Routledge
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The role of heritage tourism in attracting "active" in-migrants to "low amenity" rural areas

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Tourism can influence in-migration to rural areas by enhancing the attractiveness of rural communities and providing opportunities for employment, entrepreneurship and volunteer engagement appealing to in-migrants. Much research on the rural tourism-migration nexus has focused on "high amenity" areas characterized by scenic environments and well-developed tourism and service infrastructures. Many communities in inland Australia, however, are in "low amenity" areas where tourism opportunities are limited to exploiting industrial and cultural heritage assets. This article examines the role of heritage tourism in facilitating in-migration to such areas based on interviews with in-migrants to three communities in South Australia's Mid-North, focusing on the experiences of "active" in-migrants who get economically or socially involved in their new communities. Findings suggest heritage tourism minimally affected migration decisions. Key attractors were housing, employment, cost of living and easy access to the city. Business opportunities in tourism were attractors where the tourism industry was relatively well developed. Overall, the factors influencing in-migration differed among communities suggesting locally, not regionally, focused place marketing strategies are required to target in-migrants.

Keywords: amenities; heritage tourism; low amenity areas; rural in-migration; rural lifestyle

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Introduction

Many rural communities across inland Australia seek to attract new residents to arrest or reverse socio-economic decline resulting from rural restructuring, youth outmigration and population ageing (Argent, Tonts, Jones, & Holmes, 2013; Connell & McManus, 2011). Communities are particularly interested in "active" in-migrants who contribute locally through employment, business development, knowledge transfer or social and volunteer engagement. Such active in-migrants have been variously identified in studies on creative amenity migration (Argent et al., 2013; Thulemark, Lundmark, & Heldt-Cassel, 2014); commercial counter-urbanization and entrepreneurial migration (Bosworth, 2010; Herslund, 2012); pre- or semi-retirement migration (Stockdale & MacLeod, 2013); and in-migration of retirees who make substantial contributions to the local "social economy" through volunteering (Moss, 2006; Thulemark, 2011). In this article, active in-migrants are defined as those active in the labour force and/ or volunteer organizations.

Rural tourism destinations are often believed to be attractive to active in-migrants due to their variety of aesthetic, recreational, service and lifestyle amenities (Hall & Williams, 2002; Niedomysl, 2005; Snepenger, Johnson, & Rasker, 1995). In addition, tourism is often identified as an industry providing convenient employment opportunities for new in-migrants (Thulemark et al., 2014), particularly opportunities for lifestyle-related business development (Bosworth, 2010; Snepenger et al., 1995). Most research investigating the tourism-migration nexus, however, focuses on "high amenity" rural areas with prominent tourism assets, well-developed service infrastructures and relatively large tourist markets (Moss, 2006; Thulemark et al., 2014). Though recent studies have started investigating rural in-migration to less popular, "low amenity" destinations (Bijker, Haartsen, & Strijker, 2012; Eimermann, 2015; Stockdale, 2014), tourism's role in such migration remains unexamined. This article commences this investigation by examining three rural communities in South Australia's Mid-North region, a low amenity area where tourism largely relies on industrial and cultural heritage assets by addressing the following research questions: (1) What factors facilitated in-migration to these communities? (2) What was the specific role of tourism in these migration decisions? and (3) How did migration decisions differ among the three communities?

Literature review and theory
Understanding rural migration decisions

The diversity of migration typologies makes rural in-migration a complex phenomenon which cannot be fully understood by a single, all-encompassing migration theory. This study departs from the recent literature on counter-urbanization, lifestyle migration and amenity migration to rural areas. Although differing in focus

(Benson & O'Reilly, 2016; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Halfacree, 2012), migration is considered strongly connected to rural spaces' perceived attractiveness, particularly for those seeking a rural lifestyle. Thus, it contrasts with economic, labour and social theories informing migration research.

Counter-urbanization focuses on movements of urban, and usually older and wealthy, individuals drawn to the countryside in search of a "rural idyll". Key migration drivers typically include a desire to escape crowded and stressful city environments, enjoy rural areas' perceived peace and quiet, or reconnect with rural lifestyles and traditional community values (Grimsrud, 2011; Mitchell, 2004; Stockdale, 2014). In Australia, such movements are often described as "sea change" or "tree change", referring to migration from metropolitan areas to pleasant coastal (sea) or inland (tree) areas (Connell & McManus, 2011; Ragusa, 2011), although the extent to which such movements are motivated by particular rural destination attributes or more personal lifestyle motivations is not always clear.

