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# **Rural Place Marketing and Consumption-Driven Mobilities in Northern Sweden: Challenges and Opportunities for Community Sustainability**

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## **Abstract**

Similar to other northern peripheries, remote, and sparsely populated areas (SPAs) in Sweden's far north have been confronted with decreasing populations and economic stagnation, forcing local governments to more actively engage in strategies for attracting and retaining populations. This exploratory community case study considers rural place-marketing efforts in the municipalities of Åsele and Storuman, with a particular focus on understanding differing local strategies for attracting consumption-driven movers to "amenity-poor" and "amenity-rich" areas. The case study examines two research questions: what target groups do these municipalities envisage as desired new populations; and to what extent, and how, do they engage in rural place-marketing efforts? Our study reveals that the municipal officials' views on rural place-marketing strategies differ considerably, as Åsele participates in Europe's largest emigration expo while Storuman draws on its increasing tourism development to attract seasonal residents and returning young adults in the family-building stage of the life course. The findings further illustrate how production and performance aspects of mobility are essential when studying the socio-economic sustainability of everyday life in sparsely populated northern Swedish municipalities at different geographical places and levels.

**Keywords:** consumption-driven mobilities, performance, production, rural place marketing, Northern Sweden

## 1.0 Introduction

During the second half of the 20th century, many Swedish rural and peripheral regions experienced increased out-migration and population decline, notably with young women leaving in search of education and employment opportunities (Hedlund & Lundholm, 2015; Lundmark, 2009). Further challenges have included shrinking public and private service sectors, falling house values, and growing concerns regarding who will care for the elderly (Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011). This is partly explained by increased global competition and the restructuring of traditional production systems towards post-industrial conditions, with many functions competing for the same space (Almstedt, Brouder, Karlsson et al., 2014). In parallel, Swedish geographical welfare redistribution principles have been reformed from the traditional social democratic welfare model to a market-oriented system. Hence, local and regional winners and losers have emerged in a sub-national competition for resource allocation (Andersson, Ek, & Molina, 2008). The Swedish national government no longer deliberately counteracts uneven geographical development, which may have contributed to an increased socio-economic gap between urban and sparsely populated areas (SPAs) (Eimermann & Forsell, 2015).

In response to these challenges, local governments have attempted to revitalize deprived rural SPAs through new rural development projects aimed at preparing the countryside for the “new consumption-based economy” (Woods, 2009, p. 129). This is based on expectations that incoming consumption-driven movers are increasingly drawn to rural areas, where they will contribute considerably to rural revitalization, demographic rejuvenation and economic innovation (Agnidakis, 2013; Eimermann, 2013; Hedberg & Haandrikman, 2014). Some SPAs have turned to the tourism industry to turn the tide (Carson & Carson, 2011), although this strategy seems to have benefitted primarily “amenity-rich” areas offering natural scenic beauty, necessary infrastructure, and cultural and outdoor activities that enhance quality of life (Moss & Glorioso, 2014). On the other hand, places that lack such assets (in “amenity-poor” areas) have sought to attract international lifestyle movers driven by a desire for tranquility as an alternative source of consumption-based mobility (Eimermann, 2015). Therefore, we study how municipal officials in rural municipalities of different character select and seek to attract various kinds of consumption-driven movers such as returnees, second-home owners and international lifestyle and amenity migrants.

This exploratory community case study examines officials’ perceptions of these new mobilities and the challenges and potentials they perceive for community sustainability. As such, we aim to identify research avenues for timely studies of rural place-marketing strategies to attract consumption-driven movers, exemplified by two municipalities in northern Sweden: Åsele and Storuman. To address this aim, we have conducted interviews with municipal officials, lifestyle movers and other local key stakeholders. The alleged link between rural place-marketing and local community sustainability is that new (affluent) families with children are expected to prevent the closing of local day-care centers, schools, shops and other services, at the same time stimulating local tax revenues, entrepreneurship and business ventures (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009; Carson, Carson, & Eimermann, 2017; Eimermann, 2015).

