a rural context (see for example; Heikkilä & Pikkarainen, 2010; Ström & Nelson, 2010; McGranahan et al. 2010; Nuur & Laestadius 2009; McGranahan & Wojan, 2007; Petrov, 2007 and 2008). The theory of the creative class has during the last years been tested in regions outside large metropolitan areas. In Sweden, as well as the other Nordic countries, studies have been conducted to test the relevance of the theory (Asheim & Hansen, 2009; Andersen et al. 2010: a & b) and to use the theory as an explanation to regional development (Florida et al. 2008; Boschma & Fritsch, 2009).

Nuur & Lestadius (2009) show the advantages of rural areas to retain and attract the creative class through second homes, and through counter-urbanisation where the use of telecommunications for working from a distance is of importance.. They also highlight the importance of amenities for attracting these people, which goes in line with McGranahan & Wojan's (2007) study of the importance of recreational (natural) amenities for regional development and in-migration of the (rural) creative class in a US setting.

The fastest growing rural areas are located in the mountain range. However, creative class members do not seek the most densely populated areas, rather they prefer the countryside hosting the type of consumer services they desire. Tourism destinations often provide basic services and can thereby be attractive to the creative class. These types of areas are also often associated with recreational amenities and modern telecommunication, and thus the creative class can now be seen as potential residents

that alongside the tourism revenues can generate positive economic development (McGranahan et al. 2011).

Tourism, migration and labour markets

It is well established in research that tourism, mobility and migration are connected (Bell & Ward, 2000; Hall, 2005). In the footsteps of a more developed tourism industry different types of temporary and permanent migration have followed. Williams & Hall (2000; also see Hall & Williams 2002) distinguish five types of tourism-related migration in an attempt to examine the relationship; labour migration, return migration, entrepreneurial migration, retirement migration and migration to second homes. However, the borders between these categories might well be blurred at points.

The relationship between tourism and labour migration, both temporary and permanent, is obviously affected by the demand of tourism labour that cannot be covered by the local labour force (Williams & Hall, 2000; Lundmark, 2005).

Within mountain areas the commonly occurring seasonality in the tourism business is often essential in studies in these areas and the connections between migration and tourism (Boon, 2006; Lundmark, 2006). Seasonal tourism employment (Lundmark, 2006), migrant workers (Joppe, 2012; Janta et. al. 2011), working tourists (Uriely & Reichel, 2000; Uriely, 2001); such as backpackers (Duncan, 2004) and migrant tourist-workers (Bianchi, 2000) are different types of labour covering the gap that exists between the local workforce and the demand from the tourism industry.

The jobs within the tourism industry are often described as low paid (Marcouiller et al. 2004; Lacher & Oh, 2012) and low skilled (Riley et. al. 2002). Hence, the industry is accommodating a wide range of different types of jobs and the mobility within the industry is mainly motivated by “ *the wish to deal with people, work in pleasant surroundings, and find an interesting job*” (Szivas, et. al., 2003:72) and the job satisfaction is high among its employees (Choy, 1995). Within the Swedish mountain range and its winter sport destinations, the number of tourism employees has increased and four municipalities (of which Malung/Sälen municipality is one) have shown remarkably high increases in tourism employment (with 20-40% between the years of 1985-1999, see Lundmark, 2005).

Data and Methodology

The research in this article is based on longitudinal geo-referenced micro data that covers the period 1990-2008, with three-year intervals. The longitudinal character of the database allows us to follow the actions taken by individuals over time. The database (BeDa) is compiled by Statistics Sweden for all individuals (16 years of age and older) working and/or living in four counties (Värmland, Örebro, Västmanland and Dalarna) in central Sweden. In this study we focus on two municipalities dependent on winter tourism within the county of Dalarna; Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen (Idre).

