



UMEÅ UNIVERSITY

"Anyone could do that"
Nordic perspectives on
competence in tourism

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Till Odd, den ofrivillige geografen

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*Orm sade på gamla dagar om denna tid,
att den var lång att leva, men kort att berätta om.*
(Frans G. Bengtsson, *Röde Orm, sjöfarare i västerled*. Norstedt, 1941)

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Papers

Paper I	Åberg, K. G., & Müller, D. K. The Development of Geographical Differences in Education Levels within Swedish Tourism (Manuscript resubmitted after minor revisions).
Paper II	Åberg, K. G., & Marjavaara, R. Tracking the Tourism-specific Educated in Sweden (Manuscript).
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Introduction

In Sweden, tourism has been presented as a suitable economic activity in the aftermath of economic restructuring. The benefits of tourism have been found in low initial costs when starting up a business, the use of local resources such as beautiful scenery and labour intensity (Hall & Jenkins, 1998; Lundmark, 2006; Müller & Jansson, 2007). Above all, much attention has been drawn to the low thresholds to employment and entrepreneurship regarding formal education, based on a general understanding of tourism as a sector with comparably low demands on knowledge and skills (Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Riley et al., 2002; Shaw & Williams, 2009; Cohen et al., 2015). Tourism is viewed as something “anyone can do”, regardless of competence and geographical presence.

Beyond this generalised identification of tourism as an absorber of less educated individuals, the educational qualities of the tourism workforce in Sweden, and the Nordic countries more generally have not been substantially addressed. As claimed most recently by Brandt (2016) and Baum et al. (2016), public strategies and rhetoric are primarily based on assumptions rather than actual inventories and assessments of the composition of the tourism workforce.

The view on tourism as a low-education industry, however, is insufficient and therefore problematic when used for planning. First, it does not take into account the broad diversity of work tasks included in tourism. Besides the many different undertakings and levels of responsibility involved in the private supply side of the sector, there is a growing involvement of public actors as well (Shaw & Williams, 1994; Baum, 2002; Riley et al., 2002; Nordin & Svensson, 2007). Such new interactions have created new positions and broadened the scope of work tasks. While a lack of formal education may not necessarily be a problem for individual firms in terms of service delivery, it could be assumed that higher levels of education, and particularly tourism-specific education, are needed when it comes to more complex and management tasks, such as destination management and planning.

Secondly, the geographical aspect needs to be recognised. The development of tourism is inextricably connected to the local nature of existing trade and industry as well as potential access to markets and workforce (Lundgren, 1982; Zampoukos, 2014). Each location of tourism activities should therefore be planned and assessed based on its spatial relations to other economic activities and educational institutions, as well as to what outcome is expected from the tourism venture. Although the metropolitan regions dominate in numbers of visitors and size of tourism workforce, the impact of tourism activities on the

local economy is often stronger in less diversified and populated areas. The needs and assets thus vary between destinations and generalisations need to be broken down into lower levels of geography in order to be relevant.

A third aspect to acknowledge when reasoning on the characteristics of the tourism workforce is the nature of competence itself. The assumed low levels of knowledge within the tourism workforce generally refer to formal education (Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Riley et al., 2002; Cohen et al., 2015). However, this might not be the most relevant aspect of competence in the context of tourism work (Baum, 1989, 2008; Christou, 2002; Shaw & Williams, 2004b). In addition, in Sweden, tourism-specific education is predominantly attended at the lower educational levels. This creates a discrepancy as graduates from formally low levels of education may have high levels of applicable knowledge. Therefore, in order to provide strategies for and understanding of tourism development, the required and prioritized aspects of competence need to be scrutinized.

This thesis will address the above-presented gap in research and general rhetoric by examining aspects of the educational characteristics of the Swedish tourism workforce. It explores whether the assumption of a specifically low-educated workforce in tourism applies in Sweden, paying particular attention to potential geographical differences. Also, it answers the question of whether the distinct mismatch between tourism education and employment in the sector found in other settings (Evans 1993; Busby, 1994; Barron, 1998; Hjalager, 2003; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005) is also present in the Swedish context. The studies presented here consider the perceived value of formal education, not only within the general tourism workforce but also in the context of more complex destination management tasks. For the latter segment of the tourism workforce, the positions at higher levels of destination development, the study area is broadened to include one destination each in the neighbouring countries of Norway and Finland. This selection of case study areas is based on the studies being performed as part of the research project LUBAT (Lärande om Utveckling i Botnia Atlantica). The project aimed at creating transnational learning through case studies in the three countries.

The work presented in this thesis thus goes beyond the generalised view on work in tourism. It aligns with Svalastog (1992, 2008, 2010), who questioned the undifferentiated credence in tourism as a tool for regional development and survival. He argued that destinations and firms require much more than a general low-skilled workforce in order to survive global competition. The required competitiveness has been found in previous research to include the development of unique selling points, innovative products and value-added service of high quality (Embacher, 1994; Go et al., 1996; Argote & Ingram,

2000; Sharpley, 2002; Enz et al., 2006; Scott et al., 2008). In turn, according to theories on industrial innovation and development, the ability to create such competitiveness is achieved through formal education and experience-based skills (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999; Maskell & Malmberg, 1999; Argote & Ingram, 2000; Enz et al., 2006; Baggio & Cooper, 2010).

This view on competence as necessary for creating competitiveness aligns with the understanding of competitive advantages as presented by Porter (1985, 1990) and applied to the tourism context by Crouch and Ritchie (1999). From this theoretical perspective, the workforce permeates all parts of the tourism production process. The geographical preconditions in terms of the qualities of the available workforce, are thus crucial to the whole process. In essence, this means that the aspect of a labour market with easy entrance which has been held as a selling point for supporting tourism development irrespective of location could instead be its Achilles' heel.

A better understanding of the educational characteristics and geography of the tourism workforce is a matter of providing private and public actors in tourism with substance for planning and management. This issue is crucial to attend to, as there is a national strategy aiming at increasing the number of individuals working in tourism (Svensk Turism AB, 2010) at the same time as the Swedish tourism industry proclaims an approaching shortage in competent workforce (BFUF, 2013). This raises important questions about the perceived usefulness of tourism education within the tourism sector, and the extent to which the education sector actually contributes to improving formal education levels among the tourism workforce. There is also a relation between tourism-specific education and recruitment into the sector that needs to be scrutinised in order for educational institutions to provide relevant courses. The examinations in this thesis provide both descriptive inventories of the tourism workforce and explanations for its composition in the Nordic setting. The findings open up for further explorations of this vital, albeit thus far disregarded, aspect of the supply side of tourism.

Aim and Research Questions

The overall purpose of this thesis is to examine the presence of formal education in the Swedish tourism workforce and the perceived role of competence for destination management. The studies thus aim at providing an understanding of the educational characteristic of the tourism workforce that includes both a geographical and work task related aspect.

Three research questions have been formulated to frame the aim:

- What levels of formal education does the tourism workforce possess in different geographic areas of Sweden?
- Where does the tourism-specific education transfer into the tourism production process?
- What aspects of competence are regarded as necessary for destination management, by practitioners and in theory?

Two different groups within the tourism workforce are used as study objects: the numerically dominating segment performing less knowledge-requiring tasks that may be learned 'on the job', and a smaller group focusing on strategic and managerial tasks.

The first group is found in Papers I and II, defined through official statistics, including both high and low-skilled positions. The papers answer the first two research questions with focus on the distribution of formal knowledge, defined through the public educational system of Sweden. The geographical aspect of the case area is created through a categorisation of municipalities, that recognises the socio-economic impact of tourism and travel in the country's more rural, less inhabited parts although Swedish tourism is numerically dominated by the urban regions, in terms of visitors as well as employees.

The second, smaller group is found in Papers III and IV and constitutes the management of destination organisations in a selected region in northern Sweden and one case study area each in the neighbouring Nordic countries of Norway and Finland. These two papers address the third research question, with the view on competence broadened to include tacit and experience-based aspects of competence. The studies examine what competence assets based on professional identity, personality and experience are perceived to be of most value when hiring destination managers, and how tourism-specific knowledge may be included in a destination organisation. The case study areas are not among either the numerically dominating urban regions or the most tourism dependent ones. Instead, they are regions where the tourism sector has evolved and may hold potential for further development.

Outline of the Thesis

The thesis contains four individual papers and an introductory section.

The first part of the introduction presents the contextual framework of the studies. In this part findings from relevant prior research are brought together into a discussion presenting the gaps that need to be addressed by the subsequent papers and the concluding discussion of this thesis. The contextual

framework is finished with a description of the geographical and tourism related context of the thesis, named Setting the Scene.

The following part, Materials and Methods, presents the methodology and sources of empirical data used in the studies. This section entails an illustration of how the four papers build on each other in a thematic succession. Thereafter, a brief summary of each paper shows its aims, theoretical framework and key findings. The final part of the introduction is a concluding discussion where the empirical material and theoretical reasoning are merged together into an analysis that builds on all parts of the work. Finally, a summary of the thesis is provided in Swedish.

A compilation thesis is a merge of independently created pieces of work. The four papers presented here originate from the same overarching aim and research questions. They are however the result of four separate work processes. This is most evident in their differences in formatting and style. The five pieces follow different sets of guidelines in writing and there are differences between them although each one is consistent in style and language.

Conceptual Framework

*It is an instructive sight to see a waiter going into a hotel dining-room. /.../
And you cannot help thinking, as you see him bow and smile,
with the benign smile of the trained waiter,
that the customer (is) put to shame by having such an aristocrat serve him.*

(Orwell, 1933: 67-68)

An Introduction to the Relation between Competence and the Tourism Workforce

The quotation is found in George Orwells' book *Down and Out in Paris and London*, first published in 1933 (as referenced by Baum, 2007), but available in more recent editions as well (e.g. Orwell, 2013). In it, he tells of his experiences as a foreigner taking on temporary work in restaurants in Paris. The young Orwell worked as a plongeur, a pot-washer, and the long working hours, hostile environment and bad pay led him to the conclusion that the plongeur was a slave of the modern world. It is evidently not a happy story. Although based on a specific young man's encounters with a harsh working life his upbringing had not prepared him for, the book serves as a vivid documentation of the dark side of this labour-intense sector where costs need to be kept low and appearances up.

Orwell's sad observations of being in the tourism workforce in a posh Parisienne hotel in the 1920s appear to a large extent timeless. In fact, work in tourism is often viewed as being work tasks within hotels and restaurants, where much of the visible work has remained basically unchanged for a long time. In addition, although most of the guests in the restaurants are aware of the hard working conditions of the plongeurs, it is the courtesy of the waiter that strikes them as competent tourism work. A first note to be made here is thus that the general understanding of work in tourism and especially hospitality is based on highly selective perceptions of what is done rather than on insights into what really is performed. In essence, the definition of tourism work is, according to this view, constructed by the perceptions of groups other than those actually performing it. Baum (2006, p.127) suggested this to be the case and proposed that even when work in hospitality is discussed within research, it is formed through "a social construct" that does not correspond with the actual work tasks. Confirmation of this is found in Williams, Shaw and Greenwood (1989), who observed that tourism entrepreneurs in Cornwall differed from other sectors, in that most of them had not worked in the tourism sector prior to starting their own business and thus were without any more extensive insights into what their duties would be. A similar reflection is found in Hjalager and Andersen's (2001)

description of the Danish tourism sector in the 1980s, where experience of being a tourist rather than of producing tourism was the most prominent characteristic among its actors. In regards to the theme of this thesis – the relation between competence and tourism work – such simplified and even flawed views on work in tourism and the competence it requires may lead to a discrepancy between expectations and actual work situations, and even between curricula and educational needs among practitioners.

A second note to be made here is that when discussing the diverse workforce in tourism, one has to acknowledge both its static nature as described above, and its continuous evolution in connection to technological developments; the narrative of the immigrant plongeur in the 1920s, as well as today, has little in common with the staff within the airline sector although both groups are engaged in producing tourism. Especially during the 1950s and 1960s, the airline sector was surrounded by an air of adventure and glamour that made it stand out in relation to other operations (Barry, 2007; Baum, 2007). The possibility to combine work and travel the world, with a good pay, secure employment and dressed in designed outfits certainly made the pilots and hostesses an enviable segment of the tourism and travel workforce. The good times of employment in the national flag carriers, in the Scandinavian context headed by SAS (then Scandinavian Airline Systems, now Scandinavian Airlines), were however ended by the deregulation process, which finished in the early 1990s in Europe (Eaton, 2001). Low-cost airline companies have since tuned down on the glamour in favour of lower prices. If any segment within the western European tourism workforce is to be regarded as having a fulfilling, adventurous job in the dream-industry today, it may rather be the self-employed so-called lifestyle entrepreneurs. They have been identified as turning their passions into business and settling down in areas where they may not only indulge in their interest but also make a living out of it (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2004a). The alternative to the mass-lifestyle of urban regions has thus given the sparsely populated areas a new image. Due to advancements in information and communication technology, even the most remote places may today be marketed and noticed on a global market. In tandem, those who decide to live there are regarded as innovative creators, rather than lacking in initiative and thus left behind when all the others moved to the city.

From the above it can be read that tourism is a sector that covers a plethora of different economic activities and phenomena, as well as requirements regarding knowledge and skills. It goes without saying that if there is a diversity in work tasks, there is a corresponding multitude of requirements and views on skills and knowledge. Still, as noted by Baum et al. (2016) the sector keeps being pointed out as characterised by low thresholds regarding education and

experience. This is in spite of the high level of innovation and management required to survive within the harsh competition, both between individual firms and between larger entities such as organisations at the destination level, which is the focus of this thesis. Tom Baum, who has produced the major body of literature addressing the workforce and labour in tourism, has been very explicit in his calls for a less generalised approach to discussing tourism's workforce. The gross generalisations are, according to him, a convenient solution to any attempt to capture the diversity within the supply side of tourism production. In Baum et al (2016) it is claimed that the workforce has been neglected in tourism research and also that what is perceived to be known is in many cases rather "lazy reproductions of these ideas as the assumptive base of research endeavours" (Baum et al., 2016, p.15). This thesis addresses that statement by actually measuring the presumed levels of education, tracing the tourism-specific educated who are supposed to engage in the sector, and directly ask those involved in recruitment what it is they prioritise in terms of competence.

The Tourism Workforce in this Thesis

The tourism sector is here viewed as a diverse and complex composition of interactions between actors on several administrative levels, in both private and public sectors. The tourism commodities, such as overnight opportunities, organised activities, transport and served food, are foremost offered to the market by private actors, but inevitably created in dependence on the public sector. In its most basic sense, tourism is made possible by regulations on international and national levels regarding, for example, permission to travel and vacation legislation (Weaver & Oppermann, 2000). On a local level, actors operate in accordance with governmental regulations and there may be both formalised, explicit collaborations between actors, and informal, random involvement by local inhabitants and companies who foremost cater for locals (von Friedrichs Grängsjö, 2003; Hall, 2008; Wang & Krakover, 2008; Weiermair, 2010). This complexity in actors means that, from a functional perspective, there is a workforce engaging in tourism in many different parts of society, in administrative and legislative public bodies, as well as in private firms, and initiatives regarding such different activities as construction and retail.

The elusiveness of who is involved in tourism is mirrored in the long lasting debate within tourism research regarding whether it is at all to be regarded as a unit. Leiper (1979) went furthest in this discussion, claiming that the production of tourism is more of an elusive phenomenon than an industry, due to the many interactions between actors that together constitute the tourism product. Smith's (1988) more pragmatic suggestion was that all economic activities that cater for those who are away from their home environment may be referred to

as the tourism industry. This was objected to by Leiper (1990), claiming the diversity among the involved actors made it impossible to group them all under one heading. Instead, Leiper (2008) later suggested that if the word industry is to be used, it should be in the plural form of industries, as several economic sectors are involved in the tourism product. This aligns with Diamond's (1977) earlier proposal of applying the term *multiproduct industry* to tourism. The use of the concepts tourism, tourism industry, tourism sector and tourism workforce in this thesis is made in spite of the elusiveness of these concepts. In addition, the expression "engaged in tourism" is used to cover those earning their living as employees as well as entrepreneurs from economic activities included in the tourism sector. The foundation of how the tourism workforce has been defined here is presented below.

In this thesis, focus is on the core workforce of tourism, leaving the more peripheral and less tourism-motivated actors aside, as can be read from the list of economic activities included as tourism in Appendix I. For Papers I and II, the full national workforce in tourism was identified by using Swedish Standard Industrial Codes (SIC, see section Methods and Materials). The selection is thus individuals who have been registered as working in companies who are labelled as economically active in tourism. This group has a direct influence on the operationalisation of tourism and is what is generally referred to as the tourism workforce. The Swedish tourism workforce has most recently been addressed from the view of rural migration and job creation by Thulemark and Hauge (2014) and Möller (2016). However, what is already known about their educational characteristics and geography has been based on demarcated case studies and does not cover the full national picture. The results have thus not been analysed in a way that addresses their potentially different geographical and tourism related contexts. This thesis therefore aim to fill the gap regarding the geographical distribution of formal education among the workforce, as well as finding out whether or not the general image of comparatively low levels of formal education are actually found in the Swedish workforce.

In Papers III and IV a numerically much smaller but definitely not less influential group within the tourism workforce was targeted: the individuals and decisive groups involved in tourism development on administrative levels within the public sector and in public-private destination management. Their work tasks are not aimed directly at creating profitable productivity on a day-to-day basis and neither are they captured by tourism's SICs, as their positions fall under headings such as public administration. These positions are the result of a transformation of tourism management from a concern of private firms to a strategy within the public sector. Paper III includes a review of what previous studies have found to be included in their work tasks. In essence, they have to manage complex tasks related to the actors within the supply side of tourism

and could be expected to need higher level education. The inclusion of this group in a thesis on tourism's workforce is a change in what may be understood as included in tourism's workforce. The influence of this group on the outcome of a destination has been recognized by among others Carson and Carson (2011), but still needs to be addressed within research. This is the second gap this thesis aims at contributing to filling, here by scrutinizing how the aspect of tourism-specific knowledge is regarded in relation to other qualifications when such new positions are filled.

The Workforce as a Competitive Advantage in the Tourism Production Process

The mentioned first approach to assessing the tourism workforce by including all individuals registered as working in the sector is based on a perspective on the tourism production process as following standard industrial processes, where resources and facilities are transformed into commodities (Smith, 1998; Svalastog, 2008). No differentiation has been made in this thesis among tourism firms in relation to their size, ownership or operations. It should however be noted, as underlined by Zampoukos (2014), that there is great diversity in how firms organize their operations and recruitment of staff. The studies presented in this thesis may thus serve as points of departure for more detailed research.

According to the view taken here, the general tourism production process corresponds with the elements in Porter's (1985) model of a value chain. Within it, basic functions of design, production, marketing and distribution are identified as primary activities, and complemented by supporting activities of firm infrastructure, human resource management, technology development and procurement (Porter, 1985, p. 37). The production factor of labour – aka the workforce – may, in such models, be identified as an initial resource as well as a pervading supportive factor throughout the process. On a larger scale, the production factor of labour may be addressed through activities of human resource management (Porter, 1985), whereas in smaller firms there might be no difference between the initial source of innovation, the individual operating the production and the management.

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual framework of the supply side of tourism in this thesis, with the production process at the centre. This process refers in this thesis to activities within private firms as well as in organisations on destination level led by public actors and those formed through collaboration between private and public actors. As is shown in the figure, the process is present at the destination, where also the input factor of labour is located. The input factor of labour in tourism is, as illustrated, not restrained within the limits of each

individual firm or organisation but permeates the whole destination due to the above described interactions between commercial and other actors.

The labour input factor is in turn formed by inflow of workforce competence; in practice this is the access to competence held by individuals that may be recruited or attracted to the destination. The competence of the workforce may be divided into different elements such as formal education and experiences, appearance and so-called soft skills. These aspects will be elaborated on in a later section.