The research questions are 1) what target groups do these municipalities envisage as desired new populations, and 2) to what extent, and how, do they engage in rural place-marketing efforts? Addressing these questions, we present

and discuss empirical material gathered in 2016 against a brief theoretical background, before drawing conclusions on challenges and opportunities for municipal officials and consumption-driven movers alike regarding sustainable everyday lives in the study areas. Finally, we indicate future research avenues relating remote SPAs' rural place marketing to consumption-driven mobilities.

## **2.0 Literature Review**

To capture the continuum from short-term mobility such as tourism, including second-home tourism, to long-term mobility such as permanent, temporal, seasonal, residential and return migration, we use the concept of lifestyle mobilities (Åkerlund, 2013; Cohen, Duncan, & Thulemark, 2015; Eimermann, 2017; O'Reilly, 2003). Hence, consumption-driven or lifestyle movers are those individuals who voluntarily move for short or long periods to places that are meaningful because they offer opportunities for self-realization and a better quality of life (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; 2016; Cohen et al., 2015). David, Eimermann and Åkerlund (2015) relate lifestyle mobilities to place marketing, and identify various types of agents that together have contributed to the emergence of a "lifestyle mobility industry": state institutions, property and residency-related agents and media agents. Of these types, the role of state institutions in promoting and facilitating mobility is most relevant for this case study's principal focus on production aspects embodied by the interviewed municipal officials.

Swedish state institutions such as municipalities have used both domestic and international place-marketing campaigns to attract new mobile populations. Åkerlund (2013) relates this to the production and the performance aspects of mobility. Production aspects comprise structural frameworks (e.g. infrastructures, procedures, policies and schemes) and mediating activities (e.g. viewing trips, marketing activities, rental, removal and broker services) that facilitate mobility. Performance aspects consider how consumption-driven mobilities are experienced and embodied, how decisions are made in relation to structural frameworks and social contexts, and how senses of self are negotiated through these experiences (Åkerlund, 2015; Benson, 2015; Woube, 2014). Since production aspects need to be understood in relation to performance aspects we include some perspectives on performance, although the focus remains on issues around production.

Previous studies have shown that some incomers are considered more desirable than others for rural municipalities. Second-home owners bring about a positive change in the countryside, e.g. through their engagement in local issues such as road maintenance and broadband development, and through creating an arena for social and knowledge exchange (Gallent, 2014; Huijbens, 2012; Robertsson & Marjavaara, 2015). When it comes to more permanent migration, Nedomysl (2004, p. 2006) found that "the most attractive category of in-migrants [...] are families with children – clearly surpassing the highly educated or qualified labor". Also, Agnidakis (2013) discussed how ideals and expectations in such efforts are the result of a complex interplay between lifestyle movers and municipalities, rather than of a unidimensional process in which the former are receivers and the latter are senders. Eimermann (2015) studied Swedish international rural place-marketing campaigns targeting families with young children through Internet campaigns, information meetings, and Europe's largest emigration expo in the Netherlands. As the benefits of attracting these desired newcomers were thought to outweigh the costs, a growing number of Swedish rural municipalities have engaged in these rural place-marketing efforts (Eimermann, 2015).

Yet, it can be questioned just how the success and effectiveness of rural place-marketing campaigns can be measured (Connell & McManus, 2011; Niodomysl, 2007). Eimermann (2017) demonstrated a flexible attitude toward migration among Dutch movers in rural Sweden, leading to temporary lifestyle migration over longer periods of time. This often results in strategic migration decisions, when migrants opt for places that best fit their needs at different stages of the life course, or discover that the chosen destination may not meet their expectations of services, amenities or business opportunities. Thus, rural amenity-poor destinations may see the newly settled migrants moving out again in pursuit of another place that better fulfils their needs. When attracting migrants, Overvåg (2012) warned of the risks of focusing too much on one branch (e.g. tourism) at the expense of others, and that strategically settling and leaving migrants can result in a porous society instead of social sustainability. Hence, lifestyle movers are generally highly capable of evaluating alternatives and tailoring their mobility strategies to access opportunities for quality of life in different places.

