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**Culture as Regional Attraction:
Migration Decisions of Highly Educated
in a Swedish Context**

Maria Wikhall

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Institutet för studier av utbildning och forskning
Drottning Kristinas väg 33D
SE-114 28 Stockholm
www.sister.nu

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ABSTRACT

Recent research shows that labour market related factors are becoming less important as reasons behind migration in Sweden. Factors that relate to the regional milieu are on the other hand becoming more important. This, together with the fact that culturally active groups in the population (e.g. people with higher education and retirees) are growing, could indicate that culture is an increasingly important part of the regional infrastructure. Cultural infrastructure is in different political contexts assumed to attract residents, tourists and firms, and thus increase economic activity and employment. There are however processes that complicates this line of reasoning. People are becoming more mobile; they commute over longer distances, they travel more and some reside in more than one place. Culture on the other hand is becoming more easily accessible through printed, ether and electronic media thus bridging over geographical distances. Both these processes challenge the role of the regional.

The objectives of the paper are 1) to investigate the importance of the cultural infrastructure in relation to other regional and individual conditions when people choose home region and 2) to develop a theoretical model for dealing with the complexity of this choice, not only considering individual preferences but also exploring the importance of work, mobility and recreational activities.

The paper presents a theoretical model of what factors are of importance when people choose home region. The theoretical framework is in part based on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social and symbolic capital. The nature and magnitude of these individual assets are thought to be of importance when choosing home region. The paper furthermore recognizes that these forms of capital can be more or less geographically embedded. Geographically embedded assets has in migration literature been called insider advantages, a concept discussed and developed in the paper. Insider advantages are assets that are difficult or costly to bring, replace or make use of in another region, e.g. real estate property, relations to friends or work colleagues, or workplace-specific professional knowledge. The larger insider advantages a person has got, the larger the cost of or losses made by moving.

The study is based on a questionnaire sent to 3,000 persons, 30 to 35 years old residing in Sweden 2001. The study involves people with degrees in civil engineering, arts, media-communication, specialist teaching and an additional group of people with upper secondary education as highest education.

The paper argues that regional attractiveness in terms of capacity to attract people by offering a good quality of life is of crucial importance for regional competitiveness. In studying regional attractiveness, it's important not only to consider what makes people move to a certain region but also what makes people want to stay. It furthermore argues that the explanations should be sought in a mix of individual and regional factors as well as in the social and geographical context of the individual.

INTRODUCTION

Recent research shows that labour market related factors are becoming less important as reasons behind migration in Sweden (Garvill et al. 2000). Factors that relate to the regional milieu are on the other hand becoming more important. This, together with the fact that culturally active groups in the population (e.g. people with higher education and retirees) are growing, indicates that culture might be an increasingly important part of the regional infrastructure. Cultural infrastructure is in different political contexts assumed to attract residents, tourists and firms, and thus to increase economic activity and employment. There are however processes that complicates this line of reasoning. People are becoming more mobile; they commute over longer distances, they travel more and some reside in more than one place. Culture on the other hand is becoming more easily accessible through different electronic and other media. Both these processes challenge the role of the regional.

The objectives of the paper are 1) to investigate the importance of the cultural infrastructure in relation to other regional and individual conditions when people choose home region and 2) to develop a theoretical model for dealing with the complexity of this choice, not only considering individual preferences but also exploring the importance of work, mobility and recreational activities.

Many previous studies concerning the regional role of culture have got a limited geographical scope, which makes the result difficult to generalize. Previous studies also often overlook the importance of individual assets and thus lose an important cause of explanation. This paper presents a theoretical model of how people choose home region, involving Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social and symbolic capital. It furthermore recognizes that capital can be more or less geographically embedded, a fact that carries implications for the migration decision.

The organization of the remainder of this paper is as follows. Next section briefly discusses the growing importance of culture. The subsequent section presents a theoretical framework of how people choose home region. After a brief discussion of methodology and data, the empirical section investigates the geographical distribution of different groups of highly educated and discusses the meaning of the concept of "home region". Thereafter it passes on to analyse which factors are of importance in the choice of home region.

CULTURE IN THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

The concept of culture does in a wider respect refer to common experiences, knowledge and values that people pass on through communication, or produce and reproduce through their actions (Nilsson 1999). The study of culture from a growth perspective however often takes the cultural sector as a starting point. The cultural sector has got arts, i.e. theatre, music, dance, visual and literary arts, architecture and design, in focus but usually also includes different kinds of communication, i.e. production, distribution/management and consumption of culture (Cavallin 2001). In the following culture refers to the notion of culture as a sector. In this context however there is also a need to distinguish between more or less spatially embedded culture. Cultural infrastructure refers to culture that is relatively constant in time and space and that is being of collective use and therefore open and accessible for all or at least many (Söderlind & Dahlrot 2002). In this paper cultural infrastructure also refers to spatially embedded culture of a more seasonal character, e.g. recurring festivals or exhibitions.

There are various trends indicating that culture is of growing importance. Groups in the population that traditionally are high-consumers of culture, e.g. retirees and highly educated, constitute a growing share of the population. There are also those arguing that materialistic values of the industrial society are increasingly being replaced by post-materialistic values of the service-

society (Zander 2002). Further more, leisure time has increased as work hours are shortened, unemployment is growing and people are being retired at earlier ages (Williams & Hall 1993).

There are also those who argue that culture is of increasing importance it is an integrated part of all sectors of the economy. Stories, emotions, spirituality, fantasy, tradition and experiences are becoming more important and differentiating part of goods and services.