The database contains a wide range of information such as attachment to the labour market, workplaces and firms, sex, age, education, income, and family composition. The database also includes the location of residence and workplace each year for every individual. For classification into tourism related sectors, we use the Swedish

industrial classification system (Svensk näringsgrensklassificering, SNI) equivalent to the European 5-digit NACE nomenclature. The different 5-digit sectors are shown in table 1.

Table 1. Selection of tourism related branches in the Swedish industrial classification system according to SNI 2002 (SNI 1992 in brackets).

SNI02	Economic activity
	Hotels and restaurants
55101	Hotels with a restaurant, except conference centres (SNI92 55111)
55102	Conference centres with lodging (SNI92 55112)
55103	Hotels and motels without a restaurant SNI92 55120)
55210	Youth hostels, etc.
55220	Camping sites, etc., including caravan sites
55230	Other short-stay lodging facilities
55300	Restaurants
55521	Catering for the transport sector
	Tourism and travel activities
61200	Inland water transport
62100	Scheduled air transport
62200	Non-scheduled air transport
63210	Other supporting land transport activities
63301	Activities of tour operators
63302	Activities of travel agencies
63303	Tourist assistance
92320	Operation of arts facilities
92330	Fair and amusement park activities
92340	Other entertainment activities
92520	Museum activities and preservation of historical sites and buildings
92530	Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities
92611	Operation of ski facilities
92612	Operation of golf courses
92729	Various other recreational activities
52485	Retail sale of sports and leisure goods

Source: MIS 2003:2. SNI 2002, Standard för svensk näringsgrensindelning 2002.

To initially establish the importance of the tourism sector in the two municipalities (see table 3) the individual's connection to the labour market is categorized into three levels of attachment; permanent, seasonal and combinator. *Permanent workers* are those that have a registered income from an employer (or as self-employed) in the

month of November for a specific year. Employment in November is commonly used as a proxy to permanent employment in Swedish labour market analysis. *Seasonal workers* do not have an income in November, but during some other part of the year. This category catches workers in the tourism sector that are active on the labour market during high season in the winter or the summer. Although this is not an ideal separator between permanent and seasonal workers (in theory you may be employed 11 months of year but not in November) it is obvious from income data that the yearly earnings differ substantially between the two groups (see table 2). For this study we only take into account individuals permanently living in the areas. This means that seasonal workers temporary living and working in the area during the tourism peak season is not included. In Sälen, which is the main tourism destination within the municipality of Malung-Sälen, approximately 2000 seasonal workers are hired. Some of these are in this study categorized as seasonal workers but the majority is recruited from other parts of the country.

Table 2. Mean and median salary income as employee in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen municipalities for permanent and seasonal workers in the tourism sector in 2008.

Category	Mean income	Median income
Permanent	220 100	216 000
Seasonal	27 500	17 300

Source: Statistics Sweden/BeDa.

Finally, *combinators* are those that have a secondary income source during the year that is related to the tourism sectors defined in table 1. Combinators are, however, not possible to divide into permanent and seasonal workers, and thus not included in table 2.

The concept of the creative class is used to distinguish the qualifications and skill levels of the in-migrating tourism worker. For the purpose of this study we use a combination of three criteria to define the creative. First, the level of *education* is used to reflect the formal qualification of the individual. Secondly, we use *income* as a proxy for the (economic) value that is attached to workers by their employers. Thirdly, we use the International Standard Classification of *Occupations* as an indicator of the work content attached to different positions in work life. In operational terms this means that individuals classified as belonging to the creative class either have a minimum three year long university education, or belong to the top income quartile in the two municipalities, or belong to the two top levels in the occupation classification. The latter criteria mean that the person either has a leading position (Legislators, senior officials and managers, Corporate managers, Managers of small enterprises) or a professional occupation (with a theoretical higher education). This definition is based on Florida's work (referenser), but extended in the sense that not only formal education is taken into consideration, but also whether the individual fills an occupation related to the formal qualifications. Furthermore, the income criteria is intended to capture persons without longer formal education, but who are still being regarded as valuable by their employers as expressed by high salaries.