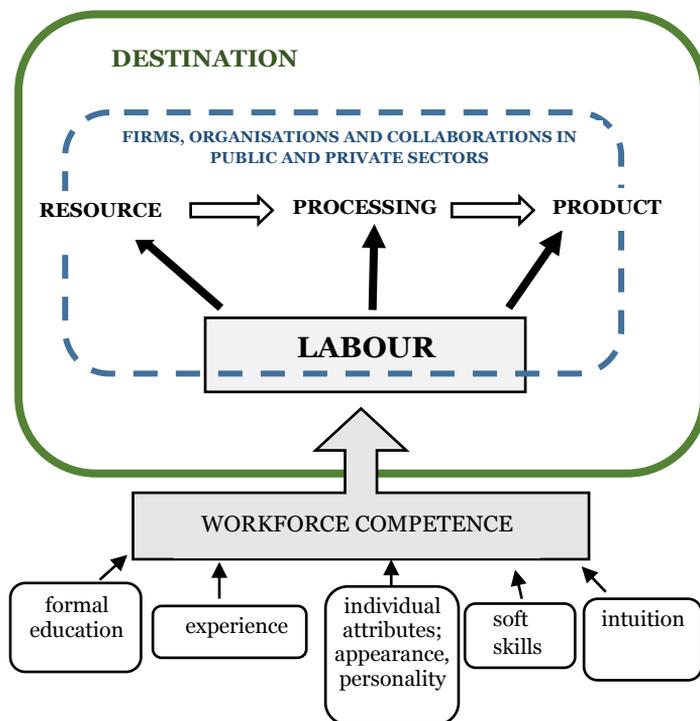


Figure 1 Illustration of Conceptual Framework.

The tourism workforce can thus be considered as a potential initially present comparative advantage as well as a created competitive advantage. This reasoning stems from Porter's (1990) model of how initial preconditions when favourable may be named comparative advantages whereas competitive advantages are factors that are developed based on the initial ones. Competitive advantage may also be achieved by linking the activities in the production

process or value chain to each other in a way that takes the whole process into consideration (Porter & Millar, 1985). Thereby, potential costs of one activity are balanced by other gains, as happens when investments in quality of the material used as a resource may be compensated by lower costs for handling customer complaints. The studies in this thesis build on this understanding of creating competitiveness, as a broad array of research has found that the ability to create competitiveness is linked to access to education and experience based skills (Maskell & Malmberg, 1999; Argote & Ingram, 2000; Enz et al, 2006; Baggio & Cooper, 2010). It is thus vital for tourism development to take the qualities of the workforce into consideration and address issues of what competence is needed and available. The aim and research questions of this thesis may work as suggestions of how such inventorying may be formulated. As will be described in the later section, Limitations, the actual effect of knowledge input on competitiveness will not be assessed in this thesis, but the understanding of knowledge as important in creating competitiveness is a starting point of the studies here.

Crouch and Ritchie (1999) as well as Dwyer and Kim (2003) applied this reasoning to the tourism industry context. Still, just as Porter (1990) recognises labour as an ingredient in the production process, they merge it with other inputs instead of giving it a section of its own, which would have been reasonable considering its pivotal role. However, the relation between comparative and competitive advantages has entered a process of transformation, as noted by Zhang and Jensen (2007), and thereby also the different input factors and their relations. The importance of natural resources has declined due to advancements in industrial and information technology, and created assets such as access to knowledge have become more vital in the creation of attractiveness and competitiveness. This process of changes has created a so far unattended reason to update the view on labour in the tourism production process.

Porter (1985), among others, discusses the need for enhancing the quality of each input factor in parallel with the level of influence it is calculated to have on the process and end product. In tourism, such reasoning illuminates the need to question the view on tourism as suitable for a low-skilled, non-experienced workforce. As tourism is a service-natured labour-intensive industry it would mean a high amount of low skilled input. This thesis suggests a more nuanced approach to how the positions in tourism should be filled in regions where tourism is held as a potential growth industry, based on Svalastog's (1992, 2008, 2010) critique of tourism development in Norway. However, both Porter (1990) and Crouch and Ritchie (1999) underline that although the input factors may initially be of a weak comparative nature, they may through the use of innovative management and well-planned production lead to competitive

strength. This suggests a need to compensate for a less skilled workforce by more qualified management. In addition, the labour intensity makes the workforce a major cost in the production (Shaw & Williams, 2004b; Bohlin & Elbe, 2007). The crucial point in creating profitable tourism is thus the balance between the cost and quality of the workforce.

The second approach to assessing and exploring the tourism workforce in this thesis is by focusing on the small number of managerial positions in organizations working on the destination level. The kind of destinations in focus here are areas defined by administrative geographical areas where private and public sector have formed a formal collaboration. This is a function in tourism development that has evolved in parallel with a general introduction of governance as a work mode within local governments, and has been addressed by, among others, Moscardo (2011) and Beaumont and Dredge (2010). The governance approach opens up new modes of work within the public sector and forms of organisation that were first used within the market oriented segment of society. They have become more accepted as strategies, illustrated by the plethora of common activities such as networks, public-private partnerships (PPP) and outsourcing (e.g. Nordin & Svensson, 2007; Beaumont & Dredge, 2010).

The most frequently used type of formal collaboration in Scandinavian tourism is the public-private partnership known as PPP (Costa et al., 2014). The term refers to collaborations between public and private sectors that take place within an administratively defined area but transcend the borders of the activity spheres of the actors. In practice this means that an administrative body such as a county sets up an organisation where private actors are included, and together they present an agenda to address common challenges. The funding of many of these partnerships stems from European Union structural and regional funds, where a prerequisite for being given economic funding is a commitment from both private and public actors (Müller, 2006a). The incentive for collaboration might therefore be economic rather than ideological, and not based on existing collaborations. The latter may in other cases work as a foundation for forming a destination that does not need an administrative definition or that is based around a common trademark (Castree, 2003; Aronsson, 2007; Bohlin, 2007). According to the more holistic view on how tourism is produced, the destination collaborations are also actors in the production process and the staff recruited to manage them are part of the tourism workforce.

The motives for forming formal collaborations between public and private actors in destinations are found in trying to avoid adversarial efforts, enhance the effect of investments in for example marketing, and other collaborative advantages found in sharing resources (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Östhol &

Svensson, 2002a, b; Clarke & Raffay, 2011). The implementation of multi-level governance has also led to a distribution of more influence on decision-making, as well as more responsibility at the local level (Almstedt et al, 2016). This means that new positions and contexts have been formed that need to be attributed with appropriate knowledge and skills. So far though, it is the structures of the collaborations that have rendered attention in tourism research, and much work has concerned the forms of partnership and networks that connect the actors (e.g. Elbe, 2002; Scott et al, 2008), and the power hierarchies among them (Wilson et al, 2001; Blackman et al, 2004; Svensson et al, 2005; Bieger et al, 2009; Bonhorst et al, 2010; Volgger & Pechlaner, 2014). The question of what and how to incorporate aspects of skills and knowledge is yet to be researched further.

Geographical Framework of the Tourism Workforce

The business of tourism is by nature a geographical issue as it regards the movement by people from one place to another and back again. The view on tourism as an industry, as described in the earlier section, means that destinations are geographical units where the actors of the supply side refine their resources into marketable commodities. The production plants in tourism are thus immobile due to the place-boundedness of the final product – which is the consumer’s experience at the destination. In contrast, research on the tourism workforce has been characterised by a focus on its mobility (see review in Williams and Hall, 2000). The combination of place specific plants and a mobile workforce explains the attention given to destination development by public sector actors in regions with a need to attract new opportunities for economic impact and gain for the local society (Dwyer & Kim, 2003; Komppula, 2014).

The geography of the tourism workforce is interlinked with the geography of destinations and attractions. Lundgren (1982) presented a hierarchy of destinations that ranges from metropolitan areas with large populations and developed infrastructure, to destinations that are located so peripheral to the first mentioned category that they may be referred to as wilderness. The numerical domination in tourism activities in urban centres has spill-over effects on the surroundings areas that are easily reached by transportation, whereas more peripheral destinations have lower levels of interaction (Lundgren, 1982; Hall, 2007; Müller & Ulrich, 2007). However, the remote places may experience higher economic worth of each visitor due to factors of exclusiveness (Hall, 2007). Although the quantities of tourism activities in those areas might not be large, their impact on the local society and labour market may be strong due to lack of other industries, as well as low numbers of inhabitants.

Regions in more peripheral areas facing out-migration of human as well as economic capital have especially turned to tourism as a strategy to, at least on seasonal basis, sustain their population rates through the development of new ways of creating income and diversifying the local economy (Hall & Jenkins, 1998; Lundmark, 2006; Müller & Jansson, 2007). As pointed out by Christaller (1963), regions that contrast with urban everyday life may in this sense find their so far unprofitable abundance of nature to be a resource. The employment being offered by tourism has in such strategies been stated as fortunate as it may engage groups that face difficulties in finding jobs due to lack of prior experience or education (e.g. Riley et al, 2002). Other characteristics that have rendered appreciation in the context of regional development is tourism's labour-intensity and that new commercial activities may be established relatively quickly and with low start-up costs (Hall & Jenkins, 1998; Lundmark, 2006; Müller & Jansson, 2007). However, as has been noted earlier in this thesis, the production of tourism and the transformation of a place into a tourism destination needs competent planning, management and performance in order to be competitive. The geographical location is therefore vital in several ways, as will be addressed here.

The most basic set-up for tourism contains an attraction, infrastructure and complementary services (Medlik, 1997). Even in this very simplified statement, it is obvious that geography matters to tourism; the preconditions for its development are related to the location of existing or potential attractions and accessibility. The latter relates to both physical transportation and to a labour force willing to engage in the needed surrounding services. According to Lundgren (1982), all places in the world have characteristics that may attract visitors. However, depending on local preconditions, they need more or less effort in order to establish a tourism sector. In the case of places that are located peripheral to large populations, it is a question of whether or not the distance to major tourist generating urban and metropolitan regions may be overcome by a substantial amount of visitors (Lundgren, 1982; Prideaux, 2002). To achieve such attention would, in accordance with Svalastog's perspective (see Svalastog 2008), require a competent workforce. Competence is in this regard found in the ability to find infrastructural solutions as well as attractiveness, and the lack of access to it has been identified as a hindrance to tourism development in rural and peripheral destinations (Botterill et al., 2000; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Hall, 2007; Müller & Jansson, 2007). To those destinations it is thus not only a question of attracting visitors, but also capital, a competent workforce and attention for infrastructural investments.

Urban or densely populated regions would in this aspect be well off as they house both a wide variety of attractions, developed infrastructure and access to a large and diversified workforce. The latter, together with the broad array of

amenities and social services, works in favour for labour migration into urban regions as opportunities for other household members are likely to occur (Eriksson et al., 2008). In addition, the workforce at hand is more educated in a formal sense, as educational institutions are mainly located in more densely populated areas and there is an established link between being educated in a place and staying there when entering employment (Lovén et al., 2016).

Areas located close to or easily reached by transportation from the more urban centres are favoured by the proximity of the above mentioned assets and the large numbers of tourists generated there (Müller & Ulrich, 2007). More peripheral and sparsely populated regions would, according to this reasoning, face disadvantages due to their dependence on external resources for human as well as economic capital (see for example Carson et al., 2016). There is, however, a diversity among the sparsely populated and peripheral destinations as stated in Lundmark et al (2012). A developed tourism industry often leads to a broad supply of amenities and services that would not be in place without the temporary visitors. The less urban regions may also have advantages based on assets such as natural amenities and other place-specific remunerations that attract a motivated workforce on a seasonal as well as, when possible, a permanent basis (Bianchi, 2000; Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014; Carson et al., 2016). The fact that less urban regions in general have low educational levels (Brandt, 2016), could thus possibly be balanced by a more motivated or specifically interested workforce.

It has been stated that destinations located far away from larger cities and educational institutions may attract a sufficient workforce on a seasonal basis (Lundmark, 2006; Müller, 2006b). This segment of the workforce has, however, proven to be too disloyal to the tourism sector to create a pool of substantial competence (Richards, 2001; Hjalager, 2002; Müller, 2006b). In general, such findings refer to a workforce that fills the temporary, low-paid service-positions in the destinations. This thesis approaches the geographical question from a larger perspective, including the full nation. In addition, it is not the casual employees that are being scrutinised but the workforce that earns its main annual income from tourism (see further in section Materials and Methods).

Based on the above, it is imperative not to subsume to an urban/rural dichotomy when reasoning on preconditions for tourism development, primarily because, as stated in Hoggart (1990), the label of rural covers an incalculable diversity of natural, social and economic circumstances that interact and overlap, but also because urban and rural areas are growing less different from each other. Tourism-related activities have been found to be most relevant in this respect through the increasing mobility of inhabitants, visitors and economic activities (Page & Getz, 1997); “Rural areas” are transformed into

settings for new uses such as leisure activities and second-home ownership by the urban population. The differences between rural and urban areas are thus decreasing as previous industries decline and new ones are introduced, that appeal to the urban market at place in what is commonly referred to as the rural setting. The aspect of second homes is a factor that diversifies the bipolarity, especially in the context of the Nordic countries where a large share of the population has constant access to other regions than their home due to property ownership (Hall et al., 2008). This creates a further segment of urban/rural interaction that affects the demand for services in less populated areas.

The studies in this thesis are designed with the intention to go beyond the basic framework of urban/less urban created by population density, educational structures and distance. To do so, a categorisation of Sweden's 290 municipalities based on socio-economic as well as geographical factors has been used explicitly in the first two studies and in the backdrop of Papers III and IV. It was formulated by the public body the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions. (SALAR, 2010; see further description in the section Materials and Methods). In it, a category is included based on where tourism and travel has a substantial socio-economic impact. Those areas could well be labelled destinations; however, that concept needs to be used cautiously, as will be discussed in the following section.

Destinations as Units for Assessment

The main geographical object of study in this thesis is the dispersal of formal education and how it relates to the geography of tourism activities. In essence, it regards the question of what destinations have been able to attract or retain an educated tourism workforce.

The perspective on destinations used here is that of administrative, geographically defined areas, an approach that can be used to refer to municipalities as well as transnational collaborations. In this way, the first two studies include all 290 municipalities in Sweden, whereas the other two studies focus on lower regional level. This administrative delimitation is much used in tourism practice on the supply side, as stakeholders within the public sector are delimited in their actions by those borders, noted by among others Pearce (1992). In accordance, private actors subsume to the same frames. This two-dimensional way of creating units is used based on methodological reasoning and is done with an acknowledgement of the social and relational spaces that are present in the areas and that are affected by, as well as affect, the delimitations (McDowell, 1999; Gren et al., 2000). Such social creations may be networks and interaction between actors that do not follow any administrative

or geographical structure but function as destinations based on actual collaborations, as discussed by Framke (2001).

The geographical delimitation used here is thus only one approach to identifying destinations, and Sletvold (1999) suggests there is no limit to how geographically wide or narrow a destination may be defined. Bohlin and Elbe (2007) list the many different possible categorisations of destinations based not only on size but also seasonality, prime attraction, orientation of activities and whether it is a rural or urban destination. Buhalis (2000) problematised this by pointing out the fact that the decision to visit may differ between individuals and therefore each destination may be of several simultaneous natures and perceived size. In addition, they also relate to each other and other levels of delimitations through spatial relationships, through transportation and communication, creating a web of physically measurable as well as more transcendent relations (Lew et al., 2008).

The geographical reasoning on destinations also involves several geographical levels. They need to be addressed individually with an acknowledgement of their interrelated linkages in order for assessments and management policies to be relevant. One illustration of this is found in how the whole of Europe may be regarded as one destination in publications from the European Union (EU). Juul (2015) found an expressed concern at EU level about Europe losing its role as the number one destination in terms of number of visitors. This is stated on a level of low resolution as individual destinations within EU nations are experiencing numbers of arrivals that have an acute derogative impact on nature and the local society. Hall (2000) refers to this as systems within systems, as the flow of tourists between countries may be examined at closer range to find the origins and destinations in a more exact way.

There thus needs to be an awareness of simultaneous and context specific variations on lower regional levels; the urban centres in Sweden are the numerically dominating destinations when measured in volumes of guests and tourism employees. This position, however, needs to be related to the relatively low numbers of inhabitants as well as visitors, as metropolitan cities in less peripheral locations experience volumes of other dimensions (see e.g. Albalade & Bel, 2010).

Similarly, the rural areas in focus for tourism development strategies on a national level in Sweden would, on an EU level, rather submit to the label of *wilderness* due to their distance to larger population centres and lack of human activities (Müller, 2013, p. 41). The different geographical scales need to be considered when discussing opportunities and challenges for tourism, as the

territorial size is a question of inclusion or exclusion of supporting structures and infrastructure that may facilitate or hinder destination development.

A more Nuanced View on Tourism as a Labour Market

As introduced above, tourism development is entangled in several geographical levels and systems. In the context of this thesis, this relates not only to the actual access to an adequate workforce but also preconditions such as opportunities for other work options, further education and institutional characteristics of the public sector. These factors affect the image of the destination as a place to live on a more permanent or recurring basis, and thus the ability of the place to attract the workforce needed to create competitive tourism products.

A challenging situation is found in the less profiled regions where tourism development is regarded as a strategy for future survival. According to Butler (2001), the main task for policy makers aiming at creating durable tourism development in such areas is to develop local strategies for less seasonal dependency. The present situation shows that the share of young adults attending higher education is growing and that there is a connection between this interest in further studies and the out-migration of youngsters from rural areas (Möller, 2016). Reports on the effects of localising post-secondary education outside of the larger urban regions in Sweden suggest that this may lead to the educated individuals staying put in the region, but few attempts are made on a national level to increase the out-location of educational opportunities (Lovén et al., 2016). For upper secondary education, there has to be a sufficient number of permanent inhabitants in a region in order for a new education to be started (Tillväxtverket, 2013). This means that for example tourism destinations with strong seasonality in business and employees, but low numbers in population, are not considered as suitable locations for relevant education, although opportunities for vocational training during education are available.

By creating jobs that appeal to a newly educated group of employees, the trend could potentially be reversed. Considering the bad reputation of work in tourism (see further in section Motives for Joining the Tourism Workforce), this is no easy task if tourism activity is to be used as main strategy. It should, however, be noted that the scale-factor needs to be recognised here; there is a strength in numbers in urban regions, attracting large quantities of visitors because of business as well as private visits. In more sparse areas, each influential entrepreneurial individual may have a greater effect (Carson et al., 2016). The lower the number of inhabitants, the comparatively more difference one job makes.

Tourism has foremost been promoted in national and international strategies as a job opportunity for the less educated, young people, and women looking for part-time employment due to household duties, as well as those made redundant from industrial activities. It should be noted that in some areas, tourism has contributed to an increase in investments and jobs. Möller (2016) could also show that because of the low thresholds into employment, young people in tourism areas had the opportunity to start their occupational career early and gain experience that may serve them well in their future search for jobs. However, tourism has also been questioned in regards to its contribution in the longer term, primarily from an economic development perspective by Hall and Jenkins (1998), Fleischer and Felsenstein (2000) and Hall (2007). Among the critique are the economic and social disadvantages of tourism work and the potential vulnerability due to too much reliance on one industry and no locally based ownership, as pointed out by Möller (2016) and by Schmallegger and Carson (2010). Above all, there has been a geographical generalisation, as for example not much can be found that mirrors the diversity among regions labelled as “being rural” in the strategic measures and recommendations presented on a European level (Woods, 2005; Almstedt et al, 2016). In terms of tourism, it is crucial to take such diversity into consideration, as some regions are located far from densely populated areas and not even equipped with adequate physical infrastructure (Woods, 2005).

Baum et al. (2016) state that tourism is surrounded by assumptions presented as facts. This advocates more tourism-specific insight to be incorporated into the tourism workforce in general, but especially within destination management. One crucial point is the differences in knowledge and understanding of what may be expected from tourism in regards to economic development. Hall (2007) indicate there to be unrealistic expectations and predictions based on general, global tourism development. Murphy (1985) illustrated this lack of understanding of the tourism system on higher administrative levels, with findings that it had led to disproportional support for creation of lodging establishments in areas without attractions. In addition, Müller (2013) suggests most efforts are based on assumptions and observations of successful ventures in other locations, disregarding local differences. This suggests a lack of understanding of the whole tourism system, which includes places of origin, transfer and destinations (Weaver & Oppermann, 2000). The situation at a destination is thus interwoven with processes on a global level regarding attractions as well as other travel trends, and not only the result of local efforts.