However, lifestyle movers also develop place attachments that imply more stable place loyalties (Åkerlund, 2013). There is a need for research into how places can act to encourage long-term attractiveness and place attachment among new lifestyle populations. Torkington (2013) showed how place identities can be shaped by agents within the production system, through signs and symbols used in marketing and media. Yet, as these pictures are often romanticized and skewed, it can be difficult for places to live up to the movers' expectations. Therefore, social mediators are an important part of the production side, for example persons who have moved earlier themselves and can act as "lifestyle brokers" (Åkerlund, 2013).

### **3.0 Research Design**

This exploratory community case study comprises semi-structured interviews with municipal officials, local community stakeholders, and lifestyle movers. We selected Åsele as one of few municipalities in northern Sweden that has, for some years now, actively engaged in rural place-marketing efforts to attract new populations from continental Europe (Eimermann, 2015). We selected Storuman based on contacts with local key informants and on a study highlighting processes of socio-economic decline, adaptation and transformation in northern Sweden (Carson, Carson, Porter et al., 2016a). Both municipalities house relatively large, but different, consumption-driven populations.

The semi-structured interview sessions lasted 120 to 180 minutes each and included 18 participants in total. Municipal officials were interviewed in groups, while other stakeholders were interviewed in pairs or individually. In Åsele, seven municipal officials participated in the group interview: the mayor, the municipal director of business development, the municipal director of studies, the manager of the municipal housing company, the project leader for in-migration projects, an in-migration consultant, and a Swedish language teacher. In Storuman, two municipality board members, one representative from the environmental and planning board, one from a regional educational project, and the municipal director of business development participated in a similar group interview. Both group interviews initially focused broadly on the municipalities' history, geography, economic structure and demographic challenges before considering more specific topics: possible and actual target groups for place-marketing efforts (RQ1), and the officials' views on such efforts (RQ2). The purpose of these group interviews was to gain a broad range of views on perceived potentials and challenges for community sustainability offered by

different consumption-driven movers (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011). A third interview was conducted at the tourist agency 'Visit Hemavan-Tärnaby' in the mountainous western part of Storuman municipality, with the head of the office and an entrepreneur employed by the municipality as a business coach. Questions discussed during this third interview more specifically considered the local conditions for housing, tourism, second homes, educational services, employment opportunities and entrepreneurship. These interviews focused on production perspectives.

We explored performance perspectives during the other three interviews. One was conducted with a local real estate agent in Hemavan, another with two in-migrants (one Swiss and one Dutch) in Åsele, and yet another with an Austrian migrant entrepreneur (a dogsled operator) in Åsele. We asked them about their mobility histories and motivations for migration, as well as their social and economic experiences, employment, and entrepreneurship in situ. The purpose of these interviews was to uncover their attitudes towards the municipality's place-marketing strategies. During all sessions, detailed notes were taken, observed patterns and themes were noted, and plausibility was examined (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Thematic content analysis of the tape-recorded and transcribed interviews proceeded using a word-processing program for categorizing interview statements and interpreting meaning (Kvale, 2007).