Case study areas

Sälen and Idre are two large winter destinations in the southern part of the Swedish mountains, situated in the province of Dalarna within the municipalities of Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen, respectively. Sälen is currently one of Sweden's largest winter tourism destinations; Idre, on the other hand, is a smaller alpine destination but the community is nevertheless strongly dependent on tourism. The municipalities of Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen were chosen for this study based on their similarities but

also because of their differences. The two tourism destinations are different in terms of the local structure and organisation of the tourism industry that originates from their diverse backgrounds as mountain tourism destinations.

A governmental policy change in the 1970s resulted in municipalities playing an important economic role in the promotion and support for the tourism industry in Sälen and Idre. In Sälen, the municipality of Malung owned 40 percent of the Sälenfjällen AB (Sälen mountains) company. The remaining 60 percent was owned by an economic organisation composed of local tourism companies (Bodén & Rosenberg, 2004). In Idre, the local politicians in the municipality of Älvdalen started a project to rescue the village's social structure by constructing a tourism company. A trust was set up with the municipality as its head (Bodén & Rosenberg, 2004).

However, it was not only public investments that triggered the growth of Sweden's mountain tourism. The positive macro-economic situation in the 1970s, with investments from both public and other private investors, together with the positive effect that Ingemar Stenmark's alpine skiing success had on the sport, promoted the development of downhill skiing destinations. The destinations changed from small-scale summer tourism to large-scale alpine skiing winter tourism (Fredman et. al., 2001; Bodén & Rosenberg, 2004). This positive boost in touristic areas changed in the 1980s and early 1990s. A period of economic recession affected the tourism industry in terms of fewer tourists and reduced investments. The industry either had to accept this new situation or act. Accordingly a large company was established in Sälen; it acquired several small companies and was able to control and lead the

restructuring within the village's tourism industry. In Idre, on the other hand, the tourism activities continued to develop slowly under the control of the municipal trust (Bodén & Rosenberg, 2004).

Employment within the tourism industry

Table 3 shows the significance of employment within the tourism industry, in the two municipalities, divided into two different sectors; hotels and restaurants and tourism and travel activities. These sectors are described in terms of number of employed individuals and shares of employment in each sector for different types of employment. Local tourism workers have been categorized by permanent and seasonal workers, as well as combinatorators (persons having a second income source from the tourism sector). In both municipalities the non-permanent workers (seasonal and combinatorators) stands for more than one third of the local tourism labour force. Combinators are more important in Malun/Sälen than in Älvdalen. However, we have to keep in mind that seasonal workers living in other municipalities are not included in these figures.

Table 3. Different categories of local tourism employment 2008 in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen municipalities. Absolute and relative numbers.

Sectors/Employment categories	Malung/Sälen		Älvdalen	
	Abs.	Shares, %	Abs.	Shares, %
Hotels and restaurants	384	100.0	273	100.0
<i>Thereof</i>				
- <i>permanent</i>	234	60.9	149	54.6
- <i>seasonal</i>	62	16.2	62	22.7
- <i>combinators</i>	88	22.9	62	22.7
Tourism and travel activities	526	100.0	375	100.0
<i>Thereof</i>				
- <i>permanent</i>	334	63.5	218	58.1
- <i>seasonal</i>	77	14.6	65	17.3
- <i>combinators</i>	115	21.9	92	24.5
Total Tourism sector	910	100.0	648	100.0

<i>Thereof</i>				
- permanent	568	62.4	367	56,6
- seasonal	139	15.3	152	23.5
- combinator	203	22.3	154	23.8
Total employment (permanent and seasonal)	6 010	100.0	4 174	100.0
Tourism sector (permanent and seasonal)	707	11.8	494	11.8
Tourism sector (incl. combinator)	910	15.1	648	15.5

Source: Statistics Sweden/Database BeDa.

