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Authors: Kati Pitkänen, Maarit Sireni, Pertti Rannikko, Seija Tuulentie, & Mervi J. Hiltunen

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Temporary Mobilities Regenerating Rural places. Case studies from Northern and Eastern Finland

Kati Pitkänen

Finnish Environment Institute

kati.pitkanen@ymparisto.fi

Maarit Sireni

University of Eastern Finland

maarit.sireni@uef.fi

Pertti Rannikko

University of Eastern Finland

pertti.rannikko@uef.fi

Seija Tuulentie

Finnish Natural Resources Institute

seija.tuulentie@luke.fi

Mervi J. Hiltunen

University of Eastern Finland

mervi.hiltunen@uef.fi

Abstract

Sparsely populated northern resource communities have been marked by flows of out-migration and an aging population. However, rural places are also becoming the locus of a range of leisure and work related mobilities. The aim of the paper is to identify different forms of rural mobilities and analyse their economic and socio-cultural importance for peripheral development. We introduce a framework of temporary mobilities to study the range of seasonal and temporary movements and mobile groups. The framework is applied to a forestry dependent community in eastern Finland, and a second home community in Finnish Lapland. These northern communities have traditionally been dependent on the use of natural resources. Our analysis shows that during past decades however, their development has become increasingly defined by tourists, recreationists, second home owners and seasonal workers. Our findings highlight the importance of fixity, stopping and staying when evaluating the consequences and potentials of mobilities for rural development.

Keywords: rural, resource communities, temporary mobilities, Finland, sparsely populated areas

1.0 Introduction

Much of the recent work on mobility has focused on urban areas, with the urban constructed as an archetypical space of hyper-mobility and a 24/7 economy (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011; Urry, 2007). In turn, *the rural* has been associated with stability, coherence, and idyllic myths of order and old virtues (Bell & Osti, 2010). In rural research, mobilities have been addressed mainly through migratory flows that tend to offer a rather narrow picture of uni-directional, long

distance and permanent movements of people to and from rural places. Such narrow views have made rural researchers increasingly call for a more holistic recognition of rural mobilities, instead of and in addition to stabilities (Adamiak, Pitkänen & Lehtonen, 2016; Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014).

It has been noted that the rural, as much as the urban, is constantly evolving in the context of social and economic restructuring (Oksa & Rannikko, 1988), and that mobility represents an important constituent of rural lifestyles and places (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014). Rural places and environments are the locus of a range of leisure and work related mobilities that are increasing in both scope and scale. At the same time, rural areas are affected by a series of demographic, economic and societal changes such as depopulation, urbanization, aging, business relocation, and digitalisation. These major social and societal trends challenge the conventional conceptions of rural change, communities and mobilities.

Rural mobilities are often in focus when studying migration, as well as tourism and leisure. For instance, rural temporary mobilities have been explored in the emerging field of rural second home research. Rural second homes have been seen as a testimony of mobile, heterolocal (Halfacree, 2012) or multi-local lifestyles encompassing both rural and urban living environments, and the mobility between them (McIntyre, Williams & McHugh, 2006). With an increasing number of second home owners and users opting to divide their lives between multiple places instead of making permanent moves, second home researchers (especially in the Nordic countries) have argued that the current administrative practices have not been able to keep up with this development (Adamiak et al., 2016; Ellingsen, 2016; Müller & Hall, 2003). As current administrative practices are primarily based on the territorial registration of populations in one place of permanent residence (urban), they give an inadequate picture of population distribution and mobility. Consequently, temporary and seasonal residents remain invisible in rural development policies, giving an overly static and negative image of rural development (Rannikko, 2016a). Besides second homes, there also other temporary mobile populations increasingly dropping in and out of rural locations such as seasonal labor, tourists and visitors, fishermen, hunters and berry pickers (Carson, Cleary, de la Barre, Eimermann & Marjavaara, 2016; Rannikko, 2016a). Therefore, researchers have called for a better identification of temporary mobilities and the development of alternative population measurements in rural development and policy (Adamiak et al., 2016; Ellingsen, 2016; Müller & Hall, 2003; Rannikko, 2016a).

In this paper, we examine rural mobilities in two different types of sparsely populated rural municipalities in Finland. Our focus is on temporary mobilities and populations, that is, on non-permanent rural residents. Our aim is to identify different types of mobilities and mobile groups, as well as to examine the impacts of mobilities to rural places. More specifically, we are interested in a) which temporary mobile groups have become most important in different case study localities, and b) what the economic and socio-cultural consequences and potentials embedded in various mobile groups are for rural places. In particular, we intend to make the different forms of rural mobility visible, and to show their importance for the development of sparsely populated rural areas in Finland.

We start by reviewing some of the current accounts of rural mobilities, with a special emphasis on the sparsely populated rural areas. Our intention is to build a conceptual framework to study the range of seasonal and temporary movements and mobile groups in sparsely populated areas, and their potential influence on rural development. We will then apply the framework to explore

two rural communities in Finland: Lieksa in eastern Finland and Muonio in Finnish Lapland. The case study methods and empirical material are introduced in section three. Sections four and five present the analysis of the two rural places. The paper concludes with a summary and a discussion of the findings.