A distinction between amenity and lifestyle migration exists. Amenity migration describes movement motivated by place-based destination attributes, such as natural, aesthetic, recreational or cultural amenities (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Moss, 2006). This is different from the concept of rural lifestyle migration, which focuses more on individuals' subjective motivations to achieve a better quality of life (Benson & O'Reilly, 2016; Ragusa, 2011). Though lifestyle migration can include motivations around particular destination "pull factors", it does not rely exclusively on place-based amenities. Instead, it may encompass a more complex mix of social, economic and/or political motivations relating to individual interpretation of a "good life" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2016).

A limitation of rural in-migration research is the focus on wealthy migrants from urban areas which has attracted criticism from those arguing rural in-migration is more diverse (Bijker et al., 2012; Grimsrud, 2011; Stockdale, 2014). In-migrants do not exclusively originate from urban areas, but may include considerable proportions of "lateral" rural-to-rural migrants and the type of rural destination appears to matter, with high amenity areas and areas closer to urban fringes attracting cashed-up counter-urbanites while less popular and more peripheral areas attract those driven by employment prospects, cheaper housing and/or lower cost-of-living (Andersen, 2011; Bijker et al., 2012; Grimsrud, 2011). In-migrants moving to rural areas as a deliberate choice to avoid urban society must also be distinguished from those moving by "default", for instance work opportunities or family connections, or "forced" to "go rural" due to economic pressures (Cognard, 2014; Stockdale & MacLeod, 2013).

Stockdale (2014) advocated a more nuanced approach to examining reasons for rural in-migration and destination choice using a three-stage framework breaking down the decision process into reasons for: (1) initial decision to move; (2) selecting a rural destination; and (3) selecting a specific location. Her study in

rural Wales found destination choice was often influenced by trade-offs between desired rural lifestyle characteristics and financial constraints and the specific location choice was usually "accidental" due to availability and affordability of property. The multi-dimensionality of migration motives is supported by Bijker et al. (2012) who argued distinguishing between reasons for moving to a rural area "in general" and choosing a specific location, all of which help disentangle complex rural in-migration decisions.

The role of tourism in rural in-migration

Tourism can affect rural in-migration by defining search spaces of prospective in-migrants, tourism-related consumption and production motives (Hall & Williams, 2002). Consumption-led migration typically involves tourists residing in temporary or permanent second homes, amenity-lifestyle seekers or retirees (Halfacree, 2012; Moss, 2006; Müller, 2006). In contrast, production-led migration refers to labour and entrepreneurial in-migration, such as seasonal tourism workers (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014), "escalator migrants" seeking faster career development in remote areas (Chalkiti & Carson, 2009) and in-migrants as tourism entrepreneurs (Snepenger et al., 1995). Overlap may exist between consumption and production motives. In-migrants initially attracted by tourism-related amenities may seek part-time tourism employment for financial reasons (Stockdale & MacLeod, 2013) and seasonal tourism workers may pursue particular leisure activities in their destination (Tuulentie & Heimtun, 2014). Similarly, entrepreneurial in-migrants may be "lifestyle entrepreneurs" who run tourism businesses to finance desired lifestyles without aspirations for economic growth (Bosworth, 2010; Snepenger et al., 1995).

Tourists' prior contact with a destination is commonly perceived as a contributing factor to migration decisions (Niedomysl, 2005; Snepenger et al., 1995), with studies in less developed tourism destinations identifying similar tourist-migration transitions (Eimermann, 2015; Stockdale, 2014). Low amenity areas, however, attract different tourists to high amenity areas. In inland Australia, for example, tourism relies on transit travellers, short-term visitors and tourists visiting friends and relatives and local tourism industries market heritage tourism, commercializing local history, culture and traditional community life (Carson, Carson, & Hodge, 2014). While heritage assets are generally assumed attractive for rural in-migrants (Argent et al., 2013; Connell & McManus, 2011), heritage tourism's role in migration decisions remains unexamined. This article examines in-migrants' previous destination familiarity as tourists and the perceived importance of consumption-and production-led tourism motives for migration decisions. Findings are mapped against the migration decision framework applied by Stockdale (2014), with emphasis on how the tourism-migration nexus differs among communities with different heritage tourism development.