This first part of the conceptual framework presented the thesis’s geographical perspective of administratively defined destinations. It was argued that although a division of destinations based on such administrative borders is an

established view on the geography of tourism, it has to be complemented by a recognition of several simultaneous delimitations and linkages between different levels of scale.

The previous sections also described the basics of the production process in tourism and how the factors within it may develop from comparable to competitive advantages. As the input factor of workforce competence is the main focus of this thesis, the following section will present how the concept of competence in the tourism context is addressed in the thesis.

Concepts of Knowledge and Competence

The first two research questions of this thesis focus on the explicit kind of knowledge that may be transferred through formal education. The third research question widens the view to involve more intangible aspects as well. The word 'competence' is used in this thesis, as it refers to a combination of different aspects of knowledge that are relevant within a certain context. Morris et al. (2013, p. 353) explain competence as a conglomerate of "the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and behaviours that people need to successfully perform an activity". Whereas knowledge may be held as a value in itself, competence is thus a context-bound term that entails several elements related to knowledge. A basic distinction between those elements can be made by sorting them under the headings of knowledge, skills and wisdom. The three aspects then refer to *knowing what* to do, *knowing how* to do it and *knowing why* it should be done (Dahlbom, 1986; Håkansson & Snehota, 1995; Gustavsson, 2002). The terms are often used interchangeably but in general the word *skills* refers to a practical ability-aspect or 'know-how' whereas *knowledge* is theoretical and *wisdom* something that may be acquired through time.

The need to distinguish between the elements of competence may foremost be seen as related to the learning processes whereby they are attained. There, a distinction is made between explicit and implicit learning, based on whether the learner is already conscious of what the learning will bring before it has happened, and whether or not the tutor can define what is taught (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1980; Polanyi, 1983; Dahlbom, 1986; Håkansson & Snehota, 1995; Gustavsson, 2002; Collins, 2010). In formal theoretical education, the explicit learning predominates, whereas implicit learning and knowledge is found in more applied and less measurable forms of learning situations. The latter is also related to the term *tacit knowledge*, which refers to things that are not easily transferred explicitly. In the tourism context, Shaw and Williams (2009) found tacit knowledge to be situated in – i.e. held by – individuals as well as firms and organizations in the form of routines and modes of work.

Based on the above, being competent is not a static mode that occurs after a defined learning situation. Instead, it is a continuous process where both formally transferred and experience based skills interact and in turn create new knowledge and abilities (Nonaka et al., 2000). This is in line with how Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1980) described how a conglomerate of knowledge and skills that is put into practice for a longer time may turn into the ability of intuition, related to the above mentioned term wisdom. Their study of aircraft pilots refers to acute needs for quick responses to external impacts and it might at first seem far-fetched to use this as an understanding of competence within the more general tourism workforce. However, the need for intuitive action is prevalent in all service situations as they are based on human interaction – an undoubtedly unpredictable factor.

The perspective taken in this thesis is that formally educated individuals within a workforce may develop competence in regards to a specific purpose or context. In parallel, there is a need in tourism for skills that may be developed but that require certain nature-given characteristics related to appearance and personality. As a last category, of course there is also room for those with neither previous skills nor a very gregarious personality as the front-line and managerial segments of the tourism sector are only parts of its operations.

Competence as an Asset in Tourism Production

Previous research on what kinds of competence are identified as relevant in the tourism sector shows a divide into two approaches, where one focuses on the kinds of skills that relate to service-situations and hospitality (e.g. Baum, 1989, 2006; Burns, 1997; Shaw & Williams, 2004b), and the second on how higher education in tourism matches the needs for formal knowledge in the tourism industry (e.g. Hjalager & Andersen, 2001; Hjalager, 2003; Wang et al., 2009). They are, however, not clearly defined, as the work tasks in tourism cover a wide range of activities, with varying content as well as levels of responsibility (Baum, 2002; Riley et al., 2002; Zampoukos and Ioannides, 2011). In addition, the tourism workforce is an amalgam of employers, employees and one-person ventures, accompanied by a not negligible informal economy (Shaw & Williams, 1994). This diversity leads to a variety in how needs in competence may be met through recruitment and education.

In the backdrop, however, lingers the view on the lack of need for education in the general tourism workforce. Burns (1997) explained this to be rooted in a Fordist view on the workforce that is still prevalent, although western societies have transformed into a post-industrial state characterised by a growing service sector. The competencies needed in service sectors such as tourism and hospitality are simply not quantifiable enough to fit into the workforce division

of skilled/not skilled. In addition to the post-Fordist explanation, there is a long standing view that many work tasks within hospitality are the same as unpaid labour women carry out in their households (Riley et al., 2002; Shaw & Williams, 2004b). Such work tasks would thus by nature be neither qualified nor deserve high levels of pay. A third, more strategic explanation to keeping the assumption of little need for educated individuals is found in Riley et al (2002). They present the willingness to employ individuals without prior training and experience as a mechanism of downward pressure on payment. The low level then functions as a reference for other groups within the tourism workforce.

In the context of tourism production, competence is an asset of the individual worker, with a direct input into the production process due to the service-nature of tourism. According to this human capital theory, education and experiences enhance the productivity of a workforce on both individual and aggregate levels (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1963). Contributions to the literature on competitiveness and development on all organisational levels have stressed the concept of knowledge and how to achieve, manage and retain it, as vital factors for creating advantages in an increasingly competitive world (Argote & Ingram, 2000; Enz et al, 2006; Baggio & Cooper, 2010).

Expenditure for research and development are, according to this view, investments that need to be made in order to create innovation and development. The expenditure can be costs for recruiting individuals that bring the competence needed or, alternatively, provide existing staff with sufficient in-house learning. The need for highly skilled management in order to survive in the global competition has been argued for by Embacher (1994), Sharpley (2002), and Scott et al (2008). Svalastog (2008, 2010) agreed with this and specifically referred to the Nordic context of high-costs and peripheral location in Norway. One could thus argue that just as specific competence on the management level within firms may compensate for less education in other groups of staff, so may recruitment of competence on the level of destination management complement the specific firm-related knowledge and skills held by actors in smaller firms. Their proficiency in daily service tasks is then not only regarded as a competitive advantage but also a resource and production factor that pervades the whole production process of tourism within the destination, in collaboration with the destination management.

Tourism-specific Challenges in Knowledge Management

Knowledge management is a growing field in research that focuses on the development of existing and new knowledge in organizations, addressed in tourism research by e.g. Cooper (2006), Shaw and Williams (2009) and Hjalager (2010). In the case of the tourism workforce, the management of

knowledge is complicated by two interrelated aspects found in previous research: the high turnover of staff and low initial levels of training (Richards, 2001; Hjalager, 2002). Due to the stated poor career opportunities, the predominance of temporary contracts and low wages, only a small segment of the tourism workforce remains within it over the longer term. Aligning with the view on competence as something achieved with time, the high turnover of staff in tourism may be held as a pitfall as it hinders the creation of a competent workforce. The intuition claimed to be an asset in tourism operations is counteracted by staff leaving the sector after having learned the basic practical skills. However, in less sector specific economic geography, turnover has been found to have positive effects on competitiveness and growth but this remains to be explored in tourism (Zampoukos, 2014). The deviance may be that the individuals changing work place proceed to other sectors with tourism as the first stepping stone and therefore not gaining from any prior experiences.

One strategy for handling the turnover is to turn to technology as a bearer of knowledge and competence, instead of the individuals within the workforce. In the service sector, routines and manuals can compensate for a skilled staff. In addition, the advancements in Information Communication Technologies (ICT) during the last decades have changed the tourism industry (Buhalis & Law, 2008) and continue to do so. Tasks previously operated by the tourism workforce are now performed by consumers who therefore need to inform and educate themselves instead of turning to the competence of members of the tourism industry.

A second strategy is to create as much flexibility and substitutability as possible within the workforce of a firm or organisation (Riley et al., 2002). The concepts relate to how a firm may use each member of staff in as many roles as possible, thus compensating for trained individuals while new members are being sought and educated. It also makes it possible to adapt to changes in demand by letting the available resources in staff take on whatever tasks need to be done (Shaw & Williams, 2004b). In relation to perceptions of what knowledge is needed in the workforce, flexibility rather than specialisation is therefore found to be encouraged and the low thresholds for entry into tourism are followed by similarly low ones between jobs within it (Riley et al., 2002). The labour flexibility is also enhanced through hiring on part-time or temporary conditions. According to Riley, Ladkin and Szivas (2002) this mobility is a vital element of tourism operations. The non-specific skills and low thresholds could thus be understood not only as illustrations of how competence is not needed within the tourism sector, but also as effects of its evolution; the more pressure put on employers regarding levels of pay, the more important it becomes to reduce the number of staff in each situation.

Tourism-specific Competence: Intuition and Foreign Skills

There is a predominance of work tasks within general tourism that do not require specific or high level education. In this thesis, this aspect is captured by the studies focusing on the total national workforce in tourism, in Papers I and II. However, this does not mean that there are no requirements for competence for this group. Besides the increasingly important practical skills in managing technology, the requirements for the tourism workforce are not easily captured within formal education, although they are well established within the industry. As will be discussed in this section, tourism is knowledge-intense due to its nature as a service-industry, where the intangible skills of the staff are crucial to the performance (Kotler et al., 2006; Baum, 2007; Bolton & Houlihan, 2010).

In their scrutiny of knowledge requirements in the Australian tourism industry, Wang et al. (2009:64), found the following foursome which, when in balance with each other, result in the general competence profile needed in the sector:

- Academic achievements
- Technical and personal skills acquired at university
- Personal values through family upbringing
- Any work experience.

On the one hand, this may not be perceived as a purely tourism-specific definition of a good employee but it does put the finger on two crucial aspects of knowledge in tourism's workforce; first, that it is a conglomerate of different aspects of knowledge and skills, i.e. the here defined concept of competence, and secondly, that aspects based on personal assets and personality can be valued to the same extent as formal education.

In relation to requirements for tourism employment, personal appearance is a more or less expressed aspect of employability. This aesthetic factor has been problematised by Nickson et al. (2003) as the importance put on physical and audial appearance risks excluding individuals from the labour market (see also Gorz, 1982, 1999). In relation to aspects of competence – as described in the section Concepts of Competence and Knowledge – one could claim that know-how in combination with know-why concerning personal style and appearance certainly may be a developed asset that if considered necessary may compensate for less suitable comparative advantages.

Baum (2006, 2008) underlined that the competence needed in tourism is not only distinguishable facts and technical abilities but above all aesthetic and emotional skills that originate from personal qualifications. Several studies have found that the most essential competencies for management level in tourism

and hospitality are the so-called soft skills, i.e. related to human relations and abilities in interpersonal interaction (Baum, 1989; Christou, 2002). A similar reasoning is found in Shaw and Williams (2004b: 78), who used the concept of 'foreign skills' to explain the implicit knowledge needed for a host to navigate in situations when the cultural difference in relation to the guest is large. In order to state the relevance of such skills in a tourism situation, one has to know the educational and cultural backgrounds of both the host and guest. Hochschild (1983) used the term emotion management skills to address this particular type of challenge in tourism situations.

Tourism-specific skills are also put into focus by one of the crucial aspects of service industries, namely the influence of the consumer. The commercial product in tourism is an experience perceived by the autonomous consumer and made up of both material and intangible elements (von Friedrichs Grängsjö, 2001; Mathieson & Wall, 2006). Based on this, the consumer may be held as a co-producer in the production process. According to both Smith (1998) and Svalastog (2008), the consumer is the producer since her individual experience is the actual end product. In essence, there is a simultaneity of tourism's consumption and production where no clear line can be drawn between the production process and its result. In regards to forming a competent workforce, this means that any measurements taken by a management operating in tourism will never cover all factors affecting the production due to the inevitable involvement of other actors (Gibson, 2006). In addition, the need to steer the experience of a consumer poses extensive requirements for emotional skills and intuition that are hard to define as explicit requirements in a situation of recruitment (Baum, 1989, 2008).

Formal Education in Tourism

Tourism education may be divided into theoretical and vocational, with the latter mainly referring to education within hospitality. It has, however, been suggested that both the tourism industry and educational systems would benefit from a less bipolar kind of tourism knowledge production (Ladkin, 1999; Lewis, 2005; Inui et al., 2006). Lewis (2005), as well as Inui et al. (2006), point at the need to equip students who may end up at the organisational level in the tourism workforce, with both vocational skills that make them operationally functional and abilities to understand tourism development in a broader sense. The need for vocational training to be included in more theoretical education was confirmed by the findings of Tan and Morgan (2001), based on how educators and industry representatives perceive the effects of studying a tourism major at a higher level.

Vocational education in tourism today is offered from secondary levels within the European educational systems and has evolved from schools focusing on providing training in tourism's core businesses, mainly related to hospitality (Butler, 1999; Morgan, 2004). Due to changing needs for an educated workforce, the content has been broadened to include a wider perspective on tourism, although it still holds a strong element of vocational training through apprenticeships and internships (Butler, 1999; Inui et al., 2006). In general, it has been found that education with a strong vocational focus is directly influenced by the industry and its changing needs for skills (Wang et al., 2009). This has resulted in high employability of the students as the industry has a direct influence on what is included in the education (Inui et al. 2006; Wang, et al., 2009). Still, as will be elaborated on in the section Paths of the Tourism Educated, this has not proven to result in a high correlation between graduation from a tourism-specific education and employment in the sector. In fact, as pointed out by Hjalager (2002), the vocationally trained are, in a general European context, only a small share of the total tourism workforce.

Besides the presented soft-skills that are rendered especially necessary for front-line work tasks in tourism, there are positions that need different types of formal, more academic, knowledge. For example, the destination management group focused on in Papers III and IV of this thesis was, according to prior research, found to need knowledge and skills in marketing, planning and communication (Åberg, 2014). For other qualified positions, Dale and Robinson (2001) suggest needs of both generic, interdisciplinary nature and specific formal knowledge of a field gained through higher education

The more theoretical education in tourism is of a less self-evident nature than the vocational. In fact, there is no agreement to be found on the theoretical, academic side on what tourism as a field of research and learning contains or even if it is to be held as a discipline (Leiper, 1979, 2008; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Tribe, 1997). Tourism as a formal specialised knowledge is seldom found to be held as a discipline of its own but is paired with other more established ones. Jafari and Aser's (1988) review of doctoral dissertations with a tourism focus published between 1951 and 1987 showed that tourism was most commonly adapted to studies within economics, anthropology, recreation and geography. Hall and Page (1999) found the human geography perspective to be an established perspective on tourism, but Müller (2010) then claimed that the geographical hold on tourism had weakened in favour of a more business-related view within research.

For the less specialised education within tourism there is an ongoing debate regarding curricular development. This may partly be explained by lack of clarity on what skills and knowledge are required by the industry (Duncan et al.,

2013). A model of how tourism has been approached in education as well as policy has been presented and later elaborated on by Jafari (1990, 2001). According to this, the general understanding of tourism in the 1950s and 1960s was as being an economic activity with few if any negative impacts on the destination and therefore promoted by governments. Jafari named this an *advocacy-platform*, complemented by a more cautionary approach in the 1970s as negative impacts became evident and awakened academic interest. Since the late 1990s, formal education in tourism has thus broadened into a more holistic take on the whole tourism system, advocating the need for planning based on scientific reasoning. In addition to Jafari, Tribe (1999) as well as Airey (2004) and Coles, Hall and Duval (2005, 2006), have tried to systematise the many perspectives needed to capture all aspects of the activity of tourism.

The multidisciplinary linkages between tourism and other academic fields of study have increased further in the Nordic context during the last decades as new work tasks have been introduced through the recognition of public sector involvement in tourism planning and regional management. The operational skills have thus been complemented by a need to link tourism understanding and spatial planning. In response to this there have been suggestions of a core curriculum that would be internationally viable in order to overcome a stated lack of distinction of tourism educational programmes (Dale & Robinson, 2001). Terms and concepts used in tourism education would then be streamlined and allow for clarity within national systems but also respond to the potential international mobility of an educated tourism workforce (Keiser, 1998). This would make it clearer to students as well as future employers what competence is to be expected from a graduate. With tourism courses hidden in other disciplines and not taught as specific programmes, it becomes hard to identify who has a tourism related education or not.

The academic discussion on what tourism knowledge entails and its position in relation to other subjects may seem more of an epistemological issue. However, the multidisciplinary of research in tourism has led to it being housed under different headings as will be described in the next section. The generic theoretical understanding of tourism may thus be taught from different perspectives, which might not have caused the degrading of it as shown by the results of the studies here. However, it is suggested that it has not worked to its benefit either.

Paths of the Tourism Educated

In general, when it comes to incentives for obtaining a higher education, the prospect of higher salary and potentially higher level positions are among the most common. In the Swedish context, graduates who are later found working

in areas directly related to their higher education are found mainly within health and social work, and in positions that require a formal education (Nilsson & Viberg, 2015). In regards to special focus education within the upper secondary level, the sector with the largest share of graduates from a directly related education is that of motor vehicle repair, with 58% of its workforce having such an education. The forestry and agriculture sector has 49% of its workforce graduated from a directly related upper secondary education (Skolverket, 2016).

In tourism, the most common programme among upper secondary graduates is the general social sciences programme (Samhällsvetenskapligt gymnasie program) (Skolverket, 2016). Paper II of this thesis addresses the issue with a focus on tourism education, as prior research has found a mismatch between graduating in tourism and then joining the tourism workforce (Evans 1993; Busby, 1994; Barron, 1998; Hjalager, 2003; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005). Van Hoof (1991) and Riley, Ladkin and Szivas (2002), elaborate on the incentives of pay not being fulfilled in the tourism sector. Rather, the poor monetary and career related remunerations are complemented by poor working hours and temporary contracts (Bonn & Forbringer, 1992; Emenheiser et al, 1998; Hjalager & Andersen, 2001; Baum, 2006).

The approach of applying other major areas of knowledge to issues in tourism, as Tribe's (1999) multidisciplinary suggests, is mirrored by how positions requiring longer and more academic education in the tourism sector are staffed. Among those work tasks are those such as accounting for a tourism firm, human resource management applied to a tourism firm, and the like. It has been found that even for managerial levels within hospitality, a more general rather than hospitality-specific education was preferred by the industry (Van Hoof, 1991; Cargill, 1995). More academic tourism knowledge is thus deselected by the industry, but there is another side of the mismatch between education and employment. Among the graduates who have studied tourism-specific courses at university level, a deselection of tourism employment has been found as they do not proceed to work in tourism (Barron, 1998; Hjalager, 2003; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005). According to Tan and Morgan (2001), students in tourism higher education in Australia were discouraged by the few positions available at higher levels but also perceived themselves to be overeducated in relation to the work tasks offered within tourism. The latter was also stated in Hjalager's (2003) survey of students on university management courses in Sweden. Tan and Morgan (2001) concluded that higher tourism-specific education will not give a substantial advantage in job seeking. On the other hand, it could not be seen to cause any disadvantage either.

However, there are other findings that make this image more faceted. First, when it comes to the tourism-specific educated, Hjalager and Andersen (2001)

and Hjalager (2003) align with the earlier findings of a mismatch between educated and employed in tourism but go on to show that those who do join the tourism workforce after obtaining a tourism-specific education stay longer than those without tourism-specific education. This implies that the tourism educated are more inclined than their colleagues without tourism education to stay once they have passed the initial threshold of an employment where the tendency to quit is strongest (Riley, 2000). The high turnover and interrelated high level of recruitment claimed as characteristic of the tourism workforce would thus not apply to this segment of it.