Culture is also growing in a conceptual way. New forms of cultural phenomena's or leisure activities are emerging within the area of recreation and entertainment. In the book *The Dream Society* the Danish futurist Rolf Jensen (1999) distinguish six growing markets for emotions: "Adventures for Sale", "The Market for Togetherness, Friendship and Love", "The Market for Care", "The Who-Am-I Market", "The Market for Peace of Mind" and "The Market for Convictions".

Culture has also become an important political strategy in many countries. Denmark provides an interesting example where a new joint agenda for cultural, trade and industry politics recently was introduced. The politics was formulated in two white papers "Denmarks Kreative potentiale" (2000) and "Den Kreative Alliance" (2000) where the integration of art and industry are expected to further the creativity and innovativity of the economy.

Culture as a regional and urban strategy

At a local and regional level politicians expect that a well-developed local cultural supply will attract firms, households and visitors to the region and make the young want to stay in the environment where they grew up; i.e. culture act as a force of attraction (Dahlrot, Snickars & Söderlind 2000). But culture is ascribed many different roles in the urban and regional context. Cultural investments can also be a way of creating a positive image or constructing a myth around a region or a way of enhancing the social cohesion by providing arenas and meeting places (Arnestad 1993). It's also believed that culture can stimulate creativity within other sectors of the industry as well as the urban environment in general. Based on a row of studies of culture as an urban strategy in a number of Western-European cities Franco Bianchini (1993) concludes that the greatest impact of the 1980's cultural policies have been creating attractive regions, rather than generating direct economic effects.

...the direct impact of 1980s cultural policies on the generation of employment and wealth was relatively modest, in comparison with the role of culture in constructing positive urban images, developing the tourism industry, attracting inward investment, and strengthening the competitive position of cities. (Bianchini 1993, page 2).

The overall conclusion from an overview of studies in cultural politics suggests that it's difficult to distinguish general impacts of cultural investments (Arnestad 1993, Myerscough 1988, Bille-Hansen 1993, Bianchini 1993). Impacts differ depending on the cultural strategy, as well as on the regional and social context. This indicates that it might be wise to regard the statements above as more or less empirically confirmed hypothesis with limited validity, rather than as facts. In the following we will take a closer look at one of these hypothesis namely the role of culture as a force of attraction when people chose home region. But in order to do this, it's important first to acknowledge the complexity of the matter. The choice of home region is the result many different driving forces and conditions related to the individual, and to the surrounding society.

People could be expected to choose home region based on a combination of individual factors as well as structural or other conditions in the local, regional, national and international surrounding. It seems reasonable to assume that people will act according to their preferences, i.e. that they will strive to accomplish what they perceive as desirable and valuable, whether this is money, an interesting work, good housing, a life with their family and friends or a culturally active life. The preferences manifest in the lifestyle of the individual, but the lifestyle cannot be considered to be the full manifest of the preferences. Rather human action, as well as the lifestyle, is a result of what is possible for the individuals to realize within a given set of opportunities and restrictions.

Individual assets and social context

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu argued that differences in the amount and nature of personal assets, or capital, give rise to differences in the way people value and perceive the world. Bourdieu distinguishes between three kinds of capital: economic, social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1999). Economic capital is capital in the traditional meaning of the world, e.g. money, but it can also be capital transformed into a more material form, e.g. a private company or real estate. Social capital is embedded in the relations between people, e.g. relations to relatives, friends, acquaintances and work related contacts. Capital can also be of a more symbolic nature, i.e. more related to the skills and knowledge of a person. The value of symbolic capital is to a greater extent than other capital depending on being acknowledged as valuable by groups in the society. Symbolic capital can be divided into sub categories, e.g. cultural, political and educational capital. The amount and nature of the capital produce similar actions, thoughts and values in different areas, e.g. in leisure activities, political engagement, participation in voluntary non-profit organizations, taste in music, choice of newspaper, choice of education or cultural consumption (Broady 1989).

The economic, social and symbolic capital of an individual is to a great extent determined by the social context of the individual. The social background is important since capital often is transferred between generations. Parents generally perceive it as important to invest time and money to transfer capital to their children. But later in life, habitus, i.e. the set of dispositions that amongst other things forms the basis for the preferences, also is shaped by other social contexts, e.g. the school, the family, the university or the work place.

Individuals with a certain amount of e.g. cultural capital could be inclined to choose lifestyle and housing, that makes it easier for them to accumulate further cultural capital or that furthers turning the cultural capital into other forms of capital, e.g. economic capital.

Insider advantages and geographical background

Assets can be more or less embedded in places. Peter A. Fischer et al. (1998) use the concept of insider advantages to explain why immobility makes sense from a utility point of view. This is explained by the fact that “much of [the] knowledge, information and abilities that grant [people] high productivity in work and an optimal use of leisure time are location-specific” (Fisher et al. 1998, page VI). Insider advantages are difficult for the individual to transfer to another region, or they can even be non-existent outside a certain region. People accumulate insider advantages by living or working in a specific region during a longer time. The importance of insider advantages is illustrated by the well-known migrational fact that the more an individual move, and the less time that passed since the last move, the more likely it is that he or she will move again.

Fisher et al. (1998) divide between work and leisure related insider advantages, which in turn are divided into place, society and firm location-specific insider advantages. In the following however the concept of insider advantages is discussed in relation to Bourdieu's categories of

capital, i.e. economic/material, social and symbolic capital, each of which can be divided into work- and leisure oriented insider advantages (see table 1).

Money is generally easy to bring to another place, while economic capital in its material form, for example real estate, is much less mobile or transferable. Social capital is generally more place specific than other capital, since it implies relations to other individuals that in turn have got insider advantages. Social insider advantages emerge when people make, or maintain relations with relatives, friends and acquaintances or when they form relations of importance in their line of work. The family might be less place-specific than other forms of social capital, since the decision to move more often than not involves all household members. But the family can on the other hand also prove to be a place specific insider advantage, if some of the family members do not want to move.

