

# Socio-economic Differentiation and Selective Migration in Rural and Urban Sweden

**Susanne Hjort**



**Department of Social and Economic Geography**  
901 87 Umeå  
Umeå 2009

Gerum - Kulturgeografi 2009: 1

Department of Social and Economic Geography  
Umeå University  
SE – 90187 Umeå, Sweden

Tel: +46 90 786 7172  
Fax: + 4690 786 6359  
[http://www.umu.se/soc\\_econ\\_geography](http://www.umu.se/soc_econ_geography)  
E-mail: [Susanne.Hjort@geography.umu.se](mailto:Susanne.Hjort@geography.umu.se)

Copyright©Susanne Hjort

ISBN: 978-91-978344-0-7  
ISSN: 1402-5205

Print och media  
Umeå, Sweden 2009

## Preface

Migration; my first independent migration decision led me to Llandinam in rural Mid-Wales, quite unintentionally. The main decision was to work for the Girl Guide/Scout movement somewhere in Britain but chance led me to a training centre in the middle of nowhere. Spending most of my childhood and adolescence in the central parts of a mid-sized town in Sweden, my experiences of the rural were restricted to recreation; second homes and Scouting. This encounter with the rural was bewildering and provoked mixed feelings; an instant and for ever prominent love for rural landscapes but a deep feeling of isolation, due both to being alone among strangers in a strange country and to the isolation of the place in a small village with a post-office, a pub, poor communications with other places and practically no people my own age (19). After six months in Mid Wales my love for the countryside was set for eternity. My migration decisions since have all been guided by this love, even though I feel that the last move that I made led me to a place not quite rural enough, (but the house, oh the house!).

This thesis is very much about my love for the rural (if there is such a thing as *the* rural) but the main focus is on migration and who migrants are. This is a thesis that could not have been created without the previous migration decisions and indecisions of a number of people.

I am sure that when Gunnar Malmberg migrated to Umeå his purpose was not to guide me through this prolonged journey of writing a thesis but, without that previous decision this thesis would never have been written. Thank you Gunnar, for being my faithful advisor, never giving up and making it all possible! Urban Lindgren a stayer, who has never left the municipality of Umeå, has also stayed to see me through this process. Thank you Urban!

Vilhelmina, the best place in the world according to Kerstin Westin, who despite this, left this paradise to move to Umeå, has been most patient to let me see the end of this journey, thank you! Einar Holm and Ulf Wiberg also migrants to Umeå have both been crucial to the completion of this thesis. Thank you! Without Margit Söderberg, a migrant from Åsele, there would never have been a PhD. I am forever grateful! Lotta Brännlund an international migrant from Finland has also been crucial to the completion of this thesis, thank you!

All other migrants, stayers and previous stayers at the department, thank you!

Many thanks are also in due to Jan Amcoff for valuable comments on a previous draft of this thesis.

I want to extend my gratitude to Eva Borgegård for letting me use "The divided city" as part of this thesis. I would also like to thank Eva Andersson, the other co-author, for the cooperation that has been a vital part of this thesis, but I would also like to thank her and Freddan for being such good friends.

Migration can set friends apart but it can also mean the possibility of making new friends. Through our own migration decisions and that of others we have been fortunate enough to meet some great friends who have all contributed to the making of this thesis both by their willingness to discuss some of the topics of this thesis at length but also by just providing friendship at times when it has been most needed. Thank you, Rolf & Cilla, Helena & Kenneth, Lena, Gun-Britt, Jocke & Kattis, Palmar & Jeanette and Johan & Jennicka!

Relatives and friends are often difficult to separate as categories, and one of my best friends is my Mother-in-law, Karin who have supported me in every possible way throughout the many years of writing this thesis. Thank you! Many thanks also to another strong supporter of this thesis – my father-in-law – Bruno, who actually was the one who first got me started in the subject of human geography.

My parents Margareta and Nils-Gunnar, my brother Mats and his wife Katarina and my grandmother Gullan form the base line of support in my life and I am forever grateful.

Jonatan my most wonderful husband has been my partner in everything that is not this thesis and he has provided the financial and emotional support needed for me to be able to finally complete this extensive and extended work. Together we have the world's most wonderful children and I believe that they are very happy to finally see the end of this work. To Ellen, Jakob and Emmelina: now I can finally be an ordinary mum!

Susanne Hjort  
Sävar, August 2009

# Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>
Aim	9
Outline of the thesis	10
<b>Within urban spaces</b>	<b>12</b>
Polarization	12
Segregation	13
Paper 1. The divided city? Socio-economic changes in Stockholm metropolitan area, 1970-94	15
The divided city – Stockholm from the 1990s until today	16
<b>Between rural and urban spaces</b>	<b>18</b>
Selective migration	18
Ageing	21
Paper 2. The attraction of the rural: Characteristics of rural migrants in Sweden	22
The importance of who and where	24
<b>Within rural spaces</b>	<b>25</b>
Gentrification	25
Paper 3. Rural gentrification as a migration process	28
Re-thinking rural gentrification in a Swedish context	29
<b>Between and within people in rural and urban spaces</b>	<b>33</b>
Living environment and place attachment	33
Paper 4. Place attachment and attitudes among young adults in rural and urban spaces	36
Attitudes and migration	37
<b>The rural and the urban</b>	<b>39</b>
The rural and the urban in theory	39
The rural and the urban in practice	43
<b>In conclusion</b>	<b>46</b>
Socio-economic differentiation and selective migration in rural and urban spaces	46
<b>Sammanfattning på svenska</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	

## Appendices

- Paper 1: Borgegård, L.-E., Andersson, E. and Hjort, S. (1998) The Divided City? Socio-economic Changes in Stockholm Metropolitan Area, 1970-1994. In Mustered, S. and Ostendorf, W., editors, *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*, London: Routledge.
- Paper 2: Hjort, S. and Malmberg, G. (2006) The Attraction of the Rural: Characteristics of Rural Migrants in Sweden. *Scottish Geographical Journal* V122, 55-75.
- Paper 3: Hjort, S. (2009) Rural Gentrification as a Migration Process: Evidence from Sweden. *Migration Letters* 6, 91-100.
- Paper 4: Hjort, S., Malmberg, G. & Westin, K. (2009) Place Attachment and Attitudes among Young Adults in Rural and Urban Spaces.

*In an urbanized world it is easy to view the landscape as something separate from daily life. To many, a landscape is something viewed from afar – a scenery, a view – nothing that you live in or keep close. However, a landscape is not defined by geographical limitations or the width of scope.*

Jan Töve (2008)<sup>1</sup>

*A lived-in landscape becomes a place, which implies intimacy; a once-lived-in landscape can be a place, if explored, or remain a landscape if simply observed.*

Lucy R. Lippard (1997) p. 7

## **Introduction**

“Fire department in Bygdeå<sup>2</sup> threatened”, “Seventy attended meeting on threatened village schools”<sup>3</sup>, “Wants to move pupils from Djäkneboda<sup>4</sup>”, “Sports and security may disappear when costs are cut”<sup>5</sup> (Västerbottenskuriren, 2009). These are headlines taken from the newspaper Västerbottenskuriren on an ordinary Wednesday in May 2009. All the headlines relate to the cuts and savings in the municipal economies in the county of Västerbotten in northern Sweden that have become commonplace since the sharp economic bust that hit the world economy at the end of 2008. These headlines can be seen as proof of the powerlessness of local authorities in an increasingly global world. On the other hand, had I picked up a newspaper in May 2008 I would have found similar headlines. The economic troubles of rural municipalities are not rooted in the recent events of a global world economy (although global events may speed up local processes)

---

<sup>1</sup> My own translation from the Swedish.

<sup>2</sup> Village in the municipal of Robertsfors in Västerbotten county.

<sup>3</sup> This citation refers to Vännäs municipality in Västerbotten.

<sup>4</sup> Another village in Robertsfors.

<sup>5</sup> This citation refers to Kristineberg, a village in Lycksele municipality in Västerbotten.

but rather in long-term local/national processes of uneven population distribution, ageing and negative net migration.

For a long succession of years the municipalities concerned in the above citations have lost population – not much but rather a small, constant trickle. The population loss is most often related to negative natural change in the population, with more people dying than being born (cf. Håkansson, 2000), which is often accentuated by selective migration. Those who move out are young and those who move in are older. With an ageing population, the tax base decreases and the demand on municipal services increases. For many municipalities the in-migration of families with children is a goal, and measures are taken to increase the area's attractiveness in different ways, for example special offers on housing. However, more children also means higher costs and a potential future taxpayer will probably cost more than she/he will return since most young people leave rural municipalities for work and education and only a few stay or return. What may seem like a dream to rural municipalities may instead turn out to be quite the opposite. The challenge is to attract the right kind of migrants while simultaneously trying to keep the natural decrease fairly low. Added is the challenge of keeping the local economy in balance while not cutting down on the kinds of services that will attract migrants. A municipality that is shutting down village schools and centralizing child care will have problems attracting families with children.

In today's global world, urban centres compete with each other in the capitalist economy and global processes are also said to be at work within the cities (Hamnett, 1998; Sassen, 2001), even in small peripheral ones like Stockholm. In addition, the municipal troubles discussed above are not only a problem in rural municipalities but also in those with a large urban centre. Within the metropolitan municipalities population loss may not be a problem, but other issues related to the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of their residents and their distribution across space may bring equally challenging issues to deal with, for example residential segregation and social exclusion, which may be accentuated by selective migration.

Migration selectivity and the uneven distribution of people in space, regarding both numbers and characteristics, underscores social processes but also affects how space can be understood as rural or urban. Social processes such as exclusion, discrimination or injustice can be seen as aspatial – as occurring without spatial limits and boundaries – but social processes have spatial outcomes and in the particular context of this thesis can be seen as related to rural and urban space. Urban and rural are often seen as a dichotomy and in

opposition, with unequal power and resources, with urban places having the upper hand. This dichotomous division has been increasingly questioned, however (for a lengthier discussion, see *The rural and the urban*). In this thesis, rural places are viewed as unique spaces just as urban places are, but they are also viewed as interconnected, related and sometimes overlapping, reflecting unequal relations in both economic and demographic terms as well as regarding power.

In international literature on migration and socio-economic differentiation in both regional and local settings it is evident that metropolitan areas are major population magnets and that some of these areas function as escalator regions for people (Fielding, 1993; Forsberg, 1997), whereby migration into these areas means possibilities for educational and occupational achievement. In a Swedish context the welfare state has traditionally been able to smooth disparities, levelling differences between and within rural and urban areas through regional policies and housing programmes. Moreover, the traditional outflow of young and prosperous individuals from the countryside and the resulting population decline have in international literature been known to be counteracted by counterurbanization and rural gentrification (Boyle, 1995; Boyle and Halfacree, 1998; Dahms and McComb, 1999; Darling, 2005; Fielding, 1982; Halliday and Coombes, 1995; Phillips, 1993, 2002; Smith and Phillips, 2001; Stockdale et al., 2000). These are processes that have been seen in Sweden at different times, but these periods have not been able to counteract the general tendency toward population concentration (Håkansson, 2000). However, it is not only the number of people in a population exchange that matters but also who the migrants are and their attitudes toward rural and urban features. Given this background, for a prosperous future in all parts of the country it is important to investigate tendencies for new migration patterns, residential preferences and socio-economic differentiation in rural and urban spaces.

### **Aim**

The aim of this thesis is to analyse migration and socio-economic differentiation in rural and urban spaces: where people move, what the characteristics of migrants are and whether experiences of rural and urban space affect attitudes toward the local living environment and place attachment. In relation to the aim stated above, the following questions will be addressed: Has the socio-economic differentia-

tion in the Stockholm metropolitan area been accentuated within the context of the changing Swedish welfare state? What are the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of rural and urban migrants? Is there rural gentrification in Sweden? Do a rural or urban location and a rural or urban origin affect people's attitudes toward different aspects of their local living environment and place attachment?

### **Outline of the thesis**

This thesis contains seven main parts. The first is an introductory section including a short introduction with the aim and outline of the thesis. The four parts that follow are structured around a summary of each of the included papers: first an introduction, then a summary and then a discussion of the paper in relation to the introductory text. The first of these four parts, *Within urban spaces*, is concerned with socio-economic divisions within cities and the wider processes that affect urban spaces. *Between rural and urban spaces* focuses its attention on socio-economic and demographic divisions between rural and urban space. In *Within rural spaces* the attention is shifted to processes of socio-economic differences within rural spaces. Fourth, in *Between and within people in rural and urban spaces* different attitudes toward the local living environment and place attachment are related to migration, particularly rural. The sixth part, *The rural and the urban*, is concerned with how rural and urban can be conceived and thought of as well as practiced. The final part, *Socio-economic differentiation and selective migration in rural and urban spaces*, consists of a concluding discussion.

This thesis is based on four papers, all dealing with socio-economic differentiation and the selectivity of migration or the outcome of selective migration in rural and/or urban spaces. The first paper, *The divided city? Socio-economic changes in Stockholm metropolitan area, 1970-1994*, concerns economic differentiation and polarization within a metropolitan setting including both rural and urban space, and analyses the income distribution in the Stockholm metropolitan area using residential area statistics regarding income among residents. The second paper, *The attraction of the rural: Characteristics of rural migrants*, is concerned with selective migration and socio-economic differentiation from an inter-regional perspective with a focus on migration interchange between rural and urban spaces, and analyses the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of migrants to the countryside in Sweden using individual register data.

The third paper, *Rural gentrification as a migration process: Evidence from Sweden*, concerns socio-economic differentiation in a rural setting and investigates rural gentrification. The study focuses on rural gentrification as a migration process and is based on an analysis of register data. Behind migration selectivity lie a multitude of explanations and in the fourth paper, *Place attachment and attitudes among young adults in rural/urban spaces*, young adults' (25-40 years of age) attitudes toward the rural/urban qualities of their local living environment and their place attachments are investigated using a survey.