Secondly, it should be noted that higher education in itself is not dismissed by the tourism sector, although a tourism focus might not be prioritised. Thrane (2010) found that attaining a degree in secondary level education had a positive effect on individual earnings in the Norwegian tourism workforce, and also that an educational degree had stronger positive effects on earnings than the number of years in education. The knowledge stated by a degree is thus prioritised over knowledge derived from a longer but less specified education. This is a phenomena named *sorting explanation* (Spence, 1973; 1974). It occurs in situations when a potential employer or recruitment group needs to estimate the productivity of an individual. As they do not know how the person will perform if hired, the degree is used as a sign of competence. In the case of tourism employment, a specific degree – not necessarily in tourism – is thus more often perceived as a token of productivity than a long, diverse educational background.

Motives for Joining the Tourism Workforce

Choosing to follow a tourism-specific education, as stated above, cannot be used as an explanatory factor to joining the tourism workforce (Riley et al., 2002). This means that there is a significant number of tourism educated working in other sectors and also that there is a large number of non tourism educated individuals recruited to the tourism sector. It is here held as important to have this distinctive feature of the tourism workforce in mind when exploring the presence of formal education within it. The question that arises is what attracts individuals to tourism, as they are not motivated by having invested their time and efforts in tourism courses. It should be noted that the geographical setting of this thesis as well as the theoretical reasoning presented here is in a relatively well-educated part of the world with social security systems and established workers' rights. The negative aspects of tourism work and exploitation of workers that have been explored in so called "Third World countries" by among others Sörensson (2008) are thus, at least to a certain extent, legally limited.

So far, little is known about what attracts individuals to the tourism industry. One exception is Adler and Adler's (1999) typology of Hawaiian resort workers. They identified the agency of four groups within the tourism workforce; new immigrants, locals, seekers and managers. The distinctions are based on whether or not the individual has purposively chosen tourism as a sector and whether or not she has migrated in order to find the place of work. Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) also found this division relevant in other geographical settings. Still, it is easier by far to find statements in tourism literature that speak to the disadvantage of the sector as a workplace than in favour of it. Among the most often repeated disadvantages are low wages, few opportunities for career advancement, unattractive working hours, temporary and poor working contracts, and physically demanding work tasks (Bonn & Forbringer, 1992; Emenheiser et al, 1998; Hjalager & Andersen, 2001; Baum, 2006). Attention has thus been drawn to this and the interconnected aspect of high turnover of staff in tourism. Still, the agency and geography of the workforce are fields that have only recently been addressed at any noticeable level in tourism research (Castree, 2007; Duncan et al., 2013; Solnet et al., 2014). This confirms the claim of Baum et al. (2016) that the tourism workforce is a stated important factor in tourism but neglected in tourism research.

What has been found is that non-monetary motives are especially relevant to tourism's workforce (Bianchi, 2000). The lack of attractive work hours and career opportunities could then be met by, for example, the amenity rich location of the work place. A similar approach is found in Ateljevic and Doorne's (2000) work on tourism entrepreneurship. The economic factor is, according to them, implicit but the importance of social and cultural values is prominent, too. This broadens the understanding of how tourism entrepreneurs are placed within a continuum between being oriented towards business or lifestyle (Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998). It also relates to the very basic distinction between being motivated by necessity or opportunity where a necessity driven choice of joining the tourism workforce is primarily based on push factors, i.e. when no other option is at hand, whereas the opportunity driven agency is based on pull factors such as being faced with a business opportunity one cannot ignore (Verheul et al., 2010).

The above reasoning on motives for joining the tourism workforce actualises the geographical aspects of destinations as places for work. The geographical differences between destinations may create motives for permanent settlement and entrepreneurship but also for temporal contracts and short-time engagement. Tuulentie and Heimtun (2014), have focused on those who move to sparsely populated, peripheral destinations to engage in the tourism sector. Their findings align with Carson et al (2016), in that the residential tourism workforce in remote areas is created through career- or lifestyle-related reasons

among domestic and international migrants, often motivated by entrepreneurship. Their studies broaden the understanding of the mobile tourism workers from only encompassing the seasonal workforce. The latter is a segment that has been addressed in several studies, not least as their temporariness poses challenges to policy makers for finding and retaining them in order to create opportunities in seasonal destinations (Baum & Lundtorp, 2001, Lundmark, 2006).

In the Nordic context, the workforce in tourism would, based on the above, be made up of locals residing at the destination and therefore joining the workforce, more lifestyle motivated migrants that may be mobile in geography as well as occupational sector, and have a more random cause for being in the tourism workforce, and lastly those actually wanting to pursue a professional path within the sector. The agency of the tourism workforce is thus a field that offers many possibilities of further exploration. This is especially obvious when taking into consideration that the investment in time, effort and even money that an individual makes when pursuing an education is primarily motivated by expected gains when joining the workforce. In an industry known for its poor remuneration, the geography of the educated in tourism may thus serve as a foundation for further research in several directions.

Limitations

There are research areas that are inextricably linked to the issue of competence in the tourism workforce and development of tourism activities that will not be explicitly addressed here in order to keep the focus of the thesis.

One such attendant area of research is that of innovation as the access to competence, is directly related to the ability to think in new ways. Innovation in tourism has been researched extensively by Hjalager (e.g. 1997, 2002, 2010), Mattsson, Sundbo and Fussing-Jensen (2005), and in Hall and Williams (2008). Hjalager et al. (2008) address the matter, especially in the Nordic countries. However, as the studies here do not measure the actual effects of knowledge input into the production process, this field has been left undiscussed. The field of knowledge acquisition, transfer and management in the tourism sector that has been addressed in Cooper (2006), Hoarau (2014), Shaw and Williams (2009) as well as Sundbo (1997), may be regarded as the link between the topic of this thesis and research on innovation, and is therefore mentioned in a later section but, just as the innovative effects of competence, left unattended here. The most evident limitation of this thesis is thus that it

does not answer the question what kinds of knowledge constitutes the competence needed to reach certain set aims for tourism development.

The second theme that definitely is part of the background of the studies presented, but that is not problematised as part of the research and theoretical framework, is the issue of tourism outcome. Outcome may here be read as both economic revenue on the firm level and more communal effects, such as increase in work places or opportunities for environmental improvements. As will be described in a later section, the understanding of the tourism sector has evolved during the last 60 years from a purely economic activity to a much more faceted phenomena (see e.g. Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; Liu & Wall, 2006; Dredge & Jenkins, 2007; Sörensson, 2008). In essence, several strands of research have evolved in order to cover the economic, social and environmental aspects from different actors' perspectives and with different temporal as well as geographical perspectives. Although the outcome of an industrial activity is its very *raison d'être*, it has here not been addressed to any extent, due to the complexity in defining the outcome of tourism development, as well as limiting what preconditions and resources, such as access to labour, should be included in such calculations. The studies here are geographically framed by the concept of destinations but recruitment results that are explored are also made on firm levels. This leads to a situation where different aims and considerations in regards to composing a workforce are present; a measurement of the correspondence between intention and outcome would call for yet another thesis.

There is also a methodological limitation to be noted in regards to the material used in Papers I, II and the introduction. As will be described in the papers as well as the section *Methods and Material*, the studies are based on extensive, micro-level register data. The quality and details of this material is very high and by using analytical software tools it is possible to perform a multitude of elaborations. The work in this thesis, however, has put focus on a descriptive approach to address the lack of such research in regards to the tourism workforce, leaving calculations of effects and correlation for future studies. In addition, the geographical structure of tourism in Sweden is so polarised in regards to volumes and development that the potential analyses would need to be performed on lower regional levels than the approach set for this thesis.

There is also a geographical limitation that needs to be taken into account when reasoning on the results of this thesis. The main area of study is Sweden, complemented by defined case areas in Norway (in Paper III) and Finland (Paper IV). The two neighbouring countries are included because the first two studies were performed as parts of a transnational research collaboration between the three countries called the *Botnia-Atlantica Institute* (B-A Institute,

2013). The similarities in performance of tourism development in Sweden, Norway and Finland had been recognised as a fruitful base for research, and this has been utilised in this thesis by letting the case study in Paper IV work as an elaboration of the findings presented in Paper III, where representatives in destinations in Sweden and in Norway were interviewed. The geographical context of tourism in Sweden will be presented in more detail in the following section, Setting the Scene. It also entails brief comments on how the national tourism strategies of the three countries all underline the need for collaboration between private and public actors in tourism development. This is included here because the thesis addresses the issue of new work tasks being found in tourism based on public sector involvement.

Setting the Scene

Two of the studies presented in this thesis were performed as part of a research project that involved regions in Sweden, Finland and Norway. The project LUBAT (Lärande om Utveckling i Botnia-Atlantica) housed comparative case studies aiming at creating transnational learning. The latter understood as a method for regional development and described in Mariussen and Virkkala (2013). The studies in Papers III and IV are framed by the aim to explore how destination development organisations were set up in the region, with focus on perceptions of competence. The two papers may thus be considered as complementary. The findings in the northern, relatively sparsely populated areas included in the two studies are then paired with the results from the two first papers, where the whole of Sweden is included.

The main focus of this thesis is thus on the Swedish context. As a destination, the nation has to meet the challenges of being peripheral to major population centres and not holding any infrastructural hubs in an international sense; both are aspects that speak to the disadvantage for tourism development (Lundgren, 1982; Medlik, 1997; Prideaux, 2002; Müller & Ulrich, 2007). In addition, Sweden and the other Nordic countries have comparably high labour costs and consequently high prices for products from labour intense industries such as tourism. According to tourism-specific literature, this suggests a need for developed products and innovations to reach a balance between price and perceived product quality (Go et al., 1996; Embacher, 1994; Argote & Ingram, 2000; Sharpley, 2002; Enz et al, 2006; Scott et al, 2008). However, the international market is not yet the dominating source of visitors in Sweden, as domestic guests contribute to 75% of all commercial guest nights (Tillväxtverket, 2017). Among international visitors, the neighbouring countries of Norway and Germany dominate.

Sweden is part of what Hall et al. (2008) identify as a Nordic tourism space based on the long lasting intra-regional travel and trade between Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark. The history of border crossing on economic and social grounds has resulted in a current tourism situation where the Nordic countries contribute a significant share of each others' foreign visits. This is especially so in Sweden, where Norway, Finland, Denmark and Germany are the dominating origins of foreign visitors (Tillväxtverket, 2015). Finland deviates in this respect with a strong tourism connection in the eastward direction to Russia. This is explained by a long land border with Russia, and history of being part of the Russian Empire. In accordance, Russian visitors constitute the largest group of foreign visitors to Finland, followed by Estonia, Sweden and Germany (Statistikcentralen, 2013).

The origins of foreign visitors are not only an illustration of a destination's relations with other regions, but also of relevance in terms of requirements in skills and knowledge in the tourism workforce. Shaw and Williams (2004a: 78) used the concept of 'foreign skills' to explain the implicit knowledge needed in situations when there is a large cultural difference between guest and host. Tourism in Sweden illustrates well how the need for education or training in such abilities may change due to a change in incoming visitors. As stated above, according to official statistics, only 25% of all commercial guest nights in Sweden in 2014 were accounted for by international visitors (Tillväxtverket, 2017), 74% of which were from the neighbouring countries Norway, Finland, Denmark and Germany (Tillväxtverket, 2015). The visitors' origins are thus culturally and socio-economically similar to the destination, which creates a situation with a comparably small need for foreign skills within the tourism workforce. However, according to the same sources of statistics, the situation is changing, especially regarding the Chinese market. The number of visitors originating from China tripled during 2009-2016. If this development continues, there certainly will be a change in requirements of foreign skills among Swedish tourism workers in certain establishments.

Geography of Tourism in Sweden

Guest night statistics also show that the Swedish tourism industry is by far dominated by the metropolitan regions, where there are "nature-given" attractions such as a large population, high level of economic activities and developed infrastructure.

Figure 2 shows an illustration of the commercial guest nights' dispersion in municipalities in Sweden in 2012, based on the official records of Statistics Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2016).

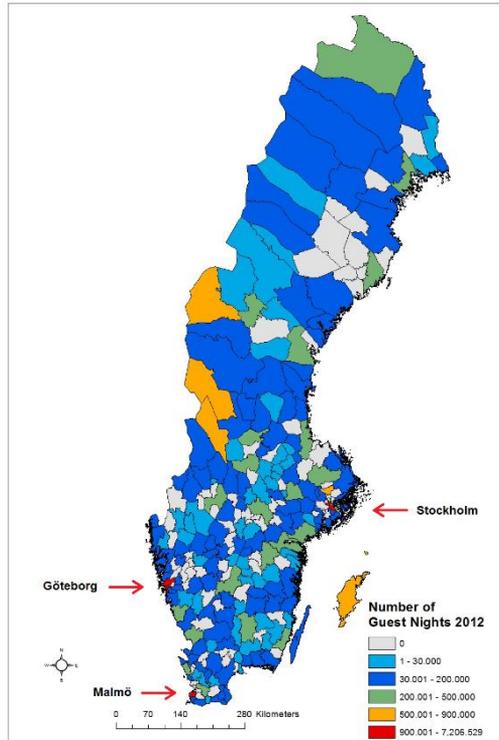


Figure 2 Number of commercial guest nights 2012.

The large number of municipalities without any registered guest nights (coloured grey) is explained by the fact that there is a minimum number of commercial beds needed in each municipality for the record to be official. The legend term of “O” is therefore to be read as no available data. The three metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö are the only units in the highest category (coloured red), followed by the western mountain region of mid-Sweden and the island of Gotland.

A second measurement of the geography of tourism can be created based on the workforce in tourism. Here, the data set used in Papers I and II of this thesis (derived from the base ASTRID at Umeå University and compiled of official statistics; see section Methods and Materials) provided information on the Swedish workforce in 2010. Due to the uneven numerical distribution of the working population in general, as well as in tourism, a calculation was made to show the relative importance in terms of employment. Figure 3 therefore shows the share (in %) of each municipal workforce that is engaged in tourism – using

the same definition of the sector as in Papers I and II (see full list of SIC codes in Appendix I).

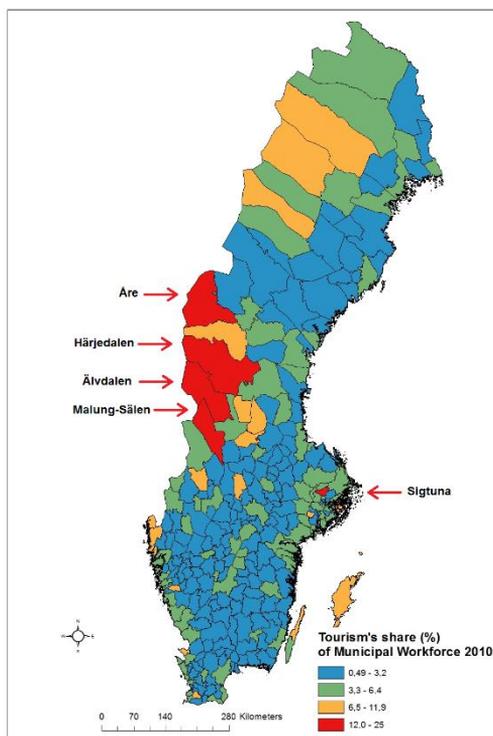


Figure 3 Tourism's share of municipal workforce 2010.

The five municipalities with a share of municipal workforce in tourism between 12% and 25% are named on the map. It should be noted that Sigtuna, the municipality north of Stockholm with a high share in tourism, may be attractive in terms of tourism not least due to being the oldest town of Sweden but above all it is the location of Sweden's largest international airport, Arlanda. This aspect fits well with how certain aspects within the geographical system of tourism have developed from Christallers (1963) early systematising to the current level of transportation technology and globalisation (Müller & Ulrich, 2007). The tourism sector's share of the labour market in Sigtuna is in this way an effect of two functions within tourism geography: first, that it is located in the direct vicinity of a metropolitan area that generates high levels of tourism activities; and secondly that it is part of a major transportation system.

The full nation of Sweden is used in both Papers I and II. In Paper III, the geographical region covers 15 of Sweden's northern municipalities. They form a

region that with the exception of one municipality (Kiruna in the far north) is in the lower percentage of guest night statistics shown in Figure 2. At the same time the socio-economic impact of tourism is regarded as substantial in four out of the 15 municipalities, when using the SALAR classification of Sweden's 290 municipalities (see section Materials and Methods). This means that they are characterised by tourism, although as illustrated in Figure 3 only three of them have a share of more than 6.5% of its workforce engaged in tourism. The tourism industry is thus of importance but this might be based more on a lack of alternatives in addition with activities in tourism that do not demand a substantial input of labour and commercial over-night stays, such as second homes and self-sufficient visitors in the vast nature areas.

The tourism industry in this region of Sweden has foremost been based on nature and there are wide areas designated as national parks and nature reserves, including the World Heritage Site Lapponia. The attractiveness of this peripheral region has, however, since the first erection of an IceHotel in Jukkasjärvi, Kiruna municipality in 1989, changed dramatically. The image of an exotic remote has been established, with emphasis put on natural attractions such as the midnight sun and northern lights.

As modes of transportation and marketing develop, allowing for individual travels outside the established routes, the system of destinations change. This makes it possible to attract large numbers of visitors even to more remote places. The case region in Paper III entails a good illustration of this in the context of needs for competence in tourism. The municipality of Kiruna has, due to the establishment of IceHotel (offering the opportunity to sleep in a house made of ice), developed into a numerically large destination. Transportation systems were in place because of the existing mining industry and the uniqueness of the attraction has created work places, albeit several of them on a seasonal basis. Due to the global attention, frontline as well as marketing positions have needed to have skills that suit the international market.

In the neighbouring county of Västerbotten, also included in Paper III, the Tree Hotel is a thematically similar attraction (offering the opportunity to sleep in specially designed containers built in the trees) that has established itself on an international market. The number of visitors allowed on the premises of Tree Hotel is however limited and the exclusiveness is part of the profile. Thereby, the existing infrastructure has been sufficient although it is a sparsely populated region. This suggests that the workplaces in the village of Harads have been effected in numbers, although the requirements differ from the large scale activities in Jukkasjärvi, as fewer individuals are engaged in the operation of the Tree Hotel.

The urban centres in the region have increased their importance due to centralisation of public service but they also experience a drainage to the northern cities of Luleå, Piteå and Umeå along the coastline. In terms of tourism, the population centres provide a market for commercial activities and second homes in the region. The region thus encompasses several of the overlapping and simultaneous aspects of the hierarchy of destinations as presented in Lundgren (1982); peripheral destinations with natural environment, centrally located urban areas, and the in-between with both peripheral urban type and rural type destinations that offer recreational space for the regional population. The region was also well suited for the study in Paper III due to the many destination organisations located there.

This introduction of the geography of tourism in Sweden, focusing on two numerically measurable characteristics that relate to its workforce, provides the following basics:

First, that the two measurements do not always correlate; the northern part of the west coast is one example of regions where there are a large number of second homes. This means that there is a need for labour in tourism, as shown in Figure 3, but in parts of the sector other than those providing commercial guest nights, as may be read in Figure 2. In the metropolitan regions where the absolute majority of commercial guest nights are spent, the tourism sector is not the dominating economic activity in regards of employment due to a more diverse economy.

Secondly, there are municipalities that score high in both measurements, such as the island of Gotland and parts of the western mountain region. These two also share the characteristic of being established tourism destinations primarily based on nature, with sun, sand and a history-laden picturesque rurality on Gotland and snow-related activities in the mountains; both in spite of challenging physical accessibility due to water and distance from large cities.

Above all, however, this presentation is intended to underline the need for a geographically nuanced view on tourism destinations in research as well as policy making.

Characteristics of the Swedish Tourism Workforce

The approach to tourism production taken here, with the workforce as a pervasive input factor all along the production process, actualises the question of the characteristics of the workforce, such as the level and type of education within it. The educational composition of an industrial sector is related both to the requirements of the work tasks in it and also the age distribution within it;

the longer the education required, the older the workforce. Based on the material used for the studies in Papers I and II of this thesis (see section Methods and Materials), a basic descriptive of the age distribution within the national workforce in Sweden is presented in Figure 4. Beside the full workforce, two selected sectors are also shown: tourism (a sector without educational requirements), and education (a sector with educational requirements for the majority of its workforce). The data includes all individuals in Sweden from 18 years of age with a registered workplace in 2010.