The tourism sector represents close to 12 % of the total labour market in both municipalities when local permanent and seasonal workers are included, and up to 15 % if combinator are included as well. This representation of the tourism industry within the municipalities is more than double the share of tourism employments in the four counties (Dalarna, Västmanland, Örebro and Värmland) included in the database used in this study (BeDa). In the four counties the tourism sector represents 5,4 % of the total labour market. To conclude, tourism is an important sector in terms of employment in the two municipalities. Now that we have described the case study areas and the size of the tourism industry, we turn to the empirical results.

Empirical results

In the following sections the results of the analysis of data on population and employment in the municipalities of Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen are presented.

In-migration

To analyse the relationship between in-migration and employment within the tourism industry in the two municipalities we compare the employment figures for individuals that has moved in from other locations during the period 1990-2005 and the figures for individuals with a permanent place of residence in the municipalities.

The in-migrants and non-migrants are categorized in table 4 in the different sectors of the tourism industry. Table 4 also differentiate between the tourism sector as a whole and the rest of the labour market in the two municipalities.

Table 4. Tourism employment 2008 in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen municipalities by in-migrants and non-migrants (permanent and seasonal workers). Absolute and relative numbers.

Sector	Malung/Sälen		Älvdalen	
	Absolute numbers	Shares, %	Absolute numbers	Shares, %
Hotel and restaurant	296	100.0	211	100.0
- <i>Non-migrants</i>	171	57.7	142	61.7
- <i>In-migrants</i>	125	42.3	69	38.3
Tourism and travel activities	411	100.0	283	100.0
- <i>Non-migrants</i>	268	65.2	203	71.7
- <i>In-migrants</i>	143	34.8	80	28.3
Total Tourism sector	707	100.0	494	100.0
- <i>Non-migrants</i>	439	62.1	345	69.8
- <i>In-migrants</i>	268	37.9	149	30.2
Rest of local labour market	5 303	100.0	3 680	100.0
- <i>Non-migrants</i>	4 306	81.2	2 946	80.1
- <i>In-migrants</i>	997	18.8	734	19.9

Source: Statistics Sweden/Database BeDa.

It is evident from table 4 that the tourism industry is an important channel for in-migration to Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen. In the tourism sector the in-migrants represent almost 38 % of the work force in Malung/Sälen, and 30 % in Älvdalen, which is in line with what Lundmark (2006) found in a previous study. The corresponding figures for the rest of the labour market are just below 20%. In-movers are most important in the sub-sector of hotels and restaurants, where they represent around 40% of the tourism workers in both municipalities. This sector is typically associated with low wages and high mobility within the work force and is often characterized as a sector where many young people get their first job.

Where do the in-migrants come from? Are they moving in from adjacent municipalities or are they coming from metropolitan regions? In table 5 we use 2005 as a reference point in time to establish the place of residence prior to moving to Malung/Sälen or Älvdalen.

Table 5. Residential area 2005 for in-migrating tourism workers in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen in 2008.

Residential area 2005	Malung/Sälen		Älvdalen	
	Tourism	Rest of LLM	Tourism	Rest of LLM
Rest of Dalarna County	16.5	25.8	20.0	44.1
Stockholm*	10.6	19.4	10.0	13.7
Gothenburg*	8.2	11.7	12.0	8.1
Malmö*	5.9	3.3	10.0	2.4
Rest of the country	58.8	39.8	48.0	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*=Refers to the counties of Stockholm, Västra Götaland and Skåne.

Source: Statistics Sweden/Database BeDa.

In-migrating tourism workers are to a larger extent non-regional, compared to in-migrants working in other parts of the labour market (table 5). Tourism workers are more often recruited from other parts of the country than the surrounding Dalarna region. The metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö are important sources of in-migrating workers for the tourism sector as well as other locations in southern and central Sweden. This is in contrast to the other sectors of the labour market where a larger part comes from the surrounding area of Dalarna, especially in the case of Älvdalen municipality. This shows that the tourism industry as a labour market attracts people from the same regions as the ones where the majority of tourists to the mountain destinations come from. This could indicate that the in-migrants do not only move because of the employment opportunities, since there is a lack of job opportunities in the nearby municipalities, but also for other reasons. Long distance migration to these areas shows that the migrants made active choices to move that were not solely connected to getting a job.