*It is in the textures of distinctive places, the lived worlds of streets, houses, shops and offices, that memories accumulate, attitudes are shaped, and cultural and political preferences are defined.*

D. W. Holdsworth (1993) p. 33

## **Within urban spaces**

For a long time now and also as far into the future as we are able to imagine, cities have been and will be regarded as differentiated and divided, into different sections containing different activities and people with different characteristics. Classical theories of the city such as Burgess' concentric zone model from 1925 or Hoyt's model from 1939 try to capture the complexity that is a city in models of its activities and social divisions. Although these kinds of models have largely been left behind and new models and ideas have evolved in their place, cities remain divided both socially and in space.

This section seeks to highlight these divisions through the analysis of two concepts, polarization and segregation. In the cases of these concepts the ambition is to explain the social divisions of a city and their spatial outcomes as well as the underlying driving forces. Here migration selectivity is seen as a driving force behind the spatial outcome of both polarization and segregation in urban spaces. Polarization and segregation form the background of Paper 1, which is also summarized and discussed in this part.

### **Polarization**

It has been argued that as a consequence of economic restructuring and globalization there has been an increasing polarization between cities in the world and a simultaneous polarization within cities, with regard to income and employment, particularly in so-called 'global cities' such as New York, London and Tokyo (Sassen, 2001). Sassen (2001) argues that, as a consequence of economic globalization in these cities, employment in specialized service professions catering to the needs of global firms and a simultaneous growth of low-end service jobs such as cleaning have increased at the expense of particularly the manufacturing industry. This leads to a situation with many

people at the ends of the occupational scale and fewer people constituting its middle, which affects service supply and income distribution. Polarization is also thought to have spatial outcomes in increasing segregation and gentrification (Andersson et al., 1998; Borgegård et al., 1998; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998b; Sassen, 2001).

Hamnett (1998) criticizes the idea that globalization works in similar ways everywhere and that states, nations and governments have become increasingly powerless in relation to global capital. Instead he argues that because of different welfare regimes in different countries and cities, global capital has different outcomes in different places. It is well known that welfare systems tend to affect income distribution and that the spatial outcome is highly contextual (Bourne and Ley, 1993; Hamnett, 1998; Murie and Musterd, 1996; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998b). Sweden is a peripheral country, far from the core of global capital, and Stockholm can by no means be said to be a global city. However, processes of economic globalization also affect the periphery and it is possible that Stockholm can be subject to a process of polarization. In Paper 1 of this thesis, a polarization hypothesis is tested against the background of a changing welfare state during the early 1990s, the idea being that the changes that took place in the welfare state during the 1980s and that were accentuated by the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1990s led to increasing differentiation between areas and municipalities in the Stockholm metropolitan area, a differentiation that seems to have continued even until today.

### **Segregation**

In the polarization debate referred to above it has been argued that one of the consequences of globalization and polarization is increased residential segregation within cities. Residential segregation is often viewed as a condition, and a common approach is the mapping of different social, economic, ethnic and demographic variables leading to an approach by which the uneven distribution of people according to their characteristics forms the basis of the segregation problem. However, viewing segregation as a process means that the causes, consequences and actions are seen as interdependent and related, which is a step away from viewing it as only a condition (Hjärne, 1991). In viewing segregation as a process, migration becomes an important driving force.

In the Metropolitan Investigation (Storstadsutredningen, 1990), initialized by the Swedish government in the 1980s, it is argued that

three factors can be seen as causing the increasing residential segregation in the Stockholm metropolitan area in the 1980s: 1) Slum clearance in the central parts of the city resulted in larger/fewer housing units and a following increase in rents and prices for flats; 2) The development toward a larger proportion of the housing market being private rather than municipal also increased prices; 3) The inflation in the 1980s, particularly toward the end of the decade and into the early 1990s, made private ownership more advantageous than renting (Storstadsutredningen, 1990). Taken together, these different processes contributed to a concentration of wealthy people in the central parts of the city and the subsequent shutting out of people with small resources.

However, migration is an underlying condition, as a result of either previous selective migration streams or present migration, and this thesis is concerned with the causes of segregation as the result of selective migration. Like Bråmá (2006), I argue that segregation is part of a migration process by which the migration decisions of individuals make up the social fabric of spaces, both rural and urban. Naturally, there are also other underlying factors that affect people's possibilities to form free migration decisions, for example poverty, discrimination, economy, class, ethnicity, gender and knowledge.

The immediate consequence of segregation that falls naturally to a geographer is the lack of interaction that stems from physical distance and barriers, but the consequences may be even more far-reaching than that. According to E. Andersson (2001), consequences of residential segregation may be that people are affected by their environment – both the social and the physical environment – which might lead to poorer or better opportunities, depending on the actual context of the area. Among other things, E. Andersson (2004) found that the socio-demographic and physical characteristics of the neighbourhood where one grew up and the individuals there have an important influence on the future educational achievements of young people. Andersson's results also indicate that residential segregation may reproduce itself, as people move to areas similar to what they experienced during childhood. In addition, in their paper on Amsterdam Musterd and Ostendorf (1998a) found that residential segregation led to a reduction in participation in society, as measured by unemployment or disability.

## **Paper 1. The divided city? Socio-economic changes in Stockholm metropolitan area, 1970-94**

The aim of the study was to analyse changes in the patterns of socio-economic polarization, measured by mean income, in the Stockholm metropolitan area during the period 1970-94. Important to the arguments of the paper was a concern with the changing welfare state not only in the light of economic restructuring but also as a result of globalization. There is a fear of increasing polarization between areas, municipalities and indeed people, which will lead to social exclusion and additionally that the process of exclusion will be reinforced by spatial patterns and clusters of the disadvantaged. Two lines of argument were followed in a review of available literature: standard of living and segregation. The results from the review show that regional standard of living has become more similar but that there has been an increasing segregation between areas, particularly at a low level.

One of the aims of the Swedish welfare state has been integration, the blending of people with different characteristics in housing areas. This goal has been attempted to be achieved through transfers, hence equalizing economic preconditions. Until the 1980s there was more equality between households, but after 1981 an apparent decrease in equality has been evident. The changes in the welfare state in the early 1990s (also discussed in Paper 3) resulted in more homeless people and more people living on social security. Also, the changing conditions of both the welfare state and economic preconditions have had local consequences for the Stockholm region.

The methods employed in the empirical part of the study were to compare mean income and gini-coefficients between areas and municipalities in the Stockholm metropolitan area during a 24-year period, from 1970 until 1994. The focus was placed on the last few years of the investigation.

The results of the study showed that during the period, mean income increased in rural areas and locations near water, perhaps indicating a preference among those with high incomes for more scenic living, attracted by some kind of rural ideal. During the early 1990s an increasing gap between the northern and southern municipalities (divided by Lake Mälaren) was evident, with the north having a higher mean income than the south. Young in-migrants and immigrants to the Stockholm metropolitan area have found it difficult to enter the housing market, particularly in the more central areas of the city, and many have ended up in the socially deprived multifamily housing units from the 1960s and 70s (the Million Homes Pro-

gramme)<sup>6</sup> on the outskirts of the city. This has led to a pattern of segregation whereby the wealthiest live in the forms of tenure based on ownership while those with lower incomes are concentrated within the municipal housing sector. Tenure is also strongly related to space, where large areas only encompass the same type of housing, for example single-family detached housing or rented flats. What was evident from Paper 4 was that in the context of the Stockholm metropolitan area at the beginning of the 1990s, an increase in the polarization between the wealthiest and the poorest was discernable and that this had a spatial outcome, particularly at the local level.

### **The divided city – Stockholm from the 1990s until today**

In Paper 1 of this thesis residential segregation is discussed at a municipal and a residential area level, but also in passing between rural and urban areas. The analysis concerns a specific regional context – the Stockholm region. In a study of residential segregation in the Nordic capitals (excluding Reykjavik) by Andersson, E., Borgegård and Hjort (Andersson, E. et al., 1998), increasing segregation in all four capitals during the 1970s until 1990 was observed, encompassing all three types of residential segregation: ethnic, socio-economic and demographic. In a broader study of residential segregation in Stockholm (Andersson, E. et al., 1997) predating that of the Nordic capitals and Paper 1, the same type of patterns of increasing polarization are mirrored in the distribution of the middle class compared to the working class and foreign-born households compared to Swedish-born households. Like Hamnet (Hamnett, 1996) and Savage et al. (Savage et al., 1992), we noticed that there had been an increase in the share of professionals, from 10% in 1970 to 18% in 1990, but rather at the expense of the working class than the middle class as suggested by Sassen (2001), (Andersson, E. et al., 1997). What is particularly noticeable from all three of the studies is that the overrepresentation of people with low income and non-Swedish background and those who belong to the working class is concentrated to areas with municipal housing on the outskirts of the city. Many of these municipal

---

<sup>6</sup> The Million Homes Programme was initialized by the state in the mid-1960s, addressing the pressing housing problems of crowding and poor facilities that the housing sector was experiencing at the time due mainly to escalating urbanization. The programme ran for ten years and has left a lasting imprint on the urban physical (modernistic architecture has left a quite depressing impression on the urban landscape) and social fabric.

housing estates were built in the Million Homes Programme, and the single type of tenure they often represent is a problem that has been highlighted lately<sup>7</sup>. Since the 1990s there has been much debate concerning deprived neighbourhoods in the metropolitan areas of the three major cities Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö (Bråmá, 2006; Pallander, 2006; Storstadsdelegationen, 2006), and the government has launched a programme to come to terms with deprived metropolitan housing estates, The Swedish Metropolitan Policy (Storstads-satsningen), the goal of which is to help people into employment and out of their social problems, lessen the high turnover of residents in large housing estates and end segregation (Storstadsdelegationen, 2006). There are some indications that people who have benefited from different programmes in these areas have moved out. Thus, the programmes can be said have increased the speed of white flight and middle-class out-migration to some extent (Andersson, R. and Bråmá, 2004).

The patterns we see in our studies of segregation and polarization up until 1994 still remain, and there seems to be no immediate solution. Behind these patterns is the complexity of internal and inter-regional migration. Despite efforts to solve problems of segregation and deprivation within the urban context the problems remain, perhaps as a consequence of the many different processes that contribute to this outcome, for example the conditions of the housing market, immigration policies and selective migration. Who moves where lies at the heart of the issues discussed here; this will be explored further in the next part.

---

<sup>7</sup> There has been a housing project in one of these deprived estates where they have built owner occupied terraced housing among the multifamily high-rises to address one of the problems, namely that there are no possibilities for an upward housing career within these estates since they were built in the same fashion and tenancy, mainly municipal rented dwellings and to some degree cooperative flats (Dahlgren, 2006; TenstaBo06, 2006) However, it has proven very difficult to sell these new houses as money lending institutes are reluctant to lend money to people in the area (Bergbom, 2006).

*For a long time, Swedish rural and provincial areas have not seriously been described. In addition, an immensely powerful metropolitan norm has shaped that which has been written and it has often occurred to me that as soon as rural and particularly provincial areas have been described it is as “problem”, almost as “immigrant crowded” suburbs are described.*

Göran Greider (2001) p. 10<sup>8</sup>

## **Between rural and urban spaces**

In this section the focus is shifted toward the divisions that exist between rural and urban spaces in Sweden. First, I would like to say this, echoing Greider above: there is a powerful city norm in Sweden, whereby economic prosperity is thought only to occur in an urban setting, and there is an equally powerful recreational norm at work regarding rural areas. As indicated by the citation above, rural places and spaces are often considered problem areas; something that has to be dealt with.

As noted in the previous section, selective migration works to reinforce patterns of social differentiation in urban spaces. In this section, selective migration is discussed in relation to interregional migration and the effect the selectiveness of migration has on both rural and urban space. Also discussed in this section is ageing which can be seen as a consequence of migration but is also a process related to non-migration, something that takes place without migration but that can be reinforced by selective migration or be a result of previous migration events.

### **Selective migration**

At the heart of migration selectivity lies the issue of why people stay or move. What are the triggering factors behind a decision to stay or

---

<sup>8</sup> My own translation from the Swedish.