2.0 From Out-migration to Everyday Mobilities: Rural Mobilities in the Sparsely Populated North

Rural population studies have long reported an out-migration of people from rural communities to urban centres. The global rearrangement of rural production, industry and trade has led to a declining importance of production activities, and an associated rural restructuring. Thus, out-migration has been identified as the dominant population trend for the majority of rural communities around the world (Woods, 2011). For the sparsely populated North in particular, the population decline of rural areas undermines their economic performance and causes negative social consequences. The out-migration of young people, the “brain drain” of skilled workers, and the “exodus of women” from rural areas can be seen as damaging trends, removing the economically active section of the population and changing the demographic profile of rural communities (Bye, 2009; Stockdale, 2004).

In some parts of the global North, an opposite trend of counter-urbanization and in-migration from urban to rural areas has been noticed (Boyle & Halfacree, 1998; Champion, 1989; Woods, 2011). Research in this field has demonstrated that in-migrants typically represent middle or service class groups, driven by quality of life motivations such as choosing to live close to nature and adopt a perceived rural lifestyle and recreational opportunities (Little & Austin, 1996). Besides amenity migration, urban to rural migration can also be for economic reasons, such as opting for more affordable living and housing costs. Certain localities have also been targeted by foreign amenity migrants, who tend to live “in the countryside” rather than “from the countryside” (Moss & Glorioso, 2014). These flows of people can change rural communities leading to the gentrification of rural settlements, or perhaps causing social and cultural tensions between newcomers and the established local population. Studies on counter-urbanization have been criticised for not being supported by population statistics (Champion, 2001). Especially in the sparsely populated North, out-migration and urbanization have tended to outweigh the contrary population trend (Adamiak et al., 2016; Lehtonen & Tykkyläinen, 2009).

Although rurality has always been about mobility (e.g. that rural people have always travelled to markets and moved for work opportunities), researchers have pointed out that rural residents can be even more mobile than before, both physically and virtually (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014; Woods, 2011). This mobility is expressed, for example, in commuting to work, travelling for leisure and shopping, as well as through the increasing presence of digital technologies seen in rural areas. In sparsely populated areas, the closure of local shops and the centralisation of services have led to an increase in the everyday mobility of rural residents, who seek necessary facilities and services either from nearby centres or digitally. Some rural residents may be absent for longer periods of time because of work, education or leisure time activities. For rural households, an increased labour mobility and long-distance commuting can be a mechanism through which they achieve both economic and familial stability (Walsh, 2012). However, migrant workers from rural regions can still maintain a sense of belonging to their home community, and can continue to participate in community life by sending remittances and being part of village activities.

Different analytical frameworks have been proposed to address the nexus of rural spaces and mobilities. Bell and Osti (2010) propose four practical logics to comprehend rural as a life space that include both mobility and stability. According to them, rural space can be: the main space of life with temporary mobility patterns spreading out (e.g. commuting, return migration); a space of life amongst others, connected through mobilities (e.g. multi-local living, transmigration); a space of temporary mobilities with symbolic value (e.g. tourism); or a lost space that cannot be returned to (urbanization, out-migration). In an empirical study in rural Wales, Milbourne and Kitchen (2014) analyse three forms of mobility: migratory flows to, from and through rural places; everyday mobilities within rural spaces; and virtual mobilities. Similarly, Woods (2011) points out that the constant social and economic restructuring of rural communities is challenged by an increased rural mobility which is manifested as out-migration (depopulation), in-migration (counter-urbanization), as well as in the short and long term mobility of rural residents themselves.

Previous temporary mobility frameworks have focussed on the motives and characteristics of the mobilities. Temporary mobilities have also been conceptualised as a continuum of types of moves, differing in their spatial (distance from permanent home) and temporal (length and frequency of stays or visits) dimensions (Bell & Ward, 2000; Hall, 2005). Alternatively, a distinction can be made between production and consumption related moves (Bell & Ward, 2000; Carson & Carson, 2014). Production related moves refer to mobilities, which occur for the purpose of making some form of economic contribution in the destination area, or for economic or work-related motives (e.g. business travel, commuting, seasonal work). On the other hand, consumption related moves refer to forms of mobility triggered by the need to access some form of amenity, product or service (e.g. tourism, recreation, shopping, visiting friends and relatives, seasonal migration, second homes, conferences, excursions). It has been increasingly emphasised that the interfaces between different types of temporary mobilities, as well as temporary and permanent mobilities, are fluid and flexible. People's mobility motives are also seen as ambiguous, and the divides between work and leisure have become increasingly blurred (Williams & Hall, 2000; Cohen, Duncan & Thulemark, 2015).

Besides the multiplicity of forms and trajectories of rural and temporary mobilities, these accounts suggest that rural places and communities may have very different and sometimes concurrent roles as the target and the reason for such mobilities. As Milbourne and Kitchen (2014) conclude, the mobilities and dynamics of rural places have a reciprocal relationship. Mobilities change rural places and thus the shifting structures of rural places impact on the forms and directions of mobilities. Mobility can therefore be considered to actively produce and shape places (Merriman, 2012). As Massey (1991; 2005) has argued, a place should be approached as a meeting space, or as an intersection of flows of people and objects that is always being made and in a constant state of becoming. To study the interdependencies of temporary mobilities and rural places in the sparsely populated rural North, we propose a framework of three different types of rural temporary mobility.