The symbolic insider advantages concern knowledge about the region. It can be knowledge about leisure or work oriented conditions in the vicinity, e.g. about consumption, culture, sports or knowledge about a specific workplace. Having location-specific knowledge can reduce transaction costs, i.e. the costs of looking and finding the best alternative, both from a leisure and work perspective.

Table 1. The spatial embeddedness of capital.

		Less location-specific	More location-specific
Economic/material	<i>Leisure</i>	Money, share capital	House, real-estate
	<i>Work</i>	Knowledge about financial systems	Real-estate and other facilities related to a private firm
Social	<i>Leisure</i>	Relations to family	Relations to family, friends, relatives.
	<i>Work</i>	Social competence	Relations to work colleagues, business contacts, business clientele/regular costumers
Symbolic	<i>Leisure</i>	Knowledge about art and culture or about political systems	Local knowledge, knowledge of consumer, culture, organisational, sports related conditions
	<i>Work</i>	Formal and informal education, profession-related knowledge	Knowledge about the local labour market, firm-specific or work-place specific knowledge

The insider advantage approach of course also implies that the geographical background is of importance. A person that has been living in the same region for a longer period of time tend to have greater insider advantages and therefore is more inclined to stay. Insider advantages could also sometimes explain why that a person is more inclined to move back to region where he or she once lived.

The transferability of capital is dependent on geographical scope. A formal education can e.g. prove impossible to transfer between countries that lack a proper agreement of accreditation.

Surrounding opportunities

Individuals with their goals, aspirations and assets, are facing a great number of opportunities as well as restrictions in the local, regional, national and international surrounding. Regional labour market conditions have traditionally been an important explanation to migration. According to the neo-classical migration theory, regional differences in wages and work opportunities are important causes of migration (Björklund et al. 1996). More recent migration theory argues that labour market oriented migration increasingly is being replaced by “residence-oriented migration

depending on lifestyle preferences and specific micro-regional characteristics” (Persson & Westholm 1996, pp 181).

A Swedish study shows that labour market related factors provide a modest and declining part of the motives behind migration between the 1970's and 1990's. Only between 13 and 20 per cent, depending on education, of those answering the questionnaire stated work related motives. On the other hand between 30 and 40 per cent stated social motives behind their last move. Every fifth person stated that they wanted to change environment, and the share was growing. The study does not reveal which features of the regional milieu that were of importance (Garvill et al. 2000).

Another study based on a questionnaire to 5 000 Swedish inhabitants from the age of 15 years or older gives some indications of what aspects of the local environment that are important in the choice of home region. Nature and beautiful fresh environment was the most important motive behind the preferred home region. Other important environmentally oriented motives were proximity to the sea or to a larger city. The supply of culture and entertainment was the eight highest ranked motives (Stjernström 1998).

Support for the hypothesis of an increasing lifestyle and residence oriented migration is often drawn from studies of urban to rural migration (Kåks & Westholm 1994, Forsberg & Carlbrand 1993). An inquiry into the immigration to some municipalities in the county of Dalarna shows that proximity to work and public service were less important than highly individual and lifestyle related motives. The most important motives was summarised as a search for roots, a pursuit of real or imagined ways of life in Dalarna as a Swedish ideal and a wish to cultivate a fellowship and a common lifestyle predominantly within the New Age and anthroposophy movement (Kåks & Westholm 1994).

But the increasing importance of lifestyle migration does not mean that work related migration has been rendered obsolete. Work and leisure can be more or less integrated. Futurists believe that boarder between work and leisure in the future will be much more unclear and that devotion and responsibility will be more important driving forces than material rewards and control (Copenhagen Institute for Future studies 1996). People with so called lifestyle jobs will probably be inclined to move to places where attractive jobs are offered, where they can further their competence by working together with other specialists in their area, but also where their competence is rightly valued. These places are observed as geographical clusters of similar or complementary competence (Hall 2001, Reich 1994).

The possibilities of advancing socio-economically are also dependent of the choice of work region. Some regions more than others function as escalator-regions, i.e. regions that enhance social and economic upward mobility (Fielding 1991). In a study of different groups of educated graduating at Swedish universities in the academic year of 1975/76 the likelihood of having an income in the upper income quartile fifteen years after graduation was significantly larger for those working in the Stockholm region, than for those working in the rest of Sweden. This was the case amongst others for economists, civil engineers and for those with a social scientist or science degree (Wikhall 2001).

There are but a few studies focusing the role of the cultural infrastructure. In a study concerning the inhabitants in five Swedish medium sized towns, only two per cent of the movers stated that the cultural infrastructure affected their decision to move there. On the other hand 30 per cent of those being interviewed stated that theatre visits, concerts, exhibitions etc. to a great extent contributed to increase their personal satisfaction (Rubenowitz & Rubenowitz 1990). One reflection is that this study implicitly illustrates that people can move to a place for one reason, and stay for totally different reasons. The decision to stay thus can be as important to study as the causes behind actual migration. Another reflection is that the geographical scope of the study makes it impossible to draw conclusions that are applicable on the greater system of regions. It's unlikely that the result of the study would have been the same if it had focused on migration to the nearby municipality of Gothenburg or another metropolitan region.

A similar investigation concerning 1 200 inhabitants in the age group of 15-75 years in four towns in Mellersta Österbotten in Finland 1991 shows that peace and quiet, safety, idyll and nature were high priorities, as well as service, short distances and good communications. Slightly more than every tenth person valued culture highly (Ilmonen 1993). The study has got the same limitations in terms of geographical generalization as the one previously cited.