Research methods
Research sites

Three proximate communities in South Australia's Mid-North (Burra, Eudunda and Peterborough) and their respective community catchment areas constituted the research site (Figure 1). The region is distant from outstanding scenic features, such as beaches, rivers or mountains, located beyond daily commuting distance from Adelaide, the capital city, and the regional service centres of Port Pirie and Port Augusta and many of the small communities have experienced population loss and ageing. The climate is semi-arid and the area depends largely on cereal cropping and pastoralism. Hence, the case study sites lie outside the popular amenity migration (or "tree change") zones in inland South Australia, such as
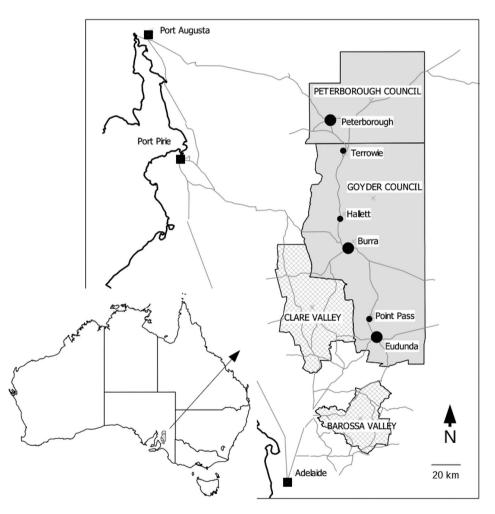

Figure 1.   Geographic context of the case study communities (created by authors).

the nearby Clare Valley and Barossa Valley wine regions. According to the 2011 Census, Burra attracted ∼160 new in-migrants from outside the Goyder region between 2006 and 2011, Eudunda ∼140 and Peterborough ∼280, all primarily from Adelaide and regional South Australia. In-migrants to Peterborough had the highest unemployment rate (16%) and highest proportion not in the labour force (56%) while in-migrants to Burra had the lowest unemployment rate (5%) and highest self-employment rate (21%).

Burra is the main administrative centre of the Regional Council of Goyder, located about 160 km north of Adelaide. According to the 2011 census (ABS, 2015), Burra's population was 890 residents, reduced by 9% since 2006, 49 the median age and hospitality was a main employment industry. Burra is renowned for its well-preserved mining heritage and related tourism activities with approximately 40 small tourism-related businesses, including pubs, B&Bs, cafés, restaurants and gift/antique shops. Eudunda is the community closest to Adelaide (∼115 km), with a relatively stable population between 2006 and 2011 (around 630). The median age was 52 and the largest employment industries were manufacturing, agriculture and public services. Hospitality accounted for only 5% of resident employment. Local tourism and hospitality businesses are limited to two pubs, a few B&Bs, cafés and gift shops. Eudunda promotes itself as a heritage town rich in German settler history, with a heritage gallery and walks the main attractions. Peterborough is the largest site with ∼1500 residents in 2011, reduced by 12% from 2006, and is located about 260 km north of Adelaide. Rail transport discontinuation in the 1970s contributed to its high unemployment (11% in 2011), out-migration and socio-economic decline, including low housing prices. Hospitality was one of three main employment sectors in 2011, with tourism an economic development priority for local government. Substantial government funding of a large heritage tourism precinct, the Steamtown Heritage Rail Centre, supports an otherwise very small local tourism industry with ∼10 accommodation businesses servicing the transit travel market.

Data collection and analysis

Data were collected during September and October 2013 through semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews, chosen to obtain rich insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Patton, 2002) about personal migration decisions from active in-migrants who moved to Burra, Eudunda or Peterborough between 2004 and 2013. Using convenience and snowball sampling, participants were recruited by key informants' recommendations, and an invitation published in local newspapers and on Facebook sites of local community groups. As snowballing and participant self-selection can create bias (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981), findings are not representative of all active in-migrants in the case study communities. Interviews included questions about: (1) reasons for migration; (2) destination and

community choice; (3) destination experiences as tourists; and (4) the role of tourism-related amenities, employment or business opportunities in choosing a destination. Interviews were audio-taped and transcribed, with informed consent obtained to use de-identified quotes. Research protocols were approved by the Research Ethics Committee at Flinders University (project 5473). Data were analysed using thematic content analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), identifying deductive codes from Stockdale's (2014) rural migration decision framework and inductive codes emerging from the data. The codes and frequencies are summarized in Table 1 and 2.