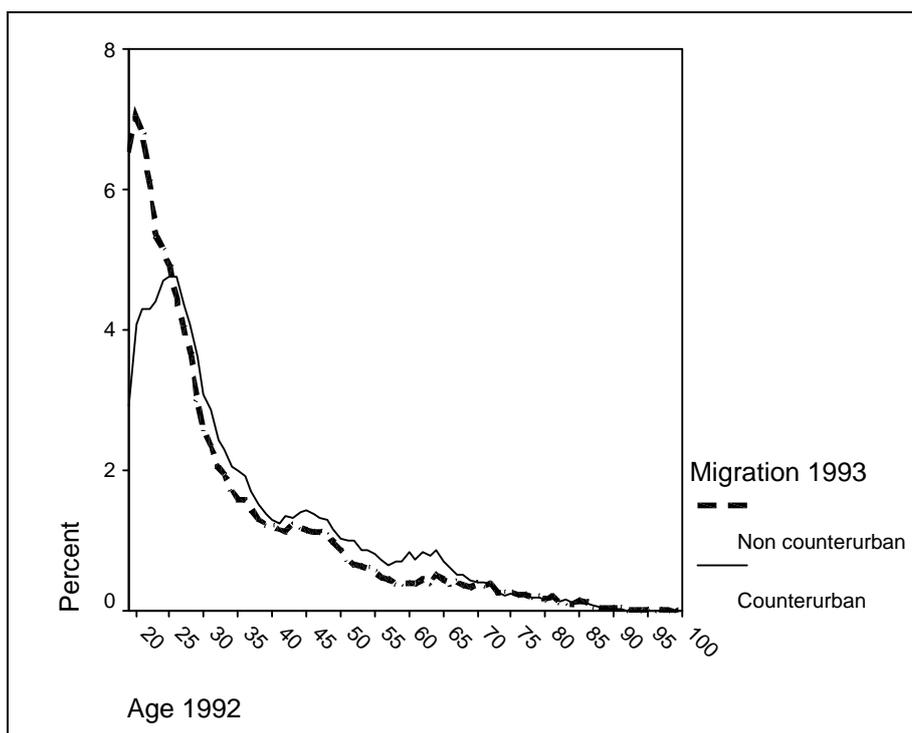
to migrate? In several studies focused on the late 1990s it has been noted that, when asked about their decision to migrate, migrants frequently state reasons other than those related to the labour market<sup>9</sup> (Garvill et al., 2002; Lundholm et al., 2004). Possible explanations include a change in attitude towards work and leisure as well as the nature of the Swedish welfare state, which enables people to remain unemployed in their present location, putting off a decision to migrate (Holm et al., 2004). In addition, transportation in some areas has improved, leading to easier commuting on both a daily and weekly basis (Eliasson et al., 2003; Öhman, 2003). Also, the increasing importance placed on housing may affect migration decisions and lessen the importance of work (cf. Kåks and Westholm, 1994). Migration leads to the breakup of local relations and a loss of the insider advantages that come from living in the same place for a longer period (Fischer and Malmberg, 2001). Important in this discussion is also the frequent occurrence of dual-earner households in Sweden. When both men and women participate in the labour force, the possibilities for migration are diminished (Fischer and Malmberg, 2001; Nilsson, 2001).

Negative net migration rates are traditionally high in sparsely populated remote rural areas (Glesbygdsverket, 2004) and high rates are usually a function of the particular pattern of local opportunities and age composition. Typically, out-migrants are young and quite often women, seeking better opportunities for education and employment (Glesbygdsverket, 2004). During the past few decades, higher education has been promoted and extended to include more people. These measures have had unexpected consequences in rural areas, where there seems to have been an increase in the number of young people leaving for urban places in order to have access to higher education (Kåks and Westholm, 2006; Lundholm, 2007). A consequence of increasing education is that people do not return to rural places since the kind of work a university education facilitates is scarce in rural areas. It has also been argued that women leave rural areas due to the unequal opportunities available to them, a more traditional pattern of labour division between men and women and a labour market that is highly gender-segregated, with employment opportunities for women being restricted to public services such as care for the elderly (Wide, 1999). Leisure activities and family values

---

<sup>9</sup> Labour market-related reasons have been regarded as the major explanatory factor behind migration in a great deal of studies for many years (Boyle, et al., 1998).

have also shown to be more conservative in rural areas, perhaps affecting migration flows (Kåks and Westholm, 1994).



**Figure 1.** Age distribution of counterurban and non-counterurban migrants crossing a parish border and moving farther than ten kilometres in 1993 in relation to stayers (Source: TOPSWING database).

During the life course people tend to exhibit different residential preferences. These residential preferences may give rise to migration in certain directions at certain times of their lives. Young people move to urban places for work and education, and families with small children move to the outskirts of towns and cities or to the countryside, not only to be able to live in a single-family dwelling but also to take advantage of the rural environment thought to be so good for children to grow up in (Borgegård et al., 1993). Figure 1, above, is an example of age distribution and the selectiveness of age in relation to urban and counterurban migration extracted from the data used in Paper 2. Around the age of 30 a counterurban migration becomes slightly more common than an urban migration, but at the same time migra-

tion as a whole ceases to increase and migration rates fall rapidly. There is a slight increase in migration around the age of 45, probably when children start leaving home and parents are freer to move. Again around the age of 60 there is an increase in migration, most likely related to retirement.

### **Ageing**

Selective migration flows to and from the countryside affect the socio-economic and demographic composition of rural areas. Sweden's population is ageing, particularly in rural areas, and the migration patterns revealed in the results of the studies of this thesis underline this development. The ageing process may affect the labour market so that there will be labour shortages, and a large proportion of the work force may be tied into municipal service provision (Korpi, 2003). This could lead to large economic problems for many municipalities, and may also mean that inequalities between people living in different parts of the country might increase.

During the 1990s Sweden experienced a population concentration whereby most areas lost population, mostly through natural decrease but also through migration, particularly toward the Stockholm region (Amcoff, 2003; Håkansson, 2000). Migration is age-selective and it is well known that young people tend to move from rural to urban areas – whether in pursuit of work or education the result is the same; young people move out and are not replaced by people of the same age, and usually not by the same number of people irrespective of age. We also know from Paper 2 of this thesis that those who are university educated are more mobile and also prefer urban environments to rural ones, which could underscore the lower level of education among rural residents. Those who do move to rural areas tend to be older, either of child-rearing age or retirees. Studies of retirement migration show that some people upon retirement engage in seasonal migration both within countries and abroad (Gustafsson, 2002; Gustafsson, 2001a; Sullivan and Stevens, 1982). In Sweden, seasonal migration to rural areas by people in need of assistance may put more financial pressure on already financially weak municipalities, since it is the municipalities that are obliged to assist people staying within their boundaries even if they are permanent residents somewhere else. In Paper 2, people above the age of 61 and retirees reveal a preference for rural migration and particularly remote rural areas. This may be a consequence of their being independent from the labour market and hence not restricted in their choice of living environment.

It may also be an effect of a second home that upon retirement becomes a permanent residence (cf. Halseth, 1993). This group of migrants is rather small compared to young migrants, but when they move to rural areas they accentuate the ageing process. Also, in a study from Scotland and England by Stockdale (2006), people in the age groups above 50 moved to rural, scenic or retirement areas. However, English migrants moved into retirement while Scottish migrants moved into self-employment (Stockdale, 2006), indicating different strategies of migrants to different parts of a country.

## **Paper 2. The attraction of the rural: Characteristics of rural migrants in Sweden**

The second paper of this thesis explores the issue of selective migration in a rural/urban context. As mentioned before, who the migrants are matters to the places they move to, and the object here is to understand whether people with particular socio-economic and demographic characteristics are attracted by different types of rural and urban areas. The characteristics of migrants may to some extent be even more important than their numbers, as indicated above. The aim of this study was to investigate the characteristics of rural migrants in Sweden and to analyse the extent to which rural areas located farther from urban centres (the remote countryside), compared to areas located close to these centres (the periurban countryside), attract people of different ages, incomes, forms of employment, education levels and family situations.

The migration patterns we found in our study indicated that the urban labour market may be an important factor in attracting migrants. The study was conducted using descriptive analysis and a series of logistic regression models for the two years 1987 and 1993. We also made a classification of the Swedish territory, creating four categories: cities, small towns, periurban countryside and remote countryside (See Figure 2 in attached article).<sup>10</sup> The largest share

---

<sup>10</sup> The data are derived from the TOPSWING database housed at the Department of Social and Economic Geography at Umeå University, and were originally provided by Statistics Sweden. The data include a wide range of individual socio-economic and demographic variables on a very detailed scale, 100-metre squares. In order to analyse migration movements in Sweden between rural and urban areas, we divided the territory into four categories:

**Cities:** characterized by high population density in the local area as well as in the region (more than 80,000 inhabitants within a 25-kilometre radius and more than 3,000 inhabitants within a 1-kilometre radius); **Periurban countryside:** sparsely populated local areas within a densely populated region (more than 80,000 inhabitants within a 25-kilometre radius and fewer than

(43%) of the Swedish population lives in the cities, according to our classification. The second largest share lives in the remote countryside, and about one-third of the population lives in small towns or the periurban countryside (See Figure 3 in attached article). However, migration flows are greatest between cities and the periurban countryside, with the periurban countryside being the winner in the exchange. Like other studies (cf. Borgegård et al., 1995; Lindgren, 2003), we found that the population distribution was characterized by concentration particularly in 1993. Migration to both the remote and the periurban countryside was dominated by migration exchange with the cities, and in this exchange the periurban countryside was a winner while in 1993 the remote countryside lost migrants to the cities. We found that the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants were generally similar to results of general migration selectivity found in other studies (cf. Fischer and Malmberg 2001; Nilsson 2001). Most migrants are young and many in the age group 19-40 move to the countryside, although net migration had an ageing effect on the population in rural areas. This means that the migration pattern reinforces the process of ageing in rural areas (cf. previous section on ageing). However, migrants with children were more likely to move to the countryside. In addition, the self-employed also had a higher probability of moving to the countryside. Being single or having a university education or a high income decreased the probability that a migrant would move to the countryside. The results also indicate that migration selectivity is fairly stable over time.

In our analyses, we also studied migration to the remote and periurban countryside separately as well as in comparison to each other. In these analyses we found that young or old migrants were less likely to move to the periurban countryside, while being retired or over 61 increased the probability that a migrant would move to the remote countryside. However, the periurban and remote countryside seem equally attractive to migrants with children. The periurban countryside was also more attractive to those with a university education and those with a high income, although rural areas, as mentioned before, were generally less attractive to these groups.

The implications of this study are that areas closer to the more dynamic labour markets of cities seem more effective in attracting

---

3,000 inhabitants within a 1-kilometre radius); **Small towns:** densely populated local areas in a sparsely populated region (fewer than 80,000 inhabitants within a 25-kilometre radius and more than 3,000 inhabitants within a 1-kilometre radius); **Remote countryside:** both the local and regional areas are sparsely populated (fewer than 80,000 inhabitants within a 25-kilometre radius and fewer than 3,000 inhabitants within 1-kilometre radius).

rural migrants of working age with families and a university education.

### **The importance of who and where**

In Paper 2 a distinction is made between different rural and urban spaces to allow us to understand whether socio-economic and demographic characteristics of migrants differ across different spaces. Of particular interest is how people of different ages redistribute across space, reinforcing processes of ageing in some areas. We do find that selective migration is a major driving force behind ageing in rural areas, through not only the out-migration of young people but also the revealed preference of older people for a rural living environment.

Even though there is considerable out-migration from the cities to particularly the periurban countryside, rural areas as such are losing population to urban areas and particularly to cities. What we see is a concentration of people toward the urban centres but not only this; young people, those with high education and those with high income, tend to concentrate in cities and to some extent in the periurban countryside. These areas are winners not only in the game of attracting in-migrants, but also in the game of attracting the migrants who may contribute to an increasing tax base and future prosperity in the municipal economy. Remote rural areas seem to attract those of higher ages and the self-employed. Self-employment may not only be a strategy to make a living but may also contribute to the creation of more employment in the area.

Despite the general pattern of the remote rural areas not being attractive migration destinations to those with high income and high education, there may be some areas of the remote countryside that are attractive to these groups of migrants, an issue that will be explored in Paper 3. In the next section of this thesis rural gentrification is explored, particularly rural gentrification in the remote countryside.

*I prefer the open landscape, close to the sea I want to live, a few months a year, so that my soul can come to peace*

Ulf Lundell (1982)<sup>11</sup>

## **Within rural spaces**

Like the city, the countryside is also affected by the socio-economic and demographic selectivity of migration, not only through the migration exchange between city and countryside but also through the social and demographic processes within the countryside. Contrary to the city, the countryside is most often assumed to be homogenous. However, the countryside is actually a multitude of countrysides than something singular. This section discusses the divisions that exist within the countryside – social divisions and their spatial and temporal outcomes – through the concept of gentrification.

Rural gentrification implies a migration process that includes the social change of an area of the countryside. Contrary to segregation, which is most often regarded as a change of the social composition within a city<sup>12</sup>, underlying rural gentrification is the issue of the rural and the urban, whereby migrants of an urban origin move into a rural area, changing not only the social composition of that area but also the cultural composition, resulting in an urbanization of the countryside.

### **Gentrification**

Gentrification is usually understood as a social change of the population in an area of the city, in its simplest form; as a change from working class to middle class. The expression was coined by Glass (1964) in a study of London. Another way to view gentrification is as processes of change in the housing stock, whereby previously run-down houses and areas are improved/altered/rebuilt by either indi-

---

<sup>11</sup> My own translation from the Swedish.

<sup>12</sup> It is possible to imagine that urban segregation may also be the result of selective interregional migration or indeed international migration rather than changing internal dynamics of the city, which it is most often assumed to be.

viduals or corporations; this usually also results in a change of the population composition.

To be crude, gentrification can be seen as a desired form of segregation and can be viewed as the opposite of segregation, a positively charged word provoking notions of improvement, artists or 'urban village', even planned by city authorities.<sup>13</sup> Still, gentrification usually means the concentration of the same kind people to particular areas and sometimes the exclusion of other groups – in other words, segregation. The result of gentrification is the displacement of the previous population; whether it was a planned or an unplanned process, someone is always displaced and excluded, which is not uncommon to areas experiencing social distress.

The process of gentrification has been explained in terms of a number of different factors traditionally focused on either supply or demand-side explanations, with supply-side explanations focusing on the availability of gentrifiable housing while the demand side focuses on the availability of people who are willing gentrifiers. Demographic factors have been used to explain gentrification in a number of ways, for example as an increase in the number of households due to both a growing population with more single households and the baby boom in the 1940s (Ley, 1986). The economic factors used to explain gentrification include someone taking advantage of differences in property prices and buying a property that has the potential to increase in value; they may or may not engage in improvements (Clark, 1995; Ley, 1986; Lyons, 1996). Gentrification has been regarded by some as a process strongly related to the breakdown of patriarchy, in that women can be said to be a driving force in urban gentrification due to their ability to combine paid work with reproductive work when the location of work and home become spatially closer (Bondi, 1999; McDowell, 1993). Yet another way to explain gentrification is in terms of the possibilities it creates for people, for example inner-city artists or gay communities, to express a certain lifestyle (cf. Lees, 2000; Ley, 1986, 2003). However, one of the most important explanations is related to the issue of class, with gentrification being regarded as part of a class formation process engaged in by the middle class (Cloke et al., 1995; Fielding, 1995; Savage et al., 1992; Urry, 1995). Gentrification has been used to consolidate a middle-class position and also to

---

<sup>13</sup> For example, Swansea Harbour Area, which was converted from industrial use to recreational use and for housing purposes. Another example is the redevelopment of the London Docklands (cf. Massey, 2005).

accumulate the cultural capital connected with having the 'right' kind of home.