Individual characteristics and the migration decision as a process

Individual characteristics as age, sex and physics' can also be of importance in the choice of home region, directly or indirectly, through the individual assets. Females tend to have lower salaries than men and therefore greater economic restrictions in their choice. Physically disabled persons also tend to be restricted in their housing decisions. Retirees could be either freer in their migration decision, due to good economy or lack of labour market ties, or more restrained depending on amongst other things age and physical status. In the US an important group of migrants is retirees seeking better living conditions and often oriented towards leisure, culture and nicer climate (Wolf 1999).

Previous studies of decision making indicates that the choices people make, often result from a longer process where preferences and preconditions have been shaped in a row of previous choices. The choice being made of entering higher education is e.g. often based on decisions on previous levels of the educational system as well as on the aspirations of parents and the individual in itself in earlier ages (Hammarström 1996, Kim 1998). The choice of home region therefore rather should be regarded as part of a process than as an isolated decision.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The decision of where to live can be studied in a variety of ways. It could focus on the active choice of moving to a certain region or the seemingly more passive choice to stay where one always has lived. Studying migrants involves the problem of stating motives retroactively. As time goes by after the move, the more likely it is that the motives behind the move are complemented, or even replaced, by new motives based on the current situation. The choice to stay might on the other hand involve unconsciousness; people stay because they always lived there. This investigation strives to highlight why people live where they live at a certain point in time, independently of whether this involves recently moving there, or whether it means having lived in the region for quit some time.

Data

The study is based on two data sets: 1) a questionnaire sent to 3,000 persons in the age group of 30-35 nationally registered in Sweden in the autumn of 2001 and 2) data from the national registers of the Statistical board of Sweden (SCB). The questionnaire was sent to five different educational groups. It deals with housing preferences, motives behind migration, work situation, mobility, social and geographical background and leisure activities now, and in younger ages. But it's not necessarily the person's own preferences that directs the choice of home or work region. The questionnaire also takes into consideration that a migration decision involves the whole family. The empirical section below, due to the scope of the article, only dwells on a limited amount of the questionnaire data.

To avoid making the questionnaire even bigger and to be able to control the reliability, some statistical data have been collected from Statistics Sweden (SCB). For each individual answering the questionnaire, data about sex, age, marital status, county and municipality code, country of birth, citizenship and income were collected.

Selection

The questionnaire was sent to a number of randomly picked persons in five groups of educated. The selection includes those with; three-year upper-secondary education as highest education, civil engineer degree, specialist teachers' degree, media-communication education and those with an artistic education. There are several reasons behind stratifying the sample by education. The most important is that the approach provides an opportunity to make a more refined study of the interplay between the educational system, the labour market and the life style of the individual. All selected groups are of strategic interest in the knowledge-based society although facing rather different labour market conditions.

The questionnaire was sent to persons in the age of 30-35. It's in these ages that the migration frequency declines and many make decisions about work and family life that affect settlement patterns for a long time ahead.

Response rate

The first questionnaires were distributed in November 2001. After two additional circular the response rate varied between 40 and 60 per cent in the studied groups (see table 2). The data includes some skewness in the response rate concerning gender, foreign background and income. The response rate was lower for men than for women, somewhat lower for those with foreign citizenship or foreign birth country and slightly lower for those earning less than 84 000 SEK a year. Those with foreign background and low incomes however were few. There were no major regional differences in the response rate.

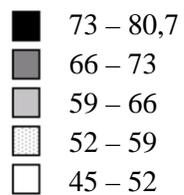
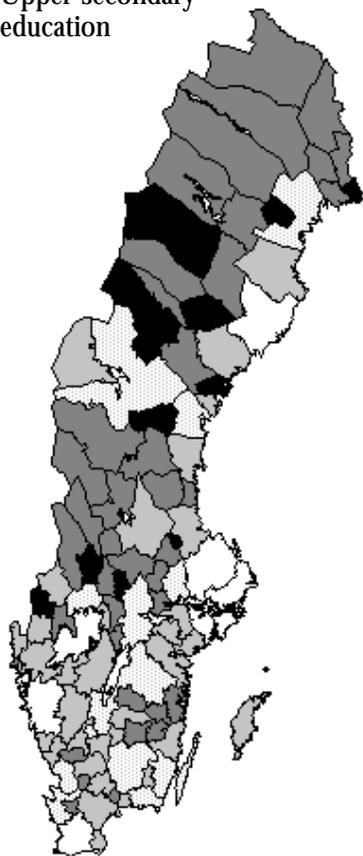
Table 2. Population, selection and response rate.

Groups of selection	Selection	Response	Response rate, per cent
Upper secondary education	800	321	40
Civil engineering	700	398	57
Specialist teacher	700	422	60
Arts education	500	238	48
Media-communication education	300	180	60

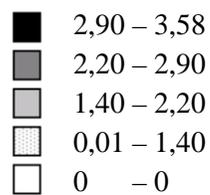
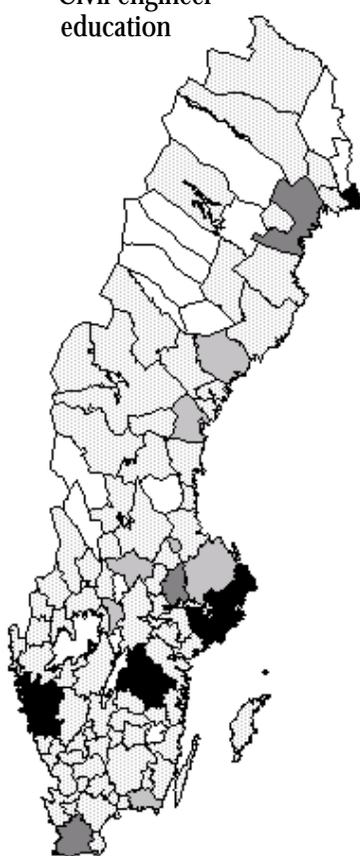
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