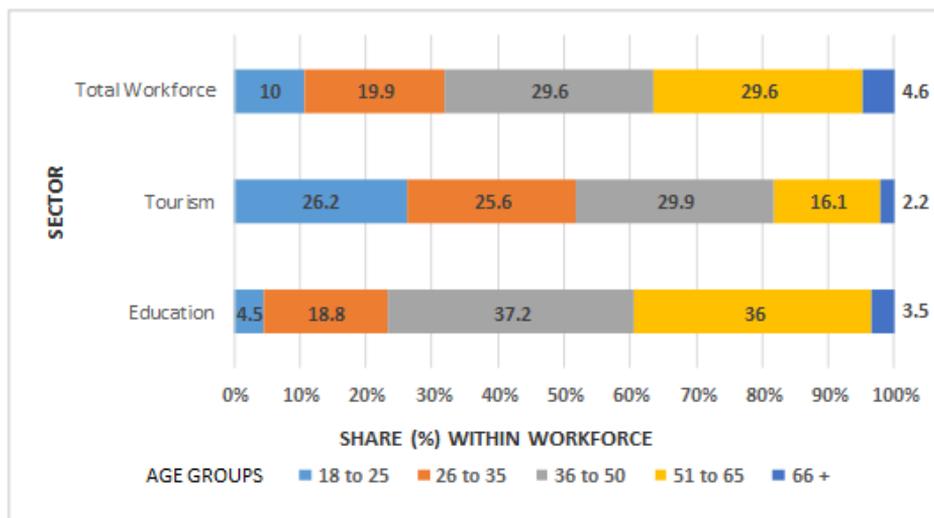


Figure 4 Swedish workforce in 2010 by age group.

The results show that the workforce in tourism is comparably young. The age group 36-50 years forms almost 30% of the tourism workforce and it is after 50 that less people work in tourism than in the other two selected sectors, according to this material. A report on young people in Sweden published in 2016 showed that among the employees in Swedish hospitality aged 19-22 years, one in four was also a student (Skolverket, 2016). An explanation for the large shares of younger age groups may therefore be the varied and flexible working hours and employment arrangements that allow for combining full-time work with other activities such as further education.

It is also relevant to consider the geography of age groups in the workforce. In Papers I and II of this thesis, the Swedish municipalities are categorised according to socio-economic aspects (see section Methods and Materials and Appendix II). Figure 5 shows the distribution of age within the general workforce in 2010 in the ten categories of municipalities. From this it can be

seen that the municipalities characterised by travel and tourism (i.e. annually more than 21 commercial guest nights per inhabitant and more than 0.20 second homes per inhabitant) have the largest share of 18-25 year-olds in their workforce. Those municipalities are also, together with the sparsely populated municipalities and municipalities in sparsely populated regions, the categories with largest shares of the age group 51-66. The more urban and densely populated regions have a larger share in their workforce of individuals between 26 and 50 years of age.

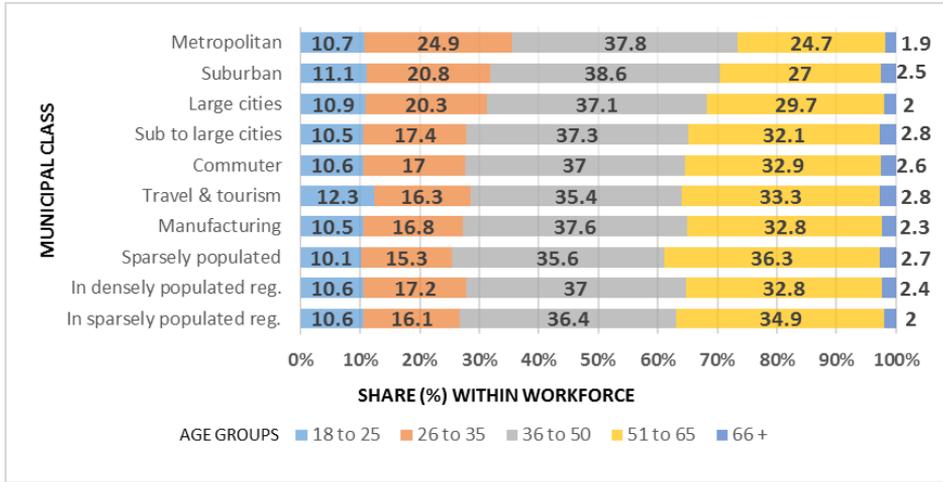


Figure 5 Age groups in municipal workforces in 2010.

From the above it can be concluded that the age factor is prominent in terms of the tourism workforce, both in a sectoral and geographical sense. According to a report presented by the Research and Development Fund of the Swedish Tourism and Hospitality Industry (*Besöksnäringens Forsknings- och Utvecklingsfond*), one of the major challenges for the Swedish tourism sector is to find ways to attract and retain its workforce (BFUF, 2013). Many young people join the sector only for short periods and do not commit to educating and developing themselves within it, leading to an annual 25% turnover of staff within restaurants and hospitality in Sweden.

National Strategies for Destination Development

In all three countries included by case studies in this thesis, a national strategy for tourism development was presented between 2010 and 2012. The tourism sector was in all three documents stated as holding potential for job creation (Svensk Turism AB, 2010; Finska arbets- och näringsministeriet, 2010;

Destination Norway, 2012). According to prior research, tourism in the Nordic countries of Sweden, Finland and Norway is dominated by small firms and collaborations between public and private actors (Fredricsson & Smas, 2013). The economic return in the tourism sector suggests that many entrepreneurs are motivated by aspects that relate to personal satisfaction rather than monetary gains. Still, destination development has been identified as a way to revive local economies in the aftermath of restructuring in especially rural regions due to its profile as creator of employment and growth (Roberts & Hall, 2001).

Tourism development is, in the strategies, held as potentially offering economic activity across the countries, although research has underlined the prevalent seasonal fluctuations in the northern regions (among others Hjalager & Flagestad, 2012). One way of estimating the actual and potential growth is to calculate the productivity of the tourism industry based on the relation between employment and productivity. As the share of each national workforce in tourism is larger than the share of the gross domestic product (GDP) created in tourism, the productivity in all three countries is labelled as low (Costa et al., 2014). The governmental interest in the sector is explained by the cross-sector nature of tourism, which means that it has positive effects in economic areas other than those included in the tourism sector. In spite of poor economic results, the tourism sector is an established part of all three national economies.

There are several similarities found in the national strategies regarding the tourism sector in the three countries. First of all, they express an awareness that each country is facing the challenge of being a high-cost destination in the periphery to major populations. The attractions communicated to the potential markets thus need to be convincing enough to justify the investments needed in time and money to travel the distance (Prideaux, 2002). This creates a need for strategic work in order to attract an international market. In spite of this challenge, all three cases express tourism as a potential tool for regional development and survival.

Another similarity among the chosen countries is that the tourism sector has been subjected to many changes regarding where it is to be placed within the configuration of departments and ministries (Costa et al., 2014). This administrative ambiguity is caused by a search for new models that demand less governmental funding and more private sector participation. Public-private partnership (PPP) is an answer to this due to the financial opportunities offered from EU structural funds to such ventures, and it has become an established model in all three countries. Sweden is in this context held as forerunner due to its lasting partnerships such as VisitSweden, a national marketing body that is financed to 50% by the industry (Costa et al, 2014). Although not a member of

the EU, the Norwegian tourism sector has been targeted through many EU projects, due to collaborations with EU member regions and generous state funding.

The Swedish strategy (Svensk Turism AB, 2010) underlines that the large amount of governmental bodies involved in tourism hinders the industry from being efficient. According to the strategy, this can be overcome through intensified work on collaboration between private and public sectors. A triple-p approach as a method is mentioned throughout the strategy, and a coordinated tourism industry is one of three focal points. This corresponds with the requirements of partnerships and network building that are set as prerequisites for receiving funding for tourism from the EU structural funds (Costa et al., 2014). At large, the state is still the stronger stakeholder in private-public partnerships in Sweden and political aspects are prioritised, although the legitimacy of private business involvement is not questioned (Östhol & Svensson, 2002a).

The Finnish strategy (Finska arbets- och näringsministeriet, 2010) presented in 2010 is also based on partnership between the tourism industry and public sector. It proposes a formalised reorganisation of existing networks between private actors, coordinated by the regional organisations. The dominance of the government in Finnish development processes has been acknowledged in evaluations of regional development projects, stating that partnerships are cast in a closed way, including already established institutions and interests such as Chambers of Commerce as representatives of the private sector (Virkkala, 2002). In part this has been discussed as a facet of the strong nation-building project in Finland with no differentiating between the national and regional levels (Virkkala, 2002).

The coordination of involved actors on different administrative levels is also a prominent challenge according to the Norwegian national strategy (Destination Norway, 2012). It is there stated that due to an incomplete restructuring, the amount of bodies involved in tourism management is too large to handle in an efficient way, some destinations being involved in five separate geographically defined arrangements (Destination Norway, 2012). Norway finances its participation in EU-funded trans-border collaborations with governmental support and, according to the strategy, more support will be expected from private sources. This is because a report showed that the amount of operational activities of a destination organisation is negatively related to its level of state funding (Destination Norway, 2012).

The level of public involvement in tourism in all three countries has grown substantially. This development has widened the scope of tourism work tasks.

Berggren and Tydén (2001) identified public sector job opportunities in tourism to relate not only to the more traditional planning and policymaking but also to be within research and education as well as management and marketing in regional and local destination collaborations. Hjalager (2003) aligned with this, claiming there to be abundant opportunities to work with tourism-specific work tasks in contexts other than within the core sector. As mentioned earlier in the introduction this has created new requirements for competence that might not always have been recognised.

In regards to competence within the private sector in tourism, a general lack of professionalism has been identified in all Nordic countries (Müller, 2013). This is created in two ways: first by a lack of skills among the entrepreneurs, and then by a reluctance to hire skilled individuals. Whether the latter is explained most by the wish to keep wages down, or lack of tourism skilled workers looking for jobs in the sector has yet to be explored. What is clear is that both aspects hinder the development of the businesses and especially their efforts towards a global market (Müller, 2013).

This section on the geographical setting of the thesis finishes off the presentation of the conceptual framework. This introducing part has so far entailed a descriptive discussion on what is here considered as relevant to include in the tourism workforce when examining its educational characteristics. There has also been a reflection on different aspects of knowledge covered by the term competence and how this relates to the tourism sector. The sections on formal tourism education and the sector as a work place make up the backdrop of the studies. The next section will present the empirical material and methods used, together with an overview of the four papers.

Materials and Methods

The studies presented in this thesis explore aspects of competence and employment in the supply-side of the tourism system in both descriptive and interpretive ways; quantitative methods were used to map and discuss the actual presence of education, and the qualitative approach of interviews was used to allow for a discussion on the underlying reasoning of recruitment. The methodological design of the thesis was thus created to give a faceted approach to tourism's workforce and requirements of competence. The design is a sequential mix of multiple methods, as will be described in the following section. Each of the four papers entails more detailed descriptions of the methods used.

The methodological design of this thesis rests on a dismissal of segregation of research methods based on whether they are labelled qualitative or quantitative. Instead, in line with among others Greene (2007), the starting point of the methodological reasoning in this section is that the divide should not be made on the level of methods, techniques and types of data. If there is to be a distinction, it should rather be restrained to refer to the paradigms that form the backdrop of the research. This approach opposes the purist stance, which holds that paradigms such as constructivism and positivism are too different for their corresponding methodological designs to be combined (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). The view advocated here is the dialectic one, which allows for the use of methods originating from different paradigms, thus exploring both generality and particularity within one context (Greene, 2008). According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010) this dialectic stance holds that the dynamics created by methodological combinations give a more complete understanding of the object or phenomena being studied. This also aligns with Creswell and Plano Clark's (2011) understanding of why mixing methods is a fruitful mode of research. The methods should thus be regarded as complements rather than bipolarities (Snape & Spencer, 2003). In the case of this thesis, the use of a mix of methods and data is a way to address an overarching question that is found to require approaches of different designs. This way of letting the research question lead the design of studies has been named a pragmatic stand in its relation to the theoretical origins of methods, and is increasingly accepted within social sciences (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Biesta, 2010).

Sequential Mix of Methods

The sequential aspect of the design of the thesis refers to how the studies relate to each other. Initially, each study entails its own analysis of the material. They may then be grouped two and two based on the nature of their data, as well as

approach of research questions, but also form a unit altogether to reach the aim of the thesis and suggest further research.

The two sets of studies (Papers I and II, and Papers III and IV) were performed using data and methods of different nature, and the overall methodology may be referred to as multiple methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). However, as the findings of the individual studies are merged into a common discussion in the introduction, so are also the different methods brought together. When referring to the methodology of the thesis, it is therefore more appropriate to use the expression mixed methods, as this refers to a work mode where several kinds of data and methods are involved in one and the same analysis. The mix of methods is thus evident in the last process and this is the reason why a sequential rather than nested approach has steered the work. In a nested (or embedded) research design, one method dominates and the results produced from the first performed study are explored further using the secondary method (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In this thesis, however, the studies are not dependent on each other and therefore the term sequential is better suited to describe the design.

The Quantitative Sequence

In Papers I and II, geo-referenced register data is used to map the presence of educated individuals within the tourism workforce in Sweden. The research questions of the thesis to be answered by those studies was what levels of formal education the Swedish tourism workforce possess in different geographic areas, and where the tourism-specific education transfers into the tourism production process. Descriptive statistics were used and in Paper II complemented by the confirmatory data analysis of the Chi-square test. This is elaborated on in the paper.

The material was retrieved from the database ASTRID (located at Umeå University), which is a merge of official statistics originating from Statistics Sweden. It includes socio-economic information on an individual level for all Swedish residents and is updated annually. This material was considered suitable for finding answers to the research questions due to its many variables regarding education and occupation, and the fact that the information is sorted per year which allows for longitudinal studies. The potential found in this data for tourism studies has been explored by, for example, Lundmark (2006) and Brouder (2013), and due to the continuous input of official statistics, further use is to be expected.

In spite of its many details and accuracy, there are challenges to address when using this kind of register data for tourism studies. The most common – in the

studies presented here as well as in prior works – is the elusiveness of the tourism sector. Any delimitation of occupations and industrial codes made in order to identify tourism's economic activities is sure to miss out on products and services that are not considered as tourism commodities but may be dependent on visitors. Petrol stations and local food markets are among the most obvious ones but hotels and restaurants also cater for visitors and permanent inhabitants alike. The identification of the tourism sector used in this thesis is based on a selection of standard industrial codes first presented in Lundmark (2006), and contains firms within transport, lodging and activities (see Appendix I). The Swedish Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) is in accordance with the EU's recommended standards (NACE Rev.2.) for material used in primarily economic statistics. Every commercial actor has to report its activities and they are registered according to the code system. Each company or local unit may be registered with several activities.

The SALAR- classification used in Papers I and II is a system developed by the public body, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR, 2010). It groups the 290 municipalities into 10 classes based on socio-economic characteristics such as population and commuting. The full classification of SALAR is found in Appendix II and depicted in Figure 6. This classification is a suggestion on how the local impact of the tourism sector may be measured to complement the established measurement of commercial guest nights as presented by Statistics Sweden (SCB). According to SALAR, there are 20 municipalities where travel and tourism has a significant effect on the permanent inhabitants.

As Sweden is a country of geographically large size and relatively small number of inhabitants, infrastructure and population is far from evenly dispersed. The three metropolitan municipalities dominate the tourism sector in numbers of visitors and individuals working in tourism but SALAR gives an alternative view on where tourism is happening at a significant level.

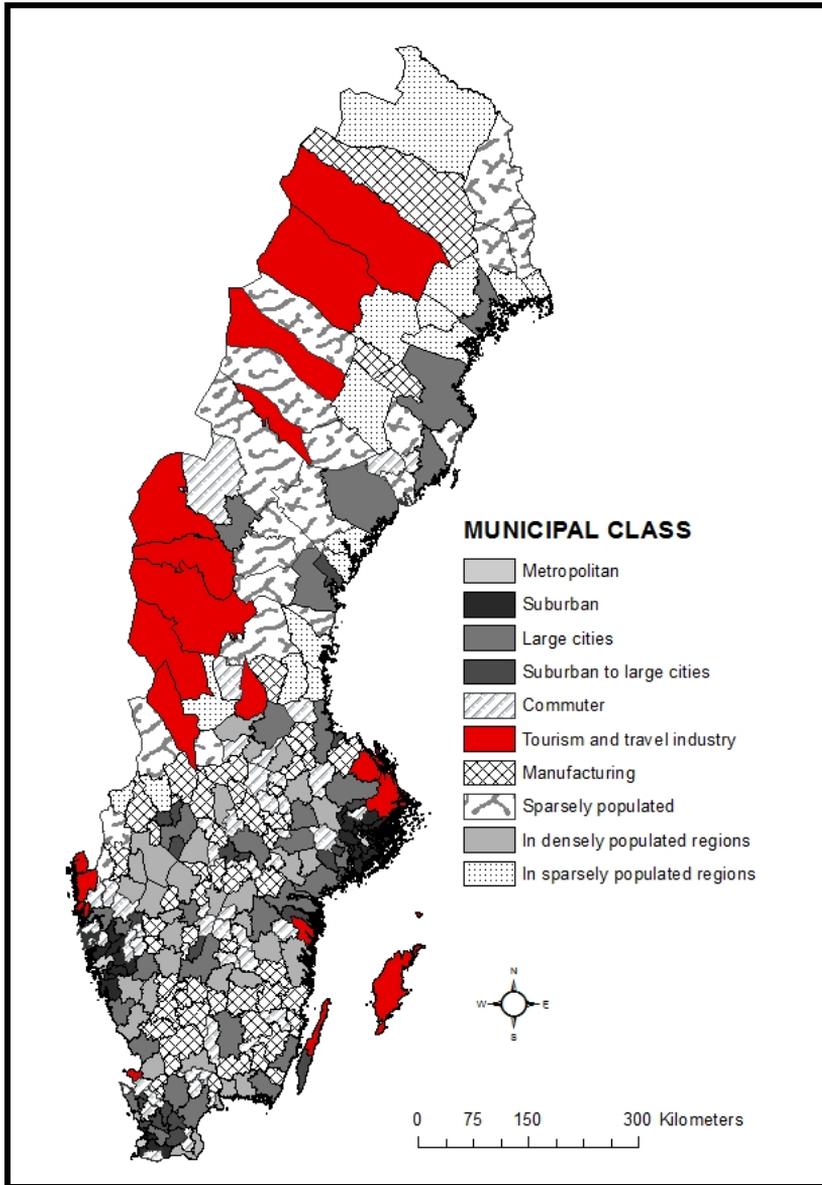


Figure 6 Swedish municipalities according to the SALAR classification.
 (Cartography: Kajsa G. Åberg)

The Qualitative Sequence

Papers III and IV of this thesis present studies where interviews were used to find answers to the research questions. In Paper III the interviews were in-depth, as the respondents were allowed to elaborate both on questions asked

and on their own reflections. The interviews in Paper IV were of a more constrained nature, and are better labelled as semi-structured. Methodologically, this means that the interviews followed a structure designed in advance with open-ended questions. Both kinds of interview open up for opportunities to ask follow-up questions on what has been said, and to ask the interviewee to explain further certain issues given in their initial answers (Legard et al., 2003). In the studies included here, the interviews were all recorded and partly transcribed to complement the notes made during the interviews.

The thematic analysis used in both studies is a both basic and flexible method within qualitative analysis. It can be used for descriptive analysis by classifying and identifying the content of a data set but also for more interpretative analysis of the identified themes (Boyatzis, 1998). The qualitative approach of this method means that the research includes subjective influence and interpretations from both the researcher and the respondents (Snape & Spencer, 2003). The data is thus influenced by the respondents' experiences and abilities to formulate, and also the researcher's abilities to design the research, analyse and interpret the material. By following set directions that bring agreed structure to qualitative research, one may avoid the pitfall often referred to within social studies where a case study is labelled as "just another case study".