3.0 Dropping-in Countryside: A Framework of Rural Temporary Mobilities

Researchers of sparsely populated areas have increasingly argued a need to take into account the temporary mobilities and populations, whose presence in rural places is momentary, seasonal or periodic (Carson & Carson, 2014). In Finland, Rannikko (2008) has used the concept of *dropping-in countryside* to describe

how sparsely populated rural places have become the target of various temporary and dropping-in mobilities. The duration, frequency and seasonality of these mobilities may vary from day visits to months and years, and be recurrent or one-time visits. A diversity of mobility motives and consumptive and productive purposes are present in sparsely populated areas. Consequently, the different temporary populations represent a continuum between locals and outsiders, and between temporary and permanent mobility. Although some of the forms of the drop-in mobility may be based on strong place attachments and place-based attributes, it can also be a random occurrence with only weak physical or emotional bonds with the local community and place. Three different types of temporary mobilities have particularly been emphasised in the literature in relation to the development of sparsely populated rural areas in North: tourism and recreational mobilities, second home mobilities, and seasonal labour mobilities.

3.1 Tourism and Recreation

An established example of consumptive motivations are the various groups of tourists and recreationists who “drop-in” to visit sights, natural attractions, relatives and friends, and to take part in touristic activities, cultural events and outdoor recreation (Carson & Carson, 2014). Rural researchers have long argued that instead of production, rural places are increasingly able to be seen as spaces of consumption (Marsden, 1999) or tourism landscapes (Keane, 1992) appreciated for their aesthetic, symbolic and recreational value. The new rural paradigm of rural policies has emphasised tourism and conservation as being the new potential of rural areas (OECD, 2006, 2017). In sparsely populated rural areas, distance decay has an impact on the forms of mobilities. The number of movements declines the further one travels in time and space (Hall, 2005). Thus, sparsely populated areas located far away from major population centres are less likely to be targeted by day-trippers or shopping tourists than perhaps tourists who either stay overnight or travel through the place. However, when introduced into a very small existing community, even a relatively small number of tourists and visitors can have a significant socio-economic impact (Carson & Carson, 2014).

3.2 Second Homes

Lifestyle-related temporary migration such as that involving second homes, represents another form of consumptive temporary mobility. As owners of rural property, second home tourists have invested in the place both financially and emotionally, and have a significant impact on local landscapes and communities in sparsely populated areas. The impacts of second homes vary depending on national and local context (Hiltunen, Pitkänen, Vepsäläinen & Hall, 2013; Müller, 2011). On one hand, to a degree second homes replace population moving out, by helping to maintain social fabric and demand for local services. Second home owners return to the second home regularly, and second homes are often turned into permanent residences (e.g. after retirement) blurring the divide between permanent and temporary mobilities. In the context of sparsely populated areas, second home researchers have criticised the conventional distinctions made in studies between rural locals and newcomers, or locals and non-locals (Pitkänen, Adamiak & Halseth, 2014). Studies have shown that second-homers may exhibit higher levels of place attachment than established local residents (Stedman, 2006), and also that the second home owners’ use of space and place-based practices are not that different from the so called local population (Pitkänen et al., 2014). On the other hand, there are also examples of cultural tensions and conflicts developing between second-homers and local

communities especially in localities where they compete over the same resources. In particular, second home owners' urban values, lifestyles and a wish to conserve their second home environments might bring them into conflict with local residents to whom the economic opportunities provided by any such development might be important because of their degree of local economic dependency (Farstad, 2011).

3.3 Seasonal Labour

Aside from consumptive motivations, temporary mobilities and dropping-in, in sparsely populated areas can also be motivated by more productive, economic or sustenance reasons (Carson & Carson, 2014; Rannikko, 2016a). Again due to distance decay, sparsely populated areas are more likely to be the target of seasonal or periodic labour than daily commuting. Studies on seasonal and 'fly in / fly out' workers in agriculture, mining, tourism and other rural industries and services have shown that the migration dynamics of workers and their integration and impact on rural areas are often complex and diversified (Morén-Alegret, 2008; Rye & Andrzejewska, 2010). Similarly, seasonal workers can have different experiences of living in local rural communities (Woods, 2011), either remaining invisible in rural communities, or visibly present when participating in various community activities. In the case of skilled mobile workers, their contribution to a rural community's viability can be considerable, especially if they become integrated into the community. Mobile skilled workers can "increase resilience, community capacity, identification and uptake of opportunities such as new enterprises, good practice in natural resource management, enhanced social and leisure opportunities, and the quality and range of local services" (Kilpatrick, Johns, Vitartas & Homisan, 2011, 181). However, becoming integrated into a rural community is dependent on community settings such as its culture and interactional infrastructure (Morén-Alegret, 2008).

These three forms of temporary mobility can derive from and result in very different personal place-relationships and relationships between the mobilities and the rural places. The special characteristics of sparsely populated areas, such as a small populations, large areas of land, distance to larger population centres and a narrow economic base, can make the consequences of temporary mobilities more significant and rapid than can be seen in other types of rural areas (Carson & Carson, 2014). In the following analysis, we apply this threefold framework to two case study locations in Finland and analyse the economic and socio-cultural impacts of temporary mobilities to these localities.