Findings
Demographics

Thirty-seven active in-migrants in Burra (16), Eudunda (8) and Peterborough (13) were interviewed. Burra participants, primarily from Adelaide, included young singles, families with children and older couples without children, with eight self-employed, five employed, and three volunteers but not in the labour force. Eudunda participants were singles or couples without children and middle to older ages with three self-employed, two employed and three retired but active volunteers. Peterborough participants included young to middle-aged singles and families and older semi-retirees. Mainly from Adelaide, five were employed, three self-employed and five active volunteers but not in the labour force.

Burra

Table 1 summarises the factors influencing the migration and destination choices of participants. Half of the participants in Burra were "default" rural in-migrants who migrated for a particular job opportunity or family commitment. Six bypassed the second step in Stockdale's (2014) migration framework and did not consider a broader rural area or alternative destination prior to migration. Instead, they had a specific community in mind when deciding to move, depending on the location of new jobs or relatives. As two participants noted, *It was more for the job really … I moved here to work for mum and dad and help them out in their business. There was really no other alternative* (Participant 17); *When we decided to move to Burra, it was pretty much just – let's go to Burra. Because my partner used to live here as a child and he's had a family history going back to 1855. So, there wasn't really any other choice* (Participant 10). Six in-migrants were "classic counter-urbanites" from Adelaide seeking a country lifestyle with access to more space, nice and affordable houses and opportunities to contribute to a rural community. Two in-migrants were "lateral rural" lifestyle movers from another rural location who were looking for a change in lifestyle. *We decided to get away from intense work … And we wanted to be contributing to*

Table 1.   Factors influencing migration and destination choice (frequencies in brackets).

	Burra	Eudunda	Peterborough
General rural migration motive	**Counter-urban lifestyle (6)** • Desire for country lifestyle (4) • Lifestyle business opportunity (4) • Cheaper housing (3) • Contribute to a rural community (2) **Lateral rural lifestyle (2)** • Change in lifestyle (2) **Default (8)** • Employment (5) • Family ties (3)	**Counter-urban lifestyle (3)** • Desire for country lifestyle (3) • Cheaper housing (1) • Return to roots (1) **Lateral rural lifestyle (3)** • Change in lifestyle (2) • Lifestyle business opportunity (1) **Default (2)** • Employment (2)	**Counter-urban lifestyle (5)** • Desire for country lifestyle (3) • Cheaper housing (3) • Get away from it all (2) • Lifestyle business opportunity (1) • Contribute to a rural community (1) **Lateral rural lifestyle (4)** • Cheaper housing (3) • Lifestyle business opportunity (1) **Default (2)** • Family support networks (2) **Displaced (2)** • Cheaper housing (1) • No say in family decision (1)

(*Continued*)

Table 1.   Continued.

	Burra	Eudunda	Peterborough
Initial migration trigger	*Lifestyle migrants* • Retirement (2) • Dissatisfaction with previous environment (2) • Property investment desire (2) • Business opportunity (2) • Unemployment (1) *Default migrants* • New job offer (5) • Moving in with partner (1) • Supporting family business (1)	*Lifestyle migrants* • Property investment desire (3) • Retirement (2) • Business opportunity (1) • Health issues in family (1) *Default migrants* • New job offer (2)	*Lifestyle migrants* • Property investment desire (4) • Dissatisfaction with previous environment (2) • Kids leaving home (2) • Retirement (1) • Loss of family member (1) *Default migrants* • Ill health (2) *Displaced migrants* • Unemployment (1) • Family decision to buy a cheaper house (1)
Selection of destination region	*Lifestyle migrants* • No consideration of region (3) • Proximity to city (4) • Affordable housing (3) • Country environment matching ideal lifestyle (3) • Access to services/ infrastructure (2) *Default migrants* • No consideration of region (6) • Proximity to city (2) • Affordable housing (2)	*Lifestyle migrants* • No consideration of region (2) • Country environment matching ideal lifestyle (3) • Proximity to city (3) • Affordable housing (2) • Access to services/ infrastructure (2) *Default migrants* • No consideration of region (1) • Proximity to work (1) • Access to services/ infrastructure (1)	*Lifestyle migrants* • No consideration of region (5) • Affordable housing (2) • Access to services/ infrastructure (2) • Proximity to previous home (1) • Familiarity with region (1) *Default migrants* • No consideration of region (2) *Displaced migrants* • No consideration of region (2)