The regional settlement patterns differ significantly between different groups of educated. Data from the national population register shows that the share of population with upper-secondary education as highest education is largest in the more sparsely populated regions of the inland of Norrland (see figure 1). Regions with universities or university colleges are easily distinguishable by their low share of inhabitants with upper-secondary education. Those with higher education form a different pattern in that they are more concentrated to the metropolitan regions. 76 per cent of those with artistic education, 70 per cent of those with civil engineer education, 66 per cent of those with media-communication and 48 per cent of the special teachers are living in the three metropolitan regions of Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm, compared to 38 per cent of those with upper-secondary education as highest education and 44 per cent of the total population in the age group. The question is which factors determine these settlement patterns.

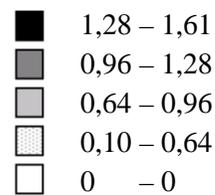
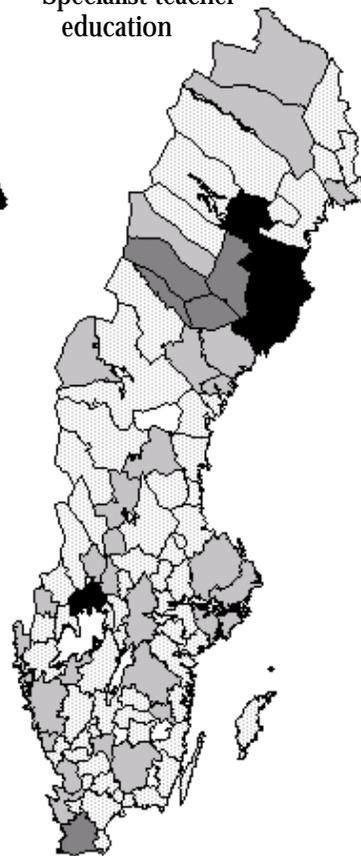
Upper-secondary education



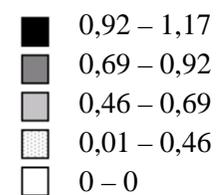
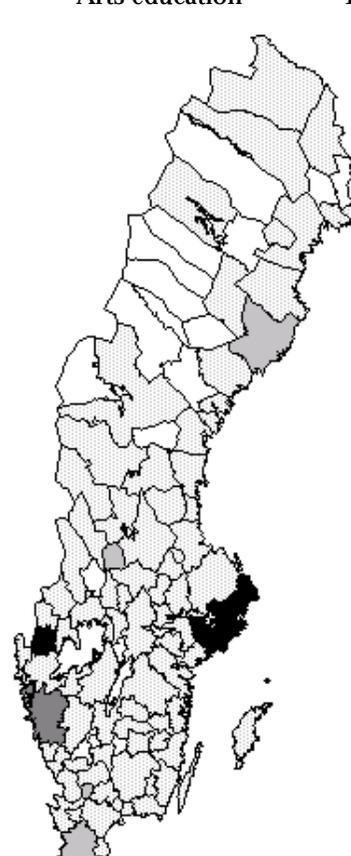
Civil engineer-education



Specialist teacher education



Arts education



Education in media-communication

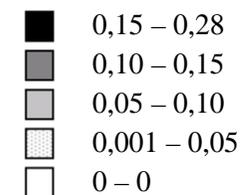
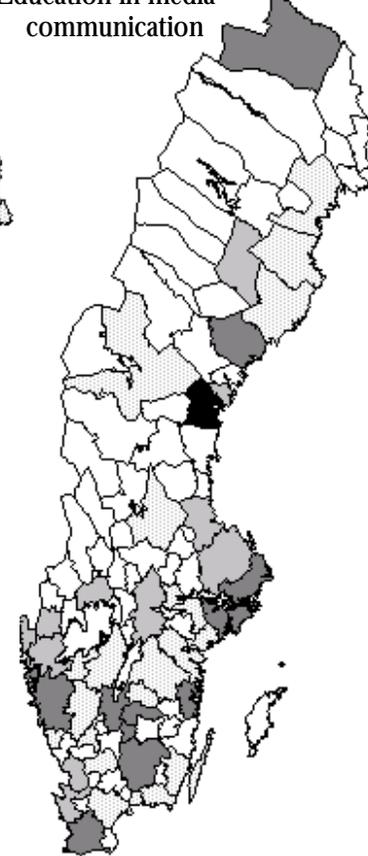


Figure 1. Share of population 30-35 years old with a specific education 2001, per cent.

Source: Swedish Statistics (SCB), data collected from the register of the population and the register of education.

Why do the metropolitan regions attract certain groups of highly skilled but not others? The structure and specialization of the labour market is an obvious answer. But what role does environmentally related motives play, and how can they be distinguished from other features of the region?

But first a brief discussion of the concept of “home region”. Here home region is referring to local labour market region, i.e. a functional region. Figure 1 presents a seemingly clear-cut picture of where people live. But national statistics tend to have few dimensions. Do people generally live at one place most of the time? How permanent is home and to what extent do people overcome geographical distances by working at home or by using electronic media? The answer to these questions have implications for the role of the cultural infrastructure in the home region; the more mobile people get, the greater the possibilities of accessing culture in other regions.