### **3.1 Setting the Scene**

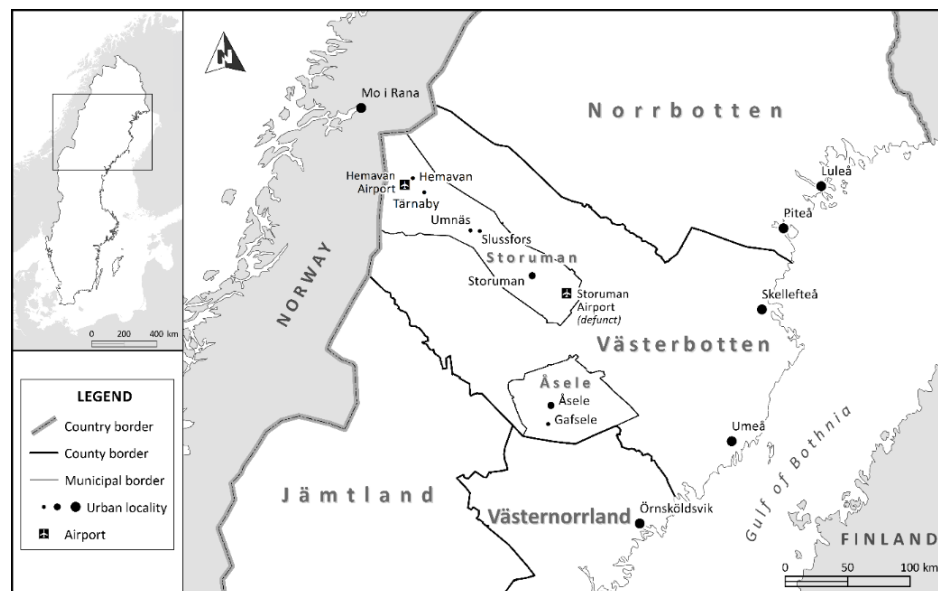
Figure 1 shows the location of Åsele and Storuman in the county of Västerbotten. In 2015, Åsele had a population of 2,831 across 4,543 km<sup>2</sup>, making it Sweden's fourth most sparsely populated municipality with a density of 0.67 inhabitants per square kilometer (inh./km<sup>2</sup>) (Statistics Sweden, 2016). Åsele's population is almost half the 1970 figure of 5,297, with recent data indicating international net in-migration, and mortality exceeding nativity (Statistics Sweden, 2016). The municipality's economy had been characterized by forestry and related industries for decades, until mechanization led to a loss of employment opportunities in this sector in the 1990s. Still, however, many forestry companies maintain an office in Åsele and the industry employs mainly men of all ages, at least seasonally. The municipal director of business development pointed out that Åsele was a center of commerce in the past. It has recently been able to capitalize on a niche market for tourism and lifestyle migration, namely dogsledding, as the village of Gafsele has become a popular destination for the international (mainly Austrian, Dutch, German and Swiss) musher community, including small dogsledding firms.

Storuman attempts to capitalize on its location at the intersection of the E12 and E45 motorways, where railway transport is transferred to road transport. The number of small firms in the municipal center related to the engineering industry has increased lately. Moreover, Storuman hopes to develop industries connected to wind energy, hydro energy and mining since it has no particular industrial base. With net out-migration rates, and mortality exceeding nativity, its population decreased from 8,761 in 1970 to 5,943 in 2015 on an area of 8,234 km<sup>2</sup>, giving a density of 0.81 inh./km<sup>2</sup> (Statistics Sweden, 2016). Its geographic area stretches over 200 km from west to east (Duvdahl, 2012), with two separate municipalities of different character having been merged through boundary reforms in 1971 (Häggroth, Kronvall, Riberdhal et al., 1999).

Before tourism around alpine skiing advanced in the 1950s and reached a substantial level in the 1970s, the economy in Hemavan was mainly characterized by agrarian activities. In 2016, Hemavan-Tärnaby had a population of 1,500, being the only area in the Storuman municipality with

population growth. Around 20% of the area's 3,500 second homes have Norwegian owners from nearby towns like Mo i Rana (at 110 km), crossing the border without friction. Today, many second homes are also owned by empty nesters from the Swedish east-coast cities of Luleå, Piteå, Umeå and Örnsköldsvik, and Finns are being targeted as a new tourist group.

Figure 1. Map of Northern Sweden and the Case Study Areas.



Source: Magnus Strömgren.

The municipalities have in common that they include different types of villages and landscapes, e.g. offering both amenity-rich (e.g. Hemavan-Tärnaby in Storuman and Gafsele in Åsele) and amenity-poor areas which lack the sorts of scenic, infrastructure and service amenities that are common in more popular destinations developed for tourism (Vuin, Carson, Carson et al., 2016). Both types of areas attract and repel different permanent, temporary, and seasonal populations.