There is evidence that different processes of gentrification are at work in different places, and that it is likely that the rural gentrification process too will vary across different spaces (Lees, 2000; Phillips, 1993). Smith (2002) argues for an approach to gentrification by which it is viewed as part of a migration process, that gentrification is a result of selective migration at different spatial and temporal scales and that in order to understand gentrification it has to be considered a process profoundly immersed in the larger population processes of change. This is also the approach taken in Paper 3 and will be discussed further below in relation to rural gentrification.

Even though gentrification is a vibrant field of research, little of the work done is concerned with rural space. In the first issue of *Environment and Planning A* in 2007, a themed issue exploring contemporary gentrification research (Environment and Planning A, 2007), there is a striking absence of rural aspects of the gentrification process apart from a general discussion of the concept of gentrification and how it should be conceived (Butler, 2007). Butler's (2007) main concern is the social relations between people in different places. He argues that work has lost its power to shape cultural preferences and identity while the place where you live has become more important (cf. Smith and Holt, 2007). This means that the rural or urban quality of the place of home becomes important in the gentrification process.

There are few studies expressly devoted to rural gentrification (Clark et al., 2007; Darling, 2005; Hjort, 2009; Little, 1987; Phillips, 1993, 2002, 2004; Smith and Holt, 2005; Smith and Phillips, 2001), although many mention it in passing and in studies of middle-class formation in Britain gentrification is seen as part of that process (Cloke et al., 1991; Cloke et al., 1995; Phillips, 1998a, b, 2007). Rural gentrification can also be seen as part of the rural in-migration or counterurbanization process (Fielding, 1998; Hjort, 2009; Smith, 2002) or as part of the creation of a rural ideal or idyll (Bunce, 1994). Smith and D. A. Phillips (2001) argue that the green environment is an important factor in what attracts rural in-migrants, and suggest "greentrification" as a term that better describes the process of rural gentrification. They also note in their paper that different fractions of the middle class are attracted by different aspects of the rural living environment. Another field of rural gentrification research is that related to second-home ownership, both foreign and domestic (Halseth, 1993, 2004; Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995; Hoggart and Buller, 1995; Marjavaara, 2007a, b; Müller, 1999, 2002, 2004). In

Paper 3, rural gentrification as a migration process is explored in a Swedish context.

### **Paper 3. Rural gentrification as a migration process**

Given the results of Paper 2, whereby rural migration by those with high income and high education was mostly directed at the periurban countryside, and the fact that rural gentrification has not previously been explored to any greater extent in a Swedish context, I wanted to explore rural gentrification in the remote countryside. The aim of this study was to investigate rural gentrification in parts of the sparsely populated countryside of Sweden. In the study, rural gentrification is viewed as the middle class replacing the working class (operationalized as middle class being indicated by high income and education), which is one of the most basic ways of seeing gentrification in both a rural and an urban context. Also of vital importance to the study is the view of gentrification as a migration process by which population composition and migration flows are important to how a gentrification process may evolve (cf. Smith, 2002). This paper is also concerned with a particular time, the late 1980s and early 1990s, a period of extreme economic fluctuation from a booming economy to a very deep recession.

In the paper, social change is operationalized as the difference in income and level of education between in-migrants to and residents of a selected number of areas grouped into two categories: close to a city and close to a mid-sized town. The analysis is conducted using logistic regression models comparing in-migrants to residents and in-migrants to out-migrants at three points in time: 1987, 1990 and 1994.

The main results show differences between the two categories and also between the years, and the peak of the booming economy in 1990 and the effects of the bust as witnessed in 1994 are evident. Areas close to a city did not show any clear evidence of gentrification – income among in-migrants was higher than among residents – but the differences were very small. Concerning university education, there were no significant differences between in-migrants and residents apart from 1987 when there was a positive correlation between university education and in-migrants compared to residents when controlling for other confounders such as age, gender, children, unemployment, marital status and partner's income, education and unemployment. In 1990 university education was negatively correlated with being an in-migrant compared to an out-migrant, which

might indicate a loss of university-educated people. There is an alternate explanation for the lack of difference between in-migrants and residents in 1990 and 1994 compared to 1987: It could be that there has been a previous gentrification of the area and what we see now is saturation. However, there is no conclusive evidence of rural gentrification in areas close to a city.

In areas close to a mid-sized town, income and university education were positively correlated with being an in-migrant compared to a resident for all years. Income during the entire period and university education in 1994 were also positively correlated to being an in-migrant compared to an out-migrant. This indicates that gentrification may be a process that to some degree affects areas close to a mid-sized town.

Regarding the time of economic change, at the peak of the booming economy there was an increase in the number of migrants, and the importance of income on the probability of being an in-migrant compared to a resident decreased after the bust in 1990.

Even though this study was designed to find areas in the Swedish countryside that experienced large differences between in-migrants and residents regarding middle-class indicators, there is slight evidence of a process of rural gentrification affecting these areas. Rural gentrification may have to be sought in other ways, but in general, gentrification in remote rural areas is only a marginal phenomenon. Despite the choice of areas with the greatest differences between in-migrants and residents, in the further analyses these differences were weakened and no conclusive evidence of rural gentrification was found. However, it is possible that rural gentrification in Sweden might affect very particular areas or segments of the housing market and in aspects difficult to find in register data.

### **Re-thinking rural gentrification in a Swedish context**

Given the results of Paper 3 that do not find rural gentrification to be a process of great significance in remote rural areas, this section aims to discuss why this may be so and also to suggest how rural gentrification in a Swedish context might be explored further. Rural gentrification in Paper 3 is thought of as a migration process (cf. Smith, 2002) whereby the in-migration of people changes the social composition of a place at the expense of another population category. Even though many studies concentrate their investigations on an area already undergoing gentrification and take as a starting point the alterations of buildings (cf. Phillips, 1993), this is the result of a previ-

ous migration pattern and I argue that migration has to be part of any gentrification study since migration represents two dynamic forces in the gentrification process, not only the sheer number of people involved in the process but also the individual migrants' characteristics: their socio-economic and demographic characteristics as well as attitudes, values and experiences, which in turn affect the social composition of the area. There is a parallel here to counterurbanization, which is sometimes measured as an increase in the rural population and a simultaneous decline of the urban population without there necessarily being a net migration gain in rural places (Champion, 1998). However, the present population composition is also a result of previous migration (cf. Fielding, 1982), and by investigating the selective migration processes behind rural gentrification, or indeed counterurbanization, it is perhaps possible to more fully understand these processes.

In a Swedish context, the temporal aspects of gentrification have to be taken into account. Unlike Britain, for instance, Sweden has a large proportion of second homes and it is estimated that about 50% of the population have access to a second home (Jansson and Müller, 2003). The vast majority of second homes are located in the countryside and therefore have a potentially important impact on the community where they are located (cf. Halseth, 1993). There is also a great exchange between permanent and second homes in a complex relationship within the context of the housing market. Prices of second homes are related to those of permanent homes and there are processes of conversion taking place whereby second homes are turned into permanent residences and vice versa (Nyström, 2000; Turner, 1995). Waterfront locations are very popular among Swedish migrants, both permanent and second-home owners (Borgegård et al., 1998; Müller, 1999). Studies also show that the prices of homes are highest on the waterfront, particularly bordering the sea (Marjavaara, 2007a).

What is rural gentrification? In this section I have argued that it is a migration process, but it is a particular process associated with who the rural migrant is; otherwise it might as well be called counterurbanization. Who are the gentrifiers? In the literature there are several different answers to this question. One is that it is people who in some way alter or build a new building in the countryside (Phillips, 1993, 2002) take advantage of a rent gap (Darling, 2005) and are most often from the middle class. Among rural gentrifiers it has been noted that there is quite a large class asymmetry within the families and particularly so after migration to the countryside, whereby women have tended to downgrade in their profession in order to make family life work (Agg and Phillips, 1998; Cloke et al., 1998; Phillips, 1993).

People moving into rural places in Sweden, particularly the more remote parts, are largely either retired or self-employed (see Paper 2). This might reflect the less diversified labour market that the countryside has to offer. It is easier to fulfil a dream of moving to the countryside when you can take your money with you and are independent of local labour market conditions. Long-distance weekly commuting can also be a way to be able to live in the countryside. In addition, in parts of the Swedish countryside there are many foreign second-home owners, mostly German and Danish (Müller, 2002).

In Paper 4 of this thesis we find that most Swedes highly value the natural environment, but particularly those who live in rural places or those who live in urban places but have a rural background. Other studies also point to the importance of nature to the Swedish people (Hellberg and Ståhl, 1997; Hjort, 1983; Lindkvist, 2003), but also to migrants (Malmberg et al., 2005; For a Finnish ex see Pehkonen, 2005). To some extent it might be reasonable to think that Swedes relate to nature rather than to cultivated land. Different parts of Sweden are also connected with different types of rurality, with some parts very much connected to nature and vast forests, typically areas in northern Sweden, while others are associated with the agrarian open landscape, such as Skåne. The identities of areas can also be strongly associated with cultural phenomena, such as Småland with author Astrid Lindgren and Dalarna with artists Carl and Karin Larsson. Particularly the rural idyll of Astrid Lindgren's world is continually reproduced in real estate ads referring to properties as set in a 'Bullerby-like'<sup>14</sup> environment, not only houses and environments in Småland but all over the country. Müller (1999) has also argued that Astrid Lindgren's world has contributed to the attraction that Germans feel toward Sweden.

In the citation at the beginning of this section, from a popular song by Ulf Lundell (1982), a preference for an open agrarian landscape is revealed. The preference for water is also significant as is the temporality, "a few months a year". Lundell wrote this song with reference to one of the areas under investigation in Paper 3, and it has been suggested by some that the song replace the current national anthem. It seems to encapsulate some of that which is Sweden, and suggests a strong relationship between rural areas and leisure. However, the leisure landscape tends to be 'empty' during large parts of the year

---

<sup>14</sup> Bullerbyn is the setting of two of Astrid Lindgren's books. It is a fictive village consisting of three houses, set in agrarian Småland at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These books have also been made into films several times, the most recent one directed by Lasse Hallström.

and rural gentrification as a permanent migration process would be more beneficiary to rural areas and municipalities.

Rural gentrification in Sweden is a process that has to be regarded as both a permanent and a temporary migration process, taking into account both permanent and second homes, and has to focus on class in terms of consumption and lifestyle rather than education, income or workplace, mainly because permanent rural in-migrants are largely either retired or self-employed.

*The place where we live constitutes nevertheless always the centre of the world irrespective of its location.*

Hellström & Högberg (2004),  
p. 18<sup>15</sup>

## **Between and within people in rural and urban spaces**

As mentioned before, several recent studies indicate that other motives for migration besides strictly labour market-related ones have become increasingly more important to people in their decisions regarding migration (Lundholm, 2007; Lundholm et al., 2004). It is indicated that the living environment is an important driving force and that people choose their living environment based on personal preference rather than economic necessity. Given the perceived quality and idyllic life often attributed to rural environments, it is possible that more people will choose rural living. These issues will be discussed further in this section under the heading *Living environment and place attachment*, below. The focus of the section will be on rural in-migration and how attitudes toward rural and urban features and place attachment can affect migration, particularly rural migration.

### **Living environment and place attachment**

People tend to attribute different importance to aspects of their living environment. Some may feel that service provision is the most important quality of their living environment while others will favour being near their friends and relatives. In a study by Stjernström (1998), he found that people who make long-distance moves often choose places of which they have prior knowledge, either through previous residence or vacations or because they have relatives there. Experiences with different living environments may affect people's attitudes and values and shape their perceptions about possible

---

<sup>15</sup> My own translation from the Swedish.

migration destinations.<sup>16</sup> Some studies argue that rural/urban experiences affect values and behaviours (Bossuet, 2006; Heberlein and Ericsson, 2005). In a study conducted by Heberlein and Ericsson (2005) investigating people's attitudes toward aspects of rural life such as hunting and wildlife, it was found that people with a rural origin or those living in rural areas had more positive attitudes toward rural features than did people with urban origin living in urban places. Given these results it is possible that rural and urban experiences stay within people as attitudes, and that this in turn may affect their attitudes to their present living environment and perhaps future living environments. In addition, Heberlein and Ericsson point to the risk of increasingly negative attitudes toward wildlife and rural pursuits as urbanization continues; fewer people will grow up and live in rural environments. Parallel here is rural migration: When fewer people grow up in rural environments, experiences with rural living environments will be more unusual and hence the migration potential will be diminished.