Summing up so far, we can conclude that the tourism industry is an important source of employment and that in-migration is a vital component in the local tourism industry in both municipalities, and that the incoming tourism workers are mostly recruited from extra-regional parts of the country. These two findings are valuable, since they indicate that in-migration (besides temporary/seasonal workers) have the potential to function as a source of renewal and development through the embodied experience and knowledge thereby being brought into the local tourism sector. Exploring this idea further, we now turn to the question of the socio-economic characteristics of the in-migrating tourism workers. In table 6 the tourism workforce is analysed according to central features such as age, gender, income, level of education, occupations in leading positions and self-employment.

Table 6. Characteristics of workers in the tourism sector and Rest of the local labour market (LLM) in 2008 in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen by in-migrants and non-migrants.

		Malung/Sälen		Älvdalen	
		In-migrants	Non-migrants	In-migrants	Non-migrants
Age (average)	Hotels and restaurants	39	33	37	35
	Tourism and travel activities	36	39	42	40
	Rest of LLM	42	46	44	45
Female share (%)	Hotels and restaurants	50.4	58.5	55.1	74.6
	Tourism and travel activities	49.0	43.7	55.0	37.9
	Rest of LLM	53.4	45.2	50.7	44.5
Income (average)*	Hotels and restaurants	2 467	1 598	2 057	1 578
	Tourism and travel activities	2 636	2 438	2 057	2 164
	Rest of LLM	2 372	2 374	2 395	2 338
Education (ratio)**	Hotels and restaurants	0.11	0.08	0.22	0.18
	Tourism and travel activities	0.48	0.04	0.09	0.03
	Rest of LLM	0.61	0.11	0.43	0.09
Leading/Professional***	Hotels and restaurants	18.9	20.8	16.4	11.8
	Tourism and travel activities	18.9	10.1	9.1	13.6
	Rest of LLM	24.4	13.8	18.9	10.2
Self-employed (%)	Hotels and restaurants	17.6	18.1	14.5	14.8
	Tourism and travel activities	2.8	9.3	1.3	3.9
	Rest of LLM	14.8	17.8	11.1	14.7

*=Income from being employed. Only 'permanent' workers included. In 100SEK.

**=ratio between the shares of highly educated (at least 3 years of university education) and low educated (less than 3 years at senior high school).

***=Persons having leading positions (Legislators, senior officials and managers, Corporate managers, Managers of small enterprises) and professionals (with a theoretical higher education).

Based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations.

Source: Statistics Sweden/Database BeDa.

We would expect in-migrants on average to be younger than non-migrants, due to the general migration patterns discussed above. This is however not conclusive when looking at the average age in different categories in table 6. Individuals working with tourism activities tend to be slightly younger, at least in Malung/Sälen. In some sectors the in-migrants are older than non-migrants, as is the case in hotels and restaurants in both municipalities, and in tourism and travel activities in Älvdalen.

The female share of the work force also varies between sectors, between in-migrants and non-migrants, and between municipalities in a non-systematic manner. But, the female share is clearly higher among non-migrants in the Hotel and Restaurant sector in both municipalities. This is in line with the findings in Lundmark (2005), indicating a decreasing number of women in the tourism work force in the Swedish mountain areas. In tourism and travel activities the situation is the opposite; a higher share of female workers among in-migrants.

Income differences show a more distinct pattern; income levels are generally higher among in-migrants, with the only exception being the tourism and travel sector in Älvdalen. Differences regarding income in favor of in-migrants are significant.