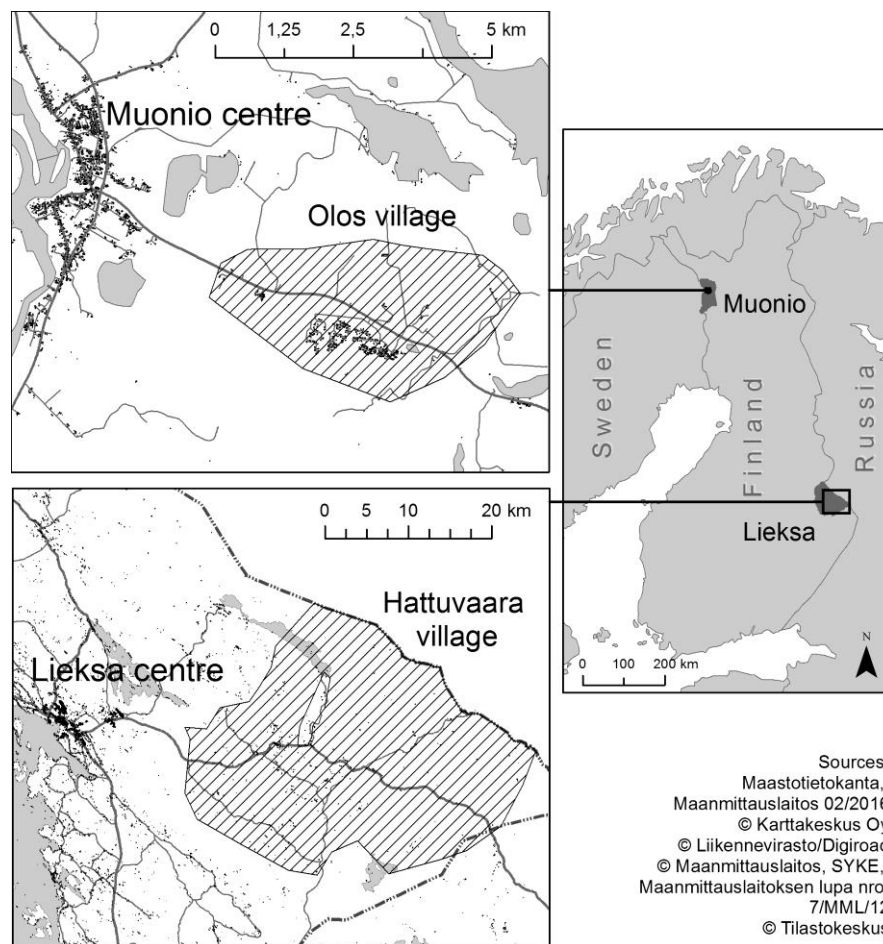
4.0 Materials & Methods

Our case study areas of Muonio in northern Finland and Lieksa in eastern Finland belong to the European Union's Northern Sparsely Populated Area (NSPA) (Figure 1). They have many characteristics in common such as a sparse population, harsh climate and long distances between settlements. This part of Europe is also specifically affected by issues of globalisation, climate change and demographic change, including population decline, aging and female flight. The concept of sparsity is often used in describing the spatial characteristics of the NSPA regions, and refers to the fact that in addition to a low average density; the settlement pattern is also dispersed (Gløersen, Dubois, Copus & Schürmann, 2005). Therefore, our research areas in Lieksa and Muonio can be described as being natural resource peripheries with a low population density, large land area and low level of accessibility. In both areas, the State is the biggest landowner.

However, due to their different physical, economic, social and cultural assets, the respective municipalities have adopted different development paths.

To develop a deeper understanding of different mobile groups in the countryside, we examined the villages of Hattuvaara in Lieksa and Olos in Muonio (Figure 1). To answer our research questions, we apply a case study methodology (Flyvbjerg, 2007; Yin, 2012). We analyse these cases in their real-life context in order to gain a holistic understanding of the local contexts and development trajectories. Our analysis includes a detailed description of the unique local economic and demographic conditions, and we pay special attention to the mobility histories and path dependencies that are present. We understand the case study localities as being socially produced, and therefore influenced by wider societal processes such as the restructuring of agriculture and forestry. However, our research focuses on mobility and mobile flows of people as a central process affecting places, and shaping and (re)producing them.

Figure 1. Case study areas in Lieksa and Muonio.



In line with the case study methodology, our empirical material consists of a range of different types of data sets that have accumulated through the years, and which stem from a number of different research projects carried out in the case study areas. All the projects have focused on the impacts of wider economic and social processes (such as the restructuring of agriculture and forestry and tourism development) to these rural localities. Over the years, we have accumulated iterative, longitudinal, qualitative data sets consisting of interviews, surveys and participant observations, as well as statistical and population data which are

available on a municipality level. Different data sets, which have been analysed by using mainly qualitative methods (e.g. content analysis, thematic analysis, narrative analysis), have increased holistic understanding of the economic and socio-cultural development of these rural communities. In this paper, we synthesise secondary data and results from the previous projects (see Table 1).

Table 1: *Previous Projects and Data Sets used in the Study*

Case study	Project and Timeframe	Type of Data	Number	Publications
Eastern Finland / Hattuvaara in Lieksa	Forest-Work Finland	Interviews with locals and key stakeholders, archival and register data (population register, land register, data on farms and forests), local newspaper data	Questionnaire interviews with 60 households, 48 theme interviews	Rannikko 1987
	The Art of Living in a Taiga 1995-1997	Interviews with locals, register data (population and building register)	Questionnaire interviews with 27 households, 10 theme interviews	Rannikko 1999
	Balancing forest biodiversity actions (MeMoSu) 2004-2006	Interviews with locals and representatives of the national forest administration, register data (population and building register)	15 interviews	Raitio & Rannikko 2006
	Updating the situation in Hattuvaara 2015	Interviews with village association members and tourism entrepreneurs, register data (population and building registers), local newspaper data	8 interviews	Rannikko 2016b
Lapland / Olos village in Muonio	Tunturiosaja -project 2011-2012	Tourism worker interviews	14 interviews	Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014
	Chair in Arctic Tourism; 2010-2012	Planning documents, expert interviews, focus group interviews with local villagers and second home owners, participatory observation in the Pallas 1 st of May event	5 focus groups with 10-20 participants, 4 expert interviews	Tuulentie & Lankila 2014; Haanpää, Garcia-Rosell & Tuulentie, 2016
	Homes beyond homes (HOBO); 2011-2015	Future workshop, second home owners' diaries	1 workshop, 11 diaries	Rinne & al. 2014