Selection of specific community

Lifestyle migrants
- Particular property (4)
- Existing family network (4)
- Particular business opportunity (3)

Default migrants
- Particular job opportunity (5)
- Existing family networks (4)

Lifestyle migrants
- Particular property (3)
- Existing friend network (1)
- Particular business opportunity (1)
- Housing prices (1)

Default migrants
- Particular job opportunity (1)
- Particular property (1)

Lifestyle migrants
- Particular property (5)
- Return to roots (1)
- Particular business opportunity (1)
- Existing family networks (1)
- Critical mass of services (1)

Default migrants
- Critical mass of services (2)
- Existing family networks (1)

Displaced migrants
- Low cost of living (2)

Table 2.   The role of tourism in destination choice (frequencies in brackets).

	Burra	Eudunda	Peterborough
Familiarity with destination			
Visited as tourist			
	• Transiting through (5) • Visiting friends/relatives (5) • Holiday (3) • Business visit (2) • Owned a holiday cottage (1)	• Visit for event (2) • Holiday (1) • Transiting through (1) • Business visit (1)	• Transiting through (5)
Tourism promotion			
	• Real estate (3)	• Real estate (4)	• Real estate (3)
Consumption-led tourism amenities			
Leisure amenities			
	• Sports infrastructure (4) • Creative art retreat (2) • Collecting antiques (1)	• Opportunity for hobby farm (2) • Creative art retreat (1) • Sports infrastructure (1)	• Opportunity for hobby farm (1)
Tourism infrastructure and services			
	• Nice but not influential (7) • Important for business viability (4)	• Not developed enough (4) • Nice but not influential (2) • Available hospitality business (1)	• Not developed enough (5) • Available hospitality business (1)
Volunteer opportunities			
	• Discovered post-migration (6)	• Discovered post-migration (2)	• Discovered post-migration (3)

	Production-led tourism opportunities		
Employment		N/A	
	• Tourism employment post-migration (2)		• Hospitality employment post-migration (1)
Business investment			
	• Investment in hospitality business (4) • Investment in other lifestyle business (2) • Investment in hospitality business post-migration (1)	• Investment in hospitality business (2)	• Investment in hospitality business (1) • Investment in other lifestyle business post-migration (1)

the community in some shape or form. We were also involved back in Adelaide, but nothing like to the extent here (Participant 11).

  The migration decisions of these lifestyle seekers were often triggered by particular life events and incidents, such as imminent retirement, dissatisfaction with previous living or working environments, loss of employment and the accidental discovery of business opportunities in the destination. For example, Participant 27 described, *Dreadful neighbours* [were the trigger]. *I put up with them for 20 years and I couldn't stand it any longer … And I've known people here for 30 years … so I said I move to Burra, because it's a pleasant town, pleasant people, and I love the area.* As Participant 18 commented:

> I was made redundant … and so I wasn't doing anything workwise. And at the time, my partner's nephew took over the lease of [a business] up here, so we came up for a couple of weeks to help him out … We really got to like the place and enjoy it. And one night someone said to us "Why don't you move up here?" We said "Well, what are we gonna do?" They said "Why don't you buy a shop?" … we ended up buying it.