In research on rural in-migration the idea of rural areas as idyllic has been used in numerous studies, including Paper 2 in this thesis (Bunce, 1994; Halfacree, 1995; Mingay, 1989; Phillips et al., 2001). Swedish studies have also used the rural idyll as a backdrop for the discussion of rural in-migration and counterurbanization (Amcoff, 2000; Forsberg and Carlbrand, 1993; Káks and Westholm, 1994; Stenbacka, 2001). The attraction to the rural for families with children is a common theme in both Swedish and international literature, from both the perspective of the countryside being an ideal place to raise children and the experiences of children growing up in rural areas (Clove et al., 1995; Matthews et al., 2000; Tillberg, 2001; Waara, 1996). Children's experiences of growing up in a rural area have increasingly been contested in the context of the rural idyll, where it has been noted that the experiences of rural children may be far less idyllic than their parents like to think (Matthews et al., 2000; Philo, 1992). Moreover, the rural idyll is not an uncontested concept; Little (1999) strongly criticizes the use of the rural idyll to explain rural in-migration and change, arguing that the rural idyll is a myth that has little to do with rural life as lived experiences of today. In addition, in their paper on rural and feminist geography in the Nordic countries, Berg and Forsberg (2003) argue that the rural idyll is gen-

---

<sup>16</sup> A parallel here is migration analysed using a biographical approach, whereby previous migration experiences affect new migration events and migration has to be seen as part of an individual's entire biography instead of as separate events (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993).

dered but also that a rural idyll is always contextual, meaning that for instance a British conception of a rural idyll is not equal to that of a Swedish one (cf. Halfacree, 2004). However, I argue that the rural idyll is to quite a great extent communicated through literature, television, films, magazines, etc., in which images from rural places in many different countries, places and times are blended, and together create an image of rural idyll; it is the feeling rather than the facts that creates the idyll, or as Halfacree puts it, “a shadowy, elusive, indeterminate core can still be glimpsed” (Halfacree, 2004 p. 290) (see also Bell, 2006; Short, 2006). However, I believe that the construction of rural places as idyllic is very much an urban construction, created by those who do not live in the countryside but may well be potential rural in-migrants (Bell, 2006; Boyle and Halfacree, 1998; Bunce, 1994; Frouws, 1998; Halseth, 1993). Willits and Luloff (1995) argue that urban people are usually inclined to feel that rural areas should be preserved, that they are idyllic and that traditional economic activities like farming should be prioritized. Arguing that the rural idyll may play a part in a rural migration decision while at the same time saying that it is an urban construction that may have little to do with lived experiences leads to the conclusion that the rural idyll may play an important part in the decision to migrate but perhaps not in the decision to stay; a lack of the imagined idyll at the destination may lead to new migration decisions.

There seems to be a complex relationship between mobility and immobility, between place attachment and migration, and this complexity is said to increase in our present time of placeless possibilities (cf. Kåks and Westholm, 2006). It is also argued that people have become less rooted and more mobile, replacing place attachment with ‘mobility attachment’, whereby one place is replaced with many and life is lived without a strong connection to place (cf. Gustafsson, 2001b; Stedman, 2006). However, as mentioned previously, there are also tendencies toward immobility, people who stay rather than move, perhaps fearing the loss of the insider advantages (Fischer et al., 1998) people develop over time. The longer people remain in a place the less likely they are to move again (Fischer et al., 1998; Fischer and Malmberg, 2001), and they develop stronger attachments to place. Migration may to some extent have been replaced by other forms of mobility such as commuting and travelling.

#### **Paper 4. Place attachment and attitudes among young adults in rural and urban spaces**

The aim of this study was to investigate attitudes toward features of the living environment, social relations and place attachment in rural/urban places, through the use of data from a survey among rural and urban residents in Sweden aged 25-40.

The study was based on a survey directed at people between the ages of 18 and 40, but for this study we chose only to include those above the age of 25 because after 25 most people tend to have settled in both a physical and an emotional sense. The method employed was regression analysis, both linear and logistic. A few of the survey's questions were selected in order to shed light on the issues we most wanted to investigate in this paper. The respondents were asked to select one of seven geographical categories to illustrate the type of area where they live now and where they lived during the majority of their childhood. The categories were: city centre, city suburb, mid-sized town centre, mid-sized town suburb, small town, village and countryside. We then decided to combine the two categories village and countryside and call them rural, and combine the rest of the categories under the term urban (for a lengthier discussion see the section *The rural and the urban in practice*).

The survey included a set of questions related to place attachment. These questions were grouped to create two variables, Home and Away. In the analyses we also included questions relating to the importance of and satisfaction with living environment and social life. In addition a few background variables were included: having children, being well educated, being a woman and being a migrant. As mentioned before, we had an interest in the importance of background in relation to present location and therefore included rural/urban background and rural/urban present location in the analyses.

The main results show that most people appreciate the environment they presently live in; they live in the right place. However, urban residents with a rural background are less satisfied with their present living environment, particularly with the natural environment and the possibilities for contact with relatives. In general, only marginal differences between social life in rural and urban settings were found. Regarding place attachment, migrants were (not surprisingly) less attached to their present location. People who both live and grew up in a rural place were more attached to home than were other groups, while those with a rural background living in an urban place were more orientated toward Away.

One of the most obvious results of this study is that most people actually live in the environments they most want to live in. They are satisfied with what they have and appreciate the particular features of that environment. Another thing that stood out in the results was that the natural environment was significantly more important to rural residents than to urban ones, although the natural environment was very important to both groups. In addition, the consistent dissatisfaction with the present living environment as exhibited by urban residents with a rural background makes us wonder whether rural space has long-term effects on people's attitudes.

It must be emphasized, however, that rural/urban aspects are not among the most influential when studying people's attitudes to living environment, social life and place attachment, but albeit small there is still a persistent difference between how people value these aspects depending on their rural/urban experiences.

### **Attitudes and migration**

In this section I have argued that migration is to some extent related to attitudes toward the living environment and previous experiences with different environments. I have also argued that people seem to stay rather than move despite a common perception that people have become more mobile and placeless. As attitudes change so does migration, and as more people come to live in urban places more people become detached from the rural. In time this may increase urbanization. In Paper 4 we looked for differences in attitudes toward the local living environment and place attachment among young adults in both rural and urban Sweden. We looked for differences in relation not only to their present place of residence but also to the type of place where the respondents had spent the majority of their childhood. The idea was that the attitudes toward aspects of the living environment that people retain will affect migration decisions. If people are happy with what they already have they are probably less likely to move, and people in urban places who both appreciate and are satisfied with urban features will probably not make a rural move, while if they are unsatisfied and do not rate urban features highly they might be considered to exhibit rural migration potential.

People in rural and urban places value much of the same things and are also pleased with their living environments, but there are some aspects that differentiate rural and urban residents. Urban residents value social life and friends higher than do rural residents, but there

is no difference between the two groups when it comes to their satisfaction with these features of their living environment.

There are two other differences between rural and urban residents that I want to discuss: First, rural residents feel that the natural environment is more important than do urban residents. This result seems to echo that of Heberlein and Ericsson (2005). Second, in addition to this and also in line with the results of Heberlein and Ericsson is the circumstance that urban residents with a rural origin also value the natural environment higher than do urban residents with an urban background. Rural residents with an urban background do not differ from rural residents with rural backgrounds regarding these issues. Also, place attachment differs between urban residents with a rural background and those with an urban one: Those with a rural background are less attached to their present location.

These two aspects of the results, that urban residents with a rural background are less attached to their present environment and that rural residents with an urban background do not differ from rural residents with rural backgrounds, indicate that rural living environments are attractive environments even to those with an urban background and that urban residents with a rural background may either learn to appreciate urban places more or perhaps eventually move back to a rural area.

Much has been written on the rural idyll as an urban construction and a driving force in migration to the countryside; perhaps (and only perhaps) the rural idyll could account for the differences discussed above. There is something about rural living environments that seem to leave a long or even permanent impression on people.

*The persistent focus on cities as the sites which most provoke disturbance in us is perhaps part of what has tamed (indeed is dependent upon the taming of) our vision of the rural. Yet reimagining countryside/Nature is more challenging still than responding to the changing spatiality (customarily figured as predominantly human) of the urban.*

Doreen Massey (2005) p. 160

## **The rural and the urban**

This part centres on the topic of the rural/urban binary, which has been increasingly challenged by recent theoretical developments (Cloke and Johnston, 2005) and an increasingly urban world (Champion and Hugo, 2004). The object is to dwell a little longer on the nature of rural and urban spaces and the relationship between them. The first part deals with theories on rural and urban space with particular focus on rural space and the second part discusses how rural and urban space can be thought of and practiced, taking the studies of this thesis as starting points. Throughout this thesis the issue of the rural and the urban has been an underlying theme, and in this part more explicit attention will be given to this theme.

### **The rural and the urban in theory**

To begin with I wish to look at two textbooks on urban geography from two different periods (Herbert and Thomas, 1982; Pacione, 2001) and see how the issue of the relationship between rural and urban has been described from an urban point of view. The books differ in how they conceive of urban space, particularly in relation to rural space. In Herbert and Thomas' *Urban Geography: A first approach* (1982), they present four different ways to approach the urban, and in all but one a comparison with the rural is essential. The urban is viewed as more densely populated, containing other functions than rural areas and having is a particular urban way of life contrary to that of rural. They suggest a fourth way of approaching the urban, and this is through a view of the urban as places or regions

that include urban places' hinterlands, arguing for a shift in attention from discussing what urban is to a focus on urban places (Herbert and Thomas, 1982). Hence, they move from a view of the urban as something that is not rural to something that has a meaning of its own (a rural echo of this final argument can be found in Halfacree, 2004).

In Pacione's *Urban Geography – a global perspective* (2001), he writes "The nature of urban (and other) spaces is the product of social relations among actors with different interests" (Pacione, 2001 p. 10). Also, urban space is related to processes of globalization rather than to rural space and the global process of the capitalist economy takes precedence over spatial relations. This is a view of urban geography whereby relations between and within urban spaces become more important than those between urban and rural spaces. This focus on the urban without resorting to comparisons with the rural was already discernable in Herbert and Thomas (1982) but has become stronger in Pacione (2001). Perhaps part of the reason for this development lies in a general notion that urbanization is not only a process of population concentration but also a change in way of life, whereby rural areas in a sense also become urban, resulting in a belief that the world has become dominated by a global capitalist economy that permeates all levels of society and is epitomized in urban space. In this way the focus is averted from rural/urban relations to an urban focus upon issues and relations between and within urban places.

Most studies of cities and urban processes never discuss space – what urban is. The city, or the urban, under analysis is in no need of a definition. Contrary to urban studies, most studies of rural space and processes contain a discussion or definition of space often in relation to the urban. There seems to be a need among rural scholars to find space for the rural in an urban world.

New theories in rural geography influenced by post-modern thinking have increasingly come to dominate the international debate. One particular article can be said to epitomize the shift to post-modernism, namely Philo's (1992) article stressing other experiences, "the geographies of peoples other than white, middle-class, middle-aged, able-bodied, sound-minded, heterosexual men" (Philo, 1992 p. 193). His paper has not gone uncontested (cf. Murdoch and Pratt, 1993; Murdoch and Pratt, 1994) but has had a fundamental influence on the number of studies carried out on experiences of the rural other than those closely relating to the rural idyll or the middle class. Also, the theoretical development of rural geography has since developed quickly.

In an article by Halfacree (1993), he argues that social representations are a fruitful way to understand the rural. Social representations are how people in their daily lives understand and make sense of rural space. They present a way to understand space that moves the power of definition from the researcher's discourse to a lay discourse. In addition, social representations affect people's daily lives and consequently also affect social structures. Social representations are not only social but also material in that they are related to how people understand physical space, which makes it difficult to separate the social representation from rural space (Halfacree, 1993, 2004). In 1995 Halfacree used a social representation perspective in a study of the rural idyll. The conclusion was that the social representation as expressed by the respondents coincided with how the rural idyll is portrayed in the media and society, and there was little room for a different representation of the rural (Halfacree, 1995).

These two articles by Halfacree (1993; 1995) have been frequently cited in Swedish literature on rural areas (Amcoff, 2000; Berg and Forsberg, 2003; Forsberg, 2001; Hjort, 2005; Müller, 1999; Pettersson, 2002; Stenbacka, 2001). However, with only one exception (Stenbacka, 2001), no one has adopted this perspective and structured a study accordingly. In her dissertation, Stenbacka (2001) has connected social representations of the rural with the Swedish context, arguing that rurality can be understood as a social representation constantly interacting with physical space and producing rurality. She argues, with support from Setten (1999), that the real landscape has to be connected with the representation of the rural or it will lose its meaning. To return to Halfacree (1993), he argues that the sign (rurality) has been increasingly separated from its signification (the meaning of rurality) and both the sign and its signification have become increasingly removed from the referent (rural space), which means that what we in everyday thought and discourse think of as rural has become detached from the geographical space that is the rural (Halfacree, 1993). However, many recent theories of the rural have become increasingly separated from the idea of a physical rural landscape related to something that can be considered reality. Instead, space and rural space are viewed as relational (Massey, 2005). For example, in 1997 Murdoch and Pratt wrote a paper on rurality that was an adaptation of insights from Mol and Law (1994) concerning anaemia. In their study, Mol and Law try to understand how the diagnosis of anaemia works. This might seem like something that has very little to do with rurality, but what Murdoch and Pratt did was to use insights on how one can understand a phenomenon using an Actor Network Theory-influenced study for the purpose of under-

standing rurality. A key word here is topography, or topological, which is used “to capture this sense of space as being made out of relations of its parts” (Laurier, 2004 p. 203). Murdoch and Pratt propose a three-part understanding of rurality, the first part of which is called *region*. In this case region is to be understood as the traditional way of viewing rurality; the rural has non-overlapping borders and can be measured and observed. This conception of rurality can be divided into two parts, the physical and the social, whereby the physical is concerned with roads, buildings, etc., while the social refers to the social interaction that occurs in this bounded rural space. The second concept is *network*, referring to how different places are connected through similarities rather than physical distance. There are no boundaries, but it can also be seen as a network of power by which those who do not fit into the network are excluded. *Fluidity* is the third concept and “is a gap between the accepted (regional) conception of a homogenous community and stable selves: it is a fluid, ambiguous space full of the complexities of norm and difference, forever changing in situation after situation” (Murdoch and Pratt, 1997 p. 65). Fluidity is a conception of rural that includes different experiences, thoughts and consequences. It is a concept that is contextual and in constant motion. All three understandings of rurality exist simultaneously. In this way, attention is moved from what rural is to how things work in rural space, how things work in specific circumstances and situations, and the relationships between people and other actors that make up rural space.