## 4.0 Results

### 4.1 Åsele

The officials in Åsele reported that the municipality has participated in the *Emigratiebeurs* since 2011. This is Europe's largest annual emigration expo, organized in the Netherlands, attracting some 12,000 visitors each year. The municipality's purpose in participating is to increase internal awareness among its inhabitants of what Åsele has to offer and to attract desirable new populations. Focus on this expo implies a Dutch bias, although the expo also attracts Belgian, German and other visitors. The interviewed in-migration consultant migrated from the Netherlands in 2001, and together with her Swedish colleague, has undertaken efforts consisting of distributing tourism brochures, wearing folk costumes, answering questions, and keeping a register of prospective migrants. Also, Åsele produced a promotional movie<sup>1</sup> to highlight its community spirit, natural environment, and activities such as dogsledding. One challenge in

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.asele.se/default.asp?path=25903,40076&pageid=57517>

adopting this strategy is the ability to match expectations created through the signs and symbols presented, and to identify and reach matching target groups.

To prevent disappointment and return migration, prospective migrants have been invited to make several viewing trips to Åsele during different seasons, and to take part in meet-and-greet gatherings with local stakeholders at schools, banks, firms, etc. In 2016, 16 individuals signed up for this viewing trip, but only ten were invited due to a shortage of accommodation and other capacities in Åsele. In particular, the interviewed officials perceived the main dogsled trail in the village of Gafsele as attractive, which has been confirmed by the increasing number of dogsledding firms run by European migrants in recent years. The municipality could benefit from expanding the dogsledding cluster around this village, but acknowledged that much depended on local and incoming individuals and their private entrepreneurial initiatives. This underlines how important it is for production side agents to be able to function as social mediators and “lifestyle brokers”.

All three in-migrants interviewed in Åsele were involved in dogsledding. The Austrian respondent was a dogsled operator who had moved his business from the Alps to Åsele due to concerns about climate change in his home country. The long and cold winters - essential for his daily life - were his main motivation for moving north (see also Carson et al., 2017). For the Dutch respondent, moving to Åsele with her two sled dogs felt like coming home, partly because the growing international musher community in the area provided her with opportunities to enlarge her social network. Dogsledding also played a major role in the Swiss respondent’s decision to move to Åsele. Yet, indicating a downside, the Dutch respondent argued that she had moved to Åsele on her own, not because of place-marketing efforts: “the municipality promises help with jobs, but there are no jobs available here”. She and the Swiss respondent indicated that attracting skilled labor is a major challenge for the municipality.

The respondents felt well integrated in Åsele, but also pondered about living elsewhere. They realized they could not afford a “large house without neighbors” near a larger Swedish town like Skellefteå or Umeå. Yet, the Austrian dogsled operator stated that if climate change were to lead to decreasing snow volumes in Åsele, he would move further north to continue his business there. This illustrates challenges for Åsele’s rural place-marketing efforts to attract European lifestyle movers. Regarding the motives and imaginaries of this niche target population, there appears to be a mismatch between drivers for this group of migrants and the symbols and marketing images (e.g. folk costumes) presented by the municipality. Being able to attract a niche market can be lucrative in the short run, but is vulnerable as a long-term solution.

Discussing the effectiveness of their marketing strategy, the officials reported that they take account of numbers of visitors during the expo and are aware of prospective movers’ motives. According to them, European in-movers’ main motives for moving included a strong desire to leave the urban rat race and to experience tranquility and natural surroundings. Some basic facilities are required, such as a local store and a gas station, but large shopping centers are less desired. Moreover, the municipality invites them for a visit after the expo, and counts the number of families and firms that move to Åsele. Although they may claim that these incomers have moved as a direct result of the expo, the Dutch respondent contradicted this, confirming previously identified challenges of the difficulty to show causal relationships between place-marketing efforts and in-migration (Connell & McManus, 2011; Niodomysl, 2007).