Local networks of relatives or friends and a particular house or business for sale were key factors influencing destination choice. Five lifestyle seekers narrowed their options by a combination of accessibility, affordability and service prerequisites. They included the Mid-North because it was sufficiently close to the city, offered the desired type of country environment (e.g. rural landscape, open space, small town community spirit), provided good value for money in housing and had critical services, such as health services and good mobile phone reception. As Participant 15 commented, *Mobile phone connection was very important. I was actually driving around with my mobile in my lap, and if coverage went down I didn't go there.* Another noted:

> We probably wouldn't pick anywhere past Burra, more than 2–2.5 hours [from Adelaide] would have been our limit. Burra was a good option, because there's lots of vacant houses, houses are affordable, and it's nice. We had considered a number of different country areas up here, all across the Mid-North … But there was also a size factor to it. We didn't want to go too small. We needed to have some services, and we knew that there were doctors, hospitals, shops and stuff like that. (Participant 11)

One couple looking for a suitable location to start a restaurant/café as a semi-retirement lifestyle activity was not specifically seeking to "go rural", but general property prices around Adelaide meant they gradually broadened their search until finding a suitable property in Burra:

> We'd been thinking of setting up a business so we were looking around Adelaide … But, again, we were thinking about the price, so we had a very low budget to set up our business. And then we found this place and we decided to come and have a look, and fell in love with the town, with the people, and we liked the buildings. And it was in our budget, so we decided to give it a go. (Participant 14)

Table 2 summarises the findings on the perceived role of tourism in participants' destination choices. Given the prominence of tourism as an industry in Burra, it was expected tourism's role in migration decisions would be more prominent than in the other communities. Yet, the only examples of tourism decisively affecting in-migration decisions were exhibited by four lifestyle in-migrants who started a hospitality business. One couple explained how they selected Burra because it had a relatively well-established tourism industry and attracted a constant flow-through of tourists:

> *Yes, it* [tourism] *was important for the business because a large number of our customers are tourists … We needed a place where people would stop for a coffee or for lunch, and this was possible here.* (Participant 13)

A similar observation was made by an in-migrant who bought a local pub. A café owner who bought the business after having owned a holiday house in Burra for several years noted,

> We had a cottage here for about eight years before we semi-retired and bought the shop … We certainly considered this here as a place with tourism potential, and we thought it was interesting. There are a lot of country towns that haven't got very interesting "attributes" if you like … but we thought that Burra had. (Participant 11).

In contrast, employment in tourism was not a factor in others' decision-making processes. Two in-migrants took up tourism employment after moving to Burra, yet the prospect of tourism employment was not part of their initial considerations. Similarly, one couple decided to open a restaurant after migration. Three participants mentioned the possibility of finding a tourism-related job was indirectly reassuring, however they were not looking for such a job at the time of migration. *I think the fact that Burra has more tourism was good for me, coming from a tourism background, that I could find a new job if I had to* (Participant 10).

Ten respondents agreed the available tourism infrastructure and services in Burra made it vibrant and attractive, but this had limited influence on their migration decisions. Particular leisure amenities, such as natural environment, sports infrastructure, recreational facilities, social clubs and volunteer opportunities in tourism, for instance at the visitor information centre or in heritage groups, had no influence and were usually discovered after migration. Only one lifestyle in-migrant considered the local golf club an asset that contributed to their destination choice.

Almost all in-migrants were familiar with Burra before migrating, either from previous trips, visiting friends/relatives or a holiday, yet only two lifestyle in-migrants recalled prior visitor experiences affected looking for a new location. Another two in-migrants became aware of business investment opportunities when they visited relatives, but none mentioned tourism promotion as influential although real estate promotion was important for three in-migrants, as Participant 15's comment reflects:

> We fell in love with a house … When we were on holidays in Burra, my daughter saw some houses at the real estate agency and said, "Oh, these look good, we should have a look!" And we had a look around but didn't see anything we liked. So we went to another agency, and [the agent] said, "Well, this house is more expensive, but I think you'll like it. Go and have a look!" We did … and we bought it.

Eudunda

Respondents in Eudunda were mainly lifestyle in-migrants, including three counter-urban and three lateral rural lifestyle seekers who were looking for a lifestyle change, cheaper housing or a return to one's rural roots. Their migration triggers included retirement, a particular business investment opportunity or health issues that required a change in work-life balance: *I'd been a teacher for years, but then I got sick, so I had to get out and do something else … And my husband's mum lived [nearby], so we knew the area and started looking around here* (Participant 37); *I wanted to do something different. Maybe a lifestyle change, I don't know. I grew up in the country, so it's a bit like coming home. … I knew enough about the area, and the land out here is quite cheap, it's magical land. You get more acres for your dollar* (Participant 31).