The home in the arena society

The society emerging during the second half of the 2000th century have been described by the term “arena society” (Johansson & Persson 1991). The arena concept is used to highlight the fact that people today, to a greater extent than in earlier agrarian and industrial societies, have got access to opportunities in a global surrounding. The agrarian society was to a great extent locally oriented, with home, work and leisure concentrated to the same place, often a farm or a village. In the industrial society the conditions for movement on a daily basis changed and home, versus work, could be located in different parts of a city or a region. The arena society is, more than earlier societies, characterized by the fact that people live at one place, work at another and spend their spare time on a third place. But how significant are these trends and how do they apply to different social groups? The Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells (1996) distinguish between the technocratic, political and financial elite moving in airplanes or fast train corridors, and the vast majority of people living most of their life in one, or a few, places.

The majority, close to two thirds or more, of those answering the questionnaire live all the months of the year at the same place. Only between 4 and 15 per cent live less than 11 months at the place where they live most time a year (see table 3). Those with an artistic education and those with specialist teachers degree are the most mobile groups in this respect.

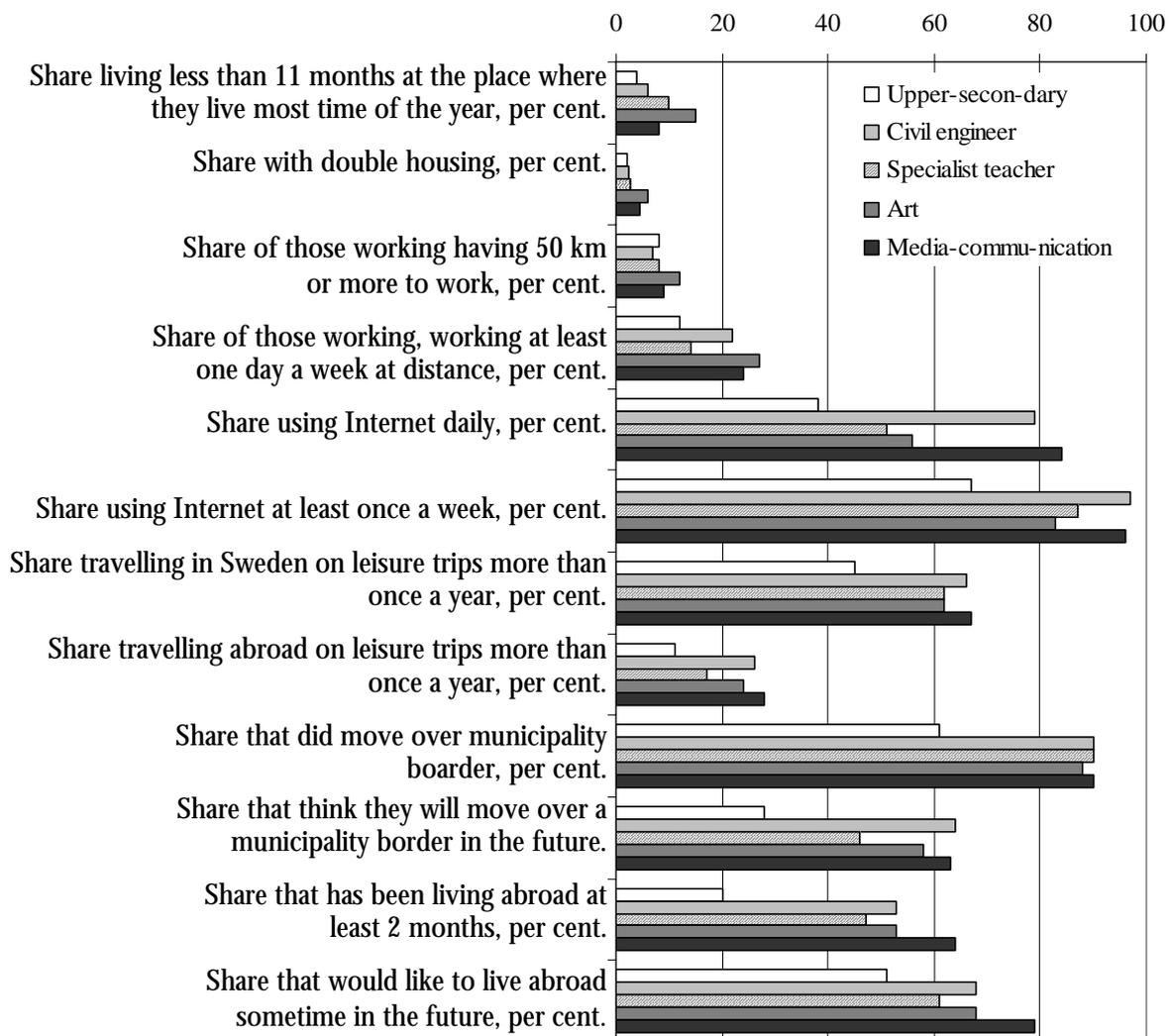


Figure 2. Some aspects of mobility.

Quit few, between 2 and 6 per cent, have got double housing. It's most common amongst the artist and this is also the group that live furthers away from their work. It does not seem however that the artists are the ones most frequently using Internet to bridge over geographical distances. Instead those with civil engineer and media-communication education uphold this position.

How permanent is home? Around 90 per cent of those with higher education did move over municipality boarder at least once. Between 21 and 47 per cent stated that they had moved across a municipality border in the last five years and around 60 per cent the civil engineers, the media-communicators and the artists believe that they will move across municipality borders again in the future.

Those with upper secondary education as highest education seem to be less mobile than the other groups in a number of respects. The only respect in which their answers correspond with those with higher education is concerning the distance to work.

The figures in general indicate that the role of the home region and its attractiveness still is of considerable importance as study object. Most people live the greatest part of the year at one place, they seldom have double housing and they do not commute very far.