The rural and the urban have some kind of physical relationship with the ground they occupy, and there is still a need to set boundaries for particular studies. Nevertheless, it has to be borne in mind that these boundaries are temporary and related to the questions asked in that particular study. The rural is NOT simply what the urban is not – it is rural – a space in its own right. The rural as such is a fluid construction that is almost impossible to pin down, constantly changing meaning and appearance. To conclude, in the words of Halfacree (2004):

... the analysis of the rural... calls for us to reject, in principle, this dichotomous structure... The urban and the rural as lived networks are not – and never were – *a priori* mirror images of one another. This dualistic way of thinking (Sayer 1991) is hard to transcend, but it is a vital challenge if the importance of the rural today is to be acknowledged fully... when defining the rural within any classificatory system... the definition that we deploy must, first and foremost, be (shown to be) appropriate to the task at hand. There must be no more spurious searches for that ‘one size fits all’. This clearly undermines excessively complicated classifications in favor of simple,

accessible and, for the task to hand, explicitly meaningful formulations. (Halfacree, 2004, p. 304)

### **The rural and the urban in practice**

In this thesis a number of different classifications and delimitations of rural/urban space have been used, all adjusted to the study at hand, but all based on an underlying assumption that there is a difference between the rural and the urban, a difference that makes it interesting and fruitful to study different aspects of it. Many studies have been devoted to the capturing of the rural; a few of them have sought it without treating it as an urban leftover (Cloke, 2006; Halfacree, 1993, 1995). Some studies have been devoted to the quantitative definitions of the rural, and in Paper 2 of this thesis we offer a classification of the Swedish territory into rural and urban, but not a definition (for a discussion of Swedish rural definitions see Amcoff, 2000; Amcoff, 2006).

One way of defining the rural has been to try to devise statistical measurements. An example of this is Cloke's rurality index from 1977, the main point of which was to construct a method for drawing the line between the rural and the urban in the rural/urban continuum for planning purposes (Cloke, 1977). Cloke and Edwards (1986) replicated the index for 1981, and later Harrington and O'Donoghue (1998) extended the index for 1991. In Swedish rural geography, the devising of statistical measurements for the analysis of rural space has been and continues to be a prominent feature of rural investigations (Amcoff, 2000, 2006; Glesbygdsverket, 2001; Hjort and Malmberg, 2006; Johannisson et al., 1989; Lindgren, 2003; Westlund and Pichler, 2000), although most of these studies do not claim to define the rural but to simply lay the spatial foundation for studies of other rural issues.

In the different papers constituting this thesis, rural and urban space has been dealt with differently. None of the papers claim to have defined what rural or urban is. In the matter of the first paper (Paper 1) concerning the Stockholm metropolitan area, space is of minor importance, only functioning as a delimitation of a piece of ground loosely called urban in the majority of the paper. Looking more closely at the different areas analysed in this paper we find that there is a mix of areas that can be termed both rural and urban. In this paper, what matters are the social processes occurring in this piece of space. Instead of focusing on the rural or urban character of

the Stockholm metropolitan area, the focus is directed at the differences between and within the municipalities of the area. In this case, space is represented by the political boundaries set by previous generations, boundaries that may have little to do with the social landscapes of today. Focus is also directed at different types of housing areas and the importance of tenure and social differentiation. One of the results of the study chimes with those of Marjavaara (2007a), noting the high prices of housing on waterfronts. In Paper 1 a significant concentration of people with high income is found in areas bordering water and areas with a rural character. What we find in this paper is a situation in which the rural or urban character of space actually seems to have a bearing on the issue at hand – polarization. However, rural and urban space is never allowed to play an important part in the analyses and conclusions of this paper, but looking at the issue of polarization with a different set of glasses might reveal other outcomes of spatial processes than the classical north/south divide. Paper 1 does not challenge the issue of rural/urban space within a metropolitan area; perhaps more could have been revealed if such an approach had been adopted.

In Papers 2 and 3, rural and urban space has been delimited using register data on the entire Swedish population at different points in time. The idea was that population density could indicate different rural and urban spaces. The classification was made by dividing the territory into four different categories, each representing a different kind of rural/urban space. The four categories, cities, periurban countryside, small town and peripheral countryside, were based solely on population density and distance but the limits were set so that they corresponded to our perceived geography of Sweden (for a detailed description of how this was done see Paper 2). This classification acknowledges that there are different shades and prerequisites facing rural and urban spaces; hence the four-fold division. It could be argued that more categories would be even more appropriate, but this would mean a loss of possibilities for generalization, so often crucial in policy-making. In addition, some of the set limits corresponded to the Swedish National Rural Agency's delimitations of rural space. The heart of the matter here is: Can rural and urban space be found by looking at population density and distance? What is it that we actually analyse? Despite a conviction that rural and urban are fluid and relational spaces, I have to defend the more practical view of them that comes to light here. Statistical methods are outstanding when it comes to policy. In order to understand the complex flow of people within Sweden and to be able to support people's daily lives in all parts of the country, simplified delimitations of space play an impor-

tant part. What we analyse is always only a fraction of reality, a small piece of the complex puzzle. A classification like this contributes to the knowledge of rural and urban spaces but does not claim to tell the absolute truth about them.

Mentioned before and in several of the papers is the discussion of the relevance of the rural and urban as opposing categories. In the fourth paper of this thesis, the aim is to understand whether there are any differences in attitudes between people in rural and urban places. In this study, which is based on a survey, people were allowed to choose from seven spatial categories the one that most resembled their idea of the spaces where they live now and where they grew up. What we then did was to group these categories into two mutually exclusive categories – rural and urban. In this way we replicated the rural/urban binary, forcing it upon a set of spatial categories. Why do something like this? Simply, to be able to understand whether there is any value in persisting in doing these kinds of dichotomous rural/urban analyses. We conducted some analyses with the seven categories intact and noted that there were some differences in attitudes, particularly between the city and the countryside categories, if only they were included. However, using seven categories led to an evenness of results – nothing stood out. What happened when we grouped the categories into two was that a pattern appeared. We also ventured to group the categories differently, but then the distinction was lost. In this case there was a difference between the five categories compared to the two, i.e. a rural/urban difference. Even though the differences between the attitudes of people in rural and urban places were small, they were persistent, indicating that there might as yet be some value to a rural/urban distinction.

What has been at the heart of this thesis is rural space, a rural preference and a rural curiosity, and this has been obvious in all the studies (apart from Paper 1) as well as in the introductory and concluding parts of the thesis. I believe that a rural preference is called for since so many studies exhibit an urban preference, even when the issue at hand concerns both types of spaces. Persistently placing the word rural ahead of urban brings attention to the underlying urban preference and power present in this binary like in so many other binaries, for example woman/man.

From a theoretical point of view it is time to abolish a mutually exclusive binary such as the rural/urban one, but from a practical view the rural/urban binary still plays an important part in bringing attention to not only differences and unequal power relations but also to policy-making and regional development. Then again, I believe that there is call for greater attention to rural space in its own right.

*‘When I am in the country,’ he replied, ‘I never wish to leave it; and when I am in town, it is pretty much the same. They have each their advantages, and I can be equally happy in either.’*

Jane Austen (1895) p. 40.

## **In conclusion**

### **Socio-economic differentiation and selective migration in rural and urban spaces**

The aim of this thesis has been to analyse migration and socio-economic differentiation in rural/urban spaces – where people move, what the characteristics of migrants are and whether experiences of rural/urban space affect attitudes toward the local living environment and place attachment. I have shown that people with different socio-economic and demographic characteristics occupy separate spaces (Papers 1 and 3) and brought attention to the fact that depending on their destination there is a difference between who the migrants are (Paper 2). I have investigated rural gentrification in a Swedish context and shown that during the 1990s it was only a marginal process of little numerical importance in remote rural areas (Paper 3). I have also revealed that people value aspects of their lives and living environment as well as their level of attachment differently depending on past and present experiences of rural/urban space (Paper 4).

Migration is a highly selective process, in both rural and urban areas, the characteristics of migrants matter and they affect and are affected by the areas they leave and the areas where they settle. In Paper 2, attention is brought to who the rural and urban migrants are and the type of area where they choose to settle. The idea is that who the migrants are matters to the future of the areas into or out of which they move. Areas receiving many migrants with high income will see a strengthened tax base while areas losing young people will age. People not only affect or are affected by the wider social processes in the areas where they live, but are also affected by their personal attachment to place, such as family and friends and their interaction with them. Interregional migration patterns produce patterns of unequal population distribution, and the results from Paper 2 show that people moving to and living in rural and urban places have

different socio-economic and demographic characteristics: Rural migrants are usually older than urban migrants and have lower incomes and education. They are also more likely to have children than urban migrants are. However, this is not the whole story. The periurban countryside is more attractive to high-income earners and those with high education than are more remote rural areas. On the other hand, remote rural areas are more attractive to the self-employed and the retired. The out-migration of young people from rural areas coupled with the in-migration of people of retirement age strongly contributes to reinforcing ageing processes in rural areas. As mentioned in the introduction, ageing in rural areas places great strain on municipal economies, already stressed by continual population decline. Today many municipalities are forced to choose carefully when deciding what to spend their money on. The immediate demands of their residents have to be measured against future needs of the present population, but added is the need to think beyond the difficulties of today and the particular needs of today's population composition and also consider other possibilities.

Through migration, the population can both concentrate and disperse, and patterns of depopulation in some areas and crowding in others can be accentuated. In this selective migration pattern, people's values and experiences play a part, but not only that – the rural and the urban also play a part. As fewer people grow up in rural places, fewer people will choose a rural environment as their place of residence unless something happens regarding how people value rural places, if for instance rural living comes to be associated with upward social mobility and class formation as has been indicated in British and Canadian studies (Clope et al., 1995, 1998; Clope and Thrift, 1990; Halseth, 1993, 2004; Phillips, 2007; Smith and Phillips, 2001). If rural areas could attract wealthy in-migrants this could help municipal economy and also mean a positive future, provided these migrants are not too old, which would mean increased economic strain in the future. Unfortunately, the remote rural areas in Sweden do not seem to be particularly attractive to in-migrants with high income and education (Papers 2 and 3). When looking at rural gentrification as a migration process in remote rural areas I found no conclusive evidence of these areas being affected by such a process; even though areas close to a mid-sized town did show slight indications of in-migrants having higher income and education than residents, there were no differences between residents and out-migrants, indicating an exchange rather than a change of people. However, rural areas within the Stockholm metropolitan area, particularly areas close to water, attract people with high income (Paper 1). This is a result that

might indicate the existence of rural gentrification within a metropolitan context. Second homes may also play an important part in the seemingly diminishing attraction of rural areas. People have access to a rural home without actually moving there. Rural gentrification might well be a process of temporary rather than permanent migration.

Despite the rather bleak future that seems to face large parts of the Swedish countryside, some results of this thesis might indicate an underlying migration potential present among urban residents. In Paper 4 it is noted that people living in urban places with a rural background seem less attached to and less satisfied with their local living environment than do urban residents with an urban background. It is possible that this dissatisfaction may lead to rural migration in the future. However, most people are in need of the availability of service and employment, and without these basic functions migration flows to the countryside will never be of numerical importance.

Most of the studies in this thesis concern the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, a period of great political and economic change and fluctuation, and today we once again find ourselves in a period of great economic and possibly political change as well. Despite the many changes in the Swedish welfare state and in society itself, patterns of migration seem rather stable. Small rural municipalities keep struggling with diminishing tax bases and ageing populations. What is visible in the results of this thesis is the beginning of today's situation as referred to in the introduction: the continuous out-migration of the young from rural areas and in-migration of older people resulting in an ageing population, the polarization in metropolitan Stockholm and today's situation of distressed neighbourhoods and social exclusion. What is also evident from the studies of this thesis is that differences between rural and urban areas are reinforced by selective migration.

In this thesis I have pointed toward some of the most challenging issues facing both rural and urban places today and in the future. It is not possible to know what lies ahead, but some measures may have to be taken to secure a high quality of life for everyone, in both rural and urban environments.

## Sammanfattning på svenska

Bakgrunden till den här avhandlingen är det ojämna bosättningsmönster som selektiva migrationsflöden ger upphov till. Människor med liknande socioekonomisk och demografisk profil tenderar att flytta till liknande områden vilket inom städer ger upphov till segregation och på en nationell nivå till regionala obalanser. För att förstå vad som skapar dessa mönster är det nödvändigt att analysera vem som flyttar vart både inom städer och inom landsbygden men också mellan landsbygder och städer. Syftet med den här avhandlingen är att analysera migration och socioekonomisk differentiering i rurala och urbana rum; vart människor flyttar, vilka socioekonomiska och demografiska egenskaper migranter har och om erfarenheter av rurala och urbana rum har betydelse för attityder gentemot den lokala boendemiljön och platsanknytningen. Frågor som besvaras är: Har den socioekonomiska differentieringen i Stockholmsområdet förstärkts av förändringar i den svenska välfärdstaten? Vilka socioekonomiska och demografiska egenskaper har rurala och urbana migranter? Finns det landsbygdsgentrifiering i Sverige? Påverkar ett ruralt eller urbant boende och ett ruralt eller urban ursprung människors attityder till olika aspekter av boendemiljö och platsanknytning?