   Two in-migrants were default rural migrants who moved for employment reasons. One wanted to move "somewhere close to the new job", while the other simply moved to the job. In contrast, four lifestyle in-migrants first selected the broader region around Eudunda because it was "close enough" to Adelaide but provided a desirable country environment where house prices were still lower than in the neighbouring peri-urban areas:

> I was looking for a place to buy that is no more than 100 km from Adelaide. Of course, I'm getting older, and when I need some special treatment in the future the big city is not far away … The "beautiest" place would be in the Adelaide Hills, but I couldn't afford it. Then the place should have some acreage. I don't want a small property, I want some space as well. (Participant 32)

Eudunda's selection was primarily dependent on a specific house. One lifestyle in-migrant, for example, had a lifelong dream of owning a country pub and moved to Eudunda when he discovered a local pub was for sale, *[We] got bored and wanted to run a business … We found it before we actually moved here. We just saw an advertisement … We didn't consider any "prerequisites" – only the business. It was important to find a pub under a certain amount of money, and it had to be in a rural, rather than an urban area* (Participant 30). Another found her "dream property" to run a B&B:

> I've always wanted to have a B&B, so this house gave me the opportunity to do that. The fact that Eudunda was cheaper than Kapunda [closer to Adelaide] didn't matter. I liked the house and it had enough rooms, so I saw the potential. If this house were in Kapunda, I'd live there. (Participant 28)

Apart from these two lifestyle entrepreneurs, in-migrants to Eudunda largely agreed tourism did not affect migration decisions. Five out of six lifestyle in-migrants knew

Eudunda from previous visits, often several years or decades prior, but these did not influence their decisions and half mentioned they never thought of Eudunda as a tourist destination. While two thought existing heritage attractions and tourism services were "nice to have in town", they were not considered influential and desired leisure amenities and volunteer opportunities were unrelated to tourism.

Peterborough

Five respondents in Peterborough were counter-urbanites seeking a cheaper and quieter life away from the city, a lifestyle business opportunity and involvement in a rural community: *We came here for a change, fresh air, and a better lifestyle, and the idea was to start a new* (community organization) *to put the town back on the map as a good town, not a bad town* (Participant 6). Four in-migrants were lateral rural lifestyle movers with similar motivations, including cheaper housing and a desire for more isolation, less work (feasible only in a cheaper area) or a lifestyle business. The proximity to Adelaide was generally less important for Peterborough in-migrants. Access to other Outback destinations was seen as an advantage: *Moving to the country … just getting back to real Australia. It's close enough to Broken Hill, it's close enough to all the great places to go, Alice Springs … even to Western Australia* (Participant 21).

Common migration triggers for lifestyle in-migrants also included the desire to own a property, an empty nest, imminent retirement and the death of a family member. "Getting away from it all", from city life and family tragedy, were reasons for choosing a remote and isolated location. Three in-migrants, however, acknowledged their move to Peterborough was only a temporary solution or time-out, as explained by Participant 20:

> Well, my mother passed away and there was no reason for me to stay in the big smoke. I'm a country girl from way back. I needed to get away from people. There's too many people in the city … I'd like to go further out, more isolated, but until I have the money to do that, I'm stuck here. (Participant 20)

Two in-migrants were default rural migrants relocated because of ill health requiring special care and social support networks: *My husband had an injury and wanted to move up here, because his family lives here. And I guess the isolation out here in a way … it helped him to get away from his issues* (Participant 25). A further two were "displaced" and moved somewhat reluctantly, financially unable to remain in the city or having no say in the family's decision to relocate to a cheaper housing area. These in-migrants did not consider any alternative destinations before migrating, *Because my parents wanted to* [move here] *… I had no say. I just think the housing was cheaper here, and my parents had lived here before* (Participant 24). Five lifestyle in-migrants did not consider alternative destinations but decided to move to Peterborough after having found a specific property: *We stopped in Peterborough and I looked in the real estate window, and they had houses for AU$ 29,000 … that was just*

amazing, so we bought here! (Participant 21). Others had certain prerequisites, such as access to services and proximity to family/friends, gradually narrowing searches to the northern, cheaper, part of the Mid-North: *I've always wanted to live in places that had peace and quiet and always wanted to live without a mortgage. (…) I just made sure there was petrol nearby, a small shop and a pub. I chose this place completely depending on economics, this was and still is the cheapest place to buy in South Australia.* (Participant 3).