WHY DO THEY LIVE WHERE THEY LIVE?

What preferences and individual and structural/regional conditions do these settlement and mobility patterns reflect? Those answering the questionnaire were asked to grade the importance of 35 statements. The grading ranged between totally unimportant and very important. They also had the possibility to tick “the statement is not correct” and “I don’t know”. Some factors prove to be very important for the choice of home region for people in all groups. Good housing, appealing natural environments, safety on the place where they live and being close to friends are factors of great importance for all groups (see figure 3).

On the other hand there are other factors that are equally unimportant for all groups. The fact that they have lived in the region for a long time didn’t prove to be particularly important. The choice to stay in a region obviously is more conscious and reflective than this. Nor do those answering the questionnaire agree with the statement “It does not matter where I live”.

There are also factors of varying importance for different groups of educated. Insider advantages seem to be more valuable for those with a shorter education than for the others, a fact that probably to some extent can be explained by their lower mobility. The fact that they know the place well, that they have material assets there (house, property), and that their friends and relatives live there are more important.

Labour market conditions also are of varying importance for the groups in study. Those with civil engineers and media-communication education value good career opportunities on the labour market and good possibilities of finding an interesting work as being important in their choice of home region. All groups however seem to value living close to work as quit important, an interesting result in the light of the previous discussion about the increasing importance of residence-oriented migration. The large figure of civil engineers and media-communicators stating the importance of both housing and living close to work, implies that it’s important for regions to be able to offer both.

The artists distinguish themselves from the rest of the groups by rating “knowing many in their line of career” as being quit important.

Culture is also of varying importance; different groups value different kinds of culture very differently. The cultural infrastructure is more important for those with an artistic education, probably partly due to their dependence on a critical mass of cultural institutions in their line of work. Opera, theatres, museums and art galleries are less important for those with upper-secondary education and those with civil engineer education, than for the other groups. The specialist teacher’s find public libraries quit important.

A general conclusion from figure 3 is that a long row of variables affects the choice to live in a certain region, or at a certain place, and the importance of the variables varies between different groups. Less than one tenth value more than half of the statements as being of no importance.

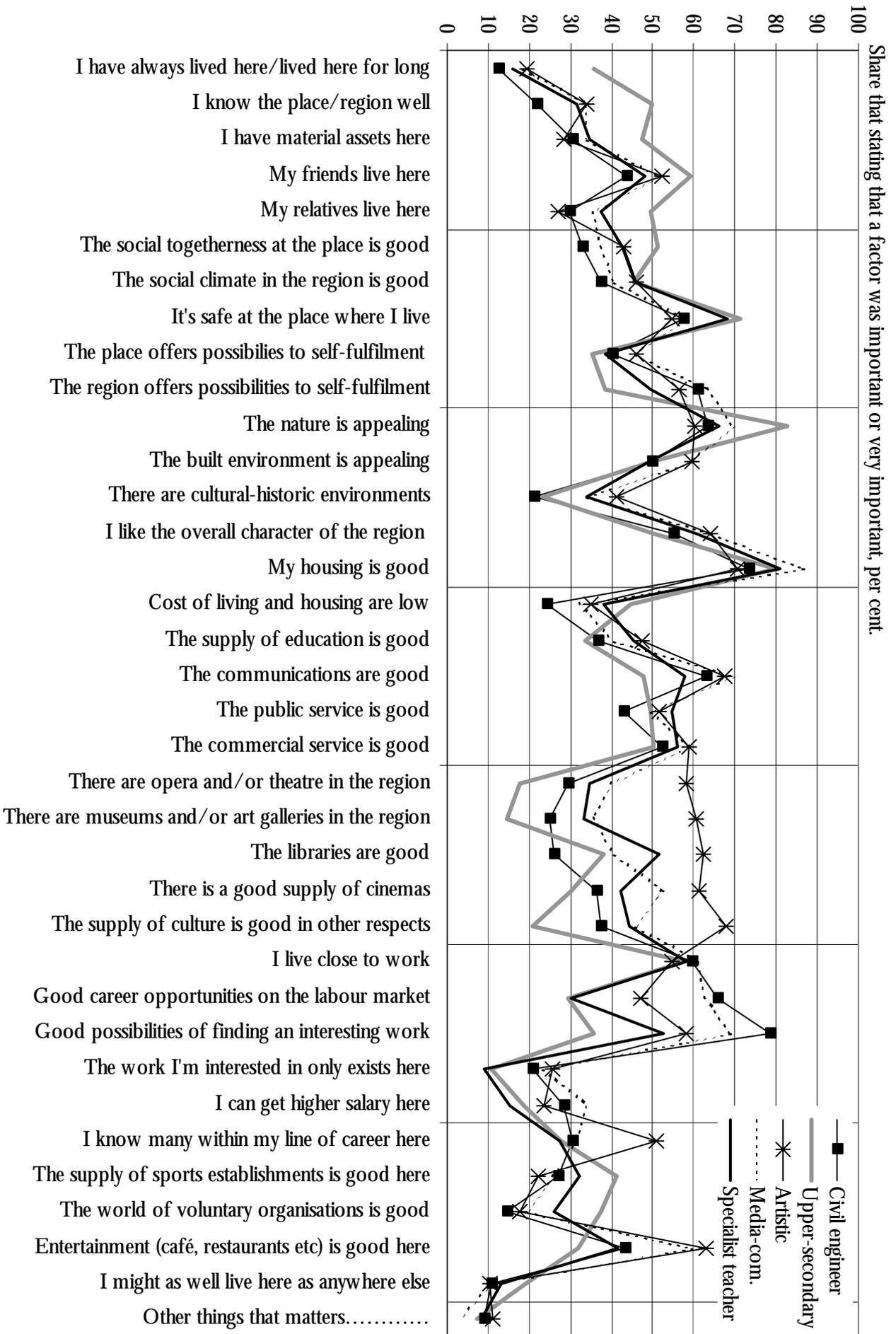


Figure 2. Of what importance are the following conditions to your choice to live where you live at present?