5.0 Eastern Finland: Hattuvaara in Lieksa

During the 20th century, Lieksa represented one of the archetypical examples of forest sector communities in Finland. For decades, forestry employed thousands of workers, and additional hundreds of workers were employed by the local cardboard and sawmills. The most active employment phase in the forest sector lasted until the 1960s, after which the felling of timber declined notably, in both state and company owned forests. At the same time, the mechanization of forest work dramatically affected the need for workforce in the eastern forest periphery. The linkage between forest work and smallholdings also broke down as the forest work was now done by full-time loggers. Soon, unemployment and out-migration rates were at record levels in Lieksa, which led to a rapid depopulation of remote rural villages (Oksa, 1993; Rannikko, 1997).

The rural population of Lieksa declined between the 1960s and 1980s from 17,000 to 8,000 (Rannikko, 1987). In 2015, altogether 11,800 people lived in the municipality, of which 8,400 lived in the town centre and 3,400 in the sparsely populated areas. The development of forest-based rural villages has been especially hard compared to other rural areas, and for example in Hattuvaara village the population declined from 1,500 to 150 between 1960 and 2016 (Rannikko, 2016b). In general, the schools and stores in smaller villages tended to close down by the end of the 1970s, whereas in the village centre the school remained open until 2003 and the village store until 2006. The last wave of mechanization in forest work was seen when harvester machines replaced the loggers during the 1990s. The basic public and private services are now located in the town centre of Lieksa, where most of the municipality's population is also concentrated. Today the service sector is the main employer, however some forms of industry have remained close to the town centre (Rannikko, 1987; Rannikko, 2016b).

5.1 Tourism and Recreation

The importance of nature conservation and recreational purpose of forests grew out of the collapse of forest-based industrial employment opportunities in Lieksa and in Hattuvaara. In 1976, three new national parks (Koli, Ruunaa and Patvinsuo) were proposed for the area. These proposals encountered strong resistance in Lieksa, and especially in Hattuvaara where there was a fear of losing any of the remaining forest work (Rannikko, 1999). Despite the resistance, however, the national parks of Patvinsuo (1982) and Koli (1991) were established. In Ruunaa, the free rapids of the river were protected under the Preservation Act in 1987. During recent decades, an acceptance for nature conservation has grown among the Lieksa dwellers, alongside the growing industries of tourism, leisure and recreation (Rannikko 2010). The rapids of Ruunaa have now become a popular destination for sport fishing, rafting and canoeing. Overall, the Koli park has 181,000 annual visitors, the Ruunaa rapids have 78,900 and the Patvinsuo park has 13,500 annual visitors (Metsähallitus, 2017).

Recreational use of forests and natural areas in Lieksa has expanded under the guidance of the Metsähallitus National Forest Administration, which has taken care of hiking routes and services in recreational and protected areas. Currently, three local tourism entrepreneurs are offering accommodation and catering services in Hattuvaara. The high season is in the autumn when hunters (also from southern Finland) arrive to hunt in the state-owned lands. However, the people and groups moving around in Hattuvaara and elsewhere in the natural remote rural area tend to live and arrive from far away (Rannikko, 2016b). Hence, they

are often not socio-culturally integrated, but may improve the sense of liveliness of the village.

In Lieksa the tourism industry employs around 200 people, which is only five percent of the total employment in the municipality (Vatanen, Eisto & Rannikko, 2012). However, one third of the workplaces of the tourism sector are located in villages outside the town centre. The former forest villages of Ruunaa and Nurmijärvi have turned into tourism villages, as have the lakeside villages of Koli and Vuonismaa. So, for a remote rural village the economic importance of the tourism industry might therefore be quite high.

5.2 Second Homes

Hattuvaara and its surroundings have also become a landscape for rural second homes. Families and heirs of former residents have been visiting their vacant smallholdings during vacations, but newcomers have also recently built new second homes along the lakes. The number of second homes has grown from 42 in 1985 to 148 in 2005 (Rannikko, 2016b). Half of the second home owners live outside the province of North Karelia, mainly in the Helsinki capital region which is some 550 km away. Hattuvaara already has more second homes than permanent homes, and in the Lieksa region, the total number of second homes has grown from 700 to 2800 between 1970–2015. The economic impacts of second homes varies between different groups. Some second home owners only drop-in for a short visit, whereas some spend longer time in the village. In overall, the second homes increase the demand for goods and services (Rannikko, 2016b).

As the mobility for recreational purposes has grown, community structure and local life in the villages of Forest-Karelia has changed. The change in place attachment related to hunting describes this well. In earlier times, the hunters were mainly local dwellers hunting in their nearby forests. During the great out-migration movement, hunting was transformed into a hobby for the urbanized generation who returned to their childhood environments and home villages. The younger hunting generation does not necessarily have an emotional place attachment to the local community, and instead identify themselves socially with their hunting club and their fellow members. (Rannikko, 2008.) A similar change in place attachment has occurred among second home owners who are no longer out-migrants returning to their home villages, but are rather newcomers who have no previous place relationship to the village. For them, the second home itself is the most meaningful place, and not the village where it is located (Rannikko, 2016a). Hence, their integration into the local community may remain lower than those second home owners who have previous ties to the place.