Noteworthy is also the income differences between the tourism sector in general and the rest of the labour market in Malung/Sälen. However, the income level in all categories is lower than the average level of income in Sweden, in 2008 (Statistic

Sweden, 2012). One explanation to this is the large share of employment in the low paid service sector, typical to many jobs in hotels and restaurants.

Education is measured as a ratio between the share of persons with a higher education and those with a low level of education. High values indicates a more well-educated workforce. The pattern is fairly straight forward in the sense that the educational level is significantly higher among in-migrants, in the tourism sectors as well as in the rest of the labour market.

Individuals in leading positions refers to the two top levels in the International Standard Classification of Occupations; managers in either the public or private sector, and professionals in occupations demanding higher education. The share of individuals in a leading position differs between the municipalities. In Malung/Sälen the share among in-migrants and non-migrants are at an almost equal level in the hotels and restaurants sector. In tourism and travel activities as well as for the rest of the labour market, the share of in-migrants having a leading position is larger than for non-migrants. In Älvdalen on the other hand, in-migrants having a leading position is more common in hotels and restaurants and the rest of labour market, whereas in the tourism and travel activities sector non-migrants are to a larger degree holding leading positions.

The level of self-employment is not surprisingly high the hotels and restaurants sector, both in Malung/Sälen and Älvdalen. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that self-employment is also high in the labour market outside of the tourism sector in

both municipalities. From table 6 we can also conclude that self-employment among in-migrants is either on par with, or lower than for non-migrants.

The socio-economic differences between in-migrants and non-migrants can thus be summarized as follows. We find no systematic pattern of difference in terms of age, gender, or the level of self-employment, between in-migrants and non-migrants. We can, however, conclude that in-migrants, in comparison with non-migrants, show higher earnings, have a longer formal education, and in some parts of the local economies are overrepresented in leading/professional occupations. Based on this, we now move on to the question of the representation of the creative class¹ among in-migrants and non-migrants..

In-migration and the creative class

As mentioned earlier, the creative class in this study is composed of three dimensions that we argue may capture them; the well paid, the well educated people, and those having a leading role in work life. The relative importance of the creative class in both municipalities is summarized in table 7. Note that because of relatively small absolute numbers, the tourism sector is in this table not divided by hotels and restaurant and tourism and travel activities.

Table 7. Absolute and relative size of the creative and non-creative class by in-migrants/non-migrants and by Tourism/Rest of the Local Labour Market (LLM) in 2008.

a) Malung/Sälen

Malung/Sälen		Tourism Abs.	Tourism Rel. %	Rest of LLM Abs.	Rest of LLM Rel. %
Creative	In-migrants	112	15,8	463	8,7
	Non-migrants	121	17,1	1 488	28,1
Non-creative	In-migrants	156	22,1	534	10,1

¹ The creative class is in this study mainly based on what Florida describes as Talent. We defined the creative class as those with a university education three years or longer and/or an income that is among the upper 30 percent of average incomes and/or has an occupation that is in a leading position.

Non-migrants	318	45,0	2 818	53,1
Total	707	100,0	5 303	100,0
<i>In-migrants share of the Creative class</i>		<i>48,1</i>		<i>23,7</i>
<i>The Creative class' share of total employment</i>		<i>33,0</i>		<i>36,8</i>

b) Älvdalen

Älvdalen		Tourism	Tourism	Rest of	Rest of
		Abs.	Rel. %	LLM	LLM
				Abs.	Rel. %
Creative	In-migrants	44	8,9	309	8,4
	Non-migrants	86	17,4	917	24,9
Non-creative	In-migrants	105	21,3	425	11,5
	Non-migrants	259	52,4	2 029	55,1
	Total	494	100,0	3 680	100,0
	<i>In-migrants share of the Creative class</i>		<i>33,8</i>		<i>25,2</i>
	<i>The Creative class' share of total employment</i>		<i>26,3</i>		<i>33,3</i>

Source: Statistics Sweden/BeDa.