Avhandlingen har fem olika teman som är kopplade till de fyra texter som avhandlingen baseras på. Det första temat handlar om skillnader inom städer och baseras på den första texten *The Divided City?* som diskuterar huruvida det skett en ökad polarisering inom Stockholmsområdet under perioden 1970-1994 på grund av förändringar i välfärdsstaten. Resultaten visar att det har skett en ökad polarisering både på en kommunal och på en bostadsområdesnivå, särskilt under periodens senare del. Ytterligare ett resultat är att landsbygdsområden inom Stockholm liksom områden nära vatten attraherar boende med höga inkomster.

Det andra temat berör skillnader mellan rurala och urbana områden och baseras på en artikel med titeln *The Attraction of the Rural*, en artikel som analyserar selektiv migration till olika rurala och urbana rum inom Sverige. Dels analyseras vilka egenskaper som skiljer migranter till rurala områden från de som flyttar till urbana, dels de egenskaper som skiljer flyttare till två olika typer av landsbygd (den periurbana landsbygden och den avlägsna landsbygden) från varandra. Resultaten visar att urbana områden vinner migranter från rurala, särskilt högutbildade migranter och de med hög inkomst liksom yngre flyttare, medan rurala områden vinner barnfamiljer och

äldre flyttare. I en jämförelse mellan de två rural områdena framstår periurbana områden som vinnare. De attraherar högt utbildade migranter och de med höga inkomster, liksom barnfamiljer medan de mer avlägsna rural områdena är attraktiva för egna företagare och pensionärer. En tänkbar förklaring kan vara att egna företagare och pensionärer är oberoende av den lokala arbetsmarknaden och är därmed fria att bosätta sig var de vill.

I det tredje temat utvecklas tankarna om att olika landsbygdsområden attraherar olika inflyttare genom en studie av fenomenet landsbygds-gentrifiering. Landsbygds-gentrifiering, här förstätt som inflyttning av de med hög utbildning och/eller hög inkomst, skulle kunna utgöra ett positivt framtidsscenario för mer avlägset belägna landsbygder. Tyvärr visar resultaten att landsbygds-gentrifiering endast kan betraktas som ett marginellt fenomen på svensk landsbygd. Inom det tredje temat förs också en diskussion om huruvida det gängse sättet att studera landsbygds-gentrifiering som en permanent migrations-process verkligen är det bästa i ett svenskt sammanhang med den stora mängd fritidshus som Sverige har.

I avhandlingens fjärde tema söks nyckeln till den selektiva migration i svenska rurala och urbana rum, i de attityder till sin livsmiljö som människor ger uttryck för liksom i deras platsanknytning. Utgångspunkten är en nyfikenhet på vad erfarenheter av rurala och urbana rum har för betydelse för hur människor värderar sin boendemiljö. I förlängningen innebär skilda attityder till olika aspekter av rurala och urbana livsmiljöer också effekter på migrationsflöden. Det tydligaste resultatet är att människor bor i de miljöer som har de egenskaper de mest värdesätter och att de är nöjda med sin boendemiljö. Resultaten visar också att de som bor i samma typ av boendemiljö där de också växte upp är mest nöjda. De som är minst nöjda med och minst anknutna till den plats där de bor är de som bor urbant men är uppvuxna ruralt. Detta kan innebära att det finns en rural migrationspotential bland stadsboende.

I det femte och avslutande temat diskuteras det rurala och det urbana från både ett teoretiskt och ett empiriskt perspektiv där de fyra studierna i den här avhandlingen utgör utgångspunkter.

Slutsatserna från avhandlingen visar att migration i hög grad är selektiv, människor med olika socioekonomiska och demografiska egenskaper har en tendens att koncentrera sig till vissa områden inom och mellan det rurala och det urbana. Resultaten visar också att det har betydelse vem som flyttar vart. Äldre inflyttare till landsbygden förstärker åldrandeprocesser och fattiga flyttare till utsatta områden förstärker segregationsprocesser och polarisering.

## References

- Agg, J. and Phillips, M. (1998) Neglected Gender Dimensions of Rural Social Restructuring. In Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K., editors, *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Amcoff, J. (2000) Samtida bosättning på svensk landsbygd. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Amcoff, J. (2003) Regional befolkningsomfördelning bland unga och gamla. Stockholm: Institute for future studies.
- Amcoff, J. (2006) Rural Population Growth in Sweden in the 1990s: Unexpected Reality or Spatial-Statistical Chimera. *Population, Space and Place* 12, 171-185.
- Andersson, E. (2001) Från Sorgedalen till Glädjehöjden - Omgivningens betydelse för socioekonomisk karriär. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Andersson, E. (2004) From Valley of Sadness to Hill of Happiness: The Significance of Surroundings for Socioeconomic Career. *Urban Studies* 41, 641-659.
- Andersson, E., Borgegård, L-E. and Hjort, S. (1997) Boendesegregationen i Stockholm under 80-talet. Umeå: Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University.
- Andersson, E., Borgegård, L-E. and Hjort, S. (1998) Boendesegregation i de nordiska huvudstadsregionerna. Umeå: Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University.
- Andersson, R. and Bråmá, Å. (2004) Selective Migration in Swedish Distressed Neighbourhoods: Can Area-Based Urban Policies Counteract Segregation Processes? *Housing Studies* 19, 517-539.
- Austen, J. (1895) *Pride and Prejudice*. London: McMillan and Co.
- Bell, D. (2006) Variations on the Rural Idyll. In Cloke, P., Marsden, T. and Mooney, P.H., editors, *The Handbook of Rural Studies*, London: Sage.
- Berg, N. G. and Forsberg, G. (2003) Rural Geography and Feminist Geography: Discourses on Rurality and Gender in Britain and Scandinavia. In Öhman, J. and Simonsen, K., editors, *Voices from the North: New Trends in Nordic Human Geography*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bergbom, K. (2006) Banken stoppar husdröm i Tensta. <http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?a=592149>.

- Bondi, L. (1999) Gender, Class and Gentrification: Enriching the Debate. *Environment and Planning D* 17, 261-282.
- Borgegård, L-E., Andersson, E. and Hjort, S. (1998) The Divided City? Socio-Economic Changes in Stockholm Metropolitan Area, 1970-1994. In Mustered, S. and Ostendorf, W., editors, *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*, London: Routledge.
- Borgegård, L-E., Fransson, U., Håkansson, J. and Tollefsen, A. (1993) Att flytta till glesbygden - Om beskrivningsfaktorer bakom inflyttningen till Nordanstigs kommun. Umeå: Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Umeå Universitet.
- Borgegård, L-E., Håkansson, J. and Malmberg, G. (1995) Population Redistribution in Sweden: Long Term Trends and Contemporary Tendencies. *Geografiska Annaler* 77b, 31-45.
- Bossuet, L. (2006) Peri-Rural Populations in Search of Territory. *Sociologia Ruralis* 46, 214-228.
- Bourne, L. S. and Ley, D. F. (1993) Introduction: The Social Context and Diversity of Urban Canada. In Bourne, L. S. and Ley, D. F., editors, *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Boyle, P. (1995) Rural in-Migration in England and Wales 1980-81. *Journal of Rural Studies* 11, 65-78.
- Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K. (1998) *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Bråmås, Å. (2006) Studies in the Dynamics of Residential Segregation. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Bunce, M. (1994) *The Countryside Ideal*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, T. (2007) For Gentrification? *Environment and Planning A* 39, 162-181.
- Champion, T. (1998) Studying Counterurbanisation and the Rural Population Turnaround. In Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K., editors, *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Champion, T. and Hugo, G. (2004) Introduction: Moving Beyond the Urban-Rural Dichotomy. In Champion, T. and Hugo, G., editors, *New Forms of Urbanization*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Clark, E. (1995) The Rent Gap Re-Examined. *Urban Studies* 32, 1489-1503.
- Clark, E., Jonsson, K., Lundholm, E. and Malmberg, G. (2007) Island Gentrification and Space Wars. In Baldacchino, G., editor, *A World of Islands*, Charlottetown: Island Studies, 483-512.

- Cloke, P. (1977) An Index of Rurality for England and Wales. *Regional Studies* 11, 31-46.
- Cloke, P. (2006) Conceptualizing Rurality. In Cloke, P., Marsden, T. and Mooney, P. H., editors, *Handbook of Rural Studies*, London: Sage, 18-27.
- Cloke, P. and Edwards, G. (1986) Rurality in England and Wales 1981: A Replication of the 1971 Index. *Regional Studies* 20, 289-306.
- Cloke, P. and Johnston, R.J. (2005) Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries. In Cloke, P., editor, *Space of Geographical Thought: Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries*, London: Sage Publications.
- Cloke, P., Phillips, M. and Rankin, D. (1991) Middle Class Housing Choice: Channels of Entry into Gower South Wales. In Champion, T. and Watkins, C., editors, *People in the Countryside: Studies of Social Change in Rural Britain*, London: Paul Chapman.
- Cloke, P., Phillips, M. and Thrift, N. (1995) The New Middle Classes and the Social Constructs of Rural Living. In Butler, T. and Savage, M., editors, *Social Change and the Middle Classes*, London: UCL Press.
- Cloke, P., Phillips, M. and Thrift, N. (1998) Class, Colonisation and Lifestyle Strategies in Gower. In Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K., editors, *Migration into Rural Areas*, Chichester: Wiley & sons.
- Cloke, P. and Thrift, N. (1990) Class and Change in Rural Britain. In Marsden, T., Lowe, P. and Whatmore, S., editors, *Rural Restructuring: Global Processes and Local Responses*, London: Fulton.
- Dahlgren, M. (2006) Förorten i centrum på bomässa. <http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=1298&a=543338&rss=1400>.
- Dahms, F. and McComb, J. (1999) 'Counterurbanization', Interaction and Functional Change in a Rural Amenity Area - a Canadian Example. *Journal of Rural Studies* 15, 129-146.
- Darling, E. (2005) The City in the Country: Wilderness Gentrification and the Rent Gap. *Environment and Planning A* 37, 1015-1032.
- Eliasson, K., Lindgren, U. and Westerlund, O. (2003) Geographical Labour Mobility - Migration or Commuting? *Regional Studies* 37, 827-837.
- Environment and Planning A (2007) Special Issue on Gentrification. Pion Publication.

- Fielding, A. J. (1993) Migration and the Metropolis: Recent Research on the Cause of Migration to Southeast England. *Progress in Human Geography* 17, 195-212.
- Fielding, T. (1982) Counterurbanisation in Western Europe. *Progress in Planning* 17, 3-52.
- Fielding, T. (1995) Migration and Middle-Class Formation in England and Wales, 1981-91. In Butler, T. and Savage, M., editors, *Social Change and the Middle Classes*, London: UCL Press.
- Fielding, T. (1998) Counterurbanisation and Social Class. In Boyle, P. and Halfacree, K., editors, *Migration into Rural Areas*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Fischer, Holm, E., Malmberg, G. and Straubhaar, T. (1998) Why Do People Stay? The Insider Advantages Approach: Empirical Evidence from Swedish Labour Markets. Hamburg: University of the Bundeswehr Hamburg.
- Fischer and Malmberg, G. (2001) Settled People Don't Move: On Life Course and (Im-) Mobility in Sweden. *International Journal of Population Geography* 7, 357-371.
- Forsberg, G. (1997) Rulltrapperegioner och social infrastruktur. In Sundin, E., editor, *Om makt och kön - I spåren av offentliga organisationers omvandling*, Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet.
- Forsberg, G. (2001) Rural and Gender Studies: A Conceptual Comparison. *Norsk Geografisk Tidskrift* V55, 152-160.
- Forsberg, G. and Carlbrand, E. (1993) Mälardalen - En kreativ region?: En studie av Mälardalens landsbygd i förändring. Uppsala: Kulturgeografiska institutionen.
- Frouws, J. (1998) The Contested Redefinition of the Countryside: An Analysis of Rural Discourses in the Netherlands. *Sociologia Ruralis* 38, 54-68.
- Garvill, J., Lundholm, E., Malmberg, G. and Westin, K. (2002) Nöjda så in i Norden - Motiv och konsekvenser för dem som flyttat i de nordiska länderna. Köpenhamn: Nordiska ministerrådet.
- Glass, R. (1964) Introduction: Aspects of Change. In Centre of Urban Studies, editor, *London: Aspects of Change*, London: MacGibbon & Kee.
- Glesbygdverket (2001) Årsbok 2001: Vad kännetecknar inflyttningsrika bygder?, Östersund: Glesbygdverket.
- Glesbygdverket (2004) Årsbok 2004. Östersund: Glesbygdverket.
- Greider, G. (2001) *Fucking Sverige*. Smedjebacken: Orfront förlag.
- Gustafsson, P. (2001a) Retirement Migration and Transnational Life-styles. *Ageing and Society* 21, 371-394.