5.3 Seasonal Labour

For the past 30 years, the timber in Hattuvaara area has been harvested by non-local contractors and workers (Rannikko, 2016b). Harvester machines appear from time to time to cut the timber, and trucks drive the logs away. The need for raw materials in the bioenergy and bio-industry sectors is expected to grow in the near future, however, the workforce would continue to come from outside the village. The forest planting and growth is also outsourced to contractors, and following a competitive forestry tender, an Estonian company with Estonian workers is now operating and taking care of the Hattuvaara forest area. Furthermore, for the past decade, hard-working berry pickers from Thailand have arrived regularly to pick the forest berries used in the Finnish natural product industry (Rannikko, 2016b).

Mobile workers are even more common in Ilomantsi, which lies 50 km to the south of Hattuvaara. Here, the upturn of nature based industries is visible, especially in the recovery of the mining and peat industries. Following a significant growth in metal market prices, several new mines have appeared in eastern and northern Finland, among them the goldmine in Ilomantsi. The mine employs around one hundred people, however, instead of living in the local community, half of the workers live permanently elsewhere (Mononen, 2012). Similarly, in the peat production field in Ilomantsi, the employees again come mostly from outside the region. So, the natural resource industrial sectors that emerged after the demise of labour intensive agriculture and forestry seem to primarily employ other than local people, increasing competition for jobs.

The seasonal workers dropping-in in the rural areas are even less attached to local life and communities than the recreationists. Especially, those groups who come from abroad to work in the rural area for just a couple of weeks can be described as “invisible”, as many locals are not even aware of their existence (Rannikko, 2016a). Conversely however, for these seasonal workers, the local villages might remain as either distant places or even pass unrecognized.

6.0 Lapland: Muonio Municipality and Olos Village

The basis for mobile groups in Muonio was established centuries ago, since the municipality is situated on the Tornio-Muonio river route. Because the river offered relatively easy access to the exotic land of the indigenous Sami people, Muonio tended to attract visitors from the south such as writers, explorers and scientists. In fact, in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the region was said to be the most well-known part of Finland for people in Western Europe. Following this specific type of early movement, contemporary tourism started to grow in the region in the 1930s, especially as winter sports made their breakthrough. In particular, the Pallas fells came to be known as the most suitable place for cross-country and Alpine skiing in Finland (Kari, 1978; Sippola & Rauhala, 1992). Consequently, the region has a long touristic history which has subsequently formed a basis for the distinctive image of the area.

Muonio has suffered a decrease in the number of permanent residents similar to many other rural areas in Finland. In terms of population, the number of residents in 1970 was 3,002 and in the 1990s the population still numbered over 2,800 residents (Lapin liitto, 2017). However, the decline was most notable from the beginning of the 2000s, and by the end of 2015 there were 2,358 residents in Muonio. Now the decline has been slowing down, but despite the recent growth in tourism, the number of permanent residents has continued to decrease.

6.1 Tourism and Recreation

Tourism employs relatively more people in Muonio than in other municipalities: 84% of the employees of Muonio work in the service sector, and much of this employment is related to tourism (Tuulentie & Lankila, 2014). The seasonal work in tourism is mainly accompanied by traditional work such as reindeer herding, farming, fishing and hunting. The proportion of foreign residents is bigger than in other municipalities in Lapland, although it is still relatively low at 2.7% of the population. However, contrary to many other municipalities, foreigners have migrated to Muonio mostly because of tourism work and not for reasons such as asylum (Tuulentie & Lankila, 2014).

The importance of tourism has increased in Muonio and the proportion of international tourists is nowadays higher than in any other destination in Finland. Tourism is genuinely wilderness- and nature-based, unlike many other

destinations in Lapland with a more extensive ski resort infrastructure (Tuulentie & Lankila, 2014). The winter months are the most popular, with various kinds of safari (husky, reindeer, snowmobile) activities. Despite the remarkable amount of tourists from abroad, the composition of tourists in Muonio consists of a large variety of groups from domestic, tradition-oriented skiing tourists, hikers and second home tourists, to foreign cross-country ski training groups, incentive groups, and tourist-like groups of car testers.

Socio-culturally, those most attached to the place are tourists who year after year return to the old hotel of Pallas, or who always rent the same cottage for their winter holidays. Distinctive evidence of this belonging is a celebration on the 1st of May which has taken place on the slopes of Pallas fell for 20 years. It was initiated by a small group of skiing tourists, and it has since grown into an event with 50–200 participants (Haanpää, Garcia-Rosell & Tuulentie, 2016).

Peculiar groups of tourist-oriented visitors are also car testers and first-snow skiers. The professional skiers coming for the first snow in late October are regular visitors, and usually stay for around four weeks, which means that their stay is longer than that of 'normal' leisure tourists. The car testers mainly come from Germany, however, their attachment is related solely to the activity of car-testing, and similarly, the skiers' attachment to the place is related only to the specific activity of skiing during one month in the early winter.