## **4.2 Storuman**



In Storuman, the challenges of attracting new population groups differ greatly between the eastern and western parts of the municipality. In the east, where the main population and administrative center is located, the focus is on permanent in-migration. The group interview revealed that Storuman has not engaged in explicit rural place-marketing efforts to attract new populations from Europe. Rather, the officials focused on providing improved amenities and services to new and existing populations. For example, quick and accessible Internet was described as an important asset, together with attractive housing, low house prices in some areas, and the lifting of the shoreline protection to allow the construction of new housing with lake views. The officials were keen to learn from best practice in other municipalities further north, and had recently appointed a business coach for developing small firms. Storuman aimed at keeping its public spaces clean and hosting cultural events to maintain and increase its livability and vibrancy for existing and future residents, particularly young adult returnees in the family-building stage of the life course. The municipality had been struggling with female flight, as mainly young adult women were leaving the municipality for secondary and higher education, e.g. at Umeå University. Therefore, Storuman started participating in a research project regarding women, returnees and professional workers in an attempt to gather more knowledge about how to attract and retain them (Carson, Wenghofer, Timony et al., 2016b). Also, developing a register and keeping in touch with young adult out-migrants were on the municipality board's agenda. The officials indicated this as a valuable step in preventing a future population pyramid with an unbalanced sex ratio (a surplus of men) and too-low nativity. Yet, due to a lack of qualified employment on the local labor market it was hard to match jobs with education, especially considering couples in need of two jobs.

Another issue identified by the officials and the real estate agent in Storuman involved spontaneous European incomers (i.e. those who do not arrive as a result of deliberate municipal place-marketing efforts) in amenity-poor spaces around Umnäs and Slussfors. This part of the municipality has attracted spontaneous movers from Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, the Baltic countries and Russia. They have developed tourist facilities such as camping sites and bed & breakfasts related to outdoor activities like fishing and dogsledding, which target tourists from their countries of origin through social media. The municipality officials knew of these developments, and indicated the movers' personal networks and spontaneous initiatives as important factors for local socio-economic development. Yet, the officials did not discuss deliberate place-marketing efforts to attract or retain such international lifestyle migrants.

On the other hand, the officials considered population dynamics in the municipality's western part to be of great importance. Increasing tourism development in Hemavan-Tärnaby has brought economic and population growth to the area, but also complex mobilities and local economic challenges. Rural place-marketing efforts in Hemavan-Tärnaby have concentrated solely on second homes and tourism. The local real estate agent stated that the majority of existing tourism firms were booming and owned by non-locals, creating new seasonal employment for young adults from northern Swedish and Norwegian towns. Over the years, mutual synergies have developed across the Swedish-Norwegian border, leading to e.g. intermarriages. In addition, the interviewed entrepreneur had moved from Umeå to Tärnaby for lifestyle reasons, and worked in health care specifically for Norwegian tourists in Tärnaby. According to her, this was a market gap as "Norwegian waiting times for health care are long and some care is more expensive in Norway". The respondents viewed Norwegians as loyal tourists, visiting the area more often than Swedish regional second-home owners.

However, the real estate agent indicated that Norwegian second-home ownership depended on structural factors such as life-course transitions and business cycles in the oil-based branches of the Norwegian economy. Furthermore, the young adults working in tourism were attracted by the combination of work and leisure, rather than a professional career, which was challenging for operators who wished to develop their business. The head of the tourism agency also claimed that second-home owners were not as entrepreneurial as the European lifestyle movers in Storuman's interior. She aspired to attract these population groups to Hemavan-Tärnaby, but realized that houses had become too expensive and the surroundings too developed and "touristy" to attract the tranquility-seeking lifestyle movers (see also Carson et al., 2017). Hence, the challenges for rural place marketing in Storuman differ between the amenity-rich west (managing tourism-migration-related population dynamics and rising property prices) and the amenity-poor east (improving amenities and services for returning and (inter)national lifestyle migrants).

Overall, the greatest contrast between Åsele and Storuman is that Åsele has actively engaged in rural place marketing to attract new populations from Europe, whereas Storuman has not. Similarities include the occurrence of spontaneous and unforeseen in-migration to both municipalities alongside planned efforts, and personal contacts, initiatives and networks as most important in attracting consumption-driven populations in the future.