In short, it is a question of turning recollections of individual experiences into shared knowledge, which holds both validity and relevance enough to be included in science. Based on this, the following aspects need to be addressed in the research process in order to make the case study relevant for a wider context and balance the subjective influence of the researcher. First, to ground the case study in theory regarding both methods and prior research in the field, and secondly to acknowledge and continuously reflect upon the mentioned subjective influence (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Flyvbjerg, 2006). As will be described below, each of the studies presented here were designed with an element to lessen those influences and thereby increase the reliability.

The material in Paper III was collected in two ways: first through a telephone survey with 23 individuals in managerial positions in tourism organisations in the north western part of Sweden; followed by 10 interviews with destination managers and representatives of the groups who recruited them in selected destinations in northern Sweden and one in Norway. The telephone survey gave direct answers to the educational backgrounds of the respondents. In the second group, the respondents were allowed to elaborate to a certain extent on their answers. In the analytic process, a distinction was then made between answers from recruited respondents and those representing the recruitment groups. In

relation to what competencies were considered as necessary for the positions, it could thus be seen if the requirements set in advance by the recruitment group had been experienced as actual work tasks by the recruited person. In this way, requirements that had not been met could also be found as later not actually required. This influenced the conclusion regarding what aspects of competence may be regarded as necessary for destination management.

The combination of the telephone survey (Group 1) and semi-structured interviews (Group 2) was a research design where the two methods complement each other. The quantifiable results from the survey could be combined with the more in-depth method of the semi-structured interviews, offering the possibility to validate the results of each part (Snape & Spencer, 2003). The study areas are shown in Figure 7.

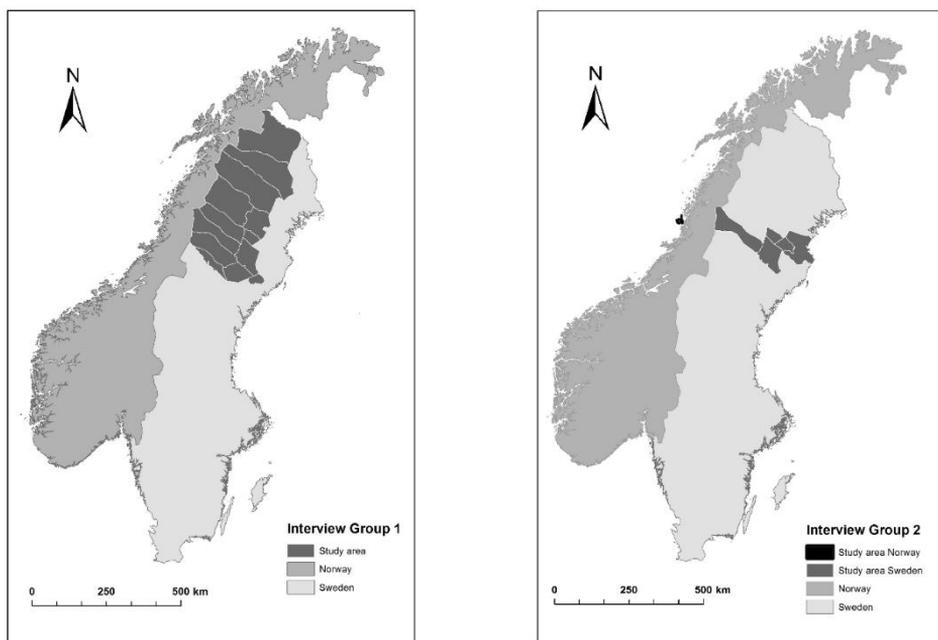


Figure 7 Maps of case study areas in Paper III. (Cartography: Kajsa G. Åberg)

In Paper IV, the interviews were conducted in person and in collaboration with a local research colleague (Kristina Svells) in the case city of Vaasa, map in Figure 8. The collaboration meant that the process of analysis was deepened through Dr Svells' knowledge of the local language and expressions. In this study, such insight was of great importance as the research questions circled around the respondents' own perceptions. The interviews for Paper IV were analysed by a thematic analysis that put weight on aspects of institutionalism

and inclusiveness within the data set. Again, several categories of respondents were interviewed and their answers could in the analytical process be combined and compared according to themes that had been formulated.



Figure 8 Map of case study area in Paper IV. (Cartography: Kajsa G. Åberg)

Overview of the four Papers' Succession and Authorship

The sequential design of this thesis is based on the four papers' relation to each other. Table 1 shows the four papers' focuses and structures as well as how they build on each other in a thematic succession. Although the four studies are stand-alone pieces, they also form a unit that provides a geographically nuanced examination of the tourism workforce and its educational characteristics. As an ensemble, its focus narrows down from the general, national workforce in Paper I to the specific destination management in the case study area of Paper IV. The geographical scope shifts from the nation of Sweden – itself a relatively remote region when viewed on a larger geographical scale – to the regions in Papers III and IV, which are peripheral in their national contexts, with regards to transportation hubs and administrative centres.

The research questions and methodological design of each study have been set to fit with the overall theme of the thesis. The theoretical framework and literature review in each study has been explored and written by the author of the thesis. The collection of empirical material and parts of the analytic processes, have in three of the four papers been performed in collaboration with others. The three processes of co-authorship have, as elements of an education in human geography research, served as invaluable opportunities for developing a wide range of competencies.

Professor Dieter K. Müller contributed to Paper I, through input to the theoretical background, reasoning on the empirical material and in formulating the text in a stringent way. In Paper II, Dr Roger Marjavaara participated in finding an adequate statistical analysis. His participation entails the construction and evaluation of the statistical analysis of the Chi-square test. Paper IV was created in collaboration with Dr Kristina Svelds regarding the data collection and design of the thematic analysis. Dr Svelds also assured the propriety of the text in its last steps of writing.

All gains achieved by the collaborations are accredited to the above mentioned able academics. The author of this thesis, however, admits full responsibility for any shortcomings in the texts and their presence as parts of this thesis.

Table 1 Overview of the four papers included in the thesis.

TITLE	The Development of Geographical Differences in Education Levels within Swedish Tourism	The big picture: Tourism's workforce education compared to other sectors.
AIM	To analyse the development of education levels within the tourism workforce in relation to socio-economic municipal differences and tourism measured in guest nights.	
DATA	Geo-referenced register data of national workforce in 2000-2010.	
ANALYSIS	Descriptive analysis.	
STUDY AREA	Sweden.	
TITLE	Tracking the Tourism-specific Educated in Sweden	Continuation from Paper I, narrowing down to focus on tourism-specific educated.
AIM	Explore the geographical and occupational dispersal of individuals who in 2000 had a tourism-specific education.	
DATA	Geo-referenced register data of national workforce in 2000-2010.	
ANALYSIS	Descriptive analysis. Chi-square test.	
STUDY AREA	Sweden.	
TITLE	The Importance of Being Local: Prioritizing Knowledge in Recruitment for Destination Development	Continuation from Paper II, narrowing down to focus on one segment in the tourism workforce.
AIM	Illuminate the discrepancy between the need for knowledge as found in prior research and the requirements formulated by those taking part in destination development.	
DATA	In-depth interviews. Telephone survey.	
ANALYSIS	Thematic analysis and interpretation of survey results.	
STUDY AREA	Case study areas in Sweden and Norway.	
TITLE	Destination Development in Ostrobothnia: Great Expectations of Less Involvement	Continuation from Paper III, elaboration on the findings.
AIM	Supplement the understanding of the formal inclusion of stakeholders in destination development and management	
DATA	Semi-structured interviews.	
ANALYSIS	Thematic analysis.	
STUDY AREA	Case study area in Finland.	

Paper Summaries

Paper I, The Development of Geographical Differences in Education Levels within Swedish Tourism

Co-authored with D. Müller, Umeå University, Sweden.

This first study explores if the presumption that the tourism sector absorbs a less educated share of the workforce is a normative assumption or de facto statement in the case of the Swedish tourism sector. It thus presents a backdrop for the papers to follow. The starting point is the claimed low levels of education in tourism. This assumption is put in relation to the full national workforce and two other sectors of the Swedish economy where the numerical dominance of the workforce is not obliged to have any special formal education; retail and manufacturing. The material used was register data with educational details of each individual in the Swedish workforce in the years 2000, 2005 and 2010. The geo-referenced information allowed for grouping the individuals' work places based on municipalities and further into municipal classes based on their socio-economic characteristics. The educational levels could thus be analysed and put in relation to socio-economic municipal differences within the country. In addition, statistics of commercial overnight stays were used to identify the extent of tourism activity.

The theoretical framework of the study begins with findings originating from economic geography research that suggest access to a skilled workforce is a prerequisite to innovations that build competitiveness and economic growth (Storper, 1997; Maskell & Malmberg, 1999; Malmberg & Maskell, 2006). This importance put on the quality of the workforce has not been found in more tourism-specific works exploring the preconditions for innovations, e.g. Hjalager (2002), Mattson, Sundbo and Fussing-Jensen (2005) and Rønningen (2010). According to Svalastog (2008, 2010), such neglect of higher education has a direct effect on the outcome of destination development, especially in regions where tourism has been promoted as a tool for enhancing economic development. In contrast to the strand of theory headed by Svalastog, it is low educational requirements rather than a need for a skilled tourism workforce that have been in focus.

The study emphasises the need for more nuanced approaches to examining the levels of education in the tourism workforce, not least in a geographical sense. The discussion on educational levels in relation to tourism is, according to the findings of this study, less of a sectoral issue and more related to geography. This is made clear by the results of the bench marking design of the study,

showing that the Swedish tourism sector does not absorb a larger share of the less educated workforce than the other sectors selected, and that in municipalities where the general level of education is relatively low, the workforce in tourism is actually higher educated than in manufacturing and retail. The results also underline the very diverse nature of the tourism industry, based on whether it is performed in urban or less populated regions, referring to volume as well as preconditions such as varied labour markets and educational institutions. In addition, the development shows an increasing polarisation between geographical areas and sectors of the economy, especially regarding the division between attending post-secondary education of a shorter vocation or longer, more academic kind.

Paper II, Tracking the Tourism-specific Educated in Sweden

Co-authored with R. Marjavaara, Umeå University, Sweden.

In the second paper, the focus is turned from the whole national workforce included in Paper I, to the small segment of individuals who, in the year 2000, had attended a tourism-specific education provided by the public educational system. In spite of the low thresholds to entry, the educational system offers tourism-specific courses. The question is therefore where the tourism-specific knowledge input goes, and the study aimed at tracing the geographical and occupational dispersal in 2010 of individuals who in 2000 had a tourism-specific education. The group of tourism-specific educated was extracted from a set of register data that included the whole tourism workforce in 2000, 2005 and 2010, and could be analysed with the statistical tool SPSS. The socio-economic information found in the data set was geo-referenced, allowing for tracing not only the occupations but also the geographic location of the tourism educateds' work places. This was put in relation to a municipal classification based on characteristics related to the population's work, commuting patterns and settlement. It was thus possible to identify, for example, tourism regions and metropolitan areas.

Prior research has found a mismatch between getting a tourism-specific education and thereafter employment in the tourism sector (Evans, 1993; Busby, 1994; Hjalager, 2003). This has been explained by employers disregarding the knowledge attained by graduates (Dale & Robinson, 2001) but prior research has also underlined the potentially deterrent working conditions of tourism (Bonn & Forbringer, 1992; Emenheiser et al, 1998; Baum, 2006; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). The low thresholds in and out of tourism employment, in addition to a stated highly mobile workforce have worked in a positive way in regions characterised by seasonality, but these factors also pose

the risk of experienced staff not returning as they do not get spatially fixed (Hjalager & Andersen, 2001; Duncan et al, 2013; Williams, 2009; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). The situation is different in more urban regions, where the labour market is more stable and varied while the tourism sector in less populated areas offers other appealing amenities (Szivas et al, 2003; Solnet et al, 2014). Prior reasoning was here taken further by adding the geographical aspect and by considering primarily the stable core of the tourism workforce, as the data selected only encompassed those with their main annual income from the tourism sector.

This study showed that the mismatch between education and actual employment is also to be found in the Swedish tourism workforce. The geographical tracking showed that the largest shares of the educated were found in the metropolitan and large cities regions, thus cohering with the general population patterns. By combining the occupational and geographical tracking, it was however found that the tourism sector was the sector with the largest share of tourism educated in both the tourism municipalities and the metropolitan regions. There thus seems to be a certain inclination among the tourism educated living in regions characterized by tourism – in numbers as well as socio-economic impact – to work in tourism. A distinctive difference between the two municipal classes was however seen through the Chi-square analysis that proved there to be a link between educational level and work place municipality. The tourism educated with higher levels are found in the more urban regions. A conclusion to be drawn is thus that there is a geographical aspect of the mismatch between tourism and education. If formal knowledge is needed for competitiveness, then action needs to be taken to bring the tourism educated not only to the sector but also to the destinations.

Paper III, The Importance of Being Local: Prioritizing Knowledge in Recruitment for Destination Development

In the third paper, the exploration of formal and tourism-specific education in the tourism workforce is narrowed down to focus on one specific segment – destination managers in the north. Those positions have, during the last two decades, often been filled as part of EU financed projects and thus have had little continuity in staff. The work tasks differ from the guest-host service tasks that dominate the view on work in the tourism sector. Instead, less tourism-distinctive marketing, planning and communication tasks within a diverse organisation have been identified as relevant (e.g. Buhalis, 2000; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Bodén, 2009; Shaw & Williams, 2009; Beritelli et al., 2007).

This group has a direct impact on how tourism is performed and is no doubt in the midst of the tourism sector due to involvement in policy setting on higher administrative levels. This third study therefore explores the educational and professional backgrounds of individuals holding such positions. The aim of the study was to explore a potential discrepancy between the need for knowledge as found in prior research, and the requirements formulated by those taking part in destination development. The study contained a telephone survey where educational and prior professional information on 23 individuals in managerial positions in tourism organisations in northern Sweden was collected. This was then complemented by a thematic analysis of 10 in-depth interviews containing both recruited destination managers and representatives of the groups who set the requirements for their hiring in selected destinations in Sweden and one in Norway. These interviews focused on identifying what knowledge, skills and abilities had been prioritised in the hiring process.

Within tourism research, a community approach and local involvement have been identified as models for destination demarcation and development (Flagestad & Hope, 2001; Wilson et al., 2001). The strategy of forming public-private partnership that has come to dominate tourism destination development in the Nordic countries follows those lines. This approach of formalising interaction in order to create economic development has, however, also resulted in new work tasks related to merging the needs, visions and abilities of both private and public actors into one agenda. Prior studies have identified less tourism-specific competencies as prime areas of responsibility for such positions, but above all calls have been made for including tourism-specific knowledge (Jafari, 1990; Hjalager, 2002; Svensson et al 2005; Cooper, 2006; Xiao & Smith, 2007) and experience based skills in tourism operations (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999; Sharpley, 2002; Blackman et al., 2004). As the destination manager often needs to work as an intermediary between the involved actors, skills related to social abilities and creation of trust have also been underlined, together with the concept of local social capital (Hjalager, 2002; Hall, 2008; Rutten et al., 2010; Komppula, 2014).

It was found that when recruiting destination managers, much significance was put on the applicant having an understanding of the structures of involved actors and local rooting. In contrast to theoretical findings, specific tourism knowledge was not a prioritised requirement. Hence, there is a gap between what is perceived as needed for destination development according to academia, and how it is being performed by practitioners.

Paper IV, Destination Development in Ostrobothnia: Great Expectations of Less Involvement

Co-authored with K. Svells, Åbo Academy, Finland.

The fourth and final paper in the thesis is a case study that illustrates the findings from all previous studies of the thesis in a particular tourism destination. It explores the transformation of the broad, all-including destination organisation in Finnish Ostrobothnia into a lean one-actor venture. In the new organisation, tourism-specific knowledge, either in the form of formal education or experience in tourism operations, was not explicitly sought or implicitly included in the core of the organisation, the company's board. Instead, a highly but not tourism-specific educated group was formed to manage the common marketing and planning of the destination. The research questions related to finding explanations to why the transformation was performed in this excluding way, based on the stakeholders' views on past collaboration and expectations on the new form of destination management. The material was collected through nine semi-structured interviews with purposively selected respondents that represented both private and public sector involvement.

In tourism research, destination collaborations and the hierarchies of power within them have emerged as a field of study (for example seen in Elbe, 2002; Scott et al., 2008; Garnes & Grønhaug, 2011). The idea of formalising interaction has been seen as enhancing efficiency due to, for example, clearer routes for communication and decision making (Svensson et al, 2006; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). By creating connections between stakeholders, it is perceived that they communicate and share experience and knowledge among themselves and in that way make better worth of it as it becomes a common resource. However, there are pitfalls related to the institutionalisation that may occur when stakeholders are selected, and on what grounds such inclusion is based (French & Raven, 1959; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Baum, 1998; Reed 1997; Selin, 2000; Coles & Church, 2007; Zillinger, 2007). Continuous reassessment of participants and acknowledgement of the processes that create trust among the stakeholders have been found to work in a preventive way to such negative development. The collaborative advantages found in sharing resources of information, knowledge and finance have, however, been stated as greater than the potential risks (Deakin, 2002; Svensson et al, 2006).

The aim of this study was to supplement the understanding of the formal inclusion of stakeholders in destination development and management. In the context of this thesis the inclusion relates to if and how the knowledge and skills that are the individual assets of the stakeholders are included in the common

pool of resources. The main finding was that there is a need to rethink the often highly normative approaches of destination development models. It cannot be taken for granted that stakeholders would like to be involved as the commercial needs overshadow more ideological factors. Above all, the local socio-political context needs to be thoroughly considered as it affects the local actors' understanding of and expectations on the collaboration. Aligning with the previous papers, less tourism-specific skills such as marketing, leadership and product development were prioritised, although the entrepreneurs expressed a wish to incorporate tourism-specific knowledge into the organisation. It was found that the people included in the new group had relatively high levels of education, as they were already working in public administration.

Conclusions

As stated in the introduction section, the tourism workforce is often discussed based on generalisations. In accordance with Baum et al. (2016) and Brandt (2016), it is here suggested that research on the sector needs to go beyond the simplified images. The title of this thesis, the phrase “anyone could do that” is used to capture the view on work in tourism as something that can be referred to irrespective of work tasks and geographical preconditions. It was formulated in a way that underlines the often high level of uncertainty regarding what activities are referred to, when discussing work in tourism. The studies were designed to address diversities in geography and work tasks in order to provide a more nuanced understanding of the educational characteristics of the tourism workforce.

This concluding section contains three parts. First, the findings of the studies will be discussed in relation to prior studies and literature on the tourism workforce. Thereafter, a discussion follows, based on the detected view on tourism competence and education, and what implications this may have for the development of theory, practitioners and educational institutions. In a last section, suggestions for further research are presented.

Findings

The findings provide an image of the tourism sector as having levels of education that are not exceptionally low, and that vary between different categories of regions in Sweden. Paper I shows that regions with comparably higher levels of formal education also increase their shares whereas municipalities with low levels also have small changes in share of workforce with higher education. This challenges previous statements on the tourism workforce that have underlined its low levels of formal education (here represented by Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Riley et al., 2002; Cohen et al., 2015). In short, the geographical differences in access to an educated workforce need to be more emphasised. The view on tourism as providing work for the lesser educated was only found to be correct in the urban settings, whereas the more remote and tourism influenced areas had relatively high levels of formal education among the tourism workforce. On the other hand, the tourism and travel municipalities were in many cases found at a distance from the urban work force with higher levels and rather adjacent to the low levels of the sparsely populated regions.