In-migrants constitute a significant part of the creative class in the total labour market for both municipalities (see table 7). In Malung/Sälen the in-migrants represents almost half (48.1) of the creative class working in the tourism industry, in Älvdalen the share is about a third (33.8). In both cases this share exceeds the corresponding figures for the rest of the labour market. This resembles the results in a study by McGranhan and Wojan (2007) who found a concentration of the creative class in rural areas within the service industries.

In-migrants classified as creative class and employed in the rest of the labour market constitutes about 25 percent in both municipalities. As we have used occupation as one of our variables to define the creative class, entrepreneurs employed as managers of their own companies are included as well. A difference between the two municipalities is the share of creative in-migrants working within the tourism

industry compared with creative class in-migrants working within the rest of the local labour market. In Malung/Sälen creative tourism in-migrants constitutes 15,8 % compared to 8,7 in the rest of the LLM. In Älvdalen this share is 8,9 % in the tourism industry compared to 8,4 % in the rest of the LLM. Another difference between the municipalities is the creative class' share of employment within tourism and the rest of the LLM. A third of all employed in the tourism industry were categorized as part of the creative class in Malung/Sälen, which is roughly on the same level as for the rest of the LLM. In Älvdalen on the other hand, the creative segment of the workforce is of less importance.

The main conclusion, however, is that the in-migrants represent a substantial part of the creative tourism workers, especially in the municipality of Malung/Sälen. In-migration of individuals belonging to the creative class is probably connected to the growth of the tourism industry and the need for a skilled workforce. The reason for the slight difference between the two municipalities may be explained by the larger size of the tourism industry and the growth of this sector in Malung-Sälen. Since the tourism industry is organized within a few large companies this also means that there are more employment opportunities within managerial and leading positions in these firms.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this paper we study the role of employment within the tourism industry for in-migration to rural destinations, using a case study approach covering the municipalities of Malung-Sälen and Älvdalen in Sweden.

We find that a large share of the in-migrants is employed within tourism industry. In this sense, the tourism industry appears to be a pull factor for in-migration not least in terms of employment opportunities, a conclusion well in line with Lundmark's (2006) claim that the tourism industry attracts and absorbs the in-migrating population. However the role of tourism as a pull factor for in-migration is more complex and includes important aspects of lifestyle and amenity motivations for in-migration since decisions to migrate are influenced by a combination of social, environmental and job-related factors, according to previous studies (Stenbacka, 2001; Garvill, et al., 2002; Amcoff, 2004; Lundholm & Malmberg, 2006). The tourism destinations in rural mountain locations offer a range of services and leisure products that are not only available for tourists but for all inhabitants. The supply of public and private services is also much higher and more varied in tourism dominated areas than in other rural municipalities with similar amenities of the place. These services and leisure products may well function as a pull factor not only for tourists and seasonal workers, but also for in-migrants (Stolarick et al. 2010).

In this study we also analyse the significance of the creative class among in-migrants and tourism workers. In absolute numbers a large share of the tourism labour force (as well as the total LLM) is non-creative and low skilled. This is explained by the structure of the tourism labour market with a large share of low paid service jobs. However, this large group of tourism workers is very important for the functioning of the tourism industry and they may be seen as a prerequisite for the overall attractiveness of the place. These individuals can be seen as part of the "re-creative class" who are creative people working within the tourism industry, an industry that is seldom mentioned in the literature on the creative class and its importance for

development. They constitute an important group that serves the members of the creative class (Florida, 2002).

In-migration is very important for the development of rural municipalities in Sweden and if the in-migrants are also well educated and creative they are an asset for the local communities and the regional development. In this study we show that quite a large share of the in-migrants moving to the municipalities of Sälen and Älvdalen can be classified as being part of a creative class and that there is a connection between in-migration of skilled people and jobs within the tourism industry. This is especially evident in Malung/Sälen, where an expanding tourism industry has brought about changes in the local economy and further increased possibilities for leisure activities and services in the area.

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