Interestingly, Peterborough's role as a "transit" tourism destination in Outback Australia helped attract new in-migrants. Four participants mentioned they were "passing through" as travellers when they discovered the area would suit their housing or lifestyle needs. One migrant visited family members and decided to stay. Apart from these coincidental tourist-migrant transitions, however, tourism assets in Peterborough minimally affected in-migration. *I was ready to retire. I worked at the nursery for 28 years … and decided it was enough. Well, and one day we were driving through Peterborough, and it just seemed like a nice little quiet town … Just far enough from Adelaide, but not too far* (Participant 8); *Our aunt lives here … her husband had a stroke and they just weren't coping well. So originally we were coming here for a six-month holiday to help them at the same time … but since then we've bought a property and stayed* (Participant 7). Five in-migrants thought Peterborough was not a well-developed destination that could attract in-migrants through tourism and several admitted they never visited the railway heritage attractions in Peterborough. Other leisure amenities and related volunteer opportunities were only discovered after in-migration and did not factor into the decision-making process. Similarly, one in-migrant was employed in hospitality, however this job became available after migration and only one couple moved for a business investment opportunity in the local hospitality sector, which they discovered online.

Discussion and conclusions

This article has explored the role of heritage tourism in attracting active in-migrants to a "low amenity" rural area in South Australia. Using Stockdale's (2014) multi-step framework, different migration triggers, motivations and attraction factors influencing destination choice and community selection were uncovered. Findings show active in-migrants were not a homogenous group that can be targeted through one-size-fits-all promotion strategies. The case studies identified sub-groups ranging from the classic counter-urbanite to lateral rural lifestyle in-migrants, default in-migrants moving for work and family reasons and displaced in-migrants forced to seek cheaper housing opportunities. Migration triggers and factors influencing destination choice were diverse and varied within and among the communities.

A high number of in-migrants immediately selected a specific community rather than gradually narrowing search locations which suggests the influence of particular real estate or business opportunities and family networks on destination

choice (Bijker et al., 2012; Connell & McManus, 2011; Eimermann, 2015). It also suggests common *regional* place marketing strategies may be ineffective and identifies the need for better integration of real estate promotion in place marketing efforts, particularly as rural landscape, leisure and tourism amenities provide few opportunities for place differentiation in low amenity areas. Findings also suggest rural lifestyle motivations were largely unlinked to specific tourism or leisure amenities. Consumption-oriented tourism and leisure motivations were clearly less common than in high-amenity rural destinations dominating amenity migration research (Moss, 2006; Thulemark et al., 2014). Nevertheless, production-related motivations were present in Burra where tourism was more established and offered more opportunities for small lifestyle businesses. This emphasizes the need to distinguish between amenity and lifestyle-related migration drivers, particularly in low amenity areas which, despite their lack of natural, aesthetic or recreational amenities, may still be attractive for a lifestyle change.

The dominant type of tourism in Burra – heritage sightseeing, transit travel and small-scale businesses – offers limited opportunities to attract new in-migrants through tourism employment or "signature" tourism and leisure activities. A similar observation was made in Peterborough where heritage tourism was an important local industry, yet not attractive to any in-migrants in this study. Another challenge in Peterborough may be the lack of a vibrant tourism business cluster, with heritage tourism largely driven by local government, which may explain why the town attracted fewer lifestyle tourism entrepreneurs than Burra. These challenges are clearly unique to low-amenity destinations dependent on heritage tourism, suggesting a need to distinguish between the type of rural destination and local tourism to understand the role of tourism in rural in-migration.

Finally, the cases emphasized the need to examine temporal aspects of migration decision-making as interviews suggested very short lead-in times made possible by the relatively inexpensive properties and desire to "snap up" opportunities once identified. Additionally, findings suggested Peterborough's cheap housing may be a more temporary destination than Eudunda's offering easy access to the city. Even "non-active" migrants, those unemployed or retired when they move, can become "active" through engagement in community and volunteer work and newly identified business opportunities (Cognard, 2014). It may, therefore, be useful to explore factors facilitating "activation" of forced or displaced migrants, which may provide new opportunities for rural communities with otherwise limited growth prospects.

Acknowledgements

Funding

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