The second important finding, which answers the second research question, was a disregard of tourism-specific education in the general as well as destination

management workforce. This aligns with previous studies that have found tourism-specific formal education not to transfer into the sector to any significant extent, with Hjalager (2003) set in the geographically most similar context. However, as previous studies have focused on graduates from higher tourism education, the study in Paper II provides new insights by including individuals with tourism-specific education on a secondary level as well. The results therefore further what was known as they show that the mismatch does not only relate to higher tourism education. The analysis in Paper II also proves the tourism educated are found in urban settings to a significantly greater extent than in the regions characterised by tourism and travel, and that the level of formal education affects this urban concentration.

When the answers from the first and second research questions are merged, they lead to the conclusion that there is a greater mismatch between tourism-specific education and engagement in the sector than between higher education in general and work in tourism. The findings are in line with Thrane (2010) but here furthered by the studies in Papers III and IV that concern the aspects of competence prioritised for destination management. The results from the interview studies show that tourism-specific courses in higher education are not even prioritised aspects of competence when recruiting for destination management. The findings thus show a lack of congruity between the theoretically prescribed composition of tourism's workforce (as found in Svalastog, 1992, 2008, 2010; Embacher, 1994; Argote & Ingram, 2000; Sharpley, 2002; Enz et al, 2006; Scott et al, 2008) and how it is performed in practice. According to the theoretical understanding of how competitiveness and innovations are created, there needs to be an input of more than basic formal knowledge and skills (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999; Maskell & Malmberg, 1999; Baggio & Cooper, 2010). There is an awareness in the national strategies of the importance of competence when high-cost regions compete with destinations where labour is cheap. This could, however, not be found to have been recruited into the workforce. Tourism-specific education was rather held as one among several suitable qualifications, while the prioritised aspects of competence were found in having a broad understanding of public administration and collaborations between sectors and administrative organisations on different levels.

It is important to discuss the tourism sector within the broader context of labour markets and location of educational institutions. Thereby the aspect of access to input factors with characteristics that answer to local needs is underlined. In regions with large populations and a varied educational, as well as occupational, composition the needs may be saturated whereas more peripheral and less populated regions may have to identify the needs and geographically attract a willing workforce. The scale of the context is crucial in this sense, as an educated

workforce on a national level may still entail challenges in finding competence on local level of destinations due to their geographical location in relation to the above mentioned factors of population, education and amenities.

The levels of education found in urban areas may foremost be an illustration of the specialisation made possible there due to the access to specially educated individuals. Such settings allow for recruitment of specialists to key positions and to compensate that economic investment by keeping the labour costs down in the rest of the workforce. Likewise, the relatively higher levels of education in tourism in the less urban regions, especially the travel and tourism municipalities, suggest the need for more than the least educated to be part of the tourism workforce due to a lower number of individuals and higher levels of responsibility. The challenges posed to more peripheral destinations, need to be taken into further consideration as the lack of access to competence may hinder the development of competitive destinations (Botterill et al., 2000; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Hall, 2007; Müller & Jansson, 2007).

To round up the findings of this thesis, the overview in Table 1, of how the four papers relate to each other serves as a guide. As stated there, this examination of the educational characteristics in the tourism workforce first looked at the big picture, comparing the educational levels in tourism to other sectors. The generalised image of low educational levels was there found mainly to agree with an urban context. When narrowing down to focus on the sector specific educated in Paper II, tourism education was found to be more concentrated to the urban regions, although the small number of tourism educated working in municipalities categorised by tourism and travel were to a relatively large extent found working in tourism. The study did not set out to find the answer to whether the large mismatch between education and engagement in tourism is predominantly caused by the graduates choosing other sectors for work or if it is the employers who de-select the tourism-specific educated. However, as shown in Paper III, formal tourism-specific knowledge was not a prioritized aspect of competence for destination management. The explanation behind such reasoning was elaborated on in the last study. According to the findings in the specific context in Paper IV, the tourism sector was regarded as one among several factors in the complex web of actors and interactions that need to be managed by a destination organization.

In essence, the findings of this thesis propose that the educational characteristics of the tourism workforce should be discussed more in relation to geography than sector. In addition, the view on what tourism competence entails was found to differ between what was found in theory and among practitioners and the perspectives found will be discussed further in the next section.

The View on Competence in Tourism

The core of the following concluding discussion is a paradox found in the literature and strategies used for the conceptual framework of this thesis: on the one hand tourism development is promoted as a tool for growth and job creation, especially in regions with relatively restrained access to human and economic capital due to low standards regarding knowledge and skills. On the other hand, tourism is found to be a growing industry with fierce competition between destinations, leading to high demands on not only comparable advantages but above all competitiveness. As discussed in the conceptual framework, the tourism workforce has a vital impact on the products in tourism and the competence of the workforce is thus crucial for its competitiveness. The first issue to be addressed here is therefore the image of low demands and associated low levels of general knowledge and skills in the tourism workforce (Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Riley et al., 2002; Cohen et al., 2015). Notwithstanding that many work tasks in tourism do not require any formal education, prior research such as Burns (1997) has suggested that this reasoning misses the target, as the quantification of formal education cannot be used to measure the skills that are relevant to the service natured tourism industry.

The focus put on formal education in tourism – with this thesis as one example – may thus be questioned, as it is not the most relevant aspect of competence in the dominating hospitality situations (Baum, 1989, 2006, 2008; Shaw & Williams, 2004b). Having a low level of formal education would thus not exclude the possibility of developing intuition and the competencies that create a tourism workforce of high quality. Such proficiency based on a learning-by-doing process, however, demands that the individual stays in the tourism workforce for a sufficient period of time. This has been identified as a main concern to the industry due to the high turnover of staff (Riley et al., 2002; BFUF, 2013). The quest for enhancing the level of competence in the tourism workforce should, according to this view, not only be discussed in relation to formal tourism-specific educations. Rather, it would be helped by improvements in working conditions to retain the recruited workforce. Based on the findings in Paper II it is also advocated that the view on tourism production is broadened to include more actors and functions within a destination than only the tourism SICs.

A second aspect to be pointed out is that the results in all studies show little appreciation for tourism-specific knowledge. It could not be found to be particularly recruited for, in either of the two defined groups of the tourism workforce. The conclusion presented here is therefore that tourism as a field of knowledge is depreciated among practitioners. This confirms Hallin and Marnburgs (2008) suggestion that tourism education and research is struggling

to spread the word of tourism's need for specific knowledge. It is shown by how specialists are recruited to the tourism sector, with a focus on their special education such as marketing, and then adapting their skills to the tourism context. In addition, this mirrors how research in the field of tourism is often found within the departments of more recognised disciplines, such as geography. If tourism-specific knowledge is not profiled as a discipline on its own merits within the academic sphere, it should not come as any surprise that this view is furthered by students continuing into the operational society.

In the current situation, the educational system aims at producing competent – or at least formally knowledgeable – individuals to join the tourism workforce. However, as shown in Paper I and more specifically in Paper II, this is not happening, and in Papers III and IV the reasoning behind this de-selection was explored. The generally high educated as well as those with tourism-specific education do not transfer their knowledge into the tourism sector, and especially not to the regions where much effort is needed to create competitiveness due to lack of attractions and infrastructure. In this thesis, the destination management in such regions were clear in prioritising more general skills and knowledge that could then be applied to tourism. The main concern for that group was to have a tourism manager that was able to navigate within the administration rather than among guests. The implication this has for educational institutions, is that the more academically oriented courses should leave the vocational strand and profile themselves as educating for the more qualified positions. They should thus educate for proficiency in tourism in a broader, more holistic sense that acknowledges tourism's entanglement in other sectors.

The divide between vocational and theoretical knowledge thus needs to be revisited rather than bridged. The set-up of tourism education, especially on lower academic levels, needs to be recognised as providing sufficient basic knowledge for competence to be developed through practice. This however has to be communicated, as apparently, the promotion of tourism-specific knowledge found in tourism research has not reached out to those who should be aware of it in order for tourism graduates to be attractive on the labour market. This is a communicative challenge in the countries included in this thesis, where the labour costs are a major expense due to regulated wages and tourism's general labour-intensity (Szivas et al., 2003; Shaw & Williams, 2004b). More educated individuals request higher salaries and are attracted to more employment opportunities. An investment in hiring them is therefore not a guarantee for keeping them, but also an initial cost that few small and medium sized firms can afford – in spite of the possibility that such an investment would likely lead to increased sales.

The main question these findings lead up to is whether this downgrading of tourism knowledge poses a problem to tourism development. According to Svalastog (1992, 2008, 2010) it does. Hall (2007) also claims that tourism-specific insight is vital in order to create relevant plans and management, especially on the level of regional destination planning. The tourism sector entails, according to them, specific characteristics that need to be taken into account in order for it to develop in a healthy and efficient way. One might therefore wonder if the lack of understanding of the tourism sector, its performance and actual work tasks (not the social construction based view pointed out by Baum, 2006), explains the attention given to tourism in the first case, taking the many disadvantages of tourism work into consideration, on individual as well as collective societal levels.

On the other hand, recruiting in a way that does not elevate tourism to a status higher than other industries is in line with Lundmark (2006), who claimed tourism is best suited as part of a diverse local economy. Tourism should, according to this view, be one among other eggs in the basket of a local society, as well as on higher geographical levels. In that way, an offset caused by sudden changes in demand may be dampened as dependency would not have been created. This more moderate approach to tourism is also found in Carson and Carson's (2011) recommendation to assess the preconditions for tourism before entering the global competition, and Liu and Wall's (2006) valuable contribution of a framework where policy, industry and locality work together. Their proposal underlines the fact that a suitable solution to solve local needs for jobs must take local human resources into consideration and choose establishments that fit, not the other way around.

Academic knowledge is not the only and possibly not even the most important aspect of competence in tourism. As will be elaborated on in the final section regarding what can be done in research based on the findings of this thesis, there are reasons to believe that the recruitment of competence into tourism will be increasingly found outside of the educational institutions. This concluding section thus ends on the same note as found in the introduction; research, as well as policy making concerning tourism and destination development, should not continue to be based on generalisations and assumptions. By taking local preconditions into account in a wider sense than inventorying potential attractions, policies may be set that address potential needs for importing specific competence, but also find solutions for creating competitiveness from what is already at hand. Thereafter strategies can be formulated based on local resources. After all, tourism might not be the most credible solution in all places.

Although the title of this thesis refers to “Nordic perspectives on competence in tourism”, much of the literature and previous research that has been used does not exclusively refer to the situation in the Nordic context of Sweden, Norway and Finland. Likewise, the cited experiences of young Orwell are set in the French context of upper class hospitality, a scene that differs from the everyday life of the general tourism worker in Sweden in 2017. Although aiming at fighting the generalisations within tourism reasoning, this last part of the thesis is presented with an intention for the proposals made here to also be of use in other settings.

Future Research

As was mentioned in the section of Limitations, there are basics concerning the relation between competence, education and the tourism industry that have not been addressed here. It is also those areas that are first suggested as holding potential for continued research, building on the findings and theoretical reasoning of this thesis.

As the studies here concern the characteristics of the input factor of labour and not their effect on the production, future research should dive deeper into what kind of competence can be found to have an impact on tourism development. The start point of such work would evidently need to state what impact is to be measured. As mentioned in the section Limitations, the motives for tourism development are to be found along the spectra of instant economic growth and environmentally aware social emancipation with a longer time perspective. There are also further questions that would need to be answered in order to provide relevant results, such as the scale of the stakeholders; is the impact to be measured on the level of firms or individuals, or even the full local society, and where should the distinction be set? The global complexity of communications within the tourism system means that there is no longer just the question of a firm being local or not. Rather, they are all to a larger or lesser extent in connection with other stakeholders and not restrained by geography. The economic growth potential in tourism is currently highlighted on a global level by United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2015) and World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2014), especially based on economies of scale (e.g. Helpman & Krugman, 1985). However, the economic benefits have, especially since the mid-90s, been challenged by research on the potential social disruption in destinations (Cooke, 1982; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Jamal & Getz, 1995), and there is an ongoing realisation that the monetary gains are often left to overshadow other aspects of the development (among others found in Max-Neef, 1995; Tribe, 2005). This has been referred to as a *critical turn* and elaborated on by Ateljevic, et al. (2007, 2010) and has also been approached by Hall (2009). Potential for further research on the competence-education-

tourism nexus is thus found not only in traditionally measurable outcomes of guest nights, revenue and employment rates, but also within areas related to social and environmental impact on local and regional levels.

Future explorations on the effects of tourism related to the characteristics of a local workforce could further the planning perspective that has dominated the geographical research in tourism (e.g. Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; Dredge & Jenkins, 2007) by aspects of sustainability (Nelson et al., 1993; Sharpley, 2000; Liu & Wall, 2006). The classification of geographical units, such as in the SALAR classification (SALAR, 2010), can be used to identify innovation systems within tourism in accordance with Hjalager (e. g. 1997, 2002, 2010). The classifications then open up for a more diversifying and problematising approach to the *raison d'être* of the economic activity of tourism. From what is found there, the educational and social characteristics of the involved workforce could then be traced to find if, how and where certain aspects of competence can be found to have an impact on the outcome of tourism development.

A second proposal is to scrutinise the mismatch between education and engagement in tourism. Apparently, this situation has been found in prior studies and here also found to be present in the Swedish context. One possible future path would be to continue tracing tourism graduates, to scrutinise their perspectives and strategies behind choosing education, and whether or not they continue into the sector.

An alternative path would be to look at those who evidently fill the positions not taken by the tourism educated. This would link to the aspect of multiple careers during one lifetime, and the less established views on non-monetary remunerations of work. Riley and Ladkin (1994) claimed there to be a need for new approaches to the concepts of professionalism and career, as those at hand could not be applied to the tourism sector. The basic notion being that the tourism sector attracts a workforce that could have found other employment and thus there must be aspects of tourism work that compensate for the stated low levels of pay, unsocial working hours and strenuous nature of the service sector. One side of this proposed research area has been addressed by the now established concept of *lifestyle-entrepreneurs* in tourism research. However, as stated by Hjalager and Andersen (2001), the sector is a locus for several kinds of new types of work modes and concepts of career, but knowledge of this process is still lacking. Based on this, one could suggest that instead of being a last refuge for the least eligible, tourism employment could actually be in the forefront of recruitment of a modern generation. After all, engagement of educated individuals in the general tourism workforce is dependent on both the priorities of the employers and employees. Finding the background strategies

among the non-tourism educated in the tourism workforce would thus be the quest, especially among those who have acquired what could be considered a high level of competence.

The third area of future research to be built on the findings of this thesis relates to the methodological limitation stated in the introduction. As can be seen by the studies in this thesis, the material in the database ASTRID at Umeå University is a rich source for social and economic information and has so far been used in a related tourism research context by Lundmark (2006) and Brouder (2013). The above reasoning on finding definitions of tourism outcome and characteristics of the workforce, present challenges to using the material. However, elaborated software based analyses could provide material revealing connections between the geography of tourism activities, outcome and selected aspects of the tourism workforce. This would contribute to the field of research on the tourism workforce, which is currently being carried out within tourism geography.

The works of this thesis have provided findings that show that in order to provide future studies with solid theoretical frameworks, the long lasting assumptions regarding the nature of tourism labour and education need first to be revisited. That having been done, more quantitative studies could be designed to provide good insights into the development of tourism in different geographical settings. However, it is vital to keep the diversity of preconditions in mind, and not to fall into the comfort of generalisations and cultivation of one's own garden.

Summary in Swedish

Sammanfattning

Denna svenska sammanfattning av avhandlingen omfattar endast en liten del av dess innehåll. Framför allt presenteras här bakgrunden till avhandlingens frågeställningar och de olika delar den omfattar.

Bakgrund

Besöksnäringen har i Sverige alltmer kommit att diskuteras som en utväg för regioner där andra ekonomiska aktiviteter lagts ner eller flyttats ut. Fördelarna med att satsa på utveckling av turism har hittats i relativt låga uppstartkostnader och att tomma landskap som tidigare setts som improduktiva genom turismen kan omvandlas till en tillgång. Dessutom ligger det i turismens natur att vara platsbunden och alltså transportera konsumenterna till produkten istället för tvärtom. Detta har uppfattats som en lockande egenskap för områden som ser både ekonomiskt och humant kapital flytta. Tillsammans med turismens arbetsintensitet har det gett destinationsutveckling en given plats på agendan i regionala utvecklingsarbeten genom att alltså erbjuda arbetsmöjligheter som inte kan utlokaliseras när de väl etablerats.

Framför allt har retoriken kring turismens arbetskraft innehållit antaganden om låga trösklar rörande utbildning och kunskap. Bilden av turism som något ”vem som helst klarar” har sällan ifrågasatts. Även om sektorn numeriskt domineras av arbetsuppgifter som inte kräver särskild utbildning eller erfarenhet, finns där även en stor grupp som förutsätter såväl högre utbildning som annan form av kompetens. Dessutom är turism idag en industri där destinationer och produkter konkurrerar på en global marknad. För mer perifera högkostnadsländer som Sverige ställer detta höga krav på utveckling av produkter med unika värden och hög kvalitet. Enligt teorier kring innovation och produktutveckling krävs det både formell kunskap och praktisk insikt för att utveckla sådana konkurrensfördelar.

Utgångspunkten för denna avhandling är att den förenklade bilden av arbete inom turism behöver nyanseras, i första hand för att kunna ge relevant underlag för planering av destinationsutveckling men även för att skapa utbildning som verkligen gynnar sektorn.

Det är framför allt tre aspekter som här presenteras som nödvändiga att finnas med i resonemang kring arbete inom turism och dess kunskapsbehov. För det första är det en brokig samling kommersiella aktiviteter som samlas ihop under samlingsrubriken turism, turismsektorn eller besöksnäringen. Där finns

dessutom många olika nivåer av ansvarstagande och samverkan. Detta gäller i synnerhet då destinationsutveckling alltmer blivit en aktivitet där privata och offentliga aktörer gör gemensam sak för att hela lokalsamhället bättre ska ta del av turismens förväntade vinster och begränsa dess negativa verkningar. Att kalla turismen för en sektor med låga utbildningskrav är därmed en grov generalisering som snarast undergräver arbetet med att skapa en konkurrenskraftig näring.

För det andra måste den geografiska aspekten av turism alltid finnas med. Destinationer är ofrånkomligt beroende av platsens belägenhet i förhållande till attraktionskraft, infrastruktur, tillgänglig arbetskraft och potentiella marknader. Detta gör att både tillgångar och utmaningar varierar mellan platser och omdömen om deras behov rörande arbetskraftens egenskaper måste därför göras på geografiska nivåer som tar denna variation i beaktande.

Den tredje aspekten som behöver diskuteras rörande turismens arbetskraft är innebörden av begreppen kunskap och kompetens. De låga nivåerna som diskuterats refererar till formell kunskap även om det är en kompetens av annat slag som anses vara mest användbar inom servicesektorn i stort och turismen i synnerhet. Dessutom har majoriteten av de med turism specifik utbildning i Sverige läst den på lägre akademisk nivå, såsom gymnasiet. Detta gör att de har låga formella nivåer men samtidigt direkt relevant kunskap. Relevansen i att diskutera kunskapsbehoven inom turism i termer av utbildningsnivåer kan därmed ifrågasättas.

Syfte och Frågeställningar

Syftet med denna avhandling är undersöka förekomsten av formell utbildning bland arbetskraften inom den svenska turismsektorn samt vilken kompetens som anses behövas för positioner som arbetar med ledning på destinationsnivå. Målet har varit att bredda förståelsen av de utbildningsmässiga egenskaperna hos turismens arbetskraft, genom att inkludera aspekter som rör geografi och arbetsuppgifter.

De övergripande frågeställningar som styr arbetet är hur utbildningsnivåerna inom turismens arbetskraft ser ut i olika geografiska delar av Sverige, var den turismspecifika utbildning som ges överförs in i sektorn samt vilka aspekter av kompetens som anses nödvändig för destinationsstyrning och utveckling.