- Gustafsson, P. (2001b) Roots and Routes: Exploring Relationships between Place Attachment and Mobility. *Environment and Behavior* 33, 667-686.
- Gustafsson, P. (2002) Tourism and Seasonal Retirement Migration. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, 899-918.
- Halfacree, K. (1993) Locality and Social Representation: Space, Discourse and Alternative Definitions of the Rural. *Journal of Rural Studies* 9, 23-37.
- Halfacree, K. (1995) Talking About Rurality: Social Representations of the Rural as Expressed by Residents in Six English Parishes. *Journal of Rural Studies* 11, 1-20.
- Halfacree, K. (2004) Rethinking 'Rurality'. In Champion, T. and Hugo, G., editors, *New Forms of Urbanization*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Halfacree, K. H. and Boyle, P. J. (1993) The Challenge Facing Migration Research: The Case for a Biographical Approach. *Progress in Human Geography* 17, 33-348.
- Halliday, J. and Coombes, M. (1995) In Search of Counterurbanisation: The Evidence from Devon on the Relationship between Patterns of Migration and Motivation. *Journal of Rural Studies* 11, 433-446.
- Halseth, G. (1993) Communities within Communities: Changing 'Residential' Areas at Cultus Lake, British Columbia. *Journal of Rural Studies* 9, 175-187.
- Halseth, G. (2004) The 'Cottage' Privilege: Increasingly Elite Landscapes of Second Homes in Canada. In Hall, M. C. and Müller, D. K., editors, *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Halseth, G. and Rosenberg, M. (1995) Complexity in the Rural Canadian Housing Landscape. *Canadian Geographer-Geographe Canadien* 39, 336-352.
- Hamnett, C. (1996) Social Polarisation, Economic Restructuring and Welfare State Regimes. *Urban Studies* 33, 1407-1430.
- Hamnett, C. (1998) Social Polarisation, Economic Restructuring and Welfare State Regimes. In Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W., editors, *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*, London: Routledge.
- Harrington, V. and O'Donoghue, D. (1998) Rurality in England and Wales 1991: A Replication and Extension of the 1981 Rurality Index. *Sociologia Ruralis* 38, 178-203.

- Heberlein, T. A. and Ericsson, G. (2005) Ties to the Countryside: Accounting for Urbanites Attitudes toward Hunting, Wolves, and Wildlife. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 10, 213-227.
- Hellberg, H. and Ståhl, S. (1997) *Nature and the Swedes*. Stockholm: The Swedish Institute.
- Hellström, L. and Högberg, S. (2004) *Alla dessa dagar - Om ett rött hus i skogen och ett arv att förvalta*. Nora: Himlajorden Förlag.
- Herbert, D. T. and Thomas, C. J. (1982) *Urban Geography: A First Approach*. Chichester, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, Singapore: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hjort, A., editor (1983) *Svenska livsstilar: Om naturen som resurs och symbol*. Stockholm: Liber.
- Hjort, S. (2005) Rural Migration in Sweden: A New Green Wave or a Blue Ripple?, *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.
- Hjort, S. (2009) Rural Gentrification as a Migration Process: Evidence from Sweden. *Migration Letters* 6, 91-100.
- Hjort, S. and Malmberg, G. (2006) The Attraction of the Rural: Characteristics of Rural Migrants in Sweden. *Scottish Geographical Journal* 122, 55-75.
- Hjärne, L. (1991) Segregation en begreppsanalys. In Håkansson, P-A. and Nyström, L., editors, *Miljö för livet: Om boende, socialt liv och psykisk hälsa*, Karlskrona: Boverket.
- Hoggart, K. and Buller, H. (1995) British Home Owners and Housing Change in Rural France. *Housing Studies* 10, 179-198.
- Holdsworth, D. W. (1993) Evolving Urban Landscapes. In Bourne, L. S. and Ley, D. F., editors, *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Holm, E., Lindgren, U. and Malmberg, G. (2004) Arbete och tillväxt i hela landet - betydelsen av arbetskraftsmobilisering. Östersund: ITPS.
- Håkansson, J. (2000) Changing Population Distribution in Sweden. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.
- Jansson, B. and Müller, D. K. (2003) Fritidsboende i Kvarken. Umeå: Kvarkenrådet.
- Johannisson, B., Persson, L. O. and Wiberg, U. (1989) *Urbaniserad glesbygd*. Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet.
- Korpi, M. (2003) Regionala obalanser - Ett demografiskt perspektiv. Stockholm: Institute for future studies.

- Kåks, H. and Westholm, E. (1994) En plats i tillvaron - Studier av flyttning till landsbygden. Falun: Dalarnas forskningsråd.
- Kåks, H. and Westholm, E. (2006) *När långt borta blir nära: Om rörlighet och lokalsamhällets framtid*. Gidlunds förlag.
- Laurier, E. (2004) Bruno Latour. In Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. and Valentine, G., editors, *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, London: Sage Publications, 202-207.
- Lees, L. (2000) A Reappraisal of Gentrification: Towards a 'Geography of Gentrification'. *Progress in Human Geography* 24, 389-408.
- Ley, D. (1986) Alternative Explanations for Inner-City Gentrification: A Canadian Assessment. *Annals of the American Geographers* 76, 521-531.
- Ley, D. (2003) Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification. *Urban Studies* 40, 2527-2544.
- Lindgren, U. (2003) Who Is the Counter-Urban Mover? Evidence from the Swedish Urban System. *International Journal of Population Geography* 9, 399-418.
- Lindkvist, A. (2003) Landskap och identitet. In Mårald, E., editor, *Värdefulla landskap*, Umeå: Landskapet som arena, 129-138.
- Lippard, L.R. (1997) *The Lure of the Local: Sense of Place in a Multi-centered Society*. New York: The New Press.
- Little, J. (1987) Rural Gentrification and the Influence of Local-Level Planning. In Cloke, P., editor, *Rural Planning: Policy into Action*, London: Harper & Row publ.
- Little, J. (1999) Otherness, Representation and the Cultural Construction of Rurality. *Progress in Human Geography* 23, 437-442.
- Lundell, U. (1982) Öppna landskap. Music with lyrics.
- Lundholm, E. (2007) New Motives for Migration? On Interregional Mobility in the Nordic Context. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.
- Lundholm, E., Garvill, J., Malmberg, G. and Westin, K. (2004) Forced or Free Movers? The Motives, Voluntariness and Selectivity of Interregional Migration in the Nordic Countries. *Population, Space and Place* 10, 59-72.
- Lyons, M. (1996) Gentrification, Socioeconomic Change, and the Geography of Displacement. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 18, 39-62.
- Malmberg, G., Sandberg, L. and Westin, K. (2005) Den goda platsen - Platsanknytning och flyttningsbeslut bland unga vuxna i Sverige. Umeå: Umeå University.

- Marjavaara, R. (2007a) The Development of Second Homes' Assessed Property Values in Sweden 1991-2001. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* Forthcoming in volume 7.
- Marjavaara, R. (2007b) Route to Destruction? Second Home Tourism in Small Island Communities. *Island Studies Journal* 2, 27-46.
- Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage.
- Matthews, H., Taylor, M., Sherwood, K., Tucker, F. and Limb, M. (2000) Growing up in the Countryside: Children and the Rural Idyll. *Journal of Rural Studies* 16, 141-153.
- McDowell, L. (1993) Space, Place and Gender Relations: Part I. Feminist Empiricism and the Geography of Social Relations. *Progress in Human Geography* 17, 157-179.
- Mingay, G. E., editor (1989) *The Rural Idyll*. London: Routledge.
- Mol, A. and Law, J. (1994) Regions, Networks and Fluids: Anaemia and Social Topology. *Social Studies of Science* 24, 641-671.
- Murdoch, J. and Pratt, A. (1993) Rural Studies: Modernism, Post-modernism and the 'Post Rural'. *Journal of Rural Studies* 9, 411-427.
- Murdoch, J. and Pratt, A. C. (1994) Rural Studies of Power and the Power of Rural Studies: A Reply to Philo. *Journal of Rural Studies* 10, 83-87.
- Murdoch, J. and Pratt, A. C. (1997) From the Power of Topography to the Topography of Power: A Discourse on Strange Rurality. In Cloke, P. and Little, J., editors, *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, Marginalisation and Rurality*, London: Routledge.
- Murie, A. and Musterd, S. (1996) Social Segregation, Housing Tenure and Social Change in Dutch Cities in the Late 1980s. *Urban Studies* 33, 495-516.
- Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. (1998a) Segregation and Social Participation: Amsterdam. In Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W., editors, *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*, London: Routledge.
- Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W., editors (1998b) *Urban Segregation and the Welfare State: Inequality and Exclusion in Western Cities*. London: Routledge.
- Müller, D. K. (1999) German Second Home Owners in the Swedish Countryside. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå, University.
- Müller, D. K. (2002) Re-Inventing the Countryside: German Second Home Owners in the Swedish Countryside. *Current Issues in Tourism* 5, 426-446.

- Müller, D. K. (2004) Second Homes in Sweden: Patterns and Issues. In Hall, M. C. and Müller, D. K., editors, *Tourism, Mobility and Secon Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*, Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Channel View Publications.
- Nilsson, K. (2001) Migration among Young Men and Women in Sweden. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.
- Nyström, J. (2000) Värdering av boende och miljö - Exemplet Svinninge. Stockholm: Department of Human Geography.
- Pacione, M. (2001) *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Pallander, C. (2006) Områdesbaserad politik för minskad segregation: En studie av den svenska storstadspolitiken. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Pehkonen, A. (2005) Why People Migrated to the Countryside in Finland in the 1990s? *Migration Letters* 2, 153-163.
- Pettersson, Ö. (2002) Socio-Economic Dynamics in Sparse Regional Structures. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.
- Phillips, M. (1993) Rural Gentrification and the Process of Class Colonisation. *Journal of Rural Studies* 9, 123-140.
- Phillips, M. (1998a) Investigations of the British Rural Middle Classes - Part 1: From Legislation to Interpretation. *Journal of Rural Studies* 14, 411-425.
- Phillips, M. (1998b) Investigations of the British Rural Middle Classes - Part 2: Fragmentation, Identity, Morality and Contestation. *Journal of Rural Studies* 14, 427-443.
- Phillips, M. (2002) The Production, Symbolization and Socialization of Gentrification: Impressions from Two Berkshire Villages. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27, 282-308.
- Phillips, M. (2004) Other Geographies of Gentrification. *Progress in Human Geography* 28, 5-30.
- Phillips, M. (2007) Changing Class Complexions on and in the British Countryside. *Journal of Rural Studies* 23, 283-304.
- Phillips, M., Fish, R. and Agg, J. (2001) Putting Together Ruralities: Towards a Symbolic Analysis of Rurality in the British Mass Media. *Journal of Rural Studies* 17, 1-27.
- Philo, C. (1992) Neglected Rural Geographies: A Review. *Journal of Rural Studies* 8, 193-207.

- Sassen, S. (2001) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University press.
- Savage, M., Barlow, J., Dickens, P. and Fielding, T. (1992) *Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle Class Formation in Contemporary Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Setten, G. (1999) Den "Nye" Kulturgeografiens landskapsbegrep. *Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidskrift* 29, 55-71.
- Short, B. (2006) Idyllic Ruralities. In Cloke, P., Marsden, T. and Mooney, P. H., editors, *Handbook of Rural Studies*, London: Sage.
- Smith, D. P. (2002) Extending the Temporal and Spatial Limits of Gentrification: A Research Agenda for Population Geographers. *International Journal of Population Geography* 8, 385-394.
- Smith, D. P. and Holt, L. (2005) 'Lesbian Migrants in the Gentrified Valley' and 'Other' Geographies of Rural Gentrification. *Journal of Rural Studies* 21, 313-322.
- Smith, D. P. and Holt, L. (2007) Studentification and 'Apprentice' Gentrifiers within Britain's Provincial Towns and Cities: Extending the Meaning of Gentrification. *Environment and Planning A* 39, 142-161.
- Smith, D. P. and Phillips, D. A. (2001) Socio-Cultural Representations of Greenrified Pennine Rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies* 17, 457-469.
- Stedman, R. C. (2006) Understanding Place Attachment among Second Home Owners. *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, 187-205.
- Stenbacka, S. (2001) Landsbygdsboende i inflyttarnas perspektiv: Intention och handling i lokalsamhället. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Stjernström, O. (1998) Flytta nära långt borta - Om sociala relationers betydelse för långväga flyttningar. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.
- Stockdale, A. (2006) The Role of a Retirement Transition in the Repopulation of Rural Areas. *Population, Space and Place* 12, 1-13.
- Stockdale, A., Findley, A. and Short, D. (2000) The Repopulation of Rural Scotland: Opportunity and Threat. *Journal of Rural Studies* 16, 243-257.
- Storstadsdelegationen (2006) Storstadssatsningen. Home page at <http://www.storstad.gov.se>
- Storstadsutredningen (1990) Storstadsliv: Rika möjligheter - Hårda villkor. Stockholm: Statens Offentliga Utredningar.

- Sullivan, D. A. and Stevens, S. A. (1982) Snowbirds: Seasonal Migrants to the Sunbelt. *Research on Aging* 4, 159-177.
- Tensta Bo06 (2006) Home page at <http://www.tenstabo06.se/index1.htm>
- Tillberg, K. (2001) Barnfamiljernas Dagliga fritidsresor i bilsamhället: Ett tidspussel med geografiska och könsmässiga variationer. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Turner, B. (1995) What Determines Regional House Prices in Sweden? - A Cross Section Analysis. *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research* 12, 155-163.
- Töve, J. (2008) Landskapet som spegel. *Sveriges Natur* 1, 5-8.
- Urry, J. (1995) A Middle Class Countryside? In Butler, T. and Savage, M., editors, *Social Change and the Middle Classes*, London: UCL Publishers Ltd.
- Waara, P. (1996) *Ungdom i gränsland*. Umeå: Boréa.
- Westlund, H. and Pichler, W. (2000) En ny grön väg? Glesbygdstillväxt under storstadsexpansionens 90-tal. Östersund: Glesbygdsverket.
- Wide, J. (1999) Kvinnor i glesbygd- Om kvinnors förvärvsmöjligheter efter 1950 i fyra glesbygdskommuner i Övre Norrlands inland. Umeå: Ekonomisk historia.
- Willits, F. K. and Luloff, A. E. (1995) Urban Resident's Views of Rurality and Contacts with Rural Places. *Rural Sociology* 60, 454-466.
- Västerbottenskuriren (2009) Selected headlines May 27 2009. Umeå.
- Öhman, M. (2003) Long Distance Weekly Commuting. *Department of Social and Economic Geography*, Umeå: Umeå University.