6.2 Second Homes

Currently, there are 1,058 second homes in Muonio (Statistics Finland 2016). Olos village lies at the foot of the Olos fell, and has about 200 second homes and 30 permanent inhabitants (Rinne, Paloniemi, Tuulentie & Kietäväinen, 2014). The special feature of Olos is that it is a purposely planned second-home village, with an emphasis on winter activities. The second home owners have mainly gained their first experiences of the area through tourist trips and do not usually have any family ties to the area. Olos has an active residents' association, with a wide representation of second-home owners who come from different parts of Finland, mainly from the south. Although the buildings in the village have the appearance of year-round holiday homes, some have permanent residents and some are only used for rental purposes (Rinne et al., 2014).

Many of the second home owners in Muonio actually have their third home there. This is not a surprise since Lapland is a typical place in which to have a 'third home' (Adamiak et al., 2015), besides a more traditional lakeside cottage in other parts of Finland. Second home owners in Muonio typically have longer distances to travel to their cottages (around 500km) than other holiday cottagers in Finland (around 155 km) (Adamiak et al., 2015). This also leads to a situation that second home owners in Olos seem to have a smaller number of visits, but undertake longer stays than average Finns, increasing local spending. The second homes in both Muonio and Olos are especially visited in the wintertime.

Second home owners in this region are deeply attached to their second home place, and become actively involved in the planning of the area. For example, the Olos residents' association has taken an active role in questioning the enlargement of the holiday resort in Olos (Rinne et al., 2014).

Second home owners also make active use of their surrounding environment. Thus, activities in the winter cottages of Muonio are not related to the immediate surroundings of the cottage, but also to the wide network of skiing tracks, hiking trails, and berry and mushroom picking areas. However, there exists a frustration among the second home owners in how they are taken into account in the general municipality. Residents' associations do not have a formal position in the

municipal decision-making system, and through informal connections it may take several years for second home owners and users to be accepted as members of a local community – if in fact they are accepted at all (Rinne et al., 2014). Identity and cultural issues are also involved in the acceptance of long-term visitors as part of the local community. Although Olos village is the second biggest village in Muonio municipality, it is not regarded as a 'real' village, and the Muonio municipal trade promoter (interview February 10th, 2012) has described Olos as a commuter town where leisure and enjoyment overcome the elements of work.

6.3 Seasonal Labour

In 2011, about 67% of the wages relating to the restaurant and accommodation sector in Muonio was paid to local workers (Satokangas, 2013), which means that approximately a third of the direct tourism sector workers came from outside the municipality. As the number of tourism workers in Muonio was about 200 in 2011 (Satokangas, 2013), this implies that there were around 70 tourism workers who came from outside the area. Additionally, labour hire is common in tourism, which means that workers are employed by the labour hire organisation and not by the company to whom they provide labour (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014), and this raises the number of tourism workers who are likely to come from outside the municipality.

The findings of Tuulentie and Heimtun (2014) indicate that the attachment to seasonal workplaces varies between different types of workers, but a place can be important on a seasonal basis. Especially, many of the workers are highly mobile in that they travel to different countries, but they may return year after year to these northern destinations. Some could also imagine staying in the north in the future, despite their life situation or work possibilities not making this a viable possibility at the time (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014).

Hobbyists such as the skiing instructors in Pallas come year after year because of the possibility to combine their hobby with seasonal work. Other workers come for financial reasons, but many also have interests in nature and nature-based activities (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014).

7.0 Summary and Discussion

In this paper, we have explored which groups have become the most significant temporary mobile groups in the studied localities, and also the consequences and potentials which are embedded in the various mobile groups in these rural places. Based on the threefold framework, we identified different mobile groups in two sparsely populated rural areas in Finland.

Our study shows that the two areas have not lost their populations, although the number of permanent rural residents has declined. Especially, it seems that villages in the northern and eastern parts of Finland are filling up with new groups of people, who either work in them or simply visit. Unlike more densely populated and accessible regions in Europe (e.g. Britain), counter-urbanization is not the most important form of mobility seen in the sparsely populated areas in Finland. Rather, it is the various temporal and seasonal mobile groups which use natural resources for productive and economic purposes, or who consume nature and landscapes for recreational purposes that play a central role in reshaping and producing rural places (Table 2).

The growing significance of recreational activities in peripheral rural regions is related to the transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial period in Finnish society. Changes in the ways we utilize nature do not, however, take

place in a straightforward way, and the transformation process includes several cycles, with outcomes being dependent on local resources and conditions (Wilson, 2001). Over recent decades in Lieksa, the recreational use of state forests and protected areas has made tourism an important economic activity. The municipality of Muonio has attracted tourists for 80 years with its distinctive natural assets, however, in many places in eastern and northern Finland the rural economy is not solely based on post-industrial activities. In addition to tourism and other businesses related to the urban consumption of countryside, some rural areas such as Lieksa have faced a new growth in productive and industrial activities. This is visible in e.g. the establishment of new mines and the intensified use of forests as a raw material in energy production. What is different compared with earlier times is that the utilization of forests and minerals is no longer in the hands of local communities, and the associated labour consists mainly of outsiders and seasonal workers who work for international companies. Therefore, issues of globalization and the increased mobility of labour have changed the composition of populations who are temporarily or seasonally present in these sparsely populated rural environments.