Material och Metod

Avhandlingen innehåller fyra självständiga studier som binds samman genom ett inledande kapitel där arbetets teoretiska ramverk och bakomliggande litteratur presenteras. Två olika grupper av arbetskraft har använts som

studieobjekt; först den generella, numerärt dominerande som inte har särskilda krav på kunskaper och därefter en mindre grupp som arbetar med strategi och ledning på destinationsnivå.

Den första gruppen återfinns i de två första studierna (Paper I och II). Materialet är hämtat ur databasen ASTRID vid Umeå Universitet som samlar officiell statistik kring Sveriges befolkning. Baserat på den officiella svenska näringsgrensindelningen kunde arbetskraften inom olika branscher identifieras och utbildningen bland individerna jämföras. Förutom rent deskriptiva analyser användes även analysmodellen Chi-square (Chitvåfördelning) för att pröva om det fanns en koppling mellan utbildningsnivå och geografisk arbetsplats i en begränsad del av turismens arbetskraft.

Den andra, numerärt mindre, gruppen studerades i Paper III och IV. Materialet samlades genom individuellt hållna intervjuer med destinationsutvecklare och representanter för de rekryteringsgrupper som anställt dem samt andra inblandade aktörer. Genom tematiska analyser av intervjuerna söktes förklarande resonemang till vilka aspekter av kunskap som prioriterats vid rekryteringarna.

Den geografiska aspekten tillfördes med hjälp av kommungruppsindelningen gjord av Statistiksektionen vid Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (SALAR, 2010). I den delas Sveriges 290 kommuner upp i tio grupper, baserat på socio-ekonomiska faktorer såsom befolkning, pendling och näringsliv. Enligt denna är det 20 kommuner i Sverige som karaktäriseras av turism och resande, genom att de huserar mer än 21 kommersiella gästnätter per invånare och år samt att där finns fler än 0,20 fritidshus per fast invånare. Den numerära dominansen av turism i form av arbetande, övernattande och antal företag återfanns dock i den kommungrupp som rubricerats som storstäder och storstadsnära kommuner.

De fyra studierna

Paper I (*The Development of Geographical Differences in Educational Levels within Swedish Tourism*) undersöker om utbildningsnivåerna i turismens arbetskraft skiljer sig från den i två andra utvalda sektorer; handel och tillverkning. Det visade sig att turismen inte absorberar en större andel lågutbildade än de andra sektorerna men framför allt visades stora skillnader mellan de olika kommungrupperna. I kommuner där den generella utbildningsnivån är relativt låg, har turismen högre utbildningsnivå än båda de andra sektorerna. I storstäder med högre utbildningsnivåer är turismens arbetskraft jämförelsevis lägre utbildad. Denna studie fastslog därför att diskussionen gällande utbildningsnivåer i turism snarare är en geografisk än sektoriell fråga

Paper II (*Tracking the Tourism-specific Educated in Sweden*) fokuserar på den grupp individer som år 2000 hade en turism specifik utbildning. Syftet var att undersöka om och i så fall var den kunskap som ges på turismutbildningar överförs till sektorn. I likhet med tidigare studier på andra håll, visade det sig inte finnas någon stark länk mellan att gå turismutbildning och att sedan arbeta inom näringen. Det var en hög koncentration av turismutbildade i de urbana kommunerna och färre i de mer rurala, däribland de 20 kommuner som anses karaktäriserade av turism och resande enligt SALARs kommungruppsindelning. Det kunde även fastställas att det finns ett samband mellan utbildningsnivå och arbetskommun för de turismutbildade; ju högre utbildning, desto mer troligt att personen arbetar i en storstadskommun. Genom denna studie visade det sig att den turismspecifika utbildning som ges inom det svenska utbildningssystemet endast till mycket liten del kommer sektorn till del, både ur sektoriell och geografisk vinkel.

Paper III (*The Importance of Being Local – Prioritizing Knowledge in Recruitment for Destination Development*) tar sig an synen på vilken kunskap som anses nödvändig för destinationsutveckling. Genom en telefonundersökning och djupintervjuer hittades utbildningsbakgrund och tidigare yrkeserfarenheter hos de som anställdes som ledare i organisationer där privat och offentlig sektor samverkar för turismutveckling. Det visade sig vara stor skillnad mellan de kunskapskrav som presenterats inom turismforskningen och vad som prioriterats vid rekryteringarna. Medan litteraturen framhåller turismspecifik insikt som avgörande, var det bland praktikerna viktigare att ha en förståelse för lokala och regionala nätverk samt att vara en förtroendeingivande person.

Paper IV (*Destination Development in Ostrobothnia: Great Expectations of Less Involvement*) fortsätter på spåret i den föregående studien genom att se närmare på destinationsorganisationen i den finska destinationen Vasa i Österbotten. Frågan bakom denna intervjustudie var hur de inblandade aktörerna uppfattade organisationens förändrade struktur, där man gått från en brett inkluderande form till en styrning endast innehållande representanter från den offentliga sidan. Även i denna undersökning visade sig turismspecifik kunskap anses underordnad förmågan att navigera i offentlig administration och den bredare samhällsliga kontexten. I studiens slutsatser lyfts behovet av att se bortom de ofta normativa förväntningarna från akademiskt håll att privata aktörer inom en destination vill vara delaktiga i dess styrning. Snarare fanns en förväntan om att alla skulle få ta del av en mer effektiv och kommersiellt framgångsrik destinationsorganisation genom dess nya, strömlinjeformade styrning.

Avslutande Diskussion och Slutsatser

Resultaten i avhandlingens studier visar att turismsektorn inte motsvarar den generaliserade bild som finns. För det första är utbildningsnivåerna inte exceptionellt låga och för det andra visade det sig att den turismspecifika kunskap som ges inom utbildningar inte transfereras in i turismsektorn i någon större utsträckning. De antaganden som finns, visade sig stämma överens med turismen i de mer urbana kommunerna i Sverige, medan de mer perifera och turismberoende regionerna har relativt sett högre utbildningsnivåer i turismens arbetskraft men mycket små andelar av de turismutbildade. Detta underströk avhandlingens bakgrund, att turism måste diskuteras med en geografisk ansats för att relevanta strategier kring utveckling och utbildning ska kunna tas fram.

Utbildningsnivåerna i urbana regioner kan främst bero på den specialisering som är möjlig där, baserad på tillgång till utbildade individer men även ekonomisk volym. De ökade kostnader det innebär att anställa en utbildad specialist för särskilda uppgifter kan då kompenseras genom att hålla utbildning och löner nere i andra grupper. Detta skulle även kunna förklara de relativt högre utbildningsnivåerna i de mindre urbana regionerna och i synnerhet de kommuner som präglas av turism och resande. Genom ett lägre antal verksamma höjs kraven på ansvar och kompetens för varje position och därigenom engageras högre utbildade. Det bör påpekas i detta sammanhang att tillgången till utbildad personal i de mest perifera och glest befolkade regionerna kan utgöra påtagliga hinder för utvecklandet av konkurrenskraftiga destinationer.

En andra anmärkningsvärd aspekt av resultaten är det genomgående åsidosättandet av turismspecifik utbildning. Tidigare forskning har antytt att så är fallet men har framför allt studerat de som tar högre examen med turisminriktning. Denna avhandling inkluderade även lägre nivåer, t o m gymnasium, och det kunde konstateras att inte heller dessa studenter senare återfinns inom turismsektorn. Det finns en teoretisk övertygelse om att specifik, formell kunskap behövs för att skapa konkurrenskraft och det erbjuds turismspecifik utbildning på många håll i Sverige. Det visade sig här att denna utbildning inte kommer sektorn till del i en bredare, generell mening men inte heller vid mer specifikt satta kravbilder.

Detta leder till att en avrundande slutsats av denna avhandling är att synen på kunskap inom turism kan behöva revideras på flera vis. Det behövs en djupare förståelse av vad som skapar diskrepansen mellan utbildning och arbete inom turism. Är det de utbildade som väljer bort sektorn eller arbetsgivarna som väljer bort de turismutbildade? Avhandlingens teoretiska del diskuterar hur båda dessa sidor spelar in i skapandet av turismens arbetskraft. I slutändan är det ändå en fråga om det alls är nivåer av formell utbildning som bör diskuteras.

Det finns flera studier som påpekar att den intuition och så kallade "soft and foreign skills" som är avgörande i service situationer inte kan läras genom teoretisk utbildning. De bygger på personlighet samt att man under lång tid utvecklar de förmågor som krävs. En lågt utbildad person kan enligt detta synsätt utveckla höga nivåer av det kunnande som enligt denna teoretiska linje är avgörande för kvalitet inom turism.

En utmaning är då att skapa incitament för de som rekryterats till turismen att stanna där. Idag har branschen hög personalomsättning och många faktorer som talar emot att söka sig dit, såsom låga löner, obekväma arbetstider och oklara möjligheter för karriär. Det föreslås därför här att synen på turismens kunskapskrav omformuleras, både bland praktiker och teoretiker. Istället för att fokusera på de låga akademiska kunskapskraven, bör förmågan att navigera socialt och med bred kompetens framhållas som nödvändigt inom branschen. De låga trösklar som presenterats som en av turismens fördelar kan med andra ord ha visat sig vara dess Akilles häl. Tack vare retoriken har förväntningarna bland arbetsgivare sänkts och de potentiella turismarbetarna med högt ställda kunskapsambitioner har valt bort sektorn. Det kan med andra ord vara dags att förändra bilden av turism som något "vem som helst klarar".

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Appendix I

Identification of tourism sector.

Based on Swedish standard industrial codes, SNI9200.

Source: Lundmark (2006).

LODGING & RESTAURANTS	
55101(55111)	Hotels and restaurants except conference centres
55102(55112)	Conference centres with lodging
55103(55120)	Hotels and motels without restaurant
55210	Youth hostels etc.
55220	Camping sites including caravan sites
55230	Other short-stay lodging facilities
55300	Restaurants
55400	Bars
55521	Catering to the transport sector
TRANSPORT	
61200	Inland water transport
62100	Scheduled air transports
62200	Non-scheduled air transports
63301	Activities of tour operators
63302	Activities of travel agencies
63303	Tourist assistance
OTHER SERVICES	
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 skiing facilities
92612	Operation of golf courses
92729	Various other recreational activities

Appendix II

SALAR Classification of Swedish municipalities. Source: SALAR (2010).

Metropolitan municipalities	Municipalities with a population of over 200,000 inhabitants. (3 municipalities)
Suburban municipalities	Municipalities where more than 50 per cent of the night population commutes to work in another municipality. The most common commuting destination must be one of the metropolitan municipalities. (38 municipalities)
Large cities	Municipalities with 50,000-200,000 inhabitants and where more than 70 per cent of the population lives in urban areas. (31 municipalities)
Suburban municipalities to large cities	Municipalities where more than 50 per cent of the night population commutes to work in a large city. (22 municipalities)
Commuter municipalities	Municipalities where more than 40 per cent of the night population commutes to work in another municipality. (51 municipalities)
Tourism and travel industry municipalities	Municipalities where the number of guest nights in hotels, youth hostels and camping sites is higher than 21 nights per inhabitant, and the number of holiday homes is higher than 0.20 per inhabitant. (20 municipalities)
Manufacturing municipalities	Municipalities where more than 34 per cent of the night population aged 16 to 64 is employed in manufacturing, mining, energy, environmental and construction industries. (SNI 2007). (54 municipalities)
Sparsely populated municipalities	Municipalities where less than 70 per cent of the population lives in urban areas and there are fewer than eight inhabitants per km ² . (20 municipalities)
Municipalities in densely populated regions	Municipalities with more than 300,000 inhabitants within a 112.5 km radius. (35 municipalities)
Municipalities in sparsely populated regions	Municipalities with fewer than 300,000 inhabitants within a 112.5 km radius. (16 municipalities)

Appendix III

Interview guide used in study for Paper III.

INTERVIEWGUIDE “Recruitment of destination managers”

Informant: The recruited person.

1 Information on the informant

- 1.a Employment, since:
- 1.b Position
- 1.c Formal education
- 1.d Experience
- 1.e Connection to the destination

2 The Recruitment Process

Questions regarding requirements that are prioritized in destination development. Knowledge and skills have been divided into six groups in order to identify different kinds of knowledge: Education, experience, skills, personal networks, independence and leadership.

- 2.a How did you get information about the position?
- 2.b Did you have insight in who was in the recruitment group?
- 2.c What qualifications were asked for?
- 2.d How were the following qualifications ranked, based on:
 - 1. Required 2. Wanted 3. Not mentioned

- FORMAL EDUCATION

Within: _____

- EXPERIENCE, PRIOR WORK IN

Project management, tourism, organization development, marketing.

Other: _____

- PRACTICAL SKILLS

ICT (information communication technology), booking, marketing.

- NETWORKS, RELATIONS AND CONTACTS

Geographical. Business, in what sectors?

- INDEPENDENCE. RESPONSIBILITY.
- ABILITY TO ORGANIZE, ENTUSIASM, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNICATION.

2.e Do you know what the requirements were based on? Was external assistance used to set the requirements?

2.f Did you meet the set requirements?

2.g Which of the following qualifications did you put weight on in your application?

- FORMAL EDUCATION

Within: _____

- EXPERIENCE, PRIOR WORK IN
Project management, tourism, organization development, marketing.
- Other: _____
- PRACTICAL SKILLS
ICT (information communication technology), booking, marketing.
 - NETWORKS, RELATIONS AND CONTACTS
Geographical. Business, in what sectors?
 - INDEPENDENCE. RESPONSIBILITY.
 - ABILITY TO ORGANIZE, ENTUSIASM, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNICATION.
- 2.h Do you think any of the requirements is something that can be learned on-the-job?
- 2.i Which of your qualifications did the recruitment group seem to prioritize?
Which of your qualifications did they not prioritize?
- 2.j Did you notice any disagreement regarding your qualifications during or after the recruitment?
- 2.k Has there been additional recruitments or other actions taken because the requirements were not met?
- 2.l Do the qualifications set by the recruitment group seem to have been correct?
Are there aspects that should have been included?
Has any aspect or requirement turned out to be irrelevant?

3 Work Tasks

These questions regard what work tasks are included in destination development. They are based on tasks that are recurring in descriptions and plans for destination projects. Additional relevant activities may be added.

- 3.a What of the following activities are included in the work tasks:
Tourism information, Marketing, Sales, packaging, Collaboration, networking, Quality assurance, Infrastructure, web, Investments, Other _____
- 3.b How are they prioritized in the work that is being performed?
- 3.c Do you experience differences in what is planned and what is performed?
Could such differences be based on changes in resources or demands/needs?
- 3.d Have new tasks been added after the recruitment?
Have tasks been removed?
- 3.e Has any planned activities had to be removed due to lack of access to knowledge?
- 3.f Has new activities been added based on your skills?
- 3.g Is the recruitment group still involved in the destination management?
- 3.h Do you collaborate with the group or individuals in it?
- 3.i Are any further recruitments being planned?
Do you in that case expect to be part of stating the requirements?
- 3.j What time frame do you see for the destination nmanagement?
Set time frame/ Selfsupporting with a long perspective/ Time limited but will be continued as a new project
- 3.k What is your role in the context
Time limited employment/ engagement base3d on other than just professional reason/ longtime employment.

INTERVIEWGUIDE “Recruitment of destination managers”

Informant: The recruitment group.

1 Information on the informant

- 1.a Employment, since:
- 1.b Position
- 1.c Formal education
- 1.d Experience
- 1.e Connection to the destination

2 The Recruitment Process

- 2.a What position did the recruitment regard?
Was the individuals in the recruitment group known to each other before?
Was it a new collaboration?
- 2.b Did the individuals in the recruitment group know each others' background, qualifications and current work tasks?
- 2.c What requirements were stated as wanted?
Out of the following qualifications, what was regarded as
1. Requirement 2. Possible to develop on-the-job 3. Irrelevant
 - FORMAL EDUCATIONWithin: _____
 - EXPERIENCE, PRIOR WORK IN
Project management, tourism, organization development, marketing.Other: _____
 - PRACTICAL SKILLS
ICT (information communication technology), booking, marketing.
 - NETWORKS, RELATIONS AND CONTACTS
Geographical. Business, in what sectors?
 - INDEPENDENCE. RESPONSIBILITY.
 - ABILITY TO ORGANIZE, ENTUSIASM, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNICATION.
- 2.d How were the qualifications found and stated? Was external assistance used?
- 2.e Did the applicants fulfil the set requirements?
IF YES: How were they prioritized:
 - FORMAL EDUCATIONWithin: _____
 - EXPERIENCE, PRIOR WORK IN
Project management, tourism, organization development, marketing.Other: _____
 - PRACTICAL SKILLS
ICT (information communication technology), booking, marketing.
 - NETWORKS, RELATIONS AND CONTACTS

Geographical. Business, in what sectors?

- INDEPENDENCE. RESPONSIBILITY.
- ABILITY TO ORGANIZE, ENTUSIASM, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNICATION.

IF NO: What requirements had to be removed or altered?

2.f Did the group agree on the qualifications of the applicants?

2.g Was there disagreement and if so, regarding which qualification:

- FORMAL EDUCATION

Within:_____

- EXPERIENCE, PRIOR WORK IN

Project management, tourism, organization development, marketing.

Other:_____

- PRACTICAL SKILLS

ICT (information communication technology), booking, marketing.

- NETWORKS, RELATIONS AND CONTACTS

Geographical. Business, in what sectors?

- INDEPENDENCE. RESPONSIBILITY.
- ABILITY TO ORGANIZE, ENTUSIASM, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNICATION.

2.h Has there had to be additional recruitments or other changes due to the applicants not fulfilling the set requirements?

2.i Do the set requirements seem to have been relevant now that the work has begun?

Are there aspects that could have been included?

Are there requirements that have proven to be irrelevant?

3 Work Tasks

These questions regard what work tasks are included in destination development. They are based on tasks that are recurring in descriptions and plans for destination projects. Additional relevant activities may be added.

3.a What of the following activities are included in the work tasks:

Tourism information, Marketing, Sales, packaging, Collaboration, networking, Quality assurance, Infrastructure, web, Investments, Other_____

3.b How are they prioritized in the work that is being performed?

3.c Do you experience differences in what is planned and what is performed?

Could such differences be based on changes in resources or demands/needs?

3.d Have new tasks been added after the recruitment?

Have tasks been removed?

3.e Has any planned activities had to be removed due to lack of access to knowledge?

3.f Has new activities been added based on your skills?

3.g Is the recruitment group still involved in the destination management?

3.h Do you collaborate with the group or individuals in it?

3.i Are any further recruitments being planned?

Do you in that case expect to be part of stating the requirements?

- 3.j What time frame do you see for the destination nmanagement?
Set time frame/ Selfsupporting with a long perspective/ Time limited
but will be continued as a new project
- 3.k What is your role in the context
Time limited employment/ engagement based on other than just
professional reason/ longtime employment.

Appendix IV

Interview guide used in study for Paper IV.

Questions asked to all respondents:

1 Personal information

- a. Previous and current position
- b. Future position
- c. In what way will you be part of the new organization
- Competences: d. formal education
- e. experience: tourism, management, marketing, public sector, private sector
- f. skills: ICT, Online booking
- g. individual: connection to sector, geographical connection
- h. what aspect of your competence is relevant and not
- i. plans for further education

2 Experience of Österbotten Turism rf. (the old organization).

Describe the previous organization:

involved actors, structure, communication, possibilities and levels of decision making and influence.

3 Expectations and needs on Vasaregionens Turism AB (new organizational form).

Have you been aware of the transformation?

How was the change initiated?

Describe the future form:

involved actors, structure, communication, possibilities and levels of decision making and influence.

What will change?

What gains will the new form bring for the public/ private sector actors?

Do you see any potential risks/ backsides connected to the new form.

Additional questions to respondents on organizational level:

Background material used for setting the plans.

Requirements in regards of competence of the new CO.

The new form's organizational structure.

Additional questions to respondents representing entrepreneurs:

Requirements in regards of competence of new staff.

Requirements in regards of competence of the new CO.

Additional questions to respondents in regional institutions:

Perceived awareness of tourism-specific issues among the regional organizations.

Requirements in regards of competence of the new CO.