## 5.0 Concluding Discussion

The aim of this exploratory community case study was to identify research avenues for timely studies of rural place-marketing strategies to attract consumption-driven movers, drawing on the experiences of two different municipalities in northern Sweden. We addressed two research questions linking production and performance perspectives on community sustainability in SPAs: 1) what target groups do these municipalities envisage as desired new populations; and 2) to what extent, and how, do they engage in rural place-marketing efforts?

Åsele and Storuman differ considering the extent, target groups, and strategies of rural place marketing. Whereas Åsele has sought to attract European lifestyle movers through campaigns since 2011, Storuman has focused on tourism in the west and making its eastern part more attractive and livable for existing populations and returnees in the family-building stage of the life course. Storuman has experienced spontaneous lifestyle movers in its amenity-poor villages, attracted by opportunities for outdoor sports such as fishing and dogsledding in tranquil surroundings. Nonetheless, our analysis reveals a complex picture in both municipalities. Place-marketing efforts in Åsele have been problematic, with some incomers being disappointed by broken promises and unrealistic expectations and thus returning home, while others criticized the marketing efforts and lack of capacity to welcome all who registered for a viewing trip. Åsele's claim that the incomers have moved as a direct result of the expo are contradicted by one of the interviewed lifestyle movers, which confirms previously identified challenges for claiming relationships between place-marketing efforts and in-migration (Connell & McManus, 2011; Niodomysl, 2007). In Hemavan-Tärnaby (Storuman), the head of the tourism office wanted to attract lifestyle movers for their entrepreneurial contributions, but indicated that this was a structural challenge due to housing and spatial infrastructure constraints. Regarding future developments, Åsele was able to justify funding for attending the expo in 2016, after our group interview. In contrast, Storuman showed strong engagement in internal marketing and identity

formation in parallel with attracting returnees. This illustrates the fundamental differences between the two municipalities' views on rural place-marketing efforts.

The complex picture in both municipalities illustrates how they deliberately engaged in strategies of attracting and retaining populations as part of rural restructuring (Woods, 2009). It indicates that the interplay between producers (e.g. municipal strategies, firms catering to movers) and the performance of movers plays an essential role in rural place marketing and new consumption-driven mobilities in Europe's north (Åkerlund, 2013; Benson, 2015, Cohen et al., 2015). Challenges and opportunities derived from developments elsewhere affect local sustainability as an interplay between local communities and mobile populations. For instance, while the perceived urban rat race and hectic city life inspired our respondents to search for self-realization and a better quality of life in the study areas (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), the oil industry in Norway affects Norwegian second-home owners in Hemavan-Tärnaby. Yet, the concrete effects of such challenges and opportunities on communities in SPAs remain unclear. Hence, future research should be sensitive to microcosms of challenges and opportunities for stakeholders such as municipal planners, timing, and the temporality of new mobile populations (Benson, 2015).

Human geographic, ethnographic and other qualitative inquiries into the everyday lives of various stakeholders can contribute to the study of such interplays. From a production perspective, this includes existing and novel structural frameworks (infrastructures, procedures, policies and schemes) and previous migrants' mediating activities through social networks or lifestyle mobility industries (David et al., 2015). One research avenue in this respect considers how existing and incoming populations can coexist and increase local community cohesion in the long term. From a performance perspective, this includes perceptions of local and extra-local (tourism) entrepreneurs, (pre-) retirees, young adult tourism staff, incoming European and other lifestyle movers, and populations representing mobilities other than consumption-driven movers (e.g. Asian seasonal berry pickers and Middle-eastern refugee migrants are currently other prominent mobilities in the case study area). In large and heterogeneous study areas, such as the municipalities presented in this paper, this necessitates community studies at the sub-municipal level, as villages differing in socio-economic characteristics, history and composition also deliberately and inadvertently attract different types of new mobilities (Carson et al., 2016a). Hence, a second research avenue considers how these mobile populations' multiple place attachments affect local communities. Such research avenues can reveal challenges and opportunities for community sustainability, embodied by local planners and new incomers, as well as for further studies of socio-economic dimensions in the sparsely populated north.

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