Table 2: *Summary of Rural Temporary Mobilities in the Case Study Areas*

Temporary Mobilities:	Hattuvaara / Lieksa	Olos / Muonio
Tourism and recreation	Visitors to national parks, hikers, tourists, hunters, anglers	Foreign and domestic tourists, skiers, hikers, ski training groups, car testers, first-snow skiers
Second homes	Second homes outnumber permanent homes	Second homes outnumber permanent homes
Seasonal labour	Seasonal labour in forestry, mining, peat production, berry picking	Seasonal labour in the restaurant and accommodation sector, hired labour, skiing instructors

Our findings show that temporary mobility can have significant consequences for rural places, and that the impacts differ between types of location and temporary mobility (Table 3). In the case of Lieksa, the economic impacts are difficult to estimate. On one hand new jobs have emerged, but on the other hand these are increasingly in the hands of outsiders. Additionally, these mobile groups are only loosely or not at all integrated into the local community, but they still contribute to an increased sense of liveliness in contrast to the decline and aging of the permanent population.

In Muonio, seasonal workers have not replaced local workers, but rather, they exist side by side. Even though seasonal workers do not pay their taxes to the Muonio municipality, both workers and also visitors use the municipality services in multiple ways. Economically, tourism and car testing provide crucial income to the municipality. Their social impact has also been big since many who work in the sectors return year after year. Temporary mobility has made Muonio much more international than many other rural areas in Finland. Some temporary workers have stayed and become permanent residents which has resulted in a relatively high number of foreign residents. However, the role of Olos as the municipality's second biggest village concentrating on recreation (and not being part of a productive rural environment) has caused some tensions

between second home owners and permanent local residents regarding the overall development of the municipality.

According to our study, the potential embedded in the increased presence of mobile groups in the countryside is dependent not only on the characteristics and histories of the places (see Carson & Carson 2014), but on people's personal relationships and attachments to those places. People visiting rural places may have several homes and their places of work may also change. As such, they do not necessarily have a personal relationship with the local community. This is the case in Hattuvaara, where most of the seasonal workers come only for work or pass by (Table 3). In this situation, their presence in a rural place may remain invisible. In contrast, some new groups of rural people such as the second home owners in Hattuvaara and Olos have a strong personal relationship with the place, and can maintain meaningful attachments to multiple places (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014). Therefore it is not only the permanent members of local communities who are integrated into a rural locality and who are important for its development. However, it would be more beneficial (e.g. in terms of tax revenues) for the locality if the worker groups had their permanent residence in the municipalities, and if it was easier for second home owners to become formal members of the second home municipality.

Table 3: *Consequences and Potentials Embedded in Mobile Groups in Rural Places*

Temporary mobilities:	Hattuvaara / Lieksa	Olos / Muonio
Tourism and recreation	Economic: New jobs in tourism Socio-cultural: Not integrated locally but improves a sense of liveliness	Economic: Large share of jobs related to tourism Socio-cultural: Tourism highly visible, some tourists return year after year
Second homes	Economic: Varies between different groups, increased demand for goods and services Socio-cultural: Part of second home owners are highly integrated in local communities but some are outsiders, improved sense of liveliness	Economic: High economic impact, Olos is a purposely planned second home village Socio-cultural: Second-home owners deeply attached, actively involved in the local community, tension between local people and second home owners
Seasonal labour	Economic: Global labour markets, increasing competition for jobs Socio-cultural: Not integrated locally, remain invisible	Economic: Large share of employment taken up by external workers Socio-cultural: Some workers are highly integrated and have become permanent residents, some combine their hobby with seasonal work and some come only to earn money

8.0 Conclusions

Our findings support the view that there is a need for new theoretical and empirical insights focussing on mobility and fluidity, in order to better understand contemporary rural places and communities (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014; Bell & Osti, 2010; Woods, 2011). By using a threefold framework of temporary mobilities we were able to capture numerous groups of people moving around and through sparsely populated rural spaces, without necessarily being residents or locals. These included such groups as seasonal, temporary and foreign workers, tourists, visitors, outdoor recreationists, second home owners and users, berry pickers, hunters and anglers. These mobile groups are increasingly multicultural due to cross-border tourism, work and immigration.

The framework was able to capture the main forms of consumptive and productive temporary mobilities (Bell & Ward, 2000), and also the fluidity of the interfaces between permanent and temporary (Williams & Hall, 2000, Cohen et al., 2015). Moreover, the framework highlights the importance of spatial and temporal dimensions (Hall, 2005) of the mobilities and their consequences for rural places. What is new in our study is that our findings highlight the importance of fixity, stopping, staying and returning when evaluating the consequences and potentials embedded in temporary rural mobilities. In our study, those groups which had formed a strong relationship with the place had the most positive economic and socio-cultural impact. Thus, the potential for the regeneration of rural areas is dependent on their ability and capacity to fixate temporary mobilities. This is especially important in sparsely populated areas where a small number of new people or businesses integrated into the community can have a significant impact (Hattuvaara), or sometimes even lead to the establishment of entirely new communities within rural places (Olos).

Our study shows that in sparsely populated areas, the mobile groups often outnumber the local population. Alas, any exact knowledge of the mobility patterns of the people intersecting in the rural spaces and of the consequences and potentials for rural communities, landscapes and environments is not available in contemporary data sources, statistics and registers. Consequently, these mobilities and mobile groups of people are seldom taken into account in rural development and governance. Although permanent movements of people are regularly monitored by population statistics and censuses, issues of out-migration and counter-urbanization tend to dominate rural development discourses (e.g. OECD, 2017; Uudistumiskykyinen..., 2015). However, rural places should not only be developed in terms of local residents, but should also take into consideration a broader range of interests and people who move around in rural places. The framework developed in this study can therefore act as a stepping stone for further research in identifying and mapping the various invisible and mobile groups who intersect in rural spaces and leave their imprint on rural communities, landscapes and environments.

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