WHY DO PEOPLE MOVE?

Another question of interest is of why people move and how important cultural infrastructure is for this decision. The questionnaire ask “If you ever moved over municipality boarder, what year was this and what/which where the most important motives?” They were asked to tick one or more of nine specified motives. The social motives are the most important ones; between 28 and 55 of those moving at least once, stated that the reason for the last move was that the wanted to live closer to family or friends or/and that they wanted to move to or with their partner. Between 19 and 32 of those moving stated work-related motives, i.e. that they were unemployed and got work or that they changed work. The desire to change environment was quit important for all groups.

What then in the regional environment attracts people? There are quit many different factors in the regional milieu of importance. One fifth of the movers with arts education, 16 per cent of those with media-communication education, 10 per cent of those with specialist teachers education and 7 per cent of those with civil engineer education stated that a “better supply of culture” was one of the reasons for moving.

Share of the movers stating a particular motive, per cent.

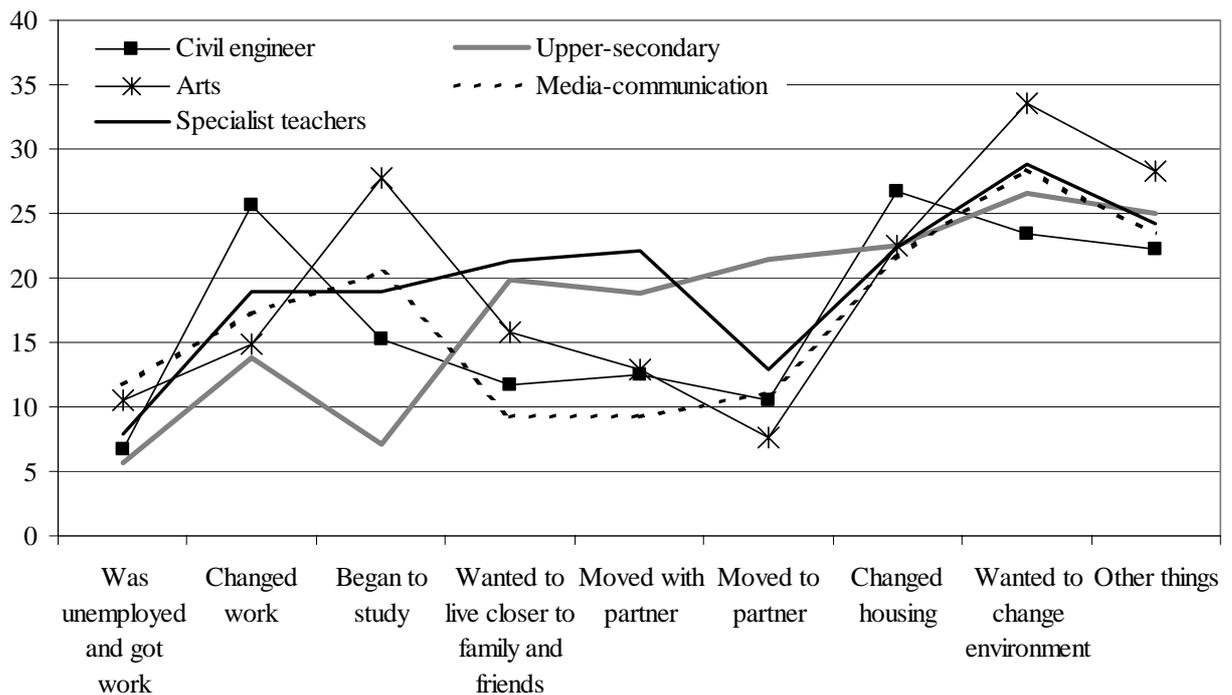


Figure 4. Motives behind moving.

CONCLUSIONS

The overall question about where people want to live and why is important in many respects. Increasing demand for continuous innovation and renewal in the manufacturing and service production has made the human intellect the most strategic production factor (Storper 1995). Firms, especially in the advanced service sector or in the R&D-intensive manufacturing sector, are dependent on locating to regions with a large supply of highly skilled labour (Lundquist 1996 and Johnsson, Persson & Silbersky 2000). On the other hand people are generally thought to become more residentially and lifestyle oriented in their choice of home region. Although people have become less labour market oriented when they move, labour market related variables still is of considerable importance in the choice of home region for some groups. Not only do many highly educated want to live in a region offering good career opportunities or good possibilities to find an interesting work, they also find it important to live close to work. Almost 60 per cent of the groups in study found it important or very important to live close to work.

The theoretical discussion, as well as the empirical data, reveals that the choice of home region involves a great number of considerations, related to the individual as well as to the regional characteristics. This also implies that the question about the regional role of cultural infrastructure needs to be specified in terms of which culture, for whom, and in relation to what. Different kinds of culture are of varying importance for different groups of people. Some general conclusions about culture however could be drawn. Although culture is becoming more easily accessible through different medias, having a well-developed cultural infrastructure in the home region in terms of libraries, cinemas and theatres is of significant importance for the groups in this study. The cultural supply also is of importance as a source of attraction. Between 7 and 20 per cent of the movers moved partly because of a better supply of culture in the region to which they were moving. But from a regional perspective it's also important to realize that there are other things of equally or greater importance than culture, for example good housing, an appealing nature, good communications and safety on the place